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**Media Portrait of Chinese Investment in Africa
A Case Study of Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway**

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Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Relevance to Development Studies</i>	<i>vi</i>
1. Chapter 1 Introduction:	i
1.1 Background	i
1.1.1 Chinese investment in Africa	i
1.1.2 Chinese investment in Kenya	ii
1.1.3 The Standard Gauge Railway	ii
1.2 Research Questions and Objectives	iii
1.3 Media Reporting Analysis Focused on Chinese Investment in Africa	iii
1.4 My Positionally	iii
1.5 Scope and Limitation	iv
Chapter 2 Theoretical and Methodologies Perspectives	v
2.1 Theoretical Perspective	v
2.2 Methodological Perspective	vi
2.3 Data Collection	vii
2.3.1 Media Choice	vii
2.3.2 Sampling	viii
2.4 Analysis Questions	ix
Chapter 3: Analysis	xi
3.1 The Frames	xi
3.2 Analysis	xii
3.2.1 Financial Times	xiii
3.2.2 Xinhua	xvii
3.2.3 Daily Nation/ The East African	xxiii
Chapter 4 Elaborations, Silences, Synthesis	xxix
4.1 Introduction	xxix
4.2 Does Kenyan/ East African media sees China as an equal friendship or a threat that is expanding their geopolitical power?	xxix
4.3 The Frames are not exactly polarized?	xxx
4.4 Do the Chinese or Western ideology influence the African media?	xxxi
Chapter 5 Conclusion	xxxii
<i>References</i>	<i>xxxiv</i>
<i>Appendix</i>	<i>xl</i>

List of Tables

Table 1: Articles for this research

Table 2: Counts for frames

List of Appendices

Appendix 1.1 Financial Times- Kenya's \$4bn railway gains traction from Chinese policy ambitions

Appendix 1.2 Financial Times- Kenyan railway highlights sharper focus on affordability

Appendix 2.1 Xinhua- Kenyan officials praise China's construction of Mombasa-Nairobi railway

Appendix 2.2 Xinhua- The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway in the eyes of Kenyans

Appendix 3.1 Daily Nation-Cost of railway queried even as leaders appreciate stride

Appendix 3.2 Daily Nation- President Uhuru Kenyatta joins hundreds in train ride

Appendix 4.1 The East African-Kenya standard gauge railway rolls out services

Appendix 4.2 The East African- China plan raises hope for East African SGR project

List of Acronyms

BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CCCC	China Communications Construction Company
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CRBC	China Road and Bridge Corporation
EU	European Union
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
MSR	Maritime Silk Road
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NMG	Nation Media Group
PRC	People Republic of China
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
TNA	The National Alliance
US	United States

Abstract

The main objective of this study is to analyze the role of media representing Chinese Investment in Africa through the case study of Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway with a focus on how the media has framed the incident, either including or excluding certain objects and the intention behind. As China increases its economic influence globally, Africa is viewed as one of People Republic of China's (PRC) most important strategic partners. The nexus of development has shifted from a traditional 'North-South' relationship to multiple polarities of emerging countries, which focus the debate of China in Africa. China has been seen as the key global actor in development financing and intervention that constitutes new forms of engagement in the development structure (Richey and Ponte, 2014). This study is examining China's growing geo-political influence in Africa amidst the many competing geo-political power interests in the continent. It provides an in-depth analysis on how Chinese investments as a 'new' development actor are reported in the media vis-a-vis western development interventions.

Relevance to Development Studies

Ferguson's (1994) book *The anti-politics machine: "development," depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho* has challenged the idea of 'development' by questioning "Why and how is it that even when the projects fail, there are significant and lasting consequences in terms of strengthening the roles of bureaucratic and military power?" The question can be related back to Foucault to describe the conceptual construction within which Lesotho in this case was forced to fit as a "less developed country" by portraying it as an undifferentiated, peasant, noncommercial country. (Koppel, 1991) This hegemonistic discourse has led certain countries to continue to be categorized within low income and developed countries' framing. Over the years, the media has been a platform upon which this narrative has been continually reproduced. (Prue, 2021). Also, media reporting on development projects has been seen to vary according to different countries providing development assistance. Such reporting is often shaped by citizens' perceptions about particular large projects. The media analysis informs development actors of the strategic interest of the competing countries, the power relationship behind the current structure and how the discursive process would continue reproducing some of the rivalries.

Keywords

Media analysis, Chinese investment in Africa, Belt and Road Initiative, Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway,

1. Chapter 1 Introduction:

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Chinese investment in Africa

While recently there has been much attention given to Chinese investment in Africa, the relationship is not particularly new. The China-Africa relation started in 1978 when the Chinese government decided to open itself to the world in order to boost economic development. (Naughton, 1996) The new Chinese policy reform “The Open Door policy” that was led by Deng Xiaoping was the starting point of the investment in Africa, and has been attributed to the current attitude of Chinese investment in Africa. (Bucknall, 1989) The rapid industrialization progress has led China to actively seek for new partners. Since Africa’s economy has been growing rapidly and is the youngest continent in the world with huge market potential, population, natural resources and cheaper labor, Chinese have been seeing Africa as their ideal industrialization partner. (Berlie, 2020) The trade flow between Africa and China has exceeded that with the United States since 2013. (Adisu et al., 2010) The data can be traced back to 2003, the annual investment from China towards Africa has risen significantly. According to data from UNCTAD, from 74.8 million dollars in 2003 to 4.2 billion dollars in 2020, outward investment from China towards Africa reached a total of 254.3 billion U.S dollars in 2021. (United Nations Conference on Trade, and Development, 2022)

The first Forum of China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was held in 2000, establishing the potential cooperative opportunity between China and Africa. The forum started with the focus on trade within a uni-multilateral framework to issues from health, politics, environment, finance to security etc. In 2021, the conference was held for the 8th time, the focus has been further expanding on debt relief, agricultural, medicine, education, public health, and multilateral matters. Many sub-categories cooperation has also been initiated to enhance the soft power of China in Africa, which includes China-Africa People-to-People Forum, China-Africa Youth Leaders Forum, China-Africa Health Ministers Forum, China-Africa Media Cooperation Forum, China-Africa Poverty Alleviation and Development Forum, China-Africa Legal Forum, China-Africa Local Government Cooperation Forum and China-Africa Think Tank Forum. The regular meetings have led to the frequent engagement in activities from different industries. (Shirley Ze, 2022)

The profound impact from China can be easily seen in the African society, from importing oil to Chinese companies in Angola and Sudan, mining timber from Central Africa, and copper from Zambia (Zafar, 2007), building infrastructure and the new African Union Headquarter in Ethiopia (Fei Ding, 2020), establishing telecommunication services in Kenya and Nigeria, and the list goes on.

Furthermore, president Xi announced the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the Maritime Silk Road (MSR) in 2013. (Rolland, 2017) It has been seen as China’s most ambitious plan in recent years and the realization of the ‘China Dream’ , applying the Chinese development model in Africa. (Berlie, 2020) The project was designed to stimulate economic development by enhancing the interconnectivity between regions. As the Maritime Silk Road is connecting China to the entire African continent through the coast of East Africa, it has also been seen as a support to sustain the continuing rising trade volume between China and Africa. (Farooq et al., 2018)

1.1.2 Chinese investment in Kenya

Kenya is the largest and most diversified economy in East Africa with a GDP of over \$110B. It has a total population of over 54 Million people with approximately 75% of its total population comprising youth under the age of 35 years. (World Bank, 2022) It is strategically located along the coast of East Africa which stands out as a connection point and regional hub for transport, finance and trade. However, as a lower-middle income country (since 2014), approximately 1/3 of its population are living below the poverty line with an unemployment rate of 5.7% (ibid) with limited access to quality public services, including proper infrastructures.

In 2008, the Kenyan government announced a national strategy called “Vision Kenya 2030”—aiming to transfer Kenya into a middle income country by 2030. One of the key priorities to this vision is improving road infrastructures to ease movement of goods and services within Kenya and East African the region. China has presented itself as an alternative funding source (loan) supporting Kenya’s infrastructural ambitions to meet its development needs. The two have enjoyed strong strategic and cooperative relationships way back. This is largely attributed to Kenya’s strategic location along the Maritime Silk Road (MSR) which provides a good entry point for China into the East-African market with over 230 million population.

On the other side, the government of Kenya has benefited from China’s Loan to fund its infrastructural investment plans. This relationship is accompanied by several bilateral trade agreements between the two countries which were mostly signed under the tenure of President Uhuru Kenyatta to fund infrastructure investments.

At the regional level, expanding and improving the quality of Infrastructure remains a key regional enabler of successful East African regional integration, taking into account its importance in facilitating trade, agriculture, tourism and mobility of people. (East African Community, 2022). The East African community recognizes that “ regional infrastructure interventions are key to attracting investment into the region, improving competitiveness and promoting trade” (ibid, 2022). The region has set out itself to heavily invest in building its road, railway, maritime, air-transport and oil pipeline connecting the countries in the region. The standard Gauge is one aspect of this investment aimed at linking Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and the rest of East African countries

1.1.3 The Standard Gauge Railway

The Kenya Standard Gauge Railway is a 607 km long railway connecting Mombasa, the largest port in East Africa to its capital city Nairobi. The project was completed at an initial cost of US\$3.8 billion (representing 5% of Kenya’s gross domestic product [GDP]), with financing from Export–Import Bank of China covering 90 per cent, while the remaining 10 per cent was covered by the Government of Kenya. The project was implemented by the China Communications Construction Company Ltd – China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) in accordance with Chinese railway design standards. (Githaiga and Bing, 2019)

This project was highly welcomed by most Kenyans as it is seen to improve the infrastructure network. The train runs faster than the former railway and road traffic and it’s affordable for the locals. It has boosted business with an increased amount of freight carried daily. The government of Kenya has defined the railway as a vital component for achieving Kenyas’ vision 2030 development goals.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

The main objective of this study is to analyze the role of media representing Chinese Investment in Africa through the case study of Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway with a focus on how the media has framed the incident, either including or excluding certain objects and the intention behind. The differences of the discourse is deeply embedded in the international political economy background and policies, and how the project is produced to different audiences reflects the power relations among the actors that are involved. This research aims to examine how politics and media intertwine with each other.

Main question

How did the four media outlets from respectively Chinese, Western and Kenyan/East African media portray Chinese investment on the Kenya Mombasa–Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway?

Sub questions

- How did the four media outlets frame Chinese investment in the Kenyan Mombasa–Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway?
- How relevant are the geo-strategic relations between the western countries, China and Africa in understanding and making sense of the ways in which media outlets reporting the Kenya Standard Gauge railway?
- How do the divergences and convergences of media coverage by the selected media outlets contribute to the discursive (re)production of the power relations between China, Africa and the West?

1.3 Media Reporting Analysis Focused on Chinese Investment in Africa

There have been many research publications on Chinese Investment in Africa due to China's growing influence in the world and Africa particularly. However, not much research has focused on how the media reports it. The lack of media studies may be due to the fact that it has been happening relatively recently. The first FOCAC was held in 2000 and since then, the infrastructural investment plan was slowly taking shape. Most of the bigger Chinese-funded infrastructure are recently built and therefore not much research has been pointed towards the the media representation yet.

1.4 My Positionally

As a Taiwanese, I intend to position myself as a cautious and critical researcher that is looking at the Chinese Investment in Africa neither on a Western gaze, nor a Chinese gaze. Since China has embraced the notion of globalization, it has gradually become a key leader in the world affairs. I believe the media plays an important role, especially on capturing the imagination of the audience. Therefore, as a Taiwanese who speaks both Mandarin and English, I'm interested in analyzing the media reporting both on Chinese media, Western and African media to understand how media is used to shape narratives and perceptions. With this, I intend to focus my research to understand how the geo-political rivalry between the West and the East interplay within the news reporting on the Standard gauge

Railway (SGR) project. I have chosen one of the biggest media outlet from each country to analyze, but also observing how the project was reported when different political ideology conflicted with each other. However, I do not intend to find out the result or truth behind SGR. At the same time, I do not support either of the news agencies I am analyzing here.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

I am analyzing the topic through four media outlets: Financial Times, Xinhua, Daily Nation, and East African. Out of the four media, Xinhua is published in Chinese. This study has translated the articles into English via Google translate, and proofread by the researcher to check on the consistency. However, the translation is not able to fully be translated due to cultural-related meanings. At the same time, although the four media agencies are the leading agencies in the country, the readership of the audience is still one of the main components that affects how the news report is conducted. During this research, I was not able to find valid readership research on the three media agencies. The different characteristics of the audience, such as gender, class, is not taken into consideration unfortunately.

Chapter 2 Theoretical and Methodologies Perspectives

2.1 Theoretical Perspective

This paper will analyze the media outlets under Discourse Analysis. “Discourse” can be understood as the interactive process of conveying ideas, which includes the context and the conduct of who said what to whom, where, when, how and why. (Schmidt, 2008) It is also understood as a rejection against the tradition “realist notion” that language is “a neutral means of reflecting or describing the world”. (Gill, 2000: 172) Instead of finding a “universal truth”, the discourse analysis process allows us to understand how certain beliefs were structured under the political economy background with the belief that the media and society is a constitutive relationship.

There are many varieties of discourse analysis approach to study text. According to Gill (2000), we are able to categorize the varieties into three broad theoretical traditions. Firstly, understanding discourse analysis through the lens of semiotics, which can also be understood through the relationship between the signifier and the signified creates meaning. The meaning comes from the subject, and therefore the discourse analysis takes the social and cultural factor into account when learning how an event or phenomenon is understood. Secondly, it can also be seen as a speech-act theory that words are also used to carry out the actions. The talks and the texts are a consequent of the conversation. (Smith, 1991) Lastly, is the Foucauldian approach which is also known to be the post-structuralism approach. This approach intends to bring down the subject and object, which is interested in the historical components of the research instead of what is explicitly said or written.

In this research, we are interested in finding out how the geo-strategic relationship plays out in the news media. Therefore, it is crucial to look into the historical components. We are going to use the post-structuralism approach and theories from Foucault to understand how certain statement is seen as true under historical variable social relationships. Furthermore, how one sees as the truth can continue to be produced, maintained and reproduced. The Foucauldian discourse analysis allows us to understand why certain knowledge or ideas can become the common sense and dominant, while silencing certain topics as less important at the same time. (Waitt, 2010)

The Foucauldian Discourse Approach can be understood and analyzed under Foucauldian four stages of power (Jayasundara 4313 Lecture Powerpoint slides, 2022) :

Firstly, news/ media and real world events are mutually constitutive instead of a merely a reflexive, after-the-event role. (Hall, 2005) According to Foucault (1982), nothing falls outside of the discourse, neither media nor real world events exist on their own. ‘Reality construct Media’ and ‘Media construct Reality’ are inseparable, the relationship between the media and the real world event is mutually shaped consciously or unconsciously. (Adoni and Mane, 1984)

Secondly, there is no direct relation between the media and the event. We can understand in the concept of semiosis, as there is an arbitrary relationship between the signifier and the signified (Aiello, 2006). The meaning that is given is through the power relation, “truth isn’t outside power, or deprived of power” (Foucault, 2004) As media can be seen as a manifestation of the arena of ideological debate, the factor that decides who is able to influence people’s belief and behavior is based on the power relation. According to Bourdieu, habitus is a structure in which we internalize social practices, it is “society written into the body, into the biological individual” in his words (Bourdieu, 1990). The audience gives meaning to the text and develops media preference based on the social power relationship. Therefore, the power relations are time-space specific, and have been situated

in geo-political history. This paper would also further discuss the different situated history background that gives the event different meaning.

Thirdly, power relations are constitutive, which is under the principle of intersectionality. It is a discursive framing and discourse has to be seen as “articulated with the operations of power” (Hall, 2017 :81) The media itself reports the news based on multiple social relationships, on the other hand, the audience also chooses the media based on their own intersectionality, preferring the media that is able to reflect their ideas. For instance, class, age, gender, ethnicity can affect how the audience views the media differently. Representation is a process, it involves how they are constructed.

Finally, news/ media is an institutionalized, representational, productive, social practice; discursive practice works as a “system of presentation” (Hall, 1997). This paper is going to include Stuart Hall’s media representation theory to further expound the meaning making process. The media representation theory shows that there is no one true meaning, but there can be multiple different meanings that the same representation can generate. Through representation, what does the media show, how it shows and what is absent are focused and therefore we can further understand the constitution of media and society, but also the contestation of media.

2.2 Methodological Perspective

The main approach for this study is post-positivism and social constructivism, with the belief of the way media is presented and how audiences receive the information shapes the way audiences react to the event. This study will include four media outlets: The Economist which hereby represents the Western business media, Xinhua from China, and the Daily Nation/ the East African from Kenya/ East Africa to analyze. It is worth noticing that the media outlet does not present the society comprehensively, however, these are symbolic mainstream media that is representative. Out of each media outlet I will choose two pieces of news to do further analysis on the textual context. In order to have the topic being related to the Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway, the keywords are going to be “Standard Gauge Railway”, “Kenyan Railway”, “China-Kenya” and “Kenyan Infrastructure”.

This paper will utilize different methodologies of representation and media theories, including framing and focalisation to examine the journalistic practices of the four media outlets. The method of framing “refers to patterns that emerge in the way the media select, organize, emphasize, present, and ignore certain aspects of words and/or images over others.” (Schwalbe, 2006:269) Each frame includes the highlight of things, but at the same time excludes certain things. In this research, we will look into what is the focus of each medias and what has been silenced. This allows us to analyze the suggested relationships, makes order out of the complexity and makes sense of an action. (Rein & Schön, in van Hülst & Yanow 2016) As the research of the power dynamic behind Chinese Investment in Africa is relatively new, to avoid from the issue-specific frame that would limit the comprehensiveness of this research. (De Vreese, 2005) This paper will follow the method of inductive framing theories, which is to extract the frames after the analysis of the news.

Besides that, this paper would like to analyze how different media portray Chinese investment in Africa, whose perspective is the story about and the event told. The tool of Focalization is therefore very crucial to utilize in order to study.

2.3 Data Collection

2.3.1 Media Choice

The media choice of this research is based on the most well-known newspaper agency in the country. Since this research is focusing on textual analysis instead of visual analysis, on-line/offline newspaper agencies will be more ideal to further proceed the research.

The Chinese perspective is presented by one of the biggest and most well-known media in China: Xinhua newspaper. Xinhua was set up by a politically motivated reason under the name of Red China News Agency in 1931 in Ruilin, Jiangxi Province. During the period when the agency and the newspaper shared the same organizational structure, “the agency functioned as the ‘throat and tongue’ by publishing the newspaper Red China while playing the role of the ‘eyes and ears’ of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) by running the internal publication Reference News.” (Xin Xin, 2006: p.48)) The bi-directional dependency gained when People’s Republic of China (PRC) was founded in 1949, Xinhua was the only legitimate national news agency during the period. Xinhua was not only representing the voice of the government during the time, but also guiding local news agencies to follow the guideline of the central government. It was not until 1978 the former revolutionary leader Deng Xiaoping announced the ‘Open Market Policy’ has led Xinhua to market the news products instead of only a propaganda of PRC. (Xin Xin, 2006)

The Western perspective in this case refers to the Western European and North American ideology or views. We have chosen The Financial Times as it is one of the oldest and most influential financial newspaper written in English. The Financial Times (FT) has started in 1888 in the United Kingdom by Pearson PLC, London. During the second-half of the 20th Century, the prints have expanded across Europe, Asia and North America. It is a leading English-language international daily newspaper agency that covers mainly economic and financial subjects, but also having a strong influence over the financial policies in the British government. (Zhang and Wu, 2017) In 2015, the Japanese company Nikkei purchased the FT group, which includes the holding of the newspaper. (Britannica Academic, 2017) According to (Jiang, 1998: p.79), the Financial Times have a relatively higher proportion in broadcasting news that is about China.

For the Kenyan and African perspective, we have respectively chosen the media Daily Nation and The East African. The Daily Nation was established in 1960 under the Nation Media Group (NMG). It was seen as the champion of the people throughout President Daniel Arap Moi’s era. (Iberi, 2014) Besides that, it was selected as one of the oldest newspaper in the region in control of a large share readership in Kenya. (Kiptinness and Kiwanuka-Tondo, 2019) According to GeoPoll’s Media Measurement Service conducted by Elliot (2015), Daily Nation had an average readership of approximately 4,379,400 per day, which also mean that it has a 40% share nationwide. While the Daily Nation will represent the Kenyan perspective in this paper, two articles from The East African is also added into the analysis as a supplementary resource in understanding the view of East African perspective as a whole in order to get a more generic point of view. The EastAfrican is also published in Kenya by the Nation Media Group (NMG), however, the focus of The East African included the other countries of the African Great Lakes region, including Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda.

2.3.2 Sampling

The data contains news reports published on the Chinese-funded Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway from the three newspaper media agencies: Xinhua, The Financial Times, Daily Nation, The East African from 30th May, 2017-31st December 2018. The starting year of 2017 was selected because the railway was launched on the date of 31st May, 2017 and ran the first passenger service on the 1st June, 2017. The news that were published in the later years were not chosen to avoid external geopolitical or political factors of countering criticism. Samples were collected by using “Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway”, “Standard Gauge Railway”, “SGR” or “Kenyan railway” as keywords for searching.

Xinhua as a leading Chinese newspaper agency publishes in both Chinese and English language. In this research, we used the news reports that were published in Chinese in order to understand the news that was intended to target the Chinese audience instead of the global audience. The Chinese government has started to value the importance of the ‘soft power’ on political communication in Africa beyond the economic engagement. Xinhua being “one of the Party’s most loyal ‘mouthpieces’ and plays a leading role in the Party’s propaganda world targeting foreigners” has some major forms of intervention in Africa including developing news portfolio targeting African audiences and setting up bureaus, which has an increase on Chinese media presence in Africa. (Xin Xin, 2009). In this research we have chosen two pieces of news that were published in Chinese and translated into English via Google translate. It has been proofread by the author to make sure the content is in consistency with the Chinese version. Unfortunately, the archive news data on Xinhua Net only consists from the year 2020-2022. Therefore, we are not able to know how many news pieces have been posted in total during the period of 2017-2018. The two pieces that were analyzed were able to be found online through keywords.

Financial Times have in total of 10 pieces of news that have mentioned the Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway from 2017-2018. However, not all news are directly reporting about the railway. The topics that have mentioned the Kenyan SGR but on other topics include: Chinese Investment in Africa, Chinese Development model for Africa, China-Africa trade relation, and the election which was held in 2017. Out of the 10 articles, the author has chosen two which are deemed as the most relevant article reporting the SGR.

Daily Nation has in total 250 pieces of news that have mentioned the SGR in the period of 2017-2018. The same matter as mentioned above by the Financial Times, many articles are not directly mentioned about the railway. Being a National media, it catered to the region and local communities. The news articles included localized issues and events featuring regional politics, business, land conflicts and other human interests. The news is conducted for the day to day information update for the citizens, therefore, many articles have mentioned about the SGR. We have chosen two articles that are close to the date when the railway was built and relevant to the launch of the railway itself.

The EastAfrican has a total of 15 articles focusing on the SGR. Being a media that broadcasts news that are related to East Africa as a region, the news articles also consist of how other countries, including Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda work closely together to build a railway that goes through the East African countries and potentially be funded by the Chinese government. Out of the 15 articles, we have chosen the 2 articles that are related to the launch of the railway and one that has a direct relationship with how the Chinese investment plan could affect the East African SGR project.

The news articles that were chosen can be seen below:

Table 1: Articles for this research

	Perspective	Publisher	Title	Author	Date
1	Western	Financial Times	Kenya's \$4bn railway gains traction from Chinese policy ambitions	David Pilling / Emily Feng	April 4, 2017
2	Western	Financial Times	Kenyan railway highlights sharper focus on affordability	John Aglionby	September 25, 2018
3	Chinese	Xinhua	Kenyan officials praise China's construction of Mombasa-Nairobi railway	Zhu Shaobin	May 30 , 2017
4	Chinese	Xinhua	The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway in the eyes of Kenyans	Wang Xiaopeng/ Li Baishun	June 11, 2017
5	Kenyan	Daily Nation	Cost of railway queried even as leaders appreciate stride	Peter Leftie	May 31, 2017
6	Kenyan	Daily Nation	President Uhuru Kenyatta joins hundreds in train ride	Aggrey Mutambo	May 31, 2017
7	East African	The East African	Kenya standard gauge railway rolls out services	Charles Kimani	May 30, 2017
8	East African	The East African	China plan raises hope for East African SGR project	Anonymous	June 3, 2017

2.4 Analysis Questions

This research intends to acknowledge the frames that are behind each news article. An open-coding text inductive framing analysis without predefining frames allows us to identify various frames. We can later on be able to find the representational strategies behind different frame packages and deconstruct the normalized assumptions. This research will analyze the news articles in a systematically way by asking the below questions (4313 Lecture notes, 2022) :

- Who are the Actors and how are they Portrayed?
- What do they do/ is done to them?
- How do they do it/ is it done to them? (Description)

- Where is the action done?
- When is the action done?
- What kind of affect/ emotions/attitude/ ethics?
- In what order is the action told about?
- Quoted/ Interviewed who?

By answering these questions will reduce the bias from the researcher and allow for a more systematic coverage of this study. Same criteria will be used to examine the different news articles, allowing an objective position to compare the narratives from different media outlets.

Chapter 3: Analysis

3.1 The Frames

This chapter examines the frames identified in the 8 articles analyzed. It starts by showing how the SGR is projected as a Chinese neo-colonial debt trap strategy with high cost of investments then it looks at the potential economic benefits to Kenya. It proceeds to analyze China geo-political strategy in Africa. Further, it analyzes the East African regional ambitions before concluding with the political promises and campaigns.

The Chinese debt trap

The Chinese debt trap framing portrays the SGR investments as an extravagant, expensive project with huge financial implications. This is in consideration of the high level of corruption within Kenya's public institutions and the lack of trust by citizens. The total cost of the project was at \$3.6bn owing to the debt that the Kenyan government is supposed to pay to the Chinese Exim Bank. This framing links the financial terms to the overall benefit of the project to the local communities. It further looks into how the project has cost a lot of money amidst uncertainty whether the government will be able to pay it back.

Sustainable economic development of Kenya

The SGR railways has been identified as an important component to the development of Kenya. Under this section, there have been three frames identified namely; i) The local training frames ii) the sustainable infrastructure iii) the efficient railway.

Under The Local Training perspective, the SGR was portrayed as an important project supporting the local skill development. One of the principles of the BRI is building "People-to-people connection"– which implies the education and skilled labor capacity transfer to Africa is a key priority. From creating business, training the locals and creating job opportunities, the railway project was noted to have boosted businesses in local communities. Furthermore, this framing recognizes that China has promoted Africa's technical capacity in infrastructure engineering through technical assistance, knowledge transfer and transfer of technology.

Secondly, the Sustainable Infrastructure Frame portrays the railway as an infrastructure project that is designed to meet the essential needs of people, but built in an environmentally friendly manner. The railway took the environmental impact into account before and during the constructions, animal habitats and natural ecosystems were not destroyed.

Also, there was the Efficient Railway frame on the articles which portrayed the railway as a cost-efficient and time-efficient means that has drastically shortened the time and cost of transportation for passengers and cargo service. It has allowed people to travel across the country in a day with an affordable cost, and cargo to be shipped in half the original price and time. Under the Efficient Railway frame, the SGR is a project that is bringing convenience and new way of transportation that most people can benefit from.

China Geo-political Strategy in Africa

China's engagement with Kenya relates to global China's economic diplomacy strategy in Africa. This framing is directly linked to the China's geo-political ambition to become the leading trade power house. It focuses on the ambition of the Chinese government, and

how China intends to globalize with a Chinese character. The railway is a project that has been planned considerably by the Chinese government under the name of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). By supporting infrastructure development in Africa, China is gradually becoming the central player in Africa. The railway is playing into China's broader picture in geo-political interest.

At the same time, this frame considers the railway to be a symbol of the equal relationship between Kenya and China. As it was still the starting stage of the BRI when the railway was built, the SGR is seen as a project that is going to further mature the Sino-African relationship. In this frame, the railway is going to be beneficial for both countries and also implies a "win-win" strategy.

East Africa regional integration ambition

With the East African countries moving towards solid economic integrations. Infrastructural development plans are viewed as a building block to achieve the regional integration objectives. All the major 3 East African countries – Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania adopted the SGR project with the aim of connecting the region. Therefore, this framing precludes the Kenya-SGR built on the East African Railway Master Plan – aiming to rejuvenate the former colonial British built railways systems in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda with the aim to extend it further to Rwanda and Burundi, and eventually, to South Sudan, Ethiopia and beyond." (Ndegwa, 2022) Under this frame, the railway is a leading infrastructure development to facilitate the integration of the East African Community, which will further lead to regional economic integration, easy movement for people within the region and further increase the competitiveness of East African countries.

Political promises and campaigns

The SGR project was used as a tool for political campaigns in Kenya. The biggest rival parties in the Kenyan politics during the time of 2013 till 2018 were the Jubilee government and National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition (NARC). NARC party which involved ex-president Mwai Kibaki and-prime minister Raila Odinga was the ruling party at the time to sign the contract of the railway from the Chinese government, while the Jubilee government known as The National Alliance (TNA) was ran by ex-president Uhuru Kenyatta became the ruling party to complete the railway during his political serving period. The Political promises and campaigns framing has linked the railway with the agreement and disagreement between the two parties, including accusing the project to be non-transparent or the government not spending the money wisely and the defense from the ruling party with the explanation on how the money was used.

Besides that, the Kenya presidential election in 2017 was not long after the railway was built. Therefore, the Internal Politics also include the implication of railway as a campaign material for the ruling party to gain political continuity.

3.2 Analysis

After identifying the frame, I have analyzed the articles again to weigh the importance of each frame in the four medias. The weight is assessed by the times it has been mentioned in respective framings. The limitation of this methodology is that it is counted as once no matter the length. For instance, a paragraph mentioning the financial terms of the paragraph and a description that says "expensive railway" is both counted as once. The counts under each frame can be seen at Table 2.

Table 2: Counts for frames

	Chinese debt trap	Sustainable economic development of Kenya	China geopolitical strategy in Africa	East Africa regional integration ambition	Political promises and campaigns
Financial Times	9	4	7	4	1
Xinhua		13	5	3	2
Daily Nation	9	2			9
East African		1	1	8	

By weighing the frames that were used in each media, we are able to answer the question of what is the dominant narrative that was used and what has been silenced. Understanding journalism as a “lapdog model”, it is highly dependent on the official statement from the government or the society social elites have established. (Franklin Bob, 2005) The lapdog model theory aligns with the representation theory that the discourse is ‘articulated with the operations of power’. (Hall, 2017: 81) Therefore, we have linked the frames back with the history background or the texts from the government officials. Consequently, the power relationship can be analyzed.

3.2.1 Financial Times

3.2.1.1 Foci of Financial Times

The Chinese Debt Trap

The two articles from the Financial Times have put an emphasis on the cost of the Kenyan SGR and high debt trap risk to Kenya. The description of the railway has been linked with the financial terms, including “Chinese-funded”, “Kenya’s \$4bn railway”, “the \$3.2bn”. By doing so, it draws the attention of the audience towards the Chinese loan to Africa, which is the Costly Railway Frame. From the terms of the loan to the critics of it might be building “a white elephant”, the economic impact of the railway seems to be the most important perspective of the project.

It is interesting that although both of the articles from Financial Times have focused on the financial status of the SGR, they have quoted the opposite side of the stories to show that both sides of the party are concerned about the loan. One is quoting President Xi that the investment can not be spent on any vanity projects but in places where they count the most, implying that they will only spend the money on the projects that they deem valuable. The third stage of the SGR, from Naivasha to Kisumu has to be reevaluated ‘to establish the commercial viability’ ; On the other hand, Kwame Owino, the executive director of the institute of Economic Affairs is quoted by saying that SGR is overstated and Kenya has gotten the short end of the stick, and the economic benefits are exaggerated. Two sides of the story with the similar focusing on the loan and the ability of Kenya to pay it back.

The power relationship between China and Kenya is clear to be seen in the articles of Financial Times. China is the country that could decide whether they want to borrow the money to Kenya or not, while Kenya might not be able to get the loan for the third stage funding of the railway. China is seen as a “deep-pocketed” state actor with dominant power and Kenya as a recipient country. It is seen to be in contrast with the statement from the Chinese government seeing Kenya as an “equal partner”. China in this case is portrayed as

a “Neo-colonial actor” that holds the power and drives Kenya into an unequal power relationship within a potential debt trap agenda.

Chinese Geo-political strategy in Africa

The articles have mentioned the Chinese intention to become a leading geo-political actor in the region and the world. With the title of one of the news “Kenya’s \$4bn railway gains traction from Chinese global policy ambitions’ implying that China is extending loans to Kenya to achieve its global political ambitions. The SGR projects through the Belt and One Road infrastructure investments is one way to increase influence in Africa. The BRI investment project goes beyond financial support from China. Quoting Prof. Brautigam, a well-known scholar in the field of China-Africa relationship and the director of China Africa research institute in John Hopkins university, saying that: “BRI projects are about more than money”and it is “diplomatic-political as well as business components”. Emphasizing the railway is the first step to fulfill China’s desire in the political scheme.

Under this frame, President Xi is portrayed as a tactical and ingenious leader who is leading China toward the center of the stage. He is seen as a determined leader that prioritizes the country’s foreign policy, and by launching the BRI is seen as a manifestation of the ambitious ‘China Dream’.

The BRI in Africa is just the latest manifestation of a decades-old policy, according to Prof Brautigam. “It’s China going global,” she says. “It’s about pushing globalisation with Chinese characteristics. The Chinese will continue to do things like this. Xi is just very clever at packaging.” (Aglionby 2018, see Appendix 1.2)

Furthermore, she implicitly criticized the non-transparency of the Chinese foreign policy by saying that Xi is “very clever at packaging”. The transparency of Chinese investment is often amplified by the western countries. China as an authoritarian state does not fit into the Western values of transparency and democracy values, China is therefore portrayed as a country investing with “hidden agenda” behind. We can see the criticism of non-transparency in the articles that the SGR is ‘heavily guarded compound with Chinese letters’ or that the ‘Chinese embassy in Nairobi has refused a request for the interview.’ The construction company of the railway and the embassy of China is not willing to share more information or make the information of the railway public. Others can only speculate about the latest development. Chinese government and companies are hereby being referred to with a low degree of openness and the details remain unclear.

Sustainable economic development

This framing looks towards the impacts of the project to the lives of the ordinary citizens in Kenya. The project was known to have hired and trained locals in various departments as engineers, transporters, guards chief and others. This approach is seen to counter claims that Chinese projects do not provide decent jobs for local people. Financial Times reported on several accounts that China is “heading off criticism” about its employment discrimination. Perhaps, China is seen to be moving towards a path of creating employment opportunities for the locals. This had not been the case as seen in the past projects. This was further expounded by Pilling in one of the articles that the Chinese have not always been known for their soft-power skills. They are perhaps learning some tricks. For instance, they conducted training for Kenyan women to be train drivers (Pilling, 2017, see Appendix 1.1).

The criticism of Chinese not hiring locals in Africa can be seen in another article from Financial Times by the same author David Pilling (2019) saying that“a common accusation is that they employ mainly Chinese workers, depriving locals of potential jobs.” Therefore, China was not expected to be hiring locals, however, Financial Times has used a neutral

tone to describe the fact that China has countered the criticism to start hiring locals as the labor force. As time evolves, the narrative has also evolved. The audience are expected to have a degree of understanding towards the criticism that China had before in order to understand why it is “heading off criticism”, or “not known for its soft-power”. Hence, the articles are seen to be articulated for certain readership. The news and the readership construct each other, and the mutual relationship is inseparable.

In regards to the sustainable aspect, The Financial Times did not put much focus on environmental issues in both the articles. Yet, it has mentioned that China has made concessions to the environmentalists by building underpasses for wildlife to cross the section of the railway. Although Chinese investment has been facing vigorous debate on the environmental impact in Africa, the Financial Times has mentioned that in this case they have actually taken into account the natural park for the animal habitat that the railway is going to pass through.

Lastly, the framing of the SGR being an efficient railway has not been mentioned much in Financial Time. It quoted one of the citizens by the name Elizabeth Wanjiru Ngima, a housewife, who described the railway as “very quick, very quiet and when you are on it you feel like you are in heaven”. However, she had not yet ridden the train when she made the statement. It can be interpreted as she was confident with the Chinese Infrastructure, or excited about the railway that is soon going to meet their needs. Based on the fact that she has not yet taken the train, the statement she made is doubtful and debatable. The doubtful and debatable attitude can be extended to how Financial Times views the railway. It is not extremely positive nor negative, but uncertain and waiting to see how it is going to turn out.

Compared to the other media that focus more on whether the railway has brought actual benefit to the people, Financial Times has not commented on this matter. To a certain extent, we can interpret that the focus of Financial Times is more on the Chinese influence in Kenya instead of the local perspectives towards the railway.

Although not too much attention has been paid to the local perspectives, it has mentioned about the efficiency on how China has built the railway in a short timeframe by quoting Lillian Wamuyu, who has been helping to run slum schools in the capital of Kenya, “We heard that the British gave billions of shillings to build roads but they never got built, but if you see two Chinese working, you know that road will be done in two months.” Criticizing the ‘development aid’ that the Western society has given to the developing countries but not being able to see the result, and mentioned that at least the Chinese get things done. With more and more scholars problematizing the traditional development aid (Moyo Dambisa., 2009), the Chinese investment might bring some alternatives in the current structure.

East African regional integration ambition

Financial Times mentioned about the benefit of the SGR that it would allow the East African countries to have a closer connection. From mentioning the route of the planned SGR “from Djibouti to Addis Ababa”, “in the hope of reaching Uganda’s capital Kampala” to a positive tone that it would be able to “knit together swaths of the east African Community’s emerging trade bloc”. Financial Times has agreed on the benefits the Kenya SGR will bring for the regional development. It can be understood through how the European Union (EU) has actively been promoting regional integrations in the world regions. The EU perceives itself as an effective model that ensures the regional stability, security and prosperity. (Börzel and Risse, 2009) As Financial Times being originated from the UK, it was still part of the EU at the year of 2017-2018 when the articles were written. To a cer-

tain extent, the promotion of regional integration is entangled with the EU's agenda in global governance.

Yet, the positive tone of the East African regional integration ambition frame is closely tied up with the frame of China Geo-political Strategy in Africa. It phrased "the entire Africa continent can be connected by Chinese rail" and the railway "encapsulates the evolution of Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative". The uncertainty in the text entails China as an emerging power is gaining more and more influence in Africa, and a bigger picture of China's political agenda will soon play out.

Political promises and campaigns

Financial Times has portrayed the SGR project as a massive "infrastructure spree" during the President Kenyatta tenure in Kenya. This is implicitly linked to the facts that his government invested heavily on roads, pipeline, oil development and geothermal power after his re-election. At the same time, the accomplishment of the first phase of SGR was also one of President Kenyatta's campaign promise during the election in 2013. (Oxford Analytica, 2017) By having more political achievements, President Kenyatta used this strategy for winning the next election. Apart from gaining more political achievements, one of the core promises and manifestos from the party was to tackle unemployment issues in the country. The party emphasized the need for transformation of the industrial sector as it is the key to generate high productivity jobs. (Nduvi and Kivoi, 2017)The railway is able to support in the fulfillment of the election promise and raise public confidence in President Kenyatta to continue serving as the president during the re-election.

Chinese aid and Chinese investment has been criticized by the Western scholars as contributing to corruption. (Leder-Luis, 2018)The title 'Finance and expertise from Beijing are crucial to Kenyatta's spree' has purposefully linked the election and the Chinese government together. The intention of framing the railway that serves the interest of both President Kenyatta and the Chinese government.

3.2.1.2 Concluding remarks for Financial Times:

The Financial Times has a heavy focus on the frame The Chinese debt trap and Chinese Geo-political strategy in Africa. The two articles emphasized on the amount of money that has been spent on the railway, and how the Chinese government intends to use the railway as a starting project of the BRI. The terms that was used to describe the Chinese government's response "packaging", "not being exactly open" has led the audience to focus on what is the agenda behind the railway, which Financial Times intend to lead the audience to think that the railway is the manifestation of the China Dream. Considering China as an actor that has a significant impact in the current geopolitical economy framework, but with an ambitious political interest and aggressive in gaining influence. China is portrayed as 'a powerful force' but also a 'threat' in the current geopolitical competition. The Financial Times has also repeatedly compared the rise of Chinese investment in the comparison with the investment from the United States. As the United States is the hegemony power in the current geopolitical blueprint, the comparison with the United States can be interpreted under the competition of the geopolitical power. With the U.S.-China Trade War escalated in the year 2018 (Liu and Woo, 2018), some would say that China is trying to become a global power by establishing regional hegemony.

Not only portraying China as a dominant power, but Financial times has also considered Kenya as a 'recipient country' in the power relationship. The narrative in the articles is how China intends to extend the influence in Africa, which silenced how the Kenyan government has decided to take the loan and build the railway. Continue phrasing

Kenya as a ‘powerless actor’ acting passively in the relationship. The post colonialism ideology has embedded in the western perspectives which is reflected in the discourse from Financial Times. The depiction of China being a dominant, deep-pocketed, authoritarian state actor and Kenya being a powerless, passive state actor that is in need of investment for infrastructure development led the discourse to the current debate that China is driving African countries into a ‘debt trap’. (Lai et al., 2020) The African country is in need of investment while the Chinese government has the resources to provide. The African government, Kenyan government in this case, has decided to take on the loan passively before considering the consequences. The analysis allows us to see how the voiceless actors continued being powerless in the development discourse.

Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that the articles did not use a negative tone in describing the railway, but more of a neutral tone on seeing how it is going to play out in the near future. The term ‘countering criticism’ has been mentioned many times in order to build on the criticism that the Western media phrased on the Chinese Investment in the previous years: the damage of environment (Shinn, 2016) and not hiring the locals. (Zhao, 2014) China has overcome the criticism intentionally or unintentionally to build a more steady relationship with the African (Kenyan) government. However, the readership of Financial Times already has a certain image of Chinese investment and most of the time people are not ready to change the existing perception. Therefore, although there is a shift in the portrait of the Chinese investment in Kenya, it has used ‘countering criticism’ to build on the pre-existing image.

3.2.2 Xinhua

3.2.2.1 Foci of Xinhua

Chinese Geo-political strategy in Africa

With China seeking to grow its influence in the global arena. This was also captured in the articles from Xinhua though it followed a different tone from the Financial Times. The railway was described with terms including “Made in China Train”, “Speed of China”, which can also be understood by the concept of Chinese policy ‘Globalization with Chinese characteristics’.

The establishment of such policy discourse can be understood through the history of the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In the 1980s before the Western ideologies were imported in China, the CCP consolidated the anti-Westernization idea through the discourse of ‘anti-bourgeois liberalization’ and ‘anti-spiritual pollution’. Until the 1990s, the anti-peaceful evolution and anti-Westernization discourse has continued to be adopted by CCP to prevent from Western-centrism while the Chinese government has decided to start participating in international affairs. On the one hand, China has adopted the ‘Going Out’ policy; On the other hand, the CCP does not want the authority to be challenged through Western ideologies. They have therefore come up with ‘Globalization with Chinese Characteristics’ to enhance public’s recognition of Chinese culture and taking Chinese culture into account when developing policies. (Huang, 2010)

During Xi Jinping’s speech when he participated in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region delegations deliberation. He has stressed the importance of sticking to and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics. He mentioned that China must develop socialism with Chinese character. By following the government party, the country will be able to unite and see “people realize their aspirations for a better life and promote common prosperity for all the people.” (Chinese Ministry of Foreign affairs, 2022)

We can further understand this through the speech, the importance of globalizing with a ‘Chinese characteristics’ that has been phrased by the Chinese government, and the ‘nationalist’ descriptions in phrasing the railway. Although the railway is a development plan by the government, by following the leadership from the government, people (here refer to Chinese) can achieve a better life and promote common prosperity when the country is strong. The terms ‘Made in China’ and ‘Speed of China’ enhance the political cohesiveness of people and build confidence in the government to create a ‘Chinese model of development’.

According to the research about political discourse of the Chinese government from Li Tao (2020), China uses appraisal resources to present a positive Self and negative Others image, which “reveals the Chinese government’s intention in promoting a state-led nationalistic rhetoric” and the confidence of its positive Self-presentation. (Li Tao, 2020: p. 167) Meanwhile, they mitigate the negative aspects of the portrait in both China and other countries as it was found that having negative aspects of others also upscale China’s own negative perspectives from people. In both of the articles from Xinhua, instead of portraying other foreign powers as hostile or negative, China uses the positive terms for itself to pursue the goal.

Interestingly, both the articles have not mentioned the BRI while writing about the railway. Under the coverage of Xinhua, the ambition of the Chinese government is to navigate and lead the country to prosperity instead of the competition for global power. The Chinese Globalization Ambition frame is going to positively benefit the citizens in the long run.

Furthermore, this concept can be explained under the aspect of Equal Friendship– it implies the existing ‘cooperation’ and ‘friendship’ between China and Kenya. Xinhua has mostly focused its reporting on the existing bilateral agreements between China and Kenya.

This relationship is also described by ordinary Kenyans. In one account, David – a Kenyan national who has reside in Beijing, pointed to the national flags of China and Kenya affixed side by side and concluded that it is a clear testimony to the friendship between China and Kenya. Many research has shown that the Equal Friendship is a frame frequently used by the Chinese government and state-run media in Africa, using recurring friendship language such as “win-win”, “collaboration”. “Partnership,” and “common destiny”(Gao, 2018) The concept that underpins the frequently used frame is the ideology of ‘China-Africa Community with a Shared Future’ (中非命運共同體) that was first mentioned by President Xi in 2013. In 2018, it was again mentioned during the Beijing Summit of FOCAC. The history of common struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemony as a developing country is the foundation for the ideology. (Wu, 2020) The ideology discourse is continued being used by the CCP, which can be seen in the white paper published by the Chinese government underlying that China will be building an even stronger China-Africa Community of Shared future by properly handling the “the relationship between shared interests and the greater good is an essential requirement of China-Africa relations in the new era.” (China's State Council Information Office, 2021)

The Equal Friendship ideology is the cornerstone of the China-Africa relationship policy by the CCP. Consequently, the ideology is reflected in the media discourse in Xinhua by framing the railway as a testimony for the ‘friendly’ and ‘mutual’ relationship.

Sustainable economic development of Kenya

The SGR was noted to have registered significant impacts on the economic development and livelihoods of ordinary Kenyans in different ways. This was reported in different accounts by Xinhua media. Firstly, the project is reported to have contributed through the technological and engineering skill transfer to the East Africa region. This was captured

from the interviews of the local officials and citizens who described the SGR as a ‘new energy into Kenya's economic and social development’ and a ‘contribution to local industry development and local talents training’. The project put a lot of focus on hiring and training locals from the time it was first implemented up to the operation of the railway. This is further confirmed by Paul Maringa Mwangu who is the Permanent Secretary of the Kenyan Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure posited that:

“More than 934 local cement and timber manufacturers and equipment suppliers have mentioned that the construction of the Mombasa-Nairobi railway has driven them to increase sales volume. More than 300 subcontractors have participated in the construction of the project. All these fully demonstrate that the project has made great contributions to promoting local economic development.” (Zhu, 2017, Appendix 2.1)

Xinhua has used numbers to add credibility in the statement. Although numbers might not be able to directly have a result in persuasion, it is known to result in peripheral processing of the message. (Yalch, 1984) Referring back to Foucault, the audience gives meaning to the numbers. Reproducing the belief of the benefit Chinese Investment provided to developing countries and how Chinese investment can create job opportunities. Similarly, Xinhua has quoted local officials here as well to support the frame. In addition to Paul Maringa Mwangu, the article has also quoted Richard Bellio Kipsang, Permanent Secretary of the Kenyan Ministry of Education, saying that:

China Road and Bridge Corporation has always persisted in the human-centric approach in the implementation of the project. It has improved the skills of local laborers through mentoring and training, providing local students with a lot of opportunities to practice, which effectively enhances their employment competitiveness. (Wang and Li, 2017, Appendix 2.2)

Journalists depend on external sources to gather news. Subsequently, when reporting news, journalists demonstrate practical and professional guidance in establishing sources that are reliable and newsworthy. (Ruth, 1998) Therefore, it is not coincidental to see who is identified by names in this case, as official, bureaucratic status sources often fulfill the demand for efficient, reliable sources. (Graber, 1974) In the meantime, the reason for quoting Paul Maringa Mwangu and Richard Bellio Kipsang instead of other Kenyan officials is not a random selection. According to Entman (1993), “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. The concept of Entman has often been used by journalists to lead public opinion towards a particular news agenda that either favors or excludes some issues over others through news sources. (Berlowitz, 2008) In this case, Xinhua has quoted the two Kenyan officials’ statement which aligns with the frame Xinhua intends to present.

As the reporters are ‘not supposed’ to be sharing the opinions of their own, the close relationship between Xinhua and CCP should be taken into consideration. The Chinese government is able to share the political agenda and counter the criticism they have faced from the western society through the media. The criticism is known to be that Chinese companies tend to bring the majority of workers from China to Africa and are unwilling to hire or train local workers, which makes the unemployment problem in Africa even worse. (Tang, 2016) Through the two articles analyzed from Xinhua, a clear main message was delivered to the public: the “human-centric” development that supports local training in Kenya from Chinese Investment.

Secondly, on the environment aspects, the Xinhua did not directly indicate that they have been taking the environment into account when building the railway. However, the description of the scenery on the railway includes “beautiful”, “good” in a positive tone. In

one of the articles, it mentioned that by passing Tsavo National Park, the reporters have seen a herd of elephants playing under the acacia trees on the grassland and a romantic East African coast view of small houses being covered by tall and dense coconut trees. The railway is depicted as an infrastructure that coexisted with nature in a shared landscape. The railway did not damage the habitat of the animals, and coconut trees weren't cut down because of the construction.

What is surprising is that Xinhua only implicitly mentioned the frame of Sustainable railway instead of explicitly mentioning it as the frame of Local Training. The reason for saying this is environmental damage is also one of the biggest criticism for Chinese investment in Africa (Wissenbach and Wanchig, 2017), and President Xi has emphasized that China will work with Africa to pursue green, low-carbon, circular and sustainable development during his keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the 2018 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) (Xinhua, 2018). Whether the promise has not been made, or it is not deemed relevant for the audience may be the reason.

Thirdly, under economic development, the Efficient Railway frame was also frequently reported by Xinhua. Quoting Macharia, the freight transportation time has shortened from two days to 8 hours, which will benefit the companies by reducing the time and cost. At the same time, it is going to benefit the passengers by shortening the hours and time which will bring more choices for people to travel. Not only the Kenyan officials agreed with the efficiency of the railway, but Xinhua has also included the citizens in the narrative. In the article of The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway in the eyes of Kenyans, many passengers said that the experience of the railway is affordable and worth it, and the railway has drastically enhanced people's opportunity to travel. Taking into account that this article was written in Chinese and meant to be for the Chinese readership, it can be seen in a more 'development aid' angle that the railway has improved Kenyan citizens' life and given them more chances to travel. Meanwhile, letting the people (here refer to Chinese) to know the advancement of Chinese infrastructure investments worldwide.

East African regional integration ambition

The SGR under the portrait of Xinhua is playing a vital role in supporting the integration of the East African Countries. Kenyan Minister of Transport and Infrastructure James Macharia mentioned that Kenya sees the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway as a "catalyst" to promote the integration process of East Africa. (Xinhua 2017, Appendix 2.1) Regional Integration is one of the key actors that can "help countries overcome divisions that impede the flow of goods, services, capital, people and ideas. These divisions are a constraint to economic growth, especially in developing countries." (WorldBank, na) The frame of East African regional integration ambition is an act that will improve the region's connectivity which will ultimately gain economic benefit for the countries involved.

The idea of 'African Unity' was shared by the founding president of Tanzania Julius Nyerere in the 1970s, he mentioned that if African countries want to enhance the international prestige and competition they have to come together to achieve it. (Nyerere, 1979) In recent years, East African countries have been actively promoting East African Integration, and established the East African Community (EAC) that contains 7 partner states: Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Uganda and Tanzania in 2000. Until now, the EAC has established the Customs Union (2005), Common Market (2010), and is in the process of establishing a Monetary Union. (Masinde and Omolo, 2017) trade and investment regulations, financial policies have been designed to support the integration, and the need for transport infrastructure between the region has increased. The railway aligns with the East African development plan, instead of China's unilateral investment plan.

In the two articles, Kenya is portrayed as the leader within the East African countries to lead the process of integration, and China has deemed Kenya as one of the most important strategic partners. It is evident through the quotes from Macharia:

Through good cooperation with Chinese companies, Kenya has taken the lead in railway construction in the region. Other countries in East Africa, such as Uganda, Rwanda and South Sudan, are taking Kenya's railway construction experience as a benchmark for railway planning and construction. (Zhu, 2017, Appendix 2.1)

Implying other East African countries are able to follow the footsteps of Kenya, and the Kenyan SGR will be a “benchmark” for the rest of the East African Railway. Macharia also said that the railway is able to consolidate the Mombasa port as a “regional distribution center”, emphasizing the leading position of Kenya in the region.

It is worth mentioning that it is emphasized “through good cooperation with Chinese companies” that Kenya has taken lead in the railway construction in the region. Stressing the importance of the cooperation with China was the main factor that has led to the completion of the railway.

3.2.2.2 Concluding Remarks for Xinhua:

The two articles that were chosen to be analyzed from Xinhua are respectively from the perspectives of the Kenyan officials and citizens towards the railway. Both articles have portrayed the railway in a positive note specifically in the frame of Efficient Railway and Local Development. The railway is seen as an infrastructure project benefitting the Kenyans and fulfilling the needs for both the passengers and the business owners. In the longer run, the railway is going to support the local development in Kenya and ultimately benefit the East African region.

The other reason that the railway is seen as crucial for the national and regional economic development is correlated with China's own development history. China has experienced a rapid economic growth since 1978, one of the most important factors is infrastructure development. After the 1990s, in order to achieve the second strategic goal of modernization, the Ten-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of China and the Outline of the Eighth Five-Year Plan made clear deployments for the development of agriculture, water conservancy, energy, transportation, post and telecommunications, raw materials and other industries, and investments in basic industries and infrastructure grew rapidly. Through 60 years of large-scale investment and construction, the production capacity of China's basic industries and infrastructure have increased significantly, providing strong support for the development of the national economy and the improvement of people's living standards. Transportation is seen as one of the most important infrastructure developments. From 1954 to 2008, China's transportation industry had an average annual growth of 13.4%, significantly improving the level of transportation infrastructure. (Chinese Ministry of Statistics, 2009) It is proven that the economic growth of China can be underpinned by a massive development of physical infrastructure. (Sahoo et al., 2010) As China intend to transfer the Chinese model of development to Africa, we can further understand how Xinhua portrays the railway as an infrastructure plan that is going to significantly increase in the national development energy of Kenya based on the Chinese experience.

The other frame that was heavily focused is the frame of Local Training. Xinhua has emphasized on the aspect of technical transfer, creating job opportunities and benefiting the local community. It can be seen as a response towards the criticism from the western society but technical transfer is also one of the development focus that was mentioned in

The 8th Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Dakar Action Plan (2022-2024) has made it clear in article 3.2.7 that:

Both sides will deepen their commitment to increase the training of African professionals - including women - in all the domains that fall under infrastructure connectivity initiative in Africa. (FOCAC, 2021)

Increasing vocational training is not only a general China-Africa development plan, but one of the focus under the transportation development principles. Xinhua, known as the mouthpiece of the CCP, communicates the government's policy to people. The special focus on the frame of Local Training echoes the national policy.

In general, China is seen as a 'great global responsible actor' by supporting the development of the efficient railway and taking local training and environmental issues into consideration. China's role of the 'great global responsible actor' is originated by Zhang and Wu (2017), which is an image of China building mutual benefits and cooperating with the third country in the sphere of economic activities. (Zhang and Wu, 2017: 40) Speeches from President Xi and the white papers issued on the topic of China-Africa relationship reflects China's national image-building effort, which can also be observed through how Xinhua portrays the railway.

On the other hand, the two frames that have been silenced by Xinhua is the frame of Chinese debt trap and Political promises and campaigns. Both the articles did not mention about the financial terms of the railway, not to mention describing it as a debt trap. Chinese investment in Africa has been criticized as a 'Debt Trap' in much research, saying that China is utilizing debt to gain more geopolitical leverage in developing countries. (Were, 2018) All sectors are amplifying their views on the financial matter of the Chinese loan, and especially on the railway since it is a major development project in Africa. Although Xinhua did not respond to this issue in the two articles, the Chinese government has explicitly and implicitly defended the government in many occasions, including an official statement mentioned that:

What China pursues is to properly resolve the debt issue through friendly negotiations between the two sides. China has never forced debt. So far, no African country has been in debt distress because of its cooperation with China, and no African government has agreed to the claim that China has created a "debt trap" for them. China has also done its best to cancel the debts of the least developed countries within its capacity. (Chinese Embassy in France, 2022)

The above statement has not only fought back the criticism of China driving African countries into a debt trap, but also depicted China as a 'Generous Partner' in providing the loan. The Chinese media often portray the investment to Africa as a 'development aid' which is seen to be partially in parallel with the definition of the Official Development Assistance (ODA) agreed by the members of the DAC that is giving 'concessional' funding to developing countries and multilateral institutions for the purpose of promoting welfare and economic development in the recipient country. (Bräutigam, 2011) In the case of Kenyan SGR, China provides a concessional fixed-rate and low-interest loans and commercial loan from China Exim Bank. There are two different ways to understand the reason for the silence of the financial terms and the extravagant railway frame from the articles. One is that the railway is seen as a development aid project under the country diplomacy policy, whether Kenya pays back or not is not deemed relevant; It can also be seen that the Chinese government do not want the people to be focusing on the amount of money they have give loan to other countries since China is also a developing country and there is many financial needs from the people. There is currently no or not much research focusing on the Chinese perception of investment, hence we are not able to further look into the details.

Besides that financial issues, the political promises and campaigns from Kenyan politicians were not mentioned. It is not surprising as Chinese investment is known to be having ‘no political strings attached’. Within the white paper "China and Africa in the New Era: A Partnership of Equals." published by the China’s State Council Information Office. It stated:

In developing relations with Africa, there are five lines that China will not cross: no interference in African countries’ choice of a development path that fits their national conditions; no interference in African countries’ internal affairs; no imposition of its will on African countries; no attachment of political strings to assistance to Africa; and no pursuit of selfish political gains through investment and financing cooperation with Africa. (China’s State Council Information Office, 2021)

The Five-No Principles in the white paper has pinpointed China’s position in international affairs and especially the newly established China-Africa relationship. The origin of the policy can be traced back to Zhou Enlai’s Ten Principles of the Declaration on Promoting World Peace and Cooperation in the Bandung conference in 1955. Until the 1970s to 1980s, China was opposed to the Soviet Union’s Afghanistan war and the diplomatic relations with the United States, China had declared its “independent foreign policy for peace” in 1982. (Pang, 2009) Since then, the ‘non-interference policy’ has become one of the cornerstones to China’s foreign policy. Some people also see the policy as a strong opposition towards the Western development norms that usually has hard intervention in the internal politics to promote democracy. (Zheng Chen, 2016)

With the expansion of Chinese influence and the implementation of the BRI continues, it has brought Beijing’s persistence in the policy some criticism. The criticism included the ignorance of the ‘humanitarian values’ and that China should take more ‘International Responsibility’ into account when investing. (Zheng Chen, 2016) Meanwhile, the Chinese government is facing the difficulties in maintaining political independence when the loan and investment has complex political and economic terrain is a challenge. Despite the emerging challenges and the potential political pitfalls, China expressed that they will insist upon and uphold the policy of non-interference in its partnerships with African states since this sets it apart from past external actors on the continent.’ (Verhoeven, 2014) It becomes evident that the policy differentiates the ‘Chinese model of development’ to the Western model in one of the latest white papers of the Ministry of National Defense China’s National Defense in the New Era. It is said:

China is committed to developing friendly cooperation with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It respects the rights of all peoples to independently choose their own development path, and stands for the settlement of international disputes through equal dialogue, negotiation and consultation. China is opposed to interference in the internal affairs of others, abuse of the weak by the strong, and any attempt to impose one’s will on others. (China’s State Council Information Office, 2021)

China has repeatedly insisted that they are not going to abandon the principles but instead to persist them. (Pang, 2009) In the articles from Xinhua by not mentioning any logical issues, it reflects the policy and the history of the Chinese model of development from the Chinese government.

3.2.3 Daily Nation/ The East African

As the competition of geopolitical power continues in the international regimes, the competition of ideologies has been identified by Gilpin (2011) as the market state practiced by the United States, welfare state practiced by European Union, and developing state prac-

ticed by China. Africa is one of the regions where ‘these ideas undergo a fierce competition to gain attraction’. (Gilpin, 2011) However, how Africans ‘receive and reflect the battle of ideas’ have been under-studied. (Řehák, 2016: 86) Therefore, in this research it is deemed crucial to analyze the perspective from the Kenyans towards the railway. By doing so, we are able to further look into how international relationships play out in the national media. Daily Nation being one of the most circulated media in Kenya, which is the main source of daily communication for most people will allow us to see the linkages between the global and local structure.

In this research, we are also analyzing how the East African Community views the railway. The role of the East African Communities has become more and more important after the consolidation of regional forces. It is crucial to observe how the community responded to the railway. Hence, two articles will be analyzed from The East African as supplementary sources to Daily Nation. Both of the news agencies belong to NMG, based in Nairobi, Kenya, we can assume the two news agencies have the same positions but broadcasting the news respectively in a national level and a regional level.

3.2.3.1 Foci of Daily Nation

Political promises and campaigns -political oppositions

Daily Nation being a national media, it has focused on Kenya’s internal Political promises and campaigns much more than the other media. As mentioned in the Political promises and campaigns Frame, the railway is a costly infrastructure project that has the contract signed and implemented under two political parties NARC and TNA. Therefore, whether the railway has been built properly under the budget is seen as a tension between the two political parties. We can see it through the choice of words in the article: “controversy” railway, “blaming”, “opposed”, “defend” about the political hostility.

In one of the articles, the ex-minister Odinga accused the Jubilee government of ‘Swindling money’ and ‘ripping off’ money from the railway. The criticism originates from the cost of the SGR that has exceeded the original budget of the railway from Sh220 billion to Sh 327 billion, which the party Odinga belongs to NASA has signed the contract at Sh220 Billion. Words including ‘cost variation’, ‘inflated price’ are used to distinguish the price difference. However, the serving party TRA has explained the exceeded price was because of rolling stock.

By quoting the opposite party and the serving party in the articles, the Daily Nation presented both sides of the stories. It did not frame the railway as a transparent nor a corrupted project, with the intention of standing in a neutral position can be seen. It guided the audience to examine the transparency of the government and examine whether there is any government corruption behind the railway. Fulfilling the role of the media as a ‘watchdog’ that “supplies citizens information while forcing government transparency.” (Owen, 2020) In the meantime, Daily Nation has mainly quoted others in the articles to eliminate narrative with political statements that would represent Daily Nation.

Overall, the accusation and the defense has drawn the attention of the audience towards the frame of the Political promises and campaigns but also the political polarization. News is often the main channel for political communications, while media and news has often been seen as a space where political ideologies and perspectives contest. (Perloff, 2021) Politics and media are dependent on each other and inseparable at the same time. It has a crucial role of “providing citizens with the information needed to make thoughtful decisions about leadership and policy.” (Owen, 2020) However, although the media plays an important role in deciding what people think, research has shown that the reader makes decisions based on their preexisting knowledge most of the time. The

audience chooses the media or chooses the statement that reflects their own ideas. According to Klapper (1960), the media is an ‘agent of reinforcement’ that reinforces the deposition the audience had. The audience of Daily Nation would choose to believe in the narrative they had for their political belief in between ex-minister Odinga or serving president Kenyatta in this case.

Despite the political opposition, the perspectives towards the Kenyan development goal ‘Vision 2030’ is consistent between the two parties. They have both mentioned that no matter who signed the contract and who implements it, the common goal is for the benefit of Kenya and no projects should be stopped because of the political ruling parties. Quoting what President Kenyatta has said in one of the articles:

It is my strong belief that administrations come and go. Governments are permanent and so we have a responsibility as leaders and even those who come after us to follow through because all these projects are all envisioned in Vision 2030 and they belong to Kenyans. (Mutambo, 2017, Appendix 3.2)

Under this understanding, the railway is for the long-term Kenyan Development which is built to benefit the people. President Kenyatta has further called upon all Kenyans to ‘put down their political belief to celebrate’, because the railway symbolizes the “Kenya we seek and the Kenya we want our children to inherit from us and their children to inherit from them”. In contrast with the political party opposition arguments, it has urged the people to see the railway irrelevant with the politics but a railway for the future of Kenya.

The Chinese debt trap

In Daily Nation, although financial terms have been mentioned many times, whether the government is able to pay back the loan to China has been ignored. The focus is on whether there is any corruption going under the table and how the government is using the money. The Transport Principal Secretary Nduva Muli was quoted to explain the reason the Kenyan SGR is costing more than other countries with similar projects. He said:

The relatively high cost of the project, compared to other options like upgrading the existing line or the price for similar projects in other countries like Ethiopia, was due to the fact that Kenya was constructing a “viable railway transport infrastructure that will be ready for operations from the very first day.” (Leftie, 2017, Appendix 3.1)

In East African, Kenya Transport Cabinet Secretary Macharia has further announced the feasibility of the later phase from Naivasha to Kisumu. Similarly to Nduva, he has to explain why certain parts of the railway cost more than the others. He said:

The terrain in the Rift Valley is the reason it costs more from Nairobi to Kisumu (350 km) than Mombasa-Nairobi (472 km). “We have to dig tunnels and construct more bridges across the landscape. That will obviously cost more” (The East African, 2017, Appendix 4.2)

The government officials communicated the political decision with the citizens through the media outlet Daily Nation/ East African. Not only explaining how the money was spent, but also justifying that the national budget has been well-spent. Ensuring the people (here refers to Kenyan) the railway is a ‘viable’ project instead of a ‘white elephant’ project. The role of the media to share information with the citizens and ensure public transparency from the government is again seen under this frame.

The Chinese debt trap frame under the portrayals from Daily Nation and East African is an expensive project, which people (here refers to Kenyan) should oversee why and how they spend the money. On the other hand, whether the loan has exceeded the national

budget plan or if the Kenyan government is able to pay back the loan is not mentioned. The speech president Kenyatta gave during the Madaraka Day celebrations has likely explained why the debt being left out of the picture from the Kenyan/ East African perspectives. He said:

“The only time that debt is a burden to a nation is if the nation is led by a cabal of looters. But in the hands of a visionary administration, debt is a catalyst for rapid development,” (Mwangi, 2022)

While president Kenyatta or the Kenyan government believes that debt can benefit the countries’ development. Both Daily Nation/ East African have reflected the statement of not viewing the debt as a burden. Hence, The Chinese debt trap frame is portrayed in a slightly different angle than the other media outlets.

Sustainable economic development of Kenya

The Sustainable economic development of Kenya frame has been mentioned by both Daily Nation and East African. Words that were used to describe the railway included: “affordable”, “as little as Sh50”, “moved twice-fast”, “at a cheaper price”, “efficient”. Pointing to the readers the benefits of the modernized railway and the cost-effective convenience that will be brought to the people and businesses. Quoting President Kenyatta that the railway is “the start of the good tidings for the Kenyan Public transport system” and residents of the region “are set to reap the benefits of efficient transportation of the cargo”. He confidently sees the railway as the foundation of national transportation development, and a new vision to push Kenya forward.

Towards the perspectives of local training, it mentioned that the railway is driven by “China-trained” assistant locomotive drivers Alice Mugure, 27, and Concilia Owire, 23, and passengers are “served by the youth” during the ride. By which framed the railway under the framework of Sustainable economic development of Kenya- Local Training, and implying the skills transfer opportunity has been provided to the local citizens from China. The railway has brought labor opportunities to the young generation, which is deemed crucial for local development. As the decline of employment has affected the youth in Kenya (Muiya, 2014), the public has been paying attention towards this issue as well. The journalists have specifically pointed out who is driving the train and who is serving the passengers. The social relationships and existing knowledge from the journalist has reflected in the articles by including the topics that is relevant to the public. Meanwhile, it is worth noticing that both of the names mentioned are female. As train drivers have traditionally known to be a male-dominated career, it implies that China has also taken gender inclusion into consideration.

In general, the Sustainable economic development of Kenya frame under Daily Nation is portrayed in a positive tone. The railway is described as an infrastructure benefiting the local job market and providing affordable way of transportation.

East-Africa regional integration ambition

Surprisingly the Daily Nation did not mention the frame of East-Africa regional integration ambition in the articles. The focus of Daily Nation is on the direct benefits for the citizens but not how the integration of the railway throughout East Africa can benefit them. As we assume the connectivity of the railway will benefit the citizens in many aspects, it was not seen as the prioritization for Daily Nation.

In contrast to Daily Nation, the East African has focused most of the attention on the frame of East-Africa regional integration ambition. It is no surprise since the mandate of the newspaper is to give a ‘clearer and in-depth understanding of the political and

economic issues in the East African region'. (EAC, 2022) Most of the coverage from the East African is to understand the issues that will affect East Africa as a region. In the articles, it described the Kenya SGR as a 'gateway to the East and Central African region', and 'has embarked on extending the railway' which is supposedly reaching Kampala, Uganda or Kigali, Rwanda. The influence of the Kenyan SGR for the region has the main coverage.

Despite the higher proportion of coverage, one of the articles from East African further looked into the details of the implementation of the East African SGR project. It was mentioned that in order to reach the goal of building an East African railway, the countries involved requires funding from the Chinese government. The conditions of China continuing in financing the railway is that the three countries (Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda) handle the project jointly, as they believe it would 'minimize the political risks and missing links that results in the train not being able to reach the landlocked countries.' China has to ensure whether the railway is viable going into the landlocked country before they have agreed on financing. Some critics said that China is building the railway in order to receive the natural resources in the landlocked countries, including DR Congo, Sudan. (Waya, 2018) However, in this article it was portrayed that China would not like to 'fund a white elephant'. The purpose behind this is to make sure that the extension of the railway connects with the Kenyan SGR which will allow the railway to maximize its benefit. The leaders of the three above-mentioned countries have expressed their support for the proposal. Respectively mentioned that Kenya is waiting for the answer from Uganda and Rwanda before planning the remaining railway to Kisumu, Uganda is waiting for the neighboring countries for the 293 km section from Malaba to Kampala and Rwanda intends to link its SGR to the Tanzania line.

The support of the proposal can also be seen in the title of the article: China plan "raises hope" for the East African SGR project. China is depicted as a pushing force that is pushing the East African countries to realize the goal in this case. The East African Railway Master Plan was a proposal by the African leaders to rejuvenate the existing train (RVR, TRL, TAZARA) as the EAC has 'acknowledged the need to 'to rationalise rail development within the region and to harmonise road and rail transport operations along the main corridors' (EAC, 2022) It is initiated by the East African governments and has been pitched to the Chinese government. (Seleshie, 2022) In contrast to the common criticism that China is pushing unsustainable loans to Africa, East African has positioned Kenya and the East African countries in a dominant position in the relationship of Chinese investment.

However, in spite of China and East African countries having the same blueprint towards the East African railway, the East African did not portray the relationship between China and Africa/ Kenya as a friendship. The relationship is neither a 'friend' nor a 'partner', instead it is seen as an 'investor- investee' relationship or a 'donor-recipient' relationship. The East African countries that were mentioned in the articles have been waiting for China's 'approval', 'agreement' to fund the project. It is not an equal relationship even though the railway is described to benefit the country and the region. The relationship with China is closely tied with economic aspects while at the same time pointing out the imbalance in the power dynamic.

3.2.3.2 Concluding Remarks for Daily Nation:

Since Daily Nation is a national media, it has not included as many frames as the other media does. The articles tend to focus on the topics that are directly relevant to the public, which include the price of the railway, how the government spends the money and the transparency of the government. Within the timeframe of 2017-2018, we have not found a

complete coverage of the SGR even though there were approximately 250 articles that have touched upon the railway. In contrast to international news, Daily Nation has disseminated the news to the audience by instant updates which lead to a more scattered information.

During the analysis, it is noticeable that Daily Nation tend to entangle politics and the news in the texts. The back and forth accusation from the opposite party and the defense from the serving party is easily observed. Understanding it by Cushion (2015), politics in news attract the audience as the decisions made by the political actors affect most people's daily life. It is not surprised to see the news agency framing the news as what 'journalists perceive to be the largest segment of their audience' under the market model of journalism.(Hallahan, 1999) The reason of the higher proportion of politics reported in Daily Nation is mutually constructed by the audience and the journalists.

Although politics hereby mainly refer to the political opposition between the two parties, it also included when the two parties came together to work towards the goal of 'Vision 2030'. The focus turned into the long-term national goal with a positive tone that it will substantially benefit the Kenyan citizens. The future of Kenyans is seen to be more important than the political belief under the frames.

As for the East African, it focuses on how Kenyan SGR can be the main line of the East African SGR. The feasibility and financial viability of connecting the countries were the main focus instead of the other mentioned frames. Both Daily Nation and The East African used positive tones when talking about the railway. Despite the criticism within the politics, people appreciated the railway and looked forward to the new energy the railway will bring.

Chapter 4 Elaborations, Silences, Synthesis

4.1 Introduction

The analysis of each media allows us to look into how does each actor perceive or understand the relationship between Chinese investment in Africa, whether it is a positive act that supports the development of Kenya, or China's ambition that is driving Kenya into a debt trap. This section further elaborates the differences or the similarities in the discussion. The power relationship and the geo-strategic intention influences the word choices and how they are framing the incident.

4.2 Does Kenyan/ East African media sees China as an equal friendship or a threat that is expanding their geopolitical power?

To address this question, it draws back to the question of whether China is a “win-win strategic partner” or a “neocolonialism threat. This research is not going to address the question but understanding it through the frames that were posed by Daily Nation/ The East African.

Firstly, the Kenyan and the east Africans see China as an investor but not a ‘partner’ or a ‘friend’. During the inaugural ride, Xinhua mentioned the ‘national flags of China and Kenya are affixed side by side’ while the East African mentioned president Kenyatta ‘waved a giant Kenyan flag’ to set the motion of the train of SGR. The railway under the portrait of the African perspective is a project of their own but funded by China, let alone a ‘testimony to the friendship between China and Kenya’. On the other hand, as China is barely mentioned in any articles, Kenya does not tend to see the railway as an ambitious plan from China. The tone towards China is neutral without seeing it as a threat.

Another thing that was identified from the analysis is the detail of the launching day for the railway. President Kenyatta has invited many people with high political or economical status to witness the inaugural ride. Daily Nation described the people who were invited by the order of: employees from the Central Bank, National Treasury, Kenya Revenue Authority, diplomats from across Africa and the Chinese. The list continued in the next paragraph with journalists, passengers standing (hereby refer to ordinary citizens). By the order people were mentioned, Daily Nation has introduced the level of importance. The Chinese can be found to be mentioned after Kenyan officials and diplomats across Africa. It is not clear whether the Chinese are government officials, employees from CRBC or employees from the Chinese EXIM bank. The identity of the Chinese does not seem to be relevant for Daily Nation. Besides that, in contrast to having quoted the Kenya officials many times in Xinhua, Chinese were not quoted nor mentioned by Daily Nation. The presence of China has been reduced to draw away the attention from the audience. Daily Nation has limited the role of China to only economic engagement.

In general, the frame of the railway regarding the relationship with China is neither positive nor negative. The Chinese existence in both media is relatively subtle and does not see China as an equal friendship not a threat. Under the African perspective, China is associated with the economic aspect of the railway, which frames China as a beneficial investor that has contributed to the railway. This result aligns with the research from Nassanga and Makara (2016) on perceptions of Chinese presence in Africa as reflected in the African media that the perceptions fall in between the two extremes from China and

the West. And in the case of Kenyan SGR, China has not been associated with the railway under the portrayal from Daily Nation and the East African.

4.3 The Frames are not exactly polarized?

In the past, Western countries used to have the dominant influence in African countries because of colonial history. However, with the rise of the Chinese power, China's influence in Africa has increased dramatically. The competition towards the 'great power' has led the geopolitical tension in the Sino-western relationship to increase in the Global South. The initial hypothesis of this research was that very polarized media frames would be found from Chinese (Xinhua) and the Western (Financial Times) media. However, it was interesting to find out although the focus of the frame is different, the media position was not antagonistic.

To start with the western perspective, even though Financial Times views the railway as the Chinese debt trap under the China Geo-political Strategy in Africa frame, it used positive frames to describe the railway as well. Financial Times was the only media that has described the railway as a sustainable railway straightforwardly, and mentioned the acts the Chinese construction company has done to preserve the environment.

However, the framework of China Geo-political Strategy in Africa and East-Africa regional integration ambition still perceives the attitude of 'China as a threat' that the railway is going to bring China more influence in the country/ region. In sum, the railway is portrayed in a neutral to positive tone but with awareness of China's emerging power. The increased presence of Chinese engagement in the international relationships regime no longer allowed the Western country to underestimate the rise of China. Instead, they have recognized the need to learn more about the Chinese Diplomatic strategy to not be 'left behind' in the geopolitical competition.

The portrait of the 'rise of China' from the western media has been framed and reframed over the years. In the 1990s, China was often portrayed as a socialist country, a developing country and authoritarian state. People see China as an obstructive military force that victimizes the neighboring countries (Wang, 2003) Until the early 2000s when China had a drastic economic growth while hosting some mega sports event in the country, the media has shifted the focus into portraying 'China as a threat' with dominating power and wealth. (Du, 2012) As the development of the BRI progresses, more western journalists uses a mixed and varied tone to describe China and the projects developed by China. The neutral tone of describing China is how Financial Times has used to portray the Kenyan SGR as well.

Nonetheless, to note that since Financial Times was the only media that was chosen to represent the Western perspective for this research. The readership of Financial Times targets the business community whose rationality is based on profits, economic growth and expansion of trade. Hence, the neutral to positive tone of the Financial Times can also be translated into a presentation of business opportunity for future investment to the readers.

On the other hand, although it is not surprising to see Xinhua portraying the railway in a positive frame, some would say that it is "over positive" in their tone. The over positivity can be seen in many Chinese official statements, white papers, or speeches from the official, which is known to be the "positive energy" (正能量) The term "positive energy" is originated from 1980 to inspire people to work for socialism after reading the newspaper. Until now, President Xi and Vice President Wang have continued using the term as a political slogan to create 'positive propaganda' to inspire faith and affection. Some scholars have seen this as a 'self-disciplined docile' to manipulate emotion, stigmatize and set norms. (Chen and Wang, 2019) Xinhua being a Chinese media with a targeted audience in

China, intends to guide people to believe in the ideology of achieving the “China Dream” together. By doing so, the ideological discourse will lead people to trust the political diplomacy decision being made by the government. Hereby, the ‘over positive’ frame is not only used for sharing the political agenda with the world, but also as propaganda to shape people’s perception within the country (here refers to China).

Comparing the perspectives from two sides, the Financial Times used a neutral to positive tone while Xinhua used an over positive tone. Instead of polarized perceptions towards the railway, they used different frames to guide the audience to look at the railway differently.

4.4 Do the Chinese or Western ideology influence the African media?

The concern of whether Chinese or Western media has influenced the African media or interfered in how the news was broadcasted has been raised. Many African media have a close tie with the Western media because of colonial history and the impact of globalization. The western theories in news broadcasting have become the principles for the journalists which later affects the ideology on how they broadcast the news. (Daramola and Oyinate, 2015) Meanwhile, China intends to increase media presence and soft power in Africa in recent years. It was mentioned in the FOCAC Action Plans which calls for “news media to play a positive role in enhancing mutual understanding and friendship’ (FOCAC, 2006) Xinhua has later moved their overseas headquarter from Paris to Nairobi (Gagliardone et al., 2010) Some criticism said that with the increasing interference in media from China has limited the media freedom in African countries, including the Chinese Embassy specifically indicating to post content related to China positively. (Mwakideu, 2021)

In this research, we found that the railway has been portrayed as a positive infrastructure which was initiated by African leaders and funded by the Chinese under the Kenyan/ East African perspective. It is described in words ‘affordable’, ‘efficient’ and ‘connects East Africa’ in a positive tone. There is no way to directly infer how the Chinese ideology or acts affected how the news were portrayed. However, under the lens of constructivism no journalist can be entirely objective. No representation is neutral as it involves the power relationship. (Hall, 1997) Many factors including the position of the news agency, politics, education background of the journalist may influence the presentation of the news. This research argues that both western and Chinese consciously or unconsciously play a role through the “system of presentation” (Hall,1997) in the African media.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

The presence of Chinese investment in Africa is rising steadily. This has led to an increasing geo-political competition from global powers such as the US, EU, Russia and others interested in Africa. This research paper examined how the different media outlets namely; the Financial Times, Xinhua, Daily Nation and East African are shaping narratives and portraying China-Africa relations. With attention to the Kenya SGR, using the different frames, it analyzed how these media outlets framed the project under the Chinese debt trap analogy, sustainable economic development, regional economic integration and political leverage. The analysis shows how this knowledge was produced to different audiences and how it reflected the power relations among actors involved.

Through a systematic discourse analysis using the theory of Foucault, five distinctive topics used to frame the Kenyan SGR have been indicated: Chinese Debt trap, Chinese Geo-political strategy, sustainable economic development, East African economic integration ambitions and political campaigns and elections.

As we intend to understand the production of the media that nothing can be seen outside of the discourse (Foucault, 1982), the frames that were absent from certain media are seen as a conscious decision during the production process of the media. Therefore, the analysis emphasized on what each media intends to focus on, what is silenced and how it links with the official statement or the history background.

Financial Times has portrayed the Kenya SGR as a costly railway that is associated with the China geo-political strategy in Africa frame. The railway is seen as a manifestation of China's Dream in becoming the global power while implicitly doubting the ability of Kenya to pay back the loan by mentioning the financial terms repeatedly. Meanwhile, Xinhua has portrayed the railway in a very positive frame of a sustainable economic development –underlying the effort that was put into creating job opportunities, supporting the national development of Kenya and the integration of East Africa. The railway is illustrated as a project that will tremendously improve people's life. Understanding through the policy of 'no political strings attached', the Kenyan politics were silenced in the articles. Lastly, Daily Nation/ East African has correlated the internal politics with the railway by including the accusation and defense from the opposition party and the serving party. In spite of the internal politics, the railway is seen as an Efficient Railway that will substantially promote the integration of east Africa as well. The railway symbolized the progress of Kenya's national development towards the goal of 'Vision 2030'.

The frame that is recognized simultaneously by all the media is: Sustainable economic development, East Africa economic integration and to some extent the China debt trap.

On a positive side, the Kenya SGR is seen as the first step of rejuvenating the East African railway. Therefore, the efficiency and the goal of integrating the region is appreciated by all. At the same time, China has fulfilled the promise during FOCAC in pursuing a "human-centric" development by training more locals. The three frequently used frames allow us to understand that the railway is portrayed positively in general. It is evident that the focus of the railway development is economically centric while on the other hand, important aspect such as the environmental came second.

After all, to address the sub question of how framing the same event differently or similarly by the selected media outlets contributes to the discursive (re)production of the power relations between China, Africa and the West? We can understand through the power dynamic behind the railway. Financial Times sees China as an emerging power that has been gaining more geopolitical power in Africa, but no longer depicts it as an enemy or

a threat. China is framed as a 'great global responsible actor' in the development structure. Meanwhile the China-Africa relationship sees China as the investor or the donor under the African perspective. In this research, Kenya has portrayed China as a positive actor in the economic aspect and the East African plays a dominant role in the relationship by pitching the idea of the East Africa SGR to China. Withal, Kenya did not see China as a 'friend' or a 'partner'. Although China intends to frame it as an Equal Relationship, it is yet to be seen since China is the country that has more decision-making power. The power relationship has resulted in how the railway was illustrated, but at the same time the railway has reproduced the power relationship. The news and the railway are mutually constructing each other.

Many researchers have demonstrated that media has a huge influence on the foreign policy behavior of a country as international relations is influenced by how relationships between countries are perceived. (Schramm, 1964) The Kenyan SGR symbolized how the relationship of Chinese Investment in Africa has been perceived by the three perspectives. By analyzing the text, what is said directly and what is not said directly has both been shaped and continues reshaping the power relationship.

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Appendix

Appendix 1.1 Financial Times- Kenya's \$4bn railway gains traction from Chinese policy ambitions

Finance and expertise from Beijing are crucial to Kenyatta's infrastructure spree

David Pilling in Makindu and Emily Feng in Beijing APRIL 4 2017

A few miles outside the town of Makindu on the Nairobi-Mombasa road sits a heavily guarded compound. Only the sign outside, in red Chinese lettering, indicates that this is the project site for "section 9" of a new \$4bn Chinese-built railway that will run 300 miles between the Kenyan capital and the Indian Ocean port.

The railway is the centrepiece of an infrastructure splurge by President Uhuru Kenyatta, who faces re-election this year and whose Kenyan government has invested heavily in roads, pipelines, oil development and geothermal power.

It is also one of China's most important investments in east Africa and follows the opening in January of a \$4.2bn, 470-mile line from Djibouti to Addis Ababa, the capital of landlocked Ethiopia, replacing the 100-year-old French-built railway. And contrary to some critics, who have voiced concerns at China's growing presence in Africa, residents of Makindu are upbeat on the biggest infrastructure project in Kenya since independence 54 years ago.

"It's very smart," says Elizabeth Wanjiru Ngima, a housewife, referring to the elevated line and towering new station just outside town. "It's very quick, very quiet and when you are on it you [will] feel like you are in heaven," she adds, conceding that she has not yet ridden on the new train, which will be commissioned in June.

Other residents of Makindu, including the barber, counter a common complaint in Africa that Chinese do not hire local people, saying the construction company employs Kenyan labourers, guards and chefs.

In the past 10 years, China has gone from having little presence in Kenya to becoming one of its most important trading and investment partners. Thanks to shipments of rolling stock and other equipment, Kenya's imports from China ballooned to nearly \$5bn in 2016 — a threefold increase from 2010 — against \$780m from the US.

Kenya is on the outer reaches of China's One Belt One Road project, through which Beijing intends to invest almost \$1tn in infrastructure on the old Silk Road and as far as Africa's east coast, in a push to improve trade links, win political influence and deploy the excess capacity of its steel and construction industries.

The Nairobi-Mombasa railway is the first leg of a line intended to go all the way to Kampala in Uganda and, eventually, to Rwanda, knitting together swaths of the east African Community's emerging trade bloc. It will replace the near-defunct British railway — dubbed the "Lunatic Line" because of the cost in lives and money it took to build — constructed in the late 19th century.

"The entire Africa continent can be connected by Chinese rail, so this Kenya rail is a kind of prototype for all future projects," says Wang Dehua, a professor at Shanghai Institute for International Studies. "It is a big strategic move for our country."

China is providing Kenya with financing for roughly 90 per cent of the Nairobi-Mombasa project. The railway is being built by state-owned China Road and Bridge Corporation, which will operate it for the first five years, and financed by China's Eximbank. Of \$3.6bn in financing, \$2bn is a 15-year loan at Libor plus 360 basis points. The remaining \$1.6bn is

on concessional terms of 2 per cent interest, repayable over 20 years, according to the China-Africa Research Initiative at Johns Hopkins University.

The loans, which have pushed Kenya's debt above 50 per cent of output, have raised concern that Mr Kenyatta's government might be building a white elephant. Critics say the railway will cost significantly more per mile than equivalent projects in Ethiopia and Morocco, raising suspicion that much has been creamed off by unscrupulous politicians.

Kwame Owino, executive director of the Institute of Economic Affairs, complains over the lack of transparency of a project he says was negotiated in secret.

"It's clear that Kenya got the short end of the stick," he says. "This is a very expensive piece of infrastructure whose specifications have been overstated."

Mr Owino adds that the advertised improvement in speed — just four hours from coast to capital, compared with double that by truck — is not important when it comes to cargo. "The economic benefits for Kenya are exaggerated."

China has not been exactly open about the railway. At Makindu, the Financial Times was politely referred to the Chinese embassy in Nairobi, which refused a request for an interview. Still, China Road and Bridge has sought to head off criticism by employing nearly 20,000 local workers. It has also made concessions to environmentalists by building underpasses for wildlife to cross the section of railway that passes through Tsavo National Park.

Aly-Khan Satchu, a Nairobi-based investment consultant, reckons the economic benefits could be higher than sceptics think if the rail makes Kenya a more efficient transport conduit for east African trade.

China, not always known for its soft-power skills, may even be learning a few tricks, he says, for example by training Kenyan women to be train drivers.

Whatever the criticisms about China's investment drive in other parts of Africa, they are not evident on the streets of Nairobi.

"We heard that the British gave billions of shillings to build roads but they never got built," says Lillian Wamuyu, who helps run slum schools in the capital. "But if you see two Chinese working, you know that road will be done in two months."

Appendix 1.2 Financial Times- Kenyan railway highlights sharper focus on affordability

President Xi's words reflect an awareness in Beijing that its tactics are under scrutiny (John Aglionby SEPTEMBER 25 2018)

The Chinese-funded railway from the Kenyan port city of Mombasa to the Ugandan border — and, it is hoped, eventually to Uganda's capital, Kampala — encapsulates the evolution of Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative in Africa.

The \$3.2bn first segment, stretching 475km from Mombasa to the capital Nairobi, [was opened](#) with fanfare 16 months ago, despite widespread criticism over the opacity of the financing terms. Within weeks of the first trains running, work had begun on the second, \$1.5bn, 120km section from Nairobi to Naivasha in the heart of the Great Rift Valley. This time there was much greater scrutiny of the financing, with a target completion date of June 2019.

The Kenyan government expected to sign a deal for China to finance the third stage, from Naivasha to Kisumu, on the banks of Lake Victoria, at this month's triennial [China-Africa summit](#) in Beijing. But China balked at agreeing to pay half the estimated [\\$3.8bn cost](#). Kenyan infrastructure minister James Macharia said a more detailed feasibility study was requested by Beijing "to establish the commercial viability".

Beijing's reticence was arguably the first manifestation of what China's president, Xi Jinping, was talking about when he told a business forum at the summit that China would adopt a more focused approach to investing in and lending to African countries. "China's co-operation with Africa is clearly targeted at the major bottlenecks to development," Mr Xi said. "Resources for our co- operation are not to be spent on any vanity projects but in places where they count the most."

Analysts say the changing approach is partly driven by concerns over rising indebtedness of governments in sub-Saharan Africa, and accusations, denied by Beijing, that China is driving African countries into debt traps to seize assets — as in [Sri Lanka](#).

China lent about \$125bn to the continent from 2000 to 2016, data from the China-Africa Research Initiative at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies shows.

"This phase of the BRI is about maturing the relationship with African countries and that does mean prioritising," says Edward George, head of research at Ecobank, a pan-African bank. "It doesn't mean no more money. It means we want to remain on good terms with you but we can't lend you more in these circumstances."

But, as Mr George says, plenty of money is still flowing — or at least being promised. And much of it is being packaged as BRI-related. Mr Xi pledged \$60bn in investment, loans and grants for Africa at the summit, the same as at the previous gathering in 2015.

There are also domestic considerations for Mr Xi, says Deborah Brautigam, professor of international political economy at Johns Hopkins University. She says while Chinese loans for African governments and projects are "scaling way back", business-to-business links are becoming stronger, particularly in the construction sector, where 32 per cent of overseas revenues for Chinese companies came from Africa. "I've seen Chinese companies lobbying hard for the inclusion of African projects in the BRI," she said. "It's important for them in light of the overcapacity in the construction sector in China."

China is now, by far, the largest trade partner of sub-Saharan Africa: foreign direct investment inflows in 2017 were double those from any of the next biggest countries — the US, Saudi Arabia and the UK — according to data compiled by London-based Capital Economics. And more African leaders attended the China forum than the last African Union summit.

For China, however, BRI projects are about more than money, Prof Brautigam says. “They have diplomatic-political as well as business components.”

This was made plain on Mr Xi’s trip to Africa in July. The countries he visited included Rwanda and Senegal, neither of which were in the BRI at birth. The multi-pronged approach was also in evidence this month when China extended from 10 to 30 years Ethiopia’s repayments on some loans for a \$4bn railway.

The BRI in Africa is just the latest manifestation of a decades-old policy, according to Prof Brautigam. “It’s China going global,” she says. “It’s about pushing globalisation with Chinese characteristics. The Chinese will continue to do things like this. Xi is just very clever at packaging.”

Appendix 2.1 Xinhua- Kenyan officials praise China's construction of Mombasa-Nairobi railway

Xinhua News Agency, Nairobi, May 30 (Reporter Zhu Shaobin)

As the Mombasa-Nairobi railway connecting Kenya's port city Mombasa and the capital city Nairobi is about to officially open to traffic on the 31st, Kenyan officials have praised the Mombasa-Nairobi railway, saying that the Mombasa-Nairobi railway will bring new energy into Kenya's economic and social development.

The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway was constructed by China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC), with a total length of 480 kilometers. The night before the opening, Kenyan Minister of Transport and Infrastructure James Macharia said to the reporters in an interview that after the completion and opening of the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway, the freight transportation time is expected to be shortened from two days by traditional cargo transport to 8 hours. This means a reduction in operating costs for companies. In addition to freight services, the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway will also operate passenger trains, bringing new choices and experiences for locals to travel.

Macharia mentioned that Mombasa Port will also benefit from the completion of the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway since it is the largest port in East Africa. As large numbers of containers being delivered efficiently from the port, it not only supports the expansion of Mombasa port in the future, but also further consolidates its position as a regional logistics distribution center.

Macharia also mentioned that Kenya sees the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway as a “catalyst” to promote the integration process of East Africa. Through good cooperation with Chinese companies, Kenya has taken the lead in railway construction in the region. Other countries in East Africa, such as Uganda, Rwanda and South Sudan, are taking Kenya's railway construction experience as a benchmark for railway planning and construction.

Kenyan officials highly appreciate the contribution of the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway to local industry development and local talents training. Paul Maringa Mwangi, Permanent Secretary of the Kenyan Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure said that during the construction of the Mombasa-Nairobi railway project, more than 934 local cement and timber manufacturers and equipment suppliers have mentioned that the construction of the Mombasa-Nairobi railway has driven them to the increase in sales volume. More than 300 subcontractors have participated in the construction of the project. All these fully demonstrated that the project has made great contributions to promoting local economic development.

Richard Bellio Kipsang, Permanent Secretary of the Kenyan Ministry of Education, said that China Road and Bridge Corporation has always persisted in the human-centric approach in the implementation of the project. It has improved the skills of local laborers through mentoring and trainings, providing local students with a lot of opportunities to practice, which effectively enhance their employment competitiveness.

Appendix 2.2 Xinhua- The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway in the eyes of Kenyans

Xinhua Kenya Mombasa 11th June (Xinhua reporter Wang Xiaopeng, Li Baishun)

"Look, we've caught up with the 'meter-gauge' train!" Richard, a Kenyan who runs a computer parts business, pointed out the window excitedly.

About 100 kilometers away from the Nairobi departure station of the Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway (Momba-Nairobi Railway), this modern "Made in China" train met the "meter-gauge" railway that was built more than 100 years ago unexpectedly.

Both trains were heading towards Mombasa, and the distance between them was less than 100 meters. This is a competition without suspense. The Mombasa-Nairobi train, which is pulled by an orange and white locomotive with a speed of about 120 kilometers per hour, leaves the "meter-gauge" train far behind in the blink of an eye and continues to gallop on the endless prairie.

Kenya's first railway "meter gauge" railway was built by British colonists more than 100 years ago. Due to aging facilities and lack of maintenance, trains currently travel at less than 40 kilometers per hour. Because of the time-consuming process, many people choose to travel between Kenya's two major cities by car or expensive flight, and most of Kenya's cargo transportation has no choice but to move to the road.

The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway, which has just opened to traffic, has brought new choices for people to travel. On June 1, the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway started passenger service, running a pair of trains between Mombasa and Nairobi every day, with a capacity of 1,370 people per train.

Richard spoke highly of the first train journey on the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway. He told the reporters: "Compared to taking a car for more than ten hours, the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway train, which takes less than five hours, is really comfortable. Compared to the pricey flights, the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway, which costs less than half of the fare, is safer, and much cheaper."

"More importantly, the scenery outside the window of this train journey is so beautiful!" During the whole journey, Richard kept taking pictures with his two mobile phones, as if he wanted to record all the scenery outside the window.

Hana, a passenger in the same carriage with Richard, is 100 years old. Accompanied by her granddaughter and others, she took the Mombasa-Nairobi railway train for the first time and planned to hold a family gathering at the seaside resort in Mombasa.

Wearing a beige sun hat and a black and white coat, Hana sat serenely by the car window, kept looking out of the window from time to time.

As an elder who is almost the same age as the "meter-gauge" railway, Hana has taken the lengthy "meter-gauge" railway train, as well as cars and planes. She told reporters that she likes the train she is on now because it is safe, comfortable and beautiful.

The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway runs from Mombasa, the Kenyan seaport city in the east, to Nairobi, the capital, in the west, and runs through 8 counties in Kenya. As the first section of the East African railway network, it will drive straight into the inland of Africa and become an important transportation hub connecting the coast and the interior. The scenery along the railway is quite good, and some sections pass through the Tsavo National Park in Kenya.

"There's a herd of elephants there!" Someone in the carriage shouted loudly. When passing through Tsavo National Park, the reporter saw a group of elephants playing under the acacia trees on the grassland not far away.

When the train approached the Mombasa terminal, fields and hills are stretched out outside the window. It is a romantic East African coast view of small houses being covered by tall and dense coconut trees on a gentle slope.

When leaving the station, Cynthira, who took her three children to Mombasa for vacation, told the reporters that the tickets she bought to experience the Mombasa-Nairobi train really worth the money.

The Mombasa-Nairobi Railway has been operating for more than a week, and tickets are becoming more and more popular. According to the data released by the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway Operating Company on the 8th, the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway sold a total of nearly 14,000 tickets from June 1st to 7th, about 12,000 people experienced the "Speed of China", and about 2,000 tickets were collected as souvenirs by railway builders, overseas Chinese and Kenyans.

According to market demand, the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway Operating Company plans to increase two passenger trains every day from 1st July. By then, passengers will be able to travel between Nairobi and Mombasa on the same day through this railway.

Many passengers have noticed that the national flags of China and Kenya are affixed side by side in the carriages of the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway. David, a Kenyan civil servant sitting next to the reporter who had worked in Beijing for more than four years, pointed to the national flags of the two countries and said that this is a testimony to the friendship between China and Kenya.

Appendix 3.1 Daily Nation- Cost of railway queried even as leaders appreciate stride

Wednesday, May 31, 2017 — updated on June 28, 2020

Controversy over the cost of the standard gauge railway (SGR) has haunted the project since its inception.

Critics of the project have repeatedly questioned the cost variation of the Mombasa – Nairobi section from the initial Sh220 billion to Sh327 billion terming it an outright rip-off by the Jubilee government.

On Wednesday, the National Super Alliance (Nasa) presidential candidate Raila Odinga revisited the controversy, questioning why the cost of the project was inflated by over Sh100 billion.

“We have never opposed standard gauge railway. The standard gauge railway you know is a Grand Coalition project, how can I oppose it? We conceived it as part of Vision 2030 project, it was designed in our time and tendered also in our time. It is only that it has been completed by the Jubilee government,” he said.

EXAGGERATED COST

Mr Odinga maintained that the opposition’s only concern was the exaggerated cost of the project which he blamed on the Jubilee government.

“We negotiated and awarded the tender at Sh227 billion when we were leaving office. What Jubilee only did was to retender the contract to the same contractor but at an inflated price of Sh350 billion. So it is just the cost of it that we have a problem with,” said Mr Odinga.

Mr Odinga criticised the move to bar Mombasa Governor from the “flagging off of the passenger train at the Miritini terminus on Wednesday, terming it wrong.

Mr Joho was blocked from attending the event by security officers after it emerged that he intended to question the variation of the project cost.

“The project was to cost not more than Sh200 billion but the Jubilee government is telling us it has cost more than Sh300 billion. We deserve answers before the launch,” Mr Joho had said in Siaya town when he accompanied Senator James Orengo to present his nomination papers on Monday.

SWINDLING MONEY

“If they think they are going to get away with the SGR, the same way they got away with NYS after swindling our money, they are daydreaming,” he had warned.

Allegations of variations in the project cost first emerged in a report by the Parliamentary Budget Office, which questioned the increase.

The government however defended the extra cost, explaining that the Sh220 billion only catered for civil works with the balance taking care of rolling stock.

But the Budget Office questioned the rationale behind the variation especially for a line that was meant to operate on “open access” terms, meaning private businesses would be allowed to buy rolling stock and locomotives and run freight business on the SGR on commercial terms.

CONTRACTS SIGNED

“There was no variation. There were two contracts signed by Kenya Railways and the contractor. This is what most of the critics have refused to appreciate. There was a contract for the civil works, estimated at Sh220 billion and one for the provision of rolling stock,” argued then Transport Principal Secretary Nduva Muli.

He said the relatively high cost of the project, compared to other options like upgrading the existing line or the price for similar projects in other countries like Ethiopia, was due to the fact that Kenya was constructing a “viable railway transport infrastructure that will be ready for operations from the very first day.”

Appendix 3.2 Daily Nation- President Uhuru Kenyatta joins hundreds in train ride

Wednesday, May 31, 2017 — updated on June 28, 2020

President Uhuru Kenyatta on Wednesday joined more than a thousand Kenyans and diplomats in an inaugural ride on the brand new passenger train from Mombasa to Nairobi. The journey aboard the Madaraka Express, travelling on the standard gauge railway, saw close to 1,300 people travel to Nairobi from Coast for free.

They were also treated to free food and drinks. The number of passengers exceeded the 1,200 limit but President Kenyatta told reporters aboard one of the coaches that the trip signalled the start of good tidings for the Kenyan public transport system.

“I feel glad. It is wonderful and a new experience that we will be bringing to all Kenyans at an affordable price,” he said, adding: “This is a true beginning of our transformation and ultimately Kenyans from all corners will begin to see the benefits, not just from this rail but the ancillary activities that will begin to develop as a result of us developing this line and its continuation to Kisumu.”

CHARGED SH700

The President rode with his deputy William Ruto, Cabinet secretaries, senior government officials, diplomats and Chinese officials.

During several stop-overs, the President said travellers will be charged Sh700 on the economy class between Nairobi and Mombasa and as little as Sh50 for a ride between Mombasa and Mariakani. Tickets can be bought at any train station.

The train, driven by China-trained assistant locomotive drivers Alice Mugure, 27, and Conclia Owire, 23, had 16 coaches, 15 of which were filled to capacity.

Escorted by police and military choppers, the train carried many government heads of department and parastatal chiefs, including those who have since resigned to run for political office. It also had politicians and elected leaders.

DIPLOMATS

One coach was filled with employees from the Central Bank, National Treasury and the Kenya Revenue Authority while another had diplomats from across Africa invited to witness what President Kenyatta termed a reopening of the hinterland. Another carried the Chinese.

Journalists, ordinary Kenyans and chiefs clad in their uniforms occupied other coaches as the train began its first journey.

Some of the passengers had to stand for most of the journey as others were left behind when they disembarked with the President during the many stopovers.

As the train snaked through the dry lands of Makueni, King Ramadhan Divayu Babisan from Tana River sat near the window, enjoying the view of wild animals grazing on the roadside.

ENJOYABLE TRIP

“The trip has been enjoyable and it has given me a new experience I never imagined,” said the leader of one of the smallest communities — the Wailwana from Bura, Tana River.

“We just need to focus on the scourge of corruption, which may threaten this service as it has done to other projects before,” he added.

His local chief, he explained, selected him to enjoy the ride because he is a community leader who sometimes teaches the public about civil rights and duties.

Mr Martin Owino, of Mt Kenya University, who said he was selected for the trip because he is a student leader, described his experience: “It has been a great feeling. I am happy, especially today, because the ride has been smooth and we were served by the youth. I feel it is a good opportunity for them and this is what we need to focus on.”

In his briefing to journalists, the President said he hoped there will be a continuity of infrastructure projects regardless of who wins the August 8 elections.

He said all projects under Vision 2030 must be completed regardless of changes in government.

LOAN FROM CHINA

“It is my strong belief that administrations come and go. Governments are permanent and so we have a responsibility as leaders and even those who come after us to follow through because all these projects are all envisioned in Vision 2030 and they belong to Kenyans,” he said.

The railway is the product of a loan worth Sh327 billion from China. It had been conceived during the Grand Coalition Government of Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga.

The President said his administration was following through a vision established years ago when he was not in power “When we took over in 2013, there are no projects that we stopped. We actually focused ourselves on finishing those that had been initiated or were in various stages of completion by the previous administration,” he said.

“We only started our programmes once we had completed old ones. That is why we are now at the tail-end. We actually delayed some of the projects we had wanted to start to complete the pending ones.”

The passenger and cargo trains will now continue on test runs until December when they will be fully operational.

The President said the railway’s related facilities such as special economic zones in Naivasha, an industrial zone in Voi, an expanded railway to Kisumu and an expanded port, were in the pipeline.

Appendix 4.1 The East African- Kenya standard gauge railway rolls out services

Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta flags off a cargo wagon during the launch of standard gauge railway (SGR) operations at the port city of Mombasa on May 30, 2017.
CHARLES KIMANI | PSCU

The Kenya Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) rolled out its cargo services at a ceremony at the port of Mombasa Tuesday evening.

The SGR replaces the more than a century-old colonial railway line, and heralds a new dawn for Kenya, the gateway to the East and Central African region.

With the unveiling of the new railway's cargo operations, Kenyans and the more than the 300 million residents of the region are set to reap the benefits of efficient transportation of cargo.

President Uhuru Kenyatta waved a giant Kenyan flag to set in motion the inaugural cargo train of the SGR shortly after 6pm (+3GMT), at Port Reitz, marking a new era where cargo will be moved twice as fast and at a cheaper price.

The ceremony was witnessed by Kenyans and representatives from across the world.

The Kenya government has already embarked on extending the SGR to eventually reach Kampala and Kigali in Uganda and Rwanda respectively.

President Kenyatta, who was flanked by Deputy President William Ruto and First Lady Margaret Kenyatta, said every Kenyan should be proud of the SGR.

"I call upon all Kenyans whatever their political beliefs to celebrate, today (Tuesday) we should be together holding hands in celebrations," said the president moments after the cargo train pulled alongside his Dias waiting for the flag off.

"This is the Kenya we seek and this is the Kenya we want our children to inherit from us and their children to inherit from them," said President Kenyatta.

Appendix 4.2 The East African- China plan raises hope for East African SGR project

China has said it is ready to finance the construction of the standard gauge railway from Kisumu in Kenya to Uganda and Rwanda as long as the three countries agree to handle the project jointly. PHOTO | NMG

Summary

- China ready to fund SGR from Kisumu in Kenya to Uganda and Rwanda as long as the three countries agree to handle the project jointly.
- Uganda Finance Minister Matia Kasajja said the China Export-Import Bank was only willing to fund the project if it was linked to the Kenya line at Malaba.
- A Uganda government report released in April concluded that the Kenya SGR had the most potential to spur growth in the landlocked country.

China has said it is ready to finance the construction of the standard gauge railway from Kisumu in Kenya to Uganda and Rwanda as long as the three countries agree to handle the project jointly.

According to Beijing, such an agreement among the three countries would minimise political risks and plug missing links.

There have been fears that the viability of the SGR within Kenya and beyond could be undermined by failing to link landlocked countries to the Mombasa port because of financial or other considerations.

Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang told Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta at the China Africa Summit in Beijing two weeks ago to discuss the extension of the railway line from Kisumu to Kampala and then Kigali with Presidents Yoweri Museveni and Paul Kagame.

Kenya State House spokesman Manoh Esipisu said Mr Li was clear that China would fund those sections as a regional project.

“The president already spoke with the leaders of Uganda and Rwanda on the possibility of sending a joint team to negotiate for financing of the remaining portion,” said Mr Esipisu. He said Kenya was now waiting for Kampala and Kigali’s response before planning an SGR beyond Kisumu.

“The viability of the (Nairobi to Kisumu) the line is okay. One feature of the SGR investment to Kisumu is the building of a modern port there. Kisumu to Malaba is viable with Uganda and Rwanda on board,” Mr Esipisu said.

Difficult terrain

On May 31, President Uhuru Kenyatta launched the operations of the first phase of the railway from Mombasa to Nairobi that cost \$3.27 billion. He also announced a feasibility study for Phase 2B of the 350km line from Naivasha to Kisumu, for which China has committed a \$3.6 billion loan. China is also funding the section from Nairobi to Naivasha at \$1.5 billion.

Kenya Transport Cabinet Secretary James Macharia said the terrain in the Rift Valley is the reason it costs more from Nairobi to Kisumu (350km) than Mombasa-Nairobi (472km).

“We have to dig tunnels and construct more bridges across the landscape. That will obviously cost more,” he said in a briefing to journalists.

Sources said a joint project was appealing to the three countries. Uganda has been negotiating a \$2.9 billion loan deal for the 293km section from Malaba to Kampala.

“We have to wait for our neighbours to decide on the plans for the last phase of this project before we can get the funds. China really doesn’t want to fund a white elephant project,” Uganda Finance Minister Matia Kasaija said in an interview with *Bloomberg*.

He said the China Export-Import Bank was only willing to fund the project if it was linked to the Kenya line at Malaba.

A Uganda government report released in April concluded that the Kenya SGR had the most potential to spur growth in the landlocked country. It said an SGR linked to Mombasa was shorter and more dependable because of the ongoing expansion of the Kenya port. Rwanda said last year it would link its SGR to the one proposed in Tanzania.

Port Bell harbour

Uganda was said to have been actively considering the Tanzania route as well having already secured funding for the construction of Port Bell harbour. This would see it build its railway track to the shores of Lake Victoria, where it will feed into a new port harbour that will then connect with the Tanzania line.

The line would connect Uganda via Port Bell all through to Tanzania’s Southern Corridor through the Musoma Port on Lake Victoria to Tanga Port at the Indian Ocean, and the Central Corridor via Mwanza/Bukoba ports on Lake Victoria to Dar es Salaam Port.

However, the Uganda government report shows that having the goods reshipped from the Tanzania SGR rails through the lake would be costlier and not viable economically.

“For the Malaba-Kampala SGR, up to 40 trains can be operated in a day, transporting 8,460 containers. If such amount of cargo was going to be transported on the lake, assuming that five wagon ferries are purchased, we would require 40 days to evacuate the cargo of one train. This means that the route may not be viable. This coupled with the fact that oil products cannot be transported on fresh water render the Dar es Salaam-Mwanza-Kampala route a minor alternative to the Mombasa-Kampala route,” the report reads in part.

In a bid to attract transporters to the new railway, Kenya has already directed that a third of the cargo to be moved on the SGR up from the current three per cent.

Kenya Railway Corporation has also lowered its price from \$0.24 per tonne per kilometre to \$0.08. President Kenyatta, however, said Kenya will have to construct more linkages to the main line to realise its maximum potential.

“We haven’t set any targets because we still have to move towards the industrial parks in Voi, Athi River, Naivasha and Kisumu. These are what will determine the volume of exports as we move down the path to industrialisation,” he said.