

**XENOPHOBIA AND THE MEDIA: AN INVESTIGATION
INTO THE TEXTUAL REPRESENTATION OF BLACK
'FOREIGNERS' IN THE DAILY SUN, A SOUTH AFRICA
TABLOID (FEBRUARY 2008 - DECEMBER 2008)**

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**A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters
in Sociology in the Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape**

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Key Words

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Immigrant

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Tabloid

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Moral panics



Abstract

XENOPHOBIA AND THE MEDIA: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE TEXTUAL REPRESENTATION OF BLACK 'FOREIGNERS' IN THE DAILY SUN, A SOUTH AFRICA TABLOID (FEBRUARY 2008 - DECEMBER 2008)

This mini-thesis is a discourse analysis of the representations of black 'foreigners' in the media with reference to xenophobia. In this specific context, the study investigates and analyses the textual representations of black 'foreigners' in the *Daily Sun*, a South African tabloid newspaper during the period February 2008 till December 2008. For the theoretical and systematic framework, the study essentially combined critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1993, Wodak, 2012) and the notion moral panics to explain the language used and subsequent impact of the media in shaping xenophobic attitudes (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994). This investigation into the representations of black foreigners examines the media coverage of black African immigrant stories that appeared in the *Daily Sun* in the designated time period. A total of one hundred and twenty-four (124) news articles were selected from the files reserved at the South African National Archives in Cape Town. These data are extracts of news articles from the *Daily Sun* newspaper collected during the progress of the study. The main focus of this investigation is on how the *Daily Sun* portrayed and depicted black foreigners and the violence perpetuated against them. This study found that, on the one hand the *Daily Sun*, portrayed black foreigners as victims and on the other hand as aggressors or abusers of the social and legal system in South Africa. This ambiguity reflects the relationship between black foreigners and black local citizens. Black foreigners themselves are a diverse group and the *Daily Sun* depicts these nationalities in different, often stereotypical ways. This study contributes to our understanding of black African immigration to South Africa as well as the responses of local citizens to this process. By focusing on how representations of African immigrants are constructed in this specific South African tabloid newspaper, we are given insight into the xenophobic attitudes of many ordinary South Africans.

Date: November 2014

Declaration

I declare that *Xenophobia and the Media: An investigation into the textual representation of black 'foreigners' in the Daily Sun, a South African tabloid (February 2008 - December 2008)*, is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references

Full name: Marius Debonaire Mbetga

Signed:



Date: November 2014

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Thank you all for your support.

May God inspire us with humanity and help us utilize it for a harmonious society



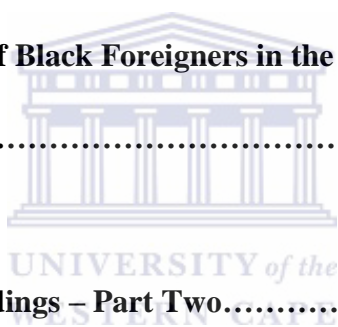
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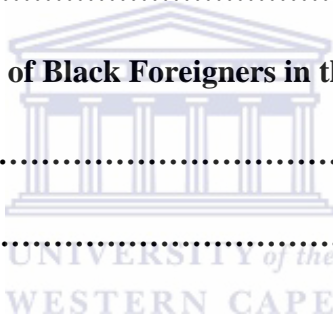
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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

In May 2008, South Africa became the focus of international media attention and global condemnation when African migrants, viewed as ‘foreigners’, were violently attacked in various parts of the country.

These incidents revealed that, despite the transition to democracy, post-apartheid South African society has not managed to rid itself of all discriminatory attitudes and practices. According to Valji (2003) their persistence is demonstrated by xenophobia and the increase in violence directed against black ‘foreigners’. ¹ Harris (2002: 169) agrees and argues that, “*prejudice and violence continue to mark contemporary South Africa*”. She continues, “*Indeed, the shift in political power has brought about a range of new discriminatory practices and victims. One such victim is 'The Foreigner'. Emergent alongside a new-nation discourse, 'The Foreigner' stands at a site where identity, racism and violent practice are reproduced*” (ibid). This thesis argues that, the mass media plays a role in the process of ‘othering’ African migrants. Xenophobic portrayals and anti-immigrant discourse are partly rooted in local people’s fears, as well as the struggle for access to scarce political, social and economic resources.

Xenophobia has also been linked to *new racism* which is based on the discriminatory treatment of the “other”, on the basis of the “other’s” national origin, culture or ethnicity (Biles and Ibrahim, 2005: 172). For Valji (2003: 2) these ideas and actions can only be understood “*in the interplay between economics, migration, nationalism, and the unique history and transformation South Africa has experienced in the past decade.*” Adam and Moodly argue that xenophobia needs to be viewed in the context of the past. According to them (2000: 63-64), “*the*

¹ ‘**Foreigners**’ is a derogatory term commonly used. Foreigner is understood as outlander, outsider or stranger. The distrust of foreign nationals among locals had increased from 60% in 2008 to 67% in 2011. (<http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/10/09/sa-does-not-trust-foreigners-survey>, accessed 9 October 2012)

psychological implications of apartheid persist. They manifest themselves in both negative and positive forms. Racial victims frequently internalize the dominant definitions of themselves.” They continue: *“the more powerless and threatened group members feel, the greater their need to denigrate others below them”* (ibid). This observation is illustrated by the fact that, xenophobic attitudes are *“strongest among street hawkers and squatters, not only because of competition for scarce survival space but for the rare opportunity to ostracize others. In this way, new identities of superiority are manufactured”* (ibid).

The main focus of this investigation is whether the *Daily Sun* perpetuates or promotes xenophobic attitudes through its reporting. In some ways, their depiction, this local tabloid reflects the opinions and views of a large number of ordinary South Africans. In this sense xenophobia is a widely held attitude. Valji (2003: 3) confirms this and he argues that, *“the rise of popular sentiments of intolerance amongst all sectors of South African society has occurred over a relatively short period of time – but it has led to a national unity that exists on few other issues. Regardless of race, education level, or income bracket, South Africans appear to feel similarly about those who come to the country from outside”*.

African migrants are blamed for crime, HIV/AIDS and they are accused of stealing jobs from local South Africans. It is not ‘foreigners’ originating from Europe who are targeted, but black Africans. This racialised stereotype of ‘foreigners’ is perpetuated by the local media, in particular tabloids like the *Daily Sun*. For instance, *“the press rarely differentiates between ‘illegal alien’ and other categories of migrant, and as a result studies show that the ability of the average South African to make this distinction is limited”* (Pigou, Valji et al., 1998: 4).

Furthermore, there is also a class dimension to xenophobia and those ‘foreigners’ who are discriminated against are mostly poor and belong to the working classes. Hans Magnus Enzensberger (1994: 121, quoted in Adam and Moodley, 2000: 59) explains: *“For businessmen from Hong Kong the acquisition of a British passport is no problem. For immigrants from any country, Swiss citizenship too, is only a matter of price. No one has ever objected to the colour of*

the Sultan of Brunei's skin. Where bank accounts look healthy, xenophobia disappears as if by magic. But strangers are all the stranger if they are poor."

This thesis examines xenophobia and the media. It is specifically an investigation into the textual representation of black 'foreigners' in *Daily Sun*, a South African tabloid during the period from February 2008 until December 2008. The changing patterns and trends identifiable within this local newspaper reporting on 'foreigners' living in South Africa during the indicated period, are identified and examined in this study.

'Foreigners' are the focus of certain kinds of headlines and stories and some issues are considered to be more newsworthy than others. It appears that the media's interest peaks when violence is perpetuated against 'foreigners.' Black foreigners in general are often portrayed as victims or targets, and/or as criminals or abusers of the system in South Africa. However, black 'foreigners' in *Daily Sun* are a diverse group and are also portrayed and depicted differently by the *Daily Sun*. These different portrayals, based on nationality, are discussed later on in this thesis.

This study examines the headlines, stories and texts about black 'foreigners' in *Daily Sun*. During the xenophobic attacks or violence in 2008, black 'foreigners' were the subject of numerous news headlines and articles. This South African tabloid was accessed in hard copies via the collaboration and co-operation of the National Library of South Africa.

This research uses critical discourse analysis as the main method and technique of analysis. The analysis is based on the in-depth examination of print texts of the *Daily Sun* in the period from February 2008 until December 2008.

1.2. Context and Background to the Study

My interest in xenophobia and the media peaked in 2008 when the xenophobic violence directed against black foreign nationals living in various parts of the country made news headlines. As someone who is himself a ‘foreigner’, these events had a strong personal impact and motivated me to examine the underlying factors that led to the attacks.

As someone who is interested in the media and its portrayal of certain groups within society, coupled with my background in linguistics, I became increasingly interested in the ways in which the print media in this country depicted foreign nationals. While examining various newspaper articles, I observed that *Daily Sun* in particular, has been very active in reporting stories relating to foreign nationals living in this country.

In addition, I have found that there are relatively few academic studies that focus specifically on the textual representation of black foreign nationals with reference to xenophobia in South Africa. This study contributes towards the existing body of academic literature on the topic. In the light of the fact this issue, xenophobia is a divisive issue that has the potential to destabilize the country, the political, economic and ideological factors that underpin these sentiments and responses need to be understood.

1.3. Research Objectives

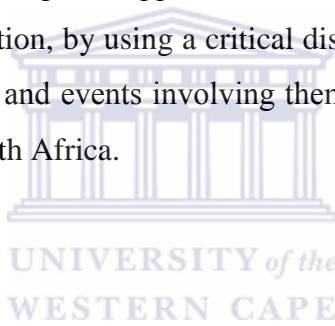
The research objectives are to examine:

- The ways in which the *Daily Sun* reports on black immigrants in South Africa,
- The textual representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*,
- The specific language used by the *Daily Sun* to depict and describe black ‘foreigners.’

- The stereotypical ways in which the *Daily Sun* represents various black foreigners and the different classifications or identities attributed to them,
- Why certain representations of ‘foreigners’ are constructed in the *Daily Sun*,
- How the representations and constructions of black ‘foreigners’ in the *Daily Sun* changed during the period from February 2008 to December 2008,
- How the *Daily Sun* presents and portrays the violence perpetuated against ‘foreigners’ in South Africa,
- The underlying factors that led to the May 2008 xenophobic attacks.

1.4. Aims of the Study

Stories and/or news about black ‘foreigners’ appear almost every day in the *Daily Sun*. The main aim of this research is an investigation, by using a critical discourse analysis, into how the *Daily Sun* reported on black ‘foreigners’ and events involving them during 2008, which was a critical year in terms of xenophobia in South Africa.



1.5. Significance of the Study

Media representation of black ‘foreigners’ is of contemporary relevance and significance in the light of the increased level of migration and immigration to South Africa since 1994. The xenophobic attacks that took place during the year 2008, and the huge scale of these attacks directed against black ‘foreigners’ in particular make the topic especially important. In this thesis, I examine how black ‘foreigners’ are represented in the *Daily Sun* in that given period, and what category or classification of identities are assigned to them. With reference to this construction of identities, I consider that this focus of study is crucially significant with the intention of allowing open discussion within the South African society. I also hope to be able to contribute to the available research on the topic, so that solutions to this problem can be found.

1.6. Scope and Limits of the Study

This study is limited in approach and scope since it focuses on one particular newspaper, the *Daily Sun*. It also only looks at texts reproduced in this newspaper within the specified time period. The investigation into the textual representation of black ‘foreigners’, which is central to this study, only looks at articles related only to xenophobic violence and stories about black ‘foreigners’ conducted in *Daily Sun*.

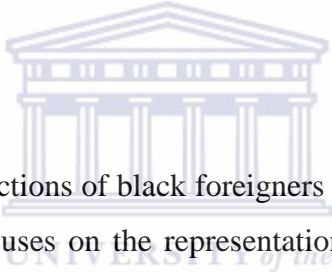
1.7. Overview of Chapters

Chapter One, introduces the topic and offers a broad summary of issues related to the media and xenophobia. Mass media depictions are significant in influencing how black foreigners are viewed and perceived. The chapter emphasizes the significant relationship between xenophobia through immigration, highlighting that the mass media play a fundamental role in defining exactly how black foreigners are perceived and represented in the society. The chapter outlines the research aims and objectives. It also discusses the significance of the study, takes into consideration the contextual background, and offers the justification for carrying out the investigation. In addition, Chapter One highlights the limitations of the study.

Chapter Two examines the literature on xenophobia generally, and the role of the media in reporting on the issue specifically. It describes the developments and environment of xenophobia in South Africa. In addition, the chapter examines xenophobia with reference to legislation and government policy. The chapter also looks at foreigners, unemployment and the South African economy. The negatives attitudes towards foreigners and the social impacts of xenophobia and xenophobic violence in South Africa are discussed. Finally, the chapter outlines the theoretical framework that frames the study. The theoretical framework for this research is based on critical discourse analysis. In addition, the idea of moral panics is used to explain xenophobia and media reports on the issue. In this regard, the discourse analytical approaches of Van Dijk (1993) and Wodak (2012) are of great importance and moral panics of Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994), of great value to this study.

Chapter Three describes the research process. The chapter explains the research methodological techniques used for data collection and analysis. The chapter elaborates on the data collection from the *Daily Sun* files, which was made possible through the cooperation of the South African National Archives.

Chapter Four is one of three chapters that discuss the findings. It examines the most important themes in terms of the sometimes ambiguous portrayal and depiction of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*. The chapter pays particular attention to the constructions of black foreigners as “aliens” and illegal immigrants in the *Daily Sun*. The chapter also focuses on other constructions such as “foreigners”, “foreign residents” and “African brothers” in the tabloid. The chapter also describes the change in representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* that has taken place over time.



Chapter Five highlights the constructions of black foreigners as the unknown people in the *Daily Sun*. The chapter, furthermore, focuses on the representations of black foreigners as criminals and aggressors, as well as the representations of black foreigners as victims in the tabloid newspaper.

Chapter Six analyses the nationalities and various stereotypes of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*. The chapter also deals with the coverage of the violence perpetuated against black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*.

Chapter Seven is concerned with the conclusion of the research. The chapter concludes the study. The chapter re-examines the research questions and summarizes the findings of the data analysis. This chapter takes into account the developing outcomes of the data analysis in terms of depictions and stereotyping, moral panic, nationalities and representations of black African immigrants in the *Daily Sun*.

1.8. Summary

This chapter has looked at the context and background of the studies. The research questions have been clearly specified and defined. The purpose of the study has been highlighted. The significance of the study has been discussed. The scope and limits of the research have been mentioned, and the overview of the chapters of the study has been elaborated in the chapter. The following chapter looks at the literature review concerning the research.



CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the existing literature on the topic of xenophobia and the media. It also offers conceptual definitions and the research framework is elaborated. Some of the main themes dealt with in these various written sources, include past and present political policies and practices; socio-economic concerns, racism and the role of the media. The focus of media discourse on race related concerns has shifted to new manifestations of racism such as xenophobia (www.csvr.org.za/docs/foreigners/shades.pdf). Media coverage of racism and xenophobia share similar traits and the simplistic and stereotypical, mostly negative depictions of the 'other' prevails - the first in terms of race, and the second in terms of nationality (ibid).

Although the media generally is aware of using stereotypes in their reporting on xenophobic violence, this still happens all too often, Familiar, often racist images and representations are reproduced by the media, and widely accepted by the public (carienjouwten.wordpress.com). This study attempts to investigate how and why certain representations of 'foreigners' in the local media, specifically the *Daily Sun*, are constructed. Although there have been a few studies that examined the role of the media and representation of 'foreigners' in the South African context, none have focused specifically on the representations in this local tabloid in the period immediately after the violent attacks in May 2008. But, before elaborating on these themes or outlining the underlying theoretical perspectives, it is necessary to discuss the terms and concepts that will be used in this thesis.

2.2. Basic Terminology and Key Concepts

In the context of this research, there is a necessity to mention that certain basic and fundamental terms are used. Among the central terms and key words used throughout this study are: xenophobia, media, migration, violence, representation, black 'foreigners,' nationality, racism,

ethnicity, South African nationals, Afrophobia, tabloid, newspaper, discourse analysis. The basic terms used in this study require clarification in order to facilitate a better understanding of the research and the background to this investigation. This thesis makes use of the commonly used dictionary definitions of terms such as xenophobia, racism, ethnicity and nationality as they are used in the media.

According to Baumgartl and Favell (1995:7), *“It is important not to confuse nationalism and xenophobia. Nationalism may indeed be inherently xenophobic – if a man loves his nation, but loves others equally, can he be called a nationalist? – but not all xenophobia is nationalistic. Cultural differences and social boundaries have existed at most times and in most places; quite often, there was tension and hostility at those boundaries. This is xenophobia, hostility to the Other, and it is a very general phenomenon indeed, so general and so polymorphous...”*

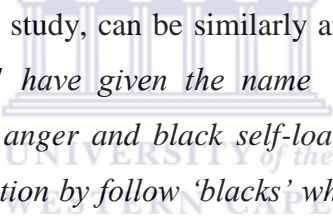
The term xenophobia is, from the linguistic and morphological point of view, the combination of two words: ‘*xeno*’ and ‘*phobia*’. Phobia is an “extreme or irrational fear or dislike of a specified thing” according to South African Concise Oxford Dictionary (2009: 876) and ‘*xeno*’ means “relating to a foreigner or foreigners” (2009: 1358). In the context of this study, xenophobia is understood as the extreme, dangerous and/or irrational fear or dislike of foreigners by local South African nationals. This definition is also used by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC).

I concur with the view that *“xenophobia is the deep dislike of non-nationals of a recipient state. [...] Xenophobia, in the psychological sense, is an irrational and debilitating anxiety induced by fear of strangers, foreign things and places. Like other phobias it afflicts individuals and can be treated or cured by therapist”* (Shepherd and Robins, 2008: 257).

Nationality and ethnicity are both social constructions and people from other African countries are often seen as ‘outsiders.’ This is highly problematic, especially since they are Africans in Africa. South African nationals can be understood as South African citizens. In this research, the

concept of citizenship involves belonging and exclusion. This means belonging of South African citizens to the same nation and exclusion of foreigners considered as strangers and who do not belong to the nation of South Africa. Nationals can be understood as citizens and non-citizens as foreigners. The antagonism between black citizens and black foreigners creates what can be called 'Afrophobia' that can involve a form of violence.

Afrophobia is, from the linguistic and morphological point of view, the amalgamation of two entities, specifically 'afro' and 'phobia'. 'Afro' in this context means African. Afrophobia can be understood as the extreme, dangerous and/or irrational fear or dislike of black foreigners or Africans from other countries by black South African citizens. Afrophobia can be defined as an increasingly dangerous and unreasonable fear of black African immigrants by black African South Africans.



Afrophobia, in the structure of this study, can be similarly and mutually called negrophobia, as *“a number of commentators [...] have given the name ‘negrophobia’ to this coupling of historical amnesia with displaced anger and black self-loathing. Darker skin betrays foreign African origins and invites persecution by follow ‘blacks’ who see their lighter skin as the most telling signifier of the South African belonging”* (Hassim *et al.* 2008: 16).

Migration, in general, refers to the movement of people or things from one point of departure to a point of arrival or destination for specific and / or diverse reasons. In the case of this study, people migrate from their country of origin to South Africa. For this reason, they are considered as immigrants or migrants. With reference to African foreign nationals in South Africa, this migration can be called 'intra-continental migration': this means immigration or migration in the same continent, Africa.

According to Zimmerman and Unnithan (1973: 8), *“an immigrant people are foreign to their new environment until the grandchildren forget the language. Then they become foreign to the*

mother country of their grandparents". The concepts of immigrant and foreign in the circumstance of this study need more clarifications. With reference to time and space, the meaning and description of the concepts of immigrant and foreign have changed.

Africa is a continent where most of the countries are poor and / or undeveloped. South Africa, a country, situated at the southern tip of Africa, is highly developed in terms of its economic development and social infrastructure and is considered by many African immigrants as a 'country of hope'. South Africa is considered to be a newly developed country. After 1994, the country constituted an attraction for foreigners in general and black 'foreigners' in particular.

Black 'foreigners' tend to be depicted and portrayed differently from locals in the South African media in general. According to Barrat (1986: 13), "*mass media is a convenient shorthand term usually used to describe all those forms of communication that reach large audiences. It includes film, television, radio, newspapers, magazines, popular literature, and music*". The data and information of this study limits itself to a specific type of newspaper, namely a tabloid. I understand by tabloid, a daily or weekly paper of small form and format that gives or provides news in a summarized form, typically with illustrated and frequently sensational material to its readers or audiences.

Tabloids present and offer diverse representations of immigrants through language used and in use. Hall (1997: 1) argues that, "*in language, we use signs and symbols [...] to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings. Language is one of the 'media' through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture*". It is significant to mention here that representation through language is consequently crucial and central to the ways or processes by which ideas are shaped and formed in a particular culture and society.

Representation through language, in some contexts and to a certain format, can make use of stereotypes. According to Barrat (1986: 42-3), *“the concept of stereotype, as a kind of ‘blinkered’ mental attitude, is a notion imported into media study from psychology. [...] The stereotype notion is clearly linked in some ways to the sociological notion of deviant labels. [...] Deviant labels are descriptions or versions of behaviour that undermine and devalue that behaviour. [...] By contrast stereotypes frequently attempt to validate certain roles and behaviour. Far from being necessarily negative (though some are) they often present us with positive models of behaviour to emulate”*. With reference to this understanding, and with regard to media representation through language used or in use, deviant labels are always negative and stereotypes can be positive or negative and this depends on the social and cultural contexts of stereotyping.

In the context of this research, the representation in consideration is not about the physical image of black foreigners but about the textual representation of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*, a South African tabloid. This depiction of African foreigners makes use of a particular form of discourse. This is discussed in greater detail further on in this chapter where the theoretical perspectives that informed this study are highlighted. The main topics discussed in the literature on the topic, xenophobia, will be dealt with next.

2.3. Key Themes in the Literature

As mentioned previously, several studies on xenophobia have been done in recent years. They have tended to focus on topics such as the inefficiencies and shortcomings of the Department of Home Affairs and the government’s immigration policy. Other concerns that have been researched include the social and economic implications of immigration, local attitudes, violence perpetuated against foreigners and the role of the media in portraying foreigners in certain, often negative ways. Attention is now turned to the various political and legal concerns linked to xenophobia. It is an important to mention that this chapter related to literature review presents an in-depth discussion and analysis of xenophobia and the media, not just locally but internationally.

Xenophobia is not specific to South Africa. Xenophobia is a global issue and internationally there have been many studies conducted and the way(s) media report on this social problem. Some research has been conducted in this regard by some researchers at the European University, Florence. In their book, product of their research, *New Xenophobia in Europe*, Baumgartl Bernd, Favell Adrian and co-authors describe xenophobia in their own specific and respective country. This social issue of xenophobia varies from one country to another. The phenomenon of xenophobia across Europe presents similarities and differences and each country with its own complexities, particularities and variations.

As similarities amongst these studies conducted, Baumgartl and Favell, (1995: 2) point out the importance to underline “*the nature of negative feelings and treatment against foreigners and how these sentiments are increasingly being used by politicians within the countries concerned.*” Xenophobia is not only used at the grassroots (or general public) level, but also by politicians at the elite level, where the interaction at the middle level of the society concerned is also not negligible.

At the international level, there are many varieties of forms and experiences of xenophobia across the world. And to comprehend the complexities, particularities and varieties of this phenomenon, the social and cultural contexts of its happenings need to be clearly defined. Xenophobia, to this extent, is a multidimensional social issue. In the studies conducted by Baumgartl et al. (1995), that cover 27 European countries. Nation-state and exclusiveness form the main arguments pointed out by these researchers.

The notion of nation-state seems to be characteristic to European countries and is not necessarily applicable to African countries where countries’ boundaries were and are still the products of colonization and European imperialism. These colonial boundaries cannot be linguistically, ethnically and socially clear-cut. For example, people from the same linguistic and ethnic background in Africa belong to different colonially established and delimited countries. This example related to Africa can also be seen in the division in Germany and specifically in Berlin after the Second World War where the United States of America and the former Soviet Union shared the German City of Berlin.

2.3.1. Xenophobia, Legislation and Government Policy

An investigation into the historical origin and reasons for xenophobia can be traced to the apartheid era. The previous government developed strong anti-immigration policies which were aimed primarily at people from other parts of the African continent entering South Africa. Crush and McDonald (2001) refer to the Immigration Act of 1913 and to the Aliens Act of 1991, which defined blacks from the rest of Africa as migrants. They were allowed to stay temporarily as long as they were a source of cheap labour. If not, they were considered to be illegal aliens who posed a threat to the country's security and economy (ibid).

Immigration policy in South Africa during apartheid and after apartheid sets and arranges the boundaries for belonging to the nation and exclusion from the society. This situation is clearly defined by a study conducted by Peverdy (2009). With globalization and technology, people are moving across the world for one reason or another, and in increasing numbers, from one place to another, from one country to another, from one continent to another. This global move and global movement transforms the human world to a multi-cultural world sheltered by hostilities in the destination country. *“As they move, migrants are constantly made aware of their vulnerability to state practices of inclusion and exclusion.”* (Peverdy, 2009: 1)

Legislation and government policy in South Africa is to a certain extent designed to allow in the country only those who are seen to be potentially valuable and useful members of the South African nation or those who will be suitable members of the South African society. The immigration policy in contemporary South Africa seems to be, to a certain level, a continuity and change of the past apartheid immigration policy. As Peverdy (2009: 3) points out, *“the immigration policy of the post-apartheid South African state and the language used to justify it at times seem to contradict its stated and apparent commitment to democracy, inclusivity and human rights, and raises questions about continuity and change with the past.”*

According to Peter Vale (2002:7), *“xenophobia is a construction ‘woven’ by think-tanks to protect the country from the ‘foreign Africa migrants’ – mainly those from other African countries; and this is the reason why xenophobia manifests itself as Afrophobia.”* For Vale, African immigrants are targets, mainly because of past history and the tendency of apartheid policies to treat African immigrants as unacceptable and threatening. To be target because of the past history seems to be hypothetically not justifiable as the time has changed and the people too need to change through their social behaviours and interactions with the other. Exposure to the outside world, social creativity and social education of the people in this regard seem to be contributing elements to alleviate this phenomenon of xenophobia as it cannot be socially eradicated.

Although the current ANC government has changed many of these policies and efforts have been made not to legally discriminate against ‘foreigners’, this is not always put into practice. Sethlatswe (2012: 1) argues that *“the gap between policy and practice is of great important as it often reveals the contradictions that cause policy to be ineffective and misunderstood. This is the case when looking at South Africa and its representations of itself and the accompanying policies.”* The Republic of South Africa presents an Africanist and inclusive ideology with reference to other African countries. But, in fact there is not linkage or connection between policy and practice.

“South Africa has a vast reserve of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Generally, a prospective immigrant to South Africa should not follow an occupation for which there are already sufficient people available to meet the country's needs. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers, in particular, will not usually be accepted as immigrant workers in South Africa. Conversely, immigrants who are in a position to contribute to the broadening of South Africa's economic base will be welcomed.” (www.southafrica.info). In some cases, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, through the process of social mobility, can to a certain degree be potentially economically useful to South Africa by contributing to the social well-being of residents. In this regard, immigrant domestic workers and immigrant informal traders contribute to the South African economy as previously not welcomed in the destination country.

The majority of international migrants living in South Africa, who are Africans, are treated over the use of certain undesirable stereotypes in the language and the position of the State towards this situation is not clear. Sethlatswe (2012: 6) observes that *“the treatment of foreigners by officials, the media representation of foreign people and general fear that has long been disseminated into the public goes a long way in perpetuating negative stereotypes and entrenching beliefs and behaviours. Furthermore, classifying people as being illegal and detaining them for months at a time does little in fostering social cohesion and acceptance”*.

A discussion of the economic questions that are commonly raised with regard to ‘foreigners’ in South Africa, which have been explored in several studies follows.

2.3.2. ‘Foreigners’, Unemployment and the South African Economy

We have to mention that the economic power of black foreign migrants in South Africa is not negligible. An exploratory research in this domain has been done by Mohamed (2011: vii) who assumes that *“development in South Africa at present is at a crossroads, it could become injected with new energy or it could collapse. The presence of foreigners, especially those from Africa is in contention. Some argue that they help the economy whilst others argue they are a hindrance to locals and their employment worth.”*

Migration and development are matching developmental components in society. Most of the causes of this migration can be identified as voluntary or involuntary. In the case of voluntary migration, people choose to move from one place to another, and in the involuntary migration, they are forced to move from one place to another. Human beings in migration move from one place to another for different reasons. Amongst these reasons can be identified social, economic, political, mental, emotional, environmental or ecological problems and others.

Migrants engage in permanent or semi-permanent residence in the host country at their arriving destination. An example of semi-permanent residence of black foreigners in South Africa would be the periodic movements of migrant mine workers or migrant farm workers or labourers in certain areas in the country where their labour is significantly observed and appreciated by local employers.

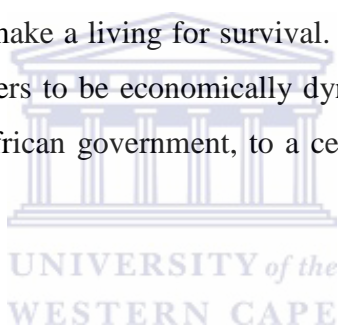
A widely held perception that foreigners are generally detrimental to the economy exists and an allegation that they steal locals' jobs prevails. According to an HSRC study conducted after the May attacks (2008: 45), *“South African citizens literally feel ‘besieged’ by a range of socio-economic challenges. This feeling is particularly acute for men of working age who are struggling to find employment or make a living and feel most directly threatened by the migration of large numbers of ‘working men’ from other parts of the continent. In this context, the ‘foreigner’ is the nearest ‘other’, against which this sentiment can be expressed.”*

In reality, although some black ‘foreigners’ do manage to find work, these jobs are mostly underpaid and undesirable. When these unskilled migrants are hesitantly accepted, they mostly fill the low status and poorly paid jobs. Some of these jobs include car-guarding and general security work. The migration of black foreigners in South Africa results from variances or discrepancies in wages and employment opportunities. In some cases, foreigners from other African countries are underemployed and consequently underutilized and underpaid.

This underemployment is characterized by the fact that some black African foreigners are greatly skilled but work in low or unskilled menial jobs. In most cases, they would like to work full-time, but they are only employed for the jobs for a short period of time as part-time workers. For example, some black foreigners with an engineering or teaching degree working as housekeepers, domestic workers, car guards, security guards and pizza delivery men.

Nyamnjoh (2006: 2) cites Jureidini (2003: 3) that *“in general, when ‘cheap’ foreign workers are readily available from countries desperate to alleviate unemployment and generate foreign income, ‘the dirty, dangerous and difficult jobs’ become racialised, as they are associated with foreign workers to such a degree that nationals of host countries ‘refuse to undertake them, despite high levels of poverty and unemployment”*. Most of black foreigners migrating to South Africa are in fact workaholics as they are desperately looking for a source of income for their needs and aspirations.

Foreigners are ready and available for any kind of work and job by means of generating a source of income. This can be witnessed in the informal sector of activities and in particular in the informal self-employment around the country. This informal sector can be classified as problem sector by the way that foreigners make a living for survival. This sector at the same time seems promising by empowering foreigners to be economically dynamic and productive and generate income for a living. The South African government, to a certain extent, has no control on this informal sector of activities.

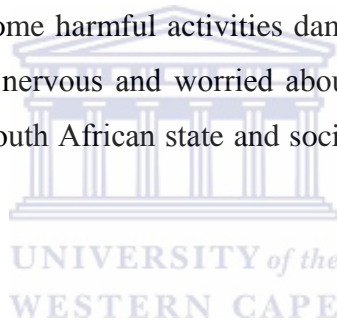


Foreigners, high, less or low skilled and or poor, migrating to South Africa are not only men. Large numbers of women are also migrating. This shows the feminine face of migration and therefore can be called the feminized migration or ‘feminization of migration’ as women are migrating individually or collectively and independently from men, and including children of all ages with them. Not only women migrating to South Africa carry children with them. Some men also migrate with their children. In other cases married couples together also migrate with their children. This can be considered as ‘family migration’. Masculinized, feminized, and family migrations are common to South Africa. Men, women, and children cross borders legally or illegally for immigration.

The combination of inequality among South African nationals on one hand and the hostility between black South Africans and black foreigners can be considered as key social problems. In

this particular context, xenophobia is common against foreigners coming from other underdeveloped African countries which are suffering from economic recessions. Mawadza (2012: 110) points out that *“in South Africa, locals fear that immigrants will take their jobs or put additional strain on social infrastructure and on social service delivery. The heightened concern and popular belief that illegal Zimbabwean immigrants are placing undue strain on South Africa’s resource are a reflection of moral panic.”*

Apart from the lack of employment opportunities in the country at the moment, xenophobia can be explained in relation to other limited resources, such as housing, education and health care (Harris, 2002). In this context, ‘foreigners’ and black foreigners in particular, can become scapegoated and unfairly targeted. Black foreigners are furthermore blamed, accused and incriminated by black locals for some harmful activities damaging the South African society at large. Some black locals are also nervous and worried about the fact that black ‘outsiders’ or ‘strangers’ will benefit from the South African state and society valuable resources and material possessions.



Neocosmos (2010) holds the view that xenophobia is about discrimination or exclusion of others. The ‘others’ are the ‘outsiders’ and they are those who do not belong to the community. Neocosmos (2010: 14) argues that *“exclusion from community means exclusion from citizenship, its rights and duties, as it is the latter which defines community membership of the nation in particular. Xenophobia is thus intimately connected to citizenship, in other words to the fact of belonging or not belonging to a community, often but not exclusively to a nation.”* People who are considered as outsiders or strangers, in this view, are denied of any social rights, privileges, prerogatives, and entitlements. ‘Foreigners’ are conceived not only by the members of the given community or society, but also by the law of the same country.

Another concern that has been the subject of investigation pertains to the perceptions locals have about different types of ‘foreigners’, particularly negative attitudes that may result in violent activities and responses.

2.3.3. Negative Attitudes towards ‘Foreigners’ and the Social Impacts of Xenophobia and Xenophobic Violence

According to Nyamnjoh (2006), foreigners, considered as outsiders in opposition to South African nationals who are insiders, are observed as having comparatively privileged position in the settlement and are most expected to profit from improvement. African foreigners, who are considered as outsiders, are well-defined as the direct threat or danger to the insiders. The concepts of outsiders and insiders are relevant to be mentioned in specific historical and local contexts to a better and quick understanding of the reasons and proportions of xenophobia in the new South Africa.

Mawadza (2012: 110) cites (McDonald, Gay, Zinyama, Matters, de Vletter, 1998; Crush, 1999a McDonald, 1999) and points out that *“regardless of their different paths and trajectories, these migrants are routinely portrayed in an unsavoury light, denounced by locals as job-stealers, ‘woman snatchers’, drug dealers, con artists, and career criminals. Such stereotypes reduce and flatten the real complexities of dis-empowered and marginalized populations.”* Portrayed and represented as such, black foreigners form a diverse group of marginalized people in the South African society. This tendency of discrimination, isolation and marginalization of foreigners can be regarded as a hindrance to equal rights between and among foreigners and locals living in the same community and / or nation.

Danso and McDonald (2000: 4) points out that *“firstly, it is apparent that South Africans on the whole carry strong anti-immigration sentiments, with fully 25% of the population calling for a complete ban on migration into the country and approximately half (45% in 1997 and 53% in 1998) calling for a strict limit on the number of foreigners allowed into the country.”* According

to these statistics, with reference to South Africa, xenophobia in general and anti-immigration attitudes in particular has grown up from 1997 to 1998. This figure can be explaining the high level of the xenophobic attacks and violence against foreigners in the country in 2008. This year 2008 is seen by different observers and scholars as the highest or most intensive point or turning point of xenophobia in South Africa.

As Nyamnjoh (2006: 14) argues, *“In South Africa, anti-immigrant sentiment is both strong and extremely widespread, cutting across virtually every socio-economic and demographic group. Black African foreigners - with whom very few South African nationals have any real direct contact or relationships - are particularly disliked by all South Africans, most of whom associate them with all sorts of ills.”* Black Africans, who are immigrants in South Africa, are accused, blamed, incriminated in the host country by the local citizens and are perceived and conceived as a threat to the community in particular and the society or nation in general.

Anti-immigrant sentiment among local South Africans is enormously and increasingly well-known. Many researches have been executed and among these studies done, a research was conducted in partnership with the well-known Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa. This research shows that *“the distrust of foreign nationals among locals has increased from 60% in 2008 to 67% in 2011”* (www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/10/09/sa-does-not-trust-foreigners-survey)

Xenophobia is a social problem. Xenophobia is not unique to a specific country. Xenophobia is a global issue and can be found everywhere in the world (Baumgartl and Favell 1995: 380). The xenophobia presently manifest in South Africa is a worldwide phenomenon, but it does need to be considered in the historical and local contexts in which it happens. Xenophobic attacks and violence in South Africa involved the underprivileged fighting against the underprivileged. This fight involves in most of the cases two main antagonists: on one hand Black South Africans and

on the other side Black African foreigners. This type of fight, with reference to xenophobia in the South African context, can be called “Afrophobia”.

According to Hassim *et al* (2008: 67), “*any attempt to understand this conflict should be located in the politics of failed development and delivery. Alexandra and other townships that experienced xenophobic violence, such as Ramaphosaville in Ekurhuleni, are still the dumping grounds of the marginalized and alienated. [...] Many Alexandrians, whose living conditions have not altered since the end of apartheid, thus feel excluded and marginalized from the new South Africa.*” The failure of development and service delivery from the government to the local citizens can be understood in this context as the source of xenophobia. Conflicts and fight between the marginalized and isolated black South Africans and black African foreigners are the main factor or the key component of this phenomenon of xenophobia involving these social and economic conditions into consideration. On account of this socio-economic situation, the relationships between underprivileged South Africans and disadvantaged foreigners living in the same community or area are not so harmonious and luminous.

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Research done by McDonald and Jacobs (2005) has shown that there are very conservative approaches or attitudes in the direction of immigration in South Africa. The surveys of this research have found that South Africans have intensely negative or undesirable views about immigrants, and predominantly black migrants from other African countries. Black migrants from other African countries are somewhat marginalized and excluded by their South African counterparts. This phenomenon of exclusion and marginalization of black foreigners grows increasingly in a community and society where a large proportion of local citizens are fighting for survival because of the scare, worry, and panic of resources available for their existence.

Harris (2002) views xenophobia as a manifestation of South Africa's 'culture of violence.'² What remains constant is the tendency for some South Africans to resolve issues and conflicts violently. She thus argues that it is in this context of a 'culture of violence' that xenophobia in contemporary South Africa must be understood (ibid). In the South African context, violence in general can be understood and considered as a legacy or inheritance from the Apartheid regime, system and period.

Resolving differences and conflicts aggressively and brutally is not new to the majority of South African citizens. For this reason, xenophobic violence in South Africa has its origins in apartheid based on racial segregation, discrimination and exclusion. With reference to exclusion, Neocosmos (2010: 14) argues that "*xenophobia is about the denial of social rights and entitlements to strangers, people considered to be strangers to the community not just to 'foreigners' as conceived by the law.*"

The representations of black 'foreigners' and the depiction of xenophobia in the media which are the main focus of this study, follows.

2.3.4. The Role and Focus of the Media on Reporting on Xenophobia

The debate on the responsibility and role of the media in promoting certain attitudes and behaviours and the need to balance 'freedom of expression', with negative assumptions about certain groups including 'foreigners', continues today. Media play a very important role in everyday life and have a significant position in society. Tester (2001: 23) argues that "*Bourdieu (1998: 70) identifies a conflict between 'newspapers offering "news" preferably "sensational" or better yet, capable of creating a sensation, and newspapers featuring analysis and*

² The 'culture of violence' has its roots in apartheid, and especially in the 1980s, when violence was predominantly political in nature (Harris, 2002).

“commentary”, which marked their difference from other group by loudly proclaiming the values of “objectivity.”

As it is mentioned, in the field of the mass media, there are two different clusters. Each category of media has its own principles of what has to be done and as a result each is recognized with its specific particular idea and way of judgment of the society and the world. It is important to be critical here about the journalist and the journalistic production. It is significant here to distinguish between objectivity and human affection as it is known, journalists are human beings. Journalists are products of the society and as all human beings; they perceive and report the news using their individual representation, imagination or perspective.

According to Tester (2001: 25), “*the concern to be ‘accurate and fair’ is legitimized by the side of the field of journalistic practice which associates news with objectivity and at most, a commentary which is clearly based in the ‘facts’ of the case*”. Journalists need to be accurate and fair. For Allan Bell (1998), it is not easy to find a journalistic exercise or practice which maintains the values of accuracy and fairness. The standards of impartiality do not really exist in the field of the mass media as the media themselves are significant social organizations. For this reason, objective and impartial journalism is of declining implication because of the social institutions that the media represent.

Bell and Garrett explain: (1998: 64), “*stories are central to human nature. The stories people tell are a core part of their social identity, and the construction of a life story is crucial to our self-identity. The idea of the story is also central to news media. Journalists do not write articles, they write stories with structure, order, viewpoint and value. So the daily happenings of our societies are expressed in the stories we are told in the media. In addition, the media are important social institutions. They are crucial presenters of culture, politics and social life, shaping as well as reflecting how these are formed and expressed.*”

The field of journalistic practice is characterized by two different types of newspapers. Newspapers that target low income audience tend to drum-down journalistic moral values, while those that target very high income end of the readership, which is more expected to be extremely educated and hold positions of authority or influence, are likely to move in the opposite direction.

Tester (2001: 37) postulates that, *“the journalistic character has to be transformed. The journalist has to stop claiming to be the objective enquirer after truth and instead that character to be one which is able to manipulate the audience and other scarce resources so that their availability is maximized. Consequently, even though the field of journalistic production is split between two opposing camps, broader contextual issues tend to lead to the emergence of a narrow range of journalistic productions and practices around the concern to manipulate access to resources rather than in the name of any ostensibly greater value.”*

In contemporary society, the mass media play a crucial role. The media have become one of the most powerful and important organizations. The mass media can be considered as a crucial means of social transformation, and consequently, an instrument for social development. I understand by social transformation, ways in which individuals and organizations or collectives go through in order for them to develop by facing social challenges and difficulties to achieve their objectives and goals. The role played by the mass media in the society can be positive or negative.

Key studies conducted by Ransford and McDonald (2001) and a follow-up study by McDonald and Jacobs (2005) analysed the role the media play in xenophobia and how the press covers the issue in xenophobia. These authors focus their critique on the emotive and stereotypical language used by the press to describe non-nationals. According to Mohamed (2011), for the most part, their findings revealed that newspaper coverage is mostly uncritical and prejudicial and there is an anti-migrant stance that permeates articles. The use of certain words such as ‘alien’ and references to immigrants ‘flooding’ South Africa demonstrate their xenophobic stance.

Another factor worth considering is that not all 'foreign' nationals are depicted in the same way. In his thesis, Mohamed (2011) focuses specifically on Somalis living in the Nelson Mandela Bay area, which he claims has the third largest active immigration population in South Africa and is also a xenophobic 'hotspot.' The Somali Association of South Africa (SASA) alleges that their members have experienced the highest number of xenophobic deaths in the region between 2004 and 2008 (Mohamed, 2011). The local media does little to condemn these acts and the leading newspaper in the Eastern Cape, *The Herald* (September 5, 2006) published an article entitled "A refugee Camp is their only home" thereby depicting Somalis as vagabonds and vagrants - "*the wanderers of Africa*" (ibid).

Danso and McDonald (2000) claim that media reproduce racial and national stereotypes about migrants from other African countries. The stereotypical image of Nigerians as drug smugglers and criminals is well known and widely used. This, along with the various other stereotypical discourses about foreign migrants to South Africa reflected in the media, contributes to xenophobia. According to the Media Monitoring Project, African migrants are portrayed as "illegal, criminal, threats to social and economic prosperity or carriers of diseases such as HIV/Aids" (www.docstoc.com/docs/52695975/Shades-of-Prejudice-An-Investiga). They argue that the media has a responsibility to question incorrect inaccurate opinions and to educate the public when reporting.

When referring to their research, Danso and McDonald (2000: 1) confirm this and they point out that "*in sum, the report argues that coverage of international migration by the South African press has been largely anti-immigrant and unanalytical. Not all reportage is negative, and newspaper coverage would appear to be improving over time, but the overwhelming majority of the newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor surveyed for this research are negative about immigrants and immigration*". Newspapers, as products of journalism and therefore of the society, present the world according to their own perspectives. Mass media present xenophobic attacks from and of different angles.

Referring to research done by Danso and McDonald (2000: 2), the media have been sympathetic to or with public dislike of foreigners and mostly through *“weaving myths and fabrications around foreigners and immigration.”* According to Hassim *et al*, (2008:3), *“one of the country’s largest circulation newspapers... was happy to feed its readership evidence of a truth they found to be self-evident that ‘aliens’ were primarily responsible for unemployment and crime. A national opinion survey conducted in 2007 indicated that over 80 per cent of South Africans felt that the government should ‘severely limit immigration into the country from troubled African countries”*.

Immigration into South African can be understood by the intensified globalization around the world. The process of globalization is marked by increasing flows of people to and from many countries and for different reasons. According to Nyamnjoh (2006:1), *“the accelerated flows of capital, goods, electronic information and migration induced or enhanced by globalization have only exacerbated the insecurities and anxieties of locals and foreigners alike, bringing about an even greater obsession with citizenship and belonging. One stark result is the building or re-actualisation of boundaries and differences through xenophobia and related intolerances. The response in many places is for states to tighten immigration regulations and for local attitudes to harden towards foreigners and outsiders”*.

Harris (2002) observes that the representations of Africa and African ‘foreigners’ in society as a whole and within the media specifically, helps explain why African ‘foreigners’ are targets of violence. In particular, an examination of the various generalizations, commonly held stereotypical views and media representations about Africa and African immigrants provides an understanding of these hostile attitudes and behaviours directed at ‘foreigners.’ This perception is linked to race since white people are not viewed as foreigners in the same way as black Africans originating from other countries on the continent.

According to Van Dijk *“there is no need to argue here the overall power of the media in modern ‘information’ societies. [...] the power of the media is primarily ‘discursive’ and ‘symbolic’.*

Media discourse is the main source of people's knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, both of other elites and ordinary citizens. Of course, the media do this in joint production with other elites, primarily politicians, professionals and academics". (www.discourses.org)

Despite the fact that there are existing studies that examine xenophobia and media by looking at media contents, the author is of the opinion that there are still gaps in the literature that need to be addressed and this study sets out to do this.

The theoretical frameworks used in this study are elaborated in the next part of this chapter.

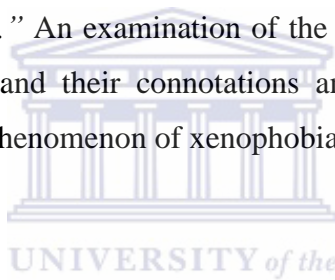
2.4. Theoretical Framework/s

As with any academic study, theory is necessary to frame the study and also to analyse the findings. A study such as this one, that sets out to look at the language used to depict a group of people, namely, 'foreign' Africans living in South Africa, must take the different elements of language and the ways in which they signify meaning into account. In order to analyse media images and representations, both content and discourse need to be analysed. According to Stuart Hall (1997) language is one of the ways through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. For him, the classification of the 'other' enables people to 'share meaning'.

Discourse is a notion equally or mutually used by social theorists and analysts (for example Foucault in 1972) and linguists (for instance Van Dijk in 1985). The term 'discourse' is used in this research with reference to the written or textual language. In this case, the language is used in a particular print newspaper or tabloid in South Africa. The textual representation of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* can be better understood through a critical discourse analysis.

According to Wodak (2012: 185), “*the terms ‘critical linguistics’ (CL) and ‘critical discourse analysis’ (CDA) are often used interchangeably and is used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL.*” It is important to mention that discourse analysis has a significant involvement to newspapers impact investigation, for example it examines the influence of discourse on singular and plural awareness and perception. The historical context of every single discourse needs to be taken into consideration.

Wodak (2012: 192) argues that “*discourse is a place where language and ideology meet, and discourse analysis is the analysis of ideological dimensions of language use, and of the materialization in language of ideology. Both the words used and the meanings of words vary according to the class struggle position from which they are used – according to the ‘discursive formation’ they are located within.*” An examination of the actual words used by reporters and commentators in the *Daily Sun*, and their connotations and denotations, contribute towards understanding and explaining the phenomenon of xenophobia in the South African context.

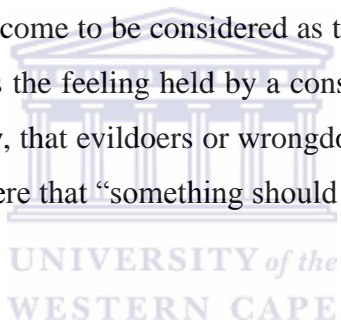


The notion of ‘moral panics’, in addition to discourse analysis, underpins this study. This concept is very pertinent and needs to be mentioned in the theoretical discussion framing this thesis, which is titled, *Xenophobia and the media: An investigation into the textual representation of black "foreigners" in the Daily Sun, a South African tabloid during the year 2008.*

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994: 29) argue that “*the concept of the moral panic expands our understandings of social structure, social process, and social change. It ties together concepts from a variety of disparate areas-deviance, crime, collective behaviour, social problems, and social movements.*” With reference to this research undertaking, the concept of moral panics enhances understandings of xenophobia, which remains a social problem in South Africa.

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994: 29-30) point out that *“focusing on moral panics emphasizes the fact that reactions to unconventional behaviour do not arise solely as consequence of a rational and realistic assessment of the concrete damage that the behaviour in question is likely to inflict on the society”*. In the context of this study, it is important to take into consideration and make clear the *“normative contours and moral boundaries”* of human behaviours regarding xenophobia in this specific society (ibid).

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994: 31) argue that *“in a moral panic, a group or category engages, or is said to engage, in unacceptable, immoral behaviour, presumably causes or is responsible for serious harmful consequences, and is therefore seen as a threat to well-being, basic values, and interests of the society presumably threatened by them.”* In the context of moral panic, these wrongdoers or supposed offenders come to be considered as the opponent or an antagonist of the community or the society. There is the feeling held by a considerable and extensive numbers of the members of the specific society, that evildoers or wrongdoers pose a threat to the community or to the society. There is a need here that *“something should be done”* about these members and about the way they behave.



In a given society, with reference to a specific or particular concern or issue, there are always some indicators. In any society, there are certain things that point out the level of moral panics. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994: 33) point out that *“the concept of the moral panic is defined by at least five crucial elements or criteria [...] concern – hostility – consensus – disproportionality – volatility.”*

Firstly the concept of “moral panic” is entitled by the level of “concern” about the attitude and behaviour of a certain class or category of people and the consequences of their behaviour must be intensified and amplified in the given social category or group.

Secondly the concept of “moral panic” is labelled by the level of “hostility” to the social category or group must be at an increased level, and considered as appealing or engaging in the given or specific behaviour. This hostility in the community or society is a threat amongst the antagonists in question. There is a clear division between “us” and “them”, “we and they”. This kind of dichotomization consequently includes or embraces stereotyping.

Thirdly the concept of “moral panic” is described by the extensive or prevalent arrangement or “consensus”. There is however a definite minimal or insignificant measure of agreement or consensus in the community as whole or in selected sections of this given social group.

Fourthly the concept of “moral panic” is designated by “disproportionality” characterized by the implicit or embedded supposition that the common sense on the part of some people of the society that a larger number of members are involved in the behaviour or activities in question than essentially are, and the danger, vulnerability, or damage assumed to be instigated by the conduct is far more considerable.



And fifthly the concept of “moral panic” is described by “volatility”. Moral panics are, by means of their appropriate nature, volatile. Moral panics explode accurately suddenly and, closely as suddenly, decrease. Moral panics are always volatile, in other words they are likely to change quickly and suddenly, especially, to a certain extent, for the worse.

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994: 124), with reference to three “levels” of society, namely the elite, the middle level, and the general public or grassroots, distinguish three theories of moral panics. It is significant to mention here that these “three levels of society” cannot be well-defined with great agreement of accuracy.

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994: 125) point out that “*Rothman (1993: 82) argues that position in the elite is based on “occupational position and / or accumulated wealth”; membership is defined by “ownership and / or control of major productive resources.”* Elites can be institutional or economic elites, that is, elites with powerful positions and elites with great wealth. Some individuals can have membership in both categories, of course. And the general public or grassroots level includes the rest of us, that is, everyone who possesses no significant resources and does not hold decision-making authority even in moderately influential institutional realms.

In the context of this research, the “general public or grassroots model of moral panics” is used. The “grassroots” model or theory of moral panics claims that moral panics are produced from “bottom up” and, simultaneously, that “morality and ideology” are leading motives for protesters or protestors and concerned nationals or citizens of the specific country or society.

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994: 127) point out that “*the grassroots model argues that panics originate with the general public; the concern about a particular threat is a widespread, genuinely felt – if perhaps mistaken – concern. The expressions of concern in other sectors – in the media, among politicians, political action groups, and law enforcement – are an expression or manifestation of more widespread concern. ... the general public is inevitably influenced by media coverage of a given condition – both in terms of extent and angle or slant – but, the grassroots advocate would argue, two issues can be presented in the same way by the media, and one will touch a nerve, and feed a panic, while the other will be met by audience indifference.*”

It is significant and crucial to mention here that citizens, politicians, and the media cannot construct or fabricate anxiety and fear where nothing or none existed in the beginning. There are always reasons beyond a given concern in a specific society.

2.5. Summary

This chapter reviewed the literature on the topic. The chapter discussed the basic terminology and key concepts used in the study. The key themes in the literature have been expounded. The theoretical framework and the theories used, specifically, a combination of critical discourse analysis and the theory of moral panics is outlined. The next chapter describes the research process and the methods used to gather, record, and code the data.



CHAPTER THREE: Research Process and Methods

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter provided an overview of the literature on xenophobia, as well as the theoretical approaches adopted by this study. The current chapter deals with the research process and the methods employed to gather data with reference to the study in question. The research process, the sample selected, the methods and techniques used to gather and analyse the data or media content are described in this next section.

3.2. The Research Process

In the case of this study, the content of communication to be critically analysed is written content, consisting of a textual corpus from the *Daily Sun* over the specific period. The corpus is constituted of headlines and selected articles that appeared in the *Daily Sun* over a period of eleven months, from February 2008 to December 2008. I have meticulously scanned and then actively read the publications of the *Daily Sun* month by month, publication after publication and page by page.

3.2.1. Data Collection Description

Data collected for my research are archival records. These data were collected from the *Daily Sun*, a tabloid newspaper in the South African mass media. Public record on mass media is usually an easily available source of data collection.

It took a period of three consecutive months to read these tabloids in order to collect the data for analysing. The data to be analysed was gathered at the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town from September 2013 to November 2013. During this period, I visited the library on numerous occasions during the week. Texts and headlines were selected during the research. The

headlines and texts in my corpus offer a great understanding into the representations of black ‘foreigners’ circulating in the public domain at this specific period in South Africa.

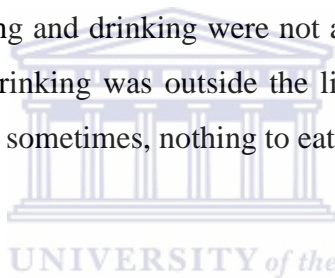
The relevant issues and editions of this specific newspaper that I accessed at the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town were categorized and placed in files. Each file of publication refers to a specific month of the year, daily basis and chronologically ordered and others were not. For the files which were not arranged according to dates in the order of their publication or occurrence, I needed to reclassify them before collecting data so that texts and headlines became easier and more coherent to follow in the process of data collection.

I used red and black pens, a ruler, and exercise books for collecting data. I used red pen to indicate the dates of publication and headlines in the exercise books. I used black pen to record word for word. I used the ruler to underline and separate a daily news report from the following one. It is important to mention here that not all daily publications that were consulted contained information about the representations of black foreigners and the xenophobic attacks committed on them.

Initially I focused on the headlines concerning my research problem and relevant to the aims of study. As mentioned, I wrote by using red and black pens and I recorded all the headlines and related text into exercise books. After making notes, I typed the most relevant information as indicative data into my computer and have saved it. After finishing with the typing of the significant headlines and related texts on my computer, I printed. Thereafter, I have used the method of ‘coding’ which consists of putting together ideas, thoughts, and texts of the same category or cluster. After the process, I have classified and grouped the categories into themes related to my research questions.

During this process, I discovered regular patterns in the data of my research. These regular patterns can be called themes or discourses. These themes consisted of things which are repeated across the contexts of my investigation. Furthermore, I observed chronological and progressive links between events, such as causes and effects across the contexts of my research. I also observed some choices of language change during the data collection of my study. All these components contributed to different themes that make up my research questions.

During the period of data collection, I needed to take some breaks to relax for some minutes in the public gardens just in front of the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town. The library is open from Monday to Friday and from 9am and closed at 5pm. Sitting on a hard wooden chair and reading newspaper publications one by one for eight consecutive hours per day was not an easy task for me. Eating and drinking were not allowed inside the library. The only appropriate place for eating and drinking was outside the library. For this reason, there was a need to go and find something and, sometimes, nothing to eat in the cafeteria around the library.



During the period of three consecutive months of data collection, I bought monthly train tickets which allowed me to travel from Kuilsriver to Cape Town and back. The train was the only and more affordable transport for me, an ordinary student. The connections made and the relationship between me and the staff members of the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town were of a friendly and collaborative nature. I really appreciated their cooperation and assistance while doing the data collection for my thesis.

3.2.2. Time Period

The files of the specific tabloid newspapers required for this study were booked in advance and kept for my usage by the staff of the National Library. Unfortunately the staff members could not locate the file containing the January 2008 publications. Since the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town is the only place that keeps these files and records, there was no way of finding this missing file in their storeroom in the airport industrial section of Cape Town. This

was communicated to me by staff members. Although this presented an obstacle in the research process, I had no option but move forward and continue collecting the data for this study, which focused on the period from February 2008 until December 2008. Before discussing the research methods used, sampling issues are briefly highlighted.

3.2.3. Sample Size

A total of one hundred and twenty-four articles were particularly selected from the *Daily Sun*, in the publications between February 2008 and December 2008. These articles or news reports were chosen on the basis of their relevance to the subject matter. Sampling is a significant characteristic component or step of social research.

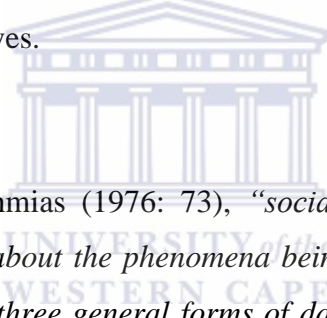
In the context of this study, the method used consists of gathering information from a number of articles related to the depiction of black foreigners and or xenophobia. This sample is done to learn more about the way this specific tabloid, the *Daily Sun* represents black foreigners on one side and on the other side, the way the tabloid describe the xenophobic attacks perpetrated on black foreigners. It is important to mention that news headlines in this particular tabloid play a crucial role for the sampling.

This research is based and constructed on the *Daily Sun*. With the collaboration and co-operation of public services through the National Library of South Africa based in Cape Town, I have accessed hard copies of this specific South African newspaper published from February 2008 to December 2008. The entire set of newspapers during this period constitutes my ‘sample.’ However, the publications for the month January 2008 was missing and there was no other means to get hold of it in any other branches of the National Library of South Africa.

3.3. Research Methodology

Sociology, as a social science, offers a number of different research methodologies. Quantitative and qualitative approaches are, traditionally, the leading social research methods in Sociology. Another and the third variety of research approach is “mixed” methods research, born and separated from the two preceding approaches.

Quantitative research discusses the logical observed examination of social occurrences through arithmetical data or computational systems. Qualitative research, in Sociology, relies on gathering a comprehensive and profound understanding of human and social behaviour and the full picture that governs that specific type of behaviour. Mixed methods research, sometimes called ‘multi-method’ research, focuses on improving through the technique of compound data, systems, approaches, and perspectives.



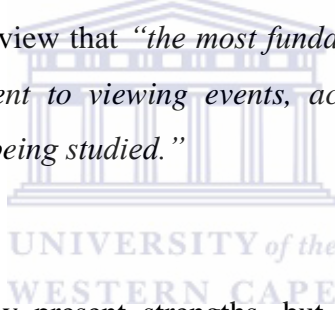
According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1976: 73), “*social science data are obtained when investigators record observations about the phenomena being studied or have the observations recorded for them. In either case, three general forms of data collection may be distinguished: observational methods, interviewing and survey research, and nonreactive techniques.*” It is important to note here, that interviews and surveys were not appropriate instruments to use in the context of data collection for my research.

I used the “nonreactive techniques” for data collection. Nonreactive techniques are also known as nonreactive methods or unobtrusive methods. Nachmias and Nachmias (1976: 120) point out that “*an unobtrusive measure is any method of data collection that directly removes the researcher from the set of interactions, events, or behaviour being investigated.*” My research is based on a qualitative content examination or textual analysis of the *Daily Sun* print tabloid newspapers in the period February 2008 - December 2008.

3.3.1. Qualitative Methods

This study thus made use of qualitative research methods. Qualitative research is a technique or a process of inquiry that is employed to collect a comprehensive understanding of attitudes and the reasons beyond these attitudes. This qualitative method is appropriate for collecting ‘subjective’ data that focuses on attitudes, meanings and representations. This study, which focuses on the ways in which black ‘foreigners’ are perceived and depicted in the tabloid print media, thus makes use of a qualitative methodology.

This study also investigates the why and how of xenophobic attacks, not just xenophobia, where it occurs, when it happens. For a better investigation into the textual representation of black ‘foreigners’ in the Daily Sun, I used the qualitative method. Silverman (1997: 64) quotes Bryman (1988: 61) by putting forward the view that *“the most fundamental characteristic of qualitative research is its express commitment to viewing events, action, norms, values etc. from the perspective of the people who are being studied.”*



Qualitative research does not only present strengths, but also some weaknesses. There are criticisms of qualitative research methods. Allan and Skinner (1991: 180) argue that *“the major criticisms made of qualitative methods are that they are impressionistic and non-verifiable”*. The accuracy and validity of claims and findings made by qualitative studies is often questioned. However, Allan and Skinner (1991: 181) add that *“flexibility remains an advantage of qualitative research here – the categories of action developed for analysis are not rigidly fixed, nor is analysis restricted to a stage when the data has already been collected.... What counts as an example of a phenomenon, and indeed what phenomena are worthy of note, changes as the research progresses and the researcher develops a better, fuller understanding of the issues involved.”*

It is necessary to mention that, the data collection during my research also presented some weakness. As Barnard *et al* (2004: 54) point out, *“secondary data have the great advantage of*

being cheaply, quickly and easily obtained, but have the serious disadvantage of not having been produced by sociologists. There are therefore unlikely to match sociologists' requirements exactly."

Research is significant and crucial to understanding specific human and particular social behaviour by trying to answering the research questions, not only what happened, where it happened, when it happened, but also why and how it happened in a particular or a given society or a group of people. Discourse analysis is suggestively important in these concerns.

3.3.2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis forms the compact ground of the research methodology used for this study, which is titled: *Xenophobia and the media: An investigation into the textual representation of black "foreigners" in the Daily Sun, a South African tabloid (February 2008 - December 2008)*.

Stefan *et al* (2000: 5) argue that *"methods are not isolated in space, but are either explicitly or implicitly related to theoretical assumptions and structures. Quite often methods are applied without due reflection and without taking account of such theoretical roots."* With this in mind, I elected to examine the meanings within selected media texts.

The specific research approach I used for this study is discourse analysis. I used discourse analysis, as research methodology for some specific reasons. Discourse analysis has a number of strengths in analysing texts in general, and particularly newspapers texts. Discourse analysis does not treat news or newspapers texts as transparent and clear communications whose substances may be analysed superficially and or quantitatively. Rather, it explores and studies the multidimensional structures and approaches of newspapers texts and their connotations to a specific social environment and setting.

Discourse analysis focuses fundamentally on the construction of the social happenings or events among human or social beings through language, which cannot be inseparable from the social environment and context. Discourse analysis highlights up multiple forms and versions of reality, which are individually or collectively, constructed through newspapers texts or articles.

There are therefore various forms of discourse analysis. According to Morgan (2010: 1), *“discourse analysis is generally an umbrella term for the many traditions by which discourse may be analysed.”* Six different types of discourse analysis have been identified in the literature. *“These are: conversation analysis; interactional sociolinguistics; discursive psychology; critical discourse analysis; Bakhtinian research; and Foucauldian research”* (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001)”. (<https://www.wlv.ac.uk/pdf/Discourse%20analysis%20Dr%20Morgan.pdf>)

The specific form of discourse analysis used in this research is known as critical discourse analysis. It is relevant to mention in the context of this research that: *“Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary field including linguistics, semiotics and discourse analysis (the field of discourse studies), and is concerned with theorizing and researching social processes and social change.”* (<https://www.wlv.ac.uk/pdf/Discourse%20analysis%20Dr%20Morgan.pdf>)

An example or illustration of critical discourse analysis, in social sciences, has been used by van Dijk. In this specific case of critical discourse analysis, van Dijk (1993) focuses on the issue of racism. Van Dijk argues that *“traditional approaches to the role of the media in the reproduction of racism were largely content analytical: quantitative studies of stereotypical words or images representing minorities [...] discourse analytical approaches, systematically describe the various structures and strategies of text or talk, and relate these to the social, political or political context [...] These structures of text and talk are systematically related to elements of the social ‘context’, such as the spatio-temporal setting, participants and their various social and communicative roles , as well as their goals, knowledge and opinions.”* (www.discourses.org, accessed 21 May 2013)

Taking this particular approach of critical discourse analysis into account, I grounded my research on the example studied by van Dijk. In the case of racism, as in xenophobia, there are notions of discrimination and exclusion, as well as discrimination against the “other” and the exclusion of the “other.” Foucault (1974) recognizes that power is produced and reproduced through language and the representation of the “other” through discourse is drawn on in this study. However, critical discourse analysis presents on one side advantages and on the other hand some limitations, for data analysis.

According to Mouton (2001: 495), *“discourse analysis is a complex process and fairly difficult to learn. It is often better suited to those more interested in theorizing about life, than those who want to get their hands dirty.”* Slembrouch (2000) describes discourse analysis in the following manner: In his textbook, Stubbs defines discourse analysis as, *“(1) concerned with language used beyond the boundaries of a sentence or utterance, (2) concerned with the interrelationships between language and society and (3) as concerned with the interactive or dialogue properties of everyday communication.”* Mouton (2001: 495), adds that Terre’ Blanche and Durrheim (1999) define discourse analysis as, *“the act of showing how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific contexts.”*

Ian Parker, who is a distinguished author in the sphere of discourse analysis, follows in the footsteps of social thinkers or theorists like Foucault. According to Mouton (2001: 496), Parker (1992) proposes seven criteria for distinguishing discourses. *“These are: (1) a discourse is realized in texts, (2) a discourse is about objects, (3) a discourse contains subjects, (4) a discourse is a coherent set of meanings, (5) a discourse refers to other discourses, (6) a discourse reflects its own way of speaking, (7) a discourse is historically located.”*

Textual analysis was used as a research method for this study. Textual analysis is used in social sciences for studying the content of message, statement or communication. In the context of this study, this communication is written. With reference to textual analysis, John Scott argues that

“in social research the term refers to a method of analysing the contents of documents that uses qualitative procedures for assessing the significance of particular ideas or meanings in the document. It contrasts with content analysis. [...] Because of its sensitivity to cultural context, textual analysis overcomes many of the limitations of content analysis.” (srmo.sagepub.com)

Social and political contexts play a very big role in a specific discourse. These contexts need to be taken into consideration. In a study of this nature, issues of a political or ideological nature must be considered since power struggles and social inequalities are perpetuated by language. According to van Dijk (1993: 279), discourse analysis identifies *“how dominative and inequality are established and sustained by ideologies and further enacted through language.”* A type of ‘exclusive nationalism’ and clear notions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ were identified within the discourse used in the issues of the *Daily Sun* that were analysed for this study.

In a sequence of studies, Teun A. van Dijk has established a structure for examining news, and particularly in newspapers. Fairclough (1995: 29) points out that *“Van Dijk’s framework analyses news texts in terms of what he calls the ‘structures of news’, processes of news production, processes of news comprehension. The analysis aims to show relationships between texts, production processes and between these and the wider social practices they are embedded within. In analysing structures of news a distinction is made between the ‘macro’ and ‘micro’ structures of news discourse. The former relate to the overall content of a text - its ‘thematic’ structure- and the overall form of a text - its ‘schematic’ structure.”* With reference to van Dijk (1993), Fairclough (1995: 30) points out that *“this is a powerful integrated framework for news discourse analysis. Nevertheless, [...] it has a number of limitations. First, the focus is on representations; social relations and identities in news discourse – and the interpersonal function of language – receive little attention. Second, texts are analysed linguistically but not intertextually, in terms of their constitution through configurations of discourses and genres.”*

With the above in mind, I am of the opinion that discourse analysis, as methodology, has some strengths and weaknesses for analysing newspapers texts. It is relevant to mention here that discourse analysis is used by theorists and moreover used by analysts in the field of social sciences. With reference to analysing tabloid newspaper reports, critical discourse analysis seems to be the most appropriate approach for my research topic.

3.4. Data Analysis

According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1976: 143), *“data processing is the link between data collection and data analysis. It involves the transformation of the observations gathered in the field into a system of categories and the translation of these categories into codes amenable to quantitative analysis.”* In the context of my research, these categories are translated into codes which are open and responsive to qualitative analysis.

I previously mentioned that, news reports in the *Daily Sun* under the period of investigation related to the topic of my research, were typed in a form of indicative data and saved into my computer. These indicative data, in a form of coding, were printed. According to Miles and Huberman (1984: 56) *“a code is an abbreviation or symbol applied to a segment of words – most often a sentence or paragraph of transcribed field notes – in order to classify the words. Codes are categories. They usually derive from research questions, hypotheses, key concepts, or important themes. They are retrieval and organizing devices that allow the analyst to spot quickly, pull out, then cluster all the segments relating to the particular question, hypothesis, concept, or theme. Clustering sets the stage for analysis.”*

After printing, I cut headlines and articles individually and classified or categorized them accordingly. Following the process of categorization, all categorized data were examined further and were re-categorized to the level where no new or additional themes emerged after supplementary analysis. After the general themes were completed, portions of the printed document matching each theme were taken into account in order to identify and classify sub-

themes. As a final point, the main and subordinate themes were structured thematically to build the basis of this research thesis.

Concerning the tools for the data analysis, I follow a critical discourse analysis approach to explore and examine headlines, articles and news reports in the *Daily Sun* between February 2008 and December 2008 with reference to my research questions. The analysis finds a variety of textual representations of black foreigners and classifies them thematically. Qualitative textual analysis, the method used in my research, enabled me to examine both perceptible and underlying meanings related to the depiction or representation of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* in the designated time period.

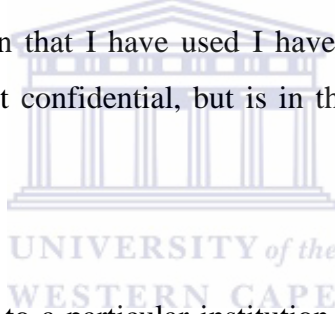
The analysis examines how black foreigners are portrayed, by taking into account how they are called or labelled and how they are referred to in the vocabulary used in the tabloid newspaper. In other words, this study is focused on the examination of the issue in question, and reveals the importance of the most significant ideas and concepts. As van Dijk (www.discourses.org) discloses, *“we do not treat news as transparent ‘messages’ whose ‘contents’ may be analysed in superficial, quantitative way. Rather, we examine the complex structures and strategies of news reports and their relations to the social context.”* A systemic analysis, in the context of my research, is fundamental to critically study the way news reports and articles in the Daily Sun contribute to the textual representations of black foreigners,

The focus is not only on the linguistic forms, but also on the social and historical contexts which shaped human behaviours and social interactions. With this in mind, I follow Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994: 29-30) that *“focusing on moral panics emphasizes the fact that reactions to unconventional behaviour do not arise solely as a consequence of a rational and realistic assessment of the concrete damage that the behaviour in question is likely to inflict on the society.”*

3.5. Ethical Considerations

It is important to mention the ethical aspects of this study. Since this research relies exclusively on newspaper reports and the tabloid involved is in the public domain and not a human subject, there are no confidentiality and other ethical issues that require consideration. This study is thus exempt from ethical concerns as the main purpose of research ethics is to protect the welfare of the research participants and to ensure that no harm comes to them.

For the above mentioned reason, there was no need for obtaining ethical approval or using a consent form in which it is explained to research subjects that their participation is voluntary or that they have the right to withdraw at any point of this study. Unlike studies that have human beings as research participants, there is no need to ensure that confidential information is protected, since all the information that I have used I have obtained from the editions of this given South African tabloid, is not confidential, but is in the public domain and can be freely used.



However, as a researcher attached to a particular institution and operating within the discipline sociology, I am aware of the need to be sensitive to the peculiarities of the methods of social science and to adhere to certain rules of conduct and procedure. According to Terre Blanche *et al.*, (2006: 77), *“Ethical sensitivity can enhance the value of research practice is seen as congruent with the common goal of most social scientists – the understanding and betterment of human existence.”*

3.6. Summary

This chapter discussed the research process, described the data collection process and the time period and the sample size of the data collected. This chapter also outlined the research methodology used - qualitative methods and discourse analysis, as well as the process of data analysis. Ethical considerations, although not crucial to this study as the data collected are of the

public domain, the newspaper, are nevertheless highlighted. The findings of this specific research are presented in three chapters. The following chapter presents the first part of the research findings.



CHAPTER FOUR: Research Findings – Part One

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is one of three that discusses and interprets the findings of this study. The first (Chapter Four) looks at the various and sometimes contradictory ways in which black Africans are depicted in the *Daily Sun* and the second (Chapter Five) explores ideas regarding “in” and “out groups” and the ways in which these boundaries are drawn in this particular context. It also examines the idea of moral panics and its usefulness in explaining xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment in South Africa. Chapter Six describes the diverse nationalities and the stereotypical ways in which each is portrayed.

The findings of my study are based on an analysis of the South African tabloid newspaper, the *Daily Sun* during a specified period of time, 2008. The analysis of these findings focuses essentially on the ways in which events and their participants (‘foreign’ Africans) are being depicted and represented in the text. It also examines whether the structures of the text express a largely positive or negative opinion about black foreigners in the South African context.

In my analysis, I patterned and designed pertinent terms in bold italics, so as to highpoint what type of analytical concept or notion is used in the description of the findings. Texts or segments of text in the *Daily Sun* are patterned in italics. Wherever possible I have included direct quotes from the newspaper being analysed to demonstrate arguments.

This next section examines some of the common representations of black foreigners that feature prominently in the *Daily Sun*. In particular, the stereotypical language and terminology used to describe non-nationals is discussed.

4.2. Portrayal and Depiction of Black ‘Foreigners’ in the *Daily Sun*

Black people from African countries other than South Africa are depicted in various ways. One common thread is their representation as ‘foreigners’. They are portrayed as ‘foreign residents’, ‘foreign nationals’, and ‘aliens’³ on the one hand, and more positively, as ‘African brothers’ on the other. Both these images can be found in the *Daily Sun*. All black foreigners in this context have and share as common characteristic of being ‘outsiders’, people who do ‘not belong here’. Black foreigners living or staying in South Africa for a long or short period are considered as not belonging to South Africa regardless of the notion that “*South Africa belongs to all who live in it.*” (www.sahistory.org.za)

With reference to immigration and traveling documents, there are conventionally two main categories: legal immigrants with proper and valid documents, and illegal immigrants without legal documents. Different types of black foreigners have been represented in the *Daily Sun* between February 2008 and December 2008. Some black ‘foreigners’ represented in the *Daily Sun* share or have among each other more or less pertinent and common characteristics. The subsequent features illustrate the contexts in which it occurred.

Subsequent examples clearly illustrate these widely used (essentially negative), depictions of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*, which range from viewing them as [illegal] ‘aliens’, to ‘foreigners’ and ‘refugees’, to the less common and, more positive, ‘African brothers’.

³ ‘Alien’ means a person who is not a South African citizen; [Definition of ‘alien’ substituted by s. 5 of Act 206 of 1993 and by s. 2 (a) of Act 76 of 1995.] (<https://www.lawsoc.co.za/upload/files/alienscontrolact.htm> , accessed 5 November 2014)

4.2.1. Constructions of Black ‘Foreigners’ as ‘aliens’ and Illegal Immigrants in the *Daily Sun*

It can be argued that, in the *Daily Sun*, black foreigners who are considered to be ‘aliens’ are a ‘minority group’ and consequently they are discriminated against and marginalised by more powerful social groups. In this situation and context, black foreigners who come from various African countries are seen to belong to those countries. Black foreigners living or staying in South Africa are outsiders living inside the borders of this country. Black foreigners are portrayed as the ‘outsiders’ inside South Africa.

The presence of ‘outsiders’ inside a place or habitation has been always a threat for those who position themselves as insiders of that specific location. Aliens as they are portrayed in the *Daily Sun*, as outsiders pose a threat for the insiders. Aliens are strangers who do not belong. The word ‘aliens’ has been frequently and largely, and continues to be used to describe black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*. These representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* have been, in numerous and various cases, negative depictions. Xenophobic portrayals of black foreigners as “aliens” are visibly demonstrated in the *Daily Sun* through the subsequent illustrations.

Of all the South African newspapers, it seems to be said that the *Daily Sun*, is the one that is most often accused of providing negative reporting with regard to African foreigners residing in South Africa. An editorial (28/05/2008) which stated that it would give it readership, “*The Truth about Aliens*” is indicative of this tendency.

Further examples of the use of the term alien include:

Aliens pose as refugees. Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 2

Alien love doctors bust! Daily Sun, 4 February 2008: 2

Aliens clutter up our pavements. Daily Sun, 8 February 2008: 39

Alien sold stolen goods from house. Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 20

Aliens helped us during our dark days. Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 47

Alien shacks burnt down. Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

*About 400 shacks belonging to **aliens** of Itereleng informal settlement outside Laudium, Tshwane, were set alight, leaving them homeless.* Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

Aliens flee in terror! Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

Aliens who live in the area were dragged out of their homes by groups of armed men. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

Aliens who live in the area were dragged out of their homes by groups of armed men. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

*SA farmers recruiting and exploiting illegal **aliens** from Zimbabwe had a surprise visit from labour inspectors in a two-day operation that ended yesterday.* Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 11

Alien killed in night attack! Daily Sun, 29 February 2008: 4

*Cops nail illegal **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 3 March 2008: 12

*Too many **aliens**. We have millions of **aliens** and our population is smaller.* Daily Sun, 6 March 2008: 39

Aliens cash in on RDP greed! Daily Sun, 7 March 2008: 9

*Klipgat goes to war with **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*Cops had to rescue three **aliens** from the angry crowd, who were armed with stones, sticks, and sjamboks. The **aliens** were beaten badly, but the crowd dispersed when police blasted them with rubber bullets.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*250 000 **aliens** go home to vote in elections.* Daily Sun, 18 March 2008: 12

*Three killed in **alien** attacks!* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Atteridgeville residents want **aliens** out of their township.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Residents vented their anger on **aliens** because councillors failed to come and address a protest march against poor service delivery.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Disgruntled squatters vented their anger and started looting shops and burning the shacks of **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Shops belonging to **aliens** in Phomolong, Brazzaville, Phalane and Saulsville were looted and burned.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Evil **alien** took all my cash!* Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 3

*I never married my **alien** lover!* Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 9

***Aliens** bust with stolen crossbars.* Daily Sun, 27 March 2008: 12

*The **aliens** were found in possession of a large number of suspected stolen railway line crossbars yesterday morning.* Daily sun, 27 March 2008: 12

***Aliens** arrested in crackdown.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*Cops have acted against illegal **aliens** in the Eastern Cape. Ten **aliens** from several African countries were deported after being found without valid residence permits.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*Some of the **aliens** were involved in criminal activities and some were running business in Mthatha and the surrounding area without licences.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*63 **aliens** bust in crime drive.* Daily Sun, 9 April 2008: 12

***Alien girl** (9) dies in attack. An innocent little nine –year- old girl was burned to death on Monday night when her shack was deliberately set on fire.* Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5

***Aliens** in court over abortions.* Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 5

***Alien** bust for fake marriage.* Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

*Cops nab three **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

Aliens are here to destroy us. Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

Aliens set cell on fire. Daily Sun, 6 May 2008: 12

*SA is hell for **alien kids**. Poor, lost children cross the border into South Africa.* Daily Sun, 8 May 2008: 10

Aliens use muthi to steal our cattle! Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 11

*It's war on **aliens**!* Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 4

*War on **aliens** turns really ugly!* Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2

*More than 1000 **aliens**, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes.* Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2

*The violence started on Sunday when a group of local people armed with sticks and guns attacked **aliens**, mostly Zimbabweans and Mozambicans. Most of the frightened **aliens** say they are now planning to go back to their countries.* Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2

*The suspects hate **aliens** enough to kill them. And they'll gladly loot **alien shops**.* Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2

*People from Alex attacked **aliens**, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. There are more than 1000 terrified men, women, and kids sleeping at Alexandra Police Station.* Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2

*Looters wage war on cops as **alien** attacks spread.* Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

*Gangs of looters ran through the dark streets bent double under the weight of goods stolen from shops owned by **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

*SA: a hell for many **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 2

*Blood and flames! **Aliens** killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred.* Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

*Hundreds of shacks and even cars belonging to **aliens** have been set on fire.* Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

***Aliens** armed with rocks fought back yesterday.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 1

*Teens assault and rob **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 2

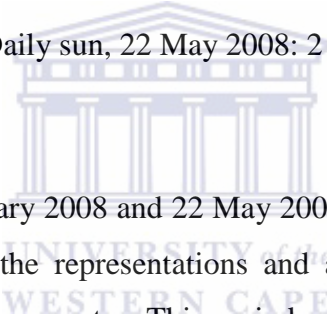
*Don't let the madness spread to Cape! **Aliens** told: Stay calm!* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

***Aliens** run for their lives!* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

*Home Affairs is arranging for the **aliens** to go home.* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

*The people are taking out their pain on **aliens**. And criminals are getting fat on loot.* Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2

*Police rob **aliens** and ask for sex.* Daily sun, 22 May 2008: 2



During the period between 1 February 2008 and 22 May 2008, the term '**alien(s)**' has been more generally and frequently used in the representations and activities concerning black foreign nationals living in the South African country. This period was identified in the discourse of the news reports as the period in which black foreign nationals represented or posed a social and national threat to local South Africans. The presence and the existence of black foreign residents were encountered and experienced as very much unfamiliar and much more disturbing in the South African nation. The following illustrations fit into this specific period.

***Aliens** pose as refugees.* Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 2

***Alien** love doctors bust!* Daily Sun, 4 February 2008: 2

***Aliens** clutter up our pavements.* Daily Sun, 8 February 2008: 39

***Alien** sold stolen goods from house.* Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 20

***Aliens** helped us during our dark days.* Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 47

Alien shacks burnt down. Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

*About 400 shacks belonging to **aliens** of Itereleng informal settlement outside Laudium, Tshwane, were set alight, leaving them homeless.* Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

Aliens flee in terror! Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

Aliens who live in the area were dragged out of their homes by groups of armed men. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

Aliens who live in the area were dragged out of their homes by groups of armed men. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

*SA farmers recruiting and exploiting illegal **aliens** from Zimbabwe had a surprise visit from labour inspectors in a two-day operation that ended yesterday.* Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 11

Alien killed in night attack! Daily Sun, 29 February 2008: 4

*Cops nail illegal **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 3 March 2008: 12

*Too many **aliens**. We have millions of **aliens** and our population is smaller.* Daily Sun, 6 March 2008: 39

Aliens cash in on RDP greed! Daily Sun, 7 March 2008: 9

*Klipgat goes to war with **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*Cops had to rescue three **aliens** from the angry crowd, who were armed with stones, sticks, and sjamboks. The **aliens** were beaten badly, but the crowd dispersed when police blasted them with rubber bullets.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*250 000 **aliens** go home to vote in elections.* Daily Sun, 18 March 2008: 12

*Three killed in **alien** attacks!* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Atteridgeville residents want **aliens** out of their township.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Residents vented their anger on **aliens** because councillors failed to come and address a protest march against poor service delivery.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Disgruntled squatters vented their anger and started looting shops and burning the shacks of **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Shops belonging to **aliens** in Phomolong, Brazzaville, Phalane and Saulsville were looted and burned.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Evil **alien** took all my cash!* Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 3

*I never married my **alien** lover!* Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 9

***Aliens** bust with stolen crossbars.* Daily Sun, 27 March 2008: 12

*The **aliens** were found in possession of a large number of suspected stolen railway line crossbars yesterday morning.* Daily Sun, 27 March 2008: 12

***Aliens** arrested in crackdown.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*Cops have acted against illegal **aliens** in the Eastern Cape. Ten **aliens** from several African countries were deported after being found without valid residence permits.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*Some of the **aliens** were involved in criminal activities and some were running business in Mthatha and the surrounding area without licences.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*63 **aliens** bust in crime drive.* Daily Sun, 9 April 2008: 12

***Alien girl** (9) dies in attack. An innocent little nine –year- old girl was burned to death on Monday night when her shack was deliberately set on fire.* Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5

***Aliens** in court over abortions.* Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 5

***Alien** bust for fake marriage.* Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

*Cops nab three **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

***Aliens** are here to destroy us.* Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

***Aliens** set cell on fire.* Daily Sun, 6 May 2008: 12

*SA is hell for **alien kids**. Poor, lost children cross the border into South Africa. Daily Sun, 8 May 2008: 10*

***Aliens** use muthi to steal our cattle! Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 11*

*It's war on **aliens**! Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 4*

*War on **aliens** turns really ugly! Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2*

*More than 1000 **aliens**, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2*

*The violence started on Sunday when a group of local people armed with sticks and guns attacked **aliens**, mostly Zimbabweans and Mozambicans. Most of the frightened **aliens** say they are now planning to go back to their countries. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2*

*The suspects hate **aliens** enough to kill them. And they'll gladly loot **alien shops**. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2*

*People from Alex attacked **aliens**, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. There are more than 1000 terrified men, women, and kids sleeping at Alexandra Police Station. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2*

*Looters wage war on cops as **alien** attacks spread. Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3*

*Gangs of looters ran through the dark streets bent double under the weight of goods stolen from shops owned by **aliens**. Daily sun, 16 May 2008: 3*

*SA: a hell for many **aliens**. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 2*

*Blood and flames! **Aliens** killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3*

*Hundreds of shacks and even cars belonging to **aliens** have been set on fire. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3*

***Aliens** armed with rocks fought back yesterday. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 1*

*Teens assault and rob **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 2

*Don't let the madness spread to Cape! **Aliens** told: Stay calm!* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

***Aliens** run for their lives!* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

*Home Affairs is arranging for the **aliens** to go home.* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

*The people are taking out their pain on **aliens**. And criminals are getting fat on loot.* Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2

*Police rob **aliens** and ask for sex.* Daily sun, 22 May 2008: 2

The expression “*alien*” in this particular South African tabloid newspaper is generally used as noun in more cases, and as adjective in fewer cases. The term “*alien*” is a harmful, damaging and derogatory word. These are some examples of the ways in which the tabloid press uses the term: “*aliens*”, “*alien girl*”, “*alien kids*”, and “*alien shops*”. These expressions are frequently and commonly used for insults. With reference to these terms, the textual representation of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* is a textual and verbal abuse of this tabloid newspaper against foreign residents or foreign nationals staying or living in South Africa.

In some cases, many children from foreign parents are conceived and born in South Africa. They grow up in this particular country, yet they are still viewed and portrayed as ‘*alien kids*’. Many of these children have never been in the country of origin of their parents. This situation of depiction of kids in the *Daily Sun* as “*alien girl*”, “*alien kids*” damages and destroys the existence and the development of these children. This affects the children, and they feel left out or excluded by the society in which they are born. This condition of textual verbal and abuse in the *Daily Sun* creates, in the mind of these children, fear and diffidence. Consequently, fear and diffidence design and shape the human and social behaviours of these children. In a French context, Keaton (2006: xii) refers to Pierre Bourdieu (1977) who writes about “*beings perceived as foreigners, and not as French.*”

Shops owned by black foreigners are referred to as “*alien shops*” in the *Daily Sun*. Although these shops are not there to provide goods and services to foreign nationals exclusively and in many cases cater for the entire community, they are still depicted in this way. Even where the majority of beneficiaries are local South African residents or citizens, this view is perpetuated. In the *Daily Sun*, black foreign nationals and what derives from them are represented as “*alien*”. Their offspring and belongings and even their businesses, are portrayed and referred to as “*alien*”.

Along with this negative depiction as “aliens”, black “foreigners” are also frequently constructed as illegal immigrants in the *Daily Sun*. Black “foreigners” have been repeatedly and largely labelled in the *Daily Sun* as illegals or illegal people. Numerous black “foreigners” are described and exposed in the *Daily Sun* as living or staying in the South African country without appropriate and suitable official authorization from the South African government. This is often the case with Zimbabwean citizens as the following headline suggests: “*Zimbabweans are using Kenya’s tragic violence as an excuse to get into South Africa illegally*” (Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 8).



Zimbabwean citizens are depicted in the *Daily Sun* as opportunistic illegal immigrant people. Zimbabwean men, women, and children are seen to have exploited the immediate opportunities offered to them to get into the South African country through the northern border of South Africa. According to the *Daily Sun*, the tragic violence that happened in Kenya has been used by Zimbabweans as an excuse to get access into South Africa on a mass scale, even without official traveling documents in their possession.

Metaphoric representation is used by the *Daily Sun* in this setting. This figure of speech, the metaphoric mental attitude gave a picture of South Africa as a container and illegal Zimbabweans as contents. This illegal immigration and massive flood of Zimbabweans identified and described as black “foreigners” posed a threat in one form or another to the legal

workers already in the South Africa country. *“SA farmers recruiting and exploiting **illegal aliens** from Zimbabwe had a surprise visit from labour inspectors”* (Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 11).

Illegal black “foreigners” in general and Zimbabwean illegal immigrants in particular, used all means to get into this specific neighbouring country illegally. Without proper official authorization, illegal immigrants bribed South African immigration officials at the border to get into the country illegally. All the way through corruption and fabricated documents, South African borders are also open to illegal black “foreigners”. *“A top official at Home Affairs appeared in court yesterday in connection with an immigration scam. He allegedly used, or allowed others to use, an official stamp in Zimbabweans’ passports so that **they could come into South Africa illegally**”* (Daily Sun, 26 March 2008: 9).

In several circumstances, illegal immigrants escaped the police control as their drivers and mediators at the border are more experienced in illegal immigration and operation. In some cases, black illegal immigrants, during their unlawful and criminal immigration activities, are arrested by the members of the South African Services. Pickup trucks are frequently and generally used to load or transport a large number of illegal immigrants from neighbouring countries into South Africa. The subsequent examples illustrate reports in the *Daily Sun* about the issue of traveling without an official permission from the South African authorities.

*Two weeks ago the cops bust 38 **illegal immigrants** in a bakkie travelling from Beit Bridge.* Daily Sun, 26 March 2008: 9

*Cops have acted against **illegal aliens** in the Eastern Cape. Ten aliens from several African countries were deported after being **found without valid residence permits**.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*The Erasmia cops arrested 63 **illegal immigrants** and one South African in a crime prevention operation in Diepsloot yesterday afternoon.* Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5

Illegal black “foreigners” are sometimes arrested at the borders, and those who managed to get into the South African country, without a lawful residence permits for their stay inside the country, are stopped and arrested by the members of the police. But this does not stop black illegal immigrants to flood into South Africa. Some illegal immigrants used other means to come back into South Africa as the border is always leaky, permeable, and penetrable.

Black illegal immigrants in general and those from Zimbabwean origin and nationality in particular, cross the border by foot or by transport to get access to South Africa. A very large number of Zimbabweans, most of them without official permission from the South African Home Affairs, cross or jump the border. The border crossing and or jumping become, sometimes and to certain extent, difficult to the immigration officials of South Africa to be controlled, as night time and especially weekend is the best and appropriated moment for getting into the neighbouring country illegally. *“Zims are flooding into SA. A survey between Musina and the Beit Bridge border post last weekend showed that 3800 Zimbabweans illegally crossed into SA just between Friday and Sunday”* (Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 1-2).

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Black illegal immigrants crossing or passing through the northern border of South Africa are not only illegal immigrants of Zimbabwean origin. Other African illegal immigrants also used the same way or passage to get into South Africa illegally. The most important, for these other non-Zimbabwean illegal immigrants to get access to South Africa, is to enter Zimbabwe legally and once they are in Zimbabwe, and through mediators and facilitators with arrangement of some corrupted South African immigration officials, get entry to South Africa.

The journey is too long and too risky for non-Zimbabwean illegal immigrants crossing into South Africa. Leaving their country of origin is the most important. And the only dream of these black illegal immigrants is to cross the South African border at all costs. Some of these black illegal immigrants get caught inside the country by the South African police. *“Six illegal immigrants nearly set a cop station on fire when they burnt their blanket on Saturday. They were*

held for being in the country without documents and demanded to see embassy officials. Isipingo cops said the suspects were from Tanzania” (Daily Sun, 6 May 2008: 12).

Men and women are not the only people crossing the border illegally. Children in general and disadvantaged and missing children in particular cross the border illegally into South Africa. These children are lost and do not really know where they are going and do not actually see what is waiting for them on the other side of the border. These children are in most cases above suspicion and naïve. As so vulnerable they are, the journey of these children without traveling documents or national identity documents, is an adventure in the nature. *Poor, lost children cross the border into South Africa. Children without documents are open to sexual abuse and slave labour, imprisoned with adults, and then repatriated.* Daily Sun, 8 May 2008: 10

Men, women, and children come into South Africa illegally and massively. The amount of illegal immigrants in general and black illegal immigrants in particular crossing into South Africa is not precise. There are only approximations about the number of illegal immigrants in the country. These estimations come from diverse sources, some calculations on yearly basis, some on monthly basis, some on weekly basis, and some on daily basis. In all cases, it has been said that refugees are massively and illegally crossing or passing the border into South Africa, and the number is getting higher and complex. *“The flood of refugees illegally crossing the border gets higher every day. Estimates at the moment are that up to 100 000 people cross into SA illegally every month!”*(Daily Sun, 22 July 2008: 8).

From the above mentioned examples and extracts, it is apparent that in some other situations and contexts, black foreign nationals in the *Daily Sun* are described as “foreigners” or “refugees,” which seem to be a slight improvement from “illegal immigrants” or “aliens.” Some of these (slightly) more positive labels are discussed next.

4.2.2. Constructions of Black “Foreigners” as Foreigners in the *Daily Sun*

Black foreign nationals in the *Daily Sun* are considered as unfamiliar individuals or peoples. “Foreigners”, with reference to their description in the *Daily Sun*, are the unknown people in South Africa. This means that black foreign nationals do not belong to South Africa despite the fact they constitute a part of the populations and are residents in South Africa. The term “foreigner” is used to identify, classify and categorize an outsider in opposition to an insider, as stranger in opposition to a local, who is familiar or used and known to the group.

In concordance with this type of ideology and thinking, the term “refugee” is used to label or brand the black “foreigner”. “Foreigner” and “refugee” in this context, share the common characteristic of being leaving the country of origin to settle down in the host country and host society. This is a fact, through the language in use in the *Daily sun*, that black “foreigners” in South Africa are refugees in one form or another by being forced to leave their country of origin for political, economic or natural disaster reasons. The terms, “refugee” and “foreigner” are often used interchangeably. The following headlines and extracts from the *Daily Sun* illustrate the frequency and context in which these terms are used in this particular tabloid during the time period specified.

*Later in the evening, displaced **foreigners** gathered at Laudium Police Station for safety.* Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

*An estimated three million Zimbabwe citizens live in South Africa. They are **refugees** from political persecution and economic melt-down.* Daily Sun, 18 March 2008: 12

*Druggies beat up **foreigners**! Their aim was to beat and kill **foreigners**.* Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

*Many **foreigners** fled there when the attacks in Soshanguve and Atteridgeville got out of hand.* Daily Sun, 2008: 5

*Many **foreigners** were taken to Stanza Bopape Community Hall in Mamelodi East for their own safety.* Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

*No one was able to explain why they decided to attack **foreigners** and destroy their shops.* Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

***Foreigners** all over Joburg and the surrounding areas were attacked this weekend.* Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

*Fleeing the violence that has been unleashed against them, **foreigners** are starting to go home.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 3

*In Winterveldt, north of Tshwane, yesterday about 500 **foreigners**, mostly Mozambicans were scrambling aboard buses to take them back where they came from.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 3

*It's like a war. All over southern Gauteng, **foreigners** and South Africans are fighting.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 4

*Terrified **foreigners** huddle in churches fearing death. And crowds push to catch buses for the border.* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

*In Durban, hundreds of **foreigners** have fled from their homes following attacks in Cato Manor, Isipingo and Bottlebrush squatter camp near Chatsworth.* Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 3

*There is no reason for looting – because there is nothing left to loot! And there is no reason for violent attacks because most **foreigners** have left.* Daily Sun, 26 May 2008: 2

*Most locals want to make peace with **foreigners**.* Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2

*Many people in Cape Town want to apologise to **foreigners** and invite them back into the townships.* Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2

*Young people in troubled townships have spoken out. And they hate xenophobia – they want **foreigners** to stay.* Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4

*Residents marched to show sympathy for **foreigners**.* Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4

Foreign refugees shifted to camps. Victims of violence have been moved to different temporary shelters around Joburg. Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 8

At the Rand Airport camp foreigners were worried that they would never be accepted by their former neighbours in Makause squatter camp outside Primrose. Daily Sun, 1 October 2008: 5

An analysis of the newspapers indicates that the textual representation of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* changed over time. Black “foreigners”, initially described as “refugees”, and “foreigners”, came to be referred to as “foreign residents” and “foreign nationals”.

4.2.3. Representations of Black “Foreigners” as Foreign Nationals and Foreign Residents in the *Daily Sun*

“Foreign residents” and “foreign nationals” are more neutral terms used in the *Daily Sun* in the period between February 2008 and December 2008 to refer to black people from other African countries. It is specifically important to emphasise here that, the terms “foreign residents” and “foreign nationals” are not used that often to describe black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun*. Only a few examples thereof were identified in the data gathered. These include:

Peace finally prevails! Locals and foreign residents joined hands to end the unrest. Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 10

Shops milking locals dry. The foreign nationals have fled... and now the locals are crying! And residents are not the only people crying. Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7

Any threat against foreign nationals is illegal, unacceptable and will result in action by the South African Police Services. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

In these preceding precise illustrations, language and ideology play a particular significant role in this given tabloid newspaper. Expressions like “foreign residents” and “foreign nationals” are used to diffuse tension and create a more harmonious relationship between locals and “foreigners” in South Africa. The selections and the usages of these specific words and expressions are deliberate and serve the purpose outlined above. This is further demonstrated by the use of the term “African brothers” when referring to black people who are not born in South Africa.

4.2.4. Representations of Black “Foreigners” as African Brothers in the *Daily Sun*

Black “foreigners” are also emotionally and sentimentally represented in the *Daily Sun* as “*African brothers*”. This positive way of describing and representing black “foreigners” is indicative of the correct manner, in which black “foreigners’ coming from other African countries need to be treated. Black “foreigners” need to be treated equally as their South African counterparts as they all belong to the same continent and therefore are “brothers” no matter what their country of origin. This depiction of foreigners as African brothers is demonstrated in the subsequent illustrations.

They are our African brothers and it is our responsibility to protect them. Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

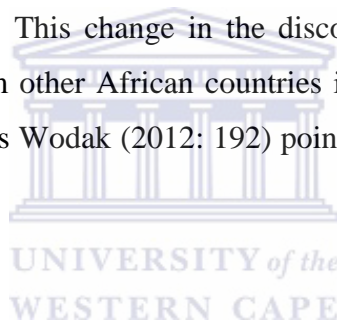
Africans, let us all unite. South Africans, let us remember that before we say that we are South Africans, we are Africans. Daily Sun, 21 July 2008: 5

4.3. Change in Representations of Black Foreigners in the *Daily Sun*

From the extracts cited it is apparent that there was a change in the way in which the *Daily Sun* portrayed and referred to black “foreigners’. Change, in this specific context, is any significant shift, adaptation or transformation over time, starting with the mental attitudes of particular individuals and landing on behavioural shapes of community or the society as a whole. The

mental attitudes of representing black foreign nationals in the *Daily Sun*, a South African tabloid newspaper, have changed and have been shaped over time in the behaviour forms or comportment arrangements, and social values identified in the reports between February 2008 and December 2008.

In the reports of the *Daily Sun*, black foreign nationals who were firstly and quickly represented by this specific tabloid newspaper as “*aliens*” (strange and estranged people whose presence are hostile to locals and/or natives who consider themselves as belonging to a specific ethnic and cultural groups somehow defined by their citizenship, membership and their historical and geographical location) and “*illegal immigrants*”, are secondly represented as “*foreigners*”, and furthermore as “*foreign residents*”, “*foreign nationals*”, are thereafter are represented, after a long wait, as “*African brothers*”. This change in the discourse within the news reports with reference to foreign nationals from other African countries in South Africa in the *Daily Sun* is very significant and ideological. As Wodak (2012: 192) pointed out “*discourse is a place where language and ideology meet.*”



During the period from 22 February to 1 October 2008, the *Daily Sun* has been using the term “*foreigners*” to represent African foreign nationals in some frequent settings and regular surroundings. After 20 May 2008, the terminology of this specific South African tabloid newspaper has changed. In the post 20 May 2008 publications of the *Daily Sun*, the term “*alien*” has disappeared completely. The withdrawal of “*alien*” terminology in the tabloid was understood by the fact that the term “*alien*” has caused more troubles in the community and society by impelling and propelling more hatred or dislike and hostility towards Africans of other African countries. The following illustrations fit for these circumstances.

Later in the evening, displaced foreigners gathered at Laudium Police Station for safety. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

*Landlords who rented RDP houses to **foreigners** have lost their tenants, and taxi bosses are suffering from fewer customers.* Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7

*Most locals want to make peace with **foreigners**.* Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2

*Many people in Cape Town want to apologise to **foreigners** and invite them back into the townships.* Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2

*Young people in troubled townships have spoken out. And they hate xenophobia – they want **foreigners** to stay.* Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4

*Residents marched to show sympathy for **foreigners**.* Daily sun, 29 May 2008: 4

*After the terror, back in business! Slowly ... slowly... **life is becoming normal again**. That's after the terrible violence which shook the country in recent weeks... driving many **foreigners** out of the townships and into emergency camps.* Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

*At the Rand Airport camp **foreigners** were worried that they would never be accepted by their former neighbours in Makause squatter camp outside Primrose.* Daily Sun, 1 October 2008: 5

During the period from 23 May to 8 September 2008, the terms “**foreign residents**” and “**foreign nationals**”, more neutral and discreet in their nature, and closely diplomatic, have been used. These terms were only used in few occasions to represent or say some political representatives' view about the violence of hatred that has happened in the country. Ideologically, these terms were used to switch off the flames of the intense dislike. The succeeding illustrations fit for this ideology and philosophy.

*Peace finally prevails! Locals and **foreign residents** joined hands to end the unrest.* Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 10

*Peace finally prevails! One township has set a great example for the country. **Locals and foreign residents joined hands** to end the unrest. And peace returns to Diepsloot on Sunday.* Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 10

*Shops milking locals dry. The **foreign nationals** have fled... and now the locals are crying! And residents are not the only people crying.* Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7

***Foreign refugees** shifted to camps. **Victims of violence** have been moved to different temporary shelters around Joburg.* Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 8

*Any threat against **foreign nationals** is illegal, unacceptable and will result in action by the South African Police Services.* Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

During the period from 2 June 2008 to 21 July 2008 the terms “**African brothers**” and obviously “**all Africans**” have been utilized in the news reports of the *Daily Sun*. “*African brothers*” in opposition to and in comparison with “*aliens*” or “*foreigners*”, seemed at that specific time of the events more fraternal and compassionately appropriate to describing and representing black foreign nationals living in the South African nation as numerous of them have been maltreated and victimized by the strong wind and the powerful storm of the violence. The subsequent illustrations revealed these feelings of sorrows for Africans from other countries.

Help aliens, don't kill or hate them!** People have been killed **only because they come from a foreign land. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 31

*There is **much wailing about the debt we owe foreigners**, the lessons we should learn from our own struggle, **the dignity of all Africans**, the evils of xenophobia – the big word for hatred of foreigners.* Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 1

*They are our **African brothers** and it is our responsibility to protect them.* Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

Africans, let us all unite. South Africans, let us remember that before we say that we are South Africans, we are Africans. Daily Sun, 21 July 2008: 5

Just limited times, in the earlier news reports of its publications, *Daily Sun*, used to call and describe Africans from other African countries by their nationalities. The description or representation of these other Africans by their respective nationality is more general and further frequent from August 2008 till 17 November 2008. This period was seen as the period of peace, reconciliation and harmony amongst foreign residents and local citizens in the country. The existing situation and atmosphere in the country explained clearly the language used and the language in use in the tabloid. The subsequent illustrations revealed the normalization of the situations and conditions.

Zimbabweans are using Kenya's strategic violence as an excuse to get into South Africa illegally. Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 2

Man killed in shop robbery. Somali shop owners came under attack by an armed gang for the second time in three days. The attack happened at Biko Village near Mdantsane on Wednesday night. Daily Sun, 29 August 2008: 2

Two Tanzanians were shot and killed with one bullet each in the RDP house they were renting at Nemato Township. Daily Sun, 1 September 2008: 2

Two Somali shopkeepers were shot dead in NU 14, Mdantsane, in East London, Eastern Cape. Two more Somalis were injured in a spate of attacks. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

A Somali mother and her three children were butchered at Thambo Location, Whittlesea, on Friday. The mother and daughter and two sons were found in a pool of blood on their shop floor on Friday morning. Daily Sun, 29 September 2008: 2

The death toll of Somali shopkeepers continues to rise. In the latest incident a Somali man was gunned down in his spaza shop at the weekend. Daily Sun, 7 October 2008: 2

Port Elizabeth cops arrested a man at his flat in Central for dealing in prostitution, drugs and human trafficking. About 2pm on Thursday, a 34-year-old Nigerian was arrested in Central for drugs and human trafficking. Daily Sun, 17 December 2008: 4

South Africans and other Africans have to form a single organised and cohesive group based on harmony and sharing common interests. These common interests can only be achieved if all unite and respect one another through the process of being human to one another. All parties, South Africans and Africans from other origins, need to show better abilities and merits of humanity or humankind. The next chapter continues to discuss the findings of this study.



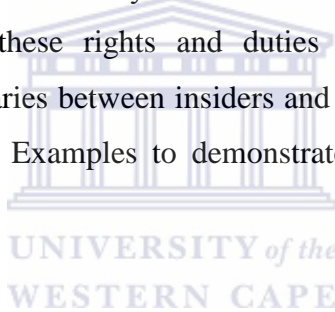
4.4. Summary

This chapter brings together the portrayal and depiction of black foreigners articulated in the tabloid. This chapter also discussed the change in representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* which has resulted in inconsistent messages and imagery. The next chapter continues to discuss the findings of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: Research Findings – Part Two

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter looked at some of the terms used to describe black ‘foreigners’ in the *Daily Sun* and how this has changed and also become less clear over time. The notion of moral panics and how this contributes towards (mostly negative) perceptions of foreigners is also explored in this section. But first, the ways in which black Africans are depicted as outsiders and referred to as “them” or “they” as opposed to “us,” which is reserved for South Africans, is discussed. This is exacerbated by government policy and service delivery which excludes the “other”, in this case, black African immigrants. Xenophobia needs to be seen in this context. Since 1994, citizenship and nation-building became a key focus in South Africa and “outsiders” like black foreigners were excluded from these rights and duties and they were denied access to government resources. The boundaries between insiders and outsiders were drawn, and in many respects, remains this way today. Examples to demonstrate this within the newspaper being analysed are provided next.



5.2. Constructions of Black “Foreigners” as Unknown People and References to Them as “They” or “Them” in the *Daily Sun*

Black “foreigners” are constructed and represented as unknown people in the *Daily Sun*. African foreign nationals living in South Africa are represented in the *Daily Sun* as unfamiliar people. This means that black “foreigners” are not known to the South African people or society in several settings. As unknown people, black foreigners are, at that moment, considered as “strange people”. The following quotations taken from in this specific tabloid newspaper illustrate these representations.

They came into the country expecting greener pastures. Daily Sun, 3 March 2008: 12

Instead they are allegedly being used in brothels as prostitutes. Daily Sun, 3 March 2008: 12

They are refugees from political persecution and economic melt-down. Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

They deprive South Africans of their belongings. Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

They said cops did nothing about the attacks and that nobody had been arrested for the killings and robberies. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

It has been observed in the preceding illustrations that the personal pronoun “**they**” is repeatedly occurring in the discourse, and this pronoun “*they*” refers to black “foreigners”, the unknown people, the unfamiliar people, the other people or the “others”. The recurrence of the pronoun “*they*” in the discourse implies “**Othering**”.

“**Othering**” is seen in this context as “*not one of us*”. This process of representation perceives or portrays black foreigners as fundamentally different from local residents or South African citizens and subsequently as alien, foreign, unknown or strange. Black “foreigners” identified and mentioned in the *Daily Sun* as “*they*” are subjects and objects of social exclusion in this relevant setting. The use of “*they*” in opposition to “*we*” and “*them*” in opposition to “*us*” and “*our*” in opposition to “*their*” is accurately repeated in the *Daily Sun*. The following illustrations need to be significantly revealed.

ANC councillor Maria Modumaela supports plans to have Zimbabweans and Mozambicans thrown out of Skielik informal settlement in Soshangwe North. Community leader Mmule Ramaswe said: “**We** have limited freedom in **our** own country... that is why **we** need **them** out.” Daily Sun, 22 April 2008: 5

Aliens are here to destroy us. I hate those who come to our country to sell drugs and sex and commit criminal acts. Not all of them are criminals but the majority of them are here to rob and destroy South Africans. They deprive South Africans of their belongings. Foreigners are not here to develop or improve our country. Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

Other examples, although of a more positive nature, include:

They mean a lot to us... we will make sure they are safe. Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

We are really struggling. Everything is different without them. We miss them so much! Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7

With the illustrations of the previous examples from the *Daily Sun*, it absolutely emerges that this antagonism can be understood through the concept of a moral panic. A moral panic is a strong and deep feeling conveyed or expressed in a particular population about a collective issue that seems to threaten the societal order as a whole. This study argues that, the concept of moral panic can be used to improve understandings of xenophobic intolerance, which remains a social problem in South Africa. Black “foreigners” living in South Africa are described and depicted in the *Daily Sun* as aggressors and as dangerous, and this discourse results in a ‘moral panic.’

Several of the key characteristics of moral panics as identified by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994), are evident in the reports in the *Daily Sun*. For instance, the widely accepted belief that the group in question, viz., ‘foreigners’ originating from other African countries, have a negative effect on South African society and resultant hostility towards them. The media can perpetuate moral panics and this study argues that with regard to xenophobia, the *Daily Sun* has played an important role.

5.3. Representations of Black “Foreigners” as Criminals and Aggressors in the *Daily Sun*

Black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* are depicted to a certain extent as constituting a social threat for many South Africans. Black “foreigners” are seen as the ones causing problems and troubles and worries, damage and destruction to South Africans. The perceived aggressiveness of their actions and activities in the host country is crucial and important to mention in this concern. Black “foreigners” are portrayed as threatening people through a number of criminal acts they committed in the country. Black foreigners have been implicated in a wide variety of criminal

activities ranging from running unlicensed businesses to murder. Several reports on these activities have been pointed out in this tabloid newspaper.

From the analysis of the *Daily Sun*, it is clear that black “foreigners” are frequently depicted as people who are deeply involved in criminal activities. Black foreign nationals are accused in the *Daily Sun* of running businesses in South Africa without valid registration and trading or hawker licences. In some cases, black “foreigners” deal in second-hand goods without a legal second-hand dealer licence. This is seen to pose a threat to registered and licenced businesses and at the same time increases criminal activities in the country.

*We found that some of the **aliens** were **involved in criminal activities** and some were running businesses in Mthatha and the surrounding area without licences.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

Some black immigrants who came from other African neighbouring countries are depicted as robbers in the country. With reference to robbery, the more vulnerable people are women. Black African immigrants are seen to target powerless women to deprive them of their belongings. Young African immigrants in general, living in the townships, are really experienced in criminal matters as the *Daily Sun* reported. “A woman was **robbed** of her personal belongings **by a young Zimbabwean thug**. He managed to escape and was never arrested.” (Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5)

Black “foreigners” do not only rob in the street. Black foreign immigrants are also wanted for housebreaking too. They are depicted in the *Daily Sun* as dangerous housebreakers. Black “foreigners” are portrayed as intruders and by the fact, are real criminals. Criminality is a threat to social order. People do not feel safe walking on the street in fears to be robbed. At home, housebreaking is taking place. In order to monitor social order, these criminals are arrested. The following quotes demonstrate this view.

*One of the arrested men was found to be **wanted for housebreaking and robbery** in Gauteng. Daily Sun, 7 March 2008: 2*

*Three **aliens** went on a housebreaking spree. But quick-thinking cops spoiled their fun on Wednesday. The Mozambicans were **caught red-handed** in a Tshwane house. Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5*

Black immigrants are also depicted in the *Daily Sun* as possessors of stolen goods. Some of the stolen goods are stolen by themselves, and in other cases, they buy stolen goods from thieves, people who steal other people's belongings or property. Stealing public property or somebody's belongings and buying stolen goods are criminal acts condemned by the South African law. Criminal activities as such among black "foreigners" are exposed in the *Daily Sun*.

*The **aliens** were found **in possession of a large number of suspected stolen railway line crossbars** yesterday morning. Daily Sun, 27 March 2008: 12*

*Two **Nigerian men** were **arrested with stolen cigarettes** worth than a million rand in Soweto-Sea in Port Elizabeth. Daily Sun, 17 November 2008: 2*

Black "foreigners" living in South Africa are also being investigated for helping South African and foreign women terminate unwanted pregnancies. The so-called foreign 'doctors', without professional training and without registration with the South African Department of Public Health, performed abortions on women. The exercise of illegal abortion is very dangerous and in this context, the pretended foreign doctors are not health specialists. Most of their customers or clients are women who run away from the registered governmental health care facilities for one reason or for another.

Some of the reports on this issue include the following extracts:

And as stunned cops and the Sun Team looked around uneasily, a foreign healer, Dr Hassan, rushed into the room, picked up the moaning head... the mysterious head was used to help women abort unwanted babies. Daily Sun, 7 March 2008: 1

Two Ugandans and a Burundian national accused of running illegal abortion clinics in Polokwane, have to appear in court again on 6 May. They were arrested on 11 March when police received a tip-off that clinics were being run in Church Street. Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

Black foreign immigrants are also depicted as killers in the *Daily Sun*. They take “the law into their own hands”. Mob justice is frequently used by black “foreigners” to deal with theft. This is a threat to the legal system and the law of the country, where physical attacks and mob justice are considered as criminal acts by the judiciary. It is very dangerous and harmful when a furious and angry person takes justice into his or her own hands. The consequences of this uncontrolled situation are disagreeable. Harm, injury, damage, and death follow. The subsequent illustrations reveal the types of (often violent) criminal acts reportedly committed by black “foreigners”.

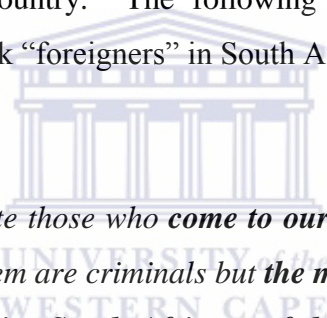
Mpethu was killed at about 5 am on Sunday, allegedly by a Zimbabwean who accused him of stealing wood. Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

In Addo, three Somali men were arrested for attempted murder. Daily sun, 8 September 2008: 2

The type and number of criminal acts committed by some foreign nationals in the country are diverse and numerous, according to the reports in the *Daily Sun*. Black “foreigners” are accused by local South African citizens and exposed in the *Daily Sun* for their crimes. In this setting, they are a threat to local residents and they also give hard time to the police who search for them. Since some of these black foreign nationals are illegal in the country, it takes time for the police to track them down should they become involved in crimes in the country.

*The Erasmia cops **arrested** 63 illegal immigrants and one South African in a crime prevention operation in Diepsloot yesterday afternoon. The residents were blaming **foreigners** in particular for these **crimes**.* Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5

As can be seen from the various extracts taken from the *Daily Sun*, black “foreigners” are portrayed as criminals who constitute a social threat in the country. They are depicted in this specific South African tabloid newspaper as destroyers, drug dealers, human traffickers and prostitutes. Not only male black “foreigners” commit crimes in South Africa, but female black “foreigners” too. As prostitutes, female black “foreigners” sell their bodies and, at the same time, smuggle and sell drugs in the country. The following illustrations reveal criminals acts committed by male and female black “foreigners” in South Africa.



*Aliens are here to **destroy us**. I hate those who come to our country to sell drugs and sex and commit criminal acts. Not all of them are criminals but **the majority** of them are here to rob and destroy South Africans. They deprive South Africans of their belongings. Foreigners are not here to develop or improve our country.* Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

*About 2pm on Thursday, a 34-year-old **Nigerian** was **arrested** in Central for drugs and human trafficking.* Daily sun, 17 December 2008: 4

Black “foreigners” are depicted as committing fraud in the country. Local South African people are shown, in the tabloid newspaper, as their main targets. This fraud involves defrauding and depriving South Africans from their money, and more often black “foreigners” use fake marriages to get a permanent resident status to stay in the country, and benefit from more advantages by getting a South African identification document. Fraud and counterfeit pose a major and permanent threat to local individuals and the nation as a whole. The succeeding quotes clearly illustrate this in the *Daily Sun*.

Four Somali thugs who conned a man out of R30000 were bust by cops at a carwash. Daily Sun, 15 August 2008: 2

She is married to a Nigerian. But she has no idea how this happened. She has never met the man before. Daily Sun, 20 October 2008: 10

Although black immigrants are mostly portrayed as criminals, in the same South African tabloid newspaper, they are sometimes also described as victims.

5.4. Representations of Black “Foreigners” as Victims in the *Daily Sun*

In several cases, black “foreigners” are described in the *Daily Sun* as victims. They are targets of the local residents in South Africa. Local residents take “the law into their own hands”. They murder, rob, and deprive foreign nationals staying or living in South Africa. Black “foreigners”, citizens from several other African countries are robbed at gunpoint, killed, injured and or lost their belongings as a result of deplorable xenophobic activities in the host country. This next section describes some of the ways in which black foreigners are victims of various forms of violence and criminal activities. The key patterns of violence are:

5.4.1. Black Foreigners as Victims of Robbery at Gunpoint

Black foreigners in general and Somalis in particular, are seen as easy targets for robberies and killings by some local South African residents living in the townships. This is explained by the fact that, many spaza shopkeepers or shop owners in South African townships are Somalis. As their shops are open for customers for long hours, they are exposed to robberies, which are often violent resulting in death.

Two more Somalis were injured in a spate of attacks. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

A Somali shop was robbed in Scenery Park on Friday. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

*A gang of young **thugs forced the Somali shop door open and stole everything** – clearing out the shop completely. Daily Sun, 19 September 2008: 2*

***Four thugs went on a crime spree, robbing two foreign-owned businesses.** Daily Sun, 19 September 2008: 5*

***“Somalis robbed! Then two local thugs are killed in a shoot-out.”** Daily Sun, 29 September 2008: 2*

***A Somali shop owner and his assistant were robbed at gunpoint on Monday night at Blani Street in Addo.** Daily Sun, 3 December 2008: 2*

The confrontation between shopkeepers and robbers ends up with injuries and/or killings. In most cases, shopkeepers are injured by their attackers. In other cases, foreign shopkeepers are shot and killed. Although the prevalent violence directed against Somali shopkeepers is often cited as evidence of xenophobic attitudes, Charman and Piper (2012) argue in their Delft study that such violence is not necessarily driven by anti-foreigner sentiment.



5.4.2. Black “Foreigners” as Shot and Killed

Black “foreigners” staying or living in the South African country are described in the *Daily Sun* as easy targets and victims of violent attacks propagated against them by their South African counterparts. These black foreign nationals are in many cases shot. Some are shot dead, and others who are lucky, survive from their injuries after the shootings. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* show transparently how black foreign nationals are victims of “shot and kill”.

***Somalis in Mthatha believe they are under siege after two of their country men were shot by unknown robbers. The thugs took an undisclosed amount of cash, cell phones, a car and house keys and run away.** Daily Sun, 7 February 2008: 2*

*Residents vented their anger on aliens because councillors failed to come and address a protest march against poor service delivery. On Tuesday two **Somalis were brutally killed** as clashes erupted between the two groups. Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4*

*It's war on aliens! Violent attacks on aliens continue! In Alexandra, north of Joburg, two men said to be **aliens were shot and killed** on Sunday night. The incident followed **similar attacks** in Atteridgeville, Mabopane and Diepsloot in which several **people were killed and injured**. Many **shacks** were also **burned down**. Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 4*

***Man killed** in shop robbery. **Somali shop owners** came under attack by an armed gang for the second time in three days. The attack happened at Biko Village near Mdantsane on Wednesday night. Daily Sun, 29 August 2008: 2*

***Two Tanzanians were shot and killed** with one bullet each in the RDP house they were renting at Nemato Township. Daily Sun, 1 September 2008: 2*

***Two Somali shopkeepers** were **shot dead** in NU 14, Mdantsane, in East London, Eastern Cape. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2*

***A Somali man** was **shot dead** while visiting his brother. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2*

***The death toll** of Somali shopkeepers **continues to rise**. In the latest incident a **Somali man** was **gunned down** in his spaza shop at the weekend. Daily Sun, 7 October 2008: 2*

*A 21-year-old spaza shop owner was **shot dead** during an armed robbery in Masiphumelele on Friday evening. The **Ethiopian** owner of the shop was shot in the chest during the incident. Daily Sun, 10 November 2008: 2*

5.4.3. Black “Foreigners” as Stabbed to Death

In certain circumstances, black “foreigners” are stabbed to death. Stabbing people commonly happens in everyday life in South Africa. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* specifically expose those persecutions, oppressions, and discriminations.

The three Zimbabweans were sleeping when men burst into their house and stabbed one to death. Daily Sun, 29 February 2008: 4

Black foreigners, victims of attacks and killings, are not only men. Women and children are victims too.

“A Somali mother and her three children were butchered at Thambo Location, Whittlesea, on Friday. The mother and daughter and two sons were found in a pool of blood on their shop floor on Friday morning”. Daily sun, 29 September 2008: 2

5.4.4. Black “Foreigners” as Beaten to Death

Black “foreigners”, in numerous circumstances and situations, are victims of the mob. Black foreign nationals, as minorities, are confronted by the local huge crowd and cannot counterattack. Their South African counterparts use this sad opportunity to beat them to death. The subsequent illustrations in the *Daily Sun* clearly exposed these attacks.

Cops had to rescue three aliens from the angry crowd, who were armed with stones, sticks, and sjamboks. The aliens were beaten badly, but the crowd dispersed when police blasted them with rubber bullets. Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

Show your ID ... or we will kill you! In the old days it would’ve been cops demanding to see a dompas. But this time, it was a violent gang allegedly led by three nyaope smokers who decided to target aliens. Their aim was to beat and kill foreigners. Alien-owned cars, houses, and shops were in flames. Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

On Wednesday, a large group of thugs waked from door to door demanding to see IDs. They were armed with pangas, hammers and spades. And anyone who was unable to produce a South African ID was beaten to a pulp. Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

Foreigners all over Joburg and the surrounding areas were attacked this weekend. Two of them – presumed to be aliens – were eaten by flames after their houses were set alight. The rest of the

victims were beaten to death. Hundreds of shacks and even cars belonging to aliens have been set on fire. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred. The evil flames of violence spread all around the nation's largest city yesterday. 10 people – many of them aliens – have died and more than 100 have been injured. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

Black foreigners depicted in the *Daily Sun* are not victims of physical attacks only. Black foreigners are also poisoned, their belongings looted, and their material goods, burned. These dynamics or forces at work are the outcome of jealousy.

5.4.5. Black “Foreigners” as Victims of Jealousy

Daily Sun depicted black “foreigners” in certain circumstances and surroundings as victims of jealousy. This specific South African tabloid exposed clearly that some South Africans were profoundly and extremely jealous by committing certain abuses in the country. The subsequent examples are meaningfully revealed in the tabloid.

The man and woman were naked in bed. The mystery of their death has caused much speculation among the people.... Some people are saying the couple have been poisoned because someone was jealous of them. The man is thought to be from the DRC. The woman is a South African citizen. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 1

Several businesses belonging to foreigners have been looted and their shacks destroyed by residents who accuse them of being behind crime in the area. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

Residents went on the rampage yesterday morning after the death of Tshepo Mpethu. They looted Zimbabwean and Mozambican spaza shops. Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

Disgruntled squatters vented their anger and started looting shops and burning the shacks of aliens. Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Alien girl (9) dies in attack. An innocent little nine-year-old girl was **burned to death** on Monday night when her shack was **deliberately set on fire**. Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5*

*War on aliens turns really ugly! More than 1000 aliens, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes. Some of **their belongings and money were stolen** by the crowd. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2*

*Angry crowd attacks! The crowd accused the two (suspicious strangers) of housebreaking and rape incidents in the area and started a vicious beating. Battered and bleeding, they lie on the cold, hard tar road. **Behind them roaring flames are eating their Toyota Venture**. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2*

*More trouble in Alex! The suspects hate aliens enough to kill them. And they'll **gladly loot alien shops**. People from Alex attacked aliens, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2*

*No one was able to explain why **they** decided to **attack foreigners and destroy their shops**. Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3*

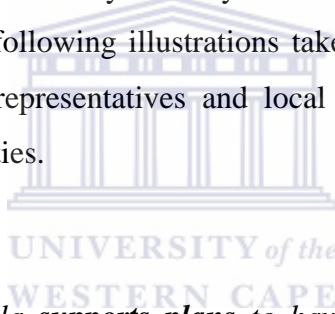
*At Secunda in Mpumalanga, **Somalian** Ahmed Ali (26) **lost his car and two shops** when a crowd **torched** them early on Wednesday. He told Daily Sun: "**I can't go back to Somalia because there is war and poverty there.**" Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2*

*At about 2.30am on Sunday the Athi-Amahlubi spaza **shop** in KwaZakhele was **burnt to ashes**. The 33 year-old **Somali owner** and his assistant were asleep at the time and were woken up by the smell of smoke. Daily Sun, 6 August 2008: 2*

5.4.6. Black “Foreigners” as Victims of Local Political Representatives and Local Business Owners

Black foreigners trading in the townships are not only victims of unknown robbers and killers. They are also victims of intimidation and threat from political representatives and local business owners in the area. Black foreign shopkeepers are accused of undercutting the prices of their South African counterparts that has led to the collapse of several locally owned spaza shops in and around the townships.

Daily Sun portrayed black foreigners as victims of local political representatives and local business owners. In this case, black foreigners knew their attackers, persecutors, and oppressors very well. This was confirmed by the study done by Charman and Piper (2012) among Somali spaza shop owners in Delft. The following illustrations taken from the *Daily Sun* disclose the damaging contributions of local representatives and local business owners in the spread of violence in the disturbed communities.



ANC councillor Maria Modumaela supports plans to have Zimbabweans and Mozambicans thrown out of Skielik informal settlement in Soshangwe North. Community leader Mmule Ramaswe said: “We have limited freedom in our own country... that is why we need them out.” Daily Sun, 22 April 2008: 5

The people say Somali shops offer good value. But rival shopkeepers tried to put them out of business. On Saturday, they attacked and looted four shops in Khayelitsha. Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 2

It is alleged that local business owners instructed the Somalis to close their shops and stop trading. When the Somalis refused, their shops were looted at gunpoint. Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 2

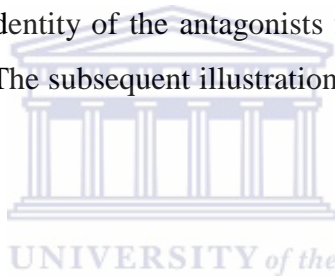
Gangs of looters ran through the dark streets bent double under the weight of goods stolen from shops owned by aliens. Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

Teens assault and rob aliens. They boys armed with traditional weapons assaulted the aliens until they handed over their bakkie keys. Cops said most of their stuff was stolen. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 2

Some local politicians and local business owners directly or indirectly contributed to the oppressions and persecutions of black “foreigners” in their communities.

5.4.7. Black “Foreigners” as Counter-attackers Who are at War with Locals

Black foreign nationals are also depicted in the *Daily Sun* as counter-attackers. The fight described and in the *Daily Sun* is called or named “afrophobia” or “negrophobia”. Foreigners and South Africans in this particular setting are enemies: Black South Africans and Black foreigners are fighting. The racial group or identity of the antagonists fighting is significantly highlighted and emphasized in the *Daily Sun*. The subsequent illustrations are painted in this specific tabloid newspaper.



*A war of stones broke out as Mozambicans and Zimbabweans near Joburg tried to **fight off a South African crowd** which was trying to chase them away. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 1*

*In an effort to make peace, a police helicopter roared only a few metres above the ground. It tried to push **the enemies** apart with the wind from its propeller blades. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 1*

*It's like **a war**. All over southern Gauteng, **foreigners and South Africans are fighting**. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 4*

*The **aliens** refused to run away and stood firing at the **locals** with guns. Other aliens went to the local police station for safety. Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 2*

*More than 200 fled to Rietgat and Phuthananong Police Stations, north of Tshwane. But armed **spaza owners fought back**. Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2*

The persistent atmosphere of dislike and detestation that happened in the townships went beyond the boundaries. Black foreigners and black South Africans with regard to *Daily Sun* are depicted as opponents and enemies. Local and foreign Africans reciprocally perceived and considered themselves as devils, demons and infernal beings. This is illustrated in the *Daily Sun* through the following transcriptions.

*Camp of fear! Go away, refugees tell SA visitors! No, no, no Xhosas ... only whites and coloureds. People were scared and angry. They said they were **angry with all Xhosas**.* Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 1-2

5.4.8. Black “Foreigners” as Victims of the South African Police

In South Africa, black foreigners are not only victims or targets of the local South African citizens in the informal settlements in which they live. Black foreigners are also victims of the police who are supposed to protect everybody or anyone living in the country. *Daily Sun* described and painted black foreigners as victims of the South African police. The following illustrations are revealed in this particular South African tabloid newspaper.

“Police rob aliens and ask for sex. Sad, scared and helpless foreigners are trying to get home with their few belongings. But their troubles are not over. Now they are at the mercy of cruel and thieving cops!” Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2

*Cops demanded R200 or they would take the family to Lindela Repatriation Centre. Several women told how **sex-hungry cops demanded favours**.* Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2

Black foreigners, in some situations and conditions of desperation, are victims of certain undisciplined and corrupt members of the South African Police Services (SAPS). Corruption and sex favours are revealed in the *Daily Sun*.

5.5. Summary

This chapter has dealt with the constructions of black foreigners as unknown people and the numerous references to “they” or “them” in the tabloid. This chapter also discussed the representations of black foreigners as victims on one hand, and on the other as attackers who are at war with local South Africans. The next and final chapter dealing with the findings of this study examines some of the stereotypes of black foreign nationals that feature in the *Daily Sun*.



CHAPTER SIX: Research Findings – Part Three

6.1. Introduction

Preceding chapters have shown how representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* though mostly, negative, have changed over time. The multiple ways in which foreigners are linked to criminal activity in the country have been outlined. Additionally, ideas about ‘moral panics’ and how they can contribute towards these perceptions have also been highlighted.

Not all foreigners are depicted in the same way. This final chapter focusing on the findings of my research examines the diverse (often stereotypic) portrayals of black foreigners, who originate from different African countries in the *Daily Sun*. It also looks at this form of media’s portrayal of xenophobic violence and attacks on or by foreigners during the specified time period.

During the period February 2008 to December 2008, eleven nationalities of black African origin can be identified in the *Daily Sun*. These nationalities are Ethiopian, Somalis, Zimbabwean, Malawian, Zairian⁴, Ghanaian, Burundian, Ugandan, Cameroonian, Mozambican and Nigerian.

6.2. Nationalities and Stereotypes of Black Foreigners in the *Daily Sun*

The general view perpetuated by the *Daily Sun* is that foreign nationals, specifically, black foreigners living in informal settlements, are criminals and they are frequently accused of housebreaking and the rape of women in the area. “*Angry people in the crowd said that there were at least three housebreaking incidents in the area every week and women being raped.*” (*Daily Sun*, 15 May 2008: 2). Furthermore, all foreign nationals from other African countries living in South Africa are depicted and named “*makwerekwere*” (*Daily Sun*, 16 April 2008: 5).

⁴ ‘Zairian’: a native or inhabitant of Zaïre; of or relating to the former Zaïre (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) or its inhabitants (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/zairian>, accessed 10 November 2014)

Despite these common depictions, black foreigners from diverse nationalities are portrayed differently in the *Daily Sun*. Some of these depictions and stereotypes based on nationality are discussed next.

6.2.1. Ethiopians

Ethiopians are represented in the *Daily Sun* as hardworking and honest people from black African origin. Ethiopians are particularly dedicated in shop keeping and are stereotyped as *shopkeepers*. “*The Ethiopian owner of the shop was shot in the chest during the incident*” *Daily Sun*, 10 November 2008: 2

6.2.2. Somalis

Somalis are represented in the *Daily Sun* as *shop owners, conmen, murderers, murder victims and wanderers, vagrants or vagabonds*. In this specific South African tabloid newspaper, Somalis are at the same time positively and negatively stereotyped. Somalis have experienced the highest number of xenophobic deaths in the period 2004 - 2008 and the local media has been criticized for failing to condemn these acts (Mohamed, 2011).

The subsequent illustrations in the *Daily Sun* demonstrate the various stereotypes used for Somalis.

The people say Somali shops offer good value. *Daily Sun*, 9 May 2008: 2

Somali-owned shops were re-opened on Saturday in Mandela Park and Town Two. *Daily Sun*, 2 June 2008: 2

Somali conmen bust at car watch! Four Somali thugs who conned a man out of R30000 were bust by cops at a carwash. *Daily Sun*, 15 August 2008: 2

Three Somali men were arrested for attempted murder. *Daily Sun*, 8 September 2008: 2

More *Somalis killed*. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

6.2.3. Zimbabweans

Zimbabweans are represented in the *Daily Sun* as *bogus asylum-seekers, sellers of stolen goods, robbers, illegal farm workers*, and *killers* in South Africa. Falsification, possessing stolen goods, entering the country illegally, working illegally, and killings are among the severe criminal activities in South Africa that Zimbabweans are implicated in. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* expose these stereotypes of Zimbabweans living in South Africa.

*They pretend to be seeking asylum from the slaughter in their country – and Home affairs is falling in their scam! These **bogus asylum-seekers** are among the genuine refugees who apply at Home Affairs ...*” Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 8

*“**Sellers of stolen goods**” Alien sold **stolen goods** from house. It was like a treasure house full of beautiful things. But they were all stolen. The man was charged with possession of stolen goods and he will be deported back to **his home in Zimbabwe** soon.* Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 20

*“**Robbers**”: A woman **robbed** of her personal belongings **by a young Zimbabwean** thug. He managed to escape and was never arrested.* Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

*“**Alien farmworkers**”: SA farmers recruiting and exploiting **illegal aliens** from Zimbabwe had a surprise visit from labour inspectors.* Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 11

*“**Killers**”: Mpethu was **killed** at about 5 am on Sunday, allegedly **by a Zimbabwean** who accused him of stealing wood.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*“**Thieves**”: It was established that all four illegal **immigrants from Zimbabwe** had cut the crossbars from a railway line in Pietersburg on Tuesday evening.* Daily Sun, 27 March 2008: 12

Some of the Zimbabweans are border criminals. This type of Zimbabweans implicated in border criminalities is called “*gumaguma*”. These Zimbabwean border criminals do not live in one place. They are nomads. They move from one place to another targeting and looking for vulnerable, defenceless and helpless male and female illegal immigrants. “[...] the mysterious Guma Guma tribe. The nomadic criminals prey on vulnerable migrants who cross the border illegally from Zimbabwe into South Africa”. (<http://www.enca.com>)

They are named “*gumagumas*”. *The word is a mixture of isiVenda and Karanga, a language from eastern Zimbabwe. It means “Thug”. Gumagumas – many of them carrying guns – prey on Zimbabweans who are fleeing their homeland’s collapsed economy and the harsh rule of Robert Mugabe.* Daily Sun, 22 July 2008: 8

6.2.4. Malawians

Malawians are represented in the *Daily Sun* as “*lover doctors*”, “*fake sangomas*” and “*con-artists*”. Malawians are, according to the *Daily Sun*, fraudsters. They pretended to be doctors and through that channel and network, defraud their South African victims of colossal amounts of money. Malawians in the *Daily Sun* are stereotyped as specialists of these sorts of criminal activities in the South African country.

Cops had received several reports that the suspects had defrauded Durban victims of hundreds of thousands of rands. (Daily Sun, 4 February 2008: 2)

6.2.5. Zairians

Zairians, natives of Zaire, (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) are stereotyped in the *Daily Sun* as “*dealers in fake money*”. Zairians in the *Daily Sun* are revealed as fake dollar makers in South Africa. Counterfeit money is a serious crime in South Africa. Zairians are described as claiming of making or producing currency for their South African victims. It is internationally known that producing or making counterfeit money is a criminal act, and this form of fraud is condemned by the South Africa authorities.

It is exposed in this South African tabloid newspaper that “*Zairian arrested for black dollars! A 44 -year-old man was arrested for dealing in fake money*” (Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 4).

6.2.6. Ghanaians

Ghanaians are stereotyped in the *Daily Sun* as “*crooks*”, “*fake sangomas*”, and “*secret husbands*”. Ghanaians, according to the *Daily Sun*, are fraudsters ranging from false healers to people involved in false marriages in South Africa. Ghanaians in the *Daily Sun* reports are also depicted as criminally active in the country. Ghanaians commit crimes by marrying South African citizens only to stay permanently in the country. In some other settings they falsely get married to South African citizens to travel out of the country as their refugee status would not allow them to do so. *Daily Sun* revealed in its reports, some descriptions and depictions of Ghanaians living in South Africa.

Mlungiseleli, from Motherwell in the Eastern Cape, says he was tempted by the get-rich-quick scheme offered by the alien who pretended to be a sangoma. Now he’s sold his house for R68000 and lost it all to a crook from Ghana. Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 3

She lived happily with her Ghanaian lover for two years. But they split when she found he had married her in secret. Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 9

6.2.7. Ugandans and Burundians

Ugandans and Burundians are stereotyped in the *Daily Sun* as “*illegal doctors*”, and “*fake sangomas*”. According to the *Daily Sun*, Ugandans and Burundians are criminally active in South Africa. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* exposed their activities in the South African country.

“Illegal doctors”: Two **Ugandans** and a **Burundian** national accused of running illegal abortion clinics in Polokwane, have to appear in court again on 6 May. They were arrested on 11 March when police received a tip-off that clinics were being run in Church Street. Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

The **Ugandan sangoma** promised to enlarge his penis and make him very rich. But instead the poor guy lost R40000 and his 4-5 is still the same unsatisfactory size. Daily sun, 23 October 2008: 5

6.2.8. Cameroonians

Cameroonians are stereotyped for their involvement in criminal activities in South Africa. In the *Daily Sun* they are portrayed as “**marriage fraudsters**”. Marriage fraudsters are also called or labelled as “**secret husbands**”. They get married to single South African women secretly with arrangement of some professionally unethical and corrupt agents or representatives of the South African Home Affairs Department. Fake marriage or false is a serious crime in South Africa. These marriage fraudsters or secret husbands are, in numerous cases, unknown to their female South African victims.

“It was so painful because I have never seen him, not even in my dreams. Worst of all they said that he is from Cameroon. I don’t know anyone from that side,” Boitumelo said. Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

6.2.9. Mozambicans

Mozambicans, in the light of the *Daily Sun*, are stereotyped in place of housebreakers, possessors of stolen goods, in a word as thieves. Mozambicans, with regards to the *Daily Sun*, are criminally active in stealing goods in South Africa and taking the stolen goods from South Africa to their country, Mozambique as both countries are very close or nearby neighbours. The subsequent illustrations in the *Daily Sun* fit into their criminal acts. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* have been identified.

Three aliens went on a housebreaking spree. But quick-thinking cops spoiled their fun on Wednesday. The Mozambicans were caught red-handed in a Tshwane house. The thugs led cops to another house where stolen items were kept. The goods were to be taken to Tembisa and then to Mozambique. Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

Mozambicans come by night to steal South African cattle. The villagers employ Mozambicans to look after their cattle. But they don't pay them. So the herd boys take the cattle and sell them. Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 11

6.2.10. Nigerians

Nigerians, considering the *Daily Sun*, are stereotyped in support of marriage fraudsters, possessors of stolen goods, prostitute pimps, drug dealers, and human traffickers. Marriage fraud is recognized in the country as a crime in the way that South African victims, in most cases, females did not even know these immigrant foreigners. Obviously, this false marriage happened, with the arrangement of corrupt marriage officers in the South African country.

Nigerians are also revealed in the *Daily Sun* as possessors of stolen goods. Buying and selling through possessing stolen goods is a very lucrative and criminal business. This criminal business is condemned by the law of the South African country. Nigerians, in consideration of the *Daily Sun*, are more active in this law-breaking. Nigerians are also portrayed in this specific tabloid as drug dealers. Drug dealing is also another significant criminal offense.

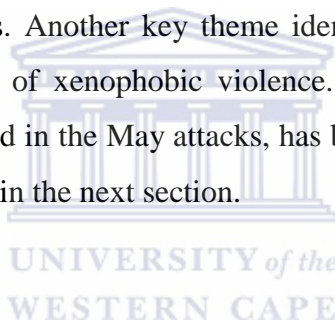
Nigerians in the *Daily Sun* are stereotyped as prostitution agents or prostitute suppliers. In order to supply prostitutes, human trafficking becomes the appropriate and common way. Nigerians in the *Daily Sun* are stereotyped as human traffickers. All these crimes, in which Nigerians are involved, as indicated in the *Daily Sun*, are very severe criminal activities. The subsequent illustrations are revealed and stereotyped Nigerians in South Africa.

She is married to a Nigerian. But she has no idea how this happened. She has never met the man before. Daily sun, 20 October 2008: 10

Two Nigerian men were arrested with stolen cigarettes worth than a million rand in Soweto-Sea in Port Elizabeth. Daily Sun, 17 November 2008: 2

Port Elizabeth cops arrested a man at his flat in Central for dealing in prostitution, drugs and human trafficking. About 2pm on Thursday, a 34-year-old Nigerian was arrested in Central for drugs and human trafficking. Daily Sun, 17 December 2008: 4

As can be seen by the above examples, although different stereotypes based on nationality can be identified in the *Daily Sun* reports, for the most all black foreigners are portrayed in a negative light – as criminals and fraudsters. Another key theme identified in the *Daily Sun* during the period under investigation is that of xenophobic violence. Violence directed against foreign nationals in 2008, which culminated in the May attacks, has been a major focus in reports in this newspaper. This topic is examined in the next section.



6.3. Coverage of the Violence Perpetuated against Black Foreigners in the *Daily Sun*

The *Daily Sun* has shown an excessive interest in the coverage of the events of xenophobic violence perpetuated against black foreigners in the South African country in 2008. Media in general have the primary roles of informing, educating, and entertaining the public in general and the community in particular. At the beginning of the xenophobic attacks in 2008, *Daily Sun* has been very active in the violence coverage.

News headlines and articles in the *Daily Sun*, with reference to the coverage of the violence perpetuated against black foreigners, need a more particular attention from the readers to understand the meaning beyond the words chosen and used. The choice and the selection of news headlines in this specific tabloid newspaper at that specific time, carry a specific ideology. The

tone of the news coverage played a very negative role in the society at that particular time of xenophobic atmosphere in the country.

Far from being a profession regulated by or with normative rules, journalism seems to be, to a certain level, a point of junction and fusion among objective, inter-subjective and subjective news reports. In some cases, journalists reveal and express their emotions, attitudes and behaviours, and therefore their goals. The *Daily Sun* in some of its news reports was more provocative in the sense that, the coverage of xenophobic violence was avoiding fair, transparent, and objective principles. News headlines and articles in the *Daily Sun* were so offensive. The ideology behind the coverage was to insult black foreigners, to stimulating local South Africans to fight against black foreign residents, to confronting both sides in war by indirectly and ideologically supporting locals through inflammatory reports.

In this context, *Daily Sun* coverage of the violence perpetuated against black foreigners has intended to stimulate angry atmosphere among local South Africans and consequently it has negatively encouraged violent feelings of local residents against black residents living in the country. The subsequent illustrations reveal the emotional and partial way in which *Daily Sun* reported the news.

ANC councillor Maria Modumaela supports plans to have Zimbabweans and Mozambicans thrown out of Skielik informal settlement in Soshangwe North. Community leader Mmule Ramaswe said: "We have limited freedom in our own country... that is why we need them out."
Daily Sun, 22 April 2008: 5

Modumaela agreed: "That's the truth – aliens must move out." Daily Sun, 22 April 2008: 5

Aliens are here to destroy us. I hate those who come to our country to sell drugs and sex and commit criminal acts. Not all of them are criminals but the majority of them are here to rob and

destroy South Africans. They deprive South Africans of their belongings. Foreigners are not here to develop or improve our country. Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

It's war on aliens! Violent attacks on aliens continue! In Alexandra, north of Joburg, two men said to be aliens were shot and killed on Sunday night. The incident followed similar attacks in Atteridgeville, Mabopane and Diepsloot in which several people were killed and injured. Many shacks were also burned down. Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 4

Residents on the rampage! It happened at Orange Farm Extension 9 in the Vaal yesterday morning. Angry residents went on the rampage. They said they had been waiting 13 years for basic services such as proper toilets, water and electricity. Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 5

War on aliens turns really ugly! More than 1000 aliens, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes. Some of their belongings and money were stolen by the crowd. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2

More trouble in Alex! The suspects hate aliens enough to kill them. And they'll gladly loot alien shops. People from Alex attacked aliens, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2

The way in which *Daily Sun* portrayed the xenophobic events in the country before or during the period leading to the month of May 2008, was biased, uncritical and generally irresponsible in news reports.

Not only black foreigners were perceived as foreigners. Some South African citizens were seen and perceived by the tabloid as not “real South Africans”. South African people, who were darker in skin colour, were also attacked. The following illustration associated some South Africans with black foreigners. This demonstrated that these South African citizens associated with black foreigners because of the darkness of their skin colour were insufficiently South Africans.

And now South Africans are victims too - mainly Shangaans and Vendas. They are fleeing Alex in fear of their lives. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2

It is crucial and significant to mention that South African women who were married to foreign nationals, including their children were also victims of xenophobic attack in the informal settlements in which they lived. In some cases, they were attacked by their neighbours, their belongings stolen, and their shacks burned down. Being married to or connected with black foreigners, in these circumstances, meant being a double agent and this posed a threat to the community. The subsequent illustrations are of barbaric behaviours through sensationalist language in the *Daily Sun*.

*Nomoya Mabaso and the man in her life, a Mozambican immigrant, enjoyed a happy life with their neighbours. Nomoya's shack was **burned down by people from the same neighbourhood which had been so happy the week before.** Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 1*

*"Nomoya and Antonio have lost everything. The warmth and the smiles are gone – instead they are being treated as enemies, and it seems, **it's all because Antonio is and alien.**" Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 2*

*Masilela, a South African who is married to a Malawian, said "The people here call us **makwerekwere** and the police do nothing." Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5*

*The rampaging thugs were **roaring for foreign blood.** And a Congolese barber had to run for his life. Eric Tony (31) had to leave his barber shop in Delft – and his eight -months - pregnant South African wife." Daily Sun, 30 May 2008: 4*

*Gangs of looters ran through the dark streets bent double under the weight of goods stolen from **shops owned by aliens.** Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3*

*It was as though **Satan and his evil angels had come** to Diepsloot squatter camp, between Joburg and Tshwane on Monday night. And it happened soon after the people of Alexandra,*

north of Joburg waged on foreigners, mostly Zimbabweans and Mozambicans. Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

The manner in which, the *Daily Sun* portrayed and represented the xenophobic violence and attacks can be justifiably seen as a sensationalistic method of reporting news. The following extracts from the *Daily Sun* demonstrate this sensationalistic method of reporting news.

Blood and flames! Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred. The evil flames of violence spread all around the nation's largest city yesterday. 10 people – many of them aliens – have died and more than 100 have been injured. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

Foreigners all over Joburg and the surrounding areas were attacked this weekend. Two of them – presumed to be aliens – were eaten by flames after their houses were set alight. The rest of the victims were beaten to death. Hundreds of shacks and even cars belonging to aliens have been set on fire. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

Goodbye Mzansi! Fleeing the violence that has been unleashed against them, foreigners are starting to go home. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 3

It's like a war. All over southern Gauteng, foreigners and South Africans are fighting. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 4

Aliens run for their lives! Terrified foreigners huddle in churches fearing death. And crowds push to catch buses for the border. At Park Station bus terminus in Joburg, there were scenes of desperation. Daily sun, 21 May 2008: 1

The open veld next to Ramaphosa squatter camp in Reiger Park was turned into a battlefield yesterday. Screams and gunshots filled the air as groups of locals armed with pangas, axes, sticks and stones charged at groups of aliens hiding in the veld. Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 2

Hate begins to spread! It's been 11 days since attacks on foreigners started in Joburg's Alexandra Township. Although Gauteng was relatively quiet yesterday, attacks have now flared up in other parts of the country. Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 3

*After the terror! Now the suffering foreigners are in a cold, wet camp. “The government has put salt on our wounds, instead of helping us! They have **dumped us in the bush** at Pretoria.” These are the words of a furious foreigner at the Pretoria North refugee camp on Wednesday. Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4*

*The death toll of Somali shopkeepers **continues to rise**. In the latest incident a Somali man was **gunned down in his spaza shop at the weekend**. Daily Sun, 7 October 2008: 2*

The manner in which *Daily Sun* portrayed the happenings has shown some fluctuations and variations. The subsequent illustrations are of less ferocious behaviours through less arrogant language in the *Daily Sun*. The following illustrations are of significant importance.

*Meanwhile in Diepsloot, between Joburg and Tshwane, **good people** are trying to **repair the damage** done to their community. They conducted their own operation to fight crime. They **recovered stolen property, firearms and other weapons used to attack foreigners** last weekend. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 3*

*Mbeki gives army go-ahead. **President Thabo Mbeki has given the go-ahead** for the “involvement” **of the military** in the violent xenophobic clashes in Gauteng. Daily Sun, 22 May 2008; 2*

***Peace finally prevails!** One township has set a great example for the country. **Locals and foreign residents joined hands** to end the unrest. And peace returns to Diepsloot on Sunday. Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 10*

*Looters run wild in Cape Town! There is **no reason for looting** – because there is nothing left to loot! And there is **no reason for violent attacks** because most foreigners have left. Daily Sun, 26 May 2008: 2*

***Most locals want to make peace with foreigners.** Many people in Cape Town want to **apologise to foreigners and invite them back** into the townships. Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2*

After the fury, SA counts the cost. The flames of the hate have died down and cops are on patrol. And across the country many people are praying that the madness will not return. Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 3

It's safe to go back. South Africans went to Zolani Centre in Nyanga to urge refugees to return to the community after the march on Tuesday. Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4

After the terror, back in business! Slowly ... slowly... life is becoming normal again. That's after the terrible violence which shook the country in recent weeks... driving many foreigners out of the townships and into emergency camps. Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

Four Somali - owned shops were re-opened on Saturday in Mandela Park and Town Two. Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

Shops milking locals dry. The foreign nationals have fled... and now the locals are crying! And residents are not the only people crying. Landlords who rented RDP houses to foreigners have lost their tenants, and taxi bosses are suffering from fewer customers. Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7

Africans, let us all unite. South Africans, let us remember that before we say that we are South Africans, we are Africans. Daily Sun, 21 July 2008: 5

More than 100 accused in 15 cases of malicious damage to property, robbery and housebreaking in the recent xenophobic attacks were supposed to give their side of the story yesterday. Daily Sun, 7 August 2008: 7

After the turning point of xenophobic attacks, issues were reported in a less sensationalistic way by the *Daily Sun*. The subsequent illustrations reveal this, and the tabloid informed the public or the society about current affairs in a less biased and sensationalist manner.

Man killed in shop robbery. Somali shop owners came under attack by an armed gang for the second time in three days. The attack happened at Biko Village near Mdantsane on Wednesday night. Daily Sun, 29 August 2008: 2

Two Tanzanians were shot and killed with one bullet each in the RDP house they were renting at Nemato Township. Daily Sun, 1 September 2008: 2

Two Somali shopkeepers were shot dead in NU 14, Mdantsane, in East London, Eastern Cape.

Two more Somalis were injured in a spate of attacks. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

*The court heard that 30 September – the date for **closing the camps** – had been shifted to **4 October** to accommodate those observing Ramadan.* Daily Sun, 17 September 2008: 5

A Somali mother and her three children were butchered at Thambo Location, Whittlesea, on Friday. The mother and daughter and two sons were found in a pool of blood on their shop floor on Friday morning. Daily sun, 29 September 2008: 2

They used to be everywhere across Gauteng for the past few months. **But** yesterday the last two **refugee camps were closed** by the government. Daily sun, 1 October 2008: 5

Several crimes have been committed during the xenophobic attacks on black foreigners in the time period under investigation. Criminal activities are ranging from robbery, rape, murder, possession of stolen goods and destruction of belongings or property. Black foreigners in the South African country also committed crimes, and commonly fraud, possessions of stolen goods, drug dealing and prostitution.

6.4. Summary

The chapter analysed the various stereotypical ways in which different nationalities of black foreigners were depicted in the tabloid newspaper. The chapter also looked at the coverage of the violence perpetuated against black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*, which has been actively involved in reporting on this issue in a mostly sensationalistic way. The language used by this tabloid and ideology underlying reports and headlines, specifically those related to the violent attacks perpetuated against black foreign nationals in the year 2008 has been examined. The conclusion follows.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

The three preceding chapters have focused on the findings of my research which examined the different and frequently stereotypic representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*. This final chapter concludes the study and gives recommendations. It reviews the research objectives, the research conclusions, the contributions to the field of study, and it offers suggestions for further research.

7.2. Review of Research Objectives

Taking everything into account, the present study has undertaken to address the subsequent objectives:

- a. To examine the diverse ways in which the *Daily Sun* portrayed and depicted black “foreigners”.
- b. To explore the different types of black foreign nationals who are represented in the *Daily Sun*.
- c. To investigate the various stereotypes of black “foreigners” depicted in the *Daily Sun*.
- d. To examine the change of the representations and constructions of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* in the period from February 2008 to December 2008.
- e. To investigate *Daily Sun*’s representation and interpretation of the violence perpetuated against “foreigners” in South Africa.

The next section presents the investigation conclusions, establishing the degree to which the study objectives have been achieved or accomplished.

7.3. Research Conclusions

By means of a discourse analysis framework approach, the current study started out to understand the various ways in which black “foreigners” and black foreign immigration are represented in the *Daily Sun*. Each of these ways was taken into account consecutively in the three preceding chapters. Overall, the objectives of the present research have been achieved.

This specific study has undertaken to provide an expansive examination of the textual representations of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun*. The key intention of this study was to build on previous research on xenophobia and media news in South African. A combination of a linguistic approach for discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1991, 1993, Wodak, 2012) and a sociological approach on moral panic (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994), was used to show how the *Daily Sun* reported on black “foreigners” and events involving them during the year 2008, which was a critical year in terms of xenophobic attacks and violence in South Africa.

One of the strengths of this study is that, it offered a comprehensive investigation into the ways in which black “foreigners” were represented in the *Daily Sun*. Furthermore, this study also challenges to examine the depictions and representations of the nationalities of black immigrants that produce, mostly undesirable representation. It also tried to examine that which has not been addressed by earlier studies on portrayals of black “foreigners”. A more particular strength of this analysis is the combination and the blend of a linguistic approach and a sociological framework.

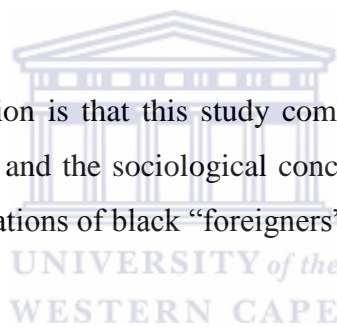
The May 2008 xenophobic attacks showed that, in South Africa today, nationality matters. So does race and class. Violent attacks were targeted towards the poorer and more vulnerable township residents who were not South African citizens. In this context, these tensions and conflicts cannot be solved without first tackling poverty and social inequality.

The next section assesses the academic contribution made by this study and suggests future research directions.

7.4. Contributions to the Field of Study

The current study offers an expansive volume of work on the investigation of the representations of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun*. It examines the implications of news headlines, articles, and texts and provides a comprehensive understanding of the way the *Daily Sun* has reported the xenophobic attacks and violence perpetuated against black “foreigners” and the ideology behind this reportage. The present study builds on former studies on this subject that generally emphasizes on the linguistic and textual representations of immigrants.

Another most important contribution is that this study combined a critical linguistic approach through critical discourse analysis and the sociological concept of moral panics to comprehend the investigation into the representations of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* as a whole.



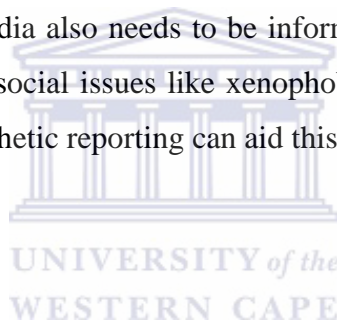
7.5. Suggestions for Future Research

Although this current study is evidently limited to a certain degree, it opens the way for future research. Taking into consideration the fact that this investigation emphasises the textual representations of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* in the period between February 2008 and December 2008, it fails to investigate the textual representations of black foreigners during other significant time periods and reports in other newspapers in the country.

To broaden the range of this study, besides the news from the newspapers, television, radio, pamphlets, weblogs, social media and film contents could have been investigated. In addition the newspaper records gathered could have been widened.

While this current investigation took into consideration the manner in which black “foreigners” are represented in the *Daily Sun*, it would be valuable broadening this study to incorporate interviews with local journalists who write the tabloid stories to get more understandings into media representation of black foreigners. It would also be appreciated widening this investigation to include interviews with foreign residents who are the focus of the stories to get more understanding about how they perceive and experience the South African society and themselves in South Africa.

Since xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment is not exclusive to South Africa and is on the increase all over the world, research findings could be used to help solve the problem elsewhere as well. Studies could also help determine who most at risk is since not all foreigners living in South Africa are targeted. The media also needs to be informed and journalists must be trained so that they become sensitised to social issues like xenophobia if it is to be overcome. A more critical approach as well as sympathetic reporting can aid this process.



7.6. Summary

The present study is an investigation into the textual representation of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* between February 2008 and December 2008. The most significant finding of the current study is that negative language is mostly used to describe black foreign nationals and immigrants in the *Daily Sun*. The accompanying moral panics are a consequence thereof. The findings of this research reveal the widely held attitude that black “foreigners” are a huge social problem in South Africa. On the other hand, a few illustrations from the data demonstrate that at times black foreign immigrants are positively represented, taking into account their contribution to the host country.

Overall, this chapter has presented the review of research objectives, the research conclusions, the contributions to the field of study and the suggestions for further research.

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