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# Africa e Mediterraneo

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*I social media:*  
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# Migrants' Voices: Resisting and Rejecting the Mainstream Discourse on Migration

by Marcella Pasotti, Andreas Damgaard Sørensen

*Africa is not a country*  
dalla  
campagna  
online "The  
real Africa:  
fight the  
stereotype"  
a cura di  
African  
Students'  
Association,  
2013



"As the West flounders, there is a real sense that we have some leverage. The truth is, we will never look like what CNN wants us to look like. But that's fine - we can get online now and completely bypass their nonsense."  
Binyavanga Wainaina (2012)<sup>1</sup>

**M**edia and mainstream perceptions tend to depict apocalyptic scenarios and employ sensationalist language when they talk about African migration to the West. The alarmist tones used suggest that "waves" of desperate African people are fleeing from poverty or war-torn countries and currently "invading" the West in search of a brighter future in the Western El-Dorado. (Solano 2011; de Hass 2008). Such views suggest and sustain the idea that «there is something inherently dangerous about being a migrant» (Augustin 2003, p. 30). At best, migrants are portrayed as passive victims of ruthless traffickers or of structural conditions, a view often combined with ste-

reotypical perceptions about Africa and Africans. This way of conceptualising migrants is highly problematic and leaves a number of vital considerations out particularly concerning who created the stereotypes. The deeper flaws and their ensuing consequences are discussed in detail elsewhere in this issue of *Africa e Mediterraneo*, thus we shall not linger on the subject. In this paper, we will provide a brief overview of some of the key representations stemming from such a conceptualisation. However, we focus primarily on how African migrants living in the West perceive and potentially reject and resist these representations through different modes of expression using alternative media. These observations have led to the following research question and sub questions:  
Research question: How are African migrants living in the west using alternative media to resist the mainstream discourse surrounding migration?  
Sub question 1: How are African migrants living in the West represented in mainstream media?  
Sub question 2: How do African migrants' living in the

West perceive these representations?  
 Sub question 3: How do alternative media provide African migrants living in the West with modes of expression?  
 To answer these questions we first break down the concepts and provide working definitions as some of these concepts are complex and contested. We then briefly explain our methodology before we move into our empirics. We analyse the empirics in the context of our research question and sub questions followed by a conclusion.

### Theory and Concepts. Representations, Rejection and Resistance

In order to determine if and how African migrants living in the West (AMLW) reject and/or resist mainstream media representations, it is necessary to outline exactly what it is meant by these three concepts.

#### REPRESENTATIONS

There is nothing inherently wrong with representations as a concept, in fact it is unavoidable. Human beings are complex and the social, religious, ethnic etc. associations people choose to group in are even more complex (Ziai, 2004). The issue in this case is therefore not that a certain group is represented in parsimonious terms, but rather that this group has had no input or influence in the creation of these highly flawed representations. This is further complicated as the representations concerning AMLW has a negative effect on how society perceives them as a group. As such, when this paper refers to representations, we specifically refer to the deeply flawed idea of AMLW as a demographic group primarily consisting of refugees or victims and the negative perception toward this group from Western society.

#### REJECTION

Rejection is understood in the context of our understanding of representations concerning AMLW. Rejection is thus a refusal to accept the dominating narrative based on the representations that surrounds AMLW (Narayan, 2009). What is vital to note here is that due to the power of the mainstream discourse on the representations we only categorise rejections if they manifest themselves in an external fashion. Someone may reject the mainstream representations internally and think "this is not me", but we do not consider this rejection as it focuses on the individual's internal relation to the overall group representation. In this paper, rejection requires an act displaying a rejection of the dominating narrative. As has been implied, rejection also means displaying an understanding of the dominating narrative. Without display of such an understanding, this paper will not treat expression as rejection. The reason for this is that rejection is understood as a reaction, but not necessarily an action. It can be both, but we expand on this below.



#### RESISTANCE

Like rejection, this paper conceptualises resistance as a refusal to accept the dominating narrative stemming from representations. However, unlike rejection this paper categorises resistance as people who actively attempt to challenge and change the dominating narrative (Honwana 2002). This means that resistance goes beyond rejecting the representations on a personal level. Rather resistance focuses on how the representations are wrong not just describing individuals, but in their overall conception. Moreover, resistance means to, or attempt to, provide a counter narrative. What this specifically means is that resistance is an attempt to challenge and change the basic "truths" on which the representations and narrative is built. This is by no means an easy task, and we do not consider or try and determine levels on success in this endeavour. Rather this paper focuses on if this is happening and the tools used to combat the narrative stronghold that takes the form of mainstream media.

#### ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

Alternative media is an umbrella term used to describe a wide range of media practices aimed at challenging the mainstream discourse by making visible alternative points of view (Mattoni et al 2010). The diverse alternative media experiences have one common point: they do not conform, by their production, content and dif-



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fusion, to mainstream government-sponsored and/or corporate media (Ibid.) By mainstream media, we refer to a «system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace» whose function is «to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society» (Herman, Chomsky 1988, p. 1).

For the scope of this article we will employ the broad term “alternative media” as defined by Downing (2001) who, drawing from a Gramscian perspective, defines alternative media as «a way to categorise attempts to challenge the dominant ideological frameworks and to supplant them with a radical alternative vision» whose role should be «to disrupt the silence, to counter the lies, to provide truth» (Downing 2001, p. 15).

In order to understand why migrants would employ alternative media to express themselves we refer to the framework proposed by Herman and Chomsky called “the propaganda model” (1988). Based on the analysis of the US media at the end of the 1980s, the propaganda model suggests that mainstream media, as elite institutions serving the interests of large corporations and the government, function as a mean of “manufacturing consent” in the public by filtering out information and allowing debates only within the parameters of the elites’ perspective (Ibid.) Such propaganda system is so pervasive inasmuch even people working in mainstream media manage to convince themselves that they report information in an objective and professional way, as the idea of alternative sources or interpretations is hardly imaginable (2) Thus, according to the authors, only what falls into the domain of the elite’s

interest and what serves to reinforce the mainstream discourse will be covered in the mainstream media.

#### Methodology

As has been rather clear to this point, but not explicitly mentioned, we rely on discourse analysis in our understanding of representations, rejection and resistance and this will continue to be the case in our empirics and our analysis. However, we conceptualise of discourse as being dominant rather than being hegemonic. This allows us to recognise competing discourses thereby opening up for more diverse analysis. The difference between hegemony and dominance is that a dominant discourse can analytically acknowledge the existence of counter-discourses while maintaining a favourable power-position (Pieterse, 2001). This creates a dynamic which is not present if a discourse is considered hegemonic. In relation to AMLW, it is however discourse with a very clear set of representations and narrative scope which dominates the mainstream media and public thinking. However, our focus remains on the representations, rejections and resistance and in the analysis we will show how AMLW manoeuvre between the three. Moreover, our conceptualisation of a dominant discourse affects our sampling method. In choosing the rejection and

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resistance examples they were required to occupy a place in the mainstream discourse insofar as their rejection or resistance transcend academic knowledge and are known in the public domain. For this reason, we have focussed on high profile examples which also exhibit an understanding of the mainstream discourse they reject and/or resist. Therefore, we sampled such relatively high profile examples which are in most cases produced by AMLW who are considered successful in their host countries.

## Empirics

### REPRESENTATIONS

Overcrowded boats about to capsize in the Mediterranean sea, hordes of Africans attempting to trespass European borders illegally, needy people, desperately fleeing from war and poverty waiting to be rescued: these are only some of the iconic images often used by mainstream Western media to portray migration.

As this topic is covered extensively elsewhere in this issue, we here focus on the effects of these representations. One such case was in November 2014 in Rome, where tensions exploded between the residents of the Tor Sapienza neighbourhood and the migrants hosted in the local shelter for refugees. The residents attacked the building to protest against the migrants' presence and the local administration had to move the guests to a safer place.<sup>2</sup> Another example was the case in Naples, when last November a Senegalese man, who had intervened to defend a French tourist from a thief, was attacked by the local population under the assumption that he was the actual criminal.<sup>3</sup>

### REJECTION

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie – Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie is a Nigerian author and one of the most acclaimed contemporary African writers.<sup>4</sup> A thought-provoking novelist, Adichie draws heavily from her personal experience in the United States to write compelling stories that challenge the dominant discourse on migrants. "To choose to write is to reject silence" says Adichie.<sup>5</sup> In her famous 2009 TED Talk "The danger of a single story" (2009)<sup>6</sup> Adichie argues that stereotypes are created by repeatedly portraying only one story of a people, and making it its single story.

When I left Nigeria to go to university in the United States I was 19. My American roommate was shocked by me. (...) she had felt sorry for me even before she saw me. Her default position toward me, as an African, was a kind of patronizing, well-meaning pity. My roommate had a single story of Africa (...) there was no possibility of Africans being similar to her in any way, no possibility of feelings more complex than pity...

If I had not grown up in Nigeria, and if all I knew about Africa were from popular images, I too would think that Africa was a place of beautiful landscapes, (...) and incomprehensible people, fighting senseless wars (...) unable to speak for themselves, and waiting to be saved, by a kind, white foreigner.

Adichie defines herself as a storyteller and it is through her stories that she fights the "single story" perpetuated by the dominant discourse. Her words have reached large audi-

ences worldwide thanks to the Internet: she is the protagonist of two extremely successful TED videos,<sup>7</sup> which combined were viewed by almost ten million people. These videos turned her from a successful author into a celebrity, listed among the 100 most influential people in 2015 by Time magazine.<sup>8</sup>

Fatou Diome – In the Francophone world, Fatou Diome is one of the most prominent "migritude" novelists, that is African authors exploring the contemporary experiences of African migrants living in Europe (Nathan 2012).<sup>9</sup> In her quasi-autobiographic book *Le ventre de l'Atlantique* (2003),<sup>10</sup> Diome focuses on how the protagonist experiences her "exile" in France: she finds herself lost in-between two worlds. On one side, she does not feel fully accepted in France («In Europe, you're black first, citizens incidentally, outsiders permanently»),<sup>11</sup> on the other she cannot relate to her "original home" either («I go home as a tourist in my own country, for I have become the Other for the people I continue to call my family»).<sup>12</sup>

The book revolves around this sense of dislocation and the impossibility of finding a home in neither place. Particularly, she highlights how cultural expectations hold by those remained in their country of origin restrain AMLW from returning home, if success is not achieved.

I needed to "succeed" in order to fulfil the role assigned to all children from our country: to act as social security for your own family. This obligation of assistance is the greatest burden emigrants carry.<sup>13</sup>

Diome's *Le ventre de l'Atlantique* and her following publications have gained her notoriety, especially in France. Most recently, she has become an online-star on francophone social media after her participation to the French talk-show *Ce soir (ou jamais)*,<sup>14</sup> where, following the latest tragedy in the Mediterranean,<sup>15</sup> she heavily criticised EU Policies on migration and Western representations of the phenomenon. In her passionate tirade, she argues that such policies and misrepresentations directly contribute to feed racism and xenophobia.

These people whose bodies are washing up on these shores (...) if they were Whites, the whole Earth should be shaking now. Instead, it's Blacks and Arabs who are dying and their lives are cheaper. (...) When you are a White Canadian or an Argentine and you come to live in France, you are an expat... But if you are African (...) and you come to France or Germany, you are an immigrant, no matter the circumstances. It is the representation that Europe does to the Other that feeds xenophobia.<sup>16</sup>

The video went viral online and her words have been largely shared on social networks. "We will all be rich together, or perish together", she concluded.

### RESISTANCE

The African Students' Association (ASA) – Moving back to the Anglophone world, the African Students' Association (ASA) is a college association of African students at Ithaca College (New York) who actively use social networks to raise awareness and spread «political, social, educational, cultural



## Voci di migranti: resistere e rifiutare la narrazione *mainstream* sulla migrazione

I media dominanti occidentali utilizzano per lo più un linguaggio sensazionalistico e allarmista per rappresentare i migranti africani in Occidente, i cui toni alimentano discorsi populistici che si fondano su una visione estremamente ristretta e faziosa di questo antico fenomeno. A tali rappresentazioni dominanti si accompagnano svariate esperienze di rifiuto e resistenza che insorgono contro la versione stereotipizzante e univoca tipica del Nord del mondo nei confronti dell'Africa.

L'articolo indaga proprio questi tre elementi – rappresentazione dominante, rifiuto e resistenza – del discorso mediatico circa la rappresentazione degli Africani che vivono in Occidente, analizzando quali sono i media alternativi utilizzati per diffondere tali immagini controcorrente. Attraverso una struttura analitica che definisce i concetti alla base della ricerca per poi testarli “sul campo”, Pasotti e Sørensen mostrano come sia possibile decostruire le rappresentazioni tipiche degli Africani residenti in Occidente come un gruppo demografico monolitico di migranti disperati, vittime delle peggiori atrocità e impossibilitati a esprimersi senza l'aiuto del “buon” occidentale.

Come esperienze di rifiuto – azione che riconosce e rifiuta la narrativa dominante – l'articolo cita due note scrittrici e intellettuali africane di spicco, quali Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie e Fatou Diome: la prima, nigeriana, è divenuta celebre grazie a due TEDTalks e al suo best-seller *Americanah*, e la seconda è senegalese e autorevole scrittrice di “migritudine”, nonché protagonista di un recente video diventato virale sul web in cui, ospite a un programma televisivo francese, si è scagliata contro le politiche migratorie dell'UE e dell'Occidente in quanto fonte del razzismo e della xenofobia che imperversano in Europa.

Fare “resistenza” vuol dire, invece, agire attivamente per sfidare il discorso mainstream e proporre immaginari alternativi per cambiare la narrazione dominante. A intraprendere questo percorso sono stati la African Students' Association (ASA) dello Ithaca College di New York e i fondatori del blog “Africa is a Country”. L'associazione di studenti africani della Ithaca utilizza attivamente i social network per diffondere consapevolezza politica, sociale, educativa e culturale sul continente africano, in particolare promuovendo campagne fotografiche che affrontano i vari aspetti legati alla cattiva informazione dell'Occidente circa l'Africa. Il blog “Africa is a Country”, invece, combatte apertamente contro le rappresentazioni errate e distorte dell'Africa e degli Africani, facendo uso di svariati social network come Facebook, Twitter e Tumblr.

and media awareness about the continent of Africa».<sup>17</sup>

In January 2015, ASA has launched a photo campaign called “The real Africa: fight the stereotype” aimed at raising awareness on the diversity of the African continent and its people, as well as dispelling the stereotypes and misrepresentations which permeates Western imagery. The pictures portray the members of the association proudly wrapped around the flag of their country of origin. Each photo is accompanied by a short yet provocative caption, such as “There is no monolithic African culture”, “Africans don't need to be saved”, “Africa is not defined by poverty”, “Africa existed before colonialism”...

This campaign aims to educate and create awareness about our beautiful continent. We hope that you (...) can help us share these photos, whether it is sharing it, making it your profile photo, tweeting it, or even liking it. The simplest actions can create awareness and we are hoping to not only do that campus-wide but also world-wide.<sup>18</sup>

The campaign has reached a worldwide audience through social media including Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr (where it has been reblogged more than 110 000 times).<sup>19</sup> It has also been featured on CNN's iReport page, where it's been seen by almost 9000 online users and has been shared 3000 times.<sup>20</sup>

In a recent interview, ASA's president stated that «this campaign is not an isolated campaign; it is part of the vision of our association that is grounded in the hope to see the continent take its place in the world, for we have been ready to do so for too long».<sup>21</sup>

Rita Bunatal, public relations chair of ASA and of Ghanaian origins, also added that the organization will continue to use social networking to further spread their message.

Africascountry – “Africa Is A Country” (africasacountry.com) is the ironic title of a blog where a collective of African writers, scholars, bloggers, artists, photographers, filmmakers, musicians and more publish diverse media contents aimed at spreading stories that actively challenge mainstream media's representations of Africa.<sup>22</sup>

Of course we don't literally believe Africa is a Country (...) The title of the blog is ironic and is a reaction to old and tired images of “Africa”. We deliberately challenge and destabilize received wisdom about the African continent and its people in Western media — that definition includes “old (nationally oriented) media,” new social media as well as “global news media” (...) We also celebrate and feature work that we think complicate the old, ahistoric and objectional images. We want to introduce our readers to work by Africans and non-Africans about the continent and its diaspora that have worked against the old and tired images of Africa.<sup>23</sup>

“Africasacountry” overtly fights against the misrepresentations of African and Africans and it does so using a diverse array of tools provided by the Internet and particularly social media, such as Facebook<sup>24</sup> Twitter<sup>25</sup> and Tumblr.<sup>26</sup> Last year



the blog also launched "Africa is a radio", an online radio program including shows and podcasts on a wide range of issues,<sup>27</sup> including xenophobia and migration.

### Analysis

As was shown in the empirics, the portrayal of AMLW in mainstream media is very shallow and paints a poor picture of AMLW. Sensationalist language and alarmist tones feed popular discourses with biased and narrowed views on this old-age phenomenon (Solano 2011; de Hass 2008), disregarding its complexities and failing at investigating its root causes. As a result, the term "migrant" has acquired a negative connotation over the years: being a migrant has now become a stigma and a predicting condition for deviance (Solano 2011). When such misrepresentations are internalised and accepted as the only possible truth, xenophobic attitudes emerge and fear towards "The Other" increases, resulting in intolerance and racism, sometimes even translating into violence, as was evident from the events occurred in Rome and Naples last November. The essence of the narrative being created is that AMLW do not contribute positively to society. No matter if they are seen as refugees or migrants the image is the same: they are either a danger or a burden to the West.

The people described as rejection and resistance offer visions different from mainstream discourse. Some refer specifically to the migrants' experience, however in all cases the topic always extends to how these authors disagree with how AMLW are misrepresented. All four also describe the representations in similar manner to each other and to how it has been described above. Moreover, they all provide alternative views and all four cases can be used as examples of resistance. However, we do not categorise Adichie and Diome as examples of rejection. We do not argue that their works have been used as resistance, but rather argue that it was initially not intended as such. While both authors have contributed by their writing it was not their initial intention or initiative. This stands in stark contrast to the ASA and the blog *Africasacountry* where we categorise both as rejection and resistance. The difference from Adichie and Diome is that from the beginning there is the intention of using social media to proactively challenge the dominant discourse. In fact, both of these have been created as a collective effort with the specific goal of creating a counter-discourse. Due to the success of all four examples we argue that it is clear that not everyone accepts the dominant narrative.

The modes used by our four examples are: books, blogs, videos, radio and social networks most of which lie outside the sphere of influence for states and big corporations. It is doubtful that without the usage of all of these modes, especially social networks, the four examples would have been as successful and widely known as they are now. Especially, the Internet serves as an incredible tool for AMLW to express themselves, but also to create and spread new narratives in general.

### Conclusion

This paper has shown how AMLW are portrayed in the Western mainstream media and argued that these representations are not only faulty, but have a negative effect of how these people are treated in the West. Using four examples, we have argued that AMLW are both rejecting

and resisting this narrative and doing so on a large scale. Whether or not this will change the narrative is too early to tell, but our empirical evidence shows that both rejection and resistance is taking place and reaching a lot of people. Concerning AMLW using alternative media the empirics are less clear. From one perspective all four examples fall within Downing's definition and the mainstream media's portrayal of AMLW can be explained by the propaganda model. From this perspective the analysis shows that AMLW are successfully using alternative media to resist the mainstream narrative. However, this springs from our "content definition" of alternative media. If we had defined alternative media more in terms of methods used the answer is less clear as the methods used in the four examples fall within what would be termed mainstream media. The one exception to this is social media which can be categorised as both mainstream and alternative media and which has been a popular tool for particularly ASA and *Africasacountry*. The reason we did not include methods in our definition was that they work solely outside the mainstream and is therefore not in the same manner part of the narrative from representation, which makes it difficult to talk about a counter narrative. However, for future research social media would be a very interesting platform to investigate how the dominating narrative and the emerging counter-narrative interact.

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### NOTES

1 - Viewpoint: Binyavanga on why Africa's international image is unfair, BBC, 24<sup>th</sup> April 2012, available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-17814861>

2 - Tor Sapienza, dopo proteste trasferimento minori immigrati, in «Internazionale», 13<sup>th</sup> November 2014, available at <http://archivio.internazionale.it/news/roma/2014/11/13/tor-sapienza-dopo-proteste-trasferimento-minori-immigrati>.

3 - Napoli, senegalese difende turista da rapinatori. La folla lo minaccia di morte, ne «Il Fatto Quotidiano», 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2014, available at <http://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2014/11/02/napoli-senegalese-difende-turista-rapinatori-folla-minaccia-morte/1186470/>.

4 - Her first novel, *Purple Hibiscus* (2005), was shortlisted for the Orange Prize for Fiction and won the Commonwealth Writers' Prize. Her second novel, *Half Of A Yellow Sun* (2007) won the same prize four years later. Her latest work, *Americanah* (2013) won the National Book Critics Circle (NBCC) award and was named as one of the New York Times' top 10 books of 2013.

5 - Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Fear of causing offence becomes a fetish, «The Guardian», 11<sup>th</sup> May 2015, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/may/11/chimamanda-ngozi-adichie-fear-causing-offence-a-fetish>.



- 6 - C. Ngozi Adichie, The danger of a single story, TED video, 2009, available at [http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda\\_adichie\\_the\\_danger\\_of\\_a\\_single\\_story](http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story)
- 7 - C. Ngozi Adichie, We should all be feminists, TED video, 2013, available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hg3umXU\\_qWc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hg3umXU_qWc)
- 8 - The hundred most influential people, in «The Time», 16<sup>th</sup> April 2015, available at <http://time.com/3823296/chimamanda-ngozi-adichie-2015-time-100/>
- 9 - Among other "migrature" authors, Nathan (2012) counts Alain Mabanckou, Calixthe Beyala, Sami Tchak, Bessora, and Aboubacar Diop.
- 10 - The English title reads "The belly of the Atlantic".
- 11 - «En Europe mes frères, vous êtes d'abord noirs, accessoirement citoyens, définitivement étrangers» (Diome 2003, p. 175).
- 12 - «Je vais chez moi comme on va à l'étranger, car je suis devenue l'autre pour ceux que je continue à appeler les miens» (Diome 2003, p. 190).
- 13 - «Il me fallait réussir afin d'assumer la fonction assignée à tout enfant de chez nous : servir de sécurité sociale aux siens. Cette obligation d'assistance est le plus gros fardeau que traînent les émigrés» (Diome 2003, p. 44).
- 14 - Aired on France2 on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 2015. The theme of the show was "Après le drame de Lampedusa, peut-on accueillir toute la misère du monde" (After the tragedy of Lampedusa, can we allow in all the world's miserable?).
- 15 - Almost 900 migrants died while attempting to cross the Mediterranean on April 18<sup>th</sup> 2015. Source: «UN says 800 migrants dead in boat disaster as Italy launches rescue of two more vessels», 20<sup>th</sup> April 2015, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/20/italy-pm-matteo-renzi-migrant-shipwreck-crisis-srebrenica-massacre>.
- 16 - Translation provided by the blog "Africasacountry". Source: «When Senegalese writer Fatou Diome kicked European Union butt», 29<sup>th</sup> April 2015, available at <http://africasacountry.com/that-moment-when-senegalese-writer-fatou-diome-kicked-european-union-butt/>
- 17 - As ASA's mission statement reads on its Facebook page, available at <https://www.facebook.com/pages/IC-African-Students-Association/512995628756688>
- 18 - From ASA Facebook page, available at <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.642875855768664.1073741832.512995628756688&type=3>
- 19 - «African Student Association Campaign to "Fight the Stereotype" Aims to Educate About Africa», Ithaca University News, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2014, available at <http://www.ithaca.edu/news/releases/student-campaign-to-fight-the-stereotype-aims-to-educate-about-africa-36962/#.VV2Dtun1akp>
- 20 - «Africa is not a country: Students' photo campaign breaks down stereotypes», CNN, 7<sup>th</sup> February 2014, available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/02/07/world/africa/africa-is-not-a-country-campaign/?iref=obinsite>
- 21 - «Students release photo campaign to debunk stereotypes», The Ithacan, 29<sup>th</sup> January 2014, available at <http://theithacan.org/news/students-release-photo-campaign-to-debunk-stereotypes/>
- 22 - Contributors include many Africans based in Western countries, as well as Africans living in Africa and some non-Africans.
- 23 - From Africasacountry.com, available at <http://africasacountry.com/about/>
- 24 - Available at [https://www.facebook.com/Africasacountry/timeline?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/Africasacountry/timeline?ref=page_internal)
- 25 - Available at <https://twitter.com/africasacountry>
- 26 - Available at <http://africasacountry.tumblr.com/>
- 27 - Available at <https://www.mixcloud.com/africasacountry/>

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