THE ZIMBABWEAN THREAT: MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA



A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

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Key Words

South Africa

Zimbabwe

Migration

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Discourse Analysis

Multimodality

Representation

Us and Them

Moral Panic



Abstract

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This thesis is a multimodal discourse analysis of the media representations of Zimbabwean immigrants in the South African media. The aim of the investigation is to illustrate how Zimbabwean immigration and Zimbabwean immigrants are portrayed in the print media in South Africa.

For the theoretical and analytical framework, the study mainly combines critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, Van Dijk, 1988, 1991, 1993, Wodak, 1999) and multimodal analysis approaches (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). These approaches are augmented by insights from the cognitive theory of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and from sociologists such as Stanley Cohen (1972) who have researched on moral panic.

The study analyses the coverage of Zimbabwean immigrant stories in the South African print media from the year 2000 to date. A total of five hundred and seventy five articles were randomly selected from the *SA Media Database*. The *SA Media Database* is a comprehensive collection of all newspapers published in South Africa. These data are supplemented by articles from newspaper cuttings collected during the course of the study. The focus of the analysis is on how the arrival of Zimbabwean immigrants is 'problematized' and transformed into a discursive crisis through the construction of anti-immigrant metaphors and generation of a moral panic.

The data are grouped into emerging themes, and data analysis is guided by a multimodal critical discourse analysis approach in which the verbal and visuals are read as text. Although the findings of this study generally support earlier studies which argue that the media representation of Zimbabwean immigrants is negative, the multimodal analysis suggests a more balanced and positive image. Thus, although this study supports studies that show that

media discourses represent Zimbabwean immigrants as 'others,' and often as criminals, the multimodal analysis of the images of Zimbabwean immigrants suggests that media discourse is much more complex.

In the media, the Zimbabwean immigrants are presented as either victims or abusers of the system in South Africa. This reflects a broader discourse on migration which constructs Zimbabweans as 'aggressors and victims.' Through discourses of moral panic, the analysis of metaphors, the representation of female immigrants, and the multimodal analysis of language and visual data, this thesis shows an extensive deployment of discursive strategies used for the representation of *us* and *them*, characteristic of media discourse on migration. On the other hand, the South African media, through visual images, portrays a sympathetic view toward Zimbabwean immigrants and their difficulties.

Thus, while the study supports Woods and King (2001), who note that media discourses represent immigrants as 'others' and often as criminals, the multimodal analysis of the images of Zimbabwean immigrants tend to be multivocal, in that they tend to also depict migrants as victims of circumstances beyond their control.

Therefore, one conclusion that can be made is that the verbal and visual texts in the South African media do not always tell the same story. In some cases, two or more stories are being told at the same time. The study also concludes that multimodality offers the tools through which the different voices, some of which are contradictory, can be read and heard. Images evoke readers' schemas and frames of experiences, for instance, of pain and human suffering. In fact, visual images are presented as authentic and objective pieces of evidence, not as representations of reality, but, in a sense, as reality itself (Dauber, 2001).

Thirdly, the images of Zimbabwean immigrants convey additional information, beyond the journalist's intention. With images, readers can quickly elicit a strong emotional response. This is different from a textual description. Therefore, images are not only excellent communicators, but also quickly affect us mentally and emotionally. In this study, for instance, images of Zimbabwean immigrants in long queues at the immigration department enduring cold weather, or bloodied victims of attack, or an image of a helpless Zimbabwean child eating from an empty platter seemingly abandoned and alone, by design or default, draw

sympathy from the readers. Because multimodal images tend to tell more than one story, such images can also elicit anger and resentment from the readers.

Lastly, this study contributes to our understanding of Zimbabwean immigration to South Africa by focusing on how the media multimodally constructs representations of Zimbabwean immigrants in the South African media. Thus, this study also fills a gap that exists in the study of the interplay between verbal texts and immigration images in the media in African contexts; and specifically contributes to the understudied representations of immigrants in South Africa. Another significant contribution is that this is the only study that has combined cognitive theory of metaphor, the sociological notion of moral panic, critical discourse analysis and current theorization on multimodality to comprehensively account for media representations of immigrants. This study points to the need for a multi-semiotic approach to the analysis of the verbal texts and images of immigration in the South African media for a comprehensive appreciation of the relationship between the verbal and visual texts.

Date: May 2012



Declaration

I declare that *The Zimbabwean Threat: Media Representations of Immigrants in the South African Media* 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: Aquilina Muchafunga Mawadza



Signed: A. May 2012

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1.0 Introduction

The present thesis is a study on the representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in the South African Media (SAM). Zimbabwean immigrants are often portrayed as victims by showing them in an act of violence and as aggressors and abusers of the system in SA. These discourses show that some of the coverage is consistent with previous portrayals of immigrants, while some of the media represent Zimbabwean immigrants in a positive and sympathetic manner.

According to Crush (2010), South Africa (SA), is increasingly seen by Zimbabweans as a place to try to build a new life, rather than a place of temporary respite and quick income. Migration from Zimbabwe since 1990 has consistently increased. Immigration in SA is a significant economic and social issue, as the number of African immigrants living in the country has grown significantly over the years.

Precisely how the SAM represents Zimbabwean immigrants is the major line of enquiry for this study. It is important to note that, since the year 2000, Zimbabwe has occupied an important place in both broadcast and print media in SA and worldwide. The present study gives an account of SAM discourses on Zimbabwean immigrants in order to reveal how the media shape perceptions and understanding of immigrants to SA. An investigation of this nature is timely and topical, considering the large numbers of Zimbabwean immigrants to SA.

The discussion is centred on the representations that are used to portray Zimbabwean immigrants in the public discourse published by the print and electronic media during a politically unstable time in Zimbabwe. This is accomplished by classifying the news reports and other columns on immigration published in the SAM from the year 2000 to the present. I use a multimodal critical discourse analysis approach as the method of analysis for this study (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, Van Dijk, 1988, 1991, 1993, Wodak, 1999, Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). Particular attention is paid to the words that are used to describe the Zimbabwean immigrants in the articles and the verb choices used to describe their actions as well as the accompanying images and visuals. A multimodal approach to discourse analysis enables a comprehensive understanding of how images and visual designs complement or

supplement the verbal (written) discourse. The discussion is thus based on the results of the multimodal discourse analysis of print and visual media texts collected from various sources. This critical analysis is conducted in five hundred and seventy five articles published from the year 2000 to date.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Stories about immigrants appear almost daily in the news. Kok et al (2005) says that 'governments note these events with alarm and grapple with policy reforms aimed at selecting certain immigrants and keeping out others'. This summary is important for the impact that immigration has on public perceptions and on legislated policy. The rapid increase in immigrant population is a cause for concern for many countries as they saturate their labour markets.

Migration and population movements have been typical in world history over the last centuries. Migration results from complex economic and social factors, but the overriding factor is the migrants' search for better economic well-being. Poverty and extreme hardship add to the pressure for people to migrate (Kok, *et al*, 2005). The current socio-economic and political hardships being experienced in Zimbabwe have resulted in people looking elsewhere for their survival and better livelihoods.

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Since 1994, the number of documented and undocumented migrants in South Africa has greatly increased. Several factors have contributed to the growing influx of foreign migrants: South Africa's long and porous borders with its neighbours are difficult to control;² the potential supply of labour from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states is 'enormous and elastic;' and South Africa's economic dominance in the

¹ Kok, P. Gelderblom, D. Oucho, J. & Van Zyl J. (eds), (2005). *Migration in South and Southern Africa Dynamics and Determinants*. South Africa: HSRC Press. p.1.

² Crush, J. (1997). Covert Operations: Clandestine Migration, Temporary Work and Immigration Policy in South Africa. Southern African Migration Project. p.20.

³ Crush, J. & Williams, V. (1996). *International Migration and Development: Dynamics and Challenges in South and Southern Africa*. United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations Secretariat. New York, 6-8 July 2005. p. 5. citing Guy Standing, John Sender, and John Weeks. *Restructuring the Labour Market: The South African Challenge*. Geneva: ILO. p. 61-62.

region makes it an attractive destination for migrants. Zimbabweans are arguably the biggest group of foreign Africans in South Africa⁴.

Due to the nature of the subject, there are no exact figures on the number of undocumented migrants. Furthermore, there are no reliable data on the number of undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. Most of the data on illegal immigrants are estimates, usually based on border arrests, court records and deportations (Salt and Hogarth, 2000).

This study seeks to understand how the SAM represents Zimbabwean immigrants. Woods and King (2001) argue that media constructions have been shown to be powerful in constructing immigrants as 'others' and many a times as criminals. According to ter Wal (2002), the media constructs a dichotomy of 'Us' versus 'Them'⁵. Immigrants are lumped into an identical group by using expressions such as 'illegal immigrants' or 'aliens'.

Through critical multimodal approach discourse analysis and discourses of moral panic, this study explains how the Zimbabwean immigration has been 'problematized' and transformed into a discursive crisis. Following Hier and Greenberg (2002), the research argues that media reporting of these events stems from collective insecurities resulting from social change⁶. The central thesis demonstrates how media coverage of Zimbabwean immigrants is perceived as a crisis by the SAM. Media coverage of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA seems to be 'an index of a crisis'⁷.

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⁴ Human Rights Watch. (2006). Unprotected Migrants: Zimbabweans in South Africa's Limpopo Province. 6(a). ⁵ Ter Wal, J. (2002). Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media. An Overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU member states 1995-2000. European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations. Vienna. p. 110.

⁶ Heir, S.P & Greenberg, J.L. (2002). Constructing a discursive crisis: risk, problematization and illegal Chinese in Canada. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 25(3) p. 490.

⁷ Following Hay (1995) and Greenberg and Hier (2002), this study uses the term 'crisis' not in reference to a condition of structural breakdown but as a moment of change and transformation. It is essential to note that crises do not represent objective conditions of ideological contestation, but rather are subjectively perceived and brought into being via discourse and narrative (Greenberg and Hier, 2002).

1.2 Background to the Study

It is important to note that, since the late 1990s, Zimbabwe has occupied an important place in both broadcast and print media in SA.

From the late 1990s, Zimbabwe entered a period that is generally referred to as the 'Crisis in Zimbabwe'. The crisis consists of political and economic decline and a controversial land reform process. The key aspects of the crisis are the rapid decline of the economy with steep decline in agricultural and industrial activity, thereby leading to massive unemployment. After the year 2000, the economy declined further into a world record annual inflation rate of 230 million per cent by the end of 2008. Hyperinflation led to a rapid loss of value of the Zimbabwean currency, devaluing both earnings and savings (Raftopolous, 2009).

The overall result of this is increasing poverty and an acute humanitarian crisis throughout the country led to migration and a massive brain drain into other countries, including SA. The phenomenon of migration between Zimbabwe and South Africa is not new⁹. Zimbabwe, like many other countries in the region, has historically sent workers to South African mines and farms. Zimbabwean immigrants are found in the agriculture sector which is a major employer in SA (Mosala, 2008, Crush and Tevera, 2010). There is also a tradition of cross border traders from Zimbabwe who buy and sell goods in South Africa. Historically, Zimbabwe has simultaneously been a country of in-migration and out-migration. In the last two decades of decline, it has become a place almost exclusively of out-migration¹⁰.

A large number of Zimbabweans left the country after the year 2000 as a result of the economic and political crisis; large numbers left as a result of political violence, forced removals and the general economic meltdown. Therefore, as Crush and Tevera (2010) write, an economy in free-fall, soaring inflation and unemployment, the collapse of public services,

⁸ Raftopolous, B. (2009). The Crisis in Zimbabwe. In *Becoming Zimbabwe*. Harare: Weaver Press. p. 201.

⁹ International Labour Office (ILO) Southern Africa Multidisciplinary Advisory Team (1998). Labour Migration to South Africa in the 1990s. Policy Paper Series No. 4. Harare. February 1998. Available online at www.ilo.org/public/english/region/afpro/harare/download/discussionpapers/pps4.doc

¹⁰ Crush, J. & Tevera, D. (2010). Exiting Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's Exodus. Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC. p. 1.

political oppression and deepening poverty proved to be powerful, virtually irresistible, push factors for many Zimbabweans¹¹.

1.3 Research Objectives

The media representations of Zimbabwean immigrants to SA are discussed. The present study attempts to give an exhaustive account of SAM discourses on Zimbabwean immigrants in order to uncover how the media shape perceptions and understanding of immigrants to SA. The study seeks to investigate and expose the dominant media discourses on Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. The specific objectives of the study are outlined as follows:

- a. To explore the different ways in which the SAM has represented Zimbabwean immigrants/immigration in the media from the year 2000, determining if the overall representation of Zimbabwean immigrants was positive, negative, neutral or sympathetic.
- b. To investigate SAM constructions of identity through the notion of moral panic.
- c. To explore the representation of Zimbabwean female immigrants in the SAM.

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d. To conduct a multimodal analysis of visual texts and to investigate the interaction of language and immigrant images in this regard.

1.4 Research Questions

- a. How are Zimbabwean immigrants/immigration and their spaces represented by the media in SA?
- b. Are there moral panics? Is there inaccuracy and sensationalism?
- c. How are female immigrants represented by the media?
- d. How is multimodality manifested in the visual texts?

1.5 Justification / Significance

The issue of media representation of Zimbabwean immigrants is particularly pertinent today, given the large scale migration patterns. In this research, I study how Zimbabwean immigrants are represented in the South African newspapers and what kinds of identities are

¹¹ Crush, J. & Tevera, D. (2010). Exiting Zimbabwe. In *Zimbabwe's Exodus*. Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC. p.

constructed for them. I believe that this topic is important in order to allow open discussion and alter the position of immigrants within society.

The volume of research on media and migration has increased in the past two decades in Western and Asian countries. A substantial number of studies cover analysis of ethnic minorities and migration in media texts, frames and discourses. Not many studies have been conducted on African media discourses and migration. Hence, this study is an attempt towards filling this gap. As a scholarly endeavor, the study contributes to a body of knowledge in the field of multimodal critical discourse analysis and migration in an African context.

1.6 Scope and Limits

The study analyses the coverage of stories of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM. Stories of Zimbabwe immigrants are unquestionably major news stories. The period under investigation spans from the year 2000 to the present. The year 2000 is significant as this was the year in which the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe intensified. An analysis of immigration-related stories is conducted in all national newspapers including, *The Sunday Times, The Mail and Guardian, Pretoria News, The Sowetan, City Press, The Citizen* and *The Star.* Newspapers were accessed online via the *SA Media*, a repository and comprehensive database of all South African newspapers. This comprehensive approach is used in order to provide the most complete picture on representations of Zimbabwean illegal immigrants in the SAM.

1.7 Overview of Chapters

Chapter One provides a general overview of the research area of media and migration, highlighting that media and migration are two interrelated disciplines, and that the media representations are important in determining how migrants are viewed. The chapter also outlines the research objectives and significance of the research, noting that migration has become an increasingly important social and economic issue in SA.

Chapter Two looks at the Zimbabwean context and background. It traces the trends and nature of Zimbabwean immigration to SA. In addition, the chapter analyses the economic and political context as factors leading to a large scale Zimbabwean immigration into SA in the last decade. The chapter confirms that economic and political factors are key reasons for Zimbabwean immigration to SA.

Chapter Three outlines the theoretical framework(s) for the analysis of media data in Chapters Five to Eight. The theoretical framework for the study is premised on multimodal discourse analysis. Of significance are critical discourse analysis frameworks of Van Dijk (1998), Fairclough (1996) and Wodak (1995). The chapter also reviews notions of representation and stereotyping (Hall, 1997), othering/us vs. them (Van dijk, 1998), metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Anna, 1999), moral panic, Cohen (1972, Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994). A multimodal discourse approach of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), Lirola (2006, 2008, 2012) premised on the Hallidayan approach to Systemic Functional Linguistics is discussed for the analysis of visual texts. Jewitt and Oyama's (2001) approach is also useful for this research. Jewitt and Oyama (2001) use the camera perspective as an example of a resource and illustrate how manipulation of point of view affects the interpretation of images.

Chapter Four outlines the research methodological approaches for the data collection and analysis. The chapter discusses data collection from the *SA Media* online archive and the collection of images from print newspapers.

Chapter Five analyses the metaphoric representations of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM. The chapter focuses on the most prominent themes used in the description of Zimbabwean immigrants. The chapter also examines how the present-day understanding of Zimbabwean immigration to SA is created through metaphor.

Chapter Six deals with moral panic and the construction of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM. The chapter utilises Stanley Cohen's (1972) assumptions on moral panic which highlight a sudden emergence of a real or imagined threat to society that demands an immediate response. This chapter argues that the SAM discourse on Zimbabwean immigration to SA often focuses on the threats that are caused by the increasing number of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. The threats are defined largely in economic terms.

Chapter Seven deals with the SAM representation of Zimbabwean female immigrants. This chapter utilises a multimodal discourse analysis approach to investigate how Zimbabwean female immigrants are depicted in linguistic terms in the SAM. The chapter concludes that the representation of Zimbabwean female immigrants fits into the overall scheme of discourses of exclusion in the SAM.

Chapter Eight is a multimodal analysis of visual and linguistic modes. This chapter examines the visual characteristics of multimodal texts related to Zimbabwean immigration to SA. The data are analysed in line with the theoretical framework of the analysis of visual grammar (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) who utilise the systemic-functional approach of Halliday (1994 [1985]). The data analysis for this chapter is also conducted in line with Jewitt and Oyama's (2001) social semiotic approach to visual grammar. The social semiotic method discussed by Jewitt and Oyama (2001) provides opportunities for thorough analysis of visual texts, and it offers a way to examine the interplay between intended messages and those messages embedded in visual media. Through an analysis of the newspaper stories and images, it is clear that the verbal story does not always match the narratives depicted in the images. New and additional information comes through the images. While the majority of images convey a sense that the Zimbabwean immigrants are invading our space and posing an immediate threat (conveyed via images of illegal immigrants 'jumping the border', for instance), there is empathy for the Zimbabwean immigrants. Images portray a humanitarian crisis with Zimbabwean immigrants enduring severe hardships, in long queues at documentation centres and seeking food and medical assistance in SA.

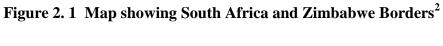
Chapter Nine concludes the thesis. This chapter revisits the research questions and outlines the findings of the data analysis. The chapter discusses the emerging results of the data analysis in terms of metaphoric representations, moral panic, depiction of female migrants and multimodal analysis of visual texts.

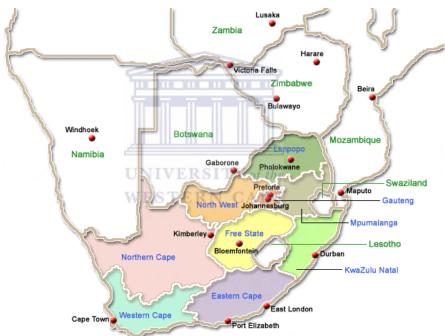
1.8. Summary

This chapter provides an outline of the introductory chapter of the thesis. The chapter highlights the important link between immigration and media studies, arguing that the media are key in determining how immigrants are portrayed. Zimbabwean immigration to SA has increased significantly in the last few years. The chapter notes economic, political factors as the key drivers for Zimbabwean immigration to SA. The chapter outlines the study objectives, provides a contextual background and provides a justification for conducting the study. Overall, the study seeks to investigate how Zimbabwean immigrants are represented in the SAM. The chapter also provides an overview of the content of all the nine chapters in the thesis.

2.0 Introduction

Zimbabwe, officially, Republic of Zimbabwe, is a landlocked country of Southern Africa. It shares a 200-kilometre southern border with the Republic of South Africa, and is bounded on the southwest and west by Botswana, on the north by Zambia, and on the northeast and east by Mozambique. The capital is Harare (formerly, Salisbury). Zimbabwe achieved majority rule and internationally recognized independence in April 1980, following a long period of colonial rule and a 15-year period of white-dominated minority rule¹.





¹ http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/657149/Zimbabwe, accessed, 23 March 2012.

² http://www.sergiofuentes.net/Art/body figure/africa-map&page=5, accessed, 23 March 2012.

2.1 Overview of the Zimbabwean Immigration to South Africa

To put the discussion into perspective, it is important to give an overview of the Zimbabwean immigration to SA. According to Mosala (2008), the recent Zimbabwean immigration into South Africa is the first post-1994 large-scale immigration from a neighbouring country³. Its occurrence is due to the shifting grounds of Zimbabwe's unresolved political and economic crisis.

Historically, Zimbabwe has been a country of net immigration, which was unusual in the Southern African context (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). However, since 1980, the year of Zimbabwe's independence, migration patterns show a net loss in the population with emigration occurring in three main waves. First was the emigration of white Zimbabweans after independence, the second followed the massacres in Matabeleland in the 1980s, and the most recent wave of emigration occurred among black Zimbabweans for political and economic reasons (Zinyama, 2002). The political and economic situation in Zimbabwe, which has continued to deteriorate since 2000, also fuels migration. Zimbabweans are arguably the biggest group of foreign Africans in South Africa⁴.

Table 2. 1 Estimated Number of Zimbabweans in Different Locations Worldwide

	UNIVERSI'	TY of the
Country/region	Estimated population	CAPE
South Africa	2 120 000	
UK	400 000	
Botswana	200 000	
Elsewhere in Africa	200 000	
USA and Canada	50 000	
Australia and New Zealand	20 000	
Elsewhere in the world	50 000	
TOTAL	3 040 000	

Source: Makina and Kanyenze, 2010

³ Mosala, S.M. (2008). *The work experience of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa*. ILO Sub-Regional Office for Southern Africa. Harare: ILO. Issue paper No. 33. p. 9.

http://www.ilo.int/public/english/region/afpro/harare/download/issues_paper_33.pdf

SA is the most popular destination for Zimbabwean immigrants, who either settle there or use it as transit route to other places in the world. Table 2.1 shows an extrapolated progression of the immigrant population in SA since the 2001 census. As the Fordham Political Review Report (2001) notes, 'South Africa has always held a unique place within the vast tapestry of the African diaspora. It has long been a hub for economic migrants rather than war refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), especially job seekers attracted to its thriving mining industry. Yet Zimbabwe's economic collapse is propelling an unprecedented number outward'⁵.

2.1.1 The Nature of Zimbabwean Immigration to South Africa

A significant portion of the Zimbabwean immigration to SA is clandestine in nature. Hence, as Landau (2008) states, people have been steadily entering SA via several routes rather than legally entering SA. This has meant that they are more difficult to detect. This nature of Zimbabwean immigration makes it difficult for authorities to provide accurate statistics and complicates estimation of figures.

As Landau (2008) further notes, there is also a longstanding history of Zimbabwean cross-border traders and both skilled and unskilled workers settling, for various periods, in South Africa's industrial and urban areas.

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2.1.2 Estimated Numbers of Zimbabwean Immigrants in South Africa

It is difficult to quantify the numbers of Zimbabweans in SA because many are undocumented. Research carried out by the Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre (SIRDC) in Zimbabwe among documented Zimbabweans estimated that 535, 609 Zimbabweans had gone to live in the diaspora since 1990. The largest numbers were based in the UK (36.8%) followed by Botswana (34.5%), the USA (6.9%), South Africa (4.6%) and Canada (3.4%). A further 13.8 per cent of Zimbabweans were living elsewhere in the diaspora (Chetsanga and Muchemje, 2003). The figures underestimate the number of Zimbabweans in the region, as the number of undocumented migrants who either entered neighbouring countries (usually SA and Botswana), through official ports and then over-stay, and those who travel without valid travel documents are not accounted for (Zinyama, 2002).

⁴ Unprotected Migrants Zimbabweans in South Africa's Limpopo Province. Human Rights Watch Report, July 2006 Volume 18(6a). p. 7.

⁵ Kedo, A. (2011). *South Africa's Immigration Problem*. The Fordham Political Review. A student publication at Fordham University. http://fordhampoliticalreview.org/?p=152

There are no reliable data on the number of undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. According to Landau (2008), attempts to accurately estimate new arrivals from Zimbabwe are complicated by insufficient census data⁶.

Because of the clandestine nature of the Zimbabwean immigration to SA, it is almost impossible to gather accurate census data. Recent research maintains that the number of Zimbabweans in SA is as high as 3 million, although no authoritative figures are available. Landau (2008) further states that media estimates of undocumented Zimbabweans entering South Africa in the past year have differed widely, and are often based on contradictory or undisclosed sources⁷.

As is discussed in Chapters 5 to 8, media representations of huge numbers of Zimbabwean migrants feed into issues of public concern and moral panic. This is especially true in the absence of reliable figures on cross-border flows, and accurate and careful analyses not only of numbers, but trends, such as circular and short-term migration⁸.

According to the Fordham Political Review Report of 2011, a quarter of Zimbabwe's population has fled, with the majority finding refuge in SA. Moreover, the boundaries between African nations are rooted in the checkered legacy of colonialism, and have little bearing on delineations between languages, cultures and tribes. Hence, due to physiological and linguistic similarities with local populations, many Zimbabwean immigrants are effectively able to disappear, their foreign status largely invisible to observers⁹.

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⁶ Landau, L. (2008). Drowning in numbers. *Migration from Zimbabwe: Numbers, needs and policy options,* Centre for Development Enterprise. Johannesburg. South Africa. p. 7.

⁷ Landau, L. (2008). Drowning in numbers. *Migration from Zimbabwe: Numbers, needs and policy options*. Centre for Development Enterprise. Johannesburg. South Africa. p. 8.

⁸ Johnston, S. et al, (2008). *Migration from Zimbabwe: Numbers, needs and policy options*. Centre for Development Enterprise. Johannesburg. South Africa. p. 5.

⁹ Landau, L. (2008), Drowning in numbers. *Migration from Zimbabwe: Numbers, needs and policy options*. Centre for Development Enterprise. Johannesburg, South Africa. p. 8.

2.1.3. Zimbabwe Immigrant Population Across the Globe at the end of 2009

Table 2. 2 Zimbabwe Immigrant Population in South Africa

Year	Estimated migrant population (year-end)
2001	131 886*
2002	175 715
2003	255 604
2004	375 935
2005	522 364
2006	763 425
2007	1 022 965
2008	1 100 025**
2009	2 120 000

Source: Adapted from Makina (2007)

2.2 The Feminization of Migration

Cross-border migration between Zimbabwe and South Africa has historically been only a male activity. Economic conditions in Zimbabwe, however, have deteriorated so much that people, especially those from lower- and middle-income households, are finding it necessary to adopt a wide range of strategies for coping with these hardships. As a result, women can no longer remain recipients of their husbands' wages while staying at home, and are having to go out to look for work in the formal and informal domestic sectors, while others travel to South Africa and elsewhere in an effort to support their families¹⁰.

The gender profile of migration has changed as a result of the declining economic situation in Zimbabwe. High unemployment levels make it imperative for Zimbabweans to diversify their livelihood and survival strategies to cope with economic hardships. One coping strategy has been the increase in cross-border travel for informal trade that is dominated by Zimbabwean

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¹⁰ Tevera D. & Zinyama, L. (2002). *Zimbabweans Who Move: Perspectives on International Migration in Zimbabwe*. Migration Policy Series 25. Cape Town: Idasa. p. 27.

women going to SA to sell items and to purchase goods in short supply for resale in Zimbabwe.

2.3 The Crisis in Zimbabwe¹¹

Once a leader among postcolonial democracies in Africa, Zimbabwe has undergone a profound economic collapse, food insecurity, and an intense decline in living conditions and basic services for citizens. During this time, though exact numbers are difficult to determine, hundreds of thousands and perhaps even millions of Zimbabweans have migrated to neighbouring SA. As described by Crush and Tevera in 2010, when modern states go into terminal decline or fail altogether, the predictable response of ordinary people is to get out, as soon as they can, to wherever they can go¹².

Zimbabwe entered the new millennium faced with many challenges. From the late 1990s, Zimbabwe entered a period that is generally referred to as the 'Crisis in Zimbabwe'¹³. The key aspects of the crisis were the rapid decline of the economy, a controversial land reform process, and a steep decline in agricultural and industrial activity leading to massive unemployment. The economy was deteriorating with an inflation figure of 60% in 2000 and an employment rate of 50% (Waldhl, 2004). The introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme was also an important factor¹⁴. In addition, Zimbabwe's involvement in the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo put a tremendous drain on Zimbabwe's

¹¹ The literature on the Zimbabwean crisis is huge, and what follows is a sample of the available literature: Raftopoulos, B. & Mlambo, A. (2009). *Becoming Zimbabwe* (eds.), Harare: Weaver Press; Raftopoulos, B. & Jensen, S. (2003). *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of the Crisis*, Harare: Weaver Press; Bond, Patrick & Manyanya, Masimba (2003). *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*. Harare: Weaver Press; Meredith, Martin. (2002). *Our votes, our gun: Robert Mugabe and the tragedy of Zimbabwe*, New York: Public Affairs; Holland, Hedi (2008). *Dinner with Mugabe: The untold story of freedom fighter who became a tyrant*, South Africa: Penguin; Primorac, R & Chan, S. (eds.) (2007). *Zimbabwe in Crisis: The International Response and the Space of Silence*, London: Routledge; Alexander, Jocelyn (2006). *The Unsettled Land: State Making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003*, Harare: Weaver Press.

¹² Crush, J. and Tevera, D. (2010). Zimbabwe's Exodus. Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC. p. 1.

¹³ Raftopolous, B. (2009). The Crisis in Zimbabwe. *Becoming Zimbabwe*. Harare: Weaver Press.

¹⁴ Zimbabwe's Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), launched in 1990, was meant to herald a new era of modernised, competitive, export-led industrialisation. But despite a high-performing economy in its first decade of independence, the country was firmly lodged in a quagmire of mounting debt and erratic growth in the wake of five years of ESAP-mandated reforms. In a short time, ESAP's World Bank-inspired reforms ripped into the existing economic and social infrastructure, shifting the focus of many mass-oriented development social programs away from redistribution towards management of defined and limited, even declining, public resources. Rising popular displeasure with ESAP has brought pressure to bear on the government and its international backers for the re-evaluation of what has proven in practice to be a treacherous model of development. Saunders, R. (1996). Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)'s Fables II. *Southern Africa Report*. 11(4). p. 8.

finances. As such, by the end of 1999, the liquidity of the country had run low. There were insufficient funds to import oil, resulting in widespread fuel shortages. The overall result was increasing poverty throughout the country – leading to migration into other countries, including SA.

By the year 2000, the economy went into a world record decline. Hyperinflation led to a rapid loss of value of the Zimbabwean currency. Zimbabwe has transgressed from being the breadbasket of Southern Africa to a dependent state that now has to rely on others for its supply of basic food and commodities. As Raftopoulos (2009), states, its "fast track" land reform had a chilling effect on agricultural output, its currency is valueless, inflation is out of control, running at 230 million per cent in 2008¹⁵ and it has an unemployment rate of 80%. The government has been unable to render adequate services to its citizens, and has clamped down on the opposition parties through repressive laws and severe intimidation. These conditions led to a steady emigration of professional and skilled staff to SA and elsewhere.

Further, *Operation Murambatsvina* ('Operation Drive Out Trash'), ¹⁶ contributed to the crisis in Zimbabwe. This government-sponsored programme began on 19 May 2005, was aimed at clearing urban slums, and forcibly deprived more than 20% of the population (approximately 12 million people) of homes and of livelihoods for those who informally traded in this area¹⁷. Operation Murambatsvina, was a major push factor driving ordinary Zimbabweans to extraordinary measures to gain entry into South Africa in search of a better life.

In a report published in December 2005, Human Rights Watch (HRW) noted that:

¹⁵ Raftopoulos, B. (2009). The Crisis in Zimbabwe. *Becoming Zimbabwe*. Harare: Weaver Press.

According to the UN Special Envoy Report on Human Settlements Issues in Zimbabwe, 'On 19 May 2005, with little or no warning, the Government of Zimbabwe embarked on an operation to 'clean-up' its cities. It was a 'crash' operation known as 'Operation Murambatsvina', referred to in this report as *Operation Restore Order*. It started in the Zimbabwe capital, Harare, and rapidly evolved into a nationwide demolition and eviction campaign carried out by the police and the army. Popularly referred to as 'Operation Tsunami' because of its speed and ferocity it resulted in the destruction of homes, business premises and vending sites. It is estimated that some 700,000 people in cities across the country have lost their homes, their source of livelihood or both. Indirectly, a further 2.4 million people have been affected in varying degrees. Hundreds of thousands of women, men and children were made homeless, without access to food, water and sanitation, or health care. Education for thousands of school age children has been disrupted. Many of the sick, including those with HIV and AIDS, no longer have access to care. The vast majority of those directly and indirectly affected are the poor and disadvantaged segments of the population. They are, today, deeper in poverty, deprivation and destitution, and have been rendered more vulnerable. Operation Restore Order took place at a time of persistent budget deficits, triple-digit inflation, critical food and fuel shortages and chronic shortages of foreign currency.

The humanitarian consequences of this man-made disaster were catastrophic. There are few, if any precedents of a government forcibly and brutally displacing so many of its own citizens in peacetime. According to the United Nations estimates, 700 000 people – nearly 6 percent of the total population – have lost their homes, livelihood, or both as the result of the evictions, while 2.4 million people – some 18 percent of the population – have been either directly or indirectly affected by Operation Murambatsvina 18.

The report noted that the operation took a particularly heavy toll on vulnerable groups, such as widows, orphans, female- and child-headed households, the elderly and those people living with HIV/AIDS. Operation Murambatsvina had a telling effect in an economy that had become highly informalised as a result of the economic structural adjustment programmes mentioned above. Thousands of Zimbabweans affected by Operation Murambatsvina crossed the border into SA and Botswana in search of survival alternatives. Operation Murambatsvina had a very broad impact, but those most affected were the urban unemployed and urban working people.

According to Maroleng (2008), Zimbabwe is trapped in a crisis of governance. The consequence of this has been an increase in the numbers of Zimbabweans seeking asylum in SA. Waldahl (2004) states that free elections are the cornerstone of every democratic society, and the procedures for holding them, as well as the freedom of the people to participate on equal terms, are of vital importance to a country's democratic standards¹⁹. In the last decade, the elections in Zimbabwe have been flawed from the onset, and, hence, their fairness and legitimacy were questioned. Given that the international community remained divided on its views on the land reform crisis in Zimbabwe, there were also different conclusions on whether these elections could be deemed free or not. The Western nations vehemently denounced both elections as unfair, whilst some African countries argued that the elections were free and fair.

Research (e.g. Makina, 2008) suggests that migration peaked in recent years as a response to political violence surrounding the highly contested elections. In the past, SA has – and continues in large part – to treat Zimbabwean arrivals in the country almost universally as

¹⁸ Tibaijuka, A. (2005). UN Special Envoy on Human Settlement Issues in Zimbabwe. *Report of The Fact-Finding Mission to Zimbabwe to Assess the Scope and Impact of Operation Murambatsvina*.

¹⁹ Waldahl, R. (2004). *Politics of Persuasion: Media Coverage of Zimbabwe's 2000 Election*. p. 57.

'economic migrants'. It is extremely difficult for Zimbabweans to qualify for refugee status in SA. The dynamics of the Zimbabwean movements to SA raised challenging questions of law and policy. Beyond those who may need and deserve international protection, many other Zimbabweans – arguably the majority – were crossing the border for reasons that would place them outside the scope of the refugee definition under international refugee law²⁰.

A recent survey by Makina (2008), confirms that economic and political factors are key reasons for Zimbabwean immigration to SA. The survey traced arrivals from 1979 to mid-2007. Respondents cited three major reasons for leaving Zimbabwe:

- political (politically-motivated beatings, persecution, torture, rights abuses, Operations Murambatsvina
- the economic crisis, and
- better jobs and more job opportunities²¹.

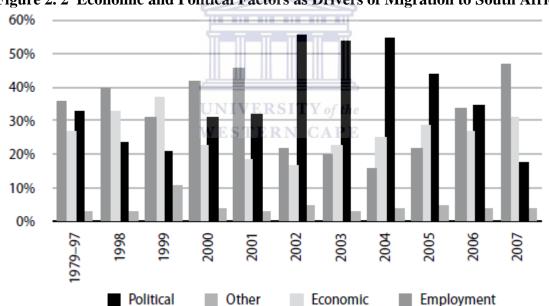


Figure 2. 2 Economic and Political Factors as Drivers of Migration to South Africa

Adapted from Daniel Makina, Migration from Zimbabwe. 2008. p. 15

²⁰http://www.unhcr.at/fileadmin/user upload/dokumente/06 service/zahlen und statistik/Statistical Yearbook 2009 Chapter IV.pdf, p.41, accessed 7 April 2012.

Makina, D. (2008). A profile of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. Migration from Zimbabwe: Numbers,

needs and policy options. Centre for Development Enterprise. Johannesburg, South Africa. p. 15.

Figure 2.2 shows clearly that economic and, particularly, employment motivations initially predominated; that, from 2002 to 2006, these were eclipsed by political motivations; and that, since then, employment and economic issues have again become the most pressing issues. However, since the roots of the economic crisis of hyperinflation and unemployment are so clearly political, the distinction between economic and political reasons given by respondents should be treated in context.

In the interim, between 2009 and 2011, the Government of National Unity²² (GNU) in Zimbabwe has undoubtedly brought a greater measure of political and economic security to the country. The reasons for leaving Zimbabwe over the whole period can be summarised as economic and political. Given these reason, it is clear that SA is drawing, and will continue to draw, many immigrants from Zimbabwe.

2.4 South African Media Discourses

Media discourse descriptions of migrants as illegal, undocumented, foreigner or a dangerous threat is typical in SA. Therefore, the major focus of media reporting on migration in the 1990s was the emergence of a discourse in which all migrants were categorised as 'aliens,' 'illegals' and 'foreigners.' (Crush, 2010). This automatically implies that an individual immigrant is necessarily party to the negative characteristics of that group — whether as criminals, a burden or consumers of 'our' resources. Danso and McDonald (2001) note that media reporting on immigration in the 1990s was overwhelmingly negative and un-analytical.

SAM sources have of late spelt out who was threatening and for what reasons. Mawadza and Crush (2010) argue that Nigerian migrants and Somali refugees, specifically, came in for particular criticism for their supposed penchant for drug-dealing and 'dishonest' trading practices respectively. Mawadza and Crush (2010) maintain that recently, Somali migrants have been in the media spotlight for 'threatening' local SA business. But what of Zimbabweans? How were they perceived and represented in the South African media at a time when migration from that country to South Africa was on the increase?²³

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²² The Government of National Unity, (GNU) was set up in 2009, on the basis of the Global Political Agreement, (GPA). The agreement came about as a result of inconclusive elections which had seen President Robert Mugabe being beaten by Morgan Tsvangirai and ZANU PF losing its parliamentary majority to the two MDC formations. http://www.salan.org/news/zimbabwe-gnu-the-successes-and-failures accessed 19 May 2012.

²³ Mawadza, A. & Crush, J. (2010). Metaphors of Migration: Zimbabwean migrants in the South African media. In *Zimbabwe's Exodus*. Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC. p. 1.

As the migration debate is played out in the SAM, the negative representations of Zimbabwean migrants as illegal and a threat become more predominant. This kind of coverage might have contributed to the construction of 'moral panic' in the SAM.

2.5 Summary

The context and background of this study has been outlined in this chapter. The nature of the Zimbabwean immigration to SA has been discussed, emphasizing that it is difficult to quantify the number of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA because the majority of them are undocumented and there is no reliable data on which estimates can be based. The numbers of women migrants have also increased in the last few years as a result of social and economic pressures in Zimbabwe. A contextual description of the social, economic and political situation in Zimbabwe has also been conducted in this chapter, highlighting that the economic decline in Zimbabwe is the key factor leading to mass movement to SA. In view of this, Zimbabwean immigrants in SA are generally regarded as economic migrants.

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3.0 Introduction

The objective of this study is to analyse the media representation of Zimbabwean immigrants and immigration in the South African Media (SAM). The study utilises a Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis as a theoretical framework to examine linguistic and visual forms of how Zimbabwean immigrants and Zimbabwean immigration are represented in the SAM. The findings obtained in this study suggest that a significant number of lexical and visual elements do contribute to a negative representation of Zimbabwean immigrants. However, a few examples from the data depict the positive contribution of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa (SA).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis offer appropriate theoretical frameworks for this research, as they seek to explore and reveal the dual nature of texts. Over the last two decades, a significant amount of research has been conducted on the representation of migrants and minorities in the mass media, starting with Van Dijk's (1988a, 1988b, 1991) seminal work on racism in the news media.

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis TERN CAPE

3.1.1 Introduction

This study employs **Critical Discourse Analysis** (CDA), particularly the perspectives developed by Van Dijk (1993, 1996), Fairclough (1992, 1995) and Wodak (1999). CDA is a recent school of discourse analysis that looks at relations of power and inequality in language. CDA is a term for a broad area of language study, containing a variety of approaches and different methodologies, but, in general, it is a set of theories for investigating language in use in its social context.

3.1.2 Defining Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse is a concept used by both social theorists and analysts (e.g. Foucault, 1972) and linguists (van Dijk, 1985). I use the term 'discourse' in this study to refer to written language; in this instance, the language used in print newspapers in SA. According to Van Dijk (1998a), CDA is a field that is concerned with studying and analysing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these

discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. Fairclough (1993) defines CDA as discourse analysis that aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of, and are ideologically shaped by, relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony¹.

3.1.3 Evolution of Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA has its roots in *critical linguistics*, a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of *how* and *why* particular discourses are produced. The term 'critical linguistics' was first used by Fowler et al. (1979) and Kress and Hodge (1979), who believe that discourse does not merely reflect social processes and structures, but affirms, consolidates and, in this way, reproduces existing social structures.

The first principle is that CDA addresses social problems. CDA not only focuses on language and language use, but also on the linguistic characteristics of social and cultural processes. CDA follows a critical approach to social problems in its endeavours to make explicit power relationships which are frequently hidden. It aims to derive results which are of practical relevance to the social, cultural, political and even economic contexts (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

The second principle is that power relations are discursive. This means that CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

The third principle is that discourse constitutes society and culture. This means that every instance of language use makes its own contribution to reproducing and transforming society and culture, including relations of power (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). As such, CDA is an approach to analysing discourse with a view to revealing the relationship between language

¹ Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: The universities. *Discourse and Society*, 4(2) p. 135.

and society and the relationship between analysis and practices analysed² (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Thus, by analysing the linguistic structures and discourse strategies in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts, we can unlock the ideologies and recover the social meanings expressed in discourse.

Fairclough and Wodak³ (1997) summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows:

- 1. CDA addresses social problems
- 2. Power relations are discursive
- 3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
- 4. Discourse does ideological work
- 5. Discourse is historical
- 6. The link between text and society is mediated
- 7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
- 8. Discourse is a form of social action

3.1.4 Tracing Critical Discourse Analysis Scholarship

CDA is not a single theory, but incorporates a variety of approaches and methodologies, based on different theoretical backgrounds. Influential works in the development of CDA were developed by Teun Van Dijk (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998b, 1998a), Wodak (1995, 1996, 1999), and Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1999). The three CDA approaches are discussed in the following section.

3.1.4.1 Teun Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach

Teun Van Dijk is a leading scholar in CDA, and he is one of the well-known and acknowledged scholars in critical studies of media discourse. Van Dijk's paradigm of CDA orientates toward cognitive studies. Van Dijk (1995) views discourses, or ideologies, in explicitly cognitive terms. According to Van Dijk (1995), textual structure and social structure are mediated by *social cognition*, which is defined as 'the system of mental

² Fairclough, N & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. Van Dijk, T.A. (ed.). *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman. p. 258.

³ Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. Van Dijk, T.A. (ed.). *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman. p. 271-280.

representations and processes of group members⁴. Therefore, according to Van Dijk (1993), social cognitions exist as part of semantics, embodied in the minds of individuals, and are shared and presupposed by group members.

Ideology is also a central notion within Van Dijk's model. Van Dijk (1995) sees discourse analysis as ideology analysis, because 'ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies'. The approach for analysing ideologies consists of three parts: social analysis, cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1995). Whereas the social analysis pertains to examining the 'overall societal structures,' (the context), the discourse analysis is primarily text based (syntax, lexicon, local semantics, topics, schematic structures, etc.).

For Van Dijk (1995), it is the social cognition and personal cognition that mediates between society and discourse. As indicated, social cognition has to do with the system of mental representations and processes of group members. Van Dijk (1995) sees ideologies as the overall, abstract mental systems that organize socially shared attitudes. Ideologies, thus, ultimately influence the personal cognition of group members in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions. Of importance is that, mental representations 'are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms.' ⁶ The contrastive dimension of *Us* versus *Them* is fundamental to most of Van Dijk's research and writings (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998a, 1998b). The general structure of ideologies are, according to Van Dijk (1998), organized by a general schema consisting of the basic categories that organize the self and other representations of a group and its members, such as:

- Membership devices (who belongs to us?)
- Typical acts (what do we do?)

⁴ Van Dijk, T.A. (1995). Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis. Schaffner, Christina & Wenden, Anita L (eds.). *Language and Peace*. Dartmouth: Aldershot. p. 18.

⁵ Van Dijk, T.A. (1995). Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis. Schaffner, Christina & Wenden, Anita L (eds). *Language and Peace*. Dartmouth: Aldershot. p. 17.

⁶ Van Dijk, T.A. (1995). Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis. Schaffner, Christina & Wenden, Anita L. (eds.). *Language and Peace*. Dartmouth: Aldershot. p. 22.

- Aims (why do we do it?)
- Relations with other (opponent) groups
- Resources, including access to public discourse

3.1.4.2 Norman Fairclough – Critical Language Study

The second main approach in CDA is that of Norman Fairclough. Fairclough (1989) called his approach to language and discourse *Critical Language Study*⁷. Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) forms the foundation for Fairclough's analytical framework as it is for other language scholars in CDA (Fowler *et al.*, 1979; Fowler, 1991; Hodge and Kress, 1979).

Fairclough's Approach to CDA

Fairclough's (1989) analytical framework comprises three levels of analysis: these are *text* (e.g. a news report), *discourse practice* (e.g. the process of production and consumption), and *sociocultural practice* (e.g. social and cultural structures that give rise to the communicative event)⁸. Fairclough (1989) attempts to establish a systematic method for exploring the relationship between text and its social context. Therefore, CDA not only focuses on language and language use, but also on the linguistic characteristics of social and cultural processes. CDA follows a critical approach to social problems in its attempt to make clear power relationships which are frequently hidden.

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i) Text:

The first analytical focus of Fairclough's three-part model is *text*. Fairclough's text analysis, takes into account the categories of the ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings, and consists of four main parts: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Therefore, the analysis of text involves linguistic analysis in terms of vocabulary, grammar, semantics, the sound system, and cohesion-organization above the sentence level⁹ (Fairclough, 1995b). According to Fairclough (1989) any sentence in a text is analysable in terms of *representations*, *relations*, and *identities*. These are:

⁷ Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman, p. 5.

⁸ Chouliaraki, L. and Fairclough, N. (1999). *Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh University Press, p. 113.

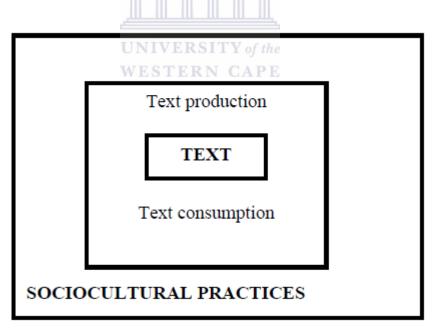
⁹ Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold. p. 57.

- Particular representations and recontextualizations of social practice (ideational function) -- perhaps carrying particular ideologies.
- Particular constructions of writer and reader identities (for example, in terms of what
 is highlighted -- whether status and role aspects of identity, or individual and
 personality aspects of identity).
- A particular construction of the relationship between writer and reader (as, for instance, formal or informal, close or distant)¹⁰ (Fairclough, 1995b).

ii) Discourse practice

The second dimension of Fairclough's analytical framework, discourse practice, covers analysis of the processes of text production, interpretation, distribution and consumption. It concerns the analysis of how people produce and interpret texts, and their relation to the orders of discourse: it is the analysis of sociocognitive aspects of text production and interpretation. According to Fairclough (1995), discourse practice cuts across the division between society and culture and discourse, language and text as is illustrated below.

Figure 3. 1 Discourse Practice



Fairclough (1995b), p. 59

¹⁰ Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold. p. 58.

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iii) Sociocultural practice

Fairclough (1995) analyses text as sociocultural practice. Social practice may involve investigation in different levels of society from the most localized to institutional or even wider societal contexts. Questions of power and ideology are dealt with at this level of analysis. Fairclough (1993) invokes two concepts, namely, interdiscursivity and hegemony. Fairclough (1993) says that interdiscursivity means 'an endless combination and recombination of genres and discourses,' or 'the constitution of a text from diverse discourses and genres' 11. This means that a text contains traces of previous texts and restructures conventions to produce other texts. Incorporating the concept of interdiscursivity helps the critical discourse analyst to account for the creative, heterogeneous aspect of a discursive event. According to Fairclough (1993), hegemony is 'a more or less partial and temporary achievement, an 'unstable equilibrium' which is a focus of struggle, open to disarticulation and rearticulation' 12.

Fairclough's analytical framework informs the present study. First and foremost, the multilayered analysis incorporates textual, processing and social levels of discourse analysis. Subsequently, text is at the core of this analysis.

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3.1.4.3 Ruth Wodak – Discourse Historical Approach

Ruth Wodak has also made a significant contribution to the field of CDA. The discourse-historical approach, of which Wodak is a proponent, should be seen as an extension of Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model.

The distinctive feature of this theoretical and methodological approach is the attempt to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a text (Wodak and Reisigl, 1999). In the *discourse historical method* approach, it is believed that language 'manifests social processes and interaction' and 'constitutes' those processes as well (Wodak and Ludwig, 1999)¹³. According

¹¹ Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: *The universities*. *Discourse and Society*, 4 (2), p. 137.

¹² Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: *The universities*. *Discourse and Society*, 4 (2), p. 137.

Wodak, R. & Ludwig, C. (eds). (1999). *Challenges in a changing world: Issues in Critical Discourse Analysis*, Vienna: Passagenverlag, p. 12.

to Wodak and Ludwig (1999), discourse always involves power and ideologies. Therefore, no interaction exists where power relations do not exist, and where values and norms do not have a significant role. In addition, 'discourse is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before' 14.

The third characteristic of Wodak's approach is that of interpretation. According to Wodak and Ludwig (1999), readers and listeners, depending on their background knowledge and information and their position, might have different interpretations of the same communicative event.

Wodak and Reisigl (1999), note that the discourse-historical approach has been elaborated in several studies, for example, in a study on racial discrimination against immigrants from Romania (Matouschek *et al.*, 1995) and in a study on the discourse about nation and national identity in Austria (Wodak *et al.*, 1998). The first study focused on the genesis of racist discourse that evolved in the media after the fall of the Iron Curtain. The second study was concerned with the analysis of the relationship between the discursive construction of national same-ness and the discursive construction of difference, which leads to political and social exclusion of specific out-groups.

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3.1.5 Critiques of CDA

The success of CDA is attributed to the pioneering works of Norman Fairclough, Teun Van Dijk and Ruth Wodak. However, CDA has not been without critics.

Widdowson (1998, 2004), states that there is need for CDA to include discussions with the producers and consumers of texts and not rely on the analyst's view of the text. Therefore there is need to draw more on the recipients' interpretations in the analysis and interpretation of discourse.

Schegloff (1997) argues that CDA is often short on detailed, systematic analysis of text or talk, for instance, as it is carried out in conversation analysis. He writes:

¹⁴ Wodak, R. & Ludwig, C. (eds). (1999). *Challenges in a changing world: Issues in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Vienna: Passagenverlag. p. 12.

I understand that critical discourse analysts have a different project, and are addressed to different issues, and not to the local co-construction of interaction. If, however, they mean the issues of power, domination, and the like to connect up with discursive material, it should be a serious rendering of that material...Otherwise the critical analysis will not 'bind' to the data, and risks ending up merely ideological¹⁵ (Schegloff, 1997).

Toolan (1997, 2002) also criticises CDA, arguing for a strengthening of the theorization of CDA. Toolan (1997) argues that some theoretical distinctions in CDA, such as the difference between description and interpretative explanation need to be further clarified. Second, CDA needs to be more critical and more demanding of the text linguistics it uses. Third, in doing CDA, thorough and strong evidence should be collected for the arguments made, while simple presentation of the analytical findings should be pursued.

3.1.6 The Current Study

The concern of this study is with representation, which is best captured by the notion that events and their expressions change over time, in a developmental and functional way. The discourse-analytical tools to be used are:

- (a) contents/topics
- (b) strategies
- (c) linguistic forms

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Simultaneously, this study uses critical discourse analysis as a methodology that grounds the theoretical claims in the idea that both the ideological loading of particular ways of using certain linguistic forms systematically and the relations of power which underlie them is often unclear to people. In this sense, critical discourse analysis aims to make these opaque aspects of discourse explicit. In doing this, critical discourse analysis gives attention to the grammar and vocabulary of texts.

I conduct an assessment of the underlying meaning of terms or phrases circulated in SAM to refer to Zimbabwean immigrants and immigration in SA. This form of analysis has been used to gauge the ways in which ethnic groups are represented, the sorts of stereotypes drawn upon in newspaper articles, and the evaluative tenor of comments on current affairs television (Henry, 1999). Content analysis is concerned with asking quantitative questions, and

¹⁵ Schegloff, E.A. (1997). Whose Text? Whose Context? *Discourse and Society*, 8(2) p. 183.

qualitatively focusing on how the text is constructed. The reason for using CDA is that it meets the objectives of the present study to investigate the representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in the media and it provides the tools to do so.

3.2 Representation

The past decade has seen an increased interest among media scholars in studying the representations of migrants in the media. The majority of these studies have revealed a picture of negative representations such as problems, economic burden, crime and pollution on different cultures (van Dijk, 1987; ter Wal, 2002; Cisneros, 2008, Lirola, 2012). Very few studies also indicate an improvement in media representations, for example, that news media tend to be less stereotypical in their representations of migrants, and that migrants are given less negative roles (ter Wal, 2002).

Representation is a principal concept in this study, as it attempts to analyse representations that are constructed for Zimbabwean immigrants via the print media in SA. Hall (1997) defines representation as the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language ¹⁶. Representation ultimately consists of the mental images one creates in one's mind to refer to abstract and concrete objects around one. Representation cannot exist without the medium of language (Hall, 1997). As such; visual images, language and discourse all function as 'systems of representation' (Hall, 1997). Researchers studying the portrayal of immigrants in the media focus generally on the representation of ethnic minorities in the media.

A wide form of representation is **stereotyping**. The study of stereotypes emerged in the 1950s. Stereotypes are 'a set of beliefs about the characteristics of a social category of people' (personality traits, attributions, intentions, behavioural descriptions¹⁷. Dervin (2011) notes that, usually, two types of stereotypes exist: auto stereotypes, which regard people's in-group and heterostereotypes which are related to an out-group ('the other').

This study supports research that has shown that media institutions in Canada, for instance, continue to rely on both negative and stereotypical depictions of immigrants (Media Watch

¹⁶ Hall, S. (ed). (1997). Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. London: Sage Publications. p. 17.

¹⁷ Dervin, F. (2011). Cultural identity, representation and Othering. Jackson, J. (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Intercultural Communication*. London and NY: Routledge, p. 186.

1994; Fleras, 1994). The signs used to construct stereotypes are usually representative of values, attitudes, behaviour and background of that particular group. The social groups that are often stereotyped are nationalities; for instance Zimbabwean immigrants in SA are referred to as *makwerekwere*¹⁸ or *magrigamba*¹⁹ in the SAM daily discourses. Hillbrow, in Johannesburg – an area with a very high concentration of foreigners and Zimbabweans in particular is referred to as *Zimbrow*, a blend from 'Zimbabwe' and 'Hillbrow'.

Therefore, the media play a crucial role in the construction of social identities (Henry, 1999). They provide information that shapes citizens' perceptions of events unfolding at local, national, and transnational scales. Media reports reflect and also inform public opinion about national issues like immigration policy (Fleras and Kunz, 2001, Ana, 1999). Stereotypes serve to illustrate the social distinctions that exist in society as they act as indicators of power structures as well as existing social conflicts (Taylor and Willis, 1999). Apart from this, stereotypes show relations of domination and subordination. Stereotypes are frequently used in a variety of media texts, and, more often than not, carry a negative tone.

Woods and King (2001) note that media discourses have been shown to be immensely influential in constructing immigrants as 'others' and often as criminals and 'undesirables'.²⁰ Such a focus tends to create stereotypes which are sometimes far from the truth and very hard to shake off. Many scholars illustrate that immigrants are often presented as threats, positioned as 'them' (the ethnic minority) in relation to an assumed 'us' (the mainstream audience) (see Henry and Tator, 2000). Teun A. Van Dijk goes as far as saying that media are the major channel for elite groups that provide the initial and the communicative context for the discourse of ethnic prejudices (van Dijk, 1987).

This study draws from studies on media that focus on prejudices and stereotypes used to malign Latino immigrants, particularly Mexicans, in the U.S., and the impact this has on Latino communities. According to Chavez (2008), the media have helped create a 'Latino Threat Narrative' that offers an extreme portrayal of Latino immigrants as illegitimate members of society. The Latino Threat Narrative, like the Zimbabwean threat narrative in SA

¹⁸ *Makwerekwere* is a derogatory term used in South Africa to refer to immigrants from other African countries. It depicts the phonetics of African languages. (Harris, 2002).

¹⁹ *Magrigamba* is a term used in South Africa to refer to undocumented immigrants.

²⁰ King, R. and Woods. N. (eds). (2001). *Media and Migration*. London: Routledge. p. 2.

posits that 'Latinos are not like previous immigrant groups, who ultimately became part of the nation'.21

3.3 **Othering**

Ó hAodha (2008) argues that the late-twentieth century has seen a particular importance given to the discourses of 'difference' and 'Otherness. Such discourses of representation have influenced institutional attitudes and official policy responses to minority groups. The two worlds of us and them have been discussed by many influential thinkers (van Dijk, 1998, Huntington, 1997). According to Bazzi (2009), nations tend to think in terms of binary oppositions of us and them and consequently decide on antagonistic relations, struggle or conflict with them/the other especially if the other does not serve our prevailing values, or economic strategic or power interests²². Hence, in line with Van Dijk's ideological group schema, groups build an ideological image of themselves and others in terms of a polarisation schema between us and them, in a way that we are represented positively and they are represented negatively. This strategy is based on the construction of two different groups: insiders and outsiders, involving 4 maxims:

- 1. emphasize OUR good things
- 2. emphasize THEIR bad things ERSITY of the
- 3. de-emphasize OUR bad things
- 4. de-emphasize THEIR good things (van Dijk 1996a)²³.

In other words, OUR positive characteristics and actions get foregrounded while the negative ones are backgrounded, and THEIR negative characteristics and actions get foregrounded while the positive ones are backgrounded (Richardson, 2007). Van Dijk (1998) also makes reference to the **ideological enemy**, which is attributed to *them*.

²¹ http://www.pacific.edu/About-Pacific/Newsroom/Immigration-Expert-to-Discuss-Prejudices-and-Stereotypesof-Latinos-in-Media.html, accessed 28 March 2012.

Bazzi, S. (2009). *Arab news and conflict: a multidisciplinary discourse study*. John Benjamins. p. 60.

²³ Van Dijk, Teun A. (1996a). *Discourse, Racism and Ideology*. La Laguna: Rcei Ediciones. p. 37.

The present study, drawing on the work of Van Dijk (1998) to theorize the relations between discourse and ideology, aims to show how social groups (*us* vs. *them*) are presented in the SAM discourse.

As media researchers have also demonstrated, the media, in general, (re)produce a negative and largely stereotypical image of immigrants, which follows the trend of representing immigrants as *the other*. Immigrants are represented by the media as a threat because immigrants are seen as an invasion or a wave. The metaphor of a flood, wave or invasion is also used frequently in the context of Latinos in the US (Ana, 1999, and Hart in the UK, 2006).

Within this framework, the present study, drawing on the work of Van Dijk (1998) to theorize the relations between discourse and ideology with reference to media discourse, aims to investigate how *us* and *them* as social groups are represented in the SAM discourses as a means of displaying the ideological conflicts between them.

3.4 Metaphor

According to Charteris-Black (2004), metaphor is central to critical discourse analysis, since it is concerned with forming a coherent view of reality²⁴. Metaphors are ideological, because they define in significant part what one takes as reality. According to Hart (2011), metaphor is another construal operation based on comparison which, like categorization, can act as a framing device. Metaphors have been increasingly recognised as significant in ideological communication and persuasion (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006). The metaphor involves the apprehension of concrete, familiar areas of experience to construe more abstract and unfamiliar experience (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). In other words, metaphorical expressions in discourse reflect and reinforce the way we think about given phenomena in the world²⁵.

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²⁴ Charteris-Black, J. (2004). *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 28.

²⁵ Hart, C. (2011). Moving beyond Metaphor in the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDA: Construal Operations in Immigration Discourse, Northumbria University C. Hart (ed). *Critical Discourse Studies in Context and Cognition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. p. 10.

In Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor is described as the direct mapping of elements in a source domain onto corresponding elements in a target domain so that the elements in the target domain are understood in terms of the elements in the source domain (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Therefore, the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another²⁶ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Therefore metaphor is not just a linguistic process but a conceptual one. As described by Lakoff and Turner (1989), metaphors guide our subconscious thinking and reasoning. Far from being merely a matter of words, metaphor is a matter of thought, including all kinds of thought: thought about emotion, society, human character, language, and the nature of life and death. It is indispensable not only to our imagination but also to our reason²⁷. According to this position, metaphors (either positive or negative) construct a cognitive framework of social knowledge and worldview. The cognitive force of metaphor comes not from providing new information about the world, rather from (re)conceptualization of information that is already available to us²⁸ (Kittav, 1987). While positive metaphors are used effortlessly to paint a pleasant picture of our lived experiences (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Lakoff and Turner, 1989), when used negatively, metaphors can have an impact on public opinion.

When English speakers talk about some kind of failure of communication, they might say;

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Communication broke down.

He didn't *come across* as well.

Her thoughts were *locked in* cryptic verse.

The message *got lost* in the process.

You just don't understand.

It didn't *compute*. (Krippendorff, 1993)

All of these expressions rely on metaphors and it seems one can hardly think about communication without them. They are the linguistic vehicles through which something new is constructed.

²⁶ Lakoff, G & Johnson, J. (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 5.

²⁷ Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. (1989). *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. xi.

²⁸ Kittay, E. (1987). *Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure:* Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 2-3.

A thorough discussion of how metaphors in the media affect our understanding of different issues is offered by Ana (2002). By analysing specific metaphorical linguistic expression such as: the *foreigners* who have *flooded* into the country; the *relentless flow* of *immigrants*; the *massive flow* of *illegal immigrants*; a *sea* of *brown faces* marching through²⁹ Ana (2002) demonstrates that the notion of an *immigrant* is associated with the malevolent concept of a *dangerous body of water*. Even though the negative associations might not be explicitly stated in the metaphors, their qualities are understood through our previous experience with and exposure to images of dangerous bodies of water.

The most frequent stereotypical metaphors are employed in the negative referential construction and in the negative qualification of *them*, i.e. their migration and the alleged effects of migration³⁰ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). The following metaphors are relevant for this thesis:

- 1. Body: out-groups are metaphorised as foreign bodies or **alien** elements as this thesis argues.
- 2. Natural disasters: immigrants as floods or avalanches.
- 3. Container metaphors activated by the prepositions *into*; 'flowing in, pouring, into'.
- 4. War for example; officials 'battling' to cope with illegal immigrants.
- 5. Immigrants are a burden; overstretch resources.

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The topic of migration appears to hold a particular attraction for metaphor users, due to its rich potential for polemical and emotional language as well as its socio-political and historical significance³¹. Discourse-analytical studies of such imagery have highlighted figurative categorizations of immigration as a *flood* or some kind of *natural disaster*, or as a military *invasion*, and of the 'host' nation's response as *containment* or *defence*.

One metaphor that is a recurring feature of immigration discourse in this study is the COUNTRY AS CONTAINER metaphor (Chilton, 1994, Charteris-Black, 2006b). In this metaphor, the country is construed as a container and the population as its contents. Another metaphor in immigration discourse, then, is IMMIGRATION AS MOVING WATERS,

²⁹ Ana, S. (2002). *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Discourse*. Austin: University of Texas Press. p. 71-72.

³⁰ Wodak, R. (2001b). *Discourse and Discrimination*. Routledge. London. p. 59.

³¹ Musolff, A. Migration, media and 'deliberate' metaphors. http://www.metaphorik.de/21/musolff.pdf

which also seems to be constitutive of the discourse (Charteris-black 2006b, Ana, 2002 Hart, 2011).

An increasing anti-immigrant discourse has grown significantly in media globally, and SA is no exception. This creates alarm and fear of immigrants that can trigger violence against migrants. The 2008 xenophobic attacks in SA are an example of resentment against foreigners boiling over in part because of frustration over the government's failure to deliver housing and social services to the locals. The attacks against foreigners in SA were generally blamed on frustrations over the lack of employment, housing and social services and a widening gap between rich and poor.

3.5 The Notion of Moral Panic

It is clear that media discourse concerning immigration often relies on the characterization of the threats that are a result of increasing immigration, be it political, economic, or social. This study also seeks to analyze media constructions of identity through moral panics. As such, the study pays attention to literature on discourses of moral panic, a concept developed by Stanley Cohen (1972). Moral panic is a condition that arises when a person is defined as a threat to societal values and interests³² (Welch *et al.*, 2002). Husbands (1994) argues that moral panic is a creation of the media. It is based on fears of numbers and of cultural dilution or threats posed by different types of immigrants or foreigners.

The first published reference to 'moral panic' was by the British sociologist Jock Young, in 1971, in his discussion of public concern about statistics showing an apparently alarming increase in drug abuse. His colleague, Stanley Cohen (1972), introduced the concept systematically when analysing the reactions of the media, the public and agents of social control to the youth disturbances in Britain during the 1960s.

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) note that the concept of moral panics expands our understanding of social structure, social process, and social change. They argue that moral panics work to make clearer which behaviors are acceptable, and which cross the moral boundaries of society, and that moral panics demonstrate that there are limits to how much

³² Welch, M. Price E. Yankey, N. (2002). Moral Panic Over Youth Violence: Wilding and the manufacture of Menace in the Media. *Youth and Society* 34(1) p. 4.

diversity a society can endure³³. Studying moral panics shows how official policies and social responses to perceived deviance do not generally spring forth from rational debate founded on objective appraisals of the problem. Instead, the social reaction that forms moral panics generally originates with the real or imagined threat to certain positions, statuses, interests, ideologies and values³⁴ (Cohen, 1972).

According to Chen (2002), moral panic can be said to have gripped a population when

a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnosis and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the subject of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight³⁵.

3.5.1 Actors of Moral Panic

Cohen (1972) identifies five actors of moral panic. These are the media, the public, agents of social control, for example the police, lawmakers and action groups³⁶. Those against whom the moral panic is directed are referred to as *folk devils*³⁷. By directing attention to immigrants, the media contributes to growing consensus that a there is a new threat to society which needs to be dealt with.

³³ Goode, E, and Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994). *Moral Panics: The social construction*. Oxford. Cambridge. Mass: Blackwell Press. p. 29.

³⁴ Cohen, S. (1972). Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers. London: MacGibbon, p. 191.

³⁵ Cohen, S. (2002). *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers.* London: Routledge, 3rd edition. p. 9.

³⁶ Erjavec (2002:88) notes that the media distorts events by exaggerating their seriousness in terms of criteria, for instance, the number of people taking part, the number involved in violence. Further distortion comes as a result of the mode and style of presentation via the use of sensational headlines and melodramatic vocabulary. The public has been identified as the second actor as they react to the given issue. The agents of social control, for example, the police, are yet another group of actors. They are the proponents of new methods of control because society is faced with danger (Erjavec, 2002:88). Lawmakers and politicians are in favour of introducing new legislation to curb this crisis. Action groups have been identified as the last actors who believe that existing remedies are not sufficient.

³⁷ Folk devils is a term used by David Cohen. Folk devils are a personification of evil, stripped of all favourable characteristics and imparted with exclusively negative ones. (Erjavec, 2003)

3.5.2 Characteristics of Moral Panic

Erjavec (2002) indicates that a heightened concern for national security and the hostility toward foreigners can be analysed using the concept of moral panic. In spite of the different characterizations of the concept of moral panic, there is an agreement (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994, Erjavec, 2002) about at least four characteristics. There is high *concern*³⁸ over the behaviour of a certain group of people, there is *hostility*³⁹ towards them, there is *disproportionality*⁴⁰ in the assessment of their threat and finally it is *volatile*⁴¹.

Welch and Erjavec (2002) state that *heightened concern* over the behavior of others and the consequences such conduct is believed to have on society is a characteristic of moral panic. Moral panic also requires a certain degree of *consensus* among members of society (Erjavec, 2003). In this case, there must exist a widespread belief that the problem at hand is real, it poses a threat to society, and something should be done to correct it (Welch, 2002).

Moral panic arouses intense *hostility* toward an identifiable group or category of people who become criticised as social outcasts (Cohen, 1972). Stereotypes feature prominently in the formation of moral panic given that hostility is aimed at a segment of society that already is disliked and mistrusted.

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Disproportionality is the disproportionally high perception of danger compared to the actual potential harm. There is a *consensus* among many members of the society that a more sizable number of individuals are engaged in the behavior in question than actually are (Welch, 2002). The threat, danger, or damage believed caused by the behavior is far more substantial than 'a realistic appraisal could sustain' (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

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³⁸ Welch *et al.* (2002) notes that the first indicator of moral panic is a heightened *concern* over the behaviour of others and the consequences such conduct is believed to have on society.

Moral panic arouses intense *hostility* toward an unidentifiable group or category of people vilified as social outcasts. Stereotypes figure prominently in the formation of moral panic given that hostility is aimed at a segment of society that is already misliked or mistrusted. Welch *et al.* (2002)

segment of society that is already misliked or mistrusted. Welch *et al.* (2002)

40 Another key element of moral panic is *disproportionality*, meaning that the perceived danger is greater than the potential harm. A manifestation of *disproportionality* is the use of hyperbole in describing the identifiable group blamed for the problem in question (see Welch *et al.*, 2002). Cohen (1972) notes that the media relies on hyperbole in a manner that *stylizes* the image of the threatening group and, in doing so, add to its menacing reputation. (in Welch *et al.*, 2002).

⁴¹ Volatility indicates that moral panic erupts suddenly then subsides. (see Welch *et al.* 2002)

⁴² Goode, E, & Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994). *Moral Panics: The social construction*. Oxford. Cambridge. Mass: Blackwell Press. p. 36.

3.5.3 Folk Devils

An essential component of moral panic is the identification of individuals as 'folk devils' or those labeled as outsiders or deviants (Cohen, 1972). They are seen to be the source of concern and fear. As Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) explain, the 'folk devil' is a 'deviant': someone engaged in wrongdoing and whose actions are considered harmful to society. They are deemed selfish and evil and thus substantial steps must be taken to 'neutralize' their actions, in order to allow a return to 'normality' (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

A core component of this process involves the use of stereotypes to paint distinct individuals as possessing similar characteristics simply because of group membership. The result is the perception that all group members have the same problematic traits, which in turn emphasizes and exaggerates the differences between *us* and *them*⁴⁴ (Critcher, 2006).

Using Stanley Cohen (1972) and Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (1994) models of moral panic, this study investigates whether the SAM has helped to nurture the view that Zimbabwean immigration is a threat to SA, and explores the extent to which the SAM have helped to cause a moral panic.

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This study suggests that Zimbabwean immigrants have been labelled by the SAM as 'Folk Devils' and as 'others', which is characteristic of a moral panic (Cohen, 1972, Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994). For instance, the SAM uses pejorative and sensationalist language to describe Zimbabwean immigrants. These include terms like 'illegals', 'illegal aliens.', 'floods', 'human tide'. Also evident are misleading statistical extrapolations and referencing aimed at showing an unabating 'influx' of African and Zimbabwean immigrants to SA. In addition, there is extensive framing of Zimbabwean immigrants as scapegoats for society's problems, especially as a strain on welfare services and taxpayers' money. Local authorities in SA have voiced concerns about the challenge of resourcing and delivering services in the face of increasing migration. Finally, some SAM reports raise public anxiety about crime, and link

⁴³ Goode, E, & Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994). *Moral Panics: The social construction*. Oxford. Cambridge. Mass: Blackwell Press. p. 29.

⁴⁴ Critcher, C. (2006). Critical readings: Moral Panics in the Media. Berkshire: Open University Press, p. 8.

its causes to certain immigrant groups including Zimbabwean immigrants. The moral panic that crime reporting often feeds strengthens popular perceptions of society as crime-ridden.

3.6 Immigration Discourse and Representation of Immigrants

When looking at the way in which Zimbabweans are represented in the SAM, it is useful to first consult sources that are concerned with the same topic. The largest volume of research on media discourses has been carried out on the representations of migrants in the printed media outside the African continent. Pioneering works in this area include Van Dijk (1987, 1991, 1992, 1993), Hall (1997), Wodak (see Wodak *et al.*, 1990, Mitten, 1992, 1997, 2000, Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Van Dijk's work has focused on media discourses of racism rather than on the process of migration. Wodak concentrates on discourses of discrimination, racism, and anti-Semitic prejudices in post-war Austria. Earlier work on racism and the media was carried out by Hartmann and Husband (1974) and by Gordon and Rosenberg (1989).

3.6.1 Media Representation of Diaspora Minorities

Murphy (2001) notes that problematic media depiction of immigrants is by no means a recent phenomenon. Fleras (1994) explains how immigrant and ethnic minority images in Canadian media are consistently stereotypical ones, 'steeped in unfounded generalizations that veered towards the comical or grotesque' where the examples of ethnic minorities as 'social problems' are routinely employed: namely, as pimps, high-school dropouts, homeless teens or drug pushers⁴⁵. In other words, ethnic minorities are represented in a sensationalistic manner.

Mahtani and Mountz (2002), also argue that minorities and immigrants are often represented as a social problem. One such example was the arrival of boats from China, the moment that is identified as a shift in media coverage of immigration to British Columbia. As Fleras and Kunz (2001) note, images of minorities and immigrants often deny, demean and exclude them in the national discourse.

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⁴⁵ Fleras, A. (1994). Media and Minorities in a Post-Multicultural Society: Overview and Appraisal. *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape*. Berry, J.W. & LaPonce, J.A. (eds.), Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 273.

According to *The Race for the headlines: Racism and media discourse / Anti-Discrimination Board of New South Wales Report* (2003), Australia has a protracted history of institutionalised racism, mostly against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the political system, the education system, the criminal justice system and in the media. Indigenous Australians have been consistently over-represented in media reports in association with criminal activity and as a source of conflict and unrest in society.

Migrants from non-British backgrounds have long been negatively stereotyped by the media in Australia. For example, at the end of the nineteenth century, the popular press published sensational articles and cartoons warning of the 'Asian' threat to the social and moral well-being on an emerging Australia⁴⁶. *The Bulletin*, Australia's main weekly newspaper from 1893, declared 'Australia for the White Man' – with the 'cheap Chinamen, the cheap nigger, and cheap European pauper to be absolutely excluded⁴⁷. Jewish refugees arriving in Australia after World War II were accused of 'queue jumping', taking jobs away from 'real' Australians, and clustering together in colonies⁴⁸. The notion of an Australian identity - and of who is 'un-Australian' for instance - is reinforced in the way that history is told, the way that conflicts are portrayed, and in the way that certain voices are heard and others are ignored or silenced. The ability of nationalism to construct a sense of borders, both physical and symbolic, acts as a powerful indicator of inclusion and exclusion.

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The Race for the headlines: Racism and media discourse / Anti-Discrimination Board of New South Wales Report (2003) also states that, in societies such as Australia, negative views of certain groups in our community succeed when the media either facilitate or promote such characterisations, or, at the very least, do nothing to challenge or refute them. More recently, with multiculturalism replacing assimilation as government policy in Australia, concepts of 'ethnicity' and 'culture' replaced race in much official and public discourse. The way such groupings have been used in political discourse and media debates has led to analyses of the emergence of a 'new' racism - a form of racial differentiation which distinguishes between groups of people not on the basis of visible racial characteristics but on the basis of actual or perceived cultural beliefs and values. Debates about immigration then become focused on

⁴⁶ Hollinsworth, D. (1998). Race and Racism in Australia. Katoomba N.S.W: Social Science Press. p. 102.

⁴⁷ Hollinsworth, D. (1998). Race and Racism in Australia. Katoomba N.S.W: Social Science Press. p. 103.

⁴⁸ Nemes, I. (1999). Anti-Semitic hostility. Hage, Ghassan & Couch, Rowanne (eds.), *The Future of Australian Multiculturalism*. Research Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences. Sydney: University of Sydney. p. 60.

notions of cultural difference and incompatibility with the social fabric of Australia, rather than race or skin colour.

3.6.2 Representation of Immigrants in South Africa

Through the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), Jonathan Crush and several other scholars have done extensive work on the Zimbabwean immigration to SA. These studies indicate that stories about migration are full of stereotypes and over-simplification. For example, 'aliens' invade 'our' country, bringing a foreign culture; people uproot their lives and move in response to shifts in relative wages; remittances promote economic development 'back home.' Often, there is a grain of truth behind these ideas. Migration does bring about a mingling of cultures; relative wage rates do matter; and remittances have helped finance new capital formation. According to Crush and Tevera (2010), the grain of truth is most often enveloped, and over-powered, by myths, exaggerations and selective use of evidence, both inadvertent and, sometimes, deliberate. Both pro- and anti-migration orthodoxies suffer from these faults ⁴⁹.

Crush and Tevera's most recent publication in 2010, *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival* is germane to this study. It traces Zimbabwean immigration to SA to the present, analysing the migratory trends, including the brain drain. The study also devotes space to the issues affecting Zimbabwean women immigrants in SA. Also important in this publication is Crush and Mawadza (2010) article, which focuses on metaphors of migration in the SAM.

One of the major features of media reporting on migration in the 1990s was the emergence of a homogenizing discourse in which all migrants (legal or undocumented, male or female, skilled or unskilled) were lumped into overarching categories such as 'aliens,' 'illegals' and 'foreigners.' No substantive distinction was made between migrants from different parts of the continent or globe⁵⁰.

Vigneswaran (2007) studies the SAM's representation of undocumented migrants from 1998 to 2005. Like Murray (2003), he notes that undocumented migrants are represented as a large

⁵⁰ Crush, J and Tevera, D. (2010). *Zimbabwe's Exodus, Crisis, Migration and Survival*. Foreword. SAMP. Cape Town and IDRC. Ottawa. p. 1.

⁴⁹ Crush, J. and Tevera, D. (2010). *Zimbabwe's Exodus, Crisis, Migration and Survival*. Foreword. SAMP. Cape Town and IDRC. Ottawa. p. ix.

and threatening 'other'. He further states that this image of 'new' and 'exploitative' arrivals has been exacerbated by media publication of myths that undocumented migrants come in frighteningly large numbers. Vigneswaran (2007) argues that an ominous picture of South Africa's future has been developed through repeated reference to large and unsubstantiated estimates of the number of arrivals in the country. A variety of reports utilise evocative words, often in eye-catching headlines, to create the image of an impending 'alien horde' (Sawyer 1998), 'human tide' (Granelli, 2002), 'flood' (City Press, 2000), or 'swarm' (Maluleke, 2003) of illegals, that is about to overwhelm the fledgling democracy⁵¹. This study argues that such language use is instrumental in the development of moral panic. The present study is an extensive discourse analysis of the SAM representation of Zimbabwean immigrants and covers a wider time period than that of Vigneswaran.

Murray (2003), in his article aptly entitled *Alien Strangers in Our Midst: The Dreaded Foreign Invasion and "Fortress South Africa"* is an appropriate reference for this study. The article focuses on moral panic in SA. The 'alien' invasion' scare is central in Murray's discussion. Murray (2003) notes that anti-foreigner attitudes, especially against black African immigrants, are deeply entrenched in SA, and the immigrants are most often referred to as alien *others*.

UNIVERSITY of the

Demeaning stereotypes of foreigners are reproduced in urban legend, the popular media, and political commentary. As Murray (2003) notes, this steady barrage of fearsome images of the foreign *other* has stigmatized immigrants as dangerous threats to social order who are typically perceived as supernumerary nuisances, deadly parasites, and hardened criminals⁵². The notion of the *other* is one central theme in this study.

Another relevant study is the Southern African Migration report by Danso and McDonald (2000). The report is relevant to this study because it discusses the South African print media's coverage of cross-border migration in the post-apartheid period. It is based on a survey that was the first, and most comprehensive, of its kind ever undertaken in the country from all English-language newspapers between 1994 and 1998. The report presents both a

⁵² Murray, M.J. (2003). Alien Strangers in our Midst, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. 37(2/3). p. 448.

⁵¹ Vigneswaran, D. (2007). Free Movement and the Movement's Forgotten Freedoms: South African Representation of Undocumented Migrants. Refugee Studies Centre. University of Oxford, p. 13.

quantitative and qualitative analysis of this media coverage, and offers a set of recommendations on how the press could improve its reportage in the future.

In summary, the report argues that coverage of international migration by the South African press has been largely anti-immigrant. The report states that, while not all reportage is negative, and newspaper coverage would appear to be improving, the majority of the newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor surveyed for this research are negative about immigrants and immigration. They are extremely unanalytical, uncritically reproducing problematic statistics and assumptions about cross-border migration.

A large proportion of the articles also reproduce racial and national stereotypes about migrants from other African countries, representing, for example, Mozambicans as car thieves and Nigerians as drug smugglers. This 'criminalisation' of migrants from other parts of Africa is made worse by the more subtle use of terms like 'illegal' and 'alien.'

Landau and Singh (2005) note that SA is a primary destination and transit point for migrants from throughout the region. Since 1994, the number of documented and undocumented migrants in South Africa has greatly increased. Most migrants come from neighboring countries that are fellow members of SADC, Several factors have contributed to the growing influx of foreign migrants: South Africa's long and porous borders with its neighbors are difficult to control; the potential supply of labor from the SADC member states is 'enormous and elastic;' and South Africa's economic dominance in the region makes it an attractive destination for migrants. The political and economic situation in Zimbabwe, which has continued to deteriorate since 2000, also fuels migration.

Landau and Singh's (2005) work points to the fact that SA is a highly xenophobic society. There is strong evidence that non-nationals living and/or working in SA face discrimination at the hands of citizens, government officials, the police, and private organizations. It is believed that there is fear of economic competition, a belief that foreigners are inherently criminal and a drain on public resources. Foreigners are also victims of crime. Apart from this, they are seen as a threat to economic security. One of the most common explanations for xenophobia, both locally and globally, is the sense that non-nationals are a threat to citizens' access to employment, grants, and social services. Mattes, *et al.* (2002) note that immigration is not viewed as a public policy tool that could benefit South Africa.

Immigrants and migrants (even the most highly skilled) are more often stereotyped as a threat to the economic and social interests of South Africans (Landau and Singh, 2005). With over 40% of the population in SA unemployed, it is perhaps inevitable that there will be resentment against any group that has the potential to either fill jobs or push down the price of labour for those who are working. That many non-nationals are, in fact, better trained, more experienced, and willing to work for lower wages than the South Africans with whom they complete, provides some empirical justification for such attitudes and behaviour.

As such, refugees, asylum seekers, immigrant workers, undocumented immigrants, and other so-called 'non-citizens' are stigmatised and maligned for seeking a better life. They are made scapegoats for all kinds of social problems, subjected to harassment and abuses by the media and society at large.

Zimbabwean immigrants are viewed as job snatchers who put a strain on the resources in SA. Immigrants are seen as criminals, prostitutes bringing disease and in particular HIV/AIDS. As such, discourses of delinquency, crime, prostitution, disease and taking women are typical. These discourses undoubtedly are an expression of an innate fear from the locals. Competition for resources is on the rise and it is probable that locals feel that their rights and entitlement to resources are being infringed. These discourses are engendered by the image of an undifferentiated 'flood' of 'illegal aliens.' The fact that the word 'alien' has been used in the past to single out Jews and Africans is reason enough to discard it as part of the contemporary reporting language⁵³ (Dube, 2000).

The representation of Zimbabwean immigrants elsewhere is also important in understanding how the discourse on migration is shaped in general. Ndlela (2005) examines the problems associated with the coverage of the Zimbabwean crisis in the Norwegian mainstream media. It examines the underlying messages and assesses whether the Norwegian media have an unconscious social, cultural or political bias, as manifested through the selection of sources, angling, and in the narrative devices of frames used in the stories. The conclusions from the analysis are that the Norwegian media reduced the complex Zimbabwean issue into a 'typical' African story of tragedy and despair. This conclusion is typical of the 'stereotyped frames'

associated with the Western media and their tendency to portray the African continent as an unrelenting series of disasters.

Willems (2005) explores the various ways in which the British media and the broadsheets *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* in particular, have framed and represented events in Zimbabwe since 2000. It argues that representations of the situation in Zimbabwe have been largely struggles over meanings and definitions of the 'crisis' in the country. The extensive media coverage of Zimbabwe in the British media generated a significant amount of debate, and this research by Willems (2005) demonstrates how the Zimbabwean government drew upon international media representations in order to define the situation in Zimbabwe as a struggle against imperialism.

This study goes beyond previous research in an effort to generate new insights into the meaning of the media's representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. The study achieves this through a multimodal analysis of visual images and linguistic features.

3.7 Multimodal Analysis

The theoretical framework of the analysis is based on Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) seminal work on visual grammar. Focusing on language and visuals as social semiotics, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen adapted the systemic-functional approach of Halliday (1994 [1985])⁵⁴ to devise the seminal work on the grammar of images (Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, 2006 [1996]). For this reason, it is necessary to analyse 'how the modes of image and writing appear together, how they are designed to appear together and how they are to be read together. Systemic functional linguistics analysis (hereafter SFL), explains how texts make meaning. SFL concentrates on the analysis of authentic products of social interaction (texts), considered in the social and cultural context in which they take place. SFL analysis implies classifying the text according to type, form and genre (Lirola, 2006).

Research suggests that the last decades have seen a great interest in analysing modes of communication other than language. Baldry (2000), Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006)

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⁵³ Dube, P. (2000) Media Berated for Stocking Xenophobia. Sunday Times. p. 2.

⁵⁴ Gilligan, C. & Marley, C. (2010). Migration and Divisions: Thoughts on (Anti-) Narrativity. *Visual Representations of Mobile People, Forum Qualitative Social Research* 11(2) Art. 32. p. 46.

⁵⁵ Kress, G. (2003). Literacy in the new media age. London: Routledge. p. 61.

highlight the multimodal nature of our societies in which meanings are expressed through a combination of semiotic resources. They point out that it is common to find gestures, images and sounds accompanying language. Texts are always part of a social context. They 'help to constitute, the contexts in which they function [and are] inseparable parts of meaning-making activities in which they take part.' The linguistic and the visual characteristics of images can influence the way in which meanings are perceived or interpreted.

3.7.1 Multimodality and Systemic Functional Grammar

Multimodal Theory is informed by Michael Halliday's systemic functional theory of language as social semiotics. Multimodality looks beyond language, and examines these multiple modes of communication and meaning making as social semiotics. According to Walsh (2004), multimodal texts are those texts that have more than one 'mode' so that meaning is communicated through a synchronisation of modes. That is, they may incorporate spoken or written language, still or moving images, they may be produced on paper or electronic screen and may incorporate sound⁵⁷.

To date, the majority of linguistic research has focused solely on the analysis of language while downplaying the importance of other semiotic resources such as images. A key emphasis in the field of multimodality is the equal importance that both linguistic and non-linguistic semiotic resources (such as visual images, sound, and others) contribute to communicative purposes. Multimodal Discourse Analysis represents one of the many recent research efforts in further developing the 'meta-language' for multimodal studies.

Michael O'Toole (1994) is the founding scholar in the extension of the systemic functional theory to analyse semiotic resources other than language (O'Halloran, 2005). However, the most influential work on multimodal analysis has been the work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) entitled *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. Following Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006), O'Toole (1994) and O'Halloran (2005), the analysis and interpretation of discourse in this study will be done in conjunction with other resources that

⁵⁶ Baldry, A. and Thibault, P. (2006). *Multimodal Transcription and Text Analysis*. London: Equinox. p. 3.

⁵⁷ Walsh, M. (2004). Reading visual and multimodal texts: how is 'reading' different? In *Proceedings of the ALEAUNE 2004 Conference Multilitaracies and English K12 in the Age of Information and Communication Technologies*. p. 1.

are used to construct meaning (e.g. pictures of Zimbabwean immigrants from the print media in the SAM). Multimodal analysis in this research will take into account the functions and meaning of visual images alongside verbal meanings.

The data in this thesis are discussed with reference to Halliday's (1978, 1985) notion of three metafunctions in human communication. The three metafunctions are outlined as follows:

- 1. The Ideational metafunction refers to the ability of semiotic systems to represent objects and their relations in a world outside the representational system or in the semiotic system of culture⁵⁸.
- 2. The Interpersonal metafunction refers to the ability of semiotic system to project the relations between the producer of that sign or complex sign, and the receiver/reproducer of that sign, that is to project a particular social relation between the producer, the viewer and the object represented⁵⁹.
- 3. The Textual metafunction refers to the ability of the semiotic system to form texts, where complexes of signs cohere both internally and with the context in and for which they were produced, and different Compositional arrangements which allow the realization of different textual meanings⁶⁰.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) use the terms 'representational' instead of 'ideational,' interactive' instead of 'inter-personal,' and 'compositional' instead of 'textual' (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). I discuss each one of them in turn.

3.7.1.1 Representational Function

As discussed earlier in this thesis, language has a representational function. We use it to encode our experience of the world, and thus it conveys a picture of reality: things, events and circumstances. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) describe visual syntactic patterns as having the function of relating participants to each other in meaningful ways and identify two kinds of patterns: the narrative and the conceptual.

⁵⁸ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design.* London: Routledge Press. p. 45.

⁵⁹ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge Press. p. 41.

⁶⁰ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design.* London: Routledge Press. p. 41.

According to Jewitt and Oyama (2001), the narrative representation is that which 'relate[s] participants in terms of 'doings' and 'happenings' of the unfolding of actions, events or processes of change⁶¹. It is formed through vectors' which are formed by depicted elements that form an oblique line, often a quite strong, diagonal line. Vectors may be formed by bodies or limbs or tools in action⁶². These lines connect participants, and hence express a dynamic 'doing' or 'happening' kind of relation (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006, Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). Participants from whom the vector emanates, or who are themselves vectors, are taken as the 'actors,' while those to whom the action is done or directed are referred to as the 'goal' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996).

According to Jewitt and Oyama (2001), conceptual structures lack such a vector, and their analysis includes parsing out classification, symbolism, and analytical structures such as charts or maps within an image.

3.7.1.2 Interactive Function

I will also draw attention to the way in which visual representations construct the relationship between what is depicted in the text and the viewer. The interactive function focuses on how the image creates relations with the viewer, accomplished through manipulation of contact, distance, and point of view. Jewitt and Oyama (2001) state that contact may be understood as gaze, and reference those images where the audience experiences an imagined eye-contact with the image content⁶³. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) use the terms 'demand' and 'offer' to refer to pictures of human beings who look directly at the viewer from the picture frame. By looking at the viewers, they make contact with the viewers, and establish an imaginary relation with them. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) state that pictures without this kind of imaginary contact are observed in a detached manner and impersonally as though they are samples on display.

Distance involves the manipulation of perceived closeness to the image subject to emphasize or deemphasize a relationship or individuality. In every-day interaction, the norms of social

⁶¹ Jewitt, C. and Oyama, R. (2001). Visual meaning: A social semiotic approach. Van Leeuwen, T & Jewitt, C. (eds.), *Handbook of Visual Analysis*. London: Sage. p. 141.

⁶² Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge Press. p. 57.

⁶³ Jewitt, C. and Oyama, R. (2001). Visual meaning: A social semiotic approach. Van Leeuwen, T & Jewitt, C. (eds.), *Handbook of Visual Analysis*. London: Sage. p. 146.

relations determine the distance we keep from each other. Depending on the position of the image in the picture frame, images can bring people, places or things close to the viewer or 'keep them at an arm's length' (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). This relates to the 'size of frame shots': close up shots tend to present people as being more or less intimately acquainted, thus revealing their individuality and personality, unlike seeing them from a distance, which signals impartiality similar to that of strangers, people whose lives do not touch us. Jewitt and Oyama (2001) however warn that this does not mean that people we see represented in close up are actually close to us and vice versa. Instead they are simply presented as though they should belong to 'our group' hence addressing viewers as a certain kind of person.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) state that the distance between a photograph's subject and the camera, also called the size of frame, suggests different levels of intimacy between the viewer and the viewed. Photographers use the following conventions to define a picture's size of frame⁶⁴:

Extreme close-up anything less than head and shoulders, or an isolated shows...

body part

Close-up head and shoulders

Medium close shot human figure from waist up

Medium shot human figure from knees up

Medium long shot full figure

full human figure occupying about half the height of the **Long shot**

frame

full human figure occupying less than half the height of **Very long shot**

the frame

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) suggest that the physical distance between people defines how much of one participant the other participant can see: the closer you are to a person, the less you can see of their full body. Therefore, a small distance between two people suggests a level of closeness, and a distance of an arm's length suggests a level of formality. A close-up

⁶⁴ The Language of advertising. http://www.stanford.edu/class/linguist34/Unit_12/size_of_frame.htm, accessed 19 May 2012.

suggests personal interaction, whereas a medium or long shot suggests a distant connection relationship between the viewer and viewed.

Point of view has to do with perspective, the selection of an angle (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) identify two angles in a picture, the vertical and the horizontal angles, and equate them with the 'demand' and 'offer' that we have seen earlier, respectively. The horizontal angle expresses 'involvement' between the image producer and the represented participants. The frontal angles invite the audience / viewer to identify with the participants in the picture. The oblique angles signal detachment, something that is not 'part of the viewers' world' Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006).

The vertical angle signals power relations between the participants in the interactive situation. If a represented participant is seen from a high angle, the relation between the interactive participant (the producer of the image, and hence also the viewer) and the represented participants is depicted as one in which the interactive participant has power over the represented participant⁶⁵. Similarly, if the represented participant is viewed from a low angle, then the relationship between the two participants is that the represented participant has power over the interactive participant. Pictures that are at eye level are said to signal the point of view of equality in which there is no power difference between the participants (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006).

3.7.1.3 Compositional (Textual) Meaning

In this analysis, three main aspects of composition will be considered in the multimodal texts. These are drawn from Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006)⁶⁶:

- (i) 'Information value': the location in which the different elements are placed in the text, for example, from left to right, from the top to the bottom, from the centre to the margins, etc., which can add a determined value to them.
- (ii) 'Salience': selected element(s) try to catch the readers' attention, for example, appearing in a prominent position, the size, the colour/s, the colour contrast, or differences in sharpness.

⁶⁵ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen. (2006). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, London: Routledge Press. p. 146.

⁶⁶ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen. (2006). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, London: Routledge Press. p. 177.

(iii) 'Framing': the presence or absence of frames that connect or disconnect certain meanings, reinforcing whether they go or do not go together.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006), state that the main visual features through which a multimodal text communicates are the following: colour, shots, layout, salience and framing. Drawing from Lirola (2008), in terms of the main characteristics of visual grammar, colour is of great importance, as it is used to attract the reader's interest and attention. In the backgrounds, bright colours are normally found, which establish a contrast with the colours used for the writing. Normally the background's colour makes it easier to see and to read the written message. The colour always suggests something: some colours make the reader comfortable, and others can make him/her feel uncomfortable⁶⁷.

Lirola (2008) also states that the layout of the page is arranged in a way that is intended to guide the reader's attention to certain elements of the text. What is at the top of the page is given a prominent position. Images generally stand out because that is what the reader first sees.

Headings are, by and large, big and bold and placed at the top of the page. Images and the written text blocks may be placed on the right-hand or left-hand side of the page, or at the top or bottom. The left-hand side, the space for Given information, places elements of less importance than those placed on the right-hand side, since they are assumed to be known by the reader; the right-hand side, the space for the New information, is where the most important elements are located and where the reader should concentrate his/her attention⁶⁸ (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006).

Another feature of visual texts is that of salience. It is realized through size, colour, colour contrasts, tonal contrast, placement of the page, drawing the reader's to draw their eyes to a feature of the text. Size is generally an important aspect of salience (Lirola, 2008). The image is normally the most outstanding item on the page, as it takes most of the space, and seems to

⁶⁸ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design.* London: Routledge Press. p. 186.

⁶⁷ Lirola, M. (2008). Systemic Functional Linguistics in Use. Odense Working Papers in Language and Communication. 29. p. 554.

dominate the written text. This contrasts with the written text blocks, which are normally very

small font and never the most salient feature⁶⁹.

Frames are a significant visual feature in multimodal texts. Their purpose is to stress and

highlight the written text or the image.

According to Lirola (2006), the sizes and types of letters (e.g. capital, bold) are important and

have an effect on the message. The size and colour of something, and its position at the top or

bottom, left or right have an influence on the way the page is perceived. Similarly, the

different ways in which the elements of a multimodal text are placed have an effect on how

our attention moves over the page⁷⁰. Therefore, drawing from Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006)

[1996]), we should consider three main spatial dimensions in visual texts:

• Left/right: Given/New

• Top/bottom: Ideal/Real

• Centre/margin: Centre/Periphery

The increased emphasis on visual images in migration discourse calls for an analysis that

considers how the visual elements and the social context of a text contributes to the overall

meaning of the text, since there is a very clear combination of verbal and visual meanings.

This thesis, with reference to the Systemic Functional Approach, analyzes images and

linguistic features in print media in SA within Kress and Van Leeuwen's framework, aiming

to find how the visual and verbal semiotics construe meaning and construct social reality and

how the two complement to produce meaning.

3.7.2 **Multivocality and Double Voice**

The next element to be considered is *multivocality* (Bakhtin, 1981). Multivocality refers to the

centripetal and centrifugal forces at play in language that produce two or more meanings in

multilingual language use. Higgins (2009) defines multivocality as 'a set of interlinked

⁶⁹ Lirola, M. (2008). Systemic Functional Linguistics in Use. OWPLC 29. p. 553.

⁷⁰ Lirola, M. (2006). A critical analysis of the image of immigrants in multimodal texts. *Linguistics and Human*

Sciences 2. (3) p. 386.

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concepts on voice as well as the multiple perspectives, or speaking positions, articulated through language⁷¹.

In her book entitled *English as a Local Language*, Higgins (2009) uses the term in two ways. First, it refers to 'the different voices' or *polyphony* that single utterances can yield due to their syncretic nature⁷². In this regard, speakers achieve multivocality through appropriating a text and infusing it with their own meaning⁷³. Second, multivocality is used to explain forces of centralisation and decentralisation in multilingual and multicultural contexts. The former includes pressures which forces structuring and hierarchization of language as a consequence of globalisation and internationalization (Higgins, 2009).

Double voice has to do with the creative nature of language in which the forms can be *bivalent* (Woolard, 1998), that is, belonging to two (or more) languages simultaneously, leading to double-voiced usage, and hence having multiple meanings at once. The concepts of multivocality and double voice are essential for this study as some texts are multivocal, displaying more than one meaning.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework(s) for the analysis of media data in Chapters Five to Eight. This analysis is located within multimodal critical discourse analysis. Of importance are critical discourse analysis frameworks of Van Dijk (1998), Fairclough (1996) and Wodak (1995). This chapter has also explained the notions of representation and stereotyping (Hall, 1997), othering/us vs. them (Van dijk, 1998), metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Anna, 1999), moral panic (Cohen, 1972, Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994), all of which are useful in analysing immigrant discourse. A multimodal discourse approach of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006), Lirola (2006, 2008, 2012) premised on the Hallidayan approach to Systemic Functional Linguistics', was also elaborated for the analysis of visual texts. This approach is premised on the understanding that text and context cannot be separated, and that both verbal and visual designs can be read as text. In addition, linguistic and non-linguistic semiotic phenomena are in the social context, hence language and visuals

⁷³ Ibid. p. 7.

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⁷¹ Higgins, C. (2009a). *English as a Local Language: Post-colonial Identities and Multilingual Practices*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters. p. 6.

⁷² Ibid. p. 7.

as semiotic activities are a reflection and a part of these processes and practices (Fairclough, 1996, Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996/2006).



CHAPTER FOUR: Research Methodology

4.0 Introduction

The primary aim of this thesis is to establish how Zimbabwean immigrants are represented in the South African Media (SAM). I have approached my research and media analysis on well-established and broad approaches of Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis. I rely primarily on the perspectives developed by Van Dijk (1993, 1996), Fairclough (1992, 1995), Wodak (1995, 1996, 1999) and Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996).

To investigate the representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in the media, I focus on the South African print media to analyse both linguistic and visual texts. This is done for several reasons; newspapers are powerful media actors, and, secondly, newspapers are a reliable resource for studying an issue over a period of time. Through sampling newspaper coverage of migration issues, I have attempted to achieve an analysis of how Zimbabwean immigration to SA is played out in the media over a ten year period.

In the following section, I start by describing the South African Media (SAM). The next section explains the method and data collection processes and the approaches used in analysing the data.

4.1 The South African Media

South Africa (SA) has 20 daily and 13 weekly newspapers, making it the most vibrant newspaper market in the region. Most are in English, which is the language of government and business even though only eight per cent of the population are native speakers¹.

SA has always had a courageous and opinionated press. For over 40 years the apartheid state tried to gag the country's newspapers, using legislation, harassment and imprisonment, culminating in the late-1980s State of Emergency. Through all of this, South Africa's press continued to report on all the news they could. With the advent of democracy in 1994, South Africa's newspapers were freed from all restrictions. The country's Constitution safeguards

¹ http://www.africareview.com/News/-/979180/1138364/-/hprwnmz/-/index.html, accessed 30 April 2012.

freedom of the media, freedom to receive or impart information or ideas, freedom of artistic creativity, academic freedom and freedom of scientific research².

Table 4.1 illustrates the sales and readership³ of the different newspapers used in this study.

4.1.1 Readership of Newspapers

Table 4. 1 Readership of Newspapers in South Africa

Newspaper	Average Weekly	Average Weekly
	Sales	Readers
The Sunday Times	504 657	3 240 000
The Mail and Guardian	41 464	179 000
City Press	177 615	2 060 000
Newspaper	Average Daily	Average Daily
	Sales	Readers
Pretoria News	28 055	86 000
The Sowetan	118 261	1 540 000
The Citizen	90 978	466 000
The Star	171 542	616 000
Daily Sun	301 800	4 000 000
Cape Times	51 285	316 000

4.1.2 Tabloid Media

The *Daily Sun* is a tabloid newspaper, and has grown significantly in the last few years, and is the biggest daily in SA by far⁴. The *Daily Sun* is aimed at the poor working class, from which most of its readership is derived.

Tabloids in SA have been criticised for stereotyping foreign nationals as 'aliens', and failure to condemn violence against foreigners. According to Herman (2008), such newspapers have been tapping into the widespread xenophobic attitudes in the country and amplifying them for sensational value. 'Clamp-down operations' on 'illegal aliens' receive prominent and gleeful coverage, and foreign nationals are often glibly associated with crime⁵.

² The press in South Africa, http://www.southafrica.info/ess info/sa glance/constitution/news.htm, accessed, 20 February 2012.

³ The press in South Africa, http://www.southafrica.info/ess info/sa glance/constitution/news.htm, accessed, 20 February 2012.

⁴ Harber, A. (2008). Two Newspapers, Two nations? The Media and the Xenophobic Violence. In *Go home or die here*. Wits University Press: Johannesburg.

⁵ Herman, W. (2008). Telling stories: South African tabloids and post-apartheid politics. Conference paper, London School of Economics, available at http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/21584/, p. 31

There is also a persisting distinction between *us* and *them* running through the tabloids' reporting. This fuels moral panic. What is clear, as Herman (2008) points out, is that they, probably more than any other media in SA, play a significant role in the daily lives of their readers.

4.2 Data Description

4.2.1 The South African Media Database

In order to create a database for the study, the online archive *SA Media Database* was used. The *SA Media Database* is a comprehensive collection of all newspapers published in South Africa, including *The Sunday Times, The Mail and Guardian, Pretoria News, The Sowetan, City Press, The Citizen* and *The Star.* The study covers all the stories that refer to Zimbabwean immigrants in some way. This comprehensive approach is used in order to provide the most complete picture on representations of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM.

This electronic website sources stories from a cross-section of hardcopy and electronic newspaper outlets and feeds in SA. The *SA Media* is one of the most comprehensive press cutting services offering access to a database consisting of more than 3 million newspaper reports and periodical articles that have been indexed on computer since 1978⁶.

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The *SA Media's* search engine provides several possibilities for handling the data. Firstly, it allows for searches using different word combinations, and for extracting articles on Zimbabwean immigration from various print media within the database. This feature allowed me to gain a relatively broad insight into how the media presents the issue of Zimbabwean immigration to SA, and formed the context of the analysis.

Additional data were obtained from print newspapers, especially in the case of visual data because it was not available on the online archive.

⁶ http://www.samedia.uovs.ac.za/, accessed 31 March 2012.

Secondly, the search function was used to identify articles containing references to Zimbabwe, Zimbabwean, South Africa, im/migrant and im/migration, refugee, foreigner. The articles of interest generated by the searches include reports, editorials and op-ed pieces. Headlines and content were scanned for linguistic constructions of Zimbabwean immigrants. The articles were then classified in terms of their dominant migration metaphors, moral panic or combinations thereof. Visual images are analysed using multimodal analysis. The results of the analysis are discussed in this thesis.

4.2.2 Time Period

The database spans the period 2000 to the present. Given that Zimbabwean immigration to SA is a very broad topic. A reasonably long time frame of ten years was selected for the present analysis in order to understand the SAM of Zimbabwean immigrants during an economically and politically unstable time in Zimbabwe.

4.2.3 Sample Size

A total of five hundred and seventy five articles were randomly selected from the *SA Media Database* and from individual newspaper cuttings during the course of this study. Of this total, approximately 70% were published in five newspapers, namely the *Star* (n= 134), the *Mail and Guardian* (n= 132), *The City Press* (n= 37), and the *Sowetan* (n= 71), *The Sunday Times* (n= 32). Results from the SAM were obtained in full text format and analysed for possible inclusion in the present analysis. Table 4.2 below gives a description of the data corpus.

The multimodal discourse analysis of visual texts is based on a selection of thirty six visual text images on Zimbabwean immigration. The daily newspapers were published between 2007 and the present. Additional images were collected from the online version of The Mail and Guardian⁷ newspaper, a weekly publication in SA. A number of newspaper cuttings were collected during the duration of the research. The limited number of photographs in the corpus results from the fact that the analysis uses online *archives* of newspapers, and not all photographs accompanying printed or online versions of articles are transmitted. However,

⁷ The *Mail and Guardian* is South Africa's oldest quality news source on the web and in print format. It is Africa's first online newspaper.

every effort was made to collect print newspapers during the course of the study, a number of them are utilised in this study.

Table 4.2 Data Corpus

News-paper	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
The Sunday Times					1		7	2	3	6	9	4	32
The Mail and Guardian		3	10	10	6	14	11	2	29	15	28	4	132
City Press	1		2		1	4	13		8	1	6	1	37
Pretoria News			1	2		2		1		2	8	4	20
The Sowetan	4	1	1	1	2		1	4	9	6	21	21	71
The Citizen	1	3			1	1	3	3			2	8	22
The Star	1	1	3	3		4	5	2	39	2	45	29	134
The Saturday Star				1				n	10	1			12
Daily Sun				E					6				6
Cape Times			2	1		1			1		15	5	25
Cape Argus				, 4			ШШ	4		1			2
Sunday Argus				UN	IVE	RSIT	Y of2ti	ie	1	7		3	13
Witness				WE	STE	RN	CAP	E		5			5
The Times								2	2	3			7
Daily News										2			2
Sunday Independent					1				11		1	1	14
Business Day							2	1			1	1	5
Natal News				3									3
News 24							11						11
IOL									1			9	10
Daily Dispatch												3	3
Sunday Tribune			1						1				2
Diamond Field Advertiser											2		2
Sowetan Sunday World		2											2
Business Day			1	1		1							3
TOTAL	7	10	21	23	12	27	55	17	121	51	138	93	575

Table 4. 3 Visual Data Corpus

Newspaper	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
The Sunday Times	2	1		1		4
The Mail and Guardian		9	1	3	3	16
Pretoria News		7		1		8
The Sunday Independent	7					7
The Star		1				1
TOTAL	9	18	1	5	3	36

4.3 Qualitative Analysis Approach

I conducted a qualitative content analysis or textual analysis of the SA print media between January 2000 and the present. All the articles on Zimbabwean immigrants were analysed in order to explore the representation of Zimbabwean illegal immigrants. This analysis is generally thematic, examining how the arrival of Zimbabwean immigrants are 'problematized' and transformed into a discursive crisis in SA.

According to Mcnamara (2005), qualitative analysis of texts is necessary to understand their deeper meanings and likely interpretations by audiences – surely the ultimate goal of analysing media content⁸. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) state that qualitative analysis is preferred because it provides a complete picture of meaning. More importantly, it captures the context within which a media text becomes meaningful, Newbold *et al.* (2002).

Mcnamara (2005) further notes that qualitative content analysis looks at the relationship between the text and its likely audience meaning, recognizing that media texts are *polysemic* – i.e. open to multiple different meanings to different. It pays attention to the audience, media and contextual factors – not simply the text.

⁸ Macnamara, J. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and Best Practice Methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, *6*(1), 1–34. p. 5.

Qualitative analysis methods applicable to the analysis of media content include text analysis, narrative analysis, rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, interpretative analysis and semiotic analysis, as well as some of the techniques used in literary studies such as critical analysis, according to Hijams (1996).

Using qualitative content analysis, the following information is tabulated for further analysis according to the following parameters: (1) overall representation (e.g. positive, negative or sympathetic); (2) theme (e.g., illegality, invasion, moral panic); (3) particular subjects (e.g., costs of deportation; foreigners and housing, social welfare grants, healthcare); (4) representation of female migrants.

Next, a multimodal CDA was conducted in order to identify themes emerging from the data. The same process was repeated for all recurring themes. Following this categorisation, all data were analysed further and categorised to the point where no new themes emerged after additional analysis. Once the general themes were finalized, portions of the documents corresponding to each theme were assessed in order to identify sub-themes. Finally, the general and sub-themes were organised thematically to form the basis of chapters for this thesis.

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4.4 Tools for Analysis

I follow a multimodal discourse analysis approach to examine the SAM articles. The analysis identifies a variety of representations of Zimbabwean immigrants and categorises them thematically. The method of qualitative textual analysis enabled me to examine both manifest and underlying meanings associated with the portrayal of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA.

The analysis starts with a survey of the overall meanings of entire discourses. It spells out the main topics or themes of the data by analysing individual articles from the SAM. In other words, it is concerned with the investigation of the subject matter, or gist of the discourses, and points out the most significant concepts (van Dijk, 1988a). As Van Dijk (1988b) reveals, these semantic macrostructures 'define the coherence of the text and ensure that local meanings of words and sentences at the micro-level have the necessary interconnections and

unity'9. The analysis of overall meanings thus serves as the basis for the analysis of microstructures in discourse.

The analysis investigates how the SAM portrays Zimbabwean immigrants and Zimbabwean immigration, looking at how they are named and referred to lexically. The focus is on linguistic forms, i.e. wording, systems of categorization and metaphor. The study also draws upon the cognitive theory of metaphor as described in the previous chapter and following Fairclough's (1995) text analysis.

Secondly, following Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006), I conduct a multimodal discourse analysis of the visual images. The analysis of each multimodal text is divided into two parts; the first part refers to the visual element of the multimodal text and the second part is focused on the lexical devices appearing in the text¹⁰. The analysis investigates how the SAM portrays Zimbabwean immigrants and Zimbabwean immigration, looking at how they are named and represented visually.

4.5 Summary

Chapter Four has described the methodology. It commences with a discussion of the SAM terrain, highlighting the different newspapers and readership in SA. It also briefly discusses how the SAM has evolved over the last few years. The chapter then describes the SAM database, which is the online archive from which most of the data for this study were collected. The chapter also gives a description of the data, how they were collected and the timeframes. It also describes the sample size of both linguistic and visual data. The qualitative analysis approach, which is used for this study, is also discussed in this chapter. The different tools for data analysis are also described. These include an analysis of visual and linguistic features in the discourse on Zimbabwean immigration to SA.

⁹ Van Dijk, T.A, (1988b). News Analysis. Case Studies of International and National News in the Press. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. p. 226.

¹⁰ Fernández, E. & Lirola, M. 2012. Lexical and visual choices in the representation of immigration in the Spanish press. *Spanish in Context* 9:1. John Benjamins Publishing Company. p. 34.

CHAPTER FIVE: Metaphoric Representations of Zimbabwean Immigrants in the South African Media

5.0 Introduction

The media draw to a large extent on metaphor in their depiction of migration phenomena. The analysis investigates both lexical and grammatical devices. To examine lexical categorization of the Zimbabwean immigrants, including metaphors, it mainly draws upon the cognitive theory of metaphor.

This chapter analyses the discursive representation of immigrants from Zimbabwe in the South African Media (SAM) and focuses, in particular on the most salient themes used in the portrayal of Zimbabwean immigrants. The aim is to examine how the current understanding of Zimbabwean immigration to South Africa is constructed through metaphor. The chapter aims to answer the following questions:

- What images have the media constructed and represented concerning Zimbabwean immigration and immigrants?
- Are there key images/themes that have predominated?
- Are these images/themes positive/negative/neutral?
- Are these images/themes accurate and balanced or inaccurate and incomplete?

This chapter gives an account of the SAM discourses on Zimbabwean immigrants in order to uncover how the media shape perceptions and understanding of immigrants to South Africa (SA). It is evident that the strife-torn Zimbabwe receives proportionally the most negative rating in the SAM compared with other nationalities in SA. The present chapter on the representation of Zimbabwean immigrants to South Africa will be centred on the types of metaphors that are used to characterize immigrants, as part of the public discourse published by the SAM during a politically unstable time in Zimbabwe.

Immigration is a prominent issue in South Africa and elsewhere. It is a topic that often ignites feelings and at times divides communities. The 2008 xenophobic attacks on African migrants

in South Africa are a case in point¹. Within the media, and linguistically, stereotypes of immigrants are formed. The media, in all its diverse forms – print, radio, television, electronic – is a key institution in the creation and distribution of images.

Immigration discourse operates by constructing metaphorical representations of immigrants in various ways. As repositories of cultural understandings, metaphors are some of the main tools with which dominant beliefs and prejudices are represented and reinforced. Concern over immigration is evidenced not only by public discourse, but also in the large body of literature on the phenomenon of immigration, including an attempt to understand how immigration as a problem is constructed in mass media².

Over the last two decades, a considerable amount of research has been conducted on the representation of immigrants and minorities in the mass media, starting with Van Dijk's (1988a, 1988b, 1991) pivotal work on racism in the news media. A relevant study is the Southern African Migration report by Danso and Mcdonald (2000). The report is relevant to this chapter because it discusses the South African print media's coverage of cross-border migration in the post-apartheid period. It is based on a survey that was the first, and most comprehensive, of its kind ever undertaken in the country, drawing on more than 1 200 newspaper clippings about migration from all English-language newspapers between 1994 and 1998. The report presents both a quantitative and qualitative analysis of this media coverage and offers a set of recommendations on how the press could improve its reportage in the future. In sum, the report argues that coverage of international migration by the South African press has been largely anti-immigrant.

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¹ A series of attacks took place all over South Africa. Locals accused these immigrants of taking jobs away from them, among other grievances. Over the course of those two weeks, over 60 foreigners were killed, several hundred injured, and many thousands of immigrants are now displaced, or are returning to their home countries. Dealing with the aftermath of the attacks has become a large problem for South Africa - prosecuting attackers, accommodating refugees, dealing with a labour shortage, political damage control, seeking to address root causes, and some soul-searching are all taking place, Xenophobia In South Africa,

http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2008/06/xenophobia_in_south_africa.html, accessed 1 January 2012.
² Cisneros, J.D. (2008). Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of 'Immigrant as Pollutant' in Media Representation of Immigration. *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, Michigan State University. p. 569.

5.1 Metaphors

This chapter focuses on the tone and style of the language used to describe the issue of Zimbabwean immigration to SA, considering furthermore the employment of derogatory terminology alongside the use of hypothetical figures. It examines how the SAM understands Zimbabwean immigration to South Africa. Particular attention is paid to the dominant metaphors that are used to characterize migration and migrants themselves. The chapter argues that, unlike Nigerians and Somalis, Zimbabweans are not associated with any one 'national characteristic.' Rather, all of the negative stereotypes that used to be applied to 'aliens' and 'foreigners' in general are routinely applied to Zimbabweans.

The analytic framework used in this study is located in the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The dominant immigrant metaphor identified is MIGRANTS ARE ILLEGAL ALIENS. Globally, there is a degree of consistency in the dominant negative metaphors used by the media to describe immigrants. The most common metaphors of migration include the depiction of migrants as threatening foreign or alien bodies; migration as a 'natural disaster' (such as a flood or avalanche); migration as an aquatic process (migrants 'flowing' or 'pouring' into a country); migrants as a 'burden'; and military metaphors as, for example, the state 'battling' or 'fighting' a foreign 'invasion' (Mawadza and Crush, 2010). All of these elements are present in contemporary South African media responses to Zimbabwean immigration, sometimes individually, more often combined.

According to Cisneros (2008), metaphoric constructions can be broadly categorised into those metaphors that represent immigrants as a class of people and those that conceptualise immigration as a phenomenon. Metaphors of immigrants often portray them as objects or threats to society, whether biological, physical or social. On the other hand, metaphors of immigration concretize the problem through cognitive comparisons to other physical or social ills³.

The following metaphors are relevant for this chapter:

³ Cisneros, J.D. (2008). Contaminated communities: The Metaphor of 'Immigrant as Pollutant' in Media Representation of Immigration. *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*. Michigan State University. p. 573.

Body: out-groups described as	immigrants as aliens				
FOREIGN BODIES, FOREIGNERS					
DANGEROUS WATERS	immigrants as influx, floods or				
	avalanches, tides, waves.				
CONTAINER metaphors	activated by the prepositions into;				
	'flowing in, pouring, into, seams				
	bursting'.				
Immigrants are CRIMINALS	robbers, hijackers, gangs				
MILITARY/WAR	- for example; officials 'battling' to cope				
	with illegal immigrants, ravage				
Immigrants are ANIMALS	activated by the verbs <i>hunt</i>				
Immigrants are A BURDEN	overstretch, put pressure				

5.1.1 Immigrants as ILLEGAL ALIENS

Ruiz (2002) notes that the illegal alien stereotype is a powerful metaphor in science and medicine, suggesting an alliance between scientific and medical authority and the nation state⁴. Ruiz (2002) points out that antigens, or foreign particles that enter the body and elicit an immune response, are compared in popular and scientific representations of the immune system to 'illegal aliens' who become suspect because they cannot speak the 'language' of the body. If undocumented border-crossers are depicted as pathogens entering the bloodstream of the nation, then immigrants are seen not as people to be treated for disease but as things to be treated against⁵. Lakoff and Ferguson (2006) also express the same view, arguing that the term 'alien', in popular culture suggests nonhuman beings invading from outer space — completely foreign, not one of us, intent on taking over our land and our way of life by gradually insinuating themselves among us. Hence, aliens are strangers, they are unknown, unfamiliar and foreign⁶. The 'illegal aliens' become suspect because they cannot speak the 'language' of the body. Illegal immigrants of African descent in South Africa are

⁴ Ruiz, M.V. (2002). Border Narratives, HIV/AIDS and Latina/o Health in the United States: A cultural analysis. *Feminist Media Studies*. 2(1) p. 48.

⁵ Ruiz, M.V. (2002). Border Narratives, HIV/AIDS and Latina/o Health in the United States: A cultural analysis. *Feminist Media Studies*. 2(1) p. 49.

⁶ http://www.rockridgeinstitute.org/research/rockridge/immigration

makwerekwere⁷ in Black South African public discourses because they do not speak the language of the local people.

Lakoff and Ferguson (2006) note that the Illegal immigrant metaphor is perhaps the most commonly used to represent 'illegal immigrants.' It frames the problem as one about the illegal act of crossing the border without the required papers. As a consequence, it fundamentally frames the problem as a legal one⁸.

According to Lakoff and Ferguson (2006), the term 'illegal', is used as an adjective in 'illegal immigrants' and 'illegal aliens', or simply as a noun in 'illegals,' and defines the immigrants as criminals, as if they were characteristically bad people. Hence, the metaphor of 'illegal alien' not only stresses criminality, but stresses 'otherness'9.

Many scholars argue that immigrants are often presented as threats, positioned as them (the ethnic minority) in relation to an assumed us. Teun A. Van Dijk (1987) is a leading researcher in this field, and argues that the media are the major channel in the formulation of the discourse of ethnic prejudices. The media, in general, (re)produce a negative and largely stereotypic image of immigrants, representing them as the *other*.

The following are examples that illustrate how Zimbabwean immigrants are represented as 'aliens' in the SAM. Apart from being described as aliens (1-14), the Zimbabwean immigrants are displaced and are people of no fixed abode (1) and are illegal and have no permission to be in SA, as demonstrated by the terms 'illegal Zim aliens,' 'illegal alien,' 'Zimbabwean illegal aliens,' (7-12, 14).

Illegal immigration in SA, as elsewhere in the world, is a crime, and is a violation of the laws of SA. Illegal immigration in SA raises many economic and social issues, and, therefore, is a major source of controversy, with deportations of illegal migrants costing the SA government (13). The Zimbabwean immigrants come to SA in large numbers, as is demonstrated by a 'wave of illegal Zim aliens, massive influx of illegal immigrants, and flood of Zim aliens' (2,

⁷ Makwerekwere is a derogatory term used in South Africa to refer to immigrants from other African countries. It depicts the phonetics of African languages (Harris, 2002).

⁸ http://www.buzzflash.com/contributors/06/05/con0628.html

⁹ http://www.rockridgeinstitute.org/research/rockridge/immigration

3, and 4). In addition, the aliens are represented as criminals: they are border jumpers who enter SA using different border entry points (2). The following examples illustrate the metaphoric representations of the illegal alien.

(1) Displaced aliens urged to blend back into society, The Star, 13 October 2008.

SA Authorities confirm wave of illegal Zim aliens South African authorities have confirmed reports showing that the massive influx of illegal immigrants into the country shows no signs of abating. A total of 2 386 illegal immigrants have been arrested by the South African police since December 29, Limpopo police spokesperson Ronel Otto said on Monday. These border jumpers entered the country through the various border posts, including Beitbridge, Pontdrift, Groblers Bridge and Stokpoort, The Mail and Guardian, 30 January 2006

(3)
Plan for flood of Zim aliens

The South African government is said to be considering building a second detention centre in Limpopo to cope with the **influx** of **illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe**, The Citizen, 25 July 2006

(4) Zim aliens still flow in, News24, 30 January 2006

(5)
Full river, fewer aliens. The rainy season saw fewer immigrants entering the country as the Limpopo River was flooding, News24, 30 January 2006

Illegal Alien Appleseed quits SA

(6)

Bongo Maffin musician Adrian Anesu Mupemhi 'Appleseed' has gone back to Zimbabwe. Last night, Mupemhi voluntarily left South Africa for his home country after contravening the Aliens Control Act, Pretoria News 04 April 2002 *(7)*

Secure carriages on the way

The government is about to introduce specially designed train carriages for the deportation of *illegal aliens* bound for Mozambique and Zimbabwe, The Sowetan, 31 March 2000

(8)

Thousands sent home to Zimbabwe from SA

Johannesburg- In a sign of intensifying crackdown, on **Zimbabwean illegal aliens**, South Africa deported 2345 Zimbabwean at the weekend, Cape Times, 23 May 2002

(9)

Illegal aliens die in smash, Pretoria News 27 September 2002

(10)

Illegal immigrants learn the life of crime in SA, Sunday Tribune, 4 January 1998

(11)

Illegals trial postponed, Eastern Province Herald 6 March 1998

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The trial of two Zimbabweans who are charged with contravening the Aliens Control Act for staying in South Africa after their permits had expired was postponed yesterday because they could not understand English.

(12)

Ruling limits arrest of illegal aliens, Pretoria news, 23 April 2003

(13)

Deporting aliens just a futile and costly exercise, City Press, 29 May 2005

(14)

No surge of illegal Zim aliens

There has been no significant increase in the cross border influx of illegal aliens from Zimbabwe, Northern Province police said yesterday.' Its all untrue, police spokesman, Ms. Ronel Otto said of a Sunday Times report claiming that on one day last week, South African

police and soldiers rounded up and repatriated some 1600 Zimbabweans, The Citizen, 19 June 2000.

In popular western culture, the term 'alien' connotes hostile and dangerous non-human beings from outer space¹⁰. While this term is obviously not meant to be taken literally in migration discourse, its metaphorical associations concerning *otherness* are clear. 'Aliens' are, metaphorically-speaking, extra-terrestrial – not of this earth (let alone this country) – different, strange, unknown and undesirable. The popular cultural connotations of the term are certainly not lost on the South African media who use it with a blithe disregard for context and truth. 'Aliens' are completely foreign and different, hostile and unwelcome, a threat to the culture, way of life and economic livelihood of the citizen.

South Africans are somewhat more accepting of migrants who speak South African languages through common ancestry (those from Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland)¹¹. Migrants from other African countries, including Zimbabwe, are denigrated as *makwerekwere* because they do not speak the language of the local people. Seemingly unaware of the origins and highly insulting nature of this term, Former President Mbeki argued in the South African Parliament that there was nothing offensive or xenophobic about it¹².

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Crush (1998) states that although the use of the term 'alien' to describe non-citizens is still common in other parts of the world (notably the United States), its usage in South Africa is problematic. The term is closely related with the racist immigration policies of the apartheid era, embodied in the Aliens Control Act of 1991. In 2002, a new South African Immigration Act replaced the Aliens Control Act. The term 'alien' is not used at all in the 2002 Act, a concession by its drafters to the opposition of human rights groups to the retention of incendiary language in the new legislation. The Act refers to all non-citizens as 'foreigners' (which is an improvement but hardly dispels the negative connotations of *otherness* associated with the term 'alien'). However, while South Africa's official immigration discourse now shuns the term 'alien,' the media have been extremely reluctant to abandon it.

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¹⁰ Lakoff, G. and Ferguson, S. (2006). *The Framing of Immigration*. Berkeley: Rockridge Institute, http://www.buzzflash.com/contributors/06/05/con06208.html, accessed, 19 May, 2012.

Crush, J. (2008). The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa. *Southern African Migration Project*. Migration Policy Series 50 p. 31.

¹² Ibid, The Perfect Storm, p. 31.

The application of the term 'illegal alien' to Zimbabweans has led to a new variant: 'the Zim alien' (2, 3, 4, 14). The continued use of the metaphor to describe Zimbabwean immigrants, in particular, is therefore very deliberate, stripping them of their humanity, emphasizing difference and marking them as outsiders that do not belong. As such, they are undeserving of basic respect, rights and freedoms, a sentiment with which most ordinary South Africans agree¹³.

Danso and Mcdonald (2000) state that the common use of the term 'aliens' to describe non-nationals exacerbates the problem by driving yet another degree of *otherness* between the citizens of South Africa and 'aliens' from outside the border¹⁴. The aliens are also criminal and cost the state (10, 13), hence there is need for the government to control immigration in a more efficient way. These representations in the language of immigration hide another implicit construction: that most 'aliens' and 'illegals' are (black Africans) and Zimbabweans for that matter.

5.1.2 Unknown People and UFOs

Zimbabwean illegal aliens are also referred to as 'unknown people' or 'UFOs' in the SAM discourses. There is reference to illegal aliens as UFOs where they are regarded as unidentifiable foreign objects. The following is an example;-

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(15)

In my area a local fast-food outlet owner was killed by 'unknown people' one morning as he opened for business. The 'unknown people' were Zimbabweans who had worked for him for a number of years. The killers were never traced because they were 'unknown people', News24, 6 October 2006

(16)

¹³ Crush, J. (2008). The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa. Southern African Migration Project. Migration Policy Series 50.

¹⁴ Danso, R. and Mcdonald, D. (2000). Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Press in South Africa. Cape Town: IDASA. p. 25.

¹⁵ The English Thesaurus defines a UFO as a flying object that cannot be identified and is thought by some to be an alien spacecraft.

What is very problematic is the fact that many of these people have no form of identification. If one of them attacks you or breaks into your home or your business, you are as good as having been attacked by a **UFO**. They are **untraceable**, The Sunday Times, 16 July 2006.

The 'alien' is not only unnatural and unwelcome, it is also illegitimate and threatening. The South African media are certainly not alone in its association of irregular migration with illegality¹⁶. 'Illegal aliens,' 'illegal immigrants' or simply 'illegals' are terms used by states worldwide to describe anyone who is not wanted, but who comes anyway. The UN, the Global Commission on Migration and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) propose that the term 'irregular migrant' be used to describe those in a country without proper documentation, a proposal not popular with nation-states who prefer to see border transgression as a criminal rather than unauthorized act. The South African media have continued to make copious use of the terms 'illegal alien' and 'illegal immigrant' to describe Zimbabwean immigrants. The 'illegal alien' label highlights them as being outside the law and outside our community (extra comunitari)¹⁷. The repeated use of the term 'illegal' then creates a particular kind of immigrant, one who came only to take jobs or to engage in criminal activities.

Vigneswaran (2007) argues that the use of the term 'illegal,' in relation to migrants, has been widely criticised for being misleading and adding to negative representations and associations of migrants with crime. Vigneswaran (2007) writes: 'illegals are identified as involved in criminal activity and as being racially or ethnically different to . . . their host population.' He argues that this image serves to reinforce practices that separate and exclude certain groups from coming to reside in the country. The idea of categorising cross-border movement into 'illegal' and 'legal' is seen as a 'historical product of the modern states immigration control mentality and regime'. 18

Therefore, the 'illegal alien' metaphor dehumanizes. It blocks the questions of: why are people coming to South Africa for instance. What service do they provide when they are

¹⁶ Taylor, L. and Willis, A. (1996). Illegal Aliens. *Discourse and Society* 7. p. 291-92.

¹⁷ http://www.bftf.org/blogs/immigration/

Vigneswaran, D. (2007). Free Movement of Forgotten Freedoms: South African Representation of Undocumented Migrants. Refugee Studies Centre. Working Paper Series. University of Oxford. UK. p. 3

there? Why do they feel it necessary to avoid legal channels? It boils down to the debate around questions of legality. Apart from this, it also ignores the illegal acts of employers.

In examples (2-4) above, migrants are delineated as a metaphorical, nameless, and unidentified mass or flow. The ubiquity of the 'flood' metaphor in immigration discourse as well as everyday discourse is problematic in that migration is conceptualised as an on-going event. In addition, it is represented as a mass event, a single moving entity.

The use of *influx* in (2) whose primary lexical denotation relates to 'an inflow, as of a physical fluid, water, flood, entry¹⁹ as a collocation with *migrants* and *migration* is not new. A number of studies on the discourse of representation of migration, race and ethnicity in the media have shown the use of water-based metaphors, predominantly with strongly negative connotations. Water, natural disasters like avalanches and flood disasters all persuasively representing immigration or migrants as something that has to be 'dammed'²⁰. The use of water based metaphors is discussed in the next section.

5.1.3 Immigration and DANGEROUS WATERS

Metaphors from the natural world are particularly common to describe the movement of Zimbabweans into South Africa. Migration is not, however, considered to be a 'natural process' so much as a 'natural disaster' deeply threatening to all South Africans. Zimbabwean immigrants do not migrate as individuals or in small groups. Rather they come in 'floods,' 'waves' and 'tides,' swamping everything in their path. 'Alien body' and 'natural disaster' metaphors are regularly combined to give added emphasis to the destructiveness of the disaster (17-26).

(17)

Zim Aliens Flow In, News24, 30 January 2006

(18)

Zimbabweans pouring into SA, The Mail and Guardian 30 January 2006

¹⁹ Online English Thesaurus, 2011.

In other words, this is not just a tidal wave or avalanche of 'people' or 'migrants,' it is one of 'Zim aliens,' 'illegal immigrants' and 'illegal foreigners.' Ana (2004) argues that aquatic metaphors suggest large-scale, excessive, uncontrollable and dangerous inflows of water. Migrants 'pour' they do not 'trickle.' They come in 'waves' and 'floods.' Hence Zimbabweans pouring into SA (18). The borders of the nation-state, unless systematically and comprehensively fortified, provide no protection against this human tide (25). While some suggest that the disastrous tide is 'unstoppable,' others argue that it should and must be stopped through more severe measures. These metaphors have permeated the South African media accounts of the growing Zimbabwean population in South Africa. Ana (2002) argues convincingly that 'far from being mere figures of speech, these metaphors produce and sustain a negative public perception'²¹.

(19)

Zimbabweans continue to flood SA. The flow of Zimbabweans entering South Africa illegally has continued unabated and might be increasing, The Sunday Times, 1 September 2009

It is not merely a 'flow', but as shown in 20 and 21, there are 'massive waves', which ostensibly leave destruction in its wake.

(20) WESTERN CAPE

SA Authorities Confirm **Wave** of **Illegal Zim Aliens**: South African authorities have confirmed reports showing that the **massive influx** of illegal immigrants **into** the country shows no signs of abating, The Mail and Guardian 30 January 2006.

(21)

Illegals flood across river as Limpopo subsides: As the Limpopo river subsides, following the devastating floods in February, illegal immigrants are beginning to flock across the border from Zimbabwe into South Africa again, The Star 18 August 2000

²⁰ Wodak, R. (2000). Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism. London: Routledge. p. 59.

p. 59.

Ana, S. (2002). Negative Stereotypes Perpetuated in '90s coverage of key anti –Latino proposition. http://www.laprensa-sandiego.org/archive.august09-02/key.htm

(22)

But the majority of cash-strapped Zimbabweans are seeping in through the perforated border fence, 6 June 2011.

(23)

Growing Tide of Refugees, Cape Times 23 May 2002

(24)

The Unstoppable Tide, The Mail and Guardian 3 October 2003

(25)

Holding Back the Human **Tide**: Every month thousands of Zimbabweans are caught trying to enter South Africa illegally. But poverty will drive them to do it again, Sunday Tribune 3 February 2002

(26)

A report on this page exposes the futility of the government's attempt to stem the tide of thousands of illegal immigrants flooding the country in search of better life, Pretoria News 25 September 2005

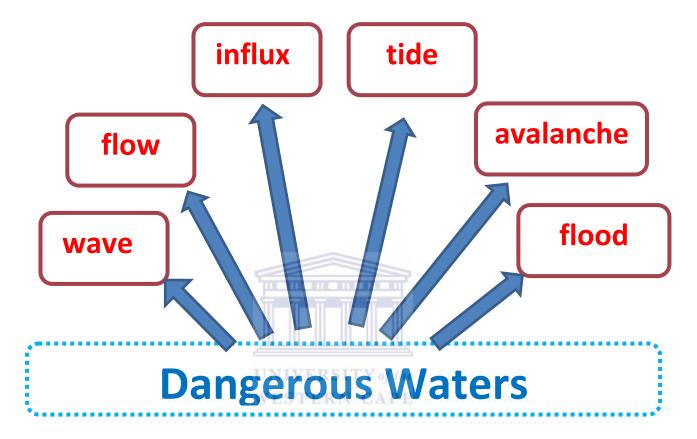
WESTERN CAPE

Therefore, the largest group of dangerous waters metaphors are related to an image of excessive flow of water, using the metaphoric words *flow, wave, tide, avalanche* as in (19-27) above. These metaphors are used to describe an increase in the rate of migration (23). The metaphor labelled IMMIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS is a tightly structured semantic relationship. Following Hart 2006:

- Immigration corresponds to moving waters.
- South Africa is a landmass or other entity such as a house that is subject to flooding.
- South Africa is a piece of clothing, when flooded, it bursts at its seams.

Within the IMMIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS metaphor, human beings are reduced to or remade into an undifferentiated quantity that is not human. The water metaphors descriptions are illustrated below:

Figure 5. 1 Water Metaphors



Secondly, this mass moves from one contained space to another. The contained space referred to is South Africa. Such movements are inherently powerful, and, if not controlled, they are dangerous. The implications of this metaphor are extensive. Warnings about *Unstoppable Tides* (24), *Wave of Illegal Zim Aliens* (20) are apt metaphors to instil fear and a menace to the social order.

As the following examples illustrate; the use of water metaphors in reference to Zimbabwean immigrants also implies a certain lack of control over immigration, hence presenting it as an acute and explicit threat, and cause for concern, a process that is 'exacerbating' existing problems in SA.

(27)

We voluntarily switched off the apartheid electric border fence. But the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe is forcing us to think about how to contain the avalanche of illegal economic and political refugees from Zimbabwe. Failure to do something about this risks hostility from our unemployed and poor directed at the foreigners flooding into South Africa. If the hostility is minimal now, wait until our economy slows down, News 24, 7 October 2006

(28) State tackles immigrant influx The department of home affairs is reviewing the Immigration Act to address the flood of immigrants, most by Zimbabweans, The Sunday Times, Sep 1, 2009

The continuous influx of Zimbabwean immigrants is hence portrayed as something that needs to be fought off, or at least considered as a 'difficulty' that needs to be 'dealt with' or 'tackled', as also illustrated in the extract in (27) where Zimbabwe is forcing us to think about how to contain the avalanche of illegal economic and political refugees from Zimbabwe.

SA is regarded as a container, expected to deal with the huge volumes of Zimbabwean immigrants. The image of the container is discussed in the next section.

5.1.4 CONTAINER Metaphors STERN CAPE

Charteris Black (2006) notes that national zones and spaces are represented as a contained space with a fixed size or volume. The three salient spatial structures are the interior (us), the exterior (them) and the boundary (the physical and metaphorical line that divides us from them, insiders from outsiders). This schema 'grounds conceptualizations of one's country as a closed container that can be sealed or penetrated'²². The container metaphor denotes a bounded area protecting what is within from external danger. Penetration of the boundary of the container implies the contamination of its contents, them symbolically and illegitimately penetrating us^{23} .

²² Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing Political Discourse*. London and New York: Routledge, p. 118.

²³ Charteris–Black, J. (2006). Britain as a container: immigration metaphors in the 2005 election campaign. *Discourse and Society*. 17(5) p. 575.

Cognitive linguistics holds that there are certain image schemata which constitute the foundations of human reason (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999, Johnson, 1987, Lakoff, 1987). One such schema is that of CONTAINMENT. On the embodiment of the container concept, Johnson (1987) states that 'our encounter with containment and boundedness is one of the most pervasive features of our bodily experience' According to Hart (2006), this schema is most obviously activated (in English) with the spatial prepositions *in* and *out*, markers frequently used to describe the spatial relation between Trajector (TR) – (person) and Landmark (LM) – (country)²⁵. Hart (2006), further states that the containment schema is most obviously activated with spatial prepositions *in* and *out*²⁶ (examples 29-32). The population is conceptualized as content of Container-Nation.

South Africa, which is the nation, is thus conceptualized as a container. The movement towards the container from an external source is highlighted. Zimbabwean immigrants, in this instance, are conceptualized as fluid content as exemplified below. It is implied herein that the container nation is overflowing. Therefore:

(29)

Hundreds more are streaming into the country on a daily basis, News 24, 07 October 2006

WESTERN CAPE

Zimbabwean citizens pouring into SA, News24, 30 January 2006

(31)

(30)

Zim aliens flow in, News24, 30 January 2006

(32)

Zimbabweans pouring into SA. About 100 Zimbabweans are illegally crossing into South Africa daily in search of jobs, The Mail and Guardian 30 January 2006

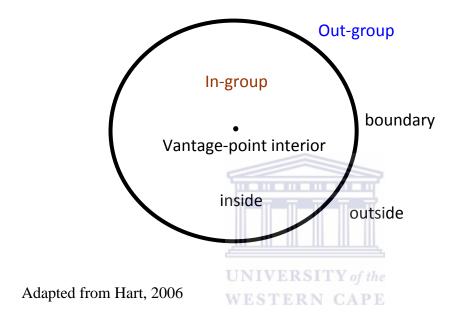
²⁶ http://metaphor.uea.ac.uk/

²⁴ Mark, J. *The Body in the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 21.

²⁵ Hart, C. (2006). Strategic Functions of Metaphor in Immigration Discourse: Containers, Conceptual Blends and Discourse Space. Paper presented at Conference on Cognitive Approaches to Metaphors of Power. Helsinki.

According to Hart (2006), the container schema affords two perspectives; vantage-point-interior and vantage-point-exterior. The perspective in immigration discourse is vantage-point-interior. The container schema in immigration discourse defines immigrants as outgroup; *insiders* versus *outsiders* as illustrated below:

Figure 5. 2 Logic of the Container Schema in Immigration Discourse



(33)
South Africa is battling to contain a flood of Zimbabwean immigrants as more people flee across the border, News24, 23 July 2006

'South Africa' is conceptualized as a non-specified container which is battling to contain a flood of Zimbabwean immigrants (33). Container metaphors arouse fears of a build-up of large numbers of immigrants within. The penetration of the container is potentially disastrous – just as a leak in the ship can lead it to sink²⁷.

South Africa as a HOUSE schema can be presented as follows:

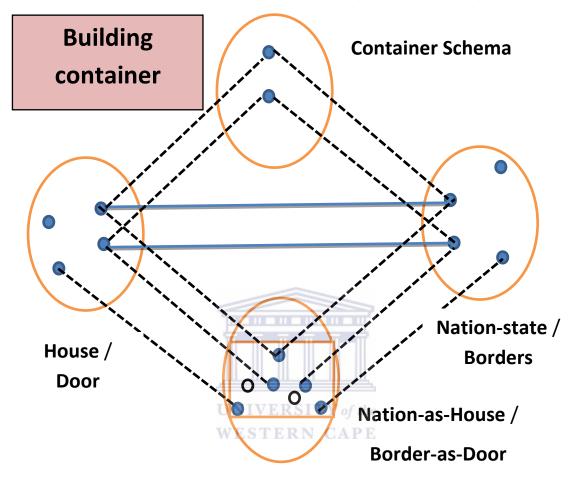
Discourse and Society. 17(5) p. 579.

79

²⁷ Charteris–Black, J. (2006). Britain as a container: immigration metaphors in the 2005 election campaign.

Figure 5. 3 HOUSE Schema

A critical metaphor study



Adapted from Hart, 2006

Container metaphors also stir up fears of a build-up of large numbers of unwelcome migrants within. Once inside, the immigrant is a *makwerekere* to be feared, are not accepted and insulted.

South Africa has, therefore, become a closed container with a door (34), whose boundaries are being contravened by massive numbers of Zimbabwean immigrants. A particularly common variant of boundary-transgression in South Africa is the idea that migrants do not cross or travel across borders, they 'jump' or 'hop' (36-39) them. The metaphor, while appearing to describe how borders are crossed illegitimately, is designed to convey the fact that Zimbabwean immigrants have a fundamental lack of respect for the line between the two

countries. Research conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) has shown that Zimbabwean immigrants do have a basic respect for the existence and integrity of national borders. This is not to say that there is no border transgression. Rather it is to argue that the metaphorical representation of transgression both exaggerates its prevalence and perpetuates an image of migrants as displaying criminal intent and a callous disregard for national sovereignty²⁸.

(34)

SA is revolving door to desperate Zimbabweans, The Mail and Guardian, 24 March 2005

5.1.5 NATION as CLOTHING Metaphor

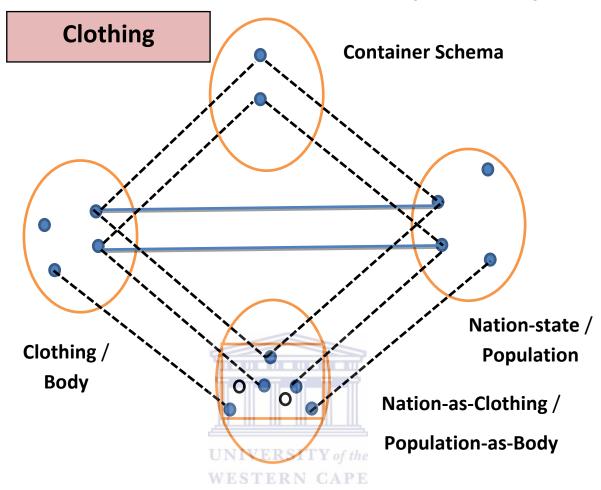
NATION as CLOTHING metaphor is yet another metaphor from the data. In (35), *bursting at the seams* activates a clothing frame where items of clothing are conceptualised as containers. In this case, the delimiting boundary element of the container (the seams) is conceptualised as being stretched beyond capacity. Hart (2006) presents the following clothing schema:

UNIVERSITY of the

²⁸ Mawadza, A. and Crush, J. 2010. Metaphors of Migration: Zimbabwean migrants in the South African media. In *Zimbabwe's Exodus*. Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC. p. 370.

Figure 5. 4 CLOTHING Schema

A critical metaphor study



(35)

Zim refugees flood inner cities: While the government ships desperate asylum seekers back over the border, places of refuge in South Africa are bursting at the seams, The Sunday Independent, 29 July, 2007

This, and allegations of criminal activity, has led to hostile coverage of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM, and has contributed to antagonism toward Zimbabwean immigrants.

5.2 The Immigrant as a CRIMINAL

Mawadza and Crush (2010), note that the very act of being in South Africa is criminalized by sections of the South African media. Only rarely is there reference to the many thousands of Zimbabweans who are in South Africa quite legitimately, as professionals, students, traders,

visitors and the like. Attention is focused on demonizing, on making illegitimate and dangerous, the presence of all Zimbabweans.

The criminal act also represents Zimbabwean immigrants as border jumpers. The attempts by a considerable number of Zimbabwean immigrants to jump over the border fences of Beitbridge²⁹ to enter South Africa have been portrayed in the SAM by resorting to all kinds of metaphors. The immigrants are illegal as they circumvent legal immigration procedures and jump across the border (36-39). Zimbabweans are also associated with bank robberies and hijackings (40-42).

(36)

Messina police arrested more than 3000 border hoppers in January, July and August last year, Saturday Star, 08 May, 1999

(37)

Limpopo border jumpers get a rough welcome, Sunday Independent, 27 August 2006

(38)

The border jumpers entered the country through the various border posts, including Beitbridge, News24, 30 January 2006 TERN CAPE

(39)

Many fence jumpers have developed a habit of conveniently being arrested so they can be repatriated over the festive season, The Citizen, 23 December 2004

(40)

Bank robbers are from Zim, Saturday Star, 22 February, 2003

(41)

Four Zimbabweans arrested after hijacking, The Citizen, 27 October 2010

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 $^{^{\}rm 29}$ Beitbridge is the border town between Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The use of direct quotes from authorities, for instance from the South African Police Service (42), reinforces the effect that migration is not merely perceived as a threat by the population but by those who protect it³⁰:

(42)

Illegal Zimbabweans have been responsible for a spate of bank robberies around the country in the last 10 years, the South African Police Service confirmed yesterday, Saturday Star, 22 February 2003

By defining Zimbabwean immigrants as criminals, without any evidence of criminal activity, sections of the SAM conveniently overlook the immense contributions they make. Immigrants who cross outside of legal channels, though, are committing offenses of a much different nature than the prototypical criminal. Their 'crime' is not to cause harm or to steal but to work and make money to send home to starving relatives. The metaphor dehumanizes the immigrant, disqualifying serious media debate on such questions as why people come to SA, what services they provide when they are there, and why some find it necessary to avoid the legal channels that they respect.

5.3 MILITARY Metaphors NIVERSITY of the

Military metaphors in South African reporting on Zimbabwean immigration to SA have three basic elements. First, the country is experiencing an unwanted 'invasion' by hostile forces. Secondly, the country is engaged in a fight, a battle, a war to contain migration (33). Thirdly, the immigrants consume resources and deprive citizens of what is rightfully theirs (58-60). Therefore, militaristic language and imagery of a country at war with *a stream of Zimbabweans crossing the Limpopo River* (44, 45) is very much present in the SAM reporting on Zimbabwean immigration. This is now a country under siege from 'illegal aliens' emanating from the rest of Africa.

Lakoff and Johnson³¹ illustrate how the war metaphor is reflected in a variety of everyday language expressions.

³⁰ Rasinger, S.M. (2010). Lithuanian migrants send crime rocketing. In *Media, Culture and Society*. 32(6) p. 1027.

³¹ Lakoff, G and Johnson, J. (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 4

'Your claims are indefensible.

He attacked every weak point in my argument.

His criticisms were right on target.

I demolished his argument.

If you use that strategy, he'll wipe you out.

He shot down all of my arguments'

It is clear that many of the things we do in arguing are partly structured by the concept of war. Though there is no physical battle, there is a verbal battle, and the structure of an argument - attack, defence, counter-attack reflects this. It is in this sense that the war metaphor is constructed in the SAM discourse on Zimbabwean immigration:

(43)

Hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans who have left their economically-ravaged homeland for neighbouring countries, either legally or illegally, are not seeking refugee status but only a means to earn a livelihood, The Mail and Guardian, 19 June 2004

(44) UNIVERSITY of the

South African officials are **battling** to cope with the **stream** of Zimbabweans crossing the Limpopo River, News24, 23 July, 2006

(45)

War against aliens: Thousands forced to flee Alex, The Daily Sun, 13 May 2008

5.4 The Immigrant as an ANIMAL

Ana (1999) states that when characterized as animals, immigrants are portrayed as less than human, which sets up unmistakable divisions of expectations³². Actions that are natural for both humans and animals are lexically distinguished:

³² Ana, S. (1999). Like an animal I was treated': anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse. *Discourse and Society*. 10(2) p. 202.

(46)

Hunted by gangs, migrants flee flames, The Mail and Guardian, 24 May 2008

(47)

George Mhanda came to Johannesburg to feed his family, struggling to eat under Robert Mugabe's derelict rule. The Zimbabwean mechanic found a job in a local garage and a room in a small house in Tembisa Township, and sent cash home every month.

This week he fled the house ahead of a baying mob hunting down African immigrants, and made for the sanctuary of the Central Methodist Church in the heart of Johannesburg. He thinks his job is gone but now his priority is just to survive. At night he arms himself with a small pile of bricks for defence against the hostile mobs roaming outside, and settles down to sleep among hundreds of other unwelcome Africans on a flight of stairs in the church, The Mail and Guardian, 24 May 2008

(48)

Hunting for foreigners, The Star, 15 May 2008

UNIVERSITY of th

The verb *hunt* (46-48) distinguishes identical human and non-human actions. Ana (1999) argues that the animal metaphor elucidates evidence of anti-immigrant discourse, which allows the SAM to implicitly dehumanize and demean immigrants. Thus, Ana (1999) argues that, on the hierarchy of living things, immigrants are animals. Citizens, in contrast, are humans. This hierarchy of life subordinates immigrants to citizens. Human beings are vested by birth right with privileges, such as 'human rights' and 'human dignity.' Animals have no such privileges, and are not equal to humans in the estimation of social institutions. Animals can never become humans by legislation or fiat. Their inferiority is inherent. Humans have full control over animals, from ownership to use as a food source. Animals are either domesticated, that is to say, owned by humans, or are wild, and, consequently, are outside of the dominion of human society, and can be hunted³³.

³³ Ana, S. (1999). Like an animal I was treated': anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse. *Discourse and Society*. 10(2) p. 202.

5.5 Other Constructions

5.5.1 The South African-Zimbabwe Border

Beitbridge is a border town in the province of Matabeleland South, Zimbabwe. The name also refers to the border post and bridge spanning the Limpopo River, which forms the political border between South Africa and Zimbabwe. The town lies just north of the Limpopo River about 1 km from the Alfred Beit Bridge which spans the Limpopo River between South Africa and Zimbabwe. The main roads lead from the border 321 km north-west to Bulawayo and 585 km north-east to Harare via Masvingo. According to the 2002 Population Census, the town had a population of 22,387. It is dominated by the local Venda people who are also found across the international border in the Vhembe District of the Republic of South Africa. The Beitbridge border post is the busiest road border post in Southern Africa³⁴.

The town is a staging post for most Zimbabweans fleeing the country *en route* to South Africa. Those who cross the border legally are a fraction of those who cross illegally. Many people brave the crocodile infested Limpopo River and get into South Africa illegally. Daymigrants cross the border daily to travel to Musina, to buy commodities that are usually scarce back in Zimbabwe³⁵.

WESTERN CAPE

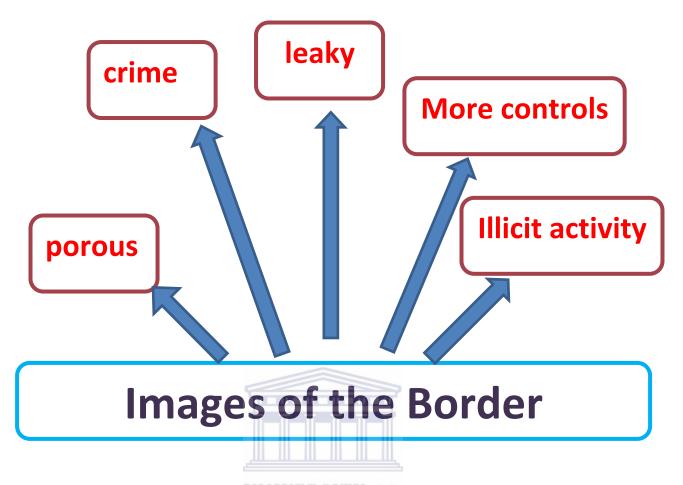
5.5.2 *Images of the Border*

Images of the SA Zimbabwe border manifested by the data are summarised in the figure below:

³⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beitbridge

³⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beitbridge#Migrants

Figure 5. 5 Images of the Border



The border is represented as *porous and leaky* (49), and characterised by *illicit and criminal activity* (50) and therefore more controls need to be put in place (52-53). Malczynski, *et al.* (2005) note that political borders are controversial and contested spaces. Throughout history, humans have dedicated intense energy to identifying, expanding, and protecting borders, those places that delineate where one territory ends and another begins³⁶. Borders ensure the national safety of the state, protecting its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The borders are also extremely important for constructing identities, for a spatial 'embodiment' and 'entering' the global context. Thus, the border has a significant symbolical semantic, marking and separating one's 'own' space, and endowing it with sense and status.

Understanding and managing border dynamics is critical to SA, The Southern African Development Community (SADC) and regional security. Border dynamics include legal and illegal immigration, the exchange of raw materials, manufactured goods, water, pollution,

³⁶ Malczynski, L. *et al*, (2005). *Borders as Membranes: Metaphors and Models for Improved Policy in Border Regions*. Sandia: Albuquerque and Livermore. p. 8.

disease, and drugs across international borders. There are calls to increase border security to reduce the number of people able to cross the border as it is porous (49, 52).

The attempts by a considerable number of Zimbabwean immigrants to jump over the border fences of Beitbridge (36-39) to enter SA have been portrayed in the SAM by resorting to many metaphors, whose effect throws up an image that has very little relation with the truth, but which is strongly indicative of how certain migratory issues are tackled. Metaphors to describe the Zimbabwe and SA border are presented below:

(49)

Border leaks like a sieve

The South Africa-Zimbabwe border is leaking like a sieve with more than 200 holes in the security fence around the Beitbridge border post, army patrols that only come on duty at 10pm and widespread fraud and corruption.

This has been reported by the National Assembly's portfolio committee on home affairs.

'We saw many holes in the fence at Beitbridge, and we were told that the holes have been there for a long time, despite many pleas to the Department of Public Works to fix them,' the committee said in a report tabled in Parliament.

The Department of Home Affairs is meant to be doing everything possible to prevent illegal immigrants entering the country.

But the select committee concluded that 'people jump the fence at border posts due to lack of control and personnel. Border posts are also ill-equipped'.

It found corruption: 'Immigration officials are easily bribed as their salaries are low and the system followed at border posts is insufficient to stop organized crime. There is a lack of sufficient management in the immigration section at Beitbridge.' The Mail and Guardian, 19 July 2001

(50)

Cross border crime crisis, The Citizen, 13 September 2001

(51)

Fleeing Zimbabweans flood border post, The Mail and Guardian, 22 July 2010

(52)

Put more men on borders

It's been evident to everyone that the country's border control measures, particularly those applied to the boundaries with Zimbabwe and Mozambique are woefully inadequate. The problem with illegal immigration from these countries has been high on government's priority list for years, The Citizen, 4 September 2001

(53)

Our porous borders

A report on this page exposes the futility of the government's attempts to stem the tide of thousands of illegal immigrants flooding the country in search of a better life.

The State spends millions of rand every year for the upkeep of thousands of aliens at the Lindela repatriation camp before they are deported to their home countries. This expenditure is bound to grow with more Zimbabweans reportedly crossing into South Africa to escape poverty and government repression at home, Pretoria News, 26 September 2005

Linguistic images of a porous border are corroborated by visual images which will be discussed at length in Chapter 6. A few are illustrated here:

WESTERN CAPE



A human smuggler cuts a border fence while illegally bringing Zimbabwean refugees across the border into South Africa May 27, 2008 near Musina, South Africa. Facing economic strife and political oppression at home, Zimbabweans continue to flood across the border, despite recent violent attacks against foreign immigrants in South Africa. A human rights group recently reported that up to 49,000 Zimbabweans are illegally crossing into South Africa each month, adding to the 3-5 million Zimbabwean refugees already residing in South Africa. (Photo by John Moore/Getty Images)

http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2008/06/xenophobia_in_south_africa.html



Zimbabwean immigrants cross the border from Zimbabwe into South Africa May 27, 2008 over the Limpopo River near Musina. (Photo by John Moore/Getty Images) http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2008/06/xenophobia_in_south_africa.html

Porous borders (53) are regarded as entry points for illegal immigrants. Thus, there is need for the government to do more on most things – controlling immigration (52). Some of the threats caused by porous borders are strain on resources, spread of disease and unemployment.

5.5.3 Images of Time

Images of *days are numbered*, for Zimbabwean immigrants feature prominently in the data. Zimbabwean immigrants are portrayed as having no time at their disposal to stay or extend their stay in SA. As such the talk is of, *looming deadlines, final bells, a few days left, government warnings (54), and extension of deadlines* are not a possibility. This portrays a desperate situation and an unsettling life for Zimbabwean immigrants in SA, as those without the relevant papers to live legally in SA face deportation (55).

(54)

Illegal Zimbabweans living in South Africa have **four days left** to register for legal documents, the home affairs department said on Monday.

'The final bells for the registration of illegal Zimbabweans living in South Africa are tolling with only four days left before the deadline of 31 December 2010 as set out by Cabinet,' Home Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma said in a statement.

Government, she warned, would not extend the deadline, Pretoria News, 7 December 2010

(55)

End of the line for illegal Zim nationals Three million Zimbabweans face December deadline. Those with no papers before the end of the year face deportation', The Sunday Times, 2 September 2010

(56)

Deadline looms for illegal Zims, The Sowetan, 7 December 2010

(52)

Illegal Zimbabweans have until August, The Sunday Times, 13 January 2011

(57) UNIVERSITY of the

D-day for refugees in SA: Millions of Zimbabweans still without documents and stuck in long queues as **deadline for end of dispensation loom**, The Mail and Guardian, 22 July 2011

5.6 Positive Media Representation of Zimbabwean Immigrants

5.6.1 Silver Lining

As illustrated, the majority of the metaphor themes employed in the newspapers have negative connotations. This is contrary to the representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in the visual images in Chapter Eight, which carry positive and sympathetic tones.

For the linguistic data, the only attribute which might be considered as positive is expressed in the following data:

(58)

Cape Town: While there are a lot of illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe in South Africa, there was a 'silver lining' to many of them being in the country, said deputy president Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka on Wednesday Responding to questions in the national assembly, she drew a distinction between legal and illegal immigrants, and called for a balanced approach to the issue. 'I would like to highlight the fact that Zimbabweans play an important role in our economy, especially in the areas where we have a shortage of skills. 'Particularly, I want to single out the financial sector. 'The country has benefited from a lot of Zimbabweans who have high-level financial skills... most of the black actuaries that we have... are actually Zimbabweans. There are also large numbers in the health sector, where again there are skills shortages, as well as in tourism. We need to see the silver lining in the cloud,' she told MPs. Earlier, she had told the house there were a 'great number' of Zimbabweans in South Africa illegally. This was 'confirmed by the fact that from January to (the end of) August (this year) we have deported 81 655 people', she said. There was no evidence they were responsible for crime in South Africa, except for 'isolated incidents', she said, Daily Dispatch, 20 September 2006

(59)

No influx of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa: Home Affairs. The Department of Home Affairs said on Wednesday there was no influx of illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe, as has been reported by the media. Departmental spokesman Leslie Mashokwe said reports that Zimbabweans were 'flooding' into South Africa prior to the forthcoming presidential elections in their country, were more often based on speculation. Mashokwe said there had not been a marked increase in the number of Zimbabweans entering the country both legally, through border posts, and crossing the borders illegally. Sapa, Pretoria, 27 February 2002.

In (58), the contribution and competence of Zimbabwean immigrants to the SA economy is acknowledged. Zimbabweans are represented as skilled and filling in an important gap in the financial and health sector where there is lack. The metaphor of the 'silver lining in the cloud' is a powerful metaphor to refer to the 'hidden advantage' of the presence of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. Therefore, Zimbabweans play an important role in our economy, especially in the areas where we have a shortage of skills. 'Particularly, I want to single out the financial sector. 'The country has benefited from a lot of Zimbabweans who have highlevel financial skills... most of the black actuaries that we have... are actually Zimbabweans.

There are also large numbers in the health sector, where again there are skills shortages, as well as in tourism. (58).

This article also states that there was no evidence that Zimbabwean immigrants are responsible for crime in SA. Article 59 downplays the influx of Zimbabweans and dismisses it as speculation. This article also sees the positive contribution of Zimbabwean immigrants in the agricultural sector arguing that numbers are bound to increase in March during the tomato harvest in SA.

5.7 Stories not being covered by the Media

While a few examples in the SAM construct Zimbabweans migrants positively, a lot more work still needs to be done by the SAM. According to the Race and Migration in the Community Media report (2009), media may be the only contact some South Africans have with foreign migrants³⁷. For this reason, they have a great responsibility to inform and challenge societal perceptions of migrants. However, studies show that they often fail to do this, and that coverage is often shallow and lacks analysis. At best, the press has been presenting a very limited perspective on cross-border migration dynamics, and, in the process, is leaving the South African public in the dark about the real complexities at play. At worst, the press has been contributing to public xenophobia generally, by weaving myths and fabrications around foreigners and immigration³⁸. This chapter shows that, to a large extent, immigrants are portrayed negatively with excessive use of sensationalist language.

There is little reporting on the positive contribution the Zimbabwean immigrants have made, for instance, as Science and Maths teachers and other key professions or in terms of economic benefit. Instead, Zimbabwean immigrants are seen only to flood SA for their own economic gain. The brain gain aspect on the aspect of SA needs to be interrogated further and the media has a key role to play in this regard. What is typical in the SAM reporting are extensive accusations of Zimbabwean immigrants as perpetrators of crime (40-42). However, there is little or no reporting on the assaults, harassment, abuse of migrants by officials, including

³⁷ Lerner, A. Roberts, S. & Matlala, C. (2009). *Race and Migration in the Community Media: Local stories, common stereotypes report*. Media Monitoring Africa. p. 17.

³⁸ Danso, R. & Mcdonald, D. (2000). Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Press in South Africa. Cape Town: IDASA. p. 2.

police, as well as security personnel at Home Affairs and at the refugee centres, and corruption at the Department of Home Affairs.

Attitudes and stereotypes relating to foreigners, such as their perceived negative impact on the economy, crime, and health, are 'not the result of direct personal experience', but were disseminated through 'indirect means' such as schools, the media, and interpersonal communication³⁹. Similarly, looking at Southern African countries generally, McDonald and Jacobs (2005), found that, given the high levels of xenophobia, and the relatively small amount of contact that citizens of these countries have with migrants, 'anti-immigrant sentiment in the region is not primarily a result of direct personal contact with foreigners but rather a product of (mis)information from secondary sources including the media'⁴⁰.

According to Race and Migration in the Community Media (2009), the positive contribution of foreigners both locally and nationally, through bringing skills, providing services, setting up businesses, creating employment, and generating economic growth is not reported on. Zimbabwean immigrants, rather than being seen as 'coming to create congestion', or 'so desperate they are in need of intervention from government', could be seen as 'creating employment for the community.' Only the negative side is what is given emphasis. Newspapers do not educate readers about why people came to South Africa, and what being a refugee entailed. Local papers do not educate people on why people come to South Africa as refugees, what the situation in their country is, or where they are. It is the responsibility of community papers to explain why foreign nationals are here⁴¹.

There is need to use accurate, sensitive language to describe immigrants. The SAM needs to play a positive role to educate people about immigration in a way that creates awareness of migrants and their plight and the reasons why they migrate to SA.

Mattes, R. et al. (1999). Still Waiting for the Barbarians: SA Attitudes to Immigrants and Immigration. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project. p. 20.
 McDonald, D. & Jacobs, S. (2005). Understanding Press Coverage of Cross-Border Migration in Southern

⁴⁰ McDonald, D. & Jacobs, S. (2005). Understanding Press Coverage of Cross-Border Migration in Southern Africa since 2000. Cape Town: Idasa. p. 13.

⁴¹ Lerner, A. Roberts, S. and Matlala, C. (2009). *Race and Migration in the Community Media: Local stories, common stereotypes report*. Media Monitoring Africa. p. 48.

5.8 Summary

The images of Zimbabwean immigrants as portrayed by the SAM appear to be overwhelmingly negative due to the construction of the migrants and migration using metaphors of ALIENS, ANIMALS, DANGEROUS WATERS, CRIMINALS, BURDEN, and WAR. This view of Zimbabwean immigrants is one to which many South Africans are exposed. The SA Zimbabwe border is also constructed in a negative way, and is regarded as a conduit for crime, and other illicit activity.

While the SAM is consistent with the media portrayal of immigrants, there are some aspects of the representation that is a little different. In some instances, the SAM highlight the contribution and capability of Zimbabwean immigrants. Zimbabweans are portrayed as skilled and filling in an important gap in some technical sectors in SA. The metaphor of the 'silver lining in the cloud' is used in the SAM to describe the 'hidden advantage' of the presence of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA.



CHAPTER SIX: Moral Panic and the Construction of Zimbabwean Immigrants in the South African Media

6.0 Introduction

This chapter argues that media discourse concerning immigration in the South African Media (SAM) often focuses on the threats that are posed by the increasing number of immigrants. The chapter analyses the main concerns expressed by the SAM, in relation to the propagation of moral panics.

Moral panic is a term invented in the 1970s. It refers to a sudden emergence of a real or imagined threat to society that demands an immediate response. It is typical of a moral panic that the threat is exaggerated, and that someone is blamed for it. In this discussion, the scapegoats are Zimbabwean immigrants who have been *otherized* and demonized as a social menace to society, and scapegoated as the source of all problems. These media representations suggest that immigrants are seen as a threat to 'the presence of *us*' (Spoonley and Butcher, 2009).

This moral panic that is created by the SAM around the Zimbabwean immigrant influx fits into Cohen's (1972), O'Sullivan's (1983) and Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (1994) research into moral panic described earlier in this thesis. The assumptions of these scholars are considered with regard to how the SAM has fuelled concern over the issue of Zimbabwean immigration to SA.

6.1 The Manifestation of Moral Panic

Moral panic related stories do not focus on the arrival of the Zimbabwean immigrants. Stories relating to the arrival of Zimbabwean immigrants as demonstrated in Chapter Five would have such titles as; *Plan for flood of Zim aliens (3)*, *Zim aliens still flow in (4)*. Instead, the moral panic-related stories deal with the effects of the arrival and the implications for SA and the different institutions on which these immigrants depend on for their survival. Therefore, the stories are full of images and claims about the burden that the invasion of the Zimbabwean immigration places on South Africans. Mawadza and Crush (2010) argue that the manipulation of numbers is important. The greater the number, the greater the burden. No one knows exactly how many Zimbabwean immigrants are in South Africa (legal or

undocumented). Zimbabweans supposedly threaten the viability of SA and affects its ability to provide services, employment, and to control crime. Zimbabwean immigrants are represented as placing a heavy burden on South Africa's housing, welfare, education, health and immigration services. Zimbabwean immigrants, in general, are also stereotyped as 'job stealers' with a detrimental effect on the employment situation by depriving South Africans of work opportunities. According to Mawadza and Crush (2010), Zimbabwean immigrants are seen as takers not creators of opportunity. This view fails to recognize the role of migrants in generating employment opportunities for South Africans and contributing to the country's skills base and social and cultural diversity¹.

As the data suggests, it is clear that the immigration from Zimbabwe symbolises a moral panic over resources because it is expensive and puts pressure on local service delivery in SA:

(1)

Illegal immigrants are law breakers who pose a threat to South Africa by placing a heavy strain on the country's resources, The Sowetan, 11 February 2000

(2)

Deporting aliens just a futile and costly exercise, City Press, 29 May 2005

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(3)

Some of the Zimbabweans have taken over *RDP* houses meant for poor South Africans while others cross the border illegally to claim child grants for their children, The Star, 6 February 2006

The use of verbal and nominal constructions *heavy strain on the country's resources* (1), deportations are also an expensive exercise as Example (2) demonstrates, and there is substantial pressure from the Zimbabwean immigrants on SA resources. In addition, some Zimbabwean immigrants are apparently benefitting from the RDP² housing scheme, at the

¹ Mawadza, A. and Crush, J. (2010). Metaphors of Migration: Zimbabwean migrants in the South African media. *Zimbabwe's Fredus*. Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC p. 372

Zimbabwe's Exodus. Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC. p. 372.

Reconstruction Development Programme that came into effect after 1994. According to Silverman and Zack (2008), access to this housing is severely circumscribed. Beneficiaries must have South African residency, have dependants and earn below R3 500 a month. They are expressly forbidden from selling their houses for a period of five years. Some beneficiaries have resorted to selling their houses, in many instances to non-South Africans

expense of locals. In addition, Zimbabwean immigrants *claim child grants*³ *for their children* (3), all of which are meant for *poor South Africans* (3).

Such media coverage creates a sense that a huge amount of resources are being channelled to Zimbabwean immigrants while poor South Africans, who are rightfully entitled, are denied these benefits. This media discourse creates moral panic and a feeling of being 'swamped' by Zimbabwean immigrants who are represented as overtaxing the social grants, housing and health delivery system at the expense of local South Africans.

The fact that immigrants are characterized as a threat is not entirely new (Costello, 2008). Consistent across this discourse is the fear, not just of the numbers of migrants, but of the threat to the nation. Scholarly articles, media information and research on immigration in SA have pointed to the negative responses toward Zimbabwean immigrants living in the country (Danso and Macdonald, 2000, Murray, 2003, Crush and Tawodzera, 2011). It can be seen that overwhelmingly Zimbabwean immigrants have been undermined and negatively appraised in South African society.

The SAM stories on Zimbabwean immigrants reproduce the idea that Zimbabwean immigrants are a real problem that they pose a threat to society, and that the SA government should do something about it. Hence:

(4)

The government should put in place policies and restrictions that would make it difficult for outsiders to come into the country and trade, City Press 22 May 2011

who would otherwise be denied access to this form of housing. The housing ministry has reacted to accusations that foreigners are occupying RDP houses illegally. People sell their houses because in itself, the mere delivery of shelter does not reduce poverty.

³ South Africa's Child Support Grant, also known as the Grant for Caring for a Young Child, is a government grant designed to aid primary caregivers with financial difficulties. The grant provides primary caregivers—who can be a parent, grandparent or any other person legally charged with the care of a child—with children under the age of 15 a monthly stipend to assist in childcare-related costs. As of 2010, individuals who make R28 800 (roughly \$3870) per year or less, and couples with a combined income of double that or less, are eligible for the grant. http://www.ehow.com/list 6776990 south-african-government-grants.html accessed 4 February 2012.

*(*5*)*

SA 'is doing nothing about Zim'. Already, South Africa has received over two million refugees and economic migrants, News 24, 13 July 2006

Immigrants from Zimbabwe and from other African countries are presented by the SAM as groups that threaten the values and interests of the South African society, and SA needs to respond to this crisis. The media tends to emphasize feelings of insecurity and fear of crime through reporting the reactions and opinions of authorities and common citizens. Immigrants and migrants (even the most highly skilled) are often stereotyped as a threat to the economic and social interests of South Africans (Landau and Singh, 2005). With over 40% of the population in SA unemployed, it is perhaps expected that there will be resentment against any group that has the potential to either fill jobs or push down the price of labour for those who are working. That many immigrants are, in fact, better trained, more qualified, and prepared to work for lower wages than the South Africans with whom they compete, provides some justification for such sentiments (Landau and Singh, 2005). The SA society feels that 'others' or 'outsiders' (4) who are different from them, pose a threat to their social order. Within this description, Zimbabwean immigrants serve as a convenient scapegoat for social problems, and allow the SAM, through discourse and figures to create a moral panic.

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As stated, economic concerns commonly focus on jobs, or the depletion of economic resources, livelihoods, healthcare and housing. South Africans believe that Zimbabwean immigrants are a threat to their jobs and the country's socio-economic stability. More importantly too, the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants hoping to find work as blue collar workers and domestic workers, has depreciated the cost of labour in SA.

The discourse on immigration to SA defines immigration as a social problem for the South African society and government. This immigration account defines immigrants in SA as illegals and aliens as argued in Chapter Five. This moral panic is further fuelled by 'anti-immigrant' stories by some tabloid newspapers such as the *Daily Sun*. The *Daily Sun*, SA's largest-selling tabloid newspaper of all time, was found 'guilty' in 2009 by Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) for fuelling the 2008 xenophobic attacks. The following examples are illustrative of this assertion:

(6)

Aliens: The truth! Daily Sun tells why Alex exploded

Today...let Daily Sun give the REAL: explanations for what's going on

(7)

Too many South Africans are walking around unemployed while many foreigners, often prepared to work for less money have jobs. (employment)

(8)

South Africans living in tin and cardboard shacks are tired of seeing foreigners buying RDP⁴ houses from corrupt officials. These houses are supposed to be free to the poorest South Africans. (housing)

(9)

Many of us live in fear of foreign gangsters and conmen. Much terror has been caused by gangs of armed Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and others. (crime)

(10)

Now add to all this the fact that this government has no proper policy for foreigners in our country, The Daily Sun, 15 May 2008 (policy)

(11)

People from Alex attacked aliens, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, The Daily Sun, 15 May 2008

These examples illustrate moral panic around Zimbabwean immigrants who are perceived as a threat to social cohesion; migration is linked to crime risks, thus there is fear of *armed Zimbabweans* (9). Poor South Africans are depicted as living in terrible conditions *in tin and cardboard shacks* (8), while Zimbabwean immigrants benefit. In addition, *foreigners, often prepared to work for less money have jobs* (7). This implies fewer jobs for locals.

Along with this moral panic script is a call on the SA government to put in place a proper policy for immigrants to South Africa (10). This points to a wider role that the *Daily Sun* is playing. It articulates the frustration and anger (Harber, 2008). The use of the adverb 'mostly' (9) in the phrase *People from Alex attacked aliens, mostly from Zimbabwe* (9) shows that the immigration problem in SA is indeed a result of the Zimbabwean immigrant population. This seems to validate Cohen's (1972) arguments presented earlier in the thesis, that the media are responsible for generating moral panic.

The following analysis is generally thematic, looking at the main themes and how the Zimbabwean immigration is to SA is 'problematized' and transformed into a moral panic. As Van Dijk (1993) notes, the discursive strategies employed to manipulate the prevailing models of ethnic events are now well-known: a general polarisation between *us* and *them*, and a general focus on a variety of social, economic, and cultural problems caused by *them*, thereby blaming the 'folk devil'. The focus is on a set of negative topics, such as immigration as invasion, attack, or threat; negative socio-economic consequences of immigration, for instance unemployment, lack of housing, access to social services and crime.

6.1.1 The Immigrant as a 'Folk Devil' and the 'Other'

The moral panic generated by changes in the migration situation can often lead to a fear of and hatred for 'the other' and social crisis. The data sample illustrates the construction of stereotypes, creating folk devils and constructing Zimbabwean immigrants as 'others'. Zimbabwean immigrants have been labelled by the SAM as 'folk devils', a reaction that is characteristic of a moral panic (Cohen, 1973). According to ter Wal (2002), the media constructs a dichotomy of *us* versus *them*.

There are a variety of mechanisms by which Zimbabwean immigrants are positioned as 'the other,' and are defined and treated as separate, distant and disconnected from the local communities in SA. The perception of immigrants as threatening and as dangerous to others has undoubtedly heightened in recent years following the deepening economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe in the last decade. According to Murray (2003), recurrent obsession in SA after apartheid is to look upon immigrants as threatening harbingers of chaos and danger, a massive and indiscriminate movement of people from poverty and misery to the prosperity of

'our country.' Murray (2003) continues to argue that unwanted newcomer is regarded not only as a tramontane intruder who disrupts the status quo, but also a stranger, or one who figuratively pollutes, contaminates, and despoils the existing moral order Expressed in the format of us and them, (9-11), expressed via the use of such pronouns as our people, our country, and our own people, these representations of Zimbabwean immigrants assert the birthright of South African citizens, and represent a sense of ownership and belonging as the possessive pronouns 'our' demonstrate, while simultaneously denying entitlements to those 'outsiders' who 'do not belong.' Therefore, in general, what the data present is a preference for those topics that emphasise their bad actions and our good ones This general strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation prevalent in most dominant discourse about Zimbabwean immigrants in SA is an example of moral panic.

The following text conveys a generally negative view about *us* and *them*. Possessive pronouns feature in expressions such as *our country* (13) and *our own people* (14).

(12)

THE government must tell us what it intends to do with the continued influx of illegal foreigners, especially from Zimbabwe. They come here to compete with our people for jobs, the over-stretched state healthcare system and probably social grants, The Sunday Times, 8 June 2009

⁵ Murray, M.J. 2003. *Alien Strangers in our Midst*, Canadian Journal of African Studies. 37(2/3) p. 448.

⁶ Murray, M.J. 2003. *Alien Strangers in our Midst*, Canadian Journal of African Studies. 37(2/3) p. 448.

⁷ On discourse on immigration. http://www.bftf.org/blogs/immigration, accessed 10 December 2011.

(13)

Our country is forever going to be attractive to people from neighbouring states, and to those from further afield, The Sunday Times, 6 October 2006.

(14)

We first need to look after our own people, The Star, 29 May 2008.

Figure 6.1 illustrates moral panic as demonstrated by the SAM in terms of the dichotomy between Us and Them.

Figure 6. 1 Us and Them



Murray (2003) argues that these images of the foreign 'other' have stigmatized immigrants as dangerous threats to the existing social order⁸ as illustrated here:

(15)

Illegal aliens cost us dearly, The Sunday Times, 1 September 2009

(16)

They come here to compete with our people for jobs, The Sunday Times, 8 June 2009

(17)

Foreigners stripping us of our livelihood, City Press 22 May 2011

(18)

They're taking over our country, City Press 31 May 2011

(19)

He said the government should put in place policies and restrictions that would make it difficult for **outsiders** to come into the country and trade, City Press 22 May 2011

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In (19), migrants are defined by the media as *outsiders* who endanger the society. There is an explicit use of an in-group designator, the possessive pronoun 'our' (15-19) and an out-group designator, 'they,' which clearly establishes contrast between us and them. Zimbabwean immigrants are identified as the source of concern and fear. As Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) explain, the 'folk devil' is a 'deviant': someone engaged in wrongdoing and whose actions are considered harmful to society. They are deemed selfish and evil, and, thus, substantial steps must be taken to 'neutralize' their actions in order to allow a return to 'normality⁹'. The verbs cost, compete, stripping, and taking over in (15-19) illustrate actions that are detrimental to the SA society. In (17), stripping us of our livelihood signals a situation where immigrants are taking over what belongs to 'us' thereby negatively affecting what is 'ours', in this case 'our livelihoods' (17). Therefore, the SAM discourse about others is

⁸ Murray, M.J. (2003). Alien Strangers in our Midst. In *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. 37(2/3) p. 448.

⁹ Goode, E. & Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994). *Moral Panics: The social construction*. Oxford. Cambridge. Mass: Blackwell Press. p. 29.

always connected with one's own identity, with the question 'how do we see ourselves' in relation to the 'others'. The construction of identity is a process of differentiation, a description of one's own group and at the same time a separation from the 'others' (Wodak 1996).

A core component of this process involves the use of stereotypes to paint distinct individuals as possessing similar characteristics simply because of group membership. The result is the perception that all group members have the same problematic traits, which in turn emphasizes and exaggerates the differences between us and them¹⁰. Hence the SAM coverage is largely dominated by negative and sensationalist language to describe Zimbabwean immigrants, all of which are catalyst to the creation of a moral panic.

6.1.2 Fear of Numbers

Also evident in the data are misleading statistical extrapolations and referencing aimed at showing an unabating 'influx' of Zimbabwean immigrants. While exact numbers are not known, estimates still put figures at more than three million Zimbabweans in SA. Therefore, the combination of bold, shocking numbers and alarmist, sensationalized accounts in the popular media has transformed the fear of unregulated immigration into a moral panic that targets unwanted foreigners (Crush 1999a, 125-26; Crush, 1999b, 1-11). The alarmist discourses constructed around massive immigration include migrants swamping the indigenous populations (20-26).

Croucher *et al.* (1998) state that the influx of immigrants, and, particularly, illegal immigrants, into SA has risen over the last several years. Discussion and debate on the impact of this influx for SA focuses inevitably on the question of numbers: how many are there? Estimates put forth vary widely from one agency or organization to the other. Estimates on the number of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa ranges from 1.5 million to 3 million. According to the SAM, *The exact number of Zimbabweans in South Africa illegally is not known but analysts and government officials have estimated it at between three and five million* (20). Irrespective of the accuracy of or discrepancy among estimates, the outcome is a public perception or portrayal of a country under siege by Zimbabwean immigrants, thereby generating moral panic. The following examples from the data support these arguments:

(20)

The exact number of Zimbabweans in South Africa illegally is not known but analysts and government officials have estimated it at between three and five million, The Sunday Times, 23 July 2006

(21)

Zim exodus overwhelms SA, The Sunday Times, 23 July 2006

(22)

Zimbabwe exodus smothering SA, News 24, 23 July 2006

(23)

Fear of violence drives exodus back to Zim, The Mail and Guardian, 13 July 2010

(24)

Zimbabweans constituted the overwhelming number of economic refugees. Of the 66 000 work permits issued by the department in the first three months of this financial year, 59 363 went to Zimbabweans, The Star, 17 August 2011

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(25)

Deportations soar as **thousands** fleeing economic meltdown **pour** south, The Sunday Times, 23 July 2006

(26)

As hundreds of Zimbabweans flock into SA daily, the repercussions are said to have been felt mostly by the Department of Health, which has had to deal with increasing numbers of patients, putting pressure on hospitals, The Citizen, 25 July 2006

There is moral panic resulting from an escalation of fear about an imminent deviant threat as the numbers of Zimbabwean immigrants are not known, but only based on estimates. Despite

¹⁰ Critcher, C. (2003). *Moral Panics*. Berkshire: Open University Press. p. 8.

lack of information, estimates that place the number of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA country at three million are probably significantly exaggerated. According to Landau (2008)

Zimbabwe has a population of about 12,3 million, of whom 7,6 million are between 15 and 64 years old, and 3,6 million are adult males. It is this latter group – relatively young and economically active men – who are the most likely migrants. As it is unreasonable to assume that all adult Zimbabweans have left the country, there is an upper cap on the number who might have come to SA. Moreover, reports from Britain, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, and even the Democratic Republic of Congo suggest that the pool of movers is shared¹¹.

The verbs *overwhelmed*, *flock*, *pour* in (21, 25, and 26) are indicative of a moral panic and of a problem engulfing and threatening to the local population. Furthermore, the immigrants are entering SA on a *daily basis* (26) thereby signalling a continuous process. What this means is Zimbabwean immigrants will continue to swamp SA. This kind of discourse sets the tone of the moral panic concerning Zimbabwean immigration in SA and reinforces stereotypes of immigrants as posing material threats to SA.

Zimbabwean immigration to SA is characterised as an *exodus* (21-23) signalling a mass migration to SA. The term 'exodus', derived from the Bible, likens Zimbabwean immigration to the exit of the Israelites when Moses and his people were escaping from Pharaoh, and exiting Egypt. This use of intertextual references ignites the schema that already exists in people's minds, that Zimbabwean immigrants are entering SA in droves thereby causing moral panic among the local population.

Whatever the number of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA, the belief that their presence is detrimental to South Africa is widespread. Of particular prominence is the moral panic that Zimbabwean immigrants are an economic threat and they compete for scarce jobs and housing earmarked for South Africans, in the form of the Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP], as indicated above. The SAM discourse on Zimbabwean immigration, therefore, generates moral panic and promotes the view that indigenous South Africans are being compromised by the Zimbabwean immigrants. This is moral panic where the SAM

¹¹ Landau, L. (2008). Drowning in Numbers. In *Migration from Zimbabwe Numbers, Needs, and Policy Options*. Centre for Development Enterprise. Parktown. Johannesburg. South Africa. p. 9.

dedicates a great deal of attention to the increasing numbers of immigrants from Zimbabwe, threatening the nation and its resources.

6.2 Economic Threat

Moral panic is rooted in economic arguments. In SA, 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 resources are a reflection of moral panic. Regardless of their different paths and trajectories, these migrants are routinely portrayed in an unsavory 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 (McDonald, Gay, Zinyama, Mattes, de Vletter, 1998; Crush, 1999a McDonald, 1999).

In addition, there is extensive framing of Zimbabwean immigrants as scapegoats for society's condition, especially as a strain on welfare services and taxpayers' money. Local authorities have voiced concerns about the challenge of resourcing and delivering services in the face of increasing Zimbabwean immigration. The fiscal impact of Zimbabwean immigrants on SA manifests in a variety of ways, as Figure 6.2 illustrates:

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Figure 6. 2 Economic Threat



6.2.1 Moral Panic over Jobs

Historically, immigrants have been represented as depriving citizens of jobs, as welfare-seekers, or as criminals (Johnson, 2004). Zimbabwean immigrants in SA face a similar fate to that of immigrants from other parts of Africa. They are all viewed with suspicion and are, among other things, accused of stealing jobs that are meant for South Africans. These

simmering negative attitudes have recently exploded into outright resentment, culminating in the brutal xenophobic attacks of May/June 2008¹².

What makes the situation of Zimbabwean immigrants unique are their reasons for moving to SA. Mosala (2008) states that, unlike most African migrants, who migrate for economic reasons, Zimbabweans migrate for economic, political and humanitarian reasons. Thus Zimbabwean immigrants include traders, shoppers, borderland residents and even sometimes unaccompanied minors. This uniqueness sets them apart from the other groups. According to Simona (2008), evidence suggests that Zimbabwean immigrants are recent arrivals compared to other immigrant groups, and suggests that the sudden increase in new arrivals is related to the deepening economic and political crisis at home.

The moral panic pertaining to jobs is abundantly clear in the data as they come here to compete with our people for jobs (27). Crush and Tawodzera (2011) argue that hostility towards migrants makes SA one of the most unfriendly immigrant countries in the world. Tensions have mounted between local job-seekers and immigrants competing for a declining pool of work in SA. Resentment towards immigrants has grown in the context of socioeconomic uncertainty. For ordinary working class South Africans, jobs are hard to come by and to keep. For families suffering in informal squatter settlements on the edges of cites, permanent housing remains a pipe dream. Those who see themselves as aggrieved choose an enemy that is perceived both as gaining undeserved advantages and as marginal, and hence socially vulnerable (Mattes, Taylor, McDonald, Poore, and Richmond, 1999, 2000).

Anxiety over job competition among SA locals is reinforced by the presence of Zimbabwean immigrants who are willing to accept jobs for lower wages¹⁴ as the data shows; *most South Africans remain unemployed despite a strong growing economy. Sectors such as the*

http://www.ilo.int/public/english/region/afpro/harare/download/issues_paper_33.pdf

http://www.ilo.int/public/english/region/afpro/harare/download/issues_paper_33.pdf

¹² Mosala, S.M. (2008). *The work experience of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa*, ILO Sub-Regional Office for Southern Africa, Harare: ILO. Issue paper No. 33.

¹³ Mosala, S.M. (2008). *The work experience of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa*, ILO Sub-Regional Office for Southern Africa, Harare: ILO. Issue paper No. 33.

While a large number of Zimbabweans are working in various sectors where there is a scarcity of locals with the necessary skills, such as the financial sector, those who have few skills are prepared to undertake menial domestic jobs, often for low wages. Domestic, agricultural and construction sectors are key employment targets for illegal migrants. More skilled or better educated illegal immigrants are targeting the educational sector, and

construction and hospitality industries have been growing for years. Most employers in these sectors pay exploitative salaries because they have realised there is a desperate labour force – especially from Zimbabwe that will accept any salary. This practice is undermining the government efforts to improve the lives of the poor. (29).

The theme of poor South Africans is recurring (see 3, 8) Hence, it could be argued that moral panic is created around the discourses of poverty to which most locals are prone. The use of the adverb *especially* in *especially from Zimbabwe* (29) again emphasises that the immigrant problem in SA is caused mainly by Zimbabweans. A study conducted by Murray (2003) shows that the 'infestation of illegal aliens' is responsible for depressing wages, consuming social services, exacerbating unemployment. 'Illegal aliens' are also blamed for social processes such as rising unemployment and crime – that were unrelated to, but began at about the same time as, the growing influx of foreign immigrants¹⁵.

Many South Africans are troubled by what they regard as the unwanted influx of large numbers of illegal immigrants at a time when economic growth has remained stagnant and unemployment is as high as 50% of the economically active population¹⁶. As stated, the data illustrate that Zimbabwean immigrants are thought to present a threat, not only to personal safety in terms of crime, but also to economic well-being, culture, identity, and health¹⁷.

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(27)

Stop flood of illegal immigrants. THE government must tell us what it intends to do with the continued influx of illegal foreigners, especially from Zimbabwe. They come here to compete with our people for jobs, the over-stretched state healthcare system and probably social grants, The Sunday Times, 8 June 2009

find work in far-off private schools, remote from police and immigration officials, A. Mawadza. 2008. *The nexus between migration and human security Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa*. ISS Occasional Paper.

¹⁵ Murray, M.J. (2003). Alien Strangers in our Midst. Canadian Journal of African Studies. 37(2/3) p. 449.

¹⁶ The unemployment rate in South Africa was last reported at 25 percent in the third quarter of 2011. From 2000 until 2008, South Africa's Unemployment Rate averaged 26.38 percent reaching an historical high of 31.20 percent in March of 2003 and a record low of 23.00 percent in September of 2007. The labour force is defined as the number of people employed plus the number unemployed but seeking work. The non labour force includes those who are not looking for work, those who are institutionalised and those serving in the military. http://www.tradingeconomics.com/south-africa/unemployment-rate

¹⁷http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/index.php/news/entry/sa_tabloid_newspapers_xenophobic_intolerant_n ationalistic/

In (27), the discourse about *flood of illegal immigrants*, *especially from Zimbabwe* who come here to *compete with our people for jobs* overwhelms SA, and therefore the government must intervene (my emphasis). This implies that Zimbabwean immigrants are an economic threat to SA as they are able to compete with locals. This discourse illustrates moral panic and the unwanted presence of 'outsiders.' The fear of mass immigration from Zimbabwe stretches beyond fear of job loss. Immigrants are perceived as pursuing other agendas of competing with *our people* (14, 16) for jobs, and, hence, are accused of threatening the entire moral order in SA.

According to the SAM, Zimbabwean immigrants have a detrimental effect on the employment situation and deprive South African workers of employment opportunities as the following excerpt from *The Star* vividly portrays:

(28)

Foreigners take less pay, get jobs, The Star, 22 May 2008

(29)

Most South Africans remain unemployed despite a strong growing economy. Sectors such as the construction and hospitality industries have been growing for years. Most employers in these sectors pay exploitative salaries because they have realised there is a desperate labour force – especially from Zimbabwe that will accept any salary. This practice is undermining the government efforts to improve the lives of the poor, The Star, 22 May 2008

The SA migration narrative on Zimbabwe, therefore, creates a moral panic where immigrants and migrants are seen as takers and competitors. In this case, Zimbabwean immigrants *accept any salary* (29) while South Africans are left with no jobs and remain poor. This view fails to recognize the role of migrants and immigrants in generating employment opportunities for South Africans and contributing to the skills base (Peberdy and Crush, 1998b). This thesis argues that the benefits of Zimbabwean immigration in terms of brain gain and economic benefit to SA are considerable; with a number of Zimbabwean immigrants being *very educated with a substantial work ethic* (30) hence the moral panic concern is disproportional to the reality of the situation.

The growing moral panic towards Zimbabwean immigrants is further supported by Verryn:

(30)

The church's bishop, Paul Verryn, said ordinary South Africans had grown hostile to African immigrants as Zimbabweans flooded into the country. By some estimates there are three million Zimbabweans in South Africa and about two million other African immigrants.

'The numbers here created anxiety,' he said. 'You can't get away from the fact that some of them are very educated with a substantial work ethic -- the Zimbabweans in particular. This is true of refugees the world over. They will do whatever work they need to survive. If they are doctors and they have to sell newspapers they will do it. And you watch them advance faster and they're sitting ducks', The Mail and Guardian, 24 May 2008

In example 30, the positive aspect of Zimbabwean immigrants being very educated and having a substantial work ethic is constructed in such a way that being educated and hardworking becomes a problem rather than asset. The SAM often fosters moral panic and resentment by emphasising that citizens are fearful that immigrants take jobs, put a drain on social services and commit crimes (Welch, 2003). The general impression given is that Zimbabwean immigrants (mostly 'illegal') are flooding into the country to find work, despite high unemployment rates of 35%- 45% ¹⁸ thereby causing anxiety and panic.

6.2.2 Strain on Public Institutions

Moral panic in the SAM discourses concerning Zimbabweans is created by repeated references to immigrants as a drain on the South African fiscus. The media makes direct reference to the costs associated with Zimbabwean immigrants. Threats to individual economic security are expressed by negative references to the pressure on social services by migrants (31-34). Zimbabwean immigrants *have not been budgeted for (32)*, and they put pressure on public institutions meant for local South Africans. There is often the perception that migrants who get jobs, educational opportunities, and social services are taking away the same resources from SA born individuals. For some, immigrants also represent an economic

¹⁸ Danso R. & Mcdonald, David A. (2000). Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Press in Post-Apartheid South Africa. SAMP, Migration Policy Series 17, p. 20.

threat to the overall well-being of the South African economy. Here, the perception is that Zimbabwean immigrants place a strain on jobs, resources, and housing, and disproportionately benefit from the social grants.

6.2.2.1 Healthcare

The occurrence of moral panic on the issue of the public health system shows some concern that surrounds the cost of Zimbabwean immigrants using the South African health care facilities. The media has played an instrumental role in manifesting this issue and creating a moral panic. One of the most common xenophobic stereotypes in SA is that public services (including hospitals and clinics) are being swamped by foreign nationals. South Africans feel that the right to access health services should depend on citizenship and legal status in the country¹⁹, which Zimbabwean immigrants do not have and, therefore, are not entitled receive such services.

The SAM has enhanced the notion that Zimbabwean immigrants are freely using the public health system at the expense of locals. In this way the Zimbabwean immigrant is said to cost SA taxpayers a significant sum. That the presence of numerous Zimbabweans is a constant threat to the public health system is shown in the following examples:

(31) WESTERN CAPE

Stop flood of illegal immigrants. THE government must tell us what it intends to do with the continued influx of illegal foreigners, especially from Zimbabwe. They come here to compete with our people for jobs, the over-stretched state healthcare system and probably social grants, The Sunday Times, 8 June 2009

(32)

The latest figures come as South African health services struggle to cope with thousands of foreign patients who have not been budgeted for, The Sunday Times, 23 July 2006

¹⁹ Crush, J. & Tawodzera, G. (2011). Medical Xenophobia, *Zimbabwean access to health services in South Africa*, Migration Policy Series. 54. SAMP and OSISA. p. 4.

(33)

As hundreds of Zimbabweans flock into SA daily, the repercussions are said to have been felt mostly by the **Department of Health**, which has had to deal with increasing numbers of patients, putting pressure on hospitals, The Citizen, 25 July 2006

(34)

Hundreds of Zimbabweans have sought treatment in South Africa as the death toll from the cholera outbreak rises, The Mail and Guardian, 25 November 2008

These statements demonstrate a moral panic that Zimbabwean immigrants drain and overstretch (31) the SA health fiscus and hence their increasing numbers are putting pressure on hospitals (33). Furthermore, in (34), the health sector is now *struggling to cope with hundreds of Zimbabwean seeking treatment for cholera*²⁰ in SA. According to the SAM, Zimbabwean immigrants put heavy demands on the health resources in SA consequently causing strain. Crush and Tawodzera (2011) note that the South African healthcare system is heavily overburdened and in an advanced state of disrepair in large parts of the country. The burden of healthcare is further worsened by brain drain and the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in SA. Many South African citizens blame the state of affairs on what they perceive to be the millions of foreign immigrants who do not only bring disease to the country, but place an intolerable burden on the health system. They would prefer all foreign migrants to go home but, if not, they certainly do not feel that migrants (even refugees) should be entitled to the same level of healthcare as themselves²¹.

²⁰ The Zimbabwean cholera outbreak is an ongoing cholera epidemic in Zimbabwe that began in August 2008, swept across the country and spread to Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa and Zambia. By 10 January 2010 there had been 98,741 reported cases and 4,293 deaths making it the deadliest African cholera outbreak in the last 15 years. The Zimbabwean government declared the outbreak a national emergency and requested international aid. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zimbabwean_cholera_outbreak

²¹ Ibid, J. Crush and G. Tawodzera, p. 9.

6.2.2.2 Housing

As stated earlier in this chapter, receiving countries perceive large-scale international migration as a threat to their economic well-being, social order, cultural and religious values, and political stability (Campbell, 2003). Uncontrolled migration can also put a strain on social service delivery in the recipient country, through increased demand for accommodation and pressure for government-sponsored housing.

This moral panic has surfaced in the media reports on the impact of Zimbabwean immigration to SA. In (36-38), the data show that Zimbabwean immigrants are accused of getting RDP housing ahead of deserving legitimate and poor South Africans. Hence, *You have got a house, I haven't* (35) and *Our brothers don't have houses and we don't know how foreigners got them* (38)'.

Discourses of moral panic are demonstrated though the language of 'haves', in this case the Zimbabwean immigrants, and 'have nots', who are the SA locals. The SAM discourse of 'haves' and 'have nots' below is a further illustration of this moral panic. The SA government is called upon to address the situation and review the housing policy which is accommodative of non-citizens while locals do not benefit. In other words, the SA government ought to put in place policies that ensure service delivery to its citizens, not 'outsiders', in this case the Zimbabwean immigrants.

The view that Zimbabwean immigrants constitute a threat to the housing delivery system is represented by the media text in (35-39):

Figure 6. 3 Reconstruction and Development Programme Houses in South Africa



RDP housing in South Africa²²

(35)

You have got a house, I haven't, Get out or die! The Star, 18 May 2008

Japhet Moyo and Albert Moyo...said the doors to their house had been forced open at 9pm on Sunday by a mob. They had been told to get out or be killed. Both fled to the police station. 'They asked whether I was Zimbabwean and they told me to go back to Zimbabwe but they also told me I must go because they wanted my house. **They asked why I had a house but they didn't**, The Star, 18 May 2008

(36)

Foreigners are stealing our birth right: Lebogang explores allegations that Zimbabwean immigrants have taken over RDP houses in the border town of Musina, The Star, 6 February 2006

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²² Adapted from the Voice of the Cape. http://vocfm.co.za/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=1866:alex-rdp-housing-probed&Itemid=121, accessed 31 December 2011.

(37)

Nothing can be done in the case of Zimbabweans living in RDP homes, receiving basic services that South Africans also want, The Star, 6 February 2006

Their influx into the area is impacting negatively on the municipality's capacity to provide basic services as we are overstretched, The Star, 6 February 2006

(38)

'Our brothers don't have houses and we don't know how foreigners got them,'

Residents of Alexandra's RDP houses have reacted to menacing calls for foreigners to vacate RDP houses in the township within seven days with a mixture of fear and nonchalance. Last weekend groups of residents, some coordinating their movements by phone, moved around extensions seven, nine and 10 handing out flyers and putting up posters warning foreigners living in RDP houses to vacate within seven days or risk 'being pushed like animals or aliens', The Mail and Guardian, 21 October 2011.

Discourses of moral panic are also relayed by media messages such as *Their influx into the area is impacting negatively on the municipality's capacity to provide basic services as we are overstretched* (37), where the Zimbabwean presence adversely impacts local service delivery, and, therefore, South Africans may have to use force and push the Zimbabwean immigrants *like animals or aliens* (38). Metaphors of 'animals' and 'aliens' corroborate characterizations of Zimbabwean immigrants as animals discussed earlier in Chapter 5 where immigrants are portrayed as less than human. The SAM discourse references to *stealing our birth right* (36) displays a fear of invasion and a moral panic with strong emotions of nationhood and belonging. The Zimbabwean immigrant population is, therefore, a threat, as they 'do not belong' and are not part of this South African heritage.

Housing is a vital area of potential conflict, particularly in informal settlement areas, and is one of the most consistent causes of friction in South African society. The situation is complicated by locals renting out their homes to migrants to secure regular cash income, by corrupt housing practices, by slow provision of housing and by inefficient administration²³.

²³ South Africa: Citizenship, Violence, and Xenophobia http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Document-2807.phtml, accessed 23 December 2011.

The findings of this chapter show that, in the SAM, housing has been reported as a significant cause of moral panic. Housing matters, first and foremost, to these communities, because they do not have formal houses. They are living in shacks, or *zozo's*, and this is an on-going frustration, since they are not considered proper or adequate. In winter, the experience of these housing conditions is harshest, and increases the issue of housing as a source of unhappiness between foreigners and South Africans²⁴. South Africans are frustrated that they have been on housing lists for long periods, and are still waiting for houses, whilst they see Zimbabwean immigrants living in RDP houses:

(39)

South Africans have alleged that foreigners, particularly Zimbabweans have been awarded low cost housing in preference to locals who have been on waiting lists for years, The Star, 18 May 2008

Remarkably, it is *particularly Zimbabweans* (39) who are benefitting from RDP housing *in preference to locals who have been on waiting lists for years* (39). In this context, it is the Zimbabwean immigrants who constitute a threat, and, therefore, this causes panic among the local South Africans. This alarm and panic is further fuelled by Zimbabwean immigrants who are reported as getting access to houses through corrupt means of acquiring citizenship and access to a house. Most cases, however, are of rentals or sales by South Africans. Therefore:

(40)

Musina, on the border town of South Africa and Zimbabwe has supposedly been taken over by illegal immigrants, some of whom obtained South African identity documents fraudulently. Some of the Zimbabweans have taken over RDP houses meant for poor South Africans while others cross the border illegally to claim child grants for their children, The Star, 6 February 2006

The media fuels perceptions that these Zimbabwean immigrants have unjustly acquired these homes ahead of 'poor' South Africans. The lack of adequate communication from the relevant governmental agencies on the housing issue allows misperceptions to flourish, some of which

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²⁴ South Africa: Citizenship, Violence, and Xenophobia http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Document-2807.phtml, accessed 23 December 2011.

implicate foreigners as the source of lack of housing delivery, and therefore contributes to moral panic. In another extract:

(41)

Foreign nationals living in RDP houses in Alexandra were warned to vacate their homes by the end of the week. The movement put up notices which read: 'You are violating our rights to own our RDP houses.' Another notice said: 'We demand that you vacate at your own free will without being pushed like animals or aliens'.



One of the flyers received by the residents of the RDP houses located on the Alexandra East bank. Foreigners have been warned to leave Alexandra. Photo: Chris Collingridge²⁵

Again, the role of the SA government is questioned. Therefore, the government *must either change its policy of allocating RDP houses to foreign nationals or explain why it has done so (42)*. There is disappointment over the insufficient pace of service delivery and over housing provision and administration in particular. Issues of 'belonging' and citizenship discussed earlier also come to the fore because giving housing to immigrants is a violation of the human rights of South African locals. Perceived corruption of government officials in various government departments is also an issue. There is apprehension over government's management of immigration and uneasiness about the threat posed by Zimbabwean 'illegal'

²⁵ http://www.thepost.co.za/no-violence-in-alex-police-1.1161049

immigrants over access to resources. This concern is an illustration of moral panic in the SAM. Hence:

(42)

THE government must either change its policy of allocating RDP houses to foreign nationals or explain why it has done so, the DA²⁶ said yesterday. This comes after it was revealed that immigrants had received low-cost homes in Alexandra Township, the epicentre of the recent wave of xenophobic violence. The Gauteng housing department revealed in a report to the legislature's housing portfolio committee that RDP houses in Alexandra were officially allocated to people who are not South African citizens, but hold permanent resident status. The report said that in seven cases, houses were allocated to people born in Mozambique and Zimbabwe who have permanent residency. The national housing code states that a person qualifies for a housing subsidy if they are lawful South African citizens or in possession of a permanent resident permit.

The DA's Kate Lorimer said: 'During the last few weeks government has denied that it gave houses to foreigners. Perhaps government should **change policy** or explain why those with permanent residence get houses.'

Lorimer said the policy raised questions about service delivery to South Africans, The Sunday Times, July 2008

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As the article states, these places are also the epicentre of xenophobic violence. During the xenophobic carnage that swept South African townships in May 2008, the media were quick to distance itself from suggestions that they were in any way responsible for the outrage. Indeed, with the exception of the tabloid press, most news sources reacted with a degree of outrage and condemnation as Example (42) above shows.

These negative discourses around migrants and migration, with their accompanying sensationalist metaphors, illustrate moral panic. Within this context, the suggestion that the allocation process for RDP housing is systematically discriminating in favour of Zimbabwean immigrants, who gain access to social housing at the expense of SA citizens, therefore the SA

Γhe Democratic Alliance (DA) is a South African political party, the gover

²⁶ The Democratic Alliance (DA) is a South African political party, the governing party in the Western Cape province, and the official opposition to the ruling African National Congress. The party was formed when the Democratic Party entered into a short-lived alliance with the New National Party (NNP) and a smaller party in 2000. The party is broadly centrist, though it has been attributed both centre-left and centre-right policies.

government must either change its policy of allocating RDP houses to foreign nationals or explain why it has done (42). This sounds right to many people, and is a consensus opinion among the local population. The result is a moral panic.

6.2.2.3 Strain on State Coffers

Intensifying competition for scarce resources is also reported in the SAM, contributing to rising tensions. It is therefore the position of this study that the SAM has created a moral panic through its representation of Zimbabwean immigrants.

A 2010 article in *The Sowetan* newspaper contains the following excerpts:

(43)

Foreigners are looting SA coffers, The Sowetan, July 21, 2010

(44)

FOREIGNERS have siphoned off more than R1billion from government coffers using fraudulent identity documents to claim social grants. The Sowetan, July 21, 2010

The choice of vocabulary 'looting', 'siphoned off' and 'bleeding' are designed to construct South Africans as powerless and victims of the powerful and domineering Zimbabwean immigrants. The fact that South Africans and people of other nationalities may also be involved in these scams is ignored.

(45)

Foreign ID fraud 'bleeding SA fiscus' 27

DA labour spokesman Ian Ollis said he believed there could be between 1.2 million and 4 million Zimbabweans living in exile in SA. 'It is anybody's guess,' he said, noting that those who did not apply for permits last year would now be deported.

The fact that politicians and other government authorities weigh in on the problem perpetuates moral panic. The construction of Zimbabwean immigrants placing an extra burden on various public institutions in SA has received significant media coverage as has been discussed here and elsewhere in this thesis. The SAM has been pivotal in expressing this concern. Additional data also demonstrate this moral panic:

(46)

KwaZulu-Natal MEC for social development Meshack Radebe revealed yesterday that the government had been robbed of millions of rands by foreigners posing as poor South Africans who applied for social grants, The Sowetan, July 21, 2010

(47)

Radebe said people from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland were collecting grants fraudulently every month. He said his department was concerned that the number of foreigners collecting social grants was increasing, The Sowetan, July 21, 2010

(48)

The state spends millions of rand every year for the upkeep of thousands of aliens at the Lindela repatriation camp. The expenditure is bound to grow with more Zimbabweans reportedly crossing into South Africa to escape poverty and government repression at home, Pretoria News, 26 September 2005

(49)

The notorious Lindela detention centre outside Krugersdorp, west of Johannesburg, which keeps foreign nationals due for deportation, is struggling to cope with the numbers of illegal immigrants. The cost of detaining illegal immigrants has gone up from R21.95 a day to R75 a day today. The department this week confirmed it was considering plans to build another detention centre near Beit Bridge (Zimbabwe) to deal with the influx, The Star, 6 February 2006

(50)

The department of home affairs has taken a financial knock from the influx of illegal immigrants, News24, 23 July 2006.

These examples show that Zimbabwean immigrants present a threat to economic or personal well-being in different ways. Discourses of moral panic are expressed in such verbal constructions as 'government has been robbed of millions of rands by foreigners' (48) and 'Foreigners are 'looting SA coffers'' (43) and 'financial knock' (50). The suggestions of looting (my emphasis) are reminiscent of plundering, pillaging and ransacking and robbing SA. The data is also indicative of criminal activity, using fraudulent identity documents (also illustrated in example 45) to claim social grants: 'Radebe said people from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, and Swaziland were collecting grants fraudulently every month.' There are also fears that 'the number of foreigners collecting social grants was increasing' (47) (my emphasis). Such discourse serves as a convenient metaphor that exacerbates fears of cunning tricksters or scheming swindlers, who take advantage of opportunities to take resources that are denied ordinary South Africans (Murray, 2003).

Deportations also place a heavy strain on the SA government expenditure. These include operational costs for the detention centres and the cost of the actual deportations. The SA government *spends millions of rand every year for the upkeep of thousands of aliens (48)*, and this further fuels alarm. Building additional detention centres to accommodate the Zimbabwean immigrants generates anxiety and panic.

UNIVERSITY of the

There is moral panic that opportunities, for which locals are entitled, are being taken over by migrants, thereby putting the future of 'our' children at stake:

(51)

They're taking over our country 'This is the future of our children we're protecting, City Press, 31 May 2011

(52)

Ramaropene insists that foreigners are 'taking their opportunities', City Press, 31 May 2011

(53)

The influx (of illegal immigrants sic) is impacting negatively on the municipality's capacity to provide basic services as we are over-stretched, The Star, 06 February 2006

There is resentment towards Zimbabwean nationals who, rather than attempting to address the political situation in Zimbabwe, come to South Africa and allegedly place an excessive burden on scarce resources to which South African citizens are entitled²⁸. Therefore, as the data suggest, the SAM indicate a moral panic that immigrants are a burden in terms of economic cost. In this way, Zimbabwean immigrants are seen as threatening the entitlement of 'South African citizens'.

Though not as prominent, Zimbabwean immigrants are also represented as threatening the SA education sector as the following examples show:

(54)

Zim kids could flood South Africa for education, The Cape Argus, 24 June 2009

(55)

Our education system is not coping with the ever increasing teacher/child ratio because foreigners bring their children to SA once they acquire their fraudulent South African IDs, The Star, 29 May 2008

Costelloe (2008) contends that threats to individual economic security are also expressed by negative references to the education for immigrants. Images of flooding the SA education sector (54) with fraudulent IDs (55) to enable immigrants to access education are illustrated in the data. Moral panic is presented by images of Zimbabwean immigrants who have managed to get what is not rightfully theirs and have right of entry to the SA education sector and other public institutions discussed previously. Through fraudulent means, these immigrants have managed to legitimise their presence in SA.

6.3 Crime Threat and Illegality

The case of moral panic described above is not the only such case in SA. Moral panic in the SAM discourse also relates to crime. Public reactions to media-fuelled moral panics about immigrant-related crime then legitimises or encourages political leaders and the media themselves to push for harsher laws and legislation or policies under the banner of community

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²⁸ South Africa: Citizenship, Violence, and Xenophobia, http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Document-2807.phtml, accessed 23 December 2011.

safety. Dingeman and Rumbaut (2010) state that, historically, periods of accelerating immigration have been accompanied by alarm, perceptions of threat, and pervasive stereotypes of the immigrants, particularly during economic downturns or national crises, especially when immigrants have arrived in large numbers and have differed from the nativeborn in language, race, religion, or national origin.

Stereotypes about immigrants and crime not only take root in public opinion and popular myth, but can also be critical for public policies and shape political behaviour. Such stereotypes in SA include, for instance, 'foreigners are crooks, involved in sophisticated crime' (58-63) and *Most of the foreigners involved in these crimes are Zimbabweans and from West Africa, including Nigeria and Ghana* (60), are fuelled by the media. Immigrants are commonly stereotyped as more likely to become involved with crime. In 58, 60, 61, the media is confident that the crime in SA is caused by Zimbabweans. In the absence of statistical evidence, such media discourses cause panic about the Zimbabwean presence in SA.

The supposed links between immigrant minorities and criminal behaviour is a recurring theme in the SAM discourse. The following are typical examples that suggest a direct relationship between Zimbabwean migration and crime:

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(56)

I have dealt extensively with foreigners, and the first thing that is said about our country is how it can allow so many undocumented foreigners to roam our country and get into all sorts of criminal activities. It really portrays our country as weak, lawless, corrupt and accommodating to all sorts of foreigners, City Press, 29 May 2011

(57)

Foreign crooks very active in SA. THE number of foreigners involved in sophisticated crime syndicates is on the rise. This was revealed by KwaZulu-Natal provincial deputy police commissioner Major-General Johan Booysen yesterday, The Sowetan, 5 October 2010

(58)

One of the gang leaders is alleged to be a former bodyguard of Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe, The Sowetan, 5 October 2010

(59)

He said there was an increase of foreigners being arrested for violent crime, drug trafficking, human trafficking and robberies, The Sowetan, 5 October 2010

(60)

'Most of the foreigners involved in these crimes are Zimbabweans and from West Africa, including Nigeria and Ghana,' he said. The Sowetan, 5 October 2010

(61)

Most of those arrested in the past month were Zimbabweans. Occasionally, citizens from Bangladesh, Somalia, Pakistan also would try to jump the borders, News 24, 30 January 2006.

(62)

Booysen explained that highly trained foreigners arrive in South Africa in search of greener pastures and better living conditions. But because there are no job opportunities crime becomes the next option. The Sowetan, 5 October 2010

(63)

Bongani Moyo (also known as Mojo), one of South Africa's most wanted criminals, was arrested near the Beitbridge border post in Limpopo when he returned for medical treatment, police said on Friday. Colonel Neville Malila said it was believed Moyo, 29, had fled to his native country, Zimbabwe, for three days but had tried to return to South Africa for 'urgent medical attention', The Sowetan, 13 May 2011

The media display some concern about the criminal behaviour of Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. Migrants are criminalised via fraudulent IDs, accessing services illegally, trafficking and robberies (59). The SAM reproduces the idea that these social groups are a real problem, that they pose a threat to society, and that something should be done about it.

This portrayal of Zimbabwean immigrants as inherently being criminal elements is another example of how the SAM contributes to the perpetuation of moral panic in SA. Danso and McDonald's survey (2001) showed 25% of associated articles have linked migrants directly or indirectly with crime²⁹. In some ways, the rationale that the press appropriates tends to nationalise, racialise and even Africanise crime involving migrants. In this case, the SAM Zimbabweanizes crime. A concern is that 'there was an increase of foreigners being arrested for violent crime, drug trafficking, human trafficking and robberies (my emphasis) (59). The data also demonstrate the view that SA is more vulnerable, as so many undocumented foreigners to roam our country and get into all sorts of criminal activities (my emphasis) (56). In (61), Zimbabweans are singled out; it is clear that Zimbabweans constitute the greatest threat. SA is also portrayed as weak, lawless, corrupt and too accommodating in the face of sophisticated immigrant crime syndicates (56). These claims about Zimbabwean immigrants as criminals, unsubstantiated or not, contribute substantially to a moral panic in SA, and, according to Croucher (1998), reinforce the distinction between us and them.

The claim that undocumented foreign nationals were responsible for one of the world's highest crime rates was not borne out by statistics³⁰. However the media sensationalise news stories and make vast exaggerations.

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6.4 **Medical Threat**

Alongside the moral panic discourses surrounding strain on SA state coffers, threatening the RDP housing scheme and engaging in rampant criminal activity, Zimbabwean immigrants are also blamed for the spread of disease in SA. Although not as prominent as the discourses on economic threat cited above, moral panic is found in the SAM around health risks that Zimbabwean immigrants pose to South Africans.

According to 'Fugee' (1999), a publication by the Cape Town Refugee Forum, immigrants are accused of stealing women from husbands and boyfriends of South Africans and spreading HIV/Aids. This is just one of the many stigmatisms associated with African immigrants. In

²⁹ Danso, R. and McDonald, D.A. (2001). Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Print Media in Postapartheid South Africa. In *Africa Today*. 48(3) p. 126.

South Africa blames 'illegal immigrants' for crime, http://greatindaba.com/issue/june-

²⁰¹⁰⁻vol-15/article/sa-blames-illegal-immigrants-for-crime, accessed, 25 February 2012.

addition, immigrants are perceived as being easily prone to infectious diseases (Williams, Gouws, Lurie and Crush, 2002). This is caused by their lack of adequate health services or the inability for them to find health care in the country to which they have migrated. The examples below illustrate a medical threat.

(64)

SA declares cholera disaster on Zim border, The Mail and Guardian, 11 December 2008

(65)

South Africa has declared a cholera disaster on its border with Zimbabwe, as a spill over from the deadly epidemic strains health resources, The Mail and Guardian, 11 December 2008

(66)

Fifty nine people in South Africa have died since the cholera outbreak from neighbouring Zimbabwe, The Mail and Guardian, 9 March 2009

Therefore, there is concern that South Africans could be at risk from epidemics such as cholera *spilling over* (65) (my emphasis) into SA. The health risks are also associated with *straining health resources* (63) thereby placing a burden on the SA health sector.

6.5 Nation and Identity

Concerns about national identity are analysed using the concept of moral panic. The concept of nation as an imagined community is critical in the analysis of SAM representation of Zimbabwean immigrants. Murray (2003) states that in SA after apartheid, the new discourses on nationalism, 'nation-building,' and national identity have fundamentally reshaped the way that ordinary South Africans see themselves as belonging to an imagined community.

The belief that Zimbabwean immigrants threaten the nation and 'our nation' is combined with moral panic and a fear that the increase in numbers of immigrants may result in their 'taking over our country' (51) and 'Foreigners are stealing our birth right' (36) South Africans have a sense of belonging, and detest it being taken away from them. Expressed in the caricatured

format of *us* and *them*, these stereotypes assert the birth right of South African citizens while at the same time denying entitlements to those 'outsiders' who 'do not belong'³¹. Hannah (2007) notes that this consistent employment of uniting terms including *us* and *we* in news concerning migration, draws furthermore on a sense of nationalistic pride.

6.6 Summary

All things considered, the insights gained from this qualitative research indicate that the SAM portrayal of Zimbabwean immigrants is exaggerated in order to produce a moral panic. Focusing on discourses of moral panic, this chapter has focused on how Zimbabwean immigrants are viewed as a burden, and how they threaten the moral order in SA. Following Peberdy (2001), it is argued herein that immigrants are portrayed as a burden. These foreigners supposedly threaten 'the nation' by endangering its physical and moral health, and its ability to provide services, employment, and to control crime. Illegal immigrants place a heavy burden on South Africa's housing, welfare, education, and health services (McDonald 1998, 2000; Peberdy and Crush, 1998b). As such, they have a detrimental effect on the employment situation and deprive South African workers of employment opportunities. Hence, as Peberdy (2001) states, immigrants and migrants are viewed as takers, not creators, of opportunity. This view fails to recognize the role of migrants and immigrants in generating employment opportunities for South Africans and contributing to the skills base (Peberdy and Crush 1998b).

References to economic threat encourage people to perceive the presence of Zimbabwean immigrants as a threat to their own economic prosperity. This concern manifests in a variety of ways, which include references to increased competition for desirable jobs and the reduction in individual wages as a result of the increased supply of labour that is willing to work at or below current wages. Competition for resources such as housing, health services, and education, together with employment, is central to the representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM. Moral panic is illustrated within a context of 'siege,' as it were, with regards to survival and access to resources.

³¹ Murray, M.J. (2003). Alien Strangers in our Midst. Canadian Journal of African Studies. 37(2/3) p. 448.

³² South Africa: Citizenship, Violence, and Xenophobia, Perceptions from South African Communities http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Document-2807.phtml, accessed 23 December 2011.

Based on the analysis in this chapter, the SAM representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM satisfies the criteria of moral panic (concern, consensus, hostility and disproportionality). Zimbabwean immigrants are identified as 'folk devils' that are a threat to SA. There is a general agreement that Zimbabwean immigrants are a problem, with politicians weighing in on the issue. Furthermore, moral panic arouses intense hostility towards the migrants, with SAM discourses prominently describing the Zimbabwean immigrants as benefiting from SA resources at the expense of the poor locals.



CHAPTER SEVEN: Media Representations of Zimbabwean Women Immigrants

7.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how Zimbabwean women immigrants are constructed in the South African Media (SAM). Using Discourse Analysis, this chapter discusses the linguistic representation of Zimbabwean female migrants in the SAM. This chapter seeks to answer the following question: How does the SA print media describe Zimbabwean female immigrants?

Media discourse on Zimbabwean immigration to SA defines immigrant women largely as sex workers, unfit mothers and victims. They are also constructed as being desperate and economically inactive people. In this sense, the SAM ignores the socio-economic context in Zimbabwe and the circumstances leading to their migration to SA. However, where women are represented as victims of rape and xenophobic violence for instance, it can be argued that the SAM draws sympathy for the migrants (cf. Chapter 8).

7.1 Context and Background

Just as women's economic contribution to their families and communities has become increasingly significant, so, too, has women's presence in migration flows. This is reflected in the increasing percentages of women in migration flows to all world regions¹. Women migrants now constitute almost half (49.6% in 2005) of all international migrants. This proportion has increased from 46.6% in 1960. Although the percentage difference is small, the increase in female labour migration, i.e. of women moving in search of jobs, has caught the imagination of academics, the media and international and national policy makers across the globe. However, much of this attention has focused on migrant women who enter the lesser skilled sectors of the labour market, especially in work that is dangerous, dirty and low-paid. Academic research on, and media stories of, migrant women's employment usually focuses on sex work or domestic work. But this focus ignores the many other sectors of the labour market where women are also present, including the more skilled sectors².

¹ Piper, N. (2005). Gender and migration, A paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration by Asia Research Institute. p. 3.

² Focus Migration Policy Brief, No.13, April 2009, p. 1.

According to Zeitung (2011), the emigration from Zimbabwe into the north of South Africa (SA) is the largest peace-time exodus from a single country in recent times. According to the International Organisation for Migration (2005) analysis, traditionally migration from Zimbabwe was dominated by young single men looking for work in neighbouring countries, particularly South Africa. While cross-border migration in the region remains dominated by men (Dodson *et al.*, 1998), female migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa has shown significant percentage increases in the past few years. Makina (2011), states that the proportion of women amongst migrants varies from country to country, but Zimbabwe stands out as the country with by far the largest number of female migrants, as more and more women have left in search of work.

The gender profile of migration has changed as a result of the declining economic situation in Zimbabwe, and the very high levels of unemployment that make it imperative for families to diversify their livelihood and survival strategies to cope with economic hardships. Zimbabwean women have few choices, prompting most with the option of either staying in their country with little or no means to take care of their families, or illegally seeking a new life in South Africa. Bloch (2005) notes that one coping strategy has been the increase in cross-border travel for informal trade that is dominated by Zimbabwean women going to South Africa and Botswana to sell items and to purchase goods in short supply for resale in Zimbabwe³.

Therefore, cross-border migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa is much more common among women than among men. Women are much more likely to be involved in informal trading than men, as shown in Table 7.1 below.

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³ A. Bloch. (2005). The Development Potential of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora A Survey of Zimbabweans Living in the UK and South Africa, International Organisation for Migration Report, p. 12.

Table 7. 1 Purpose of most recent visit to South Africa over the last 5 years, by Gender

Purpose of visit	Men (%) V	Women (%)
Shopping: buying and selling goods	32	65
Work	20	3
Looking for work	21	1
Visit family/friends	11	16
Business	8	8
Holiday	3	4
Medical treatment	2	1
School/college/university	3	1

Source: Zinyama (2002), p. 39.

Lefeko-Everitt (2010), states that women in Southern Africa have often been portrayed as those 'left behind,' and as 'passive rural widows who stayed put somewhere, practicing subsistence, and later, cash crop agricultural production while their men departed, perhaps never to return'⁴. The families and households of women migrants benefit significantly, particularly through remittances which are largely used for basic necessities, including food, clothing and school fees. Migration is therefore viewed as a strategy for women to 'stand up and do things for themselves'.⁵ Therefore, the migration of Zimbabwean women to SA is tied to their hopes for a better life. In the SAM, this desire for an improvement in their personal and economic situations is often defined in terms of a DISCOURSE OF A BETTER LIFE.

There are, however, extremely negative aspects of migration for women. While those who travel legally through established border posts described relatively few problems, those who 'jump the fence' face a barrage of risks and rights abuses, including rape and paying bribes. However, faced with extreme poverty at home, travel documentation is viewed as prohibitively expensive and irregular migration the only option⁶. Lefko-Everett (2010) also

⁴ Kate Lefko-Everett, (2010). The Voices of Migrant Zimbabwean Women in South Africa' *Zimbabwe's Exodus*, Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC. p. 287.

⁵ Kate Lefko-Everett, (2010). The Voices of Migrant Zimbabwean Women in South Africa, *Zimbabwe's Exodus*, Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC. p. 271.

⁶ Lefko-Everett, K. (2010). The Voices of Migrant Zimbabwean Women in South Africa, *Zimbabwe's Exodus*, Cape Town and Ottawa: IDRC. p. 287.

notes that despite their legal status, most immigrant women in South Africa experience exclusion, harassment and verbal and physical abuse on a daily basis. They are also excluded from services such as healthcare, in spite of their constitutional right of access.

7.2 Previous Work on the Representations of Female Immigrants

Literature on the construction of immigrant women in the media is sparse. Research on immigrant women and their experiences has been invisible in academic investigations. Scholars addressing immigrant women issues deplore the lack of academic research in the field (Lemish, 2000) although some visibility has been gained of late. The lack of research on immigrant women, as well as media coverage of the topic, are both reflections of academic as well as social marginalisation of this issue. According to Lemish (2000), the immigrant was assumed to be gender neutral (i.e., male), and historical studies of immigration, which tended to focus on the public sphere, ignored women who were confined to the domestic realm⁷.

7.3 Representation of Zimbabwean Female Immigrants in the South African Media

Today, immigrant women are often defined through the stereotypes conveyed by the media. In South Africa, migration from Zimbabwe is immediately associated with sex workers, irresponsible mothers, victims of violence and rape and desperation.

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The research findings from this study indicate that Zimbabwean female migrants in the SAM are presented negatively in most cases. It is also important to note that not many newspapers articles make reference to Zimbabwean women immigrants in SA, but the few that do, construct the female migrants in a negative way. The results of my analysis suggest that the Zimbabwean woman immigrant appears in the SAM primarily in three negative images: as suppliers of sexual services, as un-motherly and as victims. There are no media reports of exceptional or successful Zimbabwean immigrant women. The analysis provided here validates the negative portrayals of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM discourse of the exclusion of Zimbabwean immigrants discussed in this thesis and elsewhere. In instances where women are portrayed as victims, the media draws sympathy for the women.

⁷ Lemish, D. (2000). The whore and the other, Israeli Images of Female Immigrants from the Former USSR, Gender and Society, Vol. 14. No. 2. p. 334.

Surprisingly, there is no reference to Zimbabwean women immigrants as domestic servants in the SAM, and yet the majority of unskilled Zimbabwean women find employment in this sector (Zinyama, 2002). Perhaps this feminisation of the migration to SA has also some other economic explanations, where SA requires a very specific type of labour, the domestic help. Hence, chores such as baby-sitting, household, care are more and more transferred to immigrant women who, in most cases, do not have work permits.

In summary, then, while cross-border migrants are still predominantly men, there are a growing number of women choosing to become migrants in search of opportunities outside their home countries. The largest proportion of women migrants in South Africa are from Zimbabwe, constituting 44% of all Zimbabwean immigrants. Most women migrants come for the purposes of informal cross-border trading, commonly bringing crafts or items like woven baskets and taking back basic commodities which are in short supply in home countries. With the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy in recent years, growing numbers of people have resorted to informal cross-border trading. These women do not feature in the SAM, and one cannot pin-point why there is a gap of this nature.

7.4 Linguistic Representation

7.4.1 The Sex Worker

The media coverage of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM commonly generates prejudice and stereotypes. The data analysis of the SA press coverage of Zimbabwean immigrant women shows that words such as *sex work* are used to refer to female immigrants from Zimbabwe. The immigrant women are often portrayed in the media as those willing to engage in sexual activities for financial gain. Therefore, most of the discourse targets Zimbabwean immigrant women who sell sex. According to Nyangairi (2010), Zimbabwean immigrant women engaged in sex work across borders have become an object of sensationalized attention in the media. The media disproportionately focuses on their involvement in prostitution.

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⁸ Williams, B., Gouws, E., Lurie, M. and Crush, J. (2002). *Spaces of Vulnerability: Migration and HIV/AIDS in South Africa*. Southern African Migration Project, Policy Series No. 24, p. 19.

⁹ Lefko-Everett, K. (2007). *Voices from the Margins: Migrant Women's Experiences in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project: Policy Series No 46, p. 9.

Instead of considering their situation and context, the SAM seems interested in highlighting the negative features. For instance, the SAM endorses and reproduces in their discourse a sexualised image of the Zimbabwean women when they state that they are highly sought after because they are 'cheap' and will sell their bodies for very petty items such as sugar or salt (1).

Susan - one of the sex workers frequenting the truck parks, who charges R50 (US\$6.50) for "a short time" and R150 (US\$19.50) for the night. She says the growing number of sex workers was making it difficult to get these rates, The Sunday Independent, 3 August 2008

(1) Zimbabwe: Sex for soap, salt and sugar

In Example (1), Zimbabwean women sex workers are seen to be frequenting trucks to provide sexual services. Regardless of the low fees, they still continue to engage in sexual activity for money or small goods such as soap, salt and sugar.

*(*2*)*

"At times I can settle for R100 for the night. It is better than nothing.' "The women in South Africa are expensive, but across the border in Zimbabwe you can have a great time for a few bars of soap, and goods like salt and sugar." The Sunday Independent, 3 August 2008.

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Comparatively, SA women are supposedly more highly valued than women from Zimbabwe because; "The women in South Africa are expensive, but across the border in Zimbabwe you can have a great time for a few bars of soap, and goods like salt and sugar."(2) Such media constructions convey the message that SA is a better place in all respects as discussed earlier in this thesis. Zimbabwean women are cheap compared with their expensive counterparts in SA because you can have a great time for a few bars of soap, and goods like salt and sugar. Zimbabwean women are also depicted as trading their bodies at any cost no matter how low the rate is: "At times I can settle for R100 for the night. It is better than nothing' (2). Hence, there is no 'value' attached to Zimbabwean female migrants. Zimbabwean women are depicted as being prepared to settle for less. No explanations are provided regarding the circumstances of the women that maybe leading to this kind of behavior.

As the data illustrate, the SAM portrayal of Zimbabwean women immigrants is that they are ladies of the night who have chosen with their own will to work illegally in prostitution

outside their own country. Such media constructions form public prejudice against them and hampers better understanding of the complicated hardship behind their lives. These women are presented primarily in the context of the sex industry in SA: sex workers trading sex for food' (3). The SAM depicts them as being in a kind of trade to sell their bodies for literally nothing.

(3)

Women trade sex for food

Poverty is forcing desperate Zimbabwean women and girls to sell their bodies for as little as a plate of pap or half a loaf of bread in the border town of Musina. The Sunday Times, 29 January 2009.

This manner of coverage demonstrates the process whereby Zimbabwean women immigrants are portrayed as *others* who are foreign to the SA society and are undermining morals and are 'threats to morality and social order', Zimbabwean women trading sex for food, or such petty grocery items such as bars of soap, sugar and salt (1), and selling their bodies for a plate of pap¹¹ or half a loaf of bread (3) relays images of desperation.

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Such representations can also be discussed in terms of multivocality which refers to multiple meanings on a single utterance (Higgins, 2009). On the one hand, the SAM constructions tend to blame the victim. Little attention is given to contextualizing these stories within the broad social processes in which they are located, the major difficulties (social, political and economic) in Zimbabwe that have led to this mass immigration to SA. On the other hand, the SAM appears to be sympathetic for their plight in SA. Representations of desperate women selling their bodies for insignificant gains and seeking legal status to enable them to live and work in SA are likely to show sympathy for these immigrant women.

¹⁰ Lemish, D. 2000. The whore and the other, Israeli Images of Female Immigrants from the Former USSR, Gender and Society, Vol. 14. No. 2. p. 347.

¹¹ Pap is the staple food for most of the inhabitants of Southern Africa and is called by different names in the different countries.

7.4.2 Unfit Mothers

A 'motherhood' theme is particularly evident in the data. This theme is highlighted through the discussion of Zimbabwean women immigrants as bad, irresponsible and unfit mothers. The construction of Zimbabwean women immigrants in SA is expressed through the observation of a woman's deviation from expected norms of a functioning wife and mother, both strongly embedded in African tradition, which treasures the family as the centre of cultural existence. Zimbabwean female migrants do unimaginable things that a 'normal' mother would not ordinarily do. The data shows that they rent, sell, abandon and even kill their babies. The representations of women drugging and renting babies (4-7) are expressed in the SAM as follows: "*Drugged babies for rent in Joburg*' (4). Not complying with traditional feminine roles is another threat to societal norms, much in the same way as being a prostitute or a sex worker.

This representation of the unfit mother is amplified through stories relating to Zimbabwean immigrant mothers renting their babies for a paltry R20 (approximately \$3), hence, for only R20 a day you can rent a malnourished, handicapped and drugged baby and use it to beg from sympathetic motorists on street corners. A mother would have a different baby on different days. The women, mostly Zimbabweans, were living in Johannesburg's city centre (4), and in addition these are malnourished or handicapped children. The babies are also 'drugged', possibly to enable them to endure long hours and to make them 'more compliant' (5). These are the babies that Zimbabwean women use along street corners to solicit money from motorists. The media also explicitly states that the women 'are Zimbabwean.'

(4)

Drugged babies for rent in Joburg

Some are for sale at R10 000 a child (\$1is approximately R7)

For only R20 a say you can rent a malnourished, handicapped and drugged baby and use it to beg from sympathetic motorists on street corners. A mother would have a different baby on different days. <u>The women, mostly Zimbabweans</u>, were living in Johannesburg's city centre in flats owned by Nigerians, The City Press, 23 May 2010.

*(*5*)*

And doctors who have treated some of these babies believe the so-called 'mothers' maybe deliberately drugging and harming these children to make them more compliant. The Star, 24 May 2010.

The SAM also depicts Zimbabwean women as selling their babies (4, 6). The SAM states that children are sold because the mothers are desperate for cash (6). It is also clear, according to the SAM, that Zimbabwean women are involved in illegal acts of having babies bought and sold on the streets in Johannesburg.

Mothers selling babies

(6)

Kids sold as desperate moms need cash.

Babies are being bought and sold illegally on the streets of Joburg for as little as R20 000, The Star, 24 May 2010.

Apart from this, the Zimbabwean immigrant women give birth to babies whom they kill due to desperate situations. Example (7) explains the desperate situations that the Zimbabwean women immigrants find themselves in when they are in SA.

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(7)

Futility led me to kill baby

The overwhelming futility of a young Zimbabwean mother found herself in – unable to find employment and on being told she was not welcome in the home of her South African relative – led her to make a desperate decision to strangle her 19 month old baby boy. Witness, 13 November 2009.

Zimbabwean women also kill or dump their babies in the bush and end up in the hands of South African Adoption Homes. For example, <u>The mother was Zimbabwean</u> and had not been located (8). Again the SAM makes it clear that the mother was Zimbabwean. This induces a sense of lack of responsibility on the part of the Zimbabwean mothers, who give birth and abandon their babies, thereby placing a burden on SA. Most importantly too, these constructions of Zimbabwean women leaving babies in the care of South African social services perpetuates moral panic as discussed in Chapter Six. At the same time, the SAM

seems to be sympathetic to the Zimbabwean women, all of whom come to SA 'looking for a better life' (8).

(8)

Hospital chef finds baby under a bush

<u>The mother was Zimbabwean</u> and had not been located. Social workers took the baby to the Princess Alice Adoption Home.

'It's very sad, the mother probably came to this country looking for a better life, but realised it wasn't the case and she couldn't care for the baby. 'The Star, 18 September 2009.

Following Lemish (2000), the analysis provided suggests that the negative portrayals serve as a mechanism allowing the construction of *otherness* and the marginalization of Zimbabwean women which matches the national discourse of Zimbabwean immigration to SA. Presenting the Zimbabwean women in a stereotypical manner, through constructions of sexual immorality and unfit mothers, expels them from the core of society. Polarized binary forms of representation, such as deviant whores and unfit mothers versus the expected definition of motherhood, are used to signify *otherness*¹². Such a marking of difference serves to maintain the symbolic boundaries by which the absorbing culture defines its identity. The threat of polluting the meaning of *us* posed by the immigrants' *otherness* is used to solidify the subjective sense of individuals as well as the culture as a whole (Hall, 1997). This mechanism is common to societies struggling with major social, cultural, and political splits. As Hall (1997) observes:

It sets up a symbolic frontier between the normal and the deviant, the normal and the pathological, the acceptable and the unacceptable, what belongs and what does not or is other, between insiders and outsiders, Us and Them¹³ discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

7.4.3 Immigrant Women as Victims

A study conducted by Lemish (2000) on the portrayal of Israeli women shows that a common role for women is that of victim (of violence, accidents and disasters). The preference of the

¹² D. Lemish, 2000, The whore and the other, Israeli Images of Female Immigrants from the Former USSR, Gender and Society, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Apr., 2000), p. 345.

Hall, S. 1997. The spectacle of the 'other' In *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*, edited by S. Hall. London: Sage, p.258.

media for dealing with women as victims (rather than as successful, creative or active women, for example) is characteristic in representations of Zimbabwean women immigrants in the SAM.

A large number of Zimbabwean women who enter South Africa illegally through the Limpopo River are raped and mugged¹⁴. Most of the victims are teenage girls and minors who are gang-raped while they try to cross the border. Some of them are gang-raped by armed people who also rob them of their belongings, including clothes. These incidents are very traumatizing particularly for elderly women who are raped in front of their children and partners. The following are examples from the data:

(9)

(10)

Zimbabwean migrants raped, assaulted in SA stampede

The number of reported rapes and sexual assaults of Zimbabwean immigrants to South Africa is increasing. The Star, 13 May 2010.

Excerpt (10) below shows Zimbabwean women as victims of gang rape:

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A Zimbabwean woman was left too terrified to go home after she was raped and robbed in Alexandra, The Star, 13 May 2008.

This victim conception is also consistent with pre-existing stereotypes of foreign and immigrant women globally. Immigrant women are doubly vulnerable to violence insofar as they are exposed to violence that reflects the status of women and gender inequalities both in the country of origin and the country of destination, while at the same time being exposed to particular forms of violence facing foreign nationals. In Chapter Eight, visual images of women as victims are vivid and disturbing.

¹⁴ Zimbabwean women entering SA raped and mugged. http://Www.Zoutnet.Co.Za/Details/20-05-2011/Zimbabwean_women_entering_SA_Raped_and_mugged/9133 accessed Feb 17 2012.

7.4.4 Images of Desperation

Images of Zimbabwean women immigrants in SA typically depict poverty, economic dependency and starvation. All these factors are key drivers of moral panic. These images are also characteristic of multimodal texts discussed in Chapter Eight. Stories about Zimbabwean women struggling to legitimize their stay in SA are common (11) as they spend many hours or even days in queues at the Home Affairs applying for permits to enable them to live in SA.

(11)

Around 300 Zimbabwean women, some with babies some as young as five weeks braved the wet cold weather and spent the night outside the city's Home Affairs office in the hope of obtaining a document that would allow them to live and work in the country for 12 months, Cape Argus, 22 May, 2009.

Zimbabwean women spend long hours at the SA Home Affairs Department in an effort to regularise their stay. They spend long hours with babies in the cold, making them vulnerable. A regular stay enables the women to live and work in SA. Such constructions point to discourses of a better life that Zimbabwean women are seeking in SA.

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Some women migrants are victims of xenophobic violence in SA (12) but because of desperation, they have no option but to stay in SA:

(12)

Is there another country that can take us, was the desperate plea of a Zimbabwean woman living in the farming town of de Doorns in the Western Cape, after thousands of her countrymen fled xenophobic violence yesterday. The Times, 18 November 2009.

Critically, the concern of SAM representation of Zimbabwean women immigrants is that they enter SA solely to procure the economic benefits of the social support system, hence they are described as follows:

(13)

Rather than simply escaping political tyranny, Zimbabweans illegally crossing the border now want the same benefits as South Africa's poorest - low-cost housing and child-support grants, The Star, 6 February 2006.

This moral panic is repeatedly asserted, and it invokes a harmful image of the Zimbabwean immigrant as a detriment to the South African society. Hence Zimbabwean women are benefitting from the SA social welfare via dishonest means. Zimbabwean immigrants are therefore an extra burden on the SA resources.

(14)

Two weeks ago, 2 300 illegal immigrants were arrested. Police were astonished to find that many of them were pregnant women. Musina Hospital spokesperson Phillemon Tlabane said there was a new phenomenon of heavily pregnant Zimbabweans arriving in South Africa, just in time to give birth. They then register their children at the Home Affairs department, even when the fathers were not South Africans. "Once they have registered their children for social grants, they go back home to return only on pay days," he said, The Star, 6 February 2006.

In Example (14), heavily pregnant Zimbabwean women arrive in SA at the time of giving birth. These women register their children at the Home Affairs department, even when the fathers were not South Africans. Once they have registered their children for social grants... Such media discourse, as discussed in Chapter Six, flares up concerns of Zimbabwean immigration to SA. Additionally the representation of the Zimbabwean immigrants bleeding the SA fiscus through fraudulent ID scams means they are seen as 'milking and exploiting' and therefore benefitting from SA resources.

These Zimbabwean women immigrants are also represented fraudulently acquiring SA ID cards which enable them to fraudulently gain access to social grants that they are not entitled to. Thus,

(15)

Another Zimbabwean, Taelo Manabalala (22) tells a different story. Out of desperation, she crossed the river and fence on her own one night in 2002. Not long afterwards she started a relationship with a South African man. The two are not married, but he is the father of her 5-month old son and has agreed to help her with the application for a child grant. "I applied for my identity book in 2002. Now my boyfriend is helping me to get a grant, The Star, 6 February 2006.

Zimbabwean women also marry under false pretenses (16) in order to regularize their stay in SA. With an ID book, Zimbabwean women gain access to social services.

(16)

"Everyone knows that in Musina, Zimbabwean women and even men marry under false pretenses just for the sake of getting identity books, The Star, 6 February 2006.

The media constructions of Zimbabwean women and their children indirectly benefitting from the SA healthcare and social grant system (11-16), depicts a desperate situation. Such media representation of Zimbabwean women is likely to draw sympathy for the Zimbabweans. However, Zimbabweans are unwelcome in this sense because they *now want the same benefits as South Africa's poorest - low-cost housing and child-support grants(13)*.

7.5 Summary

The analysis provided here feeds into the South African national discourses of the exclusion of Zimbabwean immigrants as discussed within the themes of anti-immigrant metaphors, othering and moral panic.

The dominant SAM perceptions are those of Zimbabwean women immigrants as unskilled migrants. The images of Zimbabwean immigrant women in the media as victims and suppliers of sexual services stereotypes and stigmatises them as a group. The thematic analysis of the portrayal of female immigrants from Zimbabwe in the SAM suggests that they are presented mostly in negative light and are located in the margins of society. There has been little coverage of Zimbabwean women immigrants in general, and no acknowledgement of their positive contributions. This chapter argues that the images conveyed through the media do not reflect the actual, every day lived experiences of the immigrant women and concludes that the depiction of the women as sex workers and unfit mothers is problematic.

CHAPTER EIGHT: A Multimodal Analysis of Visual and Linguistic Modes

8.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the visual characteristics of multimodal texts related to Zimbabwean immigration to South Africa (SA). Just as verbal language, images are also structured to make meanings. This chapter provides the foundations for research into the SA visual media representation of Zimbabwean immigrants.

Using Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) 'grammar' of visual design, the chapter attempts a multi-semiotic analysis of visual images as a way to determine how Zimbabwean immigrants are visually constructed. The focus is on their representational function (i.e. what they show, and the content we see when we view them); the interpersonal function (i.e. the kinds of relationship construed with the viewer), and the compositional function (which serves to provide meanings derived from the placement position within the image).

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The aim is to unravel the roles, statuses, and interpersonal relations embedded in the visual images to determine the attitudes and ideologies being disseminated to the SA viewer/reader. Through multimodal analysis, the chapter shows that the narratives in the images sometimes tell more than what the words say. In some cases, the images carry a contradictory story to that carried in verbal text. While the textual coverage of Zimbabwean immigration features representations of immigrants as mobile threats, visual images sometimes depict immigrants as victims of circumstances. As a way to arrive at a profound understanding of the media portrayal of Zimbabwean immigrants, the chapter compares and contrasts the verbal and visual texts. The interpretation of this chapter should be done in line with the chapters that looked at the linguistic representation of immigrants, moral panic and the representation of Zimbabwean female immigrants in the South African Media (SAM).

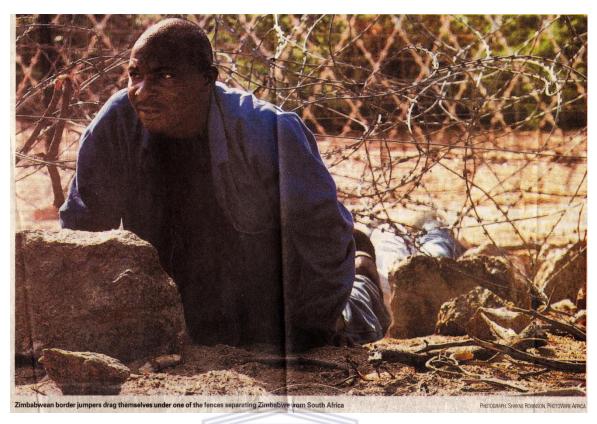
8.1 Reading Migration Through Images: Zimbabwean Immigrants as Aggressors and Victims

Media representations dominate in determining how we see migrants. Visual images often objectify them, ignoring their historical, cultural and political circumstances. The visual images of African migrants have received little direct attention. This study is an initial step towards filling this gap. This chapter argues that visual images co-construct dominant discourses of Zimbabwean immigration to SA. The analysis below shows that images construct Zimbabwean immigrants negatively, positively or both. In essence, the immigrants are constructed both as victims and as aggressors on the SA national psyche, socio-economic and political wellbeing.

Thus, empathetic camera shots are often blended with image frames of illegality, desperation, flooding metaphors and violence in the data. Although the Zimbabwean immigrants are sometimes framed as victims, the images of Zimbabwean immigrants as South Africa's folk devils discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 are prevalent in the images: this enhances the dichotomy between *us* and *them*.

According to the *Human Smuggling across the South Africa/Zimbabwe border* Report (2009), South Africa and Zimbabwe share a border that is approximately 200 km long, marked the entire way by the Limpopo River. On the Zimbabwean side, the main barrier against human movement is the river's edge. In contrast, on the South African side, security is tight. Approximately one kilometre from the river, there is a three-line barbed-wire fence with the potential to be charged with electric power. The border line is patrolled by South African authorities, including the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), and at least one private security agency. As Image 1 shows, these barriers have not stopped desperate Zimbabweans from crossing into SA.

Image 1 is of a Zimbabwean male immigrant illegally crossing into SA. The image is taken from the *Sunday Independent* 2007 newspaper.



Zimbabwean border jumpers drag themselves under one of the fences separating Zimbabwe from South Africa, The Sunday Independent 15 July 2007.

The image of the immigrant appears on the left within the image. Compositional meanings are derived from the position of placement within the image. In terms of information value, as argued by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), placement on the left construes an element as representing something that the viewer is already familiar with, as information that can be agreed upon, or taken for granted as shared. The placement of the immigrant who is following on the right, presents him as representing New information that is not yet known or agreed upon. In this image, New information is being overshadowed by the Given.

The shot captures another illegal immigrant crawling behind the first man perhaps as a way to show that this is not an isolated case. The image of the illegal crawling is overshadowed as the immigrant is lying flat on the ground at his feet directly behind him. His face is not identifiable as he is lying flat on the ground. There is a sense of belonging as these migrants are connected by the vector in the legs. According to Kress and Leeuwen (1996), vectors may be formed by bodies or limbs or tools in action¹. In this sense, the portrayal of Zimbabweans

¹ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge Press. p. 57.

is at one level negative in the sense that there are many of them coming in. At the same time, readers may feel sympathy for these illegal migrants who have to desperately use illegal routes to seek a better life in SA. This image is thus multivocal in that it carries multiple meanings in one image (Higgins, 2009).

The interactive meanings are determined by the positioning of the viewer in relation to the participants in the image. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) identify three factors that are key to realization of these meanings as distance, contact and point of view, all creating a complex and subtle relation between the represented and the viewer.

Image 1 is not a 'demand' picture. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) use the terms 'demand' and 'offer' to refer to pictures of human beings who look directly at the viewer from the picture frame. The immigrant has an indirect gaze toward the reader. There is no contact with the readers; in this case the image is detached from the readers and hence is not part of their world. Therefore, the slight angle shot is designed to show 'distance' or detachment from readers, and to capture what is around the immigrant. Distance is used to show closeness to the reader and to emphasize or deemphasize a relationship or individuality (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001).

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Point of view is also a component of interactive meaning. It has to do with the perspective and the selection of an angle (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). In Image 1, the selection of the camera angle shows that there are many Zimbabweans crossing into SA. The image signals the fact that there are more Zimbabweans coming into SA. This portrayal relates to the impression of Zimbabwean immigrants flooding into SA as discussed in Chapter Five.

Representational meanings originate from that which relates participants in terms of 'doings' and 'happenings' of the unfolding of actions, events or processes of change². This is realized through vectors. In Image 1, the vectors are realized in the gaze in the eyes projecting into the future, the Promised Land, so to speak (in this case, SA). The immigrant has a determined look on his face. The eyes of the immigrant are looking at a far distance, into the future. According to Jewitt and Oyama (2001), participants from whom the vector originates or who

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² Jewitt, C. and Oyama, R. (2001). Visual meaning: A social semiotic approach. Van Leeuwen, T & Jewitt, C. (eds.), *Handbook of Visual Analysis*. London: Sage. p. 141.

themselves, are vectors, are taken as the 'actors,' while those to whom the action is done or directed are referred to as the 'goal'. Thus, the man in the image can be said to be the actor and the goal is the distance of his eyes, in this instance, SA.

Image 1 makes the illegality framing clear. In Image 1, the Zimbabwean immigrants can be seen as illegal migrants crossing the border into SA in unconventional ways. They are using illegal channels to enter SA. The fence subtly supports their exclusion insofar as they are represented apart from the main group, and consequently, not integrated in society. Essentially, the immigrant is visually represented as performing an illegal act, going under the fence. This gulf between SA citizens and immigrants is visually represented in the fence, which reinforces the othering and exclusion discussed earlier on in this thesis. The fence stands for the barrier that is erected between Zimbabwean immigrants and SA citizens. The frames are clear; the image is based on what the reader assumed to already know about Zimbabwean immigration and the use of illegal channels to enter SA.

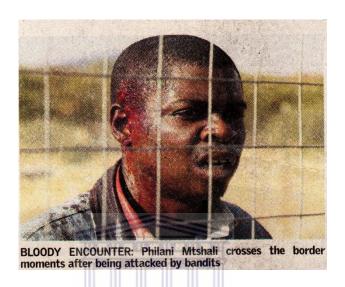
As far as vocabulary is concerned, the lexical references to immigrants without legal documents are clear. They are referred to as *Zimbabwean border jumpers* and they *drag themselves under the fence* which *separates Zimbabwe from South Africa*. Therefore, the accompanying text complements the image itself. Border jumping is an illegal act, and the illegality is demonstrated in both the visual and linguist mode. Therefore, these images illustrate how Zimbabwean immigration to SA is constructed in multimodal texts as illicit and as a threat. Images of Zimbabwean immigrants going under the fence portray a porous and leaky border, and give a sense that migrants are invading our space and posing an immediate threat³. They jump over or duck under fences that are supposed to protect boundaries⁴. The accumulation of these visual representations of seepage through the 'porous' border creates impressions of immigration that is out of control. This therefore tends to put blame on the SA government and calls for tighter border control.

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³ Cisneros, D. (2008). Contaminated communities, The metaphor of immigrant as pollutant in media representations of immigration. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*. 11(4) p. 581.

⁴ Ibid. p. 582.

Image 2, as in the previous one, depicts a male immigrant who has been attacked while trying to cross the border into SA. The male immigrant is standing behind a fence. He is gazing into the distance and his mouth is partly open. Behind him is a bushy environment just behind the fence. The immigrant stands out prominently and there is good contrast between the immigrant and the surroundings. The image of the fence stands out as a barrier separating Zimbabwean immigrants from SA.



Bloody Encounter: Philani Mtshali crosses the border moments after being attacked by bandits, Sunday Times 15 July 2007. VERSITY of the

The image of the immigrant appears in the centre within the image. As discussed, compositional meanings are derived from the position of placement within the image. In this example, the visual composition makes significant use of the Centre, placing one element in the middle (in this case, the immigrant who has been attacked). According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), 'for something to be presented as Centre means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information to which all the other elements are in some sense subservient'⁵. The margins are ancillary and dependent elements, to use Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) description. In this case, the centre shows a key theme, that of an illegal Zimbabwean immigrant using an illegal entry point to enter SA. Central position is not common in Western visualisation (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). The centre in this instance signals detachment and being alone.

⁵ Kress, G. & Van Leeuwen, T. (2006). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design.* London: Routledge Press. p. 196.

Image 2 is not a demand image. As in Image 1 above, the immigrant does not look at the reader. His face portrays that of a person who is thinking or reflecting on something. Therefore there is no interaction with the reader. The slight camera angle, as in the previous image also signifies detachment.

Representational meanings are defined through vectors. In this image, the participant's gaze is away from the reader. For Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) this means there is no relationship between the participant and the reader. In this case, the viewer is not the object, but subject of the look and the represented participant is the object of the viewer's dispassionate scrutiny. The photographed participant is therefore 'offered' to the readers 'as though they were specimens in a display case' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). There is no closeness or familiarity between the participant in the image and the reader, but vectors in the image are designed for the reader to empathise with the lonely figure.

The theme of empathy is further enhanced by the fact that Image 2 depicts the relationship between violence and illegality. The immigrant has been attacked, and has blood flowing on the left hand side of his face and onto his clothes. The blood has soiled his shirt and jacket. He is clearly a victim of an attack while crossing the border into SA. This Zimbabwean immigrant's crossing the border into SA illegally is visually portrayed as a victim. As a result of this, readers may be made to empathise with the immigrant. In terms of salience, the red blood colour catches the readers' attention. Whereas most victims of cross-border violence are nameless, our sympathy for the victim is further enhanced, as the name is provided.

In Image 2, the linguistic text illustrates a violent encounter describing it as *bloody encounter*, *attacked by bandits*. In this way, immigrants are also portrayed as victims. Readers are bound to empathise with the attacked migrant. The text also seems to be accusing the attackers and referring to them as 'bandits'. In this case there is ambiguity; the immigrant is detached from the readers, but at the same time there is empathy for him, even the choice of words, the flowing of blood all elicit sympathy for the migrant. This phenomenon can be described in terms of multivocality where single utterances yield more than one meaning (Higgins, 2009).

⁶ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge Press. p. 124.

The frames in this image are clear. Migrants smuggled across the river can face ambush by criminal groups known as *amagumaguma*, which are infamous for their methods of extortion and abuse. The migrants must first cross the Limpopo River that forms the natural border between the two countries and teems with crocodiles when swollen by rains. *Amagumaguma* can be either smugglers themselves or independent criminals who lurk in the bushes near the border, waiting to prey on unsuspecting migrants⁷.

Not only males, but also female Zimbabweans have been captured on camera crossing through the barbed wire border fences. Image 3 is that of a female Zimbabwean immigrant, crossing the border into SA. This image corroborates the arguments generated in Images 1 and 2, that of Zimbabwean immigrants using prohibited channels to enter SA.



CROSSING: A pregnant woman crosses under a barbed wire fence, one of a group of 20 Zimbabwean men and women who crossed the border near Beitbridge on March 31 and braved the flooded Limpopo River to get to

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South Africa

⁷ Tesfalem, A. (2009). *Report on Human Smuggling across the Zimbabwe/South Africa Border*. Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. p. 20.

Refugees swap white collar jobs for blue in SA Professionals flee Mugabe's tyranny for an uncertain, illegal, life across the border, Sunday Times, 8 April, 2008.

The image of the immigrant appears on the left within the image. In terms of information value of Given and New, the image realizes the Given in the left and New in the right. The female immigrant appears on the left, within the image. To the right, there are two other people following directly behind her, and one appears to be a man. The placement of the immigrant(s) who are following on the right, presents them as representing New information that is not yet known. As in Image 1, New information is being overshadowed by the Given.

Representational meanings are described through vectors which are formed by depicted elements that form an oblique line, often a quite strong, diagonal line⁸. Jewitt and Oyama (2001) define a vector as a line, often diagonal, that connects participants. Callow (1999) explains this by stating that these vectors can be objects or parts of objects (such as arms, legs, a pole, the side of a house) or invisible lines, such as the direction of gaze from a person's eye. Vectors help construct the actions and relationships in a text. In this regard, the vectors capture other illegal immigrants crawling behind the woman, again as a way to show this is not an isolated case and that there is 'flooding' and there are many Zimbabweans crossing into SA. The image of the illegal crawling is overshadowed as the immigrant is lying flat on the ground at his feet directly behind her. There is a sense of symbiotic belonging as these migrants are connected by the vector in the legs and heads; it demonstrates the solidarity and togetherness.

Image 3 is a not demand image. Like in Image 1 and 2 above, the woman immigrant does not look at the reader. The woman's gaze is away from the reader. Therefore there is no relationship between the woman and the reader. Her face portrays that of a person who is thinking and reflecting into the future. She is partly dressed, and has her top clothing removed, and wearing a bra only, probably to allow for ease of going under the razor wire security fence that cannot be easily cut. She has a determined look on her face. Her determination is also illustrated by the way she is tightly closing her lips. She is also holding something in one hand; it is not clear what it is. She is right in the middle of crossing the

⁸ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge Press. p. 57.

barbed wire fence. One would imagine that with a man behind her, it is culturally inappropriate to be incompletely dressed. From the image it can be argued that Zimbabwean immigrants including women will forego 'cultural' demands of decency and pain to cross the border into the 'promised' land of South Africa.

The verbal text in Image 3 states that, *Refugees swap white collars for blue in SA*, *Professionals flee Mugabe's tyranny for an uncertain, illegal, life across the border*. The text is highlighted and bolded, so it is very prominent. The general political and economic decline in Zimbabwe is depicted in the multimodal texts on Zimbabwean immigration to SA. In Image 3, the multimodal text illustrates that Zimbabwean professionals are prepared to take up less professional jobs as a result of Mugabe's tyranny and an ailing economy. However, there is nothing in the image to suggest that the woman could be a professional. The verbal text also describes the woman as being pregnant although there is no evidence from the image itself to confirm this. This means that more information could be obtained from the journalist who compiled this piece. However, this additional information although not visually supported, could be meant for the SA reader to empathize with the Zimbabwean situation and the plight of the migrants.

The framing of the theme of sympathy is quite clear. The Limpopo River is known to be a significant barrier in entering SA but all the same, Zimbabwean immigrants take the risk and braved the flooded Limpopo River to get to South Africa. According to Tesfalem Araia (2009), while the dangers of the river have been sensationalised by stories of migrants being mauled or devoured by wild animals, the seemingly calm waters of the river itself are perhaps the greater danger. During the wet season the river can be extremely dangerous to cross and it is likely that at least some migrants have drowned while crossing. The images draw attention to the vulnerability of the migrants who undertake perilous journeys driven by desperate desires for a better life⁹. Readers are therefore likely to empathise with the immigrants. In this sense, the image is relaying more than one message, that of sympathy and illegality. The representation of the immigrants in crossing the border through the fence and not the legal entry points conveys the view of the immigrant as illegal and involved in a criminal act. At

⁹ Gilligan, C. & Marley, C. (2010). Migration and Divisions: Thoughts on (Anti-) Narrativity in Visual Representations of Mobile People. *Forum Qualitative Social Research*. 11(2) Art. 32. p. 8.

the same time, the image of a woman taking off her blouse to brave the razor sharp barb wires triggers sympathy in the reader.

Illegal crossings are not only through footpaths and 'rabbit' holes in the fence; it also takes place through vehicles. Image 4 has been taken in a stationary car. It is night-time as there is a contrast between the dark background and the shadowy silhouetted image of the men in the car. At least one's face is evident he appears to be wearing a light yellow jacket and a yellow bag on his lap.



Nightriders: Illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe are met by taxis that transport them to Musina on the South African side of the border, The Sunday Times 15 July 2007.

In this example, the framing is clear; taxi drivers transporting illegal Zimbabwean immigrants across the Zimbabwe and SA boarder under the cover of darkness. This migratory flow, as depicted appears to have created a business for these transporters of illegal migrants. In terms of compositional meanings and information value, the man in the driver's seat has no interaction with the reader. It is not clear if he is hiding his identity or if he is looking down.

On the other hand, the passenger is looking outside through the window and is carrying his possessions on his lap, giving an impression that he is ready to run away. He looks anxious and unsettled, leaning on the driver and not sitting in an upright position. The yellow jacket that he is wearing makes his visibility better. In terms of the compositional component of salience, the yellow jacket and bag catch the readers' attention, and provides a sharp colour contrast.

While the image of the immigrant itself is clear, it is not easy to define the immediate surroundings because it is dark. There are other people sitting at the back of the vehicle, although it is not clear how many. The immigrant in the centre is also wearing a ring, implying that he is a married man. This man has probably left his family in Zimbabwe, to look for a better life in SA. In this sense, readers are bound to feel sympathetic to him.

Image 4, like the images discussed earlier on is not a demand image. The vector as directed by the man's gaze is not toward the reader. There is no relation between him and the reader. Contact is, therefore, not established, and the reader is not acknowledged. In this way, the image illustrates detachment from the readers. In terms of point of view, it is clear that there is no full face view, no frontal angle view of the immigrant. Hence according to Gilligan (2010), the oblique angle suggests greater detachment.

This image is designed to capture the clandestine nature of Zimbabwean immigration to SA. It also points to overcrowding, overpopulation and flooding and reinforces stereotypes about the Zimbabwean immigrant population in SA. Zimbabwean immigration is therefore depicted as negative in this sense. There is use of intertextual references in Image 4 to a film. Intertextuality is the shaping of texts' meanings by other texts (Graham, 2000). It can refer to an author's borrowing and transformation of a prior text or to a reader's referencing of one text in reading another. Zimbabwean immigrants are also described as *nightriders*, invoking fears of a real menace, that is, while South Africa sleeps, Zimbabweans are busy entering SA using illegal channels. It also makes it clear that these immigrants from Zimbabwe are illegal which portrays them negatively.

The term *Night Riders* used in this image is derived from a 1981 Slovak film. Shortly after World War I and the creation of the new Czechoslovak Republic, two war veterans are confronted in a small village in the north of Slovakia at the border with Poland. For one of the protagonists - Marek Orban, this village is his home. As it is isolated and lacks job opportunities, he persuades the inhabitants to emigrate to America. The villagers have to sell all the cattle to be able to buy the boat tickets, but it still is not enough. Marek Orban has to smuggle horses to Poland. The second protagonist, customs officer Halva (Radoslav Brzobohatý), arrives from Prague to protect the borders and the law of the new republic. Both are men of honour and principle, they are led to conflict which results in a death of villagers

and customs officers. The absurdity of this tragedy is underlined at the end of the film when the border is moved, the village becomes a part of Poland and, in the background, we can see Marek Orban smuggling horses from Poland to Poland¹⁰.

The Zimbabwean immigrants in Image 4 could be described in terms of the protagonists - Marek Orban (Michal Dočolomanský), in an isolated village lacking in job opportunities. Marek Orban persuades the inhabitants to immigrate to America. The unemployment crisis in Zimbabwe is a recurrent theme in the data, for instance Image 3 makes reference to professionals fleeing Zimbabwe to go for blue collar jobs in SA.

8.1.1 Zimbabweans arriving through the 'backdoor' – The Illegality Frame

One salient theme that is prominent in the multimodal texts discussed above of Zimbabwean immigration to SA is illegality. Therefore, the images of immigrants who cross the border illegally and circumvent the required legal procedures to enter SA are typical.

Over the last decade, the increase in clandestine migration foregrounded the issue of Zimbabwean immigration and provided the SAM with regular stories on illegal immigrants, clandestine migration networks, women migration and the tragic loss of lives in the Limpopo River while crossing into South Africa. According to Horsti, (2007), previous empirical research on the media representation of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants stresses the frames of illegality: migrants are presented as intruders and as a threat¹¹.

The story of Zimbabwean immigrants arriving in SA through 'the back door,' to use Horsti's, (2007) terminology, is a recurring news theme from the mid-1990s when South Africa started receiving huge numbers of Zimbabwean immigrants. Illegality is a common theme, also in the coverage. The migrants are characterized as 'illegal migrants' who circumvent the legal procedures of crossing the land border between Zimbabwe and SA (Mawadza, 2008). In this case, the SAM stresses the patrolling, controlling and stopping of the migrants. This is stressed in the visual images of Zimbabweans crossing the border through illegal crossing

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^{10 ://}www.answers.com/topic/the-night-riders-1939-film#ixzz1upvVxNRF, accessed 14 May 2012.

¹¹ Horsti, K. (2007). Hope and Despair: Representations of Europe and Africa in news coverage of migration crisis. Paper presented at the 14 Nordic Migration Researchers Conference, Bergen, Norway 14-16 November, and p. 18.

points, via the fence or at night. These travellers take a route to SA which circumvents the designated entry points.

These multimodal texts of Zimbabwean immigrants (cf. Images 1-4) display a leaky and porous border, connoting a sense that the problem at hand for SA is potentially unmanageable. The images of Zimbabwean immigrants crossing illegally from under the fence and at night make vivid the problem associated with illegal migration into SA. The images of Zimbabwean immigrants crossing into SA using illegal channels present a psychological disruption to the peace and serenity of life in SA. The content of these visual images convey a sense that Zimbabwean immigrants are a danger and a threat. Showing immigrants crossing the border illicitly at night, perpetuates the images of migrants as threats to security.

Image 5 is that of Zimbabwean immigrants queuing at the Home Affairs Department in SA. The camera angle is from an elevated position, captures the multitude of Zimbabweans, and tends to agree with the text on the Given, or left side, within the image. Thus, Kress and van Leewen's (2006) New refers to the 'Millions of Zimbabweans stuck in long queues as end of dispensation looms.' The camera angle is therefore designed to show the imagining for 'millions' of Zimbabweans who have flooded the Department of Home Affairs.

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The Zimbabwean Dispensation Project (ZDP) was implemented by the Department of Home Affairs between September and December 2010 with the aim of regularizing the stay of undocumented Zimbabweans in South Africa¹². Zimbabweans were offered free, temporary work and study permits, issued for up to four years, if they applied with a valid Zimbabwean passport and a letter from their employer in South Africa.

¹² http://www.passop.co.za/programmes/zimbabwe-dispensation-project-monitoring, accessed 14 May 2012.

D-day for refugees in SA



Millions of Zimbabweans still without documents and stuck in long queues as deadline for end of dispensation looms, Mail and Guardian, 22-28 July 2011.

As noted above, the placement on the Given, or the left, is interpreted as representing something with which the viewer is already familiar, as information that can be agreed upon, or taken for granted, or as shared (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). The text on the left can be interpreted as representing what readers might expect to find in a text on Zimbabwean immigration to SA. The immigrants' placement on the right in the place for New information is that of Zimbabwean immigrants queuing by the Home Affairs Department in SA. Some are lying down on card board box sheets on the sand. They are sitting by the green parameter fence of the Home Affairs Department. It is cold. This is evidenced by the warm clothing (jackets and hats) that the migrants are wearing.

The camera focuses on a female migrant, centre-right side of the image. The immigrant is looking at the reader. She is wearing a red hat, which makes her more salient. She is also wearing warm clothes, a khaki jacket and socks, and sitting on a grey blanket on the sand.

This is the most important aspect on this image, in the area for new information, i.e., in the area given most prominence. The centre forms the nucleus, while the right side, that of 'new' information, is where the elements that are more important are located and where the reader should concentrate his/her attention¹³ (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). Thus, in this image, it is the image of the woman that is in the most important, and occupies the prominent position on the page.

The woman is looking almost straight into the camera, which emphasises her as the nucleus of the information. The other images on the photo are subservient to her image. However, since the woman looks almost directly at the reader, this is a demand image, which Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) says cries for attention, and, in this case, empathy. In general, the fact that female migrants also feature prominently in multimodal texts on Zimbabwean immigration to SA may serve to illustrate that the Zimbabwean crisis has affected the entire population. As a result, women and even children (Image 8) are particularly going through difficult times, and this calls for a sympathetic ear.

The image is taken from a high vantage point, and the viewer is in a position of power, looking down on the participants. On the other hand, the higher vantage point depicts those in the image as having power over the viewer (Gilligan, 2010). If a represented participant is seen from a high angle, the relation between the interactive participant (the producer of the image, and hence also the viewer) and the represented participants is depicted as one in which the interactive participant has power over the represented participant, and the represented participant is seen from the point of view of power¹⁴. In Image 5, the opposite is true as the woman and others in the photo are depicted as looking up towards the camera.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), vectors formed by the participants' eye lines, connect the participants with the readers thereby establishing some contact. According to Jewitt and Oyama (2001), images can bring people, places or things close to the viewer. In this case, the vectors originate in the woman's eyes to the readers.

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¹³ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. ([1996] 2006), *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual* Design. London: Routledge Press. p. 181.

¹⁴ Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge Press. p. 146.

The distance in this image is short. However, Jewitt and Oyama (2001) warn that this does not mean that people we see represented in close up are actually close to us and vice versa. Instead, they are simply presented as though they should belong to 'our group,' hence addressing viewers as a certain kind of person.

The heading *D-Day for refugees in SA* has intertextual reference to the historical day, June 6, 1944, on which the Allied invasion of Europe began. According to Thibault (1991), intertextuality analysis draws attention to the dependence of text upon society and history in the form of resources made available within the order of discourses. In this case, there is reference to the Allied invasion of Europe and a day something big will happen being equated to the deadline for Zimbabwean immigrants. Fairclough (1989) states that intertextuality crucially mediates the correlation between language and social context, and facilitates more satisfactory bridging of the gap between texts and contexts. Intertextuality exists to show that there is no text that has a profound origin, as every text depends on the existence of the other. Fairclough's arguments are similar to Kristeva's (1986), which suggest that intertextual analysis is a matter of the insertion of history into text and text into history. Intertextuality is therefore useful for readers, as it has the vital function of helping to understand the past, present and the future of the text by drawing on texts already read. In so doing, they increase the interest in the text currently being read. (Graham, 2000).

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The researcher should like to note the crowded images in Image 5 and the accompanying verbal text: *Millions of Zimbabweans still without documents and stuck in long queues as deadline for end of dispensation looms* appears to be a direct attack on the Department of Home Affairs in SA. As the deadline approaches, the Home Affairs Department is yet to clear long queues of Zimbabweans *still* without documentation. The use of the adverb *still* appears to signal some delay on the part of the Home Affairs Department. Such lexical constructions tend to blame the SA immigration system for the delays, and also draw sympathy for the migrants from the readers.

Besides, it is difficult to imagine that there were millions of Zimbabweans in the queues. It is not practical or otherwise physically possible for the Department of Home Affairs in SA to be processing such huge numbers of applications. According to the Parliamentary Monitoring Group, the Department had received a total of 275 762 applications for permits under the Dispensation. The Department of Home Affairs had approved and issued 134 369 permits,

and had pre-adjudicated and check listed 141 393 applications¹⁵. Such figures therefore make it difficult to understand that there were millions of Zimbabweans in the queues.

8.2 Images as Narratives of Hunger and Disease

These multimodal texts also suggest the idea that there is 'no room here,' and a warning of what *our* country would resemble if we do not stop *them* from coming¹⁶. These visual representations of threatening Zimbabwean immigrants in large numbers and planning to legalise their stay in SA for that matter, exacerbate the idea of 'floods' of Zimbabwean immigrants wanting to stay in SA for ever. The visual and textual representations of 'floods' of immigrants form part of the overall media coverage in which immigrants or minorities tend to be exclusively associated with negative topics and problems: immigration as invasion, abuse of identity papers, mafias, unemployment, violence, crime, drugs, illegality, cultural deviance, fanaticism, religious intolerance, backwardness, and so on¹⁷.

Image 6 shows a man carrying a load on his head. He is walking across a road at the Zimbabwe and SA border.



¹⁵ Zimbabwean Documentation Project: Briefing by Department Of Home Affairs http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20110920-department-home-affairs-zimbabwean-documentation-project. accessed

25 May 2012.

¹⁶ Gilligan, C. and Marley, C. 2010. Migration and Divisions: Thoughts on (Anti-) Narrativity in Visual Representations of Mobile People. *Forum Qualitative Social Research.* 11(2) Art. 32, p. 3.

¹⁷ Chris Gilligan & Marley, Carol. (2010). Migration and Divisions: Thoughts on (Anti-) Narrativity in Visual Representations of Mobile People. *Forum Qualitative Social Research.* 11(2) Art. 32. p. 3.

Zimbabweans buying food in South Africa before they cross the Beitbridge border to their country, Mail and Guardian, May 19 to 25 2008.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) suggest two forms of textual organization for images; that is the 'polarized' and the 'centred'. According to Martin and Rose (2004), images may be organized around a centre or margin principle, with the centre forming the nucleus information that holds the marginal elements. The marginal elements are thus said to be subservient to the centre, and belong to it. In Image 6, the immigrant appears in the centre of the image carrying four bags of maize meal on his head. This is quite a large load for his size and stature. Readers are bound to have sympathy for him. The placement of the train of cars on the right, presents New information, in this case not only to illustrate the intensity of the large scale migration trends between Zimbabwe and SA, but also to enhance the loneliness of the man carrying such a heavy load when there are vehicles all around him.

Evidently, the man in the image does not interact with the reader as he does not show his face. He is facing sideways. Point of view has to do with perspective, that is, the selection of an angle (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). The angle is taken in such a way that there is no involvement with the readers. The oblique angle indicates detachment, something that is not 'part of the viewers' world' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). The shot is designed to capture the load of mealie-meal that the 'lonely' man is carrying on his head.

In Image 6, the vectors are realized in the arms holding onto the bags of mealie-meal on the man's head. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), the narrative images refer to action or reaction. Image 6 is a narrative image. Actions and reactions are indicated by vectors, which are formed following the direction of participant's bodies and/or glance. In this case, the migrant's hands are directed towards the bags of mealie-meal he is carrying on his head, while the vectors of his elbows are directed away from the SA side of the border and more towards the Zimbabwean side.

The verbal text in Image 6 states that, Zimbabweans buying food in South Africa before they cross the Beitbridge border to their country. It confirms what the reader sees in the image. Zimbabweans are represented as a burden. They cross into SA even to get the very basic goods such as mealie-meal. These images capture the sense of community disruption and disarray brought on by the Zimbabwean immigration to SA.

In addition to hunger, the images on Zimbabwean immigrants also carry narratives of disease as a direct consequence of the Mugabe misrule in Zimbabwe. Without adequate donor support and the flight of medical personnel to other countries during the economic crunch, medical facilities often lack critical drugs and/or personnel to dispense them. Image 7 illustrates a make-shift medical facility in which Zimbabwean women immigrants are receiving treatment for cholera.



Most patients from Zimbabwe and some South Africans that contracted cholera are being treated at the Musina Hospital in Limpopo. Mail and Guardian, 10 December 2008, Photo: Oupa Nkosi

The image depicts disease, illness, desperation and makeshift conditions. It shows images of women receiving treatment for cholera. The floor on which they are sitting is unpaved, clearly showing an emergency make-shift situation. The main image is that of a woman lying down. Another woman in a red top is receiving an intravenous drip. Surrounding this woman are other women. The emaciated face and body physic of the one in the red top holding a drip can be taken as indicative of the devastation of hunger or disease or both. The drip providing medication is positioned on the right. The four women, all appear in the place for Given information on the left. Therefore, the drip on the right hand side is the new information that the readers need to pay attention to. The drip represents the medical assistance that SA is providing to Zimbabwean immigrants during a cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe. The women are framed together, but their bodily vectors suggest they are not exactly together, as they point to different directions. Rather the economic hardships in Zimbabwe brought them

together in this makeshift 'hospital' situation. There is no evidence that they are related, and each appears to be isolated. The women are sitting or lying down on a white cloth that is spread over bare ground. There are also bottles of drinking water lying on the ground supposedly for the cholera patients.

Image 7 is evidence that a photo does not have to be a demand image to draw attention or sympathy. The women are not looking straight into our eyes. The woman in the red top is looking at the drip from which she is getting medication into her body. Therefore, readers do not enact any close type of relationship with this woman or the other women in the photo. One of the most outstanding features of this image is the drip. The woman in the red top is receiving some medication via a drip with no one helping to operate it. Thus, the medication goes into her body through the right hand while she controls the gadget with her left hand. In normal circumstances checking and controlling the drip is done by a professional nurse. She has a bandage on her hand, possibly through which the drip is being administered. Vectors are formed following the eyes and arms of the woman in the red blouse. The image shows some movement. The woman's right arm is raised, she is extending it to the drip, her mouth is partly open (it is not clear if she was saying something at the moment the picture was taken). Her eyes are looking directly at the drip; she is the main actor and the drip is the goal. Readers are bound to have sympathy for her.

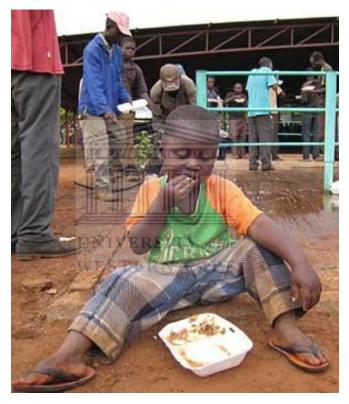
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Jewitt and Oyama (2001) suggest the camera angle and camera-to-subject distance contribute to the meaning conveyed in a photograph. Certain camera angles and certain distances are related to potential meanings of power and relationship between the subject of the image and the viewer. This image is taken from a high-angle which signals power relations between the participants in the interactive situation (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001). The angle shows that the participants at the bottom are powerless. Hence, according to Van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2004), if you look down on something, you look at it from a position of power¹⁸. This image shows not only the powerlessness of the women, but it also illustrates the health dangers of Zimbabwean immigration to SA by featuring victims of cholera receiving treatment by the Zimbabwe-SA border.

¹⁸ Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, C. (2004). A Social Semiotic Approach. In *Handbook of Visual Analysis: Visual Meaning*: Sage Research Methods Online. p. 3.

The theme of loneliness is recurrent in the images analysed in this study. They are designed to draw our attention to the human nature of the unfolding human dislocation experiences by Zimbabwean immigrants.

Image 8 is that of a small Zimbabwean boy having a meal in Musina, South Africa. The image shows a desperate boy eating in wet, dirty, and generally unhygienic surroundings. The boy looks abandoned. It is not clear where his parents or guardians are. There are some adults in the background eating as a group who seem oblivious to the toddler who is all alone. The purpose of the image is to draw sympathy.



Greener pastures? A young Zimbabwean boy eats a meal at the showgrounds in Musina this week. His parents are two of the thousands of Zimbabweans seeking asylum in South Africa. Alexander Joe, AFP, Mail and Guardian December 15 to 21 2008.

As stated earlier, information value is realized by the placement of the elements of a composition. In this instance, the main image is that of a small boy having a meal in the centre of the image. Images organized as such around the centre form the nucleus information that holds the marginal elements (Martin and Rose, 2004). In terms of salience, the background is a light colour, which highlights the image of the boy. The colours of his clothes are bright; he is wearing a green and orange coloured t-shirt.

The boys' lonely position and near-empty food container draws sympathy from the readers. This image highlights the Zimbabwean immigration as affecting not only the adult population, but the children as well.

Van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2004) argue that images can create particular relations between viewers and the world inside the picture frame. In this way they interact with viewers and suggest the attitude viewers should take towards what is being represented. The image was taken from a frontal angle which invites the audience/viewer to identify with the participants in the picture. To Jewitt and Oyama (2001), the closeness suggests a personal relationship with the boy. The close-up image suggests a reading in which the viewer should relate to the emotion shown in the image. It also brings the boy closer to the reader. The short distance suggests a close relation between the boy and the readers. According to Gilligan (2010), a close-up shot therefore projects the participant as socially close to the reader. Therefore, even though this is not exactly a demand picture, it nevertheless draws the reader's attention.

Vectors are formed following the eyes and arms of the boy in this image, and there is some movement. As in Image 7, the boy's right arm is somewhat raised, and he is extending it to his mouth to eat the food. His eyes are looking directly at the food. In this case, the boy is the actor or agent and the food and the mouth constitute the goal. As Gilligan (2010), states, the vector emanates from the agent and projects towards its goal.

In Image 8, SA is seen an absorbing a hue immigrant population that is *part of the thousands* of Zimbabweans seeking asylum in South Africa. The description of Zimbabweans as coming in their thousands endorses what readers see in the image as migrants appear to be gorging on free and packaged food. Therefore, this image appears to be calling upon the SA government to address the problems arising from the Zimbabwean immigration to SA.

8.3 Images of Flooding and Desperation

Visual images of Zimbabwean immigrants discussed in Images 5-8 typically depict poverty, economic dependency and food shortages. All these factors are key drivers of moral panic as discussed in Chapter Six. The concrete dangers of Zimbabwean immigration are usually associated with heightened crime, invasion and economic burden. Many of the stories during the period analysed feature images of crowds of Zimbabwean immigrants, for instance at the Home Affairs Department (Image 5) applying for documentation to allow them to legally stay in SA. These images of Zimbabwean immigration add to the general sense of disarray, disorder, and defilement conveyed by discourses of immigration's dangers (Cinseros, 2008). Images of desperation and flooding corroborate metaphoric descriptions of 'migrants as dangerous waters' presented in Chapter Five. Featuring images of unorganized groups of migrants intensifies the magnitude of the migration problem to SA.

While there is evidence of sympathy for the Zimbabwean immigrants, the idea that is hidden in these images, is that there is a superior world (that of the majority), and an inferior world (that of immigrants), and it is the superior world's ideology that transmits the immigrants' image¹⁹. The different visual and verbal characteristics analysed make readers perceive the image of immigrants as negative. Therefore, representations can include or exclude and emphasize some of superiority of SA as a nation. The images of desperation and flooding of Zimbabwean immigrants are highlighted by the visual and linguistic constructions by the SAM.

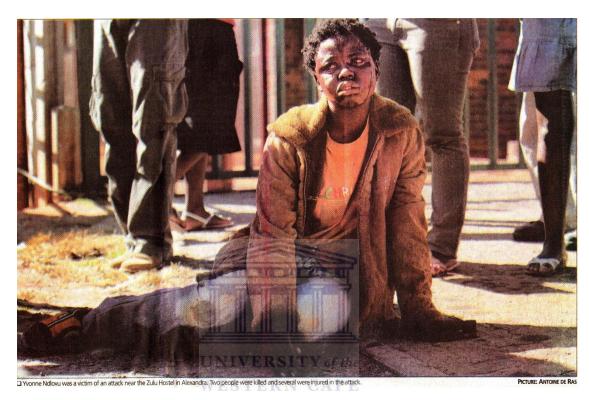
As discussed, it is also critical to note that the images representing Zimbabwean immigrants contribute to produce pity, sympathy or to assign blame. Images make the violence connected to illegalization visible and, thereby, criticize the current SA government policies regarding labour mobility between Zimbabwe and SA. This is evident in the narratives contained in the images analysed below.

8.4 Imaging Blood and Agony: Running the Gauntlet

The most sustained images designed to draw the reader's empathy towards immigrants are those depicting blood, agony and pain. Image 9 shows a young Zimbabwean woman sitting in

¹⁹ Lirola, M (2006). A critical analysis of the image of immigrants in multimodal texts. *Linguistics and Human Sciences* (2)3 p. 394.

an upright position on the ground. She has been attacked by locals in SA, and looks helpless, bloodied, pitful, and dejected. She is crying, and the image shows her sadness, agony and pain. Her hair is unkempt, her clothes are dirty and disheveled, typical of someone who has been roughed up and beaten. The written text refers to her as a 'victim of attack'. Readers may be more sympathetic for her for the reasons described below.



Zimbabwean woman after being beaten up at a tavern at the Zulu hostel in Alexandra, Pretoria News, 13 May 2008.

One of the most outstanding features of this image is the blood flowing on her face which makes the colour contrast noticeable. The woman is isolated. There are some people standing, right behind the woman, but the camera only captures part of their bodies. They are most likely onlookers, and are not assisting her in any way. Their body vectors suggest they do not have anything to do with her.

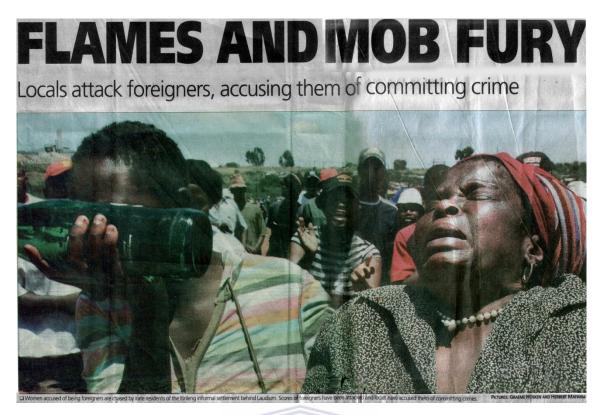
The placement of the immigrant on the centre presents her as the nucleus of the image and the onlookers at the periphery. The central position is not common in Western visualisation (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006), but appears to be common in the images discussed in this chapter.

The immigrant is not facing the reader, she is looking away. Therefore, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), this is not a demand image. Consequently, there is no relation between her and the reader. Contact is therefore not established, and the reader is not acknowledged. In this way, the image illustrates detachment from the readers.

In terms of point of view, the image is a close-up. Close-ups are shots that realize a more informal, closer and intimate relationship with the viewer (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). The vectors are projected in her eyes into the distance showing despair. Thus, even though it is not a demand image, it nevertheless draws the reader towards her. In this way, this image is designed to elicit sympathy from the readers. The written text makes reference to a 'victim of an attack' and 'two people were killed and several others injured in the attack.' The content of the written text substantiates what the reader sees in the image. This description agrees with the image of blood and tears on the women's face in the image. On the whole, the photograph appeals to the reader's emotions and heightens the readers' involvement in the events and help readers identify with the victim.

The theme of pain and agony is also carried in Image 10 which is about a violent attack on foreigners by local South Africans. It shows two women: a mature woman on the right and a second woman to the left of the page partly obscured by a bottle she is holding to cover her face.

The image portrays a desperate and pitiful situation. It depicts vulnerable, crying people who are being pursued by an unsympathetic crowd. They are jeering and clapping. This image elicits sympathy for the foreigners from the readers. The image demonstrates the inhumanity of xenophobia, as it is not humane to applaud other people's suffering and agony.



FLAMES AND MOB FURY

Locals attack foreigners accusing them of committing crime.

Women accused of being foreigners are chased by irate residents of the Itirileng settlement behind Laudium. Scores of foreigners have been attacked and locals have accused them of committing crimes. Pretoria News, 21 February 2008.

The most important aspect of the image is that of the woman who is crying. She is represented on the right side of the image in the area for New information. The image of the woman covering her face with a bottle appears in the area for Given information.

The image is not a demand image. The women do not look at the readers, the eyes of the woman on the right are closed and she is crying; the other woman is covering her face. There is, therefore, no interaction between them and the readers. The camera is at a horizontal angle, which encodes 'involvement' between the image producer and the represented participants (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). Such an angle is designed to show the agony of the women while the locals mock them. Such a depiction draws sympathy from the readers.

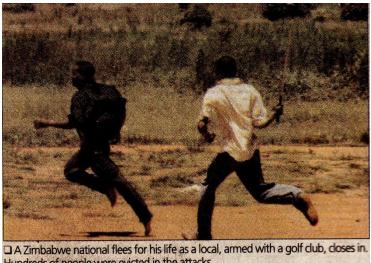
There is a vector at the top of the image that joins the heads of the two women, and this vector emphasizes the idea that the two women represented belong to the same social group, in this case, immigrants. Joining them through a vector implies not only that they are suffering the

same fate, but also that they are individuals from similar social classes who share values, goals and expectations.

The image tells us that the women are in a violent encounter. The image is also accompanied by verbal text on the top and the bottom of the image. The text on top of the image is in capital letters and bold font, which immediately captures the attention of the reader. The use of the capital letters also highlights the importance of this title. The text says that there is 'Flames and mob fury,' and this links with the mob of people following behind them (including the man clapping his hands).

The crowd looks directly at the camera, and, therefore, interacts with the reader. The locals are furious as the text refers to them as *irate residents*. The immigrants are being accused of committing crime, as the lexical items show. As in Image 9 above, this image, highlights the portrayal of women as victims as discussed in Chapter 7, as it is inconceivable that such an old woman depicted in the image can come all the way from Zimbabwe to be involved in organized crime in SA. In this way, this image is designed to elicit compassion from the readers.

The theme of Zimbabwean immigrants as perpetrators of crime is extended in Image 11 which shows a Zimbabwean national carrying a black bag, being chased by a South African wielding a golf club. The victim and assailant are not facing the reader.



Hundreds of people were evicted in the attacks.

Zimbabwean national flees for his life as a local armed with a golf club closes in, Pretoria News, 21 Feb, 2008.

In terms of information value of Given and New, the image realizes the Zimbabwean immigrant in the left (i.e., Given information), and the armed South African in the right (i.e., New information). Therefore, the focus of the image is on the armed South Africa, pursuing the Zimbabwean immigrant. The local is *closing in* on the Zimbabwean immigrant. Inevitably, readers are also bound to feel sympathetic to this *evicted* Zimbabwean on the verge of being attacked.

The men are not facing the camera. In fact they are showing their backs. There is no eye contact with the readers. Therefore, it is not a demand image. There is a vector formed following the direction of movement of the legs of the men. There is movement going forward. As noted above, images can also convey meanings regarding viewer and participant social relation through the types of shot. In this case, the shot is not close, signaling a distant relationship.

The text makes mention of a 'Zimbabwean national fleeing for his life' from 'a local armed with a golf club.' The content of the written text confirms what the reader sees in the image – by making reference to a 'victim feeling for his life.' Lexical items referring to 'victim', 'armed' and 'clubs' all describe a violent scenario. The image illustrates violence between local South Africans and Zimbabwean immigrants. Such images, while drawing sympathy from the readers, simultaneously give a negative view of migrants as criminals who are clearly defined in multimodal texts as unwelcome.

8.5 Migrants as Asylum-Seekers and Refugees

According to Gilligan and Marley (2010), the representation of immigrants as victims is often employed by immigrant advocates, as part of an attempt to counter the representation of migrants as a threat. The asylum-seeker or refugee is particularly likely to be invoked as an example of the immigrant as victim. In SA, images of Zimbabwean immigrants as victims of xenophobic attacks, for instance, are distinctive (Images 9-12). The images are visually arresting and they draw attention to the vulnerability of the migrants (Gilligan and Marley, 2010). This representation of Zimbabwean immigrants also draws sympathy from the readers who may feel compassion for their fate.

Theodore Kamwimbi *et al.* (2010) note that, in May 2008, foreign nationals from a number of African countries were victims of violent xenophobic attacks by local South Africans in at least 135 locations across South Africa. The attacks led to 62 deaths, the rape of many refugee women and girls, the displacement of over 100,000 people, and millions of rand in damage and loss of property. Most of the victims belonged to already vulnerable groups, including women, children and poor families; the majority had previously been victims of massive atrocities, gross human rights violations and gender based violence in their home countries²⁰.

In May 2008, xenophobia became a tangible and embarrassing reality in South Africa. What had been simmering under the surface for at least 15 years, suddenly exploded in the streets of the Alexandra Township near Johannesburg. Mobs of angry residents took to the streets to launch attacks on legal and illegal immigrants. Shacks in informal settlements were plundered, property was stolen and people were assaulted. More attacks occurred elsewhere around Johannesburg²¹. Zimbabweans migrants were not spared. In fact, 12 Zimbabweans were among the 62 people killed in xenophobic violence in South Africa in May 2008²².

Image 12 illustrates an official addressing Zimbabwean immigrants seeking to legalise their stay in SA.

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²⁰ Kamwimbi, T. *et al.* (2010). Violation of Human Rights of Disadvantaged and Vulnerable Refugees – Victims of Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa. *OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development*. 1(5). p. 67.

²¹ Lubbe, G. Victims of Xenophobia: African, Immigrants in South Africa. http://www.desmondtutudiversitytrust.org.za/xenophobia.pdf

²² 10 victims of xenophobia buried in Zimbabwe, http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/sowetan/archive/2008/06/05/10-victims-of-xenophobia-buried-in-zimbabwe, accessed 15 February 2012.



Four days left for Zim immigrants, Pretoria News, 27 December 2010.

The most important feature of this image is the government official standing to the left of the image in the area for Given information. She is wearing purple attire which makes her quite distinct in the image. A number of people are standing, while some are seated. The government official shows some authority, she is stretching out her hand and seems to be taking questions from people who are raising their hands. Within the group, there are two men carrying cameras, probably journalists filing a news report.

The placement of the migrant(s) who are following on the right, presents them as representing New information that is not yet known. The official does not look at the readers, but is facing the people she is addressing. There is therefore no interaction between her and the readers.

The image tells us that the woman in purple is an authority. Jewitt and Oyama (2001) suggest the camera angle and camera-to-subject distance contribute to the meaning conveyed in an image. This image is taken from a high-angle which therefore signals power relations between the participants in the interactive situation (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001). The angle shows that the participants at the bottom are powerless.

Vectors are formed following the eyes and arms of the official. The image clearly conveys a sense of movement: the woman's right arm is stretched out to the audience. Similarly, there is a corresponding vector from the arms stretching out to her in the audience. The officials' eyes also look directly at the audience arguably the goal. Therefore there is another vector emanating from her eyes into the audience and vice versa.

The written text accompanying the image states that there are *Four days left for Zim immigrants*, implying that they literally have no time left to sort out their legal status and documentation to lawfully remain in SA. Such lexis reinforces the sympathy from the readers.

It is clear that the migrants are often dealt with from the authorities' viewpoint: they are moved, removed, and observed (Horsti, 2007). The control framing is also produced by the close connection between authorities and journalists.

8.6 Summary: Images Tell More Than Words

The images evoke readers' schemas and frames of experiences, for instance, pain and suffering. Therefore, images go directly into long-term memory where they are permanently fixed. The images carry a human face, and they affect the reader emotionally.

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Some of the images discussed in this chapter transform stereotypes of immigrants as aggressors, perpetrators of crime into real human beings. From the images, the Zimbabwean immigrants look like any other black (South) African. They are not imaginary. Thus, they look like anybody's brother, sister, mother, uncle. Images of nightriders, crossing the border illegally into SA and images of long queues of Zimbabwean immigrants at the Home Affairs Department are designed to induce panic, but readers may as well empathise with the humanitarian crisis at hand.

Images of bloodied Zimbabwean immigrants induce revulsion at the violence. As Cisneros (2008) argues, images, by design, encourage the reader to forget that images are constructed artefacts but real human beings. This appeals to the readers' sense of shared humanity which also usually triggers a sense of altruism. In fact, initially news stories about xenophobia in SA did not induce much anger. Quarters of the SAM rejected such suggestions. President Mbeki

is on record as having said the violence against foreigners was due to criminal elements, but later relented and blamed it on xenophobia²³. As the images of blood, mayhem and brutality started trickling in; South Africans were generally outraged that follow citizens could be so brutal against other human beings.

Therefore, the analysis of the representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM would be incomplete without simultaneously examining the images that accompanied the stories. The analysis shows that images influence readers differently. Contrary to verbal text, what we see has a profound effect on what we do, how we feel, and who we are²⁴.

The findings of this chapter depart in some way from previous research discussed in the theoretical framework. While previous studies on the representation of migrants identified an overwhelmingly negative tone, this chapter did not find an explicit anti-immigrant discourse. This significant finding indicates a concern for the Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM. The chapter concludes that text and image tell different stories.

As the chapter demonstrates, the images on Zimbabwean immigration to SA portray a sympathetic view toward immigrants and their social predicaments. This is realised in such images where Zimbabwean immigrants appear in bloodied images, and seeking food and medical care in SA.

On the other hand, it can also be argued that, through the textual messages, the SAM strengthens the images of Zimbabweans as illegal entities in SA. Threatening descriptions of overpopulation and flooding reinforce stereotypes and blame the Zimbabwean immigrant population in SA. Negative media images of flooding, long queues, seeking food and medical

committed unpardonable crimes against other Africans. Mbeki's Story to foreign victims, Business Day, 4 July,

2008.

²³ President Thabo Mbeki yesterday apologised, on behalf of South Africans, to the families of the victims of xenophobic violence who were killed or displaced during attacks in May at various places around the country. He was speaking during the national tribute to xenophobic victims in Pretoria yesterday, an event attended by cabinet ministers, religious organisations, humanitarian nongovernmental organisations and members of the public. The attacks on foreign nationals and some South Africans were described by speakers as 'unfortunate' and 'criminally motivated' and were strongly condemned. Mbeki said: 'We have gathered here to convey to all Africans everywhere, to all African nations, severally and collectively, to our own people, and to the families of people who were murdered, our sincere condolences and our heartfelt apologies that Africans in our country

²⁴ Parkinson, M. The Power of Visual Communication. http://www.billiondollargraphics.com/infographics.html, accessed 10 May 2012.

care in SA drive home the message that 'those people' outnumber 'us.' Fear of flooding in SA translates into fear of increasing burden on SA resources. Unlike the verbal text, images enhance or affect emotions and attitudes and therefore convey different messages.



9.0 Introduction

This study has attempted to provide a comprehensive analysis of the representations of Zimbabwean immigrants in the South African Media (SAM). Its purpose was to expand on previous research on media representations of Zimbabwean immigrants through a multimodal discourse analysis approach (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, Van Dijk, 1988, 1991, 1993, Wodak, 1999, Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). Through applying a multi-disciplinary approach, the thesis has drawn not only upon multimodal discourse analysis theory, but also on the cognitive theory of metaphor (Chilton, 1996, Ana, 1999, 2004, Charteris-Black, 2005) to reveal the power of metaphor to convey ideologies and construct a naturalized portrayal of reality. The study also draws insights from sociologists such as Stanley Cohen (1972) on moral panic, and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) on reading multimodal texts.

One of the strengths of this study is that it provides an in-depth examination of the metaphoric representations of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM. Secondly, this study also attempts to analyse the portrayal of female immigrants that produces stereotyping and negative representation, an investigation that has not been approached by previous studies on portrayals of Zimbabwean women immigrants. A third strength of the current analysis is the attention to moral panic, also an analysis that has not been addressed by prior studies on Zimbabwean immigration to South Africa (SA).

Images of Zimbabwean immigrants that appear in the SAM have a powerful impact on the readers as compared to the verbal text. The images also show us the positive dimensions that are not evident from reading verbal texts only. Without the images, the portrayal of Zimbabwean immigrants in this study appears negative. Thus, this study offers a complete account that focuses on both the linguistic and the visual features of media texts. This shows the importance of academic investigations not making hasty conclusions based on the verbal features alone. This in turn demonstrates the importance of multimodal analysis in studying issues of migration, race and other sensitive topics.

9.1 Review of Research Objectives

On the whole, this thesis has attempted to address the following research objectives:

- a. To explore the different ways in which the SAM has represented Zimbabwean immigrants/immigration in the media from the year 2000 to the present, determining if the overall representation of Zimbabwean immigrants was positive or negative, neutral or sympathetic.
- b. To investigate the SAM constructions of identity through the notion of moral panic.
- c. To explore the representation of Zimbabwean female immigrants in the SAM.
- d. To conduct a multimodal analysis of visual texts and to investigate the interaction of language and immigrant images in this regard.

The following section elaborates on the research conclusions, determining the extent to which the research objectives have been met.

9.2 Research Conclusions

Using a multimodal discourse analysis approach, this study set out to understand the different ways in which Zimbabwean immigrants and Zimbabwean immigration is represented in the SAM. Each one of them is discussed in turn.

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9.2.1 Metaphoric Representations

The first objective of this study sought to explore the different ways in which the SAM has represented Zimbabwean immigrants and immigration in the SAM, determining if the overall representation of Zimbabwean immigrants was positive or negative, neutral or sympathetic. Chapter Five notes that the SAM draws, to a large extent, on metaphor in their depiction of immigration phenomena. The analysis investigates both lexical and grammatical devices. While there are instances of positive representation, a general conclusion noted in this study is the continued focus on Zimbabwean immigrants as *others*. Zimbabwean immigrants are represented as alien, and attention is paid to the discursive strategies used to make sense of the relationship between SA nationals, who are represented as *us* and Zimbabwean immigrants who are represented as *them*.

The metaphoric coverage also carries other frames. For instance, metaphors from the natural world are particularly common in describing the movement of Zimbabwean immigrants into

SA. Zimbabwean immigration is not considered to be a natural process, but, a 'natural disaster' deeply threatening to all South Africans. Zimbabwean immigrants are represented metaphorically as coming in 'floods,' 'waves' and 'tides.'

This analysis also reveals the metaphoric theme of a CONTAINER in the immigration discourse, whereby the infiltration of the South African borders by Zimbabwean immigrants is described by the metaphor of the container. In this case, the South African territory is represented as a contained space, with an interior, exterior and a boundary representing *us* and *them*. This schema 'grounds conceptualizations of one's country as a closed container that can be sealed or penetrated'¹.

The CLOTHING metaphor is used to describe immigration processes where items of clothing are conceptualised as containers, with the seam as the delimiting boundary. In this analysis, the seams are conceptualised as being stretched beyond capacity because of the floods of Zimbabwean immigrants.

The conceptual metaphor of a CRIMINAL is realized by the depiction of the Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM. Attention is focused on making the presence of Zimbabwean immigrants illegitimate and dangerous. There are hardly references made to the many thousands of Zimbabweans who are in SA quite legitimately, as professionals, students, traders, visitors and the like.

Military metaphors in the SAM show that SA is experiencing an unwanted 'invasion' by Zimbabwean immigrants, and that SA is involved in a battle and a war to contain the Zimbabwean immigrants. Immigrants are also represented as less human. In some instances the Zimbabwean immigrants are *hunted*, an inference of immigrants as animals (Ana, 1999).

In very few instances, Zimbabwean immigrants are portrayed positively and as contributing to SA. Zimbabwean immigrants are represented as possessing a good work ethic and a good command of the English language. Zimbabweans are described as SA's *silver lining*, a metaphor emanating from English-language idiom 'Every cloud has a silver lining'. It is defined as a poetic sentiment that even the gloomiest outlook contains some hopeful or

consoling aspect². In this case, the contribution of Zimbabwean immigrants to SA is acknowledged. In other examples, the SAM, as discussed in Chapter Five, denies reports of 'flooding' by Zimbabwean immigrants. Thus despite the negative representations attributed to the Zimbabwean immigrants their contribution to SA is somewhat recognised.

Chapter Five satisfies objective one of this study which aimed at investigating how Zimbabwean immigrants are represented in the SAM. This study concludes that the metaphoric constructions are largely negative, with a few instances of positive representation.

9.2.2 Moral Panic

Objective Two of the study deals with moral panic. Through the analysis conducted in Chapter Six, this research contributes to studies on moral panic and immigration in the SAM. Murray (2003) addresses the 'alien threat' in SA, and argues that, with increasing numbers of black foreigners in SA, there has been hysteria in the SAM playing up to the emotions, with these immigrants being referred to as aliens.

This study departs from earlier works on moral panics in the SAM, as it offers a more detailed multimodal analysis of moral panic in the SAM. This study concludes that moral panic around costs is the most dominant topic raised when discussing Zimbabwean immigration in the SAM. The Zimbabwean immigrants are seen as threatening SA as a nation. There is a fear that the increase in numbers of Zimbabwean immigrants may result in them 'taking over our country' and 'stealing our birth right.' Therefore the Zimbabwean immigrants are folk devils who constitute a threat to SA.

The SAM describes the Zimbabwean immigration issue in terms of the economic threats and risks associated with addressing or ignoring Zimbabwean immigration. Financial costs receive the majority of the attention in the media articles. Financial costs are described in terms of the cost of detention centres and the costs of deportation. There is also moral panic around the costs of health and education and social grants. Generally, Zimbabwean immigrants are represented as overburdening the entire social service system in SA.

² http://www.answers.com/topic/silver-lining#ixzz1x7AZY0qr, accessed 30 April 2012

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¹ Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing Political Discourse*, London and New York: Routledge, p. 118.

This moral panic buttresses claims that Zimbabwean immigrants are a negative cost to SA because of the benefits they are said to receive. However, there is no positive cost frame to mention the money immigrants contribute to the SA economy. Zimbabwean immigrants are charged with increasing crime and unemployment rates in SA. In addition, Zimbabwean immigrants are blamed for accepting lower pay and work. Regarding employment, a lot of emphasis is put on the extent to which Zimbabwean immigrants 'take our jobs'. It is thus implied that often Zimbabwean immigrants themselves are responsible for poor living and working conditions for SA locals.

9.2.3 Representations of Female Immigrants

Objective three of this study aims to assess how Zimbabwean female immigrants are represented in the SAM. This thesis departs from earlier works on Zimbabwean immigration in the SAM, which are mostly generalised, in that it specifically offers an analysis of the representation of female immigrants. In Chapter Seven, this study concludes that Zimbabwean female immigrants are, by and large, represented negatively, thereby feeding into the SAM discourses of exclusion discussed in the earlier chapters. However, the SAM representation of Zimbabwean female immigrants as victims of attack and sexual violence appears to be sympathetic to their cause.

The study concludes that stereotypes dominate the coverage of Zimbabwean women immigrants in the SAM. Zimbabwean women immigrants are portrayed as sex workers, unfit mothers and as victims of violence.

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The representation of Zimbabwean female immigrants in visual texts shows that the SAM is multivocal. On the one hand, the SAM portrays a sympathetic view toward the female immigrants and their social predicaments in SA. This is understood in such images where Zimbabwean women immigrants show desperation, are physically attacked and seeking employment, food and medical care in SA. On the other hand, female Zimbabwean immigrants are depicted as invaders and a burden to SA's social services, including healthcare and child grants. In this realm, these immigrants are portrayed as unfit mothers and sex workers; images that expels them from the core of society. Such accounts fail to pay attention to their socio-economic conditions.

Chapter Seven fulfils objective three of this study which aimed at investigating how Zimbabwean female immigrants are represented in the SAM. This study concludes that the representations are generally negative, with a few instances displaying sympathy for the immigrant women.

9.2.4 Multimodal Texts

The final objective of this study was to conduct an analysis of visual images in multimodal texts, and to explore the interaction of language and immigrant images. Chapter Eight concludes that the verbal and visuals in the SAM do not always tell the same story. In some cases two or more stories are being told at the same time. Multimodality therefore offers the tools through which the different voices can read and heard.

The representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in visual texts shows that the SAM is ambivalent, and, at times, portrays a sympathetic view toward immigrants and their social predicaments. This is understood in images in which Zimbabwean immigrants show desperation, are attacked and seek employment, food and medical care in SA. At the same time, Zimbabweans are castigated for utilising clandestine means to enter SA. Such images therefore tell two stories at the same time.

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This chapter concludes that the images of immigrants convey additional information, beyond what the verbal texts convey. The study also concludes that images can quickly prompt strong emotional responses and affect readers mentally and emotionally.

Chapter Eight fulfils the final objective of this study which aimed at conducting an analysis of visual images in multimodal texts and to explore the interaction of language in the SAM. This study concludes that the visual texts introduce a new dimension to the research results. Without an analysis of visual images, the lexical representations are generally negative, with a few instances displaying sympathy for the immigrants.

9.3 Contribution to the Field of Study

This study provides pioneering work on multimodal/multi-semiotic discourse analysis of visual images of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM. It explores the meanings of multimodal texts and provides the foundations for research into the SA visual media representation of Zimbabwean immigrants. The study departs from previous studies on this theme that mostly focus on the linguistic representation of migrants. The study goes further and also offers a detailed analysis of the metaphoric representations, moral panic, the representation of female migrants in the SAM and most importantly the representation of Zimbabwean immigrants in visual texts.

Another major contribution is that this is the only study that has combined cognitive theory of metaphor, the sociological notion of moral panic, critical discourse analysis and current theorization on multimodality to describe media representations of immigrants in SA.

9.4 Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

As this is one of the first comprehensive studies of this nature, it is inevitably limited to some extent. Considering that the study focuses on media representations of Zimbabwean immigrants at a particular time of economic and political turmoil in Zimbabwe, it fails to analyse the SAM representation of Zimbabwean immigrants during other significant time frames. The study also focuses on Zimbabwean immigrants; a study looking at how other nationalities are portrayed in the SAM is also necessary.

To widen the scope of this research, radio and television news could have been analysed as well, or the range of print media data collected could have been broadened.

While this study considered the way in which Zimbabwean immigrants are represented in the SAM, it would be worthwhile widening this study to include interviews with journalists who write the stories to get more insights into media representation of migrants. Notwithstanding the limitations of this study, well-researched conclusions and assumptions were accomplished in this study.

9.5 Summary

The present research is a multimodal discourse analysis of Zimbabwean immigrants in the SAM. The most significant finding of the present research is that negative discourses around Zimbabwean immigrants and immigration and accompanying negative metaphors are typical in the SAM. The findings of the data illustrate the general agreement that Zimbabwean immigrants are a problem. However, a few examples from the data depict the Zimbabwean immigrants positively, noting their contribution to SA. The multimodal discourse analysis of the visual data often depicts Zimbabwean immigrants in a way that makes readers feel sympathetic, while at the same time displaying some negative aspects of Zimbabwean immigration to SA, for instance illegality, 'flooding' and 'invading.'



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