Analysis of media reporting and xenophobia violence among youth in South Africa: By Tapiwa Gomo
This thesis is in partial fulfillment of the International Masters in Communication for Development programme at Malmo University’s School of Arts and Communication (K3)

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This thesis is dedicated to:

My late mother and my son Michael Tapiwanashe Gomo the two great sources of inspiration; everyone who believes life lived for others is far much worth living; everyone who believes this world has enough for everyone; everyone who see possibilities instead of poverty and all those who believe together we can share and benefit more from inspiring our own potentials and possibilities.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ........................................................................................................................... vii
Acknowledgements ....................................................................................................... viii
Abbreviations ............................................................................................................... ix

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction and Organization of Study ................................................................. 1
1.1 Organisation of the study ..................................................................................... 2
1.2 The Research problem ......................................................................................... 2
1.3 Aim of study ........................................................................................................... 3
1.4 Research Objectives ............................................................................................. 3
1.5 Research Questions .............................................................................................. 3
1.6 Research Hypothesis ............................................................................................ 4
1.7 Justification of the Research .............................................................................. 4
1.8 Significance of the Research .............................................................................. 5
1.9.0 Scope and Context of Research ....................................................................... 6
1.9.1 When Xenophobia becomes Development concern ....................................... 6
1.9.2 The Case Study: Alexandra; the xenophobia hotspot .................................... 7
1.9.3 The media, the Rainbow nation agenda and the underlying social issues ....... 7
1.9.4 Conclusion ........................................................................................................ 8

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................... 9
2.2 Review of existing and presentation of research approach .................................... 9
2.2.1 Xenophobia, development and the Media ..................................................... 9
2.3 Conceptualization of xenophobia ........................................................................ 10
2.3.1 Xenophobia as a concept ............................................................................. 10
2.4 Xenophobia hypotheses and media theories ...................................................... 11
2.4.1 The Socio-biological theory ......................................................................... 11
2.4.2 The scapegoat theory ................................................................................. 13
2.4.3 The isolation theory ..................................................................................... 15
2.5 Challenging the xeno-media discourse.................................................................17
2.6 Media for social cohesion and social change......................................................18
2.7 Conclusion............................................................................................................19

CHAPTER 3 : METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction...........................................................................................................20
3.1 Research methodology..........................................................................................20
3.2 Content Analysis...................................................................................................20
3.3 The qualitative interview methodology.................................................................21
  3.3.1 Case study........................................................................................................22
3.3.2 Focus Groups....................................................................................................22
3.4 Quantitative method.............................................................................................23
  3.4.1 Survey questionnaire method...........................................................................23
3.5 Population ............................................................................................................23
3.6 Sampling..............................................................................................................25
  3.6.1 Sample Size....................................................................................................25
3.7 Data gathering, analysis and presentation............................................................26
3.8 Role of the researcher..........................................................................................27
3.9 Challenges and limitations of the methodology....................................................28
3.10 Conclusion..........................................................................................................29

CHAPTER 4 : PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction..........................................................................................................30
  4.1.1 Content analysis: General findings.................................................................30
4.1.2 Type of coverage...............................................................................................30
4.1.3 Geographical origin.........................................................................................31
4.1.4 Stereotyping and scapegoating.......................................................................32
4.1.5 Language: how do the media describe foreigners............................................34
4.2. Quantitative survey questionnaire and qualitative interview findings................36
  4.2.1 General findings...............................................................................................36
4.2.2 Dependence on the media for important information.......................................37
4.2.3 Description of their feelings and views on foreigners and sources of influence...38
4.2.4 Opinion on how the media report on foreigners..............................................41
CHAPTER 5 : RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction.................................................................................................................45
5.2 Recommendations ........................................................................................................45
5.2.1 Derogatory terms.......................................................................................................45
5.2.2 The media as social change agent........................................................................46
5.2.3 Stereotyping foreigners............................................................................................46
5.2.4 Condemning violence...............................................................................................46
5.2.5 Avoiding scape-goating the foreigner.................................................................46
5.2.6 Suppressing the blame ideology of blaming................................................47
5.2.7 Adopting a developmental approach...............................................................47
5.3 Conclusions................................................................................................................47

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..............................................................................................................50

PAPERS ........................................................................................................................52

APPENDICES
Appendix 1: Interview Guide .....................................................................................53
Appendix 2: Categorisation system for qualitative interviews ......................................54
Appendix 3: Questionnaire..............................................................................................55
Appendix 4: List of media monitored...........................................................................57
Appendix 5: Table for determining sample size........................................................58
Appendix 6: Quotes from the Daily Sun........................................................................59
ABSTRACT

Through the use of content analysis, qualitative interviews and quantitative questionnaire survey, this study look at the role of media reporting on xenophobia among youth in South Africa. The study is based on Alexandra Township, a overcrowded and poor settlement in Johannesburg, South Africa. I choose Alexandra because it was the site of many attacks against African immigrants in April 2008. News content from 36 news media was examined on how their content might have contributed to the xenophobic attitudes.

The media content findings show a very strong stereotyping and bias against African immigrants which is enough to feed to the xenophobia attitude. However, both qualitative and quantitative findings do not confirm a link between this bias and xenophobic attitude in Alexandra. Competition for resources, their experiences with foreigners, myths social prejudice and the bad behavior by some African immigrants were the main sources of influence. This suggests that the society is influencing the media content and not the other way round as is commonly the case. This phenomenon challenges the assumed power of the media. The study also reveals that while the media in South Africa has little effect on xenophobia attitudes there is a chance that if the media change the way they report on African foreigners, some respondents indicated that it may change their view on African foreigners.

Over and above this requires the media to adopt social change models to influence social cohesions while encouraging the government to address incumbent social problems facing both the people of Alexandra and the immigrants as findings suggest a possibility of another xenophobia outbreak if the government does not address social problems in places such as Alexandra.

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1 Township in South Africa refers to a segregated town. Under Apartheid the term township came to mean a residential development which confined non-whites (Blacks, “coloureds” and Indians) who lived near or worked in white-only communities. They are characterized with over-population, poverty, slums and high unemployment.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS : Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC : African National Congress
DSTV : Digital Satellite Television
GDP : Gross Domestic Product
GFMD : Global Forum on Migration and Development
HIV : Human Immune Virus
ILO : International Labour Organisation
IOM : International Organisation for Migration
MMA : Media Monitoring Africa
RDP : Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC : South Africa Broadcasting Corporation
UNDP : United Nations Development Programme
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction and organization of the study

In 1994, South Africa became independent after many years of oppressive rule. The new South Africa came with a lot of promises and symbolized hope to the masses. It also represented a vital shift in the social, political and geographical landscapes of the past where unity, equality and democracy became the corner stone’s of the ‘rainbow’ nation.

In addition to a thriving economy, a highly promising democracy and fairly peaceful environment, South Africa also rose from being victims of discrimination to occupy prominent positions in Africa and the world over. This rapid integration also meant that country had to assume a certain level of responsibilities in the continental and global area such as coping with new challenges of giving refuge to those fleeing war and persecution from mostly African countries\(^2\). This is a huge burden for a country that is still recuperating from long years of struggle and need to put its own house in order. It indeed imposed a huge strain on the government which is faced with an employment rate of 23, 5\(^3\), who leave below 1.25 dollars a day\(^4\). Of the 49,320,000 million, 5, 6 million\(^5\) people are living with HIV more than half of whom are in need of treatment. The housing programme can’t cope with the huge and ever-increasing demand.

Even an expanded Gross Domestic Product of 277 billion dollars or 0.45% of the world economy\(^6\), cannot stand the high demand for social services and competition for scarce resources such as employment and housing leaving immigrants insecure, unwelcome or unsafe and even more vulnerable without government support. In many cases African immigrants were and are still blamed for worsening social problems such as the spread of diseases, crime, violence and unemployment, while Home Affairs officials are reported to be abusing immigrants. South Africa remains one of the leading countries in the world with best laws and policies on human rights protection\(^7\) and refugee laws\(^8\), but implementation of

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\(^2\) Countries with high numbers of the refugees in South Africa includes Angola, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ethiopia, Uganda, Somalia, and Sudan, and the Middle East and recently from Zimbabwe.

\(^3\) Statistics South Africa 2009

\(^4\) Human Development indices 2009

\(^5\) Department of Health, South Africa 2008

\(^6\) The World Bank Report 2009

\(^7\) The Bill of Rights in the Constitution states that every person “has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected” and these cater for refugees and asylum seekers as well. It also includes the right to housing and access to health care.

\(^8\) The Refugees Act (No. 130 of 1998), implemented in 2000, provides the first specific set of legal guidelines for refugees in South Africa and is the statutory basis for the determination of refugee status. The Act states that a refugee can apply for permanent
these remains a major challenge. Some scholars argue that despite the endemic xenophobia attitude among South Africans, the previous legal environment\(^9\) regulating immigration took time to be repealed resulting in a legislative void on how to deal with refugees and their status in South Africa\(^{10}\).

Despite lack of accurate evidence, South Africa believes it is host to millions of undocumented migrants from the rest of Africa\(^{11}\). Former President Mbeki estimated Zimbabweans to be 3-4 million, while Home Affairs claims of 8-10 million illegal immigrants\(^{12}\).

1.1 Organisation of the study
This study is divided into five chapters linked together by the flow of the research style and presentation. Chapter 1 introduces the research, the aim of study, research problem, hypothesis, objectives, questions and justification, the research context and any other background information that informs the study. Chapter 2 focuses on critical theoretical and conceptual frameworks around the subject of the study. A review of available literature around psychosocial, media and development theories in relation to xenophobia are explored. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used for data gathering, analysis and presentation. This chapter also explains the use of triangulated qualitative and quantitative methods in order to make possible the gathering of different kinds of data. Since this research is also rooted on the media effects theory, Chapter 3 also explains in detail the content analysis method which is used for data gathering and analysis on the media in South Africa. Chapter 4 presents an analysis of findings of the research with conclusions and recommendation presented in Chapter 5.

1.2 The Research problem
This study is inspired by the quest to understand how media\(^{13}\) reporting influences social behaviour by investigating through qualitative and quantitative methods the role and level of media influence on xenophobia. It is also inspired by the understanding that if the media can play that role, and then they can surely also play an equally vital role in redressing the anti-foreigner sentiments in the world in general.
and South Africa in particular. The post apartheid South Africa witnessed an increase in cases of xenophobia. Between 2000 and March 2008 at least 67 people died in what was identified as xenophobic attacks. In May 2008 a series of riots left 62 people dead; although 21 of those killed were South Africans the attacks were believed to be motivated by xenophobia. Xenophobia seriously affects the image of a country which may have ripple effects on international trade particularly tourism and the broad economy. The Tourism Business Council of South Africa acknowledged that “there is panic among tourists across the globe….,” after the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Tourism contributes 8% of annual GDP and employing about 1 million people\textsuperscript{14}. In the same vein, South Africa's economy had always been dependent on migrant labour\textsuperscript{15}. Xenophobia is a fear or contempt of foreign or unknown, especially of strangers or foreign people. The term is typically used to describe a fear or dislike of foreigners or of people significantly different from oneself\textsuperscript{16}. A number of studies on xenophobia have broadly served as barometers of measuring the level of xenophobia and some of underlying social issues without grounding on the causal-effect of media reporting and xenophobia.

1.3 Aim of study
The aim of this research is to determine the role or link between media reporting and xenophobia in South Africa.

1.4 Research Objectives
The study attempts to identify the role of the media in spreading xenophobia attitude and attempt to identify at what level media reporting is of influence. It will attempt to achieve this by:

- Verifying if there is a link between media reporting and xenophobic attitude among youth and violent attitude against African immigrants in South Africa.
- Identifying and explaining the social dynamics around xenophobia and media reporting in South Africa.
- Identify opportunities for using the media to redress the situation

\textsuperscript{14} Eurograduate.com http://www.eurograduate.com/arch_article.asp?id=1572
\textsuperscript{16} http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xenophobia
1.5 Research Questions

The study serves to further break down the aim and objectives of this research in order to simplify them and guide the focus of the thesis. This study is mainly focused on the xenophobic outbreak of 2008, whose results will certainly be of general relevance and may be replicable to any xenophobic situation in the world. The working title is ‘An Analysis of media reporting and xenophobia violence among youth in South Africa’ and raises these main questions: Are the media in South Africa responsible for the xenophobic attitude in South Africa?’ This again raises sub-questions:

- To what extent do the media solely contribute to anti-foreigner attitude in South Africa.
- How have the media propagated xenophobic attitude and violence
- What other factors are at play in promoting xenophobia
- To what extent can the media discourage xenophobia among South African societies.

1.6 Research Hypothesis

The study hypothesizes that media reporting is responsible for the rampant and widespread xenophobic attitude in South Africa because of its wide reach, affordability, power to socialize, influence, the over-reliance on the media of both the poor and uppers class communities and its ability to set the agenda. There is a widespread belief that media are responsible for the countrywide outbreak of attacks on foreigners in South Africa or at least played a significant role in perpetuating negative stereotypes, as has official and popular discourse.

1.7 Justification of the Research

Conflicts, economic problems and other social challenges are increasingly triggering massive migration and host countries are battling with increasing problems of negative attitudes, racism and xenophobia and adjusting their social delivery services. The number of international migrants may have reached 200 million in 2008, more than double the figure in 1965. Intolerance and xenophobia present an alarming challenge to development policy-makers as it destabilizes and seriously undermines the potentially beneficial relationship between international migration and human development. It doesn’t only impede

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18 UNDP p.16
economic maximization and social benefits of international migration but also affect both migrant and host populations adversely in many different ways. Xenophobia threatens democratic structures and diminishes liberal values by encouraging anarchism. Social justice, equality, human dignity and fairness, which are the cardinal principles of democracy and liberalism, are endangered.

While a number of studies on xenophobia have been done in South Africa, very little has been done to establish the extent of media influence on xenophobia attitude in South Africa. The role of the media in influencing social behaviour and action remains rich in academic inquiry. A number of generalised and unverified statements were made in 2008 that the media triggered the xenophobic attacks on African immigrants without availing scientific evidence to verify these cause-effect claims. This is the hiatus from which this study assumes its topic and contributes to the body of knowledge in an area that has a potential to cause serious national conflicts. As the migrants and refugees are becoming increasingly vulnerable, exploitation and gross human rights violation rear its head thereby widening the inequalities between migrant and non-migrant populations. It is against the background of the media being blamed ‘for causing’ xenophobia that this study deliberately aims to investigate the role of their role in influencing xenophobia among youths in South Africa. The researcher is aware of other studies that have been carried out, but none of them explored in depth the strength of the link between media influence and xenophobia in South Africa.

1.8 Significance of the Research

Climate change, political conflict, war and economic instability will remain the key push factors for migration which as highlighted in the UNDP projects will continue to grow globally. Violence and conflict underpins and influences many immigrants’ decisions to flee while others migrate due to economic and other related conditions. This creates competition for already-scarce resources such as jobs, housing and social services, a situation which may result in social conflict in the form of xenophobia. It will impose budgetary and social policy constraints on the host countries. This study will help identify how the media can be or cannot be sucked into social conflict which is instrumental in promoting social cohesion against a background of increasing xenophobia.

22 (Southern African Migration Project: 2004, Harris, B: 2002 et al)
24 The World Values Survey 2005 found that nearly 40 percent of people from nineteen European countries approved of strict limits on immigration while 42.5 percent only supported the entry of immigrants as long as employment was available. Nearly 9 percent endorsed a total ban on immigration. The early 2000 studies by the Southern African Migration Project’s (SAMP)
This study is significant because it can help to understand the role of media reporting in perpetuating xenophobia and whose views/standpoint the media are representing. This will help inform policy intervention measures to mitigate xenophobia and arrest incumbent civil strife in South Africa.

1.9.0 Scope and Context of Research

This study focuses on the role of media reporting and xenophobia among youths in South Africa. While aware that the problem of xenophobia is a widespread and cross-cutting social problem in South Africa, this study shall focus on youths in Alexandra. The media content analysis focuses on the period prior to the 2008 attacks on foreigners.

1.9.1 When Xenophobia becomes Development concern

They are divided views on xenophobia with some scholars arguing that xenophobia is rooted in history and effects of modernization blamed for intensifying and un-evening global economy. Nyamnjoh, (2006) blames inconsistent set of global processes marked with closures in a borderless flows and boundless opportunities accentuated by free movement of capital, creating economic disparities between countries and regions. More than economic attraction, migration is a result of several factors such as conflict. The “human development outcomes of xenophobia for both migrant and host populations are negative, pernicious, and damaging.” Attacks on non-nationals signify a threat to social order and justice which typifying lawlessness. Social conflict may ensue. Human rights are violated in the process as discrimination and ill-treatment of foreigners becomes socially acceptable leading to anarchism as was the case in 2008 xenophobia. Xenophobia thus exacerbates the vulnerability of migrant groups, exposing them to regular harassment, intimidation, and abuse by citizens, employers, and law enforcement agencies in receiving states. Women migrants are especially vulnerable to sexual exploitation which fuels the

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*National Immigration Policy Survey (NIPS) on citizens’ attitudes toward immigration in Southern Africa showed that xenophobia was high among most of the countries in Southern Africa with anti-migrant sentiments cutting across class, employment status, race, and gender lines.*

*Age ranges for youth are varied. The United Nations General Assembly describes "Youth [as] those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years, while the World Bank views youth as those who are between the ages of 15 to 25." The Commonwealth Youth programme works with "young people (aged 15-29)."*


*UNDP P.60*

*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights [http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/] Article two states that: “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty. Articles 5 and 6 further state that; no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.*
spread of diseases such as HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, another danger to the host country.

1.9.2 The Case Study: Alexandra; the xenophobia hotspot

Alexandra is a township located in Johannesburg, covering an area of about 8 km² initially meant for only 70,000 people but now has approximately 750,000 people. Over 20,000 substandard houses and slums have erupted in the back yards putting pressures on the service delivery system. Poverty and unemployment are very high and competition for resources is a source of conflict. The 2008 countrywide xenophobic attacks started from Alexandra Township. The selection of this was determined by easy access and convenience to the study. Alexandra is believed to be one of the settlements with very high numbers of migrants.

1.9.3 The media, the Rainbow nation agenda and the underlying social issues

South Africa has a vibrant and oldest media industry in Africa back-dating to the early 19th century. South Africa has 20 daily and 13 weekly newspapers, most in English in addition to specialized news websites. Before independence, South Africa had only two independent radio stations but more proliferated outside the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) after the deregulation and liberalization of broadcasting in the late 1990s. Following a number of privatization of radio stations, the country now has over 100 community stations, broadcasted in many different languages. Their scope and reach varies enormously from the half-a-million. New television channels emerged after the 1994 transition by SABC and other private operators.

The media is free to criticize the government and the ruling ANC a departure from the apartheid era. There is a deliberate construction of an ‘imaginary’ united, coherent, ‘rainbow’ nation and open for everyone. Leslie Marx (2000, 131) asserts that “the rainbow ideology pronounced by the country’s new leaders and reassured international investors of the country’s transforming and transformative capacities. Partha Chatterjee (1999) argues the rainbow nation concept under nationalism and neoliberalism was a

30 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexandra,_Gauteng
31 Some 14.5 million South Africans buy the urban dailies, while community newspapers have a circulation of 5.5 million
33 Radio 702 and Capital Radio.
34 http://www.southafrica.info/about/media/radio.htm
35 There are an estimated 10 million radio sets in South Africa, with listeners many times that number, broadcasting a range of programming from ultra-hip urban music to community news and information in the deep rural areas
36 SABC TV has three local channels
37 MNet and ETV broadcast across Africa.
forced coincidence as neoliberalism was synonymous with industrialism which called for “a cultural homogeneity and its convergence with a political unit” in order to buy peace. This, together with a push for reconstruction and reconciliation shaped the role of the media. The media in the process masked the enduring racial, economic inequalities, an extremely divided past, a multiplicity of ethnicities and languages, unmet promises and hopes for over one and half decade.

Housing, education, health care, escalating poverty and employment, coupled with high expectations during transition raised frustrations among most black South Africans. Tshitereke (1999) explains hostilities towards foreigners in relation to limited resources. Foreigners became "frustration-scapegoat" and targets to blame for deprivation and poverty. While it remains a fact that limited resource leaves a lot to be desired, the media for their part have been accused of being sucked into this xenophobia anarchism.

1.9.4 Conclusion
Xenophobia is a major and growing problem which unfortunately has not found itself on the key global agenda. The evidence of its impact is there for everyone to see, with May 2008 xenophobic attacks being the key highlight in recent history. The situation may be even worse when the media are accused of legitimizing the poisoning of social interactions between locals and foreigners, ‘celebrating’ abuse and exploitation of migrants, which undermines positive development outcomes of migration. While policies and practices to promote cohesion are vital, it is also important to understand the link between the media influence and xenophobia from theoretical and conceptual framework analysis. Chapter two will explore the hypotheses and theories around both the media and xenophobia and how the two concept interplay with each other.

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38 Foreigners, this theory suggests, often become such scapegoats as they are threats to jobs, housing, education and health care (Morris, 1998; Tshitereke, 1999).
CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss different theories and conceptual frameworks relevant to how media influence social and human behaviour and symbiotic relation of the two to the development discourse. A review of relevant literature will be the core of this chapter. Merriam and Simpson (1984)\textsuperscript{39} posit that literature review helps to conceptualize, justify, implement and interpret an investigation. The researcher explores available knowledge on similar problems, and challenge existing knowledge with a view to create new ideas (Leed: 1974)\textsuperscript{40}. Bless et al (1997) concurs that literature review allows familiarization with different theories and models. The general theoretical context of literature on xenophobia and the media will be explored and identify how that affects social development.

2.2 Review of existing and presentation of research approach

2.2.1 Xenophobia, development and the Media

The capability of the media to inflame hatred and promote violence has been relatively well documented from early studies of the role of the radio in Nazi propaganda campaigns to the more recent examples of Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia (Tim Allen and Nicole Stremlau: 2005.p217)\textsuperscript{41} and the recent South African xenophobia attacks of April 2008. Xenophobia is a serious development issue which needs urgent global attention (Crush, J et all: 2008\textsuperscript{42}). The GFMD\textsuperscript{43} meeting in Manila adopted slogan: protecting and empowering migrants for development” with peace and tranquillity seen as the foundation for economic and social development\textsuperscript{44}. Violence is identified as the main obstacle to full development for many countries\textsuperscript{45}. In all this debate, the media are accused of fuelling xenophobic attitudes. Media scholars such as Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972), Daniel Lerner (1958), Klapper (1960), Wilbur Schramm (1964), Everett Rogers (1983) have made a several arguments about how the media can influence behaviour, decision and public opinion which can be used as a nexus between the media and xenophobia. Strassburger (1995) sees the media as a powerful socializing agent which has become an


\textsuperscript{40} Leed, P.D.Practical research: Planning and designing 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed. New York: MacMillian Publishing. P.65

\textsuperscript{41} Tim Allen and Nicole Stremlau (2005), Media Policy, Peace and State Reconstruction In Oscar Hemer & Thomas Tufte (editors (2005): Media & Glocal Change: Rethinking communication for Development. Publicaciones Cooperativas, Buenos Aires.p217

\textsuperscript{42} Crush, Jonathan et al 2008 The perfect storm: the realities of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa, SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 50, SAMP: Kingston and Cape Town

\textsuperscript{43} Global Forum on Migration and Development meeting in Manila in October 2008


\textsuperscript{45} Ibid
integral part of everyday life. This section shall discuss xenophobia hypotheses in relation to media theories.

### 2.3 Conceptualization of xenophobia

Even though it still remains on the sidelines of important global and national development discussions, the study of xenophobia as a subject for empirical investigation and theoretical exploration has become the focus of intense study. The importance of this social challenge is reflected in the increasing number of global forums on migration such as the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD in 2007 and 2008, the United Nations Commission for Social Development in 2004, The High-Level Dialogue on International and the Migration and Development at the UN General Assembly on 14-15 September 2006. Xenophobic attitudes and practices are on the rise even in receiving countries in developing regions.\(^{46}\)

#### 2.3.1 Xenophobia as a concept

Despite the ever-increasing cases of xenophobia worldwide, its definition remains elusive. Xenophobia is described as a dislike for foreigners or that which is foreign. It is a ‘hatred or fear of foreigners’\(^{47}\) while etymologists break the term into ‘xeno’ and ‘phobia’ which suggest ‘strange or foreign’ and ‘fear’ respectively. Xenophobia indicates a hate or dislike for foreigners exemplified by negative attitude towards foreigners, a dislike, or a hatred usually driven by competition for scarce resources. Berezin and Nyamnjoh (2006)\(^{48}\) looks at xenophobia in the form of a fear of the ‘Other’ a concept put forward by Fauclough in the ‘Spectacle of the Other’.\(^{49}\) Tsitereke (1999) argues that defining xenophobia as an attitude may be misleading, giving the April 2008 xenophobia outbreak as more than an attitude but action.\(^{50}\) Backed by scholars such as Linda Darling-Hammond (2003) I see attitude as the early stage of action or behaviour, therefore the difference lies in stages of reaction. A 2007 ILO/IOM links hostile attitude and practices\(^{51}\) while the UNDP sums that “hostile and skewed perceptions of migrant groups generally go hand in hand with discriminatory practices and poor treatment of such groups. Acts of

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\(^{50}\) Tshitereke, C. (1999). Xenophobia and relative deprivation. Crossings, 3 (2), 4–5

\(^{51}\) ILO, IOM and OHCHR 2001 _International migration, racism, discrimination and xenophobia describes xenophobia as an attitudes, prejudices, and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity
violence, aggression and brutality towards migrant groups represent extreme and escalated forms of xenophobia”\(^52\).

However, it still remains debatable whether what is being witnessed in South Africa is indeed xenophobia or is it just a word ‘framed’ by the media and politicians then used to describe any types of violence against foreigners. The explanations above suggest that xenophobia is a natural dislike or hate for that which is foreign while the explanations in the sections below associate the dislike or hate to competition for scarce recourses which takes away the ‘naturalness’ from the ‘dislike’. In the South African context, it also suggests that violence against any foreigner can be viewed as xenophobia ignoring other factors such as crime. I will use the term xenophobia as a working term but I am still not convinced that it is xenophobia in its purest form.

### 2.4 Xenophobia hypotheses and media theories

Several explanations, theories and hypotheses around xenophobia have been proposed by a several scholars such as Alain Bihr\(^53\) (2005), Franz Fanon \(^54\) (1961), Harris (2002)\(^55\), Klein(1986) and most of them fall in three major categories which include the bio-cultural (socio-biological), scapegoating, and isolation hypothesis’. This section shall explain the xenophobia theory in relations to media theories.

#### 2.4.1 The Socio-biological theory

The socio-biological theory is based on psychoanalysis which argues that human beings are biologically, naturally and socially influenced by social context where they learn to favour theirs and discriminating the ‘Other’. Infants shy away from ‘strangers’ because they don’t know them suggesting that ‘xenophobia is an innate behaviour and central to the human make-up”.\(^56\) Children learn prejudice from adults “through example and short-cut dicta”\(^57\). Attitudes are products of experiences or “observational learning”\(^58\) from the cultural environment. Assumed instincts and needs are conceived in a particular cultural context and biased towards certain groups\(^59\) to which the ‘familiar’ is preferred to the ‘alien’

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\(^53\) Alain Bihr (2005), The path of xenophobia: from heterophobia to resentment. University of Franche-Comte

\(^54\) Franz Fanon (1961). The Wretched of the Earth, Macgibbon and Kee, Great Britain


\(^59\) Hussein Abdilahi Bulhan (2004), Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression: PATH IN PSYCHOLOGY. Springer. P 264
(Allport: 1954). In explaining the “paranoid-schizoid position”\(^6^0\) Melanie Klein (1986) argues that infants are socialized within a particular context where they learn the good and the bad. This notion down plays the fixed traits concept as the cultural context is more salient\(^6^1\). The feelings, attitudes and actions into adulthood which are manifested, exacerbated and expressed on social, economic and emotional insecurities as the child becomes a member of a larger society. This is confirmed by Frantz Fanon, a psychoanalyst, in Bulhan (2004), who suggests that “aggression, xenophobia and selfishness are innate and dominant features in human being further positing that in reality these claims are but rationalization for the historical violence, schizoid orientation and self centeredness behaviour of a ruling group”\(^6^2\). Klein views frustrations in relation to social needs while Fanon adds human power\(^6^3\) pointing to poor communities being more xenophobic than wealthy ones. As frustrations boil, hostile attitudes and violence against foreigners becomes impulsive, inevitable aspect of the human condition.

Fanon in Bulhan (2004) argue that people are born with a body but without a 'self' which is then acquired through social learning, a stage at which attitudes are acquired through interaction and exposure to the media. Attitudes are acquired through interaction with family and society including the media. Albert Bandura (1976) in his social learning and modelling theory concurs that aggression is socially learned through behaviour modelling. Children learn aggressive responses from observing either personally or through the media and environment\(^6^4\). Exposure to media content contributes to “audience’s conception of social reality”\(^6^5\) by influencing their beliefs. Analyzing a South African science fiction movie, District 9, Gunkel and König (2009) express concern about how the sci-fi genre has contributed to shaping the views of children on foreigners described as ‘aliens’ in the movie. Aliens are known to be non-human objects that invade the earth and human kind. District 9 which depicts ‘Nigerians’ as ‘aliens’ which Gunkel and König argued cultivates the culture of “identity and difference, mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion within society with technologies of ‘Othering’”\(^6^6\)

\(^6^1\) Hussein Abdilahi Bulhan (2004), Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression: PATH IN PSYCHOLOGY. Springer. P 264  
\(^6^2\) Ibid. P 262  
\(^6^3\) Ibid. p262  
\(^6^6\) ‘You are not welcome here’: post-apartheid negrophobia and real aliens in Blomkamp’s District 9 URL: http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2010/02/07/you-are-not-welcome-here/
2.4.2 The scapegoat theory

The scapegoating theory is a sociological theory which examines prejudice in the context of social transition and change (Allport: 1954). Allport argues that frustrations lead to prejudice especially among disadvantaged people and in so doing they identify a scapegoat who are usually foreigners. Because they have no power they are blamed for people’s troubles. “People displace their frustration onto convenient targets, thereby obscuring the actual causes of their anxiety”. Hostile attitudes are formed in relation to unmet promises and limited resources, such as housing, education, health care and employment, coupled with high expectations during transition (Morris, 1998; Tshitereke, 1999). Allport (1961) looks at the invention of instincts according to one’s needs as an obvious reaction. Instincts and needs are both theoretical constructs used to explain the why, what behaviour and its underlying goal, regularity and potentiality. Allport’s arguments are supported by Seymour Feshbach in his catharsis media theory which attempts to locate the relationship between media content and violent behaviour. Catharsis is seen as one way in the scapegoating process where people seek “cleansing, purging, or purification” of their frustrations through the “execution of an aggressive action” and help to release their anger.

South Africans had high expectations before 1994, which they later realize may never be fulfilled (Tshitereke:1999). The gap between aspirations and reality is filled with frustrations. This gap however, becomes the source of news for the media as they “mirror the reality in the society” by using their power to “further their own capitalist ideals” by selling news portraying blacks attacking other blacks as a sign of a government failure to uphold the rainbow nation concept. As the people realize their deprivation, frustrations boil, invoking their ‘paranoid-schizoid’ and xenophobia attitude and practices. The foreigner is psychologically and socially framed into a symbolical figure of unemployment, poverty and deprivation, conveniently meaningful to the xenophobe leading to social isolation in what Norman Fairclough (1995) termed ‘Us’ and the ‘Other’ scenario.

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68 Ibid. p.261
73 Fourie, P.J. 2007. Media studies:media history,media and society. Cape Town: Juta. p130
This ‘othering’ is reinforced by social processes through media framing theory (Scheufele: 1999). Media frames are “central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” legitimised by what Louis Althusser, a Marxist theorist referred as ideological state apparatus which include media, family, religion political parties. Framing takes place in two circles, the audience and the media upon which Scheufele outlines four stages which includes frame building nationalism/nation-building), frame setting (ideological/agenda setting theory), individual-level effects of framing (uses and gratification theory), and journalists as audiences for frames.

Robert Winder (2004) outlines a few quotes common statements ...to illustrate the nexus between these theories and media reporting. These include; “foreigners are replacing English workers and driving to despair men, women and children of our blood”(The Times UK). "flood" of migrants "too lazy to work” (The Evening Standard), "Even the most sentimental,... "will feel that the time has come to stop the abuse of this country's hospitality by foreign malefactors," (Daily Mail), "Sick migrants will swamp our wards" (the Sun); "Five hundred immigrants every day to swamp Britain" (the Express); "Migrant invasion warning" (the Sun again). These statements are then endorsed by Conservative member for Stepney, who declares that that "East of Aldgate one walks into a foreign town ... The modern Englishman is in constant danger of being driven from his home, pushed out by ... the off-scum of Europe.”

Crush and Ramachandran (2009) see the same trend where discriminatory concepts manifested themselves into South Africa media where immigrant topics are mainly cantered on “exaggerated numbers, depreciatory constructions of foreigners as an economic burden (as abusers of welfare), threat to cultural and community values, danger, and legality issues. Frightening disaster metaphors such as ‘flood,’ waves,’ pour‘ and ’stream‘ frame foreigners an out-of-control, agent-less, unwanted natural disaster, who need to be dealt with or stop with urgency before they destroy ‘Us’. These statements fit into the Agenda setting theory which posits argue that over emphasising messages and exposure to media have direct and damaging influences on public opinion especially where opinion leaders are involved.

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76 Robert Winder (2004), Pride and prejudice: xenophobia and negative media stereotypes are blinding many Britons to the fact that immigrants represent an extremely valuable import. URL: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb3120/is_7_76/ai_n29104365/pg_2/?tag=content;coll1
77 Ibid
79 Ibid
(McCombs and Shaw: 1972). People believe what they read in newspapers because it confirms their prejudices and legitimizes existing hostility.80

2.4.3 The isolation theory

Scapegoating generally leads to isolation. The social isolation theory can be traced back to European history inspired by nationalism and modernisation theory. Both concepts divide between citizens and migrant groups as ‘Us’ and ‘Them’. M. Fennema (1998) quotes Hannah Arendt who located the isolation theory in rise of fascism. In her arguments, there was a direct link between the origins of mass society and the violent nationalism of fascism movements in Europe.81 Nationalism was seen as a social and political phenomenon contributing to the marginalization and/or exclusion of non-nationals in social and national settings.82 Foreigners are viewed as the ‘Other’ in a negative and dehumanizing manner thereby attesting them as inferior and disqualifying them from human and equal or fair treatment. These negative stereotypes are further perpetuated by politicians, citizens, state institutions and the media through public rhetoric stigmatizing and vilifying migrants as threat and scapegoats for social problems leading to a social isolation. Dormant ideology accentuates the cleavages derived from national cultural particularities and determines the ideological isolation of the foreigners.83 Harris, (2000) notes that after undergoing the struggles, the transition periods are usually marked by the idea of nationalism where ethnicity is identified with the state which often shapes xenophobia.

Melanie Klein’s (1986) theory provides an insight into understanding the deep-seated malaise that plagues violence in South Africa through patriotic idealization, exclusionary impulse of nation-building processes, and nationalism and xenophobic rage.84 Scholars such as Louis Althusser (1970), McQuail, D (2005), Fourie (2007) and those of the Marxist ideology don’t see these as natural phenomenon but driven by an agenda. Drawing from Harrold Lasswell’s hypodermic needle model (magic bullet theory) which assumes the all powerful media,85 Althusser L (1970), sees mass media as transmitting the dominant ideology to media readers. Though Lasswell’s ‘all-powerful’ media effects theory was later challenged by later studies, his statement; "Who says what in what channel to whom with what effects", contributed to the agenda setting theory (McCombs and Shaw: 1972). They argued that the mass media tells the

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80 Ibid
84 Ibid. pp177
audience what to think about rather than what to think. They argued that the media set the agenda by choosing what to publish and what not to publish thereby forcing certain issues in the public domain. In South Africa, this is evident by the description of foreigners as aliens\textsuperscript{86}, association them with drugs and crime and scapegoating of social problems on foreigners. There is a temptation to ‘sell’ news that gratifies the social, economic, political and emotional needs of the readers which somewhat contributes to the anti-foreign attitude consistent with a uses and gratification theory proposed by Katz (1974) which asserts that the audience use the media in order to meet certain identified needs. This expectation is placed in the hands of the media whom in turn uses the opportunity to sell their agenda sometimes under the national interest banner. Katz, Gurevitch and Hass (1974)\textsuperscript{87} further identify four specific needs which include, cognitive, affective, personal integrative needs (identity/nationalism), social integrative needs (patriotism) and tension release needs (scapegoating/catharsis). Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann in her spiral of silence theory concurs with McComb and Katz in asserting that the media publicizes opinions within the majority and people adjust in order to avoid being isolated further questioning who the majority is. Noelle-Neumann concluded that the views of the majority (dominant ideology) prevail over the minority.

In South Africa, the isolation hypothesis stems from the country’s long isolation from the international community. “[A]partheid insulated South African citizens from nationalities beyond Southern Africa therefore foreigners represent the unknown to South Africans.” Morris (1998)\textsuperscript{88} After 1994, South African borders opened up to an influx of foreigners resulting in contact with the ‘unknown’ foreigners which Morris believes created hostilities. On the contrary, Davies and Head (1995) in Maharaj (2004)\textsuperscript{89} Jeeves and Murray in Maharaj (2004) remind us that mining and agriculture sectors in South Africa depended on migrant labour. Census data from 1911 reveals that more than 6% of the population comprised non-South Africans from the region. The segregation policy stripped black South Africans of their humanity and citizenship (Hamber: 1998) as they suffered arbitrary arrests, beatings, assassinations and torture. In addition they were subjected to systematic violence of poverty, malnutrition, inferior education, urban overcrowding and social strife in townships resulting in the culture of violence (Hamber: 1998). The root cause of the culture of violence in South Africa can only be located within the social matrix and the long history of oppression, poverty and exploitation in the country.”\textsuperscript{90}

\textsuperscript{86} *Alien in South Africa is a term for foreigners, once used in official names of laws – Aliens Act (1937) and Aliens Registration Act (1939). It has connotations of non-belonging and is associated with alien plants, which have been the subject of a campaign to root them out.*


\textsuperscript{88} Derek Hook, Gillian Eagle (2004) *Psychopathology and social prejudice.* Juta and Company Ltd, South Africa


\textsuperscript{90} Ibid pp2
2.5 Challenging the xeno-media discourse

The social-biological arguments put across by Fanon in Bulham (2004), Ginsburg et al (1994), and Klein (1986) suggest that behaviour and attitudes are learnt at infant stage, the family and the social environment as source of influence. This researcher argues that, at that stage, infants are incapable of either reading newspapers or making sense of television and radio media messages. In addition if the media is removed from the social scheme of things, the process of socialisation would not stop.

The scapegoat theory by Gordon Allport (1954) explains xenophobia within the context of Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. He argues that failure to meet these needs leads to frustrations which are catharsized through scapegoating a migrant. This theoretical explanation does not show the causal-effect relationship between the media and xenophobia. In most of the explanations, the media is feeding from and to the society in what McQuail (2005), called mirroring the society. In addition Allport reminds us that even though one’s own culture and way of thinking may be regarded as superior, this doesn’t are not necessarily lead to hostility towards what is different. Proponents of the isolation theory such as Fennema, M (1998) base their arguments on ethnicity, nationalism and identity attributes which are socially and ideologically defined. At this stage, the social power dynamics are more at play where the media are used as channels of ideology propagation in the end the media reflect the dominant ideology about migrants as opposed to the media a taking position.

Stuart Hall (1980) of the Birmingham school of thought challenged the power of the media by arguing that people are not passive receivers of messages. Hall in encoding/decoding theory presents key assumptions which suggest that the audience are always active and that media content does not always convey one message or can be open to several interpretations. The central feature in Hall’s model is the concept of preferred reading which suggests that the audience enjoy the possibilities of alternative, negotiated or oppositional readings thereby adjusting or mitigate the dominant ideology in media message. Fiske, (1987), sums that audiences are therefore not slaves of the media but choose the media content that gratifies their needs (Katz 1974). The ability to choose alternative meanings, negotiate or oppose in Castells’s view (1997) are products of cultural knowledge and not the media further stating that understanding, believing and assimilation are in the hands of an individual audience. Hall and Castells take us back to the Klein’s theory and Fanon’s explanation of how an individuals’ worldview is shaped right from family and how people learn to react to social, economic and emotional insecurities.
Fig. 2. Gomo’s model: Linking Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy of needs with media theories and xenophobia social processes. Adapted from Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy of needs

Felson, Richard (1996) challenges the media exposure-aggression hypothesis by outlining that “laboratory experiments, field experiments, natural experiments and longitudinal analyses based on correlational data failed to produce conclusive evidence of linear, causal relationships between the two concepts”. He argues that media exposure is not an instigator of aggression or merely as a facilitator suggesting that violence is caused by other social factors. These explanations conclusively indicate that people can be xenophobic even without being exposed to the media.

2.6 Media for social cohesion and social change

While most theories centred on the power of the media to spread hegemony, Daniel Lerner (1958), Klapper (1960), Wilbur Schramm (1964) and Everett Rogers (1983 view media as an important player in influencing communication for development and social change. Schramm (1964) suggests key media for development functions; creating an enabling environment, widening horizons, focusing attention on relevant issues, creating a climate for development, change strongly held attitudes or values not conducive to development and affecting attitudes lightly held and canalizing stronger attitude. Jane Jenson (1998) argues that peace facilitates “economic restructuring [and] social change" and that a cohesive society is a

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foundation for development. The absence of cohesion may lead to a threat to the social order\(^93\) hence the need for social change models.

Everett Rogers (1962, 1983, 1986) based on the ideas of Bryce Ryan and Neil Gross (1943) proposed that social cohesion is a process of diffusion whereby people move from a certain way of life to another. It is concerned with changing attitudes through a process of diffusion and adoption of new ideas in a deliberately planned manner and the media are seen as vital agents in spreading awareness of these new ideas and practices\(^94\). Effective adoption of these new ideas is only possible when there is personal communication\(^95\). The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, argued that that, social problems such as xenophobia, “call for a new attitude for overcoming stereotyped thinking and to promote more understanding of diversity and plurality, with full respect for the dignity and equality of peoples living in different conditions and acting in different ways” (MacBride, 1980: 254).

Jayaweera (1991) also departs from the traditional thinking placing faith in the mass media as an agent for social change to play a role of changing the [xenophobia] attitude.\(^96\) Ross Howard, Director of the Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS) sees the media as an imperative component for peace-building and social cohesion because, “... at its best [the media] means accurate and balanced reporting which fairly represents a diversity of views sufficient for the public to make well-informed choices. Reliable and diverse media that can express themselves freely provide early warning of potential outbreaks of [xenophobia] and conflict. In less optimal environments, the media can still foster [acceptance of immigrant] and social stability by providing essential information on social cohesion\(^97\)

### 2.7 Conclusion

There is reasonable theoretical evidence that the media have power to influence xenophobia attitudes as one of the many socializing agents. But even without the influence of the media, xenophobia attitudes and attacks are caused by other psycho-social means. Allport (1954) reminds us that lack of basic necessities is enough to generate the culture of hate for immigrants. The assumed power of the media can also be utilized for social cohesion.

\(^94\) Jarveas, Jan (2009) Media for social transformation: Advocacy for peace. Chiang Mia
\(^95\) Jan Servaes& Patchanee Malikha (2005) : Participatory communication: the new paradigm? In Oscar Hemer & Thomas Tufte (editors): Media & Glocal Change: Rethinking communication for Development. p94-95
\(^97\) Tim Allen & Nicole Stremlau (2005) Media policy, peace and state reconstruction in In Oscar Hemer & Thomas Tufte (editors): Media & Glocal Change: Rethinking communication for Development. p218
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction
This chapter outlines the research methodology, which include means, techniques, tools, sampling methods and frames of reference through which this study is carried out. Popenoe (1971) defines a research methodology as the “analysis of conceptual, logical and research procedures through which research, data gathering technique, samples that are to be used in the research.”98 In the selection of the appropriate method to use in data gathering and analysis, the study takes into account the objectives of the study which include verifying a link between media reporting and xenophobic attitude among youth and violent attitude against foreigners in South Africa, establishing the extent and level of influence the media have on anti-foreigner sentiments and also identifying and explaining other social dynamics that influence xenophobic attitude other than the media.

3.1 Research methodology
This study used both qualitative and quantitative methods which allows gathering of different kinds of data and triangulation where the weaknesses of a single method are compensated by the counterbalancing strengths of another. The strength of qualitative methods lies in its ability to intellectually engage with theory and exploring the intricate textures of qualitative data but runs the risk of failing to contest the validity of numerical evidence99. Qualitative is considered soft, subjective and speculative while quantitative is described as hard, objective and rigorous100. This study will employ the content analysis (from both quantitative and qualitative perspective), qualitative interview methodology and the survey questionnaire of data gathering method. These methods are used not as paradigmatic methodological alternatives but as methods to empirical research that mutually enhance each other. Their value lies in their differences101.

3.2 Content Analysis
Content analysis is used in this study to determine how media reporting influences anti-foreign sentiments. It is an "in-depth analysis of quantitative or qualitative techniques of messages analysis on objectivity-inter-subjectivity of communicative texts to test hypothesis 102 and enable generalization. Berelson in Holsti (1969) concurs that it is system of compressing many words of text into fewer content

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100 Pickering (2009), P2
101 Pickering (2008) p, 8
102 Kimberly A. Neuendorf (2002), The Content Analysis Guidebook, Sage publications. UK
categories based on explicit rules of coding” by identifying specified characteristics of messages\textsuperscript{103}. Key words and phrase that described xenophobia were identified and used as retrieval codes (Klaus Krippendorff:1980)\textsuperscript{104}. These words and phrases used are as follows; \\textit{migrants, xenophobia, xenophobic, kwerekwere, makwerekwere, foreigners, aliens, outsiders, non-nationals, foreign nationals} and non-South Africans to retrieve news items from the Media Monitoring Africa database. A purposive sampling method was used to screen these articles within the time frame of June 1, 2007 to June 1, 2008 which falls within a year leading to the xenophobic attacks of April 2008. The study followed Krippendorff’s (2004), six main characteristics in carrying out content analysis, the kind of data to be analyzed, how the data is defined (news), the population (media in South Africa), context (xenophobia), boundaries and the target of inferences. 3562 news items for both (print and electronic) were retrieved from analysis.

3.3. The qualitative interview methodology

Qualitative interview methodology was used to investigate the underlying social dynamics which influence xenophobia and how they inter-play with the media. This study engaged in direct conversation with the youths on the subject of xenophobia\textsuperscript{105} to help to build knowledge from the subjects’ “point of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations”\textsuperscript{106} (Kvale 1997, McNamara,1999)\textsuperscript{107}. This was meant to solicit in-depth understanding of what influences people’s behaviour, views and attitude on foreigners vis-à-vis media reporting. Individual case studies and focus group interview were used as data gathering techniques. Closed and open-ended questions were used to engage with the respondents, with the researcher studying the respondents' levels of emotion, their thoughts about their experiences and perceptions (Patton:1987). With the help of local members of the community, youth interviewees were informed in advance about the overall purpose of the research, main features of its design, as well as possible risks and benefits and assured of the confidentiality of their identities and responses. Given the sensitivity of the subject and that the researcher is a foreigner; it would not have been easy, if at all possible, to get interviews from the people of Alexandra.

To control the flow of the conversation, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest the use of interview guides which indicate key themes and concepts before starting a study as guidelines. The interview guide (Appendix 1) which was discussed with my local supervisor had the following themes; access to the

\textsuperscript{106} Kvale, Steinar (1996) Interviews An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing, Sage Publications.
\textsuperscript{107} McNamara, Carter,(1999) General Guidelines for Conducting Interviews, Minnesota
media, knowledge of foreigners, views and attitudes towards foreigners, sources of influence, and the role of the media in the process. It was vital in minimising bias and separate my views to that of the respondents as suggested by Pickering (2008:106). The questions, which were both structured and unstructured, were conversational and allowed the researcher to study the emotions, facial expressions vital for deductive analysis.

3.3.1 Case study

The study also used the case study data gathering method. According to Yin (1984:13) case studies are an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple evidence is used” and the focus is on answering the ‘why’ and ‘how’ about that phenomenon. Unlike the survey method, the case study approach helped to gather detail response from few interviewees who offered that alternative perspective\textsuperscript{108} which helps to construct a detailed triangulation account of events and issues pertinent in testing ideas, themes and hypothesis\textsuperscript{109}. Even though xenophobia is known to be countrywide, the case study respondents were drawn from Alexandra, a township located in Johannesburg. Purposive sampling was used to justify the choice of this settlement among many other places taking from Burgess (1984) advice that that places have to fit a certain criteria.\textsuperscript{110} In addition, the 2008 countrywide xenophobic attacks are believed to have started in Alexandra Township.\textsuperscript{111} Easy access and convenience were other factors taken into account. Three individual case studies were identified for in-depth face-to-face interviews process (as explained under sampling section) to help to understand the factors influencing xenophobic attitude and how the media contribute to that. Among the people identified include a ward councillor, a young journalist and an ordinary youth of Alexandra. The sampling method is explained later in this chapter.

3.3.2 Focus Groups

A focus group was also used as a data gathering method. Focus groups involved the researcher and a selected group of youth in a face-to-face situation in which the researcher asked questions about xenophobia and the media in order to gain better understanding. The same interview guide as above was used during this process. Kitzinger (1994) in Pickering posits that focus group interviews capitalises on
communication between research participants in order to generate data where groups explicitly use group interaction as part of the method. Group dynamics elicit debates, and as meaning making is a social process explored through group situation (Alasuutari 1999). Groups enabled more data to be produced; participants interacted with each other as well as the researcher and these group dynamics formed part of the data. In addition data emerged from discussions rather than being answers to questions, which in many ways, are a true reflection of social perceptions of a situation which allowed the researcher to observe feelings, expressions, perceptions, beliefs, traditions and values of the youths. Focus groups are popular with in media effects research studies where they compliment content analysis. The focus group interviews, which were made up of four young female and three male respondents, were held at a community hall in Alexandra. Among these only two were employed and the rest unemployed. Community leadership including the police were briefed on the purpose of the research in case of incidences. The choice of the setting was influenced by safety for the researcher, free from distraction, and comfort for the respondents, convenience for identifying a diversity of respondents (Burgess (1984: 49). The Community Centre is conveniently situated in an area where most of the community services are provided by Johannesburg's municipality as well as additional provincial and national government services. Confidentiality issues, format and the length of the interview were also discussed and agreed.

3.4 Quantitative method
Quantitative research was also used to provide precise measurement and analysis which is important for generalisation. It allows counting and classification and builds statistical models which are vital in explaining the phenomenon under observation. Unlike the qualitative tools, data collected using quantitative approach is in the form of numbers and statistics. An audience survey questionnaire method was used as one of the data gathering tools to establish the generality, commonality and spread of views, attitude and perceptions of anti-foreign attitude in Alexandra.

3.4.1 Survey questionnaire method
A survey questionnaire (Appendix 3) method is a systematic data collection tool which provides “empirical data collected from a population of respondents on a whole number of topics or issues." Surveys are vital in collecting data about attitudes and opinions of audiences. Hansen et al (1998) suggest

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113 Ibid 71
114 http://www.educationforhealth.net/EfHArticleArchive/1357-6283_v13n1s12_713664873.pdf
115 Pickering (2008). P 71
that the questionnaire as one of the tools used to solicit standardized and organized data. Heguye (1992)\textsuperscript{118} adds that a survey questionnaire is “designed to gather information from a fraction of the population only”. Stuart Hall quoted in Burgess’s (1984:91) asserts that audience survey research are based on large statistical samples using fixed-choice of questionnaires\textsuperscript{119}. During this study, questionnaires were developed and distributed to youths in Alexandra community by selected interviewers. Prior to the distribution, a draft questionnaire was pre-tested and piloted with three people to ensure “precision of expression, objectivity, relevance, suitability of the questionnaire to the problem and probability of reception and return”\textsuperscript{120}. Pre-testing was also done to ensure that the words, terms and concepts are easy to understand and that respondents understand the question, the task required, and the answer format. A verbal explanation was given to the respondents about the purpose of the study before they could answer the questionnaires.

The use of a variety of the data gathering methods such as qualitative interviews and content analysis was meant to counter what Burgess’s (1984) argument that questionnaires alone do not provide detailed data unless used in conjunction with qualitative tools of data gathering.\textsuperscript{121} Pickering (2008) also added that questionnaire are not adequate in studying a social phenomenon since they contain isolated questions and statements on which the respondents has to take stance on which make is it difficult to make an analysis of people’s profound perspectives on xenophobia. Furthermore the questions are formulated within a particular discourse which influences answers.

### 3.5 Population

Pilot and Hungler (1989)\textsuperscript{122} define population as the aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that conform to a designed set of specifications. This study presents two sets of population. The first set includes people from Alexandra settlement, while the second are the media in South Africa. Alexandra is a township located in Johannesburg, South Africa covering an area of about 8 km\textsuperscript{2} initially meant for only 70,000 people but estimation range from 350,000\textsuperscript{123} to approximately 750,000 people\textsuperscript{124}. This study relies on the City of Johannesburg statistics of 350,000. The South African government

\textsuperscript{119} Burgess’s (1984:91)
\textsuperscript{120} Merriam and Simpson (1984). 162
\textsuperscript{121} Burgess(1984) p.81
\textsuperscript{123} http://www.joburg.org.za/content/view/4807/266/
\textsuperscript{124} http://web.mit.edu/urbanupgrading/upgrading/case-examples/overview-africa/alexandra-township.html
Central Statistics Office\textsuperscript{125} estimates that youth constitute approximately 40\% of the total population. Therefore the sample is going to be drawn from 40\% of the 350,000 which is 140,000. The 2008 countrywide xenophobic attacks started in Alexandra Township\textsuperscript{126} \textsuperscript{127} which influenced the use of a purposive sampling method to identify the location based on Burgess’s (1984) recommendation that places have to fit a certain criteria.\textsuperscript{128} This study used a purposive sampling method to focus on the 33 newspapers, (20 dailies and 13 weeklies)\textsuperscript{129}, 6 national public radio stations, and two television stations\textsuperscript{130}. The list of media understudy is Appendix 4.

3.6 Sampling

Given the huge population understudy, a number of sampling methods were used. Sampling is a process of identifying and determining the units of analysis (Burgess.1984:78). For qualitative interview data gathering, the research broadly uses the non-probability sampling as it aims for validity of meaning than statistical inference. A purposive non-random sample was used to identify a ward councillor, journalist and an ordinary resident for qualitative interviews. The choice of sampling methods was influenced by Burgess (1984:80) who argues for “availability, access, suitability and willingness of participants” to take part in the study. The researcher made follow-up phone calls to book appointments with these three. The interview for the ward councillor and the journalist took place at their homes in Alexandra.

The quantitative questionnaire survey used the non-probability sampling to select units of analysis. Given the population of 140000 youths, it was not feasible to research the entire population for a number of reasons. Adèr et al (2008) points out cost, dynamism of the population, time and speed of data collection. In a homogenous community, sampling brings the advantage of accuracy and quality of the data\textsuperscript{131}. The factors highlighted by Ader et al (2008), plus the security of the researcher demanded that the most accessible respondents are given questionnaires, required that a convenience/accidental sampling was used to identify respondents. Expedience, chance and opportunity rather than deliberate intent\textsuperscript{132} determined the sample of respondents. A team of four research assistants each with 96 questionnaires,

\textsuperscript{125} http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=70309
\textsuperscript{126} http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-193140716.html
\textsuperscript{128} http://www.southafrica.info/about/media/
\textsuperscript{129} Despite SABC having three Television stations, the new content is controlled by the same editorial policy and is pooled in the same database.
were engaged and placed at the Pan-African Shopping mall, one of the biggest shopping centres in Alexandra where the target group (youths) for this study spend their time. Accidental sampling was used to identify respondents. The research assistants stood at different points of the shopping mall where they identified respondents. This is where they conducted the questionnaire interviews. Identification for focus group members was done at Alexandra Thusong Service Centre where a hall was provided for purposes of the study. The four female and three male respondents were identified using a combination of purposive and accidental sampling. Purposive was useful to achieve gender balance while accidental was used to enrol the respondents. Among these only two were employed and the rest unemployed.

3.6.1 Sample Size

In qualitative sampling, the number of cases sampled is often small (Glasser and Strauss, 1967) as a phenomenon only need appear once to be of value. Because qualitative investigation aims for depth as well as breadth, the analysis of large numbers of in-depth interviews may be difficult to manage. The researcher was largely influenced by methodologists who have provided sample size guidelines for several of the most common qualitative research designs and techniques. Creswell (2002) recommends 3-5 participants for individual case studies and three respondents were interviewed. Accidental sampling was used to identify these three participants who were readily available. Expedience, chance and opportunity rather than deliberate intent influenced the sample of respondents.

For focus groups, different authors recommend; 6-9 participants (Krueger, 2000); 6-10 participants (Langford, Schoenfeld, & Izzo, 2002; Morgan, 1997); 6-12 participants (Johnson & Christensen, 2004) and 6-12 participants (Bernard, 1995). The researcher used seven participants for the focus group. Convenience sampling was also used to identify members of the focus group taking the advice of Sandelowski (1995), who posits that that sample sizes in qualitative research should not be too small to achieve data saturation, theoretical saturation, or informational redundancy and not too large to undertake

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a deep, case-oriented analysis. Statistical inference is not the main objective, but results according to Maxwell (1992) are used for generalisation. For the questionnaire survey, the sample size was taken from Krejcie and Morgan’s (1970) table for determining Sample size (Appendix 5). They suggest that that for a population of over 10,000 people (the total population for this study is 140,000 youth), a sample size of 384 units would be ideal therefore 384 questionnaires were distributed. Purposive sampling was used to screen out media houses on the basis of focus on social and general news issue, readership, viewership, listenership and geographical coverage. This left the researcher with 41 media houses from which a sample of 36 were chosen for analysis using the table for determining Sample size Krejcie and Morgan’s (1970). A simple random probability sampling was used to select units of analysis by carrying out raffle draw of the 36 names of media houses to be studied.

3.7 Data gathering, analysis and presentation
Permission was sought to use Media Monitoring Africa’s (MMA) archive materials for the period between June 2007 and June 2008 for content analysis. From the selected sample of 36 new media 3562 news items were extracted for analysis using the key words outline in section 3.2.

Burgess (1984:98) and Pickering (2008:64) identify the use of note-taking and tap-recording as the most recommended way of recording interviews as they are lesser chances of losing data. Some of the respondents were sensitive about voice recorders as there is a suspicion on the subject of xenophobia. The researcher relied on a secret voice recorder and a notebook. An unstructured-open ended interview approach was used to allow the researcher an opportunity to gather deep seated information and more informative analysis and conclusions. Burges (1984) suggests that unstructured questions allow respondents space to justify their actions by giving accounts and culturally acceptable reasons for their behaviour and whether the media play any role in shaping that behaviour.

Data analysis was inspired by Kvale (1996) and Patton (1990) who describe methods of data analysis including meaning categorization, and interpretation for analyzing qualitative interview data. Data was transcribed into scripts, organized and coded and put into a categorisation system (Patton 2002) to allow data to be categorized systematically Burgess 1984:143). The following key concepts were identified categories: access to media; knowledge of foreigners; feeling and views of foreigners and sources of influence for these feelings and views; reasons for these feelings/views; the role of media; and actions out

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of these feelings/views. (See Appendix 2). Coding allowed data belonging to each category to be retrieved for further analysis (Ibid: 143) and to be organized and described before the next stage of analysis.

Media content was checked for date of publication, name of media in which it appeared, geographical location, type of news items (whether it is news story or editorial), medium (name of media organisation), topic under which it is allocated on the list of possible topics, language (how immigrants are referred) and depth in the story. Interview data was transcribed into scripts, organized and coded and put into a categorisation system (Patton 2002) to allow data to be categorized systematically Burgess 1984:143). The following key concepts were identified categories: access to media; knowledge of foreigners; feeling and views of foreigners and xenophobia; sources of influence for these feelings and views; reasons for these feelings/views; the role of media; and actions out of these feelings/views. Survey questionnaires were also coded so that data belonging to each category could be retrieved for further analysis (Ibid: 143) and to be organized and described before the next stage of analysis.

Qualitative data will be presented descriptively as a way of summarizing the findings from the interviews before interpreting the meaning within the context of the phenomenon understudy. This will be interpreted deductively and inductively in order to identify the causal-effect between xenophobia and the media which helps to make conclusions. Qualitative data is presented numerically and in percentages in the form tables and graphs followed by an interpretive analysis of the meaning of the data.

3.8 Role of the researcher
I was aware that I am a product of my social and cultural background which also shapes my worldview and inadvertently filters through the process of data collection, gathering and analysis. Three factors could have been contributed to bias during this research; being a journalist, an aid worker and a Zimbabwean, a nationality that was targeted during the xenophobia attacks had a strong influence on the logistics. I was introduced as a Venda speaking South African who could not speak Zulu, Tswana or Sotho the commonly spoken languages in Alexandra.

3.9 Challenges and limitations of the methodology
Carrying out a study of this nature is not without challenges. Accessing television and radio materials was a challenge as some channels didn’t have good archiving system. I had to depend on scripts some which didn’t provide enough information for analysis. Some scripts didn’t have quotes which was one of the
most important parts of the study. The researcher was very limited as to how much I could probe deeper into certain issues during interviews as I was afraid of provoking the situation. This means that Most of the respondents were not quite comfortable discussing xenophobia issues. This meant that the only place safe enough to identify respondents were at public places which was a limiting factor as most of the people at these places were in hurry to do their own business. In addition, people in their homes were not represented in the samples while three quarters of the people first approached declined to participate. There was a serious language problem as most of the respondent especially on questionnaire did not have a good command of the language, valuable information might have been lost in translation. This also explains why in most of the questionnaires respondents couldn’t give detailed supporting reasons for their answers. The questionnaires’ inability to probe responses was complimented by the qualitative interviews. One of the key limitations is fact that, it is difficult to carry out a media effects analysis based on the content analysis, survey and qualitative interviews with including observation methodology. Due to the sensitivity of xenophobia some respondents might not have given honest answers hence the importance of observation which requires more time to study behaviour trends. The study also missed the views of the foreigners on how the media report on them.

3.10 Conclusion

The study draws its strengths from the use of different methods of data gathering which allows complimentarity, inference and generalization of the findings. Content analysis looks at the power of the media messages, while qualitative establishes the level and other factors of influence while will allow generalizations of the findings.
CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction
This chapter presents the major findings and analysis of the study in relation to research methodologies used to gather data analyzed within theoretical underpinnings that inform them before presenting the conclusions. The combination and triangulation of the research methods assisted to unearth some very interesting information on understanding the relationship between media and xenophobia. The presentation of the findings follow outline of the research methodology which begins by focusing on content analysis. Qualitative and quantitative data analysis will establish the level of influence the media have on the Alexandra population and identifies other factors at play in shaping the xenophobic attitude.

4.1.1 Content analysis
General findings
The study analyzed 3562 news items during the period June 2007 to June 2008 with a view to establish how the media in South Africa (print and electronic) report on immigrants and how this may contribute to xenophobic attitude. Generally, the findings indicate a great deal of interest to cover stories on foreigners and xenophobia when they are related events. The analysis explores authorship of stories on foreigners, the type of stories in which they appear, geographical origin of the stories and language and the description of foreigners in the stories. Authorship is used to determine commitment by the media to an issue. Use of own journalists shows high commitment as the media can invest time and resources on an issue than those from agencies. During the period under study, authorship was at 80% by media’s own reporters against a 3% sourced from agencies, with 12% coming from guest writers who are mainly contributors of opinion editorials. Almost all of the 12% of the opinion contributions were against xenophobia with others challenging the way the government was dealing with xenophobia situation.

4.1.2 Type of coverage
The type and number of stories is another measure of editorial commitment to the issue of xenophobia. Allowing more space for news analysis, opinion editorial and editorials is an indication of how newsrooms value the subject. Only 24% of the coverage was opinion editorials and commentaries compared to a 60% for news stories. The amount of opinions and editorials, 24% shows a considerable importance attached to the issue as they provide for more time for the coverage of events and provides for more space for analytical discussions. Business stories with the same key words accounted for only 4% most of which were linked to investment, sports, tourism with 10% of that 4% being opinionated coverage. The table below shows the distribution of coverage.
4.1.3 Geographical origin

Geographical origins of stories, though not so conclusive, give an indication of where there is either a higher media bias or where the phenomenon is more prominent. However, this combined with other factors may help explain some of the findings. At national level, xenophobia stories accounted for 53% with Gauteng (this is where Alexandra is located) and Western Cape leading at 18% and 13% respectively. This could be attributed to a number of reasons such as high number of foreigners in these provinces and also that these provinces host capital cities where most of the media are located. KwaZulu Natal accounted for 5%, Eastern Cape 3%, Free State 3% and the rest with a total of 5%. The coverage of Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces (in the combined 5%) which border Zimbabwe and Mozambique presents an interesting pattern as these provinces are the main entry points for immigrants. There was a huge influx of refugees from Zimbabwe during this period but they were more stories coming from Gauteng and national media. This pattern may suggest the centralization of media in the capitals or the less importance given to the immigrant issues in these provinces.
4.1.4 Stereotypyng and scapegoating

According to the findings, African immigrants are highly associated with criminality and other social ills. Of the total of 3562 stories monitored, about 46% of the news portrays foreigners in a negative way as criminals, unwanted and rebellious members of the society. Example include the *EP Herald* story (July 20, 2008, p. 1) entitled “J-Bay drugs worth R90 000 confiscated,” which describes the arrest of two foreigners in connection with drugs. “Two foreigners, from Burundi and Rwanda, were arrested during the second raid...” so goes the story to which a police spokesperson commented that, “After investigating, the police have established that most dealers are Nigerians or other West Africans,” stigmatizing Nigerians and West Africans as drug dealers. The Daily Sun carries an front page editorial entitled “Bob’s Tsunami”, where they eluded that, “President Mbeki says there’s no crisis in Zimbabwe – but the flood of miserable refugees rises every day.” (17/04/2008 p. 1) Media reporting here does not only reflect negative stereotyping of foreigners but also confirms the Gordon Allport’s (1954)\(^{143}\) scapegoating theory where foreigners are being framed (Scheufele:1999) by the media as the main cause of the people’s frustrations. 20% presented foreigners as creating pressure on competition for job where they allegedly go for lesser wages. Statements such as “Too many South Africans are walking around unemployed while many foreigners, often prepared to work for less money, have jobs. Job creation has not kept up with reality in our country,” (17/04/2008 p. 7). Foreigners are also blamed for social problems faced by South Africans. The Daily Sun in one of its editorials carries this quote; “Many of us live in fear of foreign gangsters and conmen. Much terror has been caused by gangs of armed Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and others” (14/04/2008 p. 3). Another one in the Sunday Independent bears testimony to that: “The people here are jealous of us, and people and newspapers are always saying that ‘foreigners did this, foreigners did that, foreigners are the criminals, and foreigners rape our women’. So they attacked us - and stole everything, except what I have here,” said a Mozambican national. However for those that reported positively, there were attempts to give foreigners space to air their views such as the above Sunday Independent quote. A Sunday Times editorial on 18/05/2008 seems to justify the xenophobia attitude and the action against foreigners. In this editorial they state that; “Poor people feel the competition firsthand. They see the limited benefits of the liberation for which they struggled hard being usurped by newcomers.” The findings here show a serious negative stereotype againsts foreigners, which may be attributed to a number of factors. Either the media are reporting to ‘sell news’ or they are simply mirroring the feelings of the society on foreigners (McQuail (2005) as explained later in this chapter. It can also be noted that the media in South Africa have not put an effort to take a balanced position or challenging these stereotypes but instead thrives on them.

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\(^{143}\) Allport, Gordon (1954) *The Nature of Prejudice*, Addison-Wesley: Cambridge. 255
Table 4.3 Categorization of coverage of foreigners in the media (n=3562)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main topics</th>
<th>N of stories</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime stories</td>
<td>1639</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition of resources</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical of government immigration policy</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government is doing enough for immigrants</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuse of foreigners</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive stories on foreigners</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stories of nationalities from Nigeria, Mozambique and Zimbabwe dominated crime stories but Mozambique dominated at 74% of crime stories compared to other stories. This was due to the high publicity of the escape of a serial and dangerous Mozambican criminal who breached South African maximum security prison several times. The continued use of his nationality cast Mozambicans as sophisticated criminals. It further reinforced a myth among South Africans that Mozambicans use muthi\textsuperscript{144} to carry out criminal activities. 59% of the stories on Nigerians were crime related, while Zimbabwe account for 28%. It is the researcher’s assertion that by naming criminals by their nationalities, the media is setting a hate agenda (McCombs and Shaw: 1972) of stereotyping criminality with certain nationalities and the media in that regard are guilty of framing (Schuelfele: 1999) foreigners into a “symbolical and mythical figure of unemployment, poverty and deprivation which unnecessarily leads social isolation into groups, “us” and “them” (Fairclough: 1995)\textsuperscript{145}. It is the author’s contention that the media is among the many several centres of power, and are in a better position to challenge stereotypes or change strongly held “attitudes or values not conducive to peace and development”\textsuperscript{146} (Lerner:1958, Klapper:1960, Schramm:1964, Everett Rogers: 1983)

A further 10% of the stories monitored either criticised South Africa's immigration policies or the government for not doing enough to cater for foreigners. These stories were higher during the xenophobia attacks. Between 40% to 60% of the 10% stories monitored focused mainly on xenophobia or migration. The media in their reporting classify both legal and illegal immigrants the same way creating an impression that all foreigners are desparate further perpetuating hate. Only 5% of news items reported on the ill-treatment of foreigners by government officials or the poor services they get including the corrupt tendencies at the immigration and home affairs offices. This confirms the negativity of South African media towards foreigners instead of either promoting cohesion or challenge the government’s lack of

\textsuperscript{144} In general context muthi refers to African medicine for healing usually in the form of animal parts, herbs, or barks with medicinal value. However, in this context, it refers to objects of any kind superstitiously venerated by foreign tribes making it a form of witchcraft.


serious and comprehensive policy on handling immigrants’ issues. 7% of the stories were of the view that the government was doing enough to protect foreigners given that the country is still young. The only positive stories under the key words were linked to sports which accounted for 8%, while 4% of these were associated with tourism, commerce and investment, mainly from the business newspapers such as The Business Day and Die Burger. It must be noted that despite the negativity of media on foreigners, electronic media was more objective in their reporting than print.

4.1.5 Language: how do the media describe foreigners

Despite the negativity of the stories on foreigners, non-South Africans are still largely described as foreigners (48%) an indication of neutrality and balance while the term immigrant (17%) also denotes neutrality but carries negativity in the South African context. Statistically the derogatory terms such as Alien and kwerekwere are at a low of 3% and 2% respectively but it should be noted that the Daily Sun, one of the widely read newspapers dorninted in this 3%. In May and April 2008 alone, the Daily Sun carried over 22 stories with the derogatory term, “alien”147 some of the examples include; “It’s war on aliens! 20 bust for attacks!” (13/05/2008 p. 4), “War against aliens! Thousands forced to flee Alex” (14/05/2008 p. 2), “Blood and flames! Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred” (19/05/2008 p. 3), “Rampage! 13 aliens dead as angry flames of hatred spread!” (19/05/2008p. 1) (See Appendix 6 for more quotes) Even stories that sympathize with foreigners still carry these derogatory terms. An example is the The Sowetan heading, “Aliens find refuge at Methodist Church”, (May 22, 2008, p. 6) and The Citizen (“Two killed in attack on aliens” 13/05/2008 p. 3). The table below shows the percentages of how foreigners were described in the media during the period understudy.

Table 4.4 How foreigners are described in the media (n=1034)

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147 The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word “alien” as follows: 1) belonging to a foreign country, unfamiliar or unacceptable or relating to beings from other worlds. As a noun an alien is a foreigner or a being from another world.
These terms are used to dehumanize migrants while the term “alien”\textsuperscript{148}, though was once used in the Alien control Act during apartheid, is outdated but still found in the media in South Africa. In some cases the media couldn’t differentiate between a refugee and legal immigrant as shown in this editorial, “Too many South Africans are walking around unemployed while many foreigners, often prepared to work for less money, have jobs. Job creation has not kept up with reality in our country,” (The Daily Sun: 17/04/2008 p. 7). These dehumanizing and derogatory terms such as alien and kwerekwere are usually associated with negativity such as criminality, theft, and witchcraft and other social ills and problems which may influence hostile attitude towards foreigners. These terms present foreigners as elements from another planet invading South Africa, and do not deserve sympathy but instead should be removed from society as they are not part of ‘us’. The sci-fi ‘alien’ associated with catastrophic terminology elicit feelings of fear and invocation of territorial defense from ‘us’ to the ‘other’. These combinations can be seen in the following examples, “War on aliens”, “The alien terror”, “Mugabe tsunami,” “refugee,” “floods”, “invasion”, “pour” “deluge” and other similar words. For example The Daily Dispatch (May 31, 2008 (p. 8), ran a story entitled “Xenophobia victims may flood Eastern Cape: Province plans for all possibilities”. This headline incites feelings of fear of invasion which may invoke a resistant reaction. In the same vein it creates an impression that immigrants are coming in large numbers and tightening competition for resources.

While it may be difficult to conclude, at this stage, that media have a direct influence on xenophobia attitude, it is clear that their reporting is very negative towards immigrants and has a huge potential to cause xenophobic violence. Secondly, from the above analysis, there is deliberate absence of efforts and commitment by the media to challenge the stereotypes and the xenophobic attitudes. Even where xenophobia is condemned, the use of derogatory terms still find space in the media suggesting that perhaps, the reporters and editors are products of a xenophobic society who are victims of an inherent and inadvertent bias against foreigners. In many of the stories monitored, very few allowed time and space foreigners to say their side of the story and most cases they were shown on television or pictures saying how much they have suffered. Sometimes they are given space when they are asking the government to help them to go home. Non-African foreigners in the monitored stories fall within the category of sports, business, tourists and investors while the African immigrants are generally viewed as illegal, criminals, job seekers, drug dealers annihilating their positive contribution to the economy. This may suggest that

\textsuperscript{148} The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word “alien” as follows: 1) belonging to a foreign country, unfamiliar or unacceptable or relating to beings from other worlds. As a noun an alien is a foreigner or a being from another world.
the media treat foreigners of different races in a different way. While press freedom is spelled out in the Constitution of South Africa, there is need to annihilate nationalities when reporting on foreign criminals, the same way they don’t tribalise or racialise when reporting on South African criminals. They also balance where xenophobia issues are reported.

4.2. Quantitative survey questionnaire and qualitative interview findings

Of the 384 questionnaires distributed, only 346 (response rate of 90%) were returned but 10 of them could not be used as they were not properly and adequately filled to contribute meaningful data to the study. Therefore this study will be based on 336 questionnaires. The analysis of the data in this section will be interpreted in conjunction with data gathered from the qualitative interview methods and will be linked to the analysis in the content analysis section where necessary.

4.2.1 General findings

Of the 336 respondents, 58% were female and 48% male. Only 17% of these are employed, 25% are unemployed, 20% students with the highest number of 38% falling in others category. This category catered for those who were either involved in street vending, and those who dependent on piece jobs. Findings from the questionnaire survey, case studies and focus group qualitative interview show 100% access to both print and electronic media.

Of the 336 respondents from the questionnaires survey 28% indicated that the Star newspapers is their favourite and is the leading newspaper, followed by the the Daily Sun which is at 23%, the Sowetan is third at 21% and the Citizen at 19%. De Beeld an Afrikaans newspaper stands at 7% which is interesting as Alexandra is black only community. It is followed by the Sandton Chronicles with just 2%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Citizen</th>
<th>De Beeld</th>
<th>Daily Sun</th>
<th>The Star</th>
<th>The Sandton Chronicles</th>
<th>The Sowetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5

However access to the newspapers stands 67% less than that of radio and television which stands at 99%. This suggests that they may be unable to pay for newspapers, while radio and television are always available and accessible. In addition the consumption of radio and television’s news does not require the ability to read. Some of those who sometimes buy newspapers do so in order to look for important information such as employment. 99% of the respondents including those in the case studies and focus groups said they trust the news from the media. There is a strong belief that the news content is balanced and addresses their needs. Based on the questionnaire survey, Metro Fm radio is the most popular at
33%, followed by YFM, 22%, 5FM, 18% and Motsweding at 15%. It should be noted that these radio stations cater for the young generation hence their popularity among Alexandra youths.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radio Station</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metro Fm</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex Fm</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaya Fm</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YFM</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motsweding</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5FM</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thobela</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6

SABC TV 1 and 2 combined take the lead at 53% on television, followed by Etv accounting for 21%. SABC 3 stood at 15% and others 11%. The Others category include the Multichoice channels, a pay per view commercial channel but it is not part of this study.

4.2.2 Dependence on the media for important information

Question 3 of the questionnaire sought to establish the extent to which the youth people of Alexandra depended on the media for vital information. 48% of the respondents indicated that Less often do they rely on media for vital information, while 46% do not rely on the media at all suggesting that they there are other sources of information other than the media. Only 6% indicated that they always rely on the media. However, the interviews and focus groups discussions response suggested that Alexandra youths rely more on their social networks for information than on the media for vital information. One of the respondents in the interviews indicate that the media address their needs more at national level without focusing on their micro needs and therefore making its content irrelevant to them. Solutions and answers to their needs are sourced and found within their community. This also applies to information on jobs, housing, and other basic requirements. Perhaps this also explains the overwhelming lack of media influence response in question 4 of the questionnaire. Despite the negativity on foreigners in the media, 98% of the respondents indicated that their views and attitudes on foreigners are not influenced by the media. Only 1% indicated that sometimes and another 1% that the media has strong influence on their attitude. Data from the qualitative interviews corresponds to this pattern but respondents elaborated that their ‘worldview’ is shaped by people around them, their history, expectations, aspirations, frustrations and their daily struggles to survive. Their reliance on the media is sometimes just for entertainment unless there are important issues in the news. This suggest that news content may have very little significance to shaping of attitudes or that the negative reporting on foreigners is reflecting the feeling of the society than vice versa. Reference can be made to the Fig. 2. Gomo’s model in chapter two which links Alport and Maslow’s hierarchy of needs which seems to suggest limited media effects to people at a lower level in society as they focus on bread and butter issues.
4.2.3 Description of their feelings and views on foreigners and sources of influence

Question 5 of the questionnaire sought to gather data on the respondents’ feelings and views on foreigners. They were given six options to choose from which included; Hate, Dislike, Neutral, Like, Love and No Opinion. 89% decided not to indicate their feelings and views by choosing No Opinion without giving reasons. Only 2% expressed their hate, 1% Dislike, 5% Neutral, 2% Like and 1% Love. The 5% Neutral represents those who indicated those who think there are both good and bad foreigners. However during the face-to-face interviews and group discussions they were mixed feeling on foreigners. There is a deep rooted general dislike which can be concluded as hate. Some among group members indicated that just hearing *Kwerekwere* language makes them angry and bitter. Others indicated that they were some foreigners who are good and have been part of their society for a long time, while others thought foreigners should just go back home. One woman among a focus group indicated that she would hate it to have her daughter married to an migrant.

Question 6 was a follow up to question 5 which sought to establish the main sources of influence for these views and feelings. Respondents were asked to choose between School, Church, Family, Media, Society, Experience with Foreigners and Competition for resources such as jobs, housing etc. Table 4.7 shows the distribution of the responses from the survey questionnaire. Competition for resources dominates the response at 43%, with society (social influence) at 31% and their Experience with foreigners at 19%. The media only accounted for 4% and family 2%. The low media influence can be linked to the low reliance on the media and its minimal influence in Question 4 of the Questionnaire.

![Pie chart showing the sources of influence on foreigners]

Table 4.7 shows the main sources of influence on foreigners

Several explanations were given for different responses but for those who chose Competition for resources, their reasons centred on the fact that foreigners are believed to be taking jobs, housing, women
and other available opportunities. There is a strong belief that most of the foreigners are living better lives in South Africa and their ‘suffering’ is a result of their presence. There is also a strong belief that foreigners bargain for less wages and they access housing through corrupt practices. These sentiments have found themselves in the media. These extracts from the Daily Sun confirm these notions: “Too many South Africans are walking around unemployed while many foreigners, often prepared to work for less money, have jobs. Job creation has not kept up with reality in our country” and “South Africans living in tin and cardboard shacks are tired of seeing foreigners buying RDP houses from corrupt officials. These houses are supposed to be free to the poorest South Africans. But too many housing and local council officials are crooks.” Foreigners are seen as reaping where they didn’t sow as they are benefiting from government negligence or direct support, or from the “aliens” apparent inherent criminality, making it seem like their ‘otherness’ is the reason why they are being advantaged. Given that 89% indicated that their views are not influenced by the media, it can be deduced that the media reporting is influenced by the society instead of the other round or possibly the media is reporting what is already known.

Some respondents believe that if all foreigners are evicted, everyone in Alexandra will have access to jobs, housing and other services thereby improving the lives of many people. Of the 31% who indicate that the society influence them to look negatively at foreigners indicated that they are a lot of myths around foreigners. The Alexandra community does not understand the cultures of the many immigrants in their society hence the stereotypes. Questionnaire responses show that there is belief that foreigner behave in strange way. Some of these views find their way in the media and the Daily Sun offers good examples of these statements. “Magic rats are stealing my cash!” “A tuck shop owner believes that a Zimbabwean merchant is sending debt collectors to her place – magical rats! The frightened woman admits that she has owed the alien merchant money since last year” (14/04/2008 p. 3), “This isn’t magic, it’s theft! Aliens disappear with the cash” (15/04/2008, p.10), “They wait for dark before they attack! Aliens use muthi to steal our cattle!” (09/05/2008 p. 11). These statements reinforce the notion that foreigners are strange beings who destabilize people’s lives using mystical means.

These myths may have contributed to social domain where people discuss foreigners based on these myths and misconceptions. However in the qualitative interviews it was difficult to separate society, family and experiences as they all explained in the same context. Respondents indicated that they grew up being told by their parents and society that foreigners are bad people who bring disease, bad luck and all the bad things in the society. These have been passed from generation to generation. Those within the Experience category indicate that the behaviour of some of the foreigners is unbecoming. One respondent described them as hooligans, while others call them criminals, prostitutes; and people who practice
witchcraft and use traditional *muti* to bewitch people. Some indicated that foreigners have a dubious characters. All these attributes are reflected in the media in section 4.1.5. To explain the limited influence of the media on their views of foreigners, one respondent stated that, “you don’t need a newspaper to tell you that a foreign has stolen your clothes, house or girlfriend in order to take action. Our attitudes towards these people [foreigners] are influenced by the way they behave and our experience of staying with them”.

The researcher concludes that xenophobia is more a result of experiences or “observational learning” from the social environment than the media. The role of the media at this stage is very minimal and insignificant. Based on the responses, perhaps what is reported in the media is just a smaller fraction experienced by Alexandra communities which explains why the cause-effect relationship between the media and the youth is minimal. This challenges the widely held view on media exposure and aggressive action against the ‘other’. It challenges the view that media exposure is just an instigator of aggression or merely as a facilitator suggesting that violence is caused by other social factors. These explanations conclusively indicate that people can be xenophobic even without being exposed to the media.

6% of those within the Experience category raised an interesting point that South Africans grew up under racial oppression and they act out how they were treated to foreigners as a way of venting their frustration. This was also confirmed by the ward councilor who suggested that South Africans have not been given enough chance to explore their independence. “As soon as we got our independence foreigners were already flooding the country, so we didn’t have enough time to learn ourselves. And for many of our communities, foreigners are lesser human beings just the same way our people were lesser human beings to the apartheid regime.” The journalist also pointed out that Mozambicans are particularly one of the problematic nationalities. “They come here without identity cards. They tell you false names after you give them a domestic job and the next day they steal from you and vanish. You find them in another community using a different name altogether. These are the things that influence people’s views on foreigners. They can’t be hated from nowhere, though they are some who behave, but the majority because they lack a sense of belonging here, they don’t think they have a duty to be responsible members of our community”.

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For those who indicated that the media as their source of influence indicated that sometimes the media report negatively on foreigners but this is insignificant as they experience most of the bad behaviour by foreigners at community level on daily basis. Despite the reinforcement of negative stereotypes alluded to in the content analysis, findings from both the questionnaire survey and qualitative interviews suggest that it is inappropriate to blame the media for causing xenophobia attitude among the people of Alexandra. These findings indicate that even without the presence of the media, xenophobic attitude will remain high as a result of other social factors. However there is sufficient evidence that the media may be feeding into these stereotypes. One respondent among the case study respondents, while acknowledging that the people of Alexandra are xenophobic, raised a vital point blaming the media for triggering the 2008 xenophobic attacks but argued that the media are not wholly responsible for the attitudes. “A foreign man was found sleeping with someone’s wife to which the communities reacted by taking action as they would usually do even when it involves a South African man. The media were quick to label the case, xenophobia and it triggered the eruption of long suppressed xenophobic feelings against foreigners across the country.” He argued that if it was reported as a case of infidelity and lawlessness by the communities, it wouldn’t have prompted the countrywide xenophobic outbreak. The argument of this respondent falls within the framing theory Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) which suggest that the way news is presented (frame) influences the perceptions. Framing has a strong effect on how society understands and responds to a phenomenon such as xenophobia. It is also a form of agenda setting which not only tells what to think about an issue (agenda-setting theory) but also how to think about an issue as it pushes society to accept one meaning over another. In this case, the media as a communication source defined and constructed a social issue that was infidelity into xenophobia.

4.2.4 Opinion on how the media report on foreigners

Question 7 of the questionnaire requested respondents’ view on how they think the media are reporting on foreigners. 87% of the respondents think that the media are doing a good job and their reports are objective and reflect their situation with foreigners. It was interesting to note from the face-to-face interviews that objectivity and balance are taken to mean that as long as the media maintain their negative bias against foreigners, and then they are being fair to the Alexandra communities. Respondents like the way the media are reporting on immigrants’ bad behaviour. In their view, this is the meaning of objective and balance and encouraged the media to maintain this position. One respondent had the following to say about the media; “We suffered together with the newspapers such as the Sowetan during apartheid to liberate the country. There is no way they can decide to go against us today. Foreigners are our new

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enemy that’s the message which the media should send out” This corresponds to the Sunday Times editorial on 18/05/2008 which stated that; “Poor people feel the competition firsthand. They see the limited benefits of the liberation for which they struggled hard being usurped by newcomers.”

However 13% of those who indicated that the media were not being fair and argued that the media were generalising creating an impression that all immigrants are bad people. Some indicated that some media incite people to fight foreigners but their reaction to foreigners is mainly based on their experiences than what the media say. There is acknowledgement that foreigners are portrayed negatively by the media but the foreigners have themselves to blame though some media reports may create hate. Two respondents indicated that sometimes youths act out what the media incite them to do. During the face-to-face interview respondents indicated that there are some few foreigners who are doing good things in South Africa who should be acknowledged and sometimes the media undermine these good things by their negative reports. In the focus group discussion it was noted, while they think foreigners should not be portrayed negatively, they also hate it when the media sympathise with them. “Because they are foreigners, when the media report about problems, the government and other NGOs are quick to go and help foreigners, something that doesn’t happen to us. We should be prioritised before foreigners,” said one of the interviewees in reference to how the government and NGOs responded to 2008 xenophobic attacks.

4.2.5 If their views on foreigners would change if media report differently

Question 8 sought to find out if the respondents would change their attitudes towards foreigners if the media changed the way they report on foreigners. An overwhelming percentage (94%) think that they may change their attitude if the media report differently on foreigners. The main reasons given for this is that they are only exposed to negatives about foreigners and they don’t know much about foreigners and where they come from. The media should also provide positive stories on immigrants such as how much they contribute to the economy. They also suggest that more information and education about foreigners will help demystify some of the myths around them. Face-to-face interviews gave a different view altogether with respondents indicating that their views on foreigners will not change as a result of change in media reporting but when the foreigners change their behavior. They also indicated that if their economic situation imporve they may change their attitudes towards foreigners. “Our views will only change when foreigners behave in an acceptable manner and when our problems are addressed and when foreigners stop stealing our jobs, houses and other opportunities. The media do not have anything to do with our attitude,” says one respondent in the case studies. Among the focus group, change in
attitude will only occur when the majority of the Alexandra population were in better position than they are. The view from the questionnaire raises a complicated scenario. If the media have limited influence, it is difficult to see how the media can change their view on foreigners. On the other hand the view from the face-to-face interviews still demonstrates the limited media influence compared to the problems faced by the communities. The research concludes from above findings, that the media is not the main cause of xenophobia but social problems which are at the root of the xenophobic attitudes.

4.2.6 Role of media in April 2008 xenophobic attacks

Question 9 sought to establish the role played by the media prior and during the xenophobic attacks of 2008. 97% of the questionnaire respondents indicated that the media played an influential role. It was not clear to establish the causal link between the media and the events from questionnaires. Among the explanations given in the questionnaire were that the media were able to expose the bad behavior by foreigners, information which they used to justify the attacks on foreigners. For some they enjoyed reading, seeing and hearing about how foreigners were being dealt with. The group discussion didn’t give much as most of the respondent felt the media didn’t have a role to play. However among the case interviewees (a journalist) indicated that the media incited the people by framing the initial stories wrongly. In his opinion, the action by the communities was not influenced by xenophobic attitude but mob-psychology and the media were quick to label it xenophobia which later trigger other reactions across South Africa. The first reports implied a declaration of war on immigrants for taking people’s wives and other opportunities. Thereby triggering an already volatile situation.

4.2.7 How the media should report on foreigners

Question 10 set to find how the respondents suggest the media should report on issues involving foreigners. 95% of the respondents indicated that they are happy with the way foreigners are being portrayed in the media the main reason being that the media express how the people feel about foreigners. The remaining 5% who think the media should change the way they portray foreigners are of the view that the media should also provide positive stories on foreigners and treat them as human beings in order to change perception. Face-to-face interviews provided a different perspective. One of the case study interviewees (journalist) suggested that it may be difficult to change as the media report on events, in addition most of the media organisations believe they have a national duty to protect and serve the interest of South Africans. This forms the basis of their stance on foreigners. The interviewee added that it is also difficult to ignore the challenges faced by the communities at the expense of portraying foreigners positively which may be counter prodcutive to the media’s business interest. Respondents for focus group
partly agree with questionnaire respondents but they added that the media need to pressure government to improve the lives of the people of Alexandra before they make foreigners as part of their agenda. The issue of foreigners still hurts them and even if the media change their stance on foreigners it may not influence the way the communities look at them.

4.3 Conclusion

The results presented in this chapter suggest a strong interest in covering refugee issues by the media but however, the media are still very negative towards foreigners which may feed into the stereotypes. This interest and negativity does not suggest a strong and direct influence on community attitudes. From the findings, it is clear that social orientation, competition for resources and the perceived behavior of foreigners are the main sources of influence for xenophobic attitudes. Based on the events of April 2008, the media played a triggering role which prompted the nationwide attacks, but it is difficult to identify the influence of media reporting at micro-community level. Conclusively, the media influence can only be seen at macro level where their role is more at provocation which does not contribute to attitude formation.
CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

“calls for a new attitude for overcoming stereotyped thinking and to promote more understanding of diversity and plurality, with full respect for the dignity and equality of peoples living in different conditions and acting in different ways” (MacBride, 1980: 254).

At its best [the media] means accurate and balanced reporting which fairly represents a diversity of views sufficient for the public to make well-informed choices. Reliable and diverse media that can express themselves freely provide early warning of potential outbreaks of [xenophobia] and conflict. In less optimal environments, the media can still foster [acceptance of immigrant] and social stability by providing essential information on social cohesion (Allen and Stremlau, 2005:p215) 152

5.1 Introduction
This study has explored the theoretical concepts and theories around media effects as it relates to the social phenomenon in the form of xenophobia in South Africa. It located the media effects theories within the context of media reporting and xenophobia attitude in South Africa. A causal effect analysis of the role of media reporting was explored through content analysis, qualitative interviews and questionnaire survey methodologies and explored other social factors at play in xenophobic attitudes which formed the basis of the findings. This chapter is inspired by lessons learnt from the findings of the study in suggesting some recommendations and conclusions open to consideration when placing media reporting in the context of xenophobia in South Africa. The findings of this study suggest that despite the heavy negativity against foreigners in the media content, the media are not the main source of influence and yet still respondents believe that a change in reporting may somewhat influence their attitude. The recommendations are focused on what the media can do to play this part.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS
5.2.1 Derogatory terms
From the findings, it is apparent that the editorial commitment and interest to cover issues of xenophobia is satisfactorily high despite the difficulties around covering xenophobia. Noting the sensitivities around covering these and the inherent commercial interests to run media content that sells, the researcher suggests that the media must take steps to explore the positives of the presence of foreigners in South Africa. This should include how much they have invested and contributed to the labour markets and the

152 Tim Allen & Nicole Stremlau (2005) Media policy, peace and state reconstruction in In Oscar Hemer & Thomas Tufte (editors): Media & Glocal Change: Rethinking communication for Development. p218
The media must also make editorial decisions to avoid the use of derogatory terms such as ‘alien’ and many others as they help feed into the existing stereotypes.

5.2.2 The media as social change agent

It has been noted that even during the blazing xenophobic attacks some of the media reports tones encouraged, legitimized and sanctioned the attacks by giving more reasons why foreigners must be attacked. It should be noted in as much as there are so many issues to be dealt with in South Africa which are mainly blamed on foreigners, the media are among the many several centres of power, and they should utilise that power to challenge stereotypes or change strongly held attitudes or values not conducive to peace and development. They have a developmental role to play in the country therefore they should leave up to that expectation by denouncing violent behavior against any human being regardless of race and nationality.

5.2.3 Stereotyping foreigners

Criminality is one of the major excuses used to stereotype foreigners by both the media and the community. It is true that there are many criminals who are foreign in South Africa but it is equally true that there are even more South African criminals and the researchers takes note that it is the duty of the media among other agents of society to deal with crime. The researcher recommends that in the interest of minimizing stereotypes associated with foreigners the media should avoid the use of nationality prefixes when reporting on crime unless it is unavoidably necessary to do so.

5.2.4 Condemning violence

In volatile situations such as the April 2008 xenophobic attacks, the media should exercise self-censorship and self-regulate themselves by taking a conscience decision to annihilate information that may inflame more violence against foreigners. The media should take stance to condemn violence against any human being and promote peaceful ways of solving social problems.

5.2.5 Avoiding scape-goating the foreigner

It has become common practice for the media and society to blame foreigners for problems experienced in South African society and as indicated in chapter two, some government officials have also been sucked into this mythical rhetoric. It is the researcher’s contention that even if we were to remove all foreigners today, there will still be problems in South Africa. It is vital that the media clarify such mystical thinking by challenging the government for failing to deliver on their promises. In addition despite South Africa having among the best immigration laws in the world, the government has failed to
effectively implement them which have resulted in foreigners being able to roam around the country untraceable. It is the duty of the media to challenge these short-comings as blaming foreigners will not change anything other than creating hate and conflict among the society.

5.2.6 Suppressing the blame ideology of blaming
The media report news based on events and give analytical viewpoints on these events as intermediaries in the society. The researcher noted that in many cases, in as much as the reports are based on events, government officials, politicians, amongst others have uttered statements that contrary to the spirit of social cohesion and peace-building and it is recommended that the media should condemn such utterances.

5.2.7 Adopting a developmental approach
While it may be easy to recommend that the media should change the way they portray foreigners, it is difficult to establish how this can be effective in a society whose attitudes are less influenced by the media but by other social factors. Perhaps the change in stance should be complimented by the peace-building social change models where locals and foreigners are given an opportunity to discuss matters of common interest in what was described by Mary B Anderson\(^ {153} \) (1999)\(^ {154} \) as ‘uniters’ and suppress the ‘dividers’.

5.3 CONCLUSION
It is clear from the findings that the problem of xenophobia is profound and rife among the people of Alexandra. The degree of hate feelings against foreigners and frustrations are such that, should there be another triggering scenario there is a very high likelihood of another outbreak of xenophobia. It was noted that, despite the strong negative bias towards foreigners in the media, xenophobia attitudes are largely influenced by other social orientation agents especially those related to bread and butters issues than media effects assumption. However, it is worth noting that the limited influence of the media can be attributed to the fact that media only report on issues that are already experienced in everyday life of the people of Alexandra thereby offering nothing new. The overwhelming response on whether attitudes can change should encourage a shift in media reporting on foreigners but there is need for strong engagement

\(^{153}\) Mary B. Anderson is a development economist, is president of the Collaborative for Development Action

with the communities in order to address the tension. This can be built around the overwhelming trust the respondents have on news and replace stereotyping content with social cohesion content.

Scape-goating is a result of frustrations which culminate from unmet expectations. Instead of feeding on these frustrations the media can adopt communication for development models which promote peace and cohesion among foreigners and South Africans. This will entail planned participatory processes where the media facilitates dialogue among different tribes in order to create a better understanding of the different nationalities around common development problems. This helps to unite locals and non-South African for them to identify solutions to their problems together instead of blaming each other. This process also helps to catharsize, a process which is necessary to deal with frustrations where people seek “cleansing, purging, or purification” of their frustrations through the “expression of their frustrations and identify solutions.

Analysis from the response suggests that the main issues influencing xenophobic attitudes are around social and economic deprivation, which in my view is the key source of frustrations not foreigners. Xenophobia is just a symptom of deep rooted underlying social divisions emanating from the pre-1994 period. The promises of the struggle for independence remain a pipeline dream for many resulting in frustrations and anger. Those who own the wherewithal of production, predominantly one race, sideline South Africans of other races for foreigners for employment arguing that black South Africans are very unproductive and work with an attitude of entitlement; because they fought for the country they do things at their own pace which is counterproductive. Foreign workers are therefore portrayed as productive, naturally skilled, disciplined, hard-working, and more honest than South Africans. They are claims by the same employers that there “is little or no differential in payment levels between South African and foreign workers as minimum wages and salaries [are regulated by labour laws], although there are hidden savings through unpaid benefits”\(^{155}\). However two important issues emerge here which the media are yet to deal with. Firstly this shows a serious residual lack of trust among different racial groups, or a deliberate subtle effort to annihilate the black South Africans from benefiting from the economy. Secondly, because of this, foreigners have the means to pay for or bribe government officials in order to access housing and other services, once again sidelining South Africans from the benefits of the country. This suggests that xenophobia is not the main problem but a symptom.

\(^{155}\) Rogerson C. M. Building Skills: Cross-Border Migrants and the South African construction industry; Southern African Migration Project Migration Policy Series No. 11. URL: http://www.queensu.ca/samp/samppresources/sampppublications/policyseries/policy11.htm
The media are champions of press freedom, a fundamental value of democracy, and are expected to provide balanced and accurate reporting which should fairly represent diversity of views to enable the people and the government to make informed decisions. However press freedom should not be done at the expense of human life and infringement of human rights but should instead provide early warning of potential outbreaks of conflict and take decisive action that curtail social disturbances such as xenophobia.

South Africa has a rich history of the media playing a crucial role in quelling violence and promoting peace-building. During the transitional period from apartheid to democracy there was the distinct possibility of the country being engulfed by civil war and political turmoil after the assassination of Chris Hani, a well known liberation hero, but the leadership that time appealed for calm through the national broadcaster, and news filtered through other media channels which helped to arrest a potentially volatile situation. That instance demonstrated the power of the media to forestall violent situation and it also showed that the role that political leadership can play to promoting peace and cohesion in South Africa which the media today can borrow from when dealing with issues of xenophobia.
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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX ONE**

The Interview Guide for qualitative interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access to Media</th>
<th>1. Do they have access to print and electronic media?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Which media do they access most and which ones they prefer?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. How much do they rely on the media for important information?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. How much do they trust news from the media?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of foreigners</td>
<td>1. What do they understand by the term foreigners?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. What role do media play in shaping this understanding?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. What are the names given to foreigners?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling and views about foreigners</td>
<td>1. What is their view on foreigners?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of influence</td>
<td>2. What influences the way they view foreigners?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. What is the role of the media in shaping their views?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for these views</td>
<td>1. What are the main reasons for these views?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. What other factors are play in shaping these views?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The role of the media in Xenophobia</td>
<td>1. Do the media have an influence in the way they look at foreigners?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. What role does the media playing shaping the xenophobia attitude?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX TWO
THE CATEGORISATION SYSTEM FOR QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS Y SYSTEM

1. Access to media
   1.1. Newspapers
   1.2. Radio
   1.3. Television

2. Knowledge of foreigners
   2.1 Based on experience of respondent
   2.2 Based on opinion of the respondent
   2.3 Based on facts

3. Feeling and views of foreigners and xenophobia
   3.1 Positive
   3.2 Negative
   3.3 Hate
   3.4 Neutral
   3.5 Angry
   3.6 Happy

4. Sources of influence for these feelings and views
   4.1. Real-life experiences
   4.2. Family/society orientation
   4.3 The media
   4.4 Peers/Work environment

5. Reasons for these feelings/views
   5.1 Crime
   5.2 Competition for resources
   5.3 Cultural and religious
   5.4 Lack of trust
   5.5 Social problems such as diseases
   5.6 Consideration for foreigners as human beings

6. The role of media
   6.1. Informative
   6.2. Mirroring society
   6.3. Strong influence
   6.4. Encourage/incite xenophobia
   6.4. Discourage xenophobia
   6.5 Misinformation/stereotypes/bias
   6.6 Neutral

7. Actions out of these feelings/views
   7.1 Repatriate foreigners
   7.2 Kill them where necessary
   7.3 Teach them how to behave
   7.4 Let them stay

*******************************************************************************
APPENDIX THREE
QUESTIONNAIRE
Questionnaires for Alexandra communities in Johannesburg

Date of Interview: ___/___/___ (dd/mm/year)

This questionnaire is going to be used to gather data on the role of media on behaviour, attitudes and views of people of Alexandra community on foreigners. You are kindly required to answer all questions with honesty and objectively. Your identity and the information given in this questionnaire will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will be used for this research purposes only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>15-18</th>
<th>19-21</th>
<th>22-25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 (a) Which newspapers do you read most and why?
_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

1 (b) Which channels do you watch most and why?
_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

1 (c) Which stations do you listen to most and why?
_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

2. (a) Which of these do you trust most?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>1. Not at all</th>
<th>2. Sometimes</th>
<th>3. Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. (b) What are the reasons for your answer
_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

3. How often do you depend on the media for important information?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>Less Often</th>
<th>More often</th>
<th>Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 (a). To what extend does what you read, hear or see in the media influence your opinion, attitudes and perception of things around you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not all</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Most of the times</th>
<th>Every time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4 (b). Can you give reasons for your answer?

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

5 (a) Which of the following best describe your feelings and views about foreigners?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hate</th>
<th>Dislike</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Like</th>
<th>Love</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

5 (b) Can you give reasons for your answer?

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

6. (a). Which of these influences the way you look at foreigners most?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Society (people around you)</th>
<th>Experiences (e.g. their behaviour.) etc</th>
<th>Competition for resources (e.g. Jobs, Housing, etc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6. (b). Give reasons for your choice(s)

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

7. (a) What is your opinion about the way the media describe foreigners?

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

7. (b). How do media reporting on foreigners influence your opinion, perception and attitude towards foreigners?

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

- 56 -
8. (a). Do you think your views, perception, attitudes towards foreigners would have been different if the media reported differently about foreigners?

Yes  
No

8. (b) Give reasons for your answer
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________

9. (a) Do you think the media played a role in the 2008 xenophobia attacks?

Yes  
No

9. (b).Can you explain your answers in relation to the role played by the media? Give examples where possible
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________

10. How do you think the media should report on foreigners?
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

Thank you, for the time and effort put into the completing of this questionnaire. We value your input
End

*****************************************************************************

APPENDIX FOUR

List of media monitored

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kfm radio</th>
<th>Beeld</th>
<th>Business Day</th>
<th>Cape Argus</th>
<th>Cape Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City Press</td>
<td>Daily Dispatch</td>
<td>Daily News</td>
<td>Die Burger</td>
<td>Enterprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Mail</td>
<td>Finweek</td>
<td>Mail &amp; Guardian</td>
<td>Pretoria News</td>
<td>Yfm radio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star Saturday</td>
<td>Weekend Argus</td>
<td>The Sowetan</td>
<td>Sunday Argus</td>
<td>Sunday Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
<td>Sunday Tribune</td>
<td>The Citizen</td>
<td>The Herald</td>
<td>The Star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>Post Weekender</td>
<td>Witness</td>
<td>The Daily Sun</td>
<td>E-TV News TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABC1 News TV</td>
<td>SABC: News TV</td>
<td>SABC 3: News TV</td>
<td>SAfm radio</td>
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APPENDIX FIVE (Taken from Krejcie and Morgan’s (1970))

**TABLE 1**
Table for Determining Sample Size from a Given Population

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Note.— N is population size.
S is sample size.
APPENDIX SIX

A selection of quotes from The Daily Sun between April and May 2008

1. “I know that thug!” “Do not rob thy neighbour! Nine alien thugs robbed a Metrorail security man... they did not know he had recognized one of them” (08/04/2008 p. 1)
2. “Magic rats are stealing my cash!” “A tuck shop owner believes that a Zimbabwean merchant is sending debt collectors to her place – magical rats! The frightened woman admits that she has owed the alien merchant money since last year” (14/04/2008 p. 3)
3. “This isn’t magic, it’s theft! Aliens disappear with the cash” (15/04/2008, p.10)
4. “63 Aliens bust in crime drive” (9/04/2008 p. 13)
5. “Aliens: We’ve lost faith in cops” (15/04/2008 p. 2)
6. “Alien girl (9) dies in attack!” (16/04/2008 p. 5)
7. “Bloody end of alien lover” (09/05/2008 p. 2)
8. “They wait for dark before they attack! Aliens use muthi to steal our cattle!” (09/05/2008 p. 11)
9. “It’s war on aliens! 20 bust for attacks!” (13/05/2008 p. 4)
10. “Cops said I was an alien! Homeboy angry after jail horror (14/05/2008 p.1)
11. “War against aliens! Thousands forced to flee Alex” (14/05/2008 p. 2)
12. “Aliens: The truth! Daily Sun tells why Alex exploded” (15/05/2008 p. 1)
13. “Alex aliens want to go home” (15/05/2008 p. 2)
14. “Destruction rages in Diepsloot! Looters wage war on cops as alien attacks spread”
15. “Blood and flames! Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred” (19/05/2008 p. 3)
16. “Rampage! 13 aliens dead as angry flames of hatred spread!” (19/05/2008p. 1)
17. “The Alien Terror!: Helicopter chases warring crowds! Fleeing the mighty wind! Going home to moz! Page 3” (20/05/2008 p. 1)
18. “The Alien Terror!: Goodbye Mzansi! 500 fearful Mozambicans pack up and go…” (20/05/2008 p. 3)
19. “The Alien Terror!: Battleground: Images of war in the streets!”(20/05/2008 p. 4)
20. “Aliens run for their lives!” (21/05/2008 p. 1)
21. “Shots fired in alien battle” (21/05/2008 p. 2)
22. “We’re leaving... with nothing! – The alien terror!” (21/05/2008 p. 3)