



**JOMEC Journal**  
Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies

Published by Cardiff University Press

## **'Travelling with the Traveller': An Ethnographic Framework for the Study of Migrants' Digital Inclusion**

**Panayiota Tsatsou and Maria-Nerina Boursinou**

*University of Leicester, School of Media,  
Communication and Sociology*

Email: [pt133@le.ac.uk](mailto:pt133@le.ac.uk)  
[mnb7@leicester.ac.uk](mailto:mnb7@leicester.ac.uk)

### **Keywords**

**Digital inclusion  
Ethnography  
Migration  
Media studies  
Travel**

## Abstract

This paper argues that researchers who study migrants' digital inclusion need to shed light on migrants' use of digital technologies within the time frame and context of 'migration travel' and while migrants are in transition to a new or safer place for resettlement. In support of this argument, the paper proposes a 'travelling with the traveller' research framework that applies an ethnographic methodology and aims at the researcher experiencing or even becoming an integral part of the migration travel. The paper presents this travelling with the traveller framework and discusses the implications of digital inclusion (or the absence of it) for migrants' experience, to combat or alleviate of all sorts of adversities, volatile emotions, unanticipated problems and moments of uncertainty and crisis migrants so often encounter on the move from homeland to another land, from one life setting to another. Further, the paper presents the fieldwork processes and data collection techniques of the proposed travelling with the traveller framework, such as participant observation, informal and open-ended interviews, as well as the use of video and photographic footage.

## Contributor Note

Panayiota Tsatsou (PhD LSE) is an Associate Professor of Media and Communication at the University of Leicester. Her research interests lie in the broader field of digital media and her publications aim at intellectual and research advancement in the following areas: digital divides/digital inclusion, Internet studies, digital research, digital media and civic participation, and digital policy and regulation. More info on her work can be found at <http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/media/people/dr-panayiota-tsatsou>

Maria-Nerina Boursinou is a 2nd year PhD student in the Department of Media, Communication and Sociology in the University of Leicester with a background in Media, Communication and Culture. Her research focuses on the 'Digital Inclusion of migrants inside Refugee Camps, Migration Detention Centres and Housing squats in Greece'. Additional research interests include grassroots activism and human rights of minority groups. More info on her work can be found at: <http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/media/people/Research-Students/aria-nerina-boursinou>

## Citation

Tsatsou, Panayiota and Maria-Nerina Boursinou (2017), "Travelling with the Traveller": An Ethnographic Framework for the Study of Migrants' Digital Inclusion', *JOMEC Journal* 11, 'Diaspora beyond Nationalism', ed. Idil Osman. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18573/j.2017.10140>

Accepted for publication 1 June 2017



## 1. Introduction

The conversation about migrants, diasporic communities and digital technology is not new, nor yet complete. Peeters and d'Haenens (2005) have argued that media technologies can encourage ethnic minorities to get involved in a dual practice: that of bridging with the host country and that of bonding with the home country. Further, research has drawn upon discussions concerning 'virtual ethnicity' (Poster 1998), 'long-distance nationalism' (Anderson 1998) and the development of an online 'diasporic public sphere' (Appadurai 1997), and it has explored the development of migrant or diasporic communities in cybernetic space (e.g., Mitra 2005; Skop and Adams 2009).

However, the presence and role of digital technologies in a migrant's life have been studied mostly after the migrant lands in the host country. In this respect, there is a lack of insight into the role that digital technologies might play in the entire 'migration experience' and especially during the actual travel (physical, but also with practical, identity and symbolic facets) from the home to the host country, and when the user of digital technology obtains the status of migrant. This paper argues for the need to research migrants' use of digital technologies within the timeframe and context of their 'migration travel' and while in transition to a new land for resettlement. For the pursuit of such research, the paper proposes a 'travelling with the traveller' research framework that applies an ethnographic methodology and aims at the researcher experiencing or even becoming an integral part of the migration travel.

We argue that the proposed travelling with the traveller framework can offer genuine insights into migrants' digital inclusion (or the absence of it) and how the 'digital' influences migrants' bearing of all sorts of experiences, adversities, emotions, unanticipated problems and moments of uncertainty that they encounter during their trip from homeland to another land, when they transit from one life setting to another. Thus, we present the fieldwork processes and data collection techniques that the proposed travelling with the traveller framework can accommodate, such as participant observation, informal and open-ended interviews, as well as the use of video and photographic footage.

In what follows, we offer an introductory discussion of ethnography and the ethnographic turn in media studies, as well as a brief reflection on critical voices that have posed questions about the present and future of media ethnography. This is followed by a critical review of the extant study of migration and migrants' digital inclusion, which demonstrates the grounds on which travelling with the traveller ethnographic approach can make a contribution to research in this area. This brings us to presenting the epistemological and methodological foundations of the proposed travelling with the traveller, and the paper concludes with a series of reflections on the employment of this in future.

## 2. Ethnography and media studies

### 2.1. Ethnography

Ethnographic research 'takes place in the natural setting of the everyday activities of the subjects under





investigation' (Gill and Johnson 1991: 124). Ethnography is a particular research approach, not a particular method of research, as it uses several different methods. Typical methods in ethnographic research 'include interviews (structured or exploratory), observation (keeping diaries, writing field notes), collecting narratives, undertaking document and/or historical research, and participating in the context so as to accumulate first-hand, contextual information about the culture or population sample in question' (Crowley-Henry 2009: 38). In this sense, the ethnographer is 'interested in understanding and describing a social and cultural scene from the emic, or insider's, perspective' (Fetterman 1998: 2).

Ethnography has been involved in the study of many aspects of the social and cultural life. Brought to life by anthropologists in the mid-19th century, ethnography soon became of interest to many disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. Although it never really changed its true identity – which is to study and interpret unknown cultures and the human behaviour inside those cultures, as seen through the eyes of a stranger – it has been influenced by the various disciplinary traditions in which it has been employed; thus, it has obtained multiple principles and forms of application.

While classic ethnography was characterised by rigidity, as it aimed to report reality with pure objectivity, it slowly adopted a more reflexive stance, recognising the role of interpretivism and that the researcher's human nature, personality and personal history unavoidably play a role in the conduct and outcomes of ethnographic study

(Crowley-Henry 2009: 39). From the 1970s, feminist ethnography started to examine women's position in society with a desire to educate women on the inequalities they were experiencing and mobilise them towards action (Gobo 2008). We cannot but notice two significant ways in which feminist ethnography differed from how ethnography was conducted in a male-dominated culture: first, the effort of the feminist ethnographer to minimise power relations between the researcher and the participant; and second, the focus placed on the procedure and evolution of action in a precise spatial location and timeframe (Gobo 2008). Radical and gender-challenging approaches gave space to critical ethnography, which aimed at empowering marginalised populations by providing them with an opportunity to be heard. Instead of maintaining a neutral position describing 'what is', critical ethnographers advocated change by saying 'what could be' (Thomas 1993: 4).

Like its numerous forms and ontological and epistemological positions, ethnography is methodologically open and integrates a mixture of qualitative techniques. It is a multi-method approach that digs deep into a particular culture or sub-culture through combining qualitative data, such as participant observation (and field notes), interview data and document sources (Atkinson et al. 2001; Crowley-Henry 2009; Mason 2002). In the last couple of decades, ethnography enjoys the addition of visual data that have a complementary, yet distinctive, role within studies that focus on consumer and ethnic cultures (Pink 2001). Other quite peripheral popular data collection techniques in the ethnographic tradition are the production and analysis of



journals/diaries, tape recordings and even the study of material artefacts found in the examined location or context (Spradley 1980).

Like any other approach to research, ethnography has some limitations. While it offers the opportunity for studying culture and human action from the inside, it is up to the researcher to decide how much to engage with the studied context. It is precisely there that the danger lies, as one common mistake is the excessive personal engagement of the researcher that often leads to subjective findings and conclusions (Fielding 2008). Atkinson (1990) and Clifford (1986: 6) (both cited in Moores 1993) referred to the ethnographer's subjectivity and suggested that ethnographic narratives are 'partial truths', as, most likely unintentionally, ethnographers capture in their reporting some of their imagination of the studied culture or population. Furthermore, the issue of time can work in favour or against the ethnographer; the luxury of time and resources can result in a well-rounded study, whereas lack of one or another can bring an abrupt ending to the research.

## **2.2. The ethnographic turn in media studies**

Media studies are one of the scholarly fields that have integrated ethnography, and media scholars have been concerned with the value and importance of ethnography in media research (e.g., Drotner 1993, 1994). The precursor of the ethnographic turn in media studies was the cultural effects theory, as it stressed the role of culture in how audiences make sense of reality/the world and media messages,

too (Glover 1984). One could position the starting point of ethnography in media studies in the 1980s, as soon as prominent debates over media consumption, media power and media effects started to develop a nuanced understanding of the socio-cultural positioning of media texts.

The use of ethnography in media studies signalled a departure from quantitative approaches that tended to categorise and quantify communication activities of all kinds and were dominant in the US tradition in media and communication studies in particular (Horst, Hjorth and Tacchi 2012: 86). The central position of media ethnography is that audiences are active meaning producers who engage in various 'readings' of media texts, with reading being influenced by the social experiences and the range of cultural knowledge that audiences access. The ethnographic approach challenges the argument that the media is a powerful tool that triggers one-way transmission of messages and has direct effects on audiences. On the contrary, it espouses that text is 'polysemic' (Fiske 1987) and that it is for the researcher to discover how audiences produce meaning out of media consumption.

Scholars celebrated the ethnographic turn in media studies when the New Audience Research started to flourish in the late 1980s (see Corner 1991). The ethnographic-in-orientation New Audience Research initially concentrated on the study of romance reading, television viewing, and how we make sense of the news, and it invited the audience to present their views and experiences through qualitative research, such as open interviews and participant observation (e.g., Ang 1985; Drotner 1989; Fiske 1987, 1990; Morley 1980;





Radway 1984 [1987]; Seiter et al. 1989). Morley's study of the television magazine *Nationwide* (1980) was one of the first ethnographic studies of the media audience. Morley's study collected data through 29 group interviews, in which each group was shown a *Nationwide* programme they then discussed for 30 minutes. Morley argued that making television text meaningful is more complex than what is suggested in Hall's encoding/decoding model, and he found that groups from the same class engaged in different text readings and produced dissimilar meanings. Further, Ien Ang's (1985) seminal study of watching *Dallas* was one of the first examples of media ethnographic work that departed from traditional representations of femininity and women's consumption of popular culture (for more examples, read Drotner, 1989; Fiske, 1990; Radway 1984 [1987]). Ang invited readers of the Dutch women's magazine *Viva* to write to her about *Dallas* and their viewing experiences. Ang received 42 letters – mostly from women – and through these letters, she aimed to make sense of the sort of pleasure that watching *Dallas* was offering to Dutch viewers. Ang used this evidence to inform the debate about the 'cultural imperialism' of American television to disclose individual perspectives on the value of popular culture.

In the early 1990s, media scholars started systematically to employ the epistemological and methodological foundations of ethnography so as to overturn one-dimensional perceptions of the media-audience relationship (e.g., Gillespie 1995; Gray 1992; Lull 1990; Moores 1993; Morley 1992; Silverstone, 1990; Silverstone and Hirsch 1992). Thus, an increasing volume of qualitative media research emerged that relied on

the epistemological foundations of ethnography and developed the firm belief that, to make sense of media significance and any existent media effects, one needs to develop an understanding of the meaning construction that audiences engage in during media consumption and to take social context into account. Such an approach prioritised the study of cultures or cultural backgrounds that are marginalised, assigning to media research a rather political or critical character. Also, it prioritised interactive research methods, and it drew on 'a variety of classical anthropological and ethnological methods of investigation: participant observation, informal talks and in-depth or life course interviews, diaries kept by the informants as well as self-reports kept by the researcher' (Drotner 1994: 97). Over the last couple of decades, media ethnography has taken a few different directions. Those adopting a cultural studies approach analyse the contexts of production of cultural texts and scripts, while those interested in design conduct an ethnographic study of media users that will offer conclusions and suggestions about design. Further, those interested in game and performance studies employ ethnography to develop an understanding of the virtual and social worlds created in or mediated by digital media (Horst, Hjorth and Tacchi 2012: 87).

More recently, the technological developments and the emergence of digital media have rendered this division between text and audience invalid, as they have enabled a two-way interaction between the medium and the audience, or better yet, the user. In fact, we could argue that now more than ever the user is in a leadership position, able to



reinvent the medium's usability to suit their everyday needs. Further, recent technological advancements have largely shifted the interest of media ethnographers from traditional media use to the exploration of how users interpret, appropriate and move around the digital mediascape. This has given rise to digital ethnography, which offers media researchers new opportunities along with methodological questions and challenges (e.g., Ardevol 2012; Beaulieu 2004; Boellstorff 2008; Boellstorff et al., 2012; Burrell 2009; Hine 2000, 2008; Kozinets 2010).

More specifically, digital ethnography suggests 'an opportunity for making a form of ethnographic enquiry suited to the Internet' and embraces 'ethnography as a textual practice and as a lived craft', thus destabilising 'the ethnographic reliance on sustained presence in a found field site' (Hine 2000: 43). In their analysis of social media ethnography, Postill and Pink (2012) emphasise the importance of researching 'digital sociality' and processes of movement, and they draw their attention to digital practices such as interaction, networking, compilation, sharing, tagging and openness that are inherent to a 'messy web'. Thus, they highlight the need for ethnographers to shift from the traditional 'pursuit of ethnographic holism' (Hine 2000: 48) and from the study of 'community' to the study of 'digital socialities', to ethnographic places that traverse online/offline contexts and are collaborative, participatory, open and public (Postill and Pink 2012). Regarding data collection methods in digital ethnography, the main question has been whether old methods should migrate and adjust to a digital environment or whether there is indeed the possibility of creating new methods

and adopting a flexible approach to methodology. On the one hand, the use of synchronous and asynchronous data collection methods and the lack of physical proximity grant the digital ethnographer more honest responses concerning sensitive issues (Walsh 2012). On the other hand, the researcher is not physically present in the field, the observation takes place in a covert way (larking), and in an already distant and hard to define environment, while ethical issues in digital ethnography have proved to be quite thorny, mainly due to identity multiplicity and anonymity online (Tsatsou 2014).<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, the ethnographic turn in media studies has established the epistemological and methodological principles for the media-audience relationship at the local or context-specific level. However, critics have questioned whether this approach is genuine ethnography and whether it differs from the media effects tradition (Curran 1990; Lull 1988). Murphy (1999) has argued that the political and epistemological debates regarding the role and position of the ethnographer in ethnographic research have limited rather than promoted the development of ethnographic media studies. Others stress the importance of repositioning ethnography in media studies, applying it as a fieldwork-based, long-term practice of data collection and analysis that will allow for solid knowledge about media practices and user or audience engagement with the media (La Pastina

---

<sup>1</sup> Researchers have made various propositions to overcome these challenges. For instance, Sade-Beck (2004, cited in Tsatsou 2014) proposes 'rich ethnography' that combines online observations, offline in-person interviews and content analysis of supplementary online and offline documents, databases and other materials.



2005; Murphy and Kredy 2003). Finally, some others have noted the longstanding problem of media ethnographic studies neglecting the study of media institutions and the political economy of the media (Horst, Hjorth and Tacchi 2012).

### **3. Migration and migrants' digital inclusion**

#### **3.1. Migration concepts and theories**

Migration is 'the temporary or permanent move of individuals or groups of people from one geographic location to another for various reasons ranging from better employment possibilities to persecution' (Hagen-Zanker 2008: 4). Castles, De Haas and Miller (2014) view migration as a protracted process which characterises not so much an individual action but mostly a collective one. Heavily dependent on socioeconomic and political factors, migration results in multiple changes for both the hosting as well as the sending country (Castles, De Haas and Miller 2014). While the first attempt to explain the causes, motives and traits of migration – especially internal migration – was made by Ravenstein's 'laws of migration' (1885, 1889), the complexity of the phenomenon has led to the development of various approaches over the years (Tomanek 2011).

One can identify two main theoretical paradigms on migration. The first is the neoclassical economics approach, in which both macroeconomic and microeconomic models have made a strong presence: macroeconomic models suggest that it is because of the discrepancies between wages that people decide to abandon their country

in search of a better future; microeconomic models attribute rational agency to the migrant and present the decision of migration as personal and one taken logically after the potential migrant has calculated all available options so as to benefit the most (Castles, De Haas and Miller 2014; Hagen-Zanker, 2008).

One of the most popular models in the neoclassical microeconomic analysis is the 'push-pull' model, which dominated the migration scholarship in the middle of the 20th century and until the 1960s. The push-pull model relies on factors, such as utility maximisation, rational choice, factor-price disparities between regions and countries, and labour mobility, to explain migration (Righard 2012: 13). For instance, Lee's push-pull theory (1966) suggests that people decide to migrate due to some negative factors that exist in their home country (and push them away) to enjoy some benefits that the receiving country has to offer (and pull them close to it). Nevertheless, it been criticised as overly descriptive, while it is not believed to form a theory per se but mostly a categorisation of the factors that can affect migration (Hagen-Zanker 2008: 9).

The neoclassical tradition has been criticised as suffering from determinism, functionalism and a-historicism (Righard 2012: 14). Specifically, critics have considered it to be overly simplistic, as it takes as a pre-requisite that potential migrants have total access to information concerning the labour market conditions of the country to which they wish to move. In addition, critics stress that it is mostly middle-class individuals who manage to migrate and not lower social class people who are in need of a better salary, while other







significant parameters that affect migration such as the state's migration policy must be considered more seriously (Castles, De Haas and Miller 2014; De Haas 2014; Massey et al. 1993; Sykas 2008).

Critics of the neoclassical tradition created room for the development of a series of different theoretical approaches to migration in the 1970s and 1980s, such as the Marxist political economy, historical developmentalism and systems theory (Righard 2012: 14). The proliferation of theories and models on the phenomenon of migration gave shape to the second main theoretical paradigm on migration: the historical-structural approach. This approach emerged in the 1970s as a sheer contrast to the neoclassical tradition and comprised a compilation of theories and models (e.g., dual and segmented labour markets, dependency theory, and world systems theory), mostly informed by the Marxist interpretation of capitalism and the structuring of the world economy. According to this approach, migration arises from the unequal distribution of socio-political and economic power between countries that ultimately creates deep inequalities. In this respect, people are not believed to be active agents who have control over their decisions; on the contrary the historical-structural approach suggests that migration covers the need for cheap labour hands through a process that can have disastrous effects for the country sending migrants, such as brain drain (Castles, De Haas and Miller 2014; Castles and Miller 2009; Kurekova 2011). Wallerstein's (1974) world systems theory links capitalist development and globalisation to people's migration and argues that migration is the result of dependencies being created from some

countries to others. Thus, he classifies countries according to their positioning within the global market economy: the dominant capitalist powers (North America, Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand) constitute the 'core', upon which the poor countries in the 'periphery' are entirely dependent through asymmetric ties of trade, capital penetration and migration.

The historical-structural theory has not escaped criticism too. While the neoclassical approach was criticised for giving too much power to the individual, the historical-structural one has been criticised for removing it (De Haas 2014). This is so, as it regards migrants as 'little more than passive pawns in the play of great powers and world processes presided over by the logic of capital accumulation' (Arango 2004: 27). At the same time, due to its sweeping historical determinism, this approach is quite inadequate to explain 'real-life' traits and facets of international migration (Righard 2012: 19) as well as unable to analyse today's complex contemporary migration processes (Chatty 2010: 12).

While more theoretical approaches to migration than the two discussed above have been formulated over the last few decades (e.g., the networks approach, the new economics of migration), there is 'no single theory that captures the full complexity of migration, and nor will there ever be' (Righard 2012: 24). None of the existing theoretical models seems to provide the sort of overarching theoretical framework that will satisfy the migration scholarly community, and a universal migration theory appears unlikely because migration is too complex and diverse as a phenomenon (Castles and Miller 2009; Salt 1987). At the same time, some continue to





suggest that the field remains under-theorised (De Haas 2014) or weakly theorised (Arango 2004).

This is not to say that pessimism and lack of scholarly innovation prevail in migration studies. On the contrary, as Righard (2012: 24–25) eloquently explains, contemporary migration studies are marked by two trends: first, the attempt to re-inscribe migration within wider phenomena of social change and social transformation so that it is not studied in isolation of the societal changes taking place on a number of fronts (e.g., cultural, political, social, technological); second, a ‘cultural turn’ in the epistemological foundations of migration studies that has led scholars to look more into the migration experience than causes of migration, and thus to turn to qualitative rather than quantitative research. Linked to both these trends is the increasing emphasis on migration as a transnational process, with analyses of transnationalism being quite prominent in the field.

Unquestionably, these recent trends have informed studies on migration and ICTs (Immigration Communication Technologies). The role of technological development and the transnational nature of migration in the era of online, instant and global communication are currently at the core of the study of migration and ICTs, and largely drive the research of associated phenomena, such as that of migrants’ digital inclusion.

### **3.2. Studying migrants’ digital inclusion**

Over the last couple of decades, media research has been concerned with the role of digital media in migration and migrants’ digital inclusion. Media

scholars have produced evidence of the multiple ways in which ICTs can have a positive impact on migrants’ everyday lives (e.g., Georgiou 2006; Hiller and Franz 2004; Karim 2003; Komito 2011; Leung 2011). Media researchers have suggested that the Internet creates spaces where diasporic identities and narratives can be expressed and strengthened (e.g., Georgiou 2006; Hiller and Franz 2004; Kissau and Hunger 2010; Komito 2011, Mitra 2005). Some others (e.g., Skop and Adams 2009) have explored the development and evolution of migrant or diasporic communities in cybernetic space, while Poster (1988) has talked about ‘virtual ethnicity’.

Specifically, research has examined the role of satellite technology, and has acknowledged that the use of satellite television by newly arrived migrants is perhaps the main medium they can rely on to receive daily news feeds from their country of origin (Alonzo and Oiarzabal 2010). Drawing from the pool of new technologies, the use of Skype is an example of how diasporic communities can maintain an intimate daily relationship with the homeland (Komito and Bates 2011). Today, the growing use of social media platforms plays a major role in the development of transnational communication and political mobilisation of migrants (Nyamnjoh 2013). Research (Komito 2011) has found that, through voice, video, text and social media enhance affinity and shared experience among migrants and their relations and contacts outside the host country. Thus, it has been concluded that social media contribute to bonding capital, slowing down the migrant’s integration in the host society and encouraging the continual movement from one society to another (Komito 2011).





However, the existing research has not fully addressed migrants' use of media in the pre-migration period (Mattelart 2010). Technology is present before the migrant departs from the homeland and while planning the migration journey. Those preparing their move to a different country increasingly make use of a combination of offline and online for information and educational purposes, such as learning the language and traditions of the host country, as well as searching for a job and making housing applications in the host country. Hiller and Franz (2004) identify three stages in the migration journey – 'pre-migrant', 'post-migrant' and 'settled migrant' – arguing that there should be a fourth stage situated between the pre-migrant and post-migrant experience that reflects the transitional phase all migrants go through to a greater or lesser degree. This limbo period varies from the other three mainly because it does not involve a static situation. On the contrary, it is characterised by energetic movement during which the migrant faces many different experiences that undoubtedly affect their digital communication and other needs. Journalistic reports have evaluated the presence and role of digital technologies in this transitional phase.

Journalistic reports have described the importance of being digitally connected for refugees and displaced people who find themselves living in shelters designed for emergency use and braving inhospitable environments, high temperatures, floods and little or no means of communication with the outside world (BBC 2013). Reports have concluded that displaced persons rely on ICTs and social media for a variety of reasons (WIRED 2015), such as finding smuggling information via Facebook or

simply sending a selfie to relatives back home as a sign of survival. Moreover, numerous digital applications have been designed by both citizen groups and governments to facilitate migrants' journey and settlement (QUARTZ 2016). In places where refugee camps have existed for long, such as the Dadaab camp in Kenya, the benefits of being 'wired' have been comprehended, and Wi-Fi has been granted (USAID 2014). On the contrary, in more temporary and recent settlements, such as the 'jungle' camp in Calais, providing Internet connection is not the government's priority.<sup>2</sup>

This phase of life transition and physical travel is precisely the period on which existing research on migrants' digital inclusion omits to shed light. Research is yet to make sense of migrants' engagement with digital technologies throughout the physical movement involved in their entire migration experience and the implications not only for their connectivity but also for other aspects of their digital inclusion.

#### **4. 'Travelling with the traveller': an ethnographic framework for the study of migrants' digital inclusion**

In this paper, we propose a 'travelling with the traveller' ethnographic framework for the study of migrants' digital inclusion during their travel to new physical and life-settings. The proposed framework adopts the

---

<sup>2</sup> However, according to what a member of a UK-based solidarity group stated in a private conversation with the authors, this does not mean that migrants may be isolated from the rest of the world, as they appear 'well-connected on their own'.





argument that ethnography is a fieldwork-based, long-term practice of data collection that can offer solid knowledge about media practices and user or audience engagement with the media (La Pastina 2005; Murphy and Kredy 2003), and it adapts this argument to the study of migrants' engagement with digital media.

#### **4.1. Why 'travelling with the traveller'?**

To support our proposition, we first need to offer some reflective remarks on the concept of 'travel'. Travel could be temporary or long-term, joyful or distressing, planned or unexpected, voluntary or forced, collective or individual. In its most popular form, travel relates to a pleasant escape, a getaway from one's everyday environment, the entering in a new state of mind, perhaps a more relaxed one that carries the minimum of the usual daily routine. However, if we trace its meaning back to mythology and the Odyssey of Omeros, we deal with an entirely different meaning of the word, as travel is synonymous to a challenge, a continuous struggle for the hero who endures the physical and mental barriers in his effort to reach his destination: home. Speaking of the travel of a displaced person, our mind quickly jumps to the category of travel which is synonymous to a challenge and which often involves a fearful route away from home for the discovery of a land that could become the new home.

We currently live in an era that is marked by one of the largest migration waves in history since the Second World War (UNHCR 2015). Socioeconomic and geopolitical turbulence makes masses of people from various backgrounds and

regions around the globe experience a life journey that often happens against their will and changes their lives forever. The migrant's travel is usually reported in extensive humanitarian reports, (sentimental) documentaries, and news bulletins or personal life stories told by refugees and migrants themselves, but it is hardly captured in scholarly ethnographic work in the field. This paper aims to answer why we need ethnography to research migrants' travel and why we, as researchers, need to become migrants' co-travellers.

Let us explain our proposition by reflecting on the example of forced migration. In forced migration, a change in geographical location and place of residence occurs, most often accompanied by the sudden loss of material possessions, an uprooting that leads from one spot on the map to another. Travel in the migration context involves crossing the borders, something which for forced migrants is a physical transition, but also a violent displacement of mentality and well-being, and with hardly foreseeable repercussions for their identity. If we portray a familiar picture from the recent wave of forced migrants from Syria, we can see that, in attempting a life-risking escape from the war zone, they commenced a dangerous journey to freedom only to find a new status waiting to be imposed on them on the other side of the border. They were no longer citizens; they were survivors, victims, irregular economic migrants or asylum seekers as war refugees (Tazzioli 2015). These new terms, defined by controversial international conventions, largely determined their rights and responsibilities.



However, the phase of life transition and physical travel is precisely the period on which existing research on migrants' digital inclusion fails to shed light. It could be a whole new stream in research on migrants' digital inclusion. The proposed 'traveller with the traveller' ethnographic framework could contribute to such a development. Our proposition is also a timely one. In Europe, as the situation is currently unfolding, with most EU borders closed or tightly monitored, a large number of migrants who have arrived in Europe find their journey lasting much longer than initially planned or anticipated. This situation invites researchers to identify how migrant's digital needs and patterns of use may be affected by their long and troublesome travel from their homeland. This is precisely where our proposition for the travelling with the traveller ethnography can best apply.

#### **4.2. Principles and techniques in the travelling with the traveller framework**

The study of migrants' digital inclusion via the proposed travelling with the traveller ethnographic framework involves certain principles and methodological practices.

In terms of principles, it draws some parallels between the notion of travel, the practice of ethnography and the role of the researcher. Specifically, it approaches ethnography as a journey, with the ethnographer resembling a person who departs for and plunges into new experiences. It understands the researcher as the traveller who obtains basic knowledge of the place and the culture to visit, but mostly for the purpose of exploration and discovery. Another parallel is that between the

traveller, who keeps records of the trip, postcards, and souvenirs captured through a camera, and the researcher, who collects written, visual and audio artefacts. Along these lines, both the ethnographer and the traveller observe, with the former following a strategic plan of observation and the latter wandering around, aiming at survival and (often) integration. In this respect, both the researcher and the travelling migrant interact with the locals in search of new information and aiming to dive into the unknown culture even though sometimes they only manage to scratch the surface of it.

From a data collection perspective, covering a journey that promises to be rich in experiences and diversity of information must involve a mixture of methods, each with its usefulness for the researcher who co-travels with the subject of study, the travelling migrant. For the sake of brevity, we present here three research techniques for employment in the proposed framework, and associated challenges. We suggest a synthesis of techniques that will enable researchers to travel across as many aspects of reality as possible and gather enough evidence to build a multifaceted projection of the traveller's life and not just another story about them. The suggested tools can stand independently, yet here complement one another.

*Participant Observation.* This has historically been the most popular method of ethnographic study and the ethnographic tradition has recorded a range of possible ways in which the researcher can be placed in fieldwork as an observer. Observing a migrant's digital inclusion during the migration travel almost naturally leads to the researcher being a participant. However, it also





involves a series of unique challenges. First, there is the issue of access, as reaching a refugee or migrant population means that the researcher will access and gain the trust of people who live under a lot of stress, and they may not be friendly or willing to help with the research at all times. The researcher must acknowledge that features such as different ethnicities and the non-migrant status might be a challenge for establishing the researcher as a legitimate co-traveller and an observer at the same time. Gaining access to a human rights organisation or a support group might alleviate some of these difficulties. Second, in being an active participant, the researcher will face the same travel experience as the research subjects and might involve psychological and logistic implications unforeseen before the commencement of the research. Regarding the outputs and recordings of participant observation, fieldwork notes and keeping a diary involve a new level of complexity, and additional effort should be made to maintain organised recording, as changing places frequently could result in mixed data with limited analytical value.

*Interviews.* Interviewing is the second most common technique traditionally used in ethnographic research. The proposed framework suggests travelling for many hours a day, and this can give the researcher plenty of time to select the sample of interviewees as well as the chance to initiate meaningful and natural rapport. Semi-structured informal talks will be the most broadly used technique. Resting periods could be used for discussions of more personal and sensitive matters, while (planned) casual conversation during periods of waiting or walking would be ideal for extracting

comments on recent events, experiences and so on. Interviews do not have to include only the directly researched population, of course. In each place, key persons can be traced and interviewed if needed, such as members of NGOs and officials, but also those who work individually or collectively towards providing migrants with what is necessary for their well-being. The comparative analysis of these actors, who often present very contrasting views on the same issue, can be an excellent way for the researcher to dig into the complex interrelationships between actors/agents and milieu/context.

*Photography/video.* The proposed 'travelling with the traveller' framework also suggests a collection of audio-visual data, which is used less frequently than participant observation and interviewing in ethnographic study. Regardless of the narrative character of ethnography, which produces verbal images, there is plenty of journalistic and documentary coverage of the theme of migration. Here we argue that audio-visual data must be collected by the ethnographer co-travelling with migrants. This is so because audio-visual data have a triple function in the proposed framework. First, audio-visual data can depict the changing scenery during travel and thus portray the different traits and dimensions of what ethnographers call 'context', which stands at the core of ethnographic research. What is more, the use of technology and its various affordances for the production of photographs and/or videos can interestingly complement the observation and interview data, adding vividness to reporting and allowing further familiarisation with the studied 'context', namely with the settings of the travel at the greatest possible detail.



Third, it is important to remember that the appearance of waves of migrants usually is related to harsh events and is accompanied by a chaotic environment crowded with various actors who operate under stress, anger and in a disorderly manner, and this is where audio-visual material can support the researcher's narrative against claims of subjectivity or bias. This is even more important in the study of migrants' use of digital artefacts and resources, as audio-visual footage can provide solid data on complex processes and diverse experiences in the appropriation of digital artefacts among migrants, providing the researcher with data that can undergo various stages of analysis at different times and for addressing different questions.

## 5. Concluding discussion

This paper has argued for research that sheds light on migrants' use of digital technologies within the time frame and context of the 'migration travel' and while migrants are in transition to a host country, to a place for resettlement. For the pursuit of such research, the paper proposes a 'travelling with the traveller' research framework that applies an ethnographic methodology and aims at the researcher becoming an integral part of the migration.

The use of this ethnographic framework suggests a departure from a static approach to migrants' digital inclusion and questions the study of digital inclusion within steady individual, societal and life contexts. Further, it invites researchers to revisit the understanding of digital inclusion as closely related to migrants' settling into the host country and to examine the role and importance of digital inclusion

throughout the migration experience, a significant part of which involves the actual (physical and with symbolic repercussions) process and experience of travel. Methodologically, our proposition invites the use of the travel experience as both the locus and object of ethnographic research and welcomes researchers adopting a more reflective conceptualisation of the role of 'context' and 'culture' in digital inclusion. In this respect, the various environments and physical locations constitute a multi-layered 'travel context' that must be explored and reflectively analysed in relation to patterns of digital media use and their importance. Once the researcher has a broad idea of the existing conditions in which migrants survive, live and move, it becomes easier to focus the study on the practices and reflections that render (digital) communication imperative, such as a migration detention centre, or the random places migrants cross daily on their way to new borders.

Hence, the proposed travelling with the traveller framework can offer genuine insights into the implications of digital inclusion (or the absence of it) for the levels of experiencing, combating or alleviating all sorts of adversities, volatile emotions, unanticipated problems and moments of uncertainty or crisis that home country leavers so often encounter on the move from homeland to another land, from one life setting to another. Even beyond the study of migrants' digital inclusion, it should not come as a surprise if a researcher decides to become a traveller, since the nature of ethnography does not prohibit it in any way. However, this might sound a bit unruly because it is common for ethnographers to focus on one particular 'culture' or 'context' during scientific

exploration. It is standard to visit the place or culture and reside there for an extended period until they have gathered all necessary data. This does not allow the researcher to capture what we witness in the present: the relocation of people and cultures and, on a larger scale, the revisiting of the legitimacy and power of the nation-state.

Therefore, by following the steps and stops of populations that are mobile (not always by choice), the researcher can reach an understanding of the situation under research, and witness the interconnection between behaviours and the surrounding environments, so as to make sense of relations of causality or interdependency. Another advantage of the 'travelling with the traveller' ethnographic framework is that the researcher can develop relationships of trust with participants since researcher and participant will experience shared adventures. Such feelings of sharing and increasing trust can initiate lively discussions between researcher and participant; discussions that will not be limited to the given time of study but will bring to light individual and collective memories of the past, as well as aspirations for the future. Consequently, trust in combination with the continuous presence of the researcher will allow recordings of collective and individual memory to be made in real time. The fact that the participant will not have the time to analyse and rationalise their experiences means that the researcher will be in a position to grasp a unique

set of the participant's thoughts and emotions while they are still vivid, unprocessed and thus original. In addition, being in the same location and sharing experiences during the journey will help the researcher compare the similarities and differences between a real event and the way people narrate it. This will give the researcher the opportunity to reflect on what they recorded as and thought of an event in comparison to the participant, a process that can bring to light possible stereotypes or very different points of view.

Nevertheless, we understand that the principles and techniques of the proposed 'travelling with the traveller' framework must be employed and tested in empirical research. Specific cases or waves of migration could be deployed to pursue the empirical operationalisation of the proposed framework, with the aim of reaching concrete conclusions about the insights and knowledge that the proposed framework can offer to those researching migrants' digital inclusion. From a longer-term perspective, the possibility of deploying the proposed framework in studies that examine other migration-related phenomena beyond migrants' digital inclusion should be investigated. The epistemological and methodological value of this framework for migration studies, more broadly, is something on which researchers should begin to elaborate and reflect.

## References

Alonso, A. and Oiarzabal, P. (2010), *Diasporas in the New Media Age*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.



- Anderson, B. (1998), Long distance nationalism. In B. Anderson (Ed.), *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World* (pp. 58–74). London: Verso.
- Ang, I. (1985), *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination*. London: Methuen.
- Arango, J. (2004), Theories of international migration. In D. Joly (Ed.), *International Migration and the New Millennium* (pp. 15–36). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Appadurai, A. (1997), *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions in Globalization*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ardévol, E. (2012), Virtual/visual ethnography: methodological crossroads at the intersection of visual and internet research. In S. Pink (Ed.), *Advances in Visual Methodology* (pp. 74–93). London: Sage.
- Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (2001), *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage.
- BBC News (2013), *The Technology Aiming to Help Refugees* [online]. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-25351763> [Accessed: 11 March 2016].
- Beaulieu, A. (2004), Mediating ethnography: objectivity and the makings of ethnographies on the Internet. *Social Epistemology*, 18, 139–164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0269172042000249264>
- Beaulieu, A. and Simakova, E. (2006), Textured connectivity: an ethnographic approach to understanding the timescape of hyperlinks. *Cybermetrics*, 10(1).
- Boellstorff, T. (2008), *Coming of Age in Second Life: An Anthropologist Explores the Virtually Human*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Boellstorff, T., Nardi, B., Pearce, C. and Taylor, T.L. (2012), *Ethnography of Virtual Worlds: A Handbook of Method*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Burrell, J. (2009), The field site as a network: a strategy for locating ethnographic research. *Field Methods*, 21(2), 181–199. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X08329699>
- Castles, S., De Haas, H. and Miller, M. (2014), *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. 5th Edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Chatty, D. (2010), *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Crowley-Henry, M. (2009), Ethnography: visions & versions. In J. Hogan, P. Dolan and P. Donnelly (Eds.), *Approaches to Qualitative Research: Theory and Its Practical Application* (pp. 37–63). Cork, IRL: Oak Tree Press.
- Curran, J. (1990), The new revisionism in mass communication research: a reappraisal. *European Journal of Communication*, 5(2–3), 135–164. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323190005002002>
- De Haas, H. (2014), *Migration Theory: Quo Vadis?* DEMIG project paper 24, International Migration Institute (IMI) Working Paper Series 2014, No. 10, University of Oxford. Available at <https://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/publications/wp-100-14> [Accessed: 25 July 2016].
- Drotner, K. (1989), Girl meets boy: aesthetic production, reception and gender identity. *Cultural Studies*, 3(2), 208–225.
- Drotner, K. (1993), Media ethnography: an other story?. In U. Carlsson (Ed.), *Nordisk Forskning om Kvinnor och Medier* (pp.25–40). Goteborg: Nordicom. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502388900490141>

- Drotner, K. (1994), Ethnographic enigmas: 'the everyday' in recent media studies. *Cultural Studies*, 8(2), 341–357. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502389400490491>
- Fetterman, D. (1998), *Ethnography: Step by Step*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fielding, N. (2008), Ethnography. In N. Gilbert (Ed.), *Researching Social Life*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edn (pp. 266–284). Los Angeles, London: Sage.
- Fiske, J. (1987), *Television Culture*. London and New York: Methuen.
- Fiske, J. (1990), Women and quiz shows: consumerism, patriarchy and resisting pleasures. In M. Brown (Ed.), *Television and Women's Culture: The Politics of the Popular* (pp.134–143). London and Newbury Park: Sage.
- Georgiou, M. (2006), *Diaspora, Identity and the Media: Diasporic Transnationalism and Mediated Spatialities*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Gill, J. and Johnson, P. (1991), *Research Methods for Managers*. London: Chapman Publishing Ltd.
- Gillespie, M. (1995), *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change*. London: Comedia.
- Gillespie, M., Ampofo, L., Cheesman, M., Faith, B., Iliadou, E., Issa, A., Osseiran, S. and Skleparis, D., (2016), *Mapping Refugee Media Journeys*, The Open University and France Médias Monde. Available at: [http://www.open.ac.uk/ccig/sites/www.open.ac.uk/ccig/files/Mapping%20Refugee%20Media%20Journeys%2016%20May%20FIN%20MG\\_0.pdf](http://www.open.ac.uk/ccig/sites/www.open.ac.uk/ccig/files/Mapping%20Refugee%20Media%20Journeys%2016%20May%20FIN%20MG_0.pdf) [Accessed: 1 August 2016].
- Gobo, G. (2008), *Doing Ethnography*. Los Angeles, Calif.: Sage.
- Gray, A. (1992), *Video Playtime: The Gendering of a Leisure Technology*. London: Routledge.
- Hagen-Zanker, J. (2008), Why do people migrate? A review of the theoretical literature. MPRA Paper 28197, University Library of Munich, Germany.
- Hiller, H. and Franz, T. (2004), New ties, old ties and lost ties: the use of the internet in diaspora. *New Media & Society*, 6(6), 731–752. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146144804044327>
- Hine, C. (2000), *Virtual Ethnography*. London: Sage.
- Hine, C. (2008), Overview: virtual ethnography: modes, varieties, affordances. In N.G. Fielding, R.M. Lee and G. Blank (Eds.), *Handbook of Online Research Methods* (pp. 257–270). London: Sage.
- Horst, H., Hjorth, L. and Tacchi, J. (2012), Rethinking ethnography: an introduction. *Media International Australia*, 145, 86–93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X1214500110>
- Karim, K.H. (Ed.) (2003), *The Media of Diaspora*. London: Routledge.
- Kissau, K., & Hunger, U. (2010), The internet as a means of studying transnationalism and diaspora. In R. Bauböck and T. Faist (Eds.), *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods* (pp. 245–265). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Komito, L. (2011), Social media and migration: virtual community 2.0. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 62(6), 1075–1086. <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.21517>
- Komito, L. and Bates, J. (2011), *Migrants' information practices and use of social media in Ireland: Networks and community*. In: Proceedings of iConference 2011. ACM, Seattle, WA, pp. 289–295. ISBN: 978-4503-0121.
- Kozinets, R. (2010). *Netnography*. London: Sage.



- Kurekova, L. (2011), *Theories of migration: Conceptual review and empirical testing in the context of the EU East-West flows*. Paper prepared for Interdisciplinary conference on Migration. Economic Change, Social Challenge. 6–9 April 2011, University College London, London, UK. Available at [https://cream.conference-services.net/resources/952/2371/pdf/MECSC2011\\_0139\\_paper.pdf](https://cream.conference-services.net/resources/952/2371/pdf/MECSC2011_0139_paper.pdf) [Accessed: 1 August 2016].
- La Pastina, A. C. (2005), Audience ethnographies: a media engagement approach. In E.W. Rothenbuhler and M. Coman (Eds.), *Media Anthropology* (pp. 139–148). London: Sage.
- Lee, E.S. (1966), A theory of migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47–57. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2060063>
- Leung, L. (2011), *Taking refuge in technology: communication practices in refugee camps and migration detention*. Research Paper No. 202. UNHCR Policy and Evaluation Service. Available at <http://www.unhcr.org/4d5b992b9.html> [Accessed: 3 April 2016].
- Lull, J. (1988), Critical response: the audience as nuisance. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 5(3), 239–243.
- Lull, J. (1990), *Inside Family Viewing: Ethnographic Research on Television Audiences*. London: Routledge.
- Mason, J. (2002), *Qualitative Researching*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn. London: Sage.
- Massey, D., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J. (1993). Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19 (3), 431–466. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2938462>
- Mattelart, T. (2010). Media, migrations and transnational cultures. In S. Papathanassopoulos (Ed.), *Media Perspectives for the 21st Century* (pp. 100–114). New York: Routledge.
- Mitra, A. (2005). Creating migrant identities in cybernetic space: examples from a non-resident Indian website. *Media, Culture & Society*, 27(3), 371–390. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443705051749>
- Moore, S. (1993), *Interpreting Audiences. The Ethnography of Media Consumption*. London: Sage.
- Morley, D. (1989), Changing paradigms in audience studies. In E. Seiter et al. (Eds.), *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power* (pp.16–43). London and New York: Routledge.
- Morley, D. (1980), *The 'Nationwide' Audience: Structure and Decoding*. London: British Film Institute.
- Morley, D. (1986), *Family Television: Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure*. London: Comedia.
- Morley, D. (1992), *Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Murphy, P.D. (1999), Media cultural studies' uncomfortable embrace of ethnography. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 23(3), 205–221. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0196859999023003002>
- Nyamnjoh, M. (2013), *Bridging Mobilities: ICTs Appropriation by Cameroonians in South Africa and the Netherlands*. Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG.
- La Pastina, A.C. (2005), Audience ethnographies: a media engagement approach. In E.W. Rothenbuhler and M. Coman (Eds.), *Media Anthropology* (pp. 139–148). London: Sage.
- Peeters, A. L. and d'Haenens, L. (2005), Bridging or bonding? Relationships between integration and media use among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research*, 30(2), 201–231. <https://doi.org/10.1515/comm.2005.30.2.201>

- Pink, S. (2001), *Doing Visual Ethnography*. London: Sage.
- Poster, M. (1998), Virtual ethnicity: tribal identity in an age of global communications. In S. Jones (Ed.), *Cybersociety 2.0: Revisiting CMC and Community* (pp.184–211). London: Sage.
- Postill, J. and Pink, S. (2012), Social media ethnography: the digital researcher in a messy web. *Media International Australia*, 145, 123–134.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X1214500114>
- QUARTZ (2015), *The Most Crucial Item that Migrants and Refugees Carry is a Smartphone* [online]. Available at <http://qz.com/500062/the-most-crucial-item-that-migrants-and-refugees-carry-is-a-smartphone> [Accessed: 11 March 2016].
- Radway, J. (1984 [1987]), *Reading the Romance. Women, Patriarchy and Popular Culture*. London: Verso.
- Ravenstein, E.G. (1885), The Laws of Migration – I. *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 48(2), 167–227.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2979181>
- Ravenstein, E.G. (1889), The Laws of Migration – II. *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 52(2), 214–301.
- Righard, E. (2012), Theories and typologies of migration: An overview and a primer. Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations 3/12. Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM), Malmö University, Sweden.
- Salt, J. (1987), Contemporary trends in international migration study. *International Migration*, 25(3), 241–251.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.1987.tb00586.x>  
PMid:12159538
- Silverstone, R. (1990), Television and everyday life: towards an anthropology of the television audience. In M. Ferguson (Ed.), *Public Communication: The New Imperatives* (pp. 173–205). London: Sage.
- Silverstone, R. and Hirsch, E. (Eds.) (1990), *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces*. London: Routledge.
- Seiter, E. et al. (1989), Don't treat us like we're stupid and naive. Towards an ethnography of soap opera viewers. In Seiter, E. et al. (Eds.), *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power* (pp. 223–247). London and New York: Routledge.
- Skop, E. and Adams, P.C. (2009), Creating and inhabiting virtual places: Indian migrants in cyberspace. *National Identities*, 11(2), 127–147.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14608940902891161>
- Spradley, J. (1980), *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Sykas, T. (2008), *Foreign Migrants in the European rural areas: the case of Greece* (in Greek). Ph.D Thesis. Department of Economics, University of Macedonia, Greece. Available at [https://dspace.lib.uom.gr/bitstream/2159/13999/2/Sykas\\_PhD2010.pdf](https://dspace.lib.uom.gr/bitstream/2159/13999/2/Sykas_PhD2010.pdf) [Accessed: 31 July 2016].
- Tazzioli, M. (2015), The politics of counting and the scene of rescue. *Radical Philosophy*, 192(July/August). Available at <https://www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/the-politics-of-counting-and-the-scene-of-rescue> [Accessed: 10 March 2016].
- Thomas, J. (1993), *Doing Critical Ethnography*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.

Tomanek, A. (2011), *Understanding Migration: International Migration Theories*. Available at <http://understandingmigration.blogspot.gr/2011/03/international-migration-theories.html> [Accessed: 31 July 2016].

Tsatsou, P. (2014), *Internet studies: Past, Present and Future Directions*. Surrey: Ashgate.

UNHCR. (2015), *Worldwide Displacement Hits All-time High as War and Persecution Increase*. Available at <http://www.unhcr.org/558193896.html> [Accessed: 25 March 2016].

USAID (2014), *DadaabNet: Wiring the World's Largest Refugee Camp*. Available at <https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/frontlines/energy-infrastructure/dadaabnet-wiring-worlds-largest-refugee-camp> [Accessed: 10 March 2016].

Wallerstein, I. (1974), *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press.

Walsh, D. (2012), Doing ethnography. In C. Seale (2012). *Researching Society and Culture*. 3rd Edn. (pp.245–262). London: Sage.

WIRED (2015), *The Smartphone Completely Changed the Refugee Crisis* [online]. Available at <http://www.wired.com/2015/12/smartphone-syrian-refugee-crisis/> [Accessed: 11 March 2016].



Cardiff University Press  
Gwasg Prifysgol Caerdydd

[www.cardiffuniversitypress.org](http://www.cardiffuniversitypress.org)

**This article was first published in *JOMEC Journal***

*JOMEC Journal* is an online, open-access and peer reviewed journal dedicated to publishing the highest quality innovative academic work in Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies. It is published by Cardiff University Press and run by an editorial collective based in the School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies at Cardiff University, committed both to open-access publication and to maintaining the highest standards of rigour and academic integrity. *JOMEC Journal* is peer reviewed with an international, multi-disciplinary Editorial Board and Advisory Panel. It welcomes work that is located in any one of these disciplines, as well as interdisciplinary work that approaches Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies as overlapping and interlocking fields. It is particularly interested in work that addresses the political and ethical dimensions, stakes, problematics and possibilities of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies.

To submit a paper or to discuss publication, please contact [jomecjournal@cardiff.ac.uk](mailto:jomecjournal@cardiff.ac.uk)

**Editors:** Evelina Kazakeviciute and Alida Payson

**Executive Editor:** Professor Paul Bowman

[www.cf.ac.uk/jomecjournal](http://www.cf.ac.uk/jomecjournal)

Twitter: @JOMECjournal

ISSN: ISSN 2049-2340

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License. Based on a work at [www.cf.ac.uk/jomecjournal](http://www.cf.ac.uk/jomecjournal).

