



Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences

Department of Peace Studies

Masters in Peace and Conflict Studies

**ROLE OF LOCAL MEDIA REPORTING ON XENOPHOBIC  
CONFLICTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN EXAMINATION OF PRINT  
MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE CONFLICT IN SOWETO FROM 19  
JANUARY 2015 TO 5 FEBRUARY 2015**

Mpiwa Jullian Sandra MANGWIRO

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018



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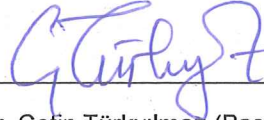
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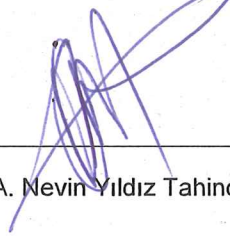
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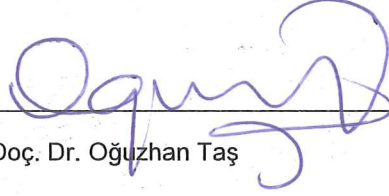
Mpiwa Jullian Sandra Mangwiro tarafından hazırlanan "Role Of Local Media Reporting On Xenophobic Conflicts In South Africa: An Examination Of Print Media Coverage Of The Conflict In Soweto From 19 January 2015 To 5 February 2015" başlıklı bu çalışma, 11 Haziran 2018 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.



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Yukarıdaki imzaların adı geçen öğretim üyelerine ait olduğunu onaylıyorum.

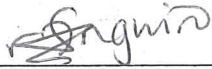
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**Serbest Seçenek/Yazarın Seçimi**


11 / 06 / 2018

 (imza)

**Mpiwa Jullian Sandra MANGWIRO**

## ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, Tez Danışmanının Dr. A. Nevin YILDIZ TAHİNCİOĞLU danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığını beyan ederim.



(İmza)

**Mpiwa Jullian Sandra MANGWIRO**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

### **My gratitude goes to:**

My grandmother who not only laid the foundation for education in my life but also made me realise and believe in the ability of women to pursue their dreams and self actualise. To Jorgen Johansen and Havva Kok for assisting me with my thesis proposal.

To my supervisor Dr Ayse Nevin Yıldız Tahincioğlu, thank you for availing yourself at short notice and guiding me to complete this thesis.

To my parents who always believe in me and are forever willing to support and help me realise my dreams.

To my dearest friends and colleagues: Rumbidzai Chidoori without whose intellectual, emotional and financial support my masters journey would not have been a reality. Nonhlanhla Sibanda-Moyo for your intellectual and emotional support. Thank you for helping me formulate my topic and providing practical ideas. Deborah-fay Ndlovu for being there to encourage and support me during my masters journey and helping me shape my ideas. To Sixolile Ngcobo for being there to listen to, challenge my ideas and help me refine my topic. Khopotso Bodibe for editing my thesis at short notice. Tafadzwa Musekiwa for your tireless efforts in ensuring that my submission process is finalised.

To my sweetheart and loving husband Luckmore Tsanga, thank you for your love and support and for being a source of strength during this journey. For patiently waiting for me while I pursued my dreams in lands afar , for believing in me and the ability of our love to survive the distance and for being there to encourage me not to give up when I faced challenges. I am truly grateful.

To my unborn babies, it is the thought and imagination of bringing you into a better world that stirs me on.

Above all to God the Almighty who gave me the strength to soldier on and the wisdom and means to pursue my masters, Thank you Lord!!



## ABSTRACT

MANGWIRO, Mpiwa Jullian Sandra. *Role of local media reporting on xenophobic conflicts in South Africa: An examination of print media coverage of the conflict in SOWETO from 19 January 2015 to 5 February 2015*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2018.

The research seeks to establish the role of local media reporting on xenophobic conflicts in South Africa. This is done through analysis of media content from two print media outlets – The Daily Sun and The Sowetan which are the most popular papers within the Country and also accessible in SOWETO where the research was conducted. In the advent of modern technology, media plays a major role in our daily lives, connecting the world and sharing the stories that contribute to the political, social and economic development of societies. In South Africa, print and broadcast media play a vital role in sharing and communicating stories about foreigners and migrants. More so because they also provide a platform for the public to comment on issues relating to foreigners through letters to the editor and talk shows on broadcast media.

The research will make use of qualitative tools and interviews will be conducted with 8 South African citizens if possible, 1 representative from each of the media outlets monitored if possible and 2 other journalists, 4 Civil Society Organisations representatives and 2 experts from the Peace and Conflict studies field.

**Key Words:** Citizens, foreigners, xenophobia/ xenophobic, conflict, media reporting, illegals, root causes, Africans, aliens.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	: African National Congress
CNN	: Cable News Network
LHR	: Lawyers for Human Rights
SABC	: South African Broadcasting Corporation
DSTV	: Digital Satellite Television
SAMP	: Southern African Migration Project
SAPS	: South African Police Services
OMD	: Omnicom Media Group

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

South Africa has a history of segregation, oppression, marginalisation and discrimination mainly of the black majority. While 1994 marked the beginning of a new era of democracy, unity and peace with the promise of a 'Rainbow Nation', in reality the country continues to face various forms of conflict and instability including xenophobic attacks and conflict with foreign nationals.

The apartheid era resulted in the seclusion of South Africans, particularly blacks from the rest of the African Continent. While migration took place, trans-national migration under colonialism worked differently for different races. The white (settler) population had freedom of movement from country to country and the governments of receiving countries granted full citizenship to those who wanted to settle. This was not so for the black population who were only granted partial citizenship and had minimal freedom of movement which was heavily regulated. As a result there was limited inter-regional migration within the Continent due to the little direct socio-economic relationship between the African regions as communication and transport were not readily supportive of mobility.<sup>1</sup> There was however some intra-regional migration that took place although often related to trade and to mobile labour.<sup>2</sup>

The end of the apartheid era and its isolating nature opened doors for migrants of a diverse nature from the Continent into South Africa. Some were skilled migrants seeking better economic opportunities in a country that has become the economic hub of the continent while others were entrepreneurs who were self-employed. The increased flow of new migrants into the country resulted in growing tension between citizens and foreign nationals. This was so, particularly for black foreigners who have been at the receiving end of many accusations including being responsible for the high crime rates the country is facing, depriving citizens of economic opportunities and

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<sup>1</sup> Background Research Report Compiled by the research unit for the Task Team of Members of Parliament probing violence and attacks on foreign nationals, pg. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cross, C, et al. What are Africa's issues in migration? In views on Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa, HSRC Press, 2006, pg 225-pg245.

access to resources. Additionally, the flow of migrants amplified the potential for xenophobia particularly against black Africans, which has continued to grow and has become a challenge for the country. Various researches conducted in South Africa have demonstrated the increasing levels of xenophobia in the country. A survey conducted by Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in 2001 showed that 21% of the respondents wanted a complete ban on immigration, while 64% wanted strict limits on entry.<sup>3</sup> In 2006, a similar survey done by SAMP showed that 37% of respondents felt that immigrants from other countries should be banned while 84% felt that their country was 'allowing' too many foreign nationals.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the research, there have been incidents which demonstrate xenophobic behaviour. In 1998, a group of police officers from the South African Police Services (SAPS) set dogs on three Mozambican nationals in Johannesburg during a training session which resulted in them being badly injured as well as verbally abused. The video was recorded and later shown on TV nationally and internationally. It was then disclosed that this was common practice to set dogs on criminals or foreigners to train them to bite.<sup>5</sup> Johannes Niemand explained to the court that these were chosen because they were target groups that were less likely to complain and it was unfortunate that the video had been taken because it had blown the whole matter out of perspective.<sup>6</sup>

In 2008 xenophobic attacks reached a peak when mainly black South African citizens attacked predominantly black foreign nationals from other African countries in what left over 60 people dead and many more homeless. A number of researches were conducted prior to and in the aftermath of these attacks. They sought to understand some of the root causes of xenophobia and the fuelling factors that eventually led to the violence. This is particularly so considering that South Africa is a nation with a Constitution that has been widely celebrated as being one of the best in the world, embracing some of the major international law and human rights instruments. Also,

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<sup>3</sup> Hagensen L., *Understanding the Causes and Nature of Xenophobia in South Africa: A Case Study of De Doorns*, 2014, Stellenbosch University, pg 2.

<sup>4</sup> Crush, J., *The perfect storm: the realities of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa*, Cape Town: Idasa and Ontario: Queen's University (Southern African Migration Policy Series) 2008, pg 24 .

<sup>5</sup> Supra note 3, pg 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

during former President Thabo Mbeki's reign, South Africa had been in the forefront of pushing the African renaissance agenda.

Research conducted also sought to understand the role of media in xenophobic conflicts and how to address them. Yet violent outbursts involving South African citizens and foreigners continue to erupt from time to time and xenophobia continues to exist in more subtle ways. In 2013 eight police officers arrested a Mozambican taxi driver Mido Macia, handcuffed him to the back of a police van and dragged him through the streets of Daveyton in full view of other people. Mido subsequently died in police custody.

In 2015, the SOWETO conflict which was triggered by the shooting of a young boy accused of stealing from a Somali owned shop resulted in clashes between citizens and foreign nationals, as well as looting and attacks on foreign nationals businesses' taking place from 19th January 2015.

While the xenophobic attacks in 2008 and the SOWETO violence in 2015 reared an ugly head, conflict is not necessarily bad as it can be a way through which conflicting interests and claims can be revealed and resolved. Such resolution can stabilise, integrate, and improve relationships by permitting parties to re-adjust their expectations and eliminate sources of dissatisfaction.<sup>7</sup> Key to every conflict is information and communication particularly among the conflicting parties as it can affect how they view each other and how they address the conflict. In the advent of modern technology, media plays a major role in our daily lives, connecting the world and sharing the stories that contribute to the political, social and economic development of societies. In South Africa, print and broadcast media play a vital role in sharing and communicating stories about foreigners and migrants. More so because they also provide a platform for the public to comment on issues relating to foreigners through letters to the editor and talk shows on broadcast media. The research focus is therefore particularly interested on how two print media outlets in the country - the Daily Sun and Sowetan reported on the conflict in SOWETO. This is a high density township in Johannesburg where clashes involving nationals and non nationals resulted in violence, looting and attacks on foreign owned businesses from 19 January 2015. Also of interest is what impact such presentation had on the conflict?

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<sup>7</sup> Coser, L. A., *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956) at 154-155)



Through monitoring news from the two print media outlets, the research seeks to establish the role of local print media in covering the SOWETO conflict and what impact such media coverage had on the conflict. The free online dictionary defines news as information about recent events or happenings, especially as reported by newspapers, periodicals, radio, or television.<sup>8</sup> In this instance, this entails information about events or happenings in the SOWETO conflict as reported by local print media – Daily Sun and Sowetan. Media monitoring has been defined as a process of reading, watching, listening to the editorial process of media content on a continuing basis and then identifying and analysing content that contains key words or topics.<sup>9</sup> In this regard this will involve analysing media content of the Daily Sun and the Sowetan to establish how they presented the conflict in SOWETO. The print media outlets were chosen at the discretion of the researcher mainly because they are considered the most widely read papers in the country with readership of over a million people each.<sup>10</sup>

Although conflict has many definitions, it can be defined in terms of divergent interests of parties, real or perceived. Professors Pruitt and Kim define conflict as that which arises from the belief that the real or perceived interests and aspirations of the parties cannot be achieved simultaneously.<sup>11</sup> Interests can generally be understood in terms of the needs, desires, and concerns of the parties, while aspirations can generally be seen as the highest manifestation of these interests.<sup>12</sup>

The question on under what circumstances does media's coverage of conflict lead to constructive or destructive coverage is a question that still needs systematic consideration. However, as Reuben points out there is some research that when interpreted from a conflict theory perspective<sup>13</sup> it provides insight on media's coverage of the potential impact on conflict escalation and outcomes. As Reuben further

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/news> as accessed on 10-12-2014.

<sup>9</sup> [https://www.google.com/search?q=definition+of+media+monitoring&aq=chrome..69i57j0l2.21979j0j7&sourceid=chrome&es\\_sm=93&ie=UTF-8](https://www.google.com/search?q=definition+of+media+monitoring&aq=chrome..69i57j0l2.21979j0j7&sourceid=chrome&es_sm=93&ie=UTF-8) as accessed on 10-12-2014

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.southafrica.info/about/media/newspapers.htm#.VuajsPI97IW> as accessed on 10-12-2014

<sup>11</sup> Dean G. Pruitt. & Sung Hee Kim, *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement* (3d ed. 2004) pg 7-8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid* at 16.

<sup>13</sup> Reuben, R.C. *The Impact of News Coverage on Conflict: Toward Greater Understanding*, 93 Marq. L. Rev. 45 (2009) pg 45.

explains, conflict outcomes are constructive when their effect is ultimately to bring disputing parties together through the effective reconciliation of their differences.<sup>14</sup> Conflict outcomes are destructive when they leave ruined relationships, devastation, and more conflict in their wake. In this regard conflict coverage is likely to lead to more destructive outcomes when it impedes communication between the parties, making it more difficult for them to engage in reasonable and candid dialogue about their needs, interests, and concern.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, coverage is likely to lead to constructive outcomes when it facilitates greater communications between the parties and greater capacity of the parties to use problem-solving tactics in the resolution of the dispute by providing more information and perspective.<sup>16</sup>

In this regard the primary research question of the study seeks to establish

- *'To what extent did media reporting on the conflict between foreign nationals and citizens influence xenophobic behaviour by citizens' towards foreigners in SOWETO?*

While Secondary questions seek to establish the following:

- *To what extent is the role of print media coverage of the SOWETO violence constructive or destructive for the citizens and foreign nationals affected by the conflict?*
- *How was the conflict in SOWETO presented or reported on in the Daily Sun and Sowetan?*
- *What factors influence or inform how local media reports on conflict involving South African nationals and foreigners?*
- *What role can the media play to address the conflict?*

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid 46.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid 34.

<sup>16</sup> IbidIbid.

## 1.1 Media Landscape

South Africa has a vibrant pluralistic industry with various forms of media from audiovisual, print to online. It can be argued that it has the highest levels of pluralism on the continent.

In 1994 there were four big media groups which were mostly print based with some small interest in the upcoming electronic media. These were the Times Media Ltd (TML), the Argus Group, Nasionale Pers and Perskors.<sup>17</sup> These four big groups are still in existence although they have undergone some major shifts in ownership and influence. They continue to own a large share of the print media landscape in the country.

On the face of it South Africa appears to have a diverse media industry. However this view could be deceptive as some forms of ownership are more dominant and control larger parts of the media system than others.<sup>18</sup> The print media sector is arguably dominated by a few companies which produce products aimed at, and that appeal to different and diverse target audiences but do not have the same level of quality information.<sup>19</sup> Many times quality papers with informative and analytical content necessary for citizens in a democracy are directed at the educated, affluent and urban settings while the less educated and often economically disadvantaged are given papers with lesser quality information and tabloid journalism which, while entertaining does not do much to raise critical understanding of its readers.<sup>20</sup>

According to a research conducted by Omnicom Media Group (OMD) in 1994 South Africa had 22 daily and 25 weekly newspapers.<sup>21</sup> While the number of daily newspapers remained the same in 2013, the weekly papers had increased to 28.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Rumney. R. Twenty years of SA Media ownership (1994-2014) available at [https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/medialandscape2014\\_ch3.pdf](https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/medialandscape2014_ch3.pdf) as accessed on 22/11/2017 pg 40.

<sup>18</sup> Kupe. T. Media Diversity (2014) available at [https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/medialandscape2014\\_ch2.pdf](https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/medialandscape2014_ch2.pdf) [https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/medialandscape2014\\_ch2.pdf](https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/medialandscape2014_ch2.pdf) , as accessed on 22/11/2017 pg 30.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> ibidIbid.

<sup>21</sup> Supra, note 17.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

Most of the papers are published in English. Prior to 1994 South Africa only had two independent radio stations.<sup>23</sup> However, following the deregulation and liberalisation of broadcasting in the late 1990s, the country now has over 100 community radio stations broadcast in different languages. In the television space, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) which has 3 channels has other competitors such as E-tv, which has black ownership and the privately owned satellite TV MultiChoice, which has eaten into the SABC viewership. The media in South Africa is freer to criticise the government and ruling party African National Congress (ANC) in comparison with the apartheid era.

## 1.2 RESEARCH PURPOSE

The purpose of the research is to gain a better understanding on the role print media reporting of conflicts involving South African citizens and foreign nationals has on xenophobic behaviour by citizens in SOWETO. This is to enable those involved in and affected by the conflict to obtain better knowledge on how media reporting impacts on their situations. It is also to enable journalists to have a better understanding of the role and purpose of their reporting and perhaps enable them to challenge their perceptions of foreigners and xenophobic conflicts. Considering the significant role print media plays in disseminating information in the country, it would be ideal to have media coverage that is deemed constructive and not destructive.

## 1.3 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS/ ASSUMPTION

***Media plays a key role in xenophobic conflicts in South Africa.*** Communication and access to information is fundamental to every conflict as it affects how parties to the conflict engage with and perceive each other. Through its ability to communicate to a wide range of people, media has the ability to disseminate news pertaining to the conflict that can serve as a source of information for the conflicting parties and affected audiences.

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<sup>23</sup> Supra, note 18.

***Local print media reporting on xenophobia in South Africa is destructive*** - available literature suggests that media reporting on foreign nationals is negative. There has been no empirical evidence indicating how negative media reporting can lead to destructive conflict outcomes. Rueben, however states that constructive escalation tends to lead to more constructive outcomes, and destructive escalation tends to lead to more destructive outcomes. In this regard media coverage that is negative can be destructive for the conflict.

## **1.4 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH METHODS**

### **1.4.1. Research Methods**

Research methods speak to the design of the research. An explanatory approach will be used to establish how media reporting on xenophobia and conflicts involving foreign nationals impacts on the conflicts. To answer the question on whether or not media reporting is destructive or constructive, an explanatory approach will also be used, drawing on the impact that media reporting has had on the interactions of the parties to the conflict.

### **1.4.2. Research Variables:**

Drawing from the research question and the assumptions made, the research variables would be as follows: Daily Sun, Sowetan and the conflict in SOWETO are independent variables. The impact, constructive or destructive effects are dependant variables while poverty and enemy images are intermediary variables.

### **1.4.3. Research Subjects:**

This is a research which seeks to establish the impact of media reporting on the xenophobic conflicts in South Africa. As such, research subjects will include citizens,

journalists particularly from the mentioned media outlets, civil society members and some practitioners within the Peace and Conflict studies field.

#### **1.4.4. Research Instruments**

The research will make use of qualitative tools. Primary sources of data are the print media online archives'. Other secondary sources quoting the primary sources or commenting on the primary sources' coverage of the mentioned conflicts will be used. These include articles from University library centres such as Wits University African Centre for Migration Studies publications, journals and any other publications and material relevant to the topic.

**Interviews:** Semi structured interviews will be used to interview key informants. These will include 8 citizens from SOWETO, 1 representative from each of the media outlets monitored if possible and 2 other journalists, 4 Civil Society Organisations representatives and 2 experts from the Peace and Conflict studies field. Interviewees will be selected using purposive and convenience sampling on the basis of accessibility, and availability and their relevance to the research.

#### **1.4.5. Research Ethics**

The researcher will take necessary steps to ensure that participants are not impacted on negatively by participating in this research. This includes adhering to principles of confidentiality and participants will be informed of the purpose of the research as well as the voluntary nature of participation in the surveys and interviews. Also, language and cultural taboos and considerations will be attended to. The researcher will consult with local people on the implications of using certain language to avoid causing any harm.

### **1.5 STUDY LAYOUT**

The report will be divided into five chapters as follows:

**Chapter one: Introduction and Contextual Background:** This section provides an introduction and brief contextual background of the research topic. It unpacks the research question and what it seeks to achieve. It also provides a summary of the research methods and hypothesis as well as a brief summary of the research methods.

**Chapter Two: Literature Review:** This section engages with existing literature on the topic. Its focus includes the following aspect: existing literature on migration, causes and trends on xenophobia globally and in South Africa, role of media reporting of conflicts in general and particularly of media reporting of conflicts involving foreign nationals and xenophobic conflicts in South Africa.

**Chapter Three: Research Methodology:** This chapter focuses on the research design and theoretical framework for the study.

**Chapter Four: Findings:** This section details the findings of the research study as guided by the research questions.

**Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations:** Conclusions will be drawn from the findings of the research study. It is also hoped that the study will provide recommendations for future media engagement with foreign nationals in South Africa and a means for better understanding of how media reporting impacts on conflicting parties.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 IMPORTANCE OF LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter seeks to locate the research study within a broader context of existing knowledge. Literature review is important when conducting research as according to Gay<sup>24</sup> its purpose is to determine what has already been done relating to one's topic. It gives understanding and insights necessary to develop a logical framework into which the topic fits. Literature review tells one what has been done and in the process also suggests what still needs to be done.

### 2.2 BACKGROUND AND THEORIES ON MIGRATION

Migration has been a part of humanity for many centuries and it has become a common feature of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. It is however a complex process motivated by various reasons, voluntary and involuntary. Migration scholars have argued that there can never be a comprehensive or universal migration theory because migration is too complex and diverse a phenomenon.<sup>25</sup> However some of the major theories that have been used to explain migration include the neo-classical theory, push-pull framework and the new economics theory.

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<sup>24</sup> Gay, L. R. & Airasian, P., Educational research: Competencies for analysis and application (6<sup>th</sup> edition) New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc (2000) pg 46.

<sup>25</sup> De has, H., Migration Theory, International Migration Institute Working Paper 100, University of Oxford (November 2014) also available at <https://heindehaas.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/de-haas-2014-imi-wp100-migration-theory-quo-vadis.pdf> as accessed on 10 -01-2018 pg 6.



The neo-classical theory seeks to explain migration in terms of wages. Its fundamental assumption is that migration is motivated mainly by economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but psychological as well.<sup>26</sup> This model which was initially developed to explain migration in the course of economic development in the works of Hicks (1932), Lewis (1954) and Harris, and Todaro (1970) notes that migration is an outcome of wage differentials across markets or countries that emerge from diverse degrees of labour market tightness.<sup>27</sup> As the theory propounds, the driving force for migration is geographic differences in labour supply and demand and the resulting differentials in wages between labour-rich versus capital-rich countries. Thus countries with insufficient labour supply and high demand will have high wages that will attract immigrants from countries with a surplus of labour force.

Linked to the neo-classical theory is the human capital theory which can be viewed as a micro-level expansion of the neo-classical macro-level elaboration. Introduced by Sjaadstad (1962), the human capital theory strengthens the neo-classical theory by including the socio-demographic characteristics of the individual as an important determinant of migration at the micro-level (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999).

Core to the theory's analysis is the rational individual whose migration is driven by a desire to maximise his or her benefits and gains. 'Human capital endowment, skills, age, marital status, gender, occupation, and labour market status as well as preferences and expectations strongly affect who migrates and who does not'.<sup>28</sup> Diversity of individuals is an important factor as different individuals from the same sending country illustrate differing propensity to migrate and would select different receiving countries.<sup>29</sup> It has also been demonstrated that the likelihood of migration decreases with age and increases with education level (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999)

One of the criticisms of the human capital theory is that it presents an overly simplistic view of migration which is not always a voluntary choice to maximise gains. In their assessment of migration research within Europe by different theoretical approaches,

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<sup>26</sup> Kurekova, L., Theories in Migration: Conceptual review and empirical testing in the context of the EU-East- West flows, Central European University (2011) as accessed on 10-01-2018 <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/f6cd/407bb33dcee11d834a6dacb2d3ccdb99f972.pdf> pg 4.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Bonin, Holier et al. . "Geographic Mobility in the European Union: Optimising its Economic and Social Benefits". IZA Research Report No. 19. July. 2008.

Massey et al. (1998) found that a positive relationship between wage differentials and migration flows while generally sustained – was by no means the strongest predictor of migration levels.<sup>30</sup>

The push-pull theory can be traced to Ernest Ravenstein, an English geographer who used census data from England and Wales to develop his "Laws of Migration" (1889). He concluded that migration was driven by a push-pull process in which unfavourable conditions in one place (oppressive laws, heavy taxation, etc.) "push" people out, and favourable conditions in an external location "pull" them in.<sup>31</sup> Ravenstein's laws indicated that the main reason for migration was 'better economic opportunities; the volume of migration decreases as distance increases; migration occurs in stages instead of one long move; population movements are bilateral; and migration differentials (e.g. gender, social class, age) influence a person's mobility'.<sup>32</sup>

The new economics of labour migration theory which was pioneered by Stark (1978; 1991) challenges some of the neo-classical approach on migration. It conceptualised migration in developing countries as more of a family/household (rather than of individuals) strategy for diversifying (instead of maximising) risk income.<sup>33</sup> Also, there are other factors to consider which are informed by conditions at home. Thus migrants' decisions are not solely based on utility-maximisation- calculations by individuals. They are a household response to both income risk and to the failures of a variety of markets – labour market, credit market, or insurance market.<sup>34</sup> However, this theory has received limited traction within the migration field.

While there may be some differences, the theories above seek to present migration as based on the assumption that people make rational, informed decisions to migrate so as to optimise income. Migration is thus viewed as optimised behaviour that benefits

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<sup>30</sup> Massey, Douglass S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., Taylor, J.E. *Worlds in motion. Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium.* Clarendon Press Oxford (1998).

<sup>31</sup> Migration- Theories of Migration also available at <http://family.jrank.org/pages/1170/Migration-Theories-Migration.html> as accessed on 10-01-2018.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Supra, note 25 pg 7.

<sup>34</sup> Massey, Douglass S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaci, A., Pellegrino, A., Taylor, J.E. (1993) "Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19 (3): 431-466.

everyone. However this view negates or ignores aspects such as inequality and government restrictive laws and policies that can hinder poor people from migrating or be forced into exploitative conditions.<sup>35</sup> In addition, there are different kinds of migrants, some of which are forced to flee their home countries such as political refugees. Their experiences and those of job-seekers will be different as well as their needs from the receiving country.

The world systems theory seeks to provide a different way to understanding migration. Building on Wallerstein (1974), this theory argues that international migration is a result of global capitalism. Theorists in this regard link determinants of migration to structural change in world markets and view migration as a function of globalisation, the increased interdependence of economies and the emergence of new forms of production (Massey et al. 1993; Sassen 1988; Skeldon 1997; Silver 2003). These have led to a disruption in traditional work structures and led to regional and international migration patterns. Capital mobility is of essence for this theory and capital and labour mobility are presented as interconnected.

In the world system theory, individuals do not truly have a choice in making migration decisions but are pressured into moving by broader structural processes which bring global politics, policies and economic inequalities into play.

While there may be diversity in the determinants and causes of migration by the different theories, it cannot be denied that economic motives do have a role to play in migration patterns and behaviour. In many instances the motivation behind individuals' relocation is a general belief that their lives or those of their loved ones will be improved by being in a different place.

## 2.3 MIGRATION PATTERNS

Global statistics indicate that there has been an increase in migration over the last decade. According to a report compiled by the International Organisation on Migration (IOM)<sup>36</sup>, one in seven people are migrants with women accounting for 48% of the

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<sup>35</sup> Supra, note 25 Pg 8.

<sup>36</sup> Global Migration Trends: An Overview , available at [http://www.iomvienna.at/sites/default/files/Global\\_Migration\\_Trends\\_PDF\\_FinalVH\\_with%20References.pdf](http://www.iomvienna.at/sites/default/files/Global_Migration_Trends_PDF_FinalVH_with%20References.pdf) as accessed on 20-08-2016.

global migration stock and since 1990 the number of international migrants has increased by 65%.

As the number of migrants continues to grow world over, the nature of international migration has also changed as countries that have been senders are turned into receivers or transit points for international migrants.<sup>37</sup> South-South migration patterns have increased to match those of the North-South. While informal and irregular flow of immigrants makes it difficult to ascertain the full nature of South-South immigration patterns, there is strong indication that movement between countries and regions in the South is significant to the global migration patterns.<sup>38</sup> In Sub-Saharan Africa, more than 60% of migrants relocate to other countries within the region.<sup>39</sup> According to the IOM report,<sup>40</sup> in 2015 the South-South migration exceeded the South-North migration by two per cent representing 37% of the total international migrant stock.

With the high migration patterns, there has been a growing resentment towards foreigners. While South Africa seems to have become the poster child of hatred or dislike for foreigners, xenophobia has been a growing problem globally. Despite states pledging free movement of goods and people under the banner of globalisation's ideals of free trade and human rights commitment, immigration laws and policies often respond differently in their bid to address nationals concerns about foreigners' influx and the socio-economic consequences that follow. Examples would be how Europe responds to and treats migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea from Asia and Africa in search of better living conditions. Africa has also experienced a history of resentment and hatred against foreigners. For instance, in 1972, Uganda, in the face of growing economic challenges expelled thousands of Asians from the country and their businesses were subsequently expropriated.<sup>41</sup> The removal of 800 000 Ghanaians from Nigeria in the 1980s is a clear example of an environment that had become

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<sup>37</sup> Crush, J., Ramachandran, S. Xenophobia, International Migration and Human Development , Human Development research Paper 2009/Issue 47, UNDP Pg 1.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid pg 2.

<sup>39</sup> World Bank 2009 World Development Report 2009, p. 151-52.

<sup>40</sup> Global Migration Trends Fact Sheet (2015)available at <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Global-Migration-Trends-2015-Factsheet.pdf> as accessed on 20-08-2016.

<sup>41</sup> Adeola.R. Preventing Xenophobia in Africa: What must the African Union do? Available at <http://sihma.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/2.Romola-Adeola1.pdf> pg 257 as accessed on 30-12-2017.

unwelcoming towards migrants from another African country.<sup>42</sup> While in the 1990s, in response to the declining economic situation in Cote d'Ivoire, the then President Bedie promoted the idea of Ivorian identity weaved into political and economic access which resulted in the resentment of foreigners. As a result, in 1999 between 8000-12000 Burkina Faso nationals were subsequently expelled following tensions between Ivoirians and Burkinabe farmers.<sup>43</sup>

## 2.4 DEFINITION AND THEORIES OF XENOPHOBIA

While xenophobia is a widely used term, its definition remains somewhat vague. It is derived from the Greek word 'xenos' and 'phobos' which mean 'strange or foreign' and 'phobia'. The Oxford dictionary defines Xenophobia as a 'morbid dislike for foreigners' while Dictionary.Com defines it as 'an unreasonable fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers or of that which is foreign or strange'. Various scholars have also sought to define Xenophobia with Berezine defining it as 'fear of difference embodied in persons or groups'<sup>44</sup> while for Nyamnjoh it is the 'intense dislike, hatred or fear of other'.<sup>45</sup> Although the idea of xenophobia is closely linked to concepts such as racism, ethnic intolerance, its uniqueness lies in the fact that it is strongly rooted in the idea of national identity, citizenship and a rejection of foreigners from other borders, states or nations.<sup>46</sup> In Africa, this national identity is derived from colonially imposed borders. Xenophobia has also been presented as a negative attitude and it has also been perceived as hostility towards foreigners, yet in the case of South Africa it has not only taken an attitudinal form but has also taken a violent form which has seen foreigners particularly blacks attacked and displaced from their homes as they are ordered to go back to their countries of origin.

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<sup>42</sup> Supra, note 37.

<sup>43</sup> Supra, note 37.

<sup>44</sup> Berezin, M. 'Xenophobia and the new nationalisms' in Gerard Delanty and Krishna Kumar (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*, Sage: London, 2006, pg. 273.

<sup>45</sup> Nyamnjoh, F. *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa*, CODESRIA and Zed Books: Dakar, London and New York, 2006 pg. 5.

<sup>46</sup> Supra, note 41, pg 255.

While various theories as explained below have been developed to explain the phenomenon of xenophobia including the socio-biological, power, scape-goat and isolation theories, the scape-goat is the main theory that is used for this study.

### 2.4.1. The Socio- Biological Theory

This approach explains xenophobia on the basis of physical and cultural appearance. According to this theory, human beings are biologically, naturally and socially influenced by social context which teaches them to favour their own and discriminate against the 'other'.<sup>47</sup> In this regard infants refrain from strangers because they do not know them, thus suggesting that 'xenophobia is an innate behaviour and central to the human make up'.<sup>48</sup> Attitudes are products of experiences or 'observational learning'<sup>49</sup> from cultural contexts.<sup>50</sup> Assumed instincts and needs are birthed in a particular cultural context in which those who are familiar are preferred to those considered foreign or alien. Melanie Klein (1986) however argues that infants are socialised in a particular context where they learn good and bad, which downplays the fixed traits notion as cultural context is more salient.<sup>51</sup> This position is strengthened by Fanon in Bulhan (2004) who suggests that "aggression, xenophobia and selfishness are innate and dominant features in human beings. This further posits that in reality these claims are but rationalisation for the historical violence, schizoid orientation and self-centeredness behaviour of a ruling group".<sup>52</sup> Fanon also advances that people are born without a 'self' which is then acquired through social learning, a stage at which attitudes are obtained through interaction and exposure to the media. An example provided of media modeling behaviour is the South African Sci-fi movie *District 9* where Gunkel and

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<sup>47</sup> Gomo, T. Analysis of Media reporting and xenophobia violence among youths in South Africa, Malmo University's School of Arts and Communication, (2010) pg 11.

<sup>48</sup> Ginsburg, B. E, Heiner ,F. and Fred, K.The roots and consequences of xenophobia: implications for European integration', History of European Ideas, 19 (1-3), 1994 pppg 35.

<sup>49</sup> Singer, D.G., Singer, J.L. A handbook for children and the media. Sage publications London. (2001)

<sup>50</sup> Supra, Note 47 pg 11.

<sup>51</sup> Bulhan, H. A. Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression: *PATH IN PSYCHOLOGY*, Springer, (2004) pg 264.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid at 262.

König (2009) convey their concern on how the sci-fi genre has contributed to shaping the views of children on foreigners described as ‘aliens’ in the movie. Aliens are considered to be non-humans who invade the earth and human beings. By portraying Nigerians as ‘aliens’ in the movie District 9, Gunkel and König argued that it develops the culture of “identity and difference, mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion within society with technologies of ‘Othering’”.<sup>53</sup>

### 2.4.2. The Power Theory

The Power theory relates to relationship between different groups as a form of their competitive positions. It also suggests that threats by one particular group to another become a source of hate. Thus when faced with threats, people become insecure and portray resentment and hate. The intensity of hate does not essentially depend on real competition on the job market but on the perception of threat which is adequate to create animosity.<sup>54</sup>

In Europe, xenophobia is understood as a systematic formulation of strangers as a threat to society necessitating their exclusion and sometimes their oppression. As Taras<sup>55</sup> explains, any renewed academic interest on xenophobia in Europe ought to be understood in the framework of the renewal of right wing nationalist parties and their increasing popularity in the last two-three decades. As suggested by Betz, the radical right has a common core doctrine whose main characteristics are

“a restrictive notion of citizenship, which holds that genuine democracy is based on a culturally, if not ethnically, homogeneous community; that only long-standing citizens count as full members of civil society; and that society’s benefits should

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<sup>53</sup> You are not welcome here’: post-apartheid negrophobia and real aliens in Blomkamp’s District 9 available at <http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2010/02/07/you-are-not-welcome-here/> as accessed on 20-08-2016

<sup>54</sup> Mogeke, M.. Xenophobia as Poor Intercultural Communication: Re-Examining Journalism Education Content in Africa as a Viable Strategy, Mmabatho: North-West University., 2002.

<sup>55</sup> Taras, R, Europe Old and New: Transnationalism, Belonging and Xenophobia, Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield., (2009) pg. 2.

be restricted to those members of society who, either as citizens or taxpayers, have made a substantial contribution to society”.<sup>56</sup>

Xenophobic speeches and images have also been common in the media and there is low tolerance for foreigners and refugees in many countries post-September 11, 2001. There is also an increase in international literature against Islam that has contributed meaningfully to the spread of nationalist and xenophobic representations of the Arab world.<sup>57</sup> Many studies have also indicated the prevalence of xenophobic practices and racial stereotyping by the state such as racial profiling in France, UK and USA.<sup>58</sup> There is also a continued discrimination of minorities and foreigners in accessing housing, jobs, and credit finance and consumer interactions.<sup>59</sup>

### 2.4.3. The Scape Goat Theory

Scape-goating is a theory that explains prejudice and hostility towards foreigners in the context of limited resources. Allport argues that frustrations lead to prejudice especially among disadvantaged people and in so doing they identify a scapegoat which is usually foreigners.<sup>60</sup> “People displace their frustration onto convenient targets, thereby obscuring the actual causes of their anxiety”.<sup>61</sup>

In 1994 when democracy was ushered in, people and particularly the disenfranchised groups had high hopes of a better South Africa where their fortunes would change. However, as the years progressed, these hopes diminished with poor service delivery, lack of jobs, poor or inadequate housing and access to basic commodities continuing to be a major challenge. A realisation that people’s expectations had not been met led to frustration and discontentment. As Tshitereke states, the gap between aspirations and

<sup>56</sup> [http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpAuxPages\)/17BFB816DA5CEF8B80256B6D005787D8/\\$file/betz.pdf](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/17BFB816DA5CEF8B80256B6D005787D8/$file/betz.pdf) as accessed on 30 September 2016.

<sup>57</sup> Fourchard and Segatti: Xenophobic Violence and the manufacture of Difference in Africa: Introduction to the Focus Section, IJVC: Vol.9 (1) 2015.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Beauchemin, C., Hamel C. , and Simon P(eds Trajectoires et origines: Enquête sur la diversité des populations en France, Paris: Ined. (2015)

<sup>60</sup> Allport, G. The Nature of Prejudice, Addison-Wesley: Cambridge, (1954) pg 255.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, pg 261.



reality is filled with frustrations.<sup>62</sup> People then create a target to blame for their poverty and lack and in this instance the foreigner becomes that scapegoat. Crush and Ramachandran state:

‘When vicious attacks on migrants are conceived primarily as the outcome of limited material realities and economic competition between citizens and “foreigners”, then the frames of reference are automatically loaded against the latter’.<sup>63</sup>

Resentment and antipathy towards foreigners and other ‘outsider’ is unavoidable resulting in rivalry between citizens and outsiders as well as stringent immigration laws. In an interview by David Everett in 2009 following the May 2008 xenophobic attacks, participants stated that “...foreigners were taking away jobs from South Africans and that violent crime was brought to South Africa by foreigners.”<sup>64</sup>

The foreigner has been socially framed into a symbol of unemployment, poverty and deprivation thus conveniently leading to discrimination, xenophobic attitudes and a notion of ‘othering’ that isolates foreigners.<sup>65</sup> Crush and Ramachandran (2009) also noted similar trends where the South African media exhibited discriminatory tendencies towards foreigners as immigration topics mainly centred 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.<sup>66</sup> Frightening disaster metaphors such as ‘flood,’ ‘waves,’ ‘pour’ and ‘stream’ frame foreigners as an out-of-control, agent-less, unwanted natural disaster,” who need to be dealt with or stopped with urgency before they destroy ‘us’.<sup>67</sup> However it is an

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<sup>62</sup> Tshitereke, C. Xenophobia and relative deprivation. Centre of the Study of Violence and Reconstruction, South Africa. (1999)

<sup>63</sup> Crush, J. Ramachandran, S. ‘Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: Denialism, Minimalism, Realism” Migration Policy Series No 66, Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP), International Migration Research Centre (IMRC) (2014) pg 2.

<sup>64</sup> Everatt, D.. “That violence was just the beginning...” Views on ‘foreigners’ and the May 2008 xenophobic violence as expressed in focus groups staged at the time’, Atlantic Philanthropies research, December., (2009)

<sup>65</sup> Fairclough, N. Critical Discourse Analysis. Boston: Addison Wesley. (1995)

<sup>66</sup> Crush, J. Ramachandran, S. Xenophobia, International Migration and Human Development. United Nations Development Programme: Human development reports. Research paper 2009/47, pp5.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

unfounded myth that immigrants have overtaken the country, robbing citizens of their jobs and as Crush and Ramachandran note, numerically immigrants represent a small minority and share of the total population in the country leading to the belief that the detrimental effects of economic deprivation have been overstated.<sup>68</sup>

#### 2.4.4. Social Identity Theory

This is premised on the assumptions that individuals hold the groups they belong to in high esteem and enhance the status of those groups. Being part of the group is also associated with a sense of social identity, belonging and social class.<sup>69</sup> Memberships to these groups are associated with positive or negative feelings although it is generally known that most people want to think positively about the group they belong to. Nationalism is one way of enhancing one's positive feelings about their in-group, and it can also entail the rejection of and hostility towards the out group.<sup>70</sup> While nationalism has been considered as a building block in post –apartheid South Africa, it can also be viewed as a stumbling block. This is because it contributes to in-group thinking which strengthens the view that one's nation is superior to other nations and should be dominant. As such nationalism is inherently linked to out-group derogation.<sup>71</sup> It is therefore possible that this nationalism has contributed to the hatred of people who fall outside it. Sally Perbedly also argues that *“language and images of immigration discourses and their practices reveal whom the state sees as desirable and undesirable new members of the nation, and thus how it constructs national identity”*.<sup>72</sup>

She also argues that to understand the immigration policy of a nation, one ought to look at the economic, structural, social and political factors in that country. Additionally, to truly understand the policy, one should look at how the state perceives its nation

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<sup>68</sup> Supra, note 63, pg 2.

<sup>69</sup> McLeod. S. 'Social Identity Theory' <http://www.simplypsychology.org/social-identity-theory.html> as assessed on 24-10-2016.

<sup>70</sup> Mummendey, A., Klink, A. & Brown, R. 'Nationalism and Patriotism: National Identification and Outgroup rejection'. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 40, (2001) pg 159.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Peberdy, S. *Selecting immigrants: National identity and South Africa's immigration policies 1910-2008*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, (2009) pg 171.

building project.<sup>73</sup> Policies and practices of State institutions in South Africa are filled with xenophobic rhetoric and reinforce extreme xenophobia by undermining the rights of immigrants. The immigration policy has metaphors of nationalism and contamination of the nation by immigrants.<sup>74</sup> Immigrants and refugees are subjected to verbal abuse, harassment, exhortation by police and officials in charge of immigration and government agencies. Immigrants are perceived in the most negative of terms as illegal, carriers of disease and criminals. In 1997 the first post-apartheid Home Affairs Minister made the following unfounded remarks to the National Parliament:

“With an illegal population estimated at between 2.5 million and 5 million, it is obvious that the socio-economic resources of the country, which are under severe strain as it is, are further being burdened by the presence of illegal aliens... [citizens should] aid the Department and the South African Police Services in the detection, prosecution and removal of illegal aliens from the country... the cooperation of the community is required in the proper execution of the Department’s functions.”<sup>75</sup>

Such presentation of foreigners as an out-group creates perceptions that they are a threat to national identity. Foreigners threaten the health of the nation with their criminality and the disease that they carry. Therefore the State has to be vigilant in protecting its health.<sup>76</sup> As Crush and Ramachandran argue:

“Migration myths are not epiphenomena or post-hoc rationalisations; they have powerful mobilising and animating effects spurring those who believe them into acts of extreme xenophobia.”<sup>77</sup>

Many South Africans hold dearly the notion of territorial domain and a South Africa that is solely and exclusively for South Africans. This creates a situation where xenophobia is viewed in the same light as racism, sexism and homophobia.

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Crush J. *The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*, Southern African Migration Project. (Cape Town),, (2008) pg17-18.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Crush, J. Ramachandran, S. ‘Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: Denialism, Minimalism, Realism’ Migration Policy Series No 66, Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP), International Migration Research Centre (IMRC) (2014), pg 3.

### 2.4.5. Isolation Theory

This is a theory which locates xenophobia in relation to physical/biological and cultural differences among Africans of different origins. In South Africa xenophobia takes various forms which are not merely about the dislike of foreigners. Certain kinds of foreigners are more tolerated than others while others are more hated particularly those from fellow African countries. As Crush and Ramachandran state, migrants from African countries with common ethnic and cultural characteristics to South Africans such as those from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are more tolerated.<sup>78</sup> Those from other countries such as Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Somalia are loathed<sup>79</sup> and poorer migrants are viewed as criminal and anti-social elements. Physical and bicultural characteristics have been used by State agents in establishing whether one is an 'illegal' immigrant or not. These include the language, accent and pronunciation of certain words.<sup>80</sup> Physical appearance can also be used as a form of establishing if one is illegal. This includes one's outward appearance such as dressing, or hairstyle. For instance, for Mozambicans a giveaway is the vaccination mark on the lower left forearm<sup>81</sup> while for people from Lesotho it is the wearing of gumboots, or carrying sticks.<sup>82</sup>

While various reasons and theories have been established to explain or justify xenophobia in South Africa, there continues to be a level of denialism of its existence particularly by the State. In 2008, following the violent outbreak of xenophobic attacks, President Thabo Mbeki in his speech on commemorating the victims stated that he had never met a xenophobic South African and anyone who called South Africans xenophobic was himself guilty of xenophobia. He went on to state that "None in our society has any right to encourage or incite xenophobia by trying to explain naked

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, pg 7.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Speech by Former President T. Mbeki, "Address of the President of South Africa at the National Tribute in Remembrance of the Victims of Attacks on Foreign Nationals" available at <http://www.gov.za/speeches/2008/08070410151004.htm> as accessed on 20-08-2016

criminal activity by cloaking it in the garb of xenophobia'.<sup>83</sup> Further, he said that "What happened during these days (May 2008) was not inspired by a perverse nationalism" and that as "Africans we will never become enemies of other Africans".<sup>84</sup> It became an official state position to deny the existence of xenophobia and call it acts of criminality. It was clear that acknowledging it as xenophobia would have meant that the State would have to face up to the challenge of entrenched xenophobia rather than accusing a few perpetrators caught on video of criminality.<sup>85</sup> However as Crush and Ramachandran state:

"Disowning the existence of xenophobia not only flies in the face of a large body of quantitative and qualitative research, it illustrates a continuing lack of political will to own the problem and act against one of the most destructive and anti-democratic forces in post-apartheid South Africa."<sup>86</sup>

## 2.5 TRENDS OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

Over the years growing resentment has followed migration into South Africa. With the end of apartheid, and the development of the country's economy into a powerhouse within Africa, South Africa became a primary destination for migrants from the entire continent. This has resulted in the increased hostility between the country's citizens and foreign nationals. It is believed that South Africans' hostility towards foreign nationals dates way back to the mid-1990s resulting in periodic xenophobic attacks and the ultimate 'perfect storm' in May 2008.<sup>87</sup> A survey conducted by SAMP in 2006 revealed that 84% of South Africans felt their country was allowing 'too many' foreign nationals into the country.<sup>88</sup> The survey also showed that South African nationals were

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Supra, note 63, pg 4.

<sup>86</sup> Supra, note 63.

<sup>87</sup> Crush, J. Immigration, xenophobia and human rights in South Africa. Cape Town: Idasa and Ontario: Queen's University (Southern African Migration Policy Series) 2008 pg 10.

<sup>88</sup> Crush, J., The perfect storm: the realities of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa. Cape Town: Idasa and Ontario: Queen's University (Southern African Migration Policy Series) (2008) pg. 25

not happy with the deportation process and demanded that all foreigners go back home in xenophobic sentiments without separating those who now considered South Africa as their home.<sup>89</sup> In the same survey 50% of South African citizens supported deportation of foreign nationals including those residing in the country legally.

In the violent xenophobic attacks of 2008, citizens used all sorts of derogatory words to define foreigners whilst attacking them and demanding they return to their homes. This resulted in the death of 62 people, 21 of whom were South African citizens while over a 100 000 people were displaced from their homes.<sup>90</sup> Ernest Nhamuave from Mozambique was burnt alive in Ramaphosaville in full view of police while millions worth of property was looted. Foreigners, people married to foreigners or those who could not 'justify' their claim to their piece of urban land were the target.<sup>91</sup> Yet the government merely labelled this as random acts of criminality. Spats of xenophobic attacks have continued to erupt, with the country experiencing yet another major xenophobic outbreak in 2015. However xenophobia and anti-foreigner sentiments pose a threat to regional and continental benefits, regional integration, and the economic and social benefits that come with it. Human rights are violated as the ill treatment of non-nationals becomes socially accepted thus increasing the vulnerability of migrants who become subject to abuse from citizens, employers and law enforcement agencies.

## 2.6 ROLE OF MEDIA REPORTING IN SHAPING CONFLICTS

There seems to be a gap in available research on the impact of media coverage on the conflict itself with Reuben stating that this is an aspect that still needs systematic research. However, the role of media coverage of conflicts in general is an ongoing discussion. Various writers have been bringing out what they perceive to be the role and the misconceptions about the impact of media particularly international media reporting on conflicts. Arguments have been presented that contrary to some of the

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Monson, T. & Arian, R., 'Media Memori: A Critical Reconstruction of the May 2008 Violence', in Landau, L.B. (ed.). *Exercising the demons within: Xenophobia, violence and statecraft in contemporary South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, (2011) pg 26.

<sup>91</sup> Landau, L.B. (ed.). 'Introducing the demons', in Landau, L.B. (ed.). *Exorcising the demons within: Xenophobia, violence and statecraft in contemporary South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011, pg 1.

believes that media reporting and sensationalism or what has been termed the 'CNN' effect influences Western governments' decisions to act or not to act in conflicts in Africa, the opposite is true. Benet states that the nature of news coverage by the international media is often consistent with the foreign policy of the land.<sup>92</sup> Only when there is a gap in foreign policy will the media influence the policy makers. This has been referred to as the indexing theory which was proposed by W. Lance Bennett (1990) and states that the range of debate on public affairs appearing in the news is indexed to the range of debate present in mainstream government discourse.

The indexing theory therefore suggests that conflicts that do not fall within government discourse have limited opportunities of receiving international coverage. This has been given as one of the reasons for low coverage of conflicts in Africa. Also explaining the low coverage on conflicts in Africa is the reason that local populations are interested in news that are relevant to them and conflicts in Africa seem remote and far removed from them. According to one author, the low coverage is as a result of a universal belief that ethnic conflicts are an everyday notion in Africa.<sup>93</sup>

With regards media coverage of domestic conflicts, Rueben states that as a result of its power to communicate messages to many people, news media has the unique ability to escalate conflict, which is to expand the dispute constructively or destructively.<sup>94</sup> News media therefore serves as a moderator of disputes, creating escalation that may be constructive or destructive depending on what is reported on. An example of constructive news media role can be found in the Northern Ireland peace process. A qualitative study by Spencer<sup>95</sup> established that news media played a constructive role by facilitating communication between the parties to the conflict. This included providing a platform through which Sinn Fein and unionist negotiators alerted each other on issues in contention, such as their opinions with respect to release of prisoners<sup>96</sup> , and communication with others in their organisations and outside

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<sup>92</sup> Lance W. Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the U.S.," *Journal of Communication* 40 (spring 1990) at para 103-25.

<sup>93</sup> <http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za> at 202 as accessed on 06-12-2014.

<sup>94</sup> *Supra* ,note 7

<sup>95</sup> Graham Spencer, *The impact of Television News on the Northern Ireland Peace Negotiations*, 26 *Media, Culture & Soc'y* (2004) para 603.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid* at 611.

supporters.<sup>97</sup> Media coverage that is constructive can be able to contribute to peace through restoring levels of trust and self worth in a population on the verge of or emerging from violent conflict.<sup>98</sup> George 'Papagiannis' work in Chad illustrates the ability of local media to give a voice to those who were previously silenced by the conflict.<sup>99</sup>

Media coverage can also be destructive because of the media's power to frame conflicts. An example in this regard would include fostering a zero-sum mind set. This is when one or all parties view the conflict or dispute as something that is won by one party or lost by the other<sup>100</sup>. It also includes polarising conflicting parties particularly through international media's presentation of ethnic conflicts where journalists tend to be ethnocentric as they try to fit news into frames that are culturally and ideologically familiar and thus marginalising the parties.

The effects of news framing have been found to influence public opinion on aspects such as political campaigns<sup>101</sup> and social issues such as poverty and welfare.<sup>102</sup> Research has also confirmed the importance of framing in defining conflict, interpreting and reinforcing conflict dynamics, and ultimately resolving conflict.<sup>103</sup> Thus media coverage can disseminate information that amplify conflict dynamics by framing issues of conflict, the identities and relationships between the parties in the conflict and the interactive process of the conflict.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid at 615.

<sup>98</sup> [www.usip.org/publications/the-role-of-media-in-conflict](http://www.usip.org/publications/the-role-of-media-in-conflict) as accessed on 27/08/2016.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Supra, note 11, Pg 106.

<sup>101</sup> June Woong Rhee. Strategy and Issue Frames in Election Campaign Coverage: A Social Cognitive Account of Framing Effects, 47 J.COMM.26, 30 (1997) (strategic vs. issue frames)).

<sup>102</sup> Brophy-Baermann, M. & Bloeser, A.J. Stealthy Wealth: The Untold Story of Welfare Privatization, 11 HARV. INT'L J. PRESS/POL. 89, 104.(2006)

<sup>103</sup> Lewicki, R.J. & Gray, B. Introduction, in making sense of intractable environmental conflicts: frames and cases 5-6 (Roy J. Lewicki, Barbara Gray & Michael Elliott eds)...,2003)

<sup>104</sup> Supra, note 7.



## 2.7 ROLE OF MEDIA IN SHAPING XENOPHOBIC CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The question of the role of media coverage on conflicts in general is an ongoing discussion. Within the South African context, academic research has pointed to media coverage and presentation of foreign nationals since South Africa attained democracy as being highly xenophobic. According to one research:

‘Several research studies have shown how the media has uncritically reproduced xenophobic language and statements, time and time again. The media has certainly been complicit in encouraging xenophobic attitudes among the population’.<sup>105</sup>

As Smith stated, within the South African media context, media has been found to be:

- Anti-immigration, or at least make negative references to migrants and immigrants;
- Of an un-analytical/ simplistic approach, with little in-depth analysis;
- Persist in using certain labels when referring to migrants such as ‘illegal immigrants’;
- Perpetuate negative stereotypes about migrants using such terms as ‘job stealers’, ‘criminals’ and ‘illegals’<sup>106</sup>.

Media has presented foreigners in a negative light as something to be feared, which is a threat to national interests and resources. While this could have had some influence in fuelling the subsequent xenophobic attacks against foreigners, no empirical evidence linking media coverage to the attitudes and perceptions of South Africans has been made.

The chapter above has shown that migration has always been a part of humanity from time immemorial and has become a common feature of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century with the numbers of migrants increasing globally. However, the increase in migration has also

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<sup>105</sup> Crush, J., *The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*. Migration Policy Series No. 50, The South African Migration Project (2008) (ed) pg 42.

<sup>106</sup> Mathew J. Smith, *Synthesis Report: The Media’s coverage of xenophobia and the xenophobic violence prior to and including May 2008*. Available at [http://www.gcro.ac.za/sites/default/files/News\\_items/Xeno\\_reports\\_July2010/synthesis/7\\_Media.pdf](http://www.gcro.ac.za/sites/default/files/News_items/Xeno_reports_July2010/synthesis/7_Media.pdf) as accessed on 4 February 2015.

seen an increase in xenophobia and xenophobic attitude and behaviours, a term which although still vague denotes an intense dislike, hatred and fear of foreigners. Many theories have been developed to explain xenophobia. In South Africa social identity, scape-goating and the isolation theories have been identified as underlying contributors to xenophobic attitudes and behaviours. Various arguments have been posed on the role of media particularly what has been termed the misconception about the impact of international media reporting on conflicts. With regards the role of media reporting on xenophobia in South Africa, there seems to be a consensus that media coverage and presentation of foreigners is highly xenophobic and encourages xenophobic attitudes among the population. However, while this could have influenced xenophobic attacks against foreigners, there is no empirical evidence linking media coverage to the attitudes and perceptions of South Africans towards foreigners.

## CHAPTER 3- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section focuses on the different theories pertaining to how media affects human behaviour particularly in relation to conflict. The media's ability to inflate hatred and promote violence is fairly well documented from early studies on the role of radio in Nazi propaganda campaigns to more recent examples of Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia<sup>107</sup> and also the xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

As Nohrstedt states, news media serve as a connecting link between events at the global and national level to their repercussions. He also states that:

“Stories about armed conflicts, feuds, campaigns, great battles, glorified victories and crushing defeats have for millennia made up a considerable portion of popular culture. It is part and parcel of our cultural inheritance, and from childhood we have become accustomed to sharing the hardships and successes of heroes in our imagination. These stories possess an almost irresistible allure, tempting us to side with the good heroes in their fight against evil’.<sup>108</sup>

He also states that by appealing to already known narratives about the struggle, people are persuaded to take a stand in the conflict. This depends on which of the antagonists propaganda strategies best gains people's attention and emotional engagement for

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<sup>107</sup>Allen .T., & Stremlau. N. Media policy, peace and state reconstruction. In Oscar Hemer & Thomas Tufte (editors): Media & Global Change: Rethinking communication for Development. Publicaciones Cooperativas, Buenos Aires, ( 2005) pg 217.

<sup>108</sup> Nohrstedt, Stig-Arne. New War Journalism: Trends and Challenges. Nordicom Review 30 (2009) pg 96.

example, *'how [we] as an audience identify with the different parties in the conflict'*.<sup>109</sup> However that is also dependent on *'what [we], the collective community addressed by war journalism stand for in the war. Who are the [We] and how is this [We] positioned within the conflict?'*<sup>110</sup> Nohrstedt argues that the media is a battle ground and journalists are drawn into the conflict intentionally, by orders or unintentionally. Various media scholars such as McCombs and Shaw have also made arguments on how the media influences behaviour and public opinion which could be useful in establishing the link between media reporting and xenophobia. Some of these arguments and theories are presented below.

### 3.1.1 Media Framing Theory

One of the theories relating to media's role in influencing public behaviour is the media framing theory. Smith argues that contemporary research illustrates that media do not just disseminate information to the public but rather they also reproduce certain ideologies and discourses that support specific positions of power.<sup>111</sup> It is thus important to look at the media not merely as a means to gauge public perception about foreigners but also the manner in which perceptions are created.<sup>112</sup>

This is in line with the Media framing theory. Media framing happens when the media selects some perceived aspects of reality and makes them more salient in communication text that promotes a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation for the item described.<sup>113</sup> The importance of framing in conflict has been confirmed in defining conflict, interpreting and reinforcing conflict dynamics and ultimately resolving conflict.<sup>114</sup> Examples given in

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Mathew J. Smith, Synthesis Report: The Media's coverage of xenophobia and the xenophobic violence prior to and including May 2008. Available at [http://www.gcro.ac.za/sites/default/files/News\\_items/Xeno\\_reports\\_July2010/synthesis/7\\_Media.pdf](http://www.gcro.ac.za/sites/default/files/News_items/Xeno_reports_July2010/synthesis/7_Media.pdf) as accessed on 4 February 2015.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Antman, R.M ..Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm, 43 J.COMM.51 (1993) , pg 52.

<sup>114</sup> Supra, note 103.

this regard include fostering a zero-sum mind set. This is when one or all parties view the conflict or dispute as something that is won by one party or lost by the other<sup>115</sup>. It also includes polarising conflicting parties particularly through the international media's presentation of ethnic conflicts where journalists tend to be ethnocentric as they try to fit news into frames that are culturally and ideologically familiar and thus marginalising the parties.

While the xenophobic attitude of South African media's reporting on foreign issues and conflicts has been addressed, there are however questions as to the connection between coverage and how this influences South Africans behaviour towards foreigners and the conflict. Do issue dualism and battle metaphors, for instance, lead audiences to have a zero-sum perspective on the conflict or dispute? Also how does such an attitude affect the audience's behaviour with respect to the conflict?<sup>116</sup> While further empirical evidence is needed to address such issues, there is a basic proposition that based on experience, the outcome of conflicts normally follows the character of the escalation; constructive escalation will tend to lead to more constructive outcomes, and destructive escalation will tend to lead to more destructive outcomes.<sup>117</sup> While destructive escalation can lead to more constructive outcomes this would require a fundamental shift in the conduct of the parties. In this regard benchmarks which provide measures for constructiveness and destructiveness of the conflict escalation and outcomes have been suggested and media coverage on these aspects provides a measure of assessing the constructiveness or destructiveness of the media coverage. These benchmarks will however not be used with total disregard to other variables affecting the conflict but serve as valuable pointers on the media's coverage.

They are as follows:

***Communication between the parties***<sup>118</sup>: the question in this regard is whether or not media coverage fosters or inhibits communication between the parties as this is a prerequisite for addressing the conflict constructively<sup>119</sup>.

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<sup>115</sup> Supra, note 11 Pg 106.

<sup>116</sup> Supra, note 13, Pg 71.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid at 73.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

***The tactics of the parties***<sup>120</sup>: This tests whether the media's coverage of the conflict will likely lead to parties use of more cooperative, stabilising tactics or to contentious means of addressing the dispute. The media's coverage of this aspect is important as it is more difficult to bring parties together if they have pursued destructive means of escalating the conflict<sup>121</sup>.

***The outlook of the parties***<sup>122</sup>: This looks at how the coverage will affect the way the parties perceive each other and the dispute. A constructive outlook would be characterised by a general sense of positivity—for example, friendliness toward the other party, helpfulness and hopefulness with respect to the resolution of the dispute. An example would be the Northern Ireland coverage discussed earlier.<sup>123</sup> A destructive outlook would be characterised by a general sense of negativity—such as hostility or enmity toward the other party and unhelpfulness or obstructionism with respect to the resolution of the dispute.

***The social bond***<sup>124</sup>: This looks at the extent to which media's coverage of the conflict is bound to promote or weaken the social bonds between the parties. The social bond is viewed as a moderator of the conflict, when it is strong the conflict is likely to stabilise and when it's it is weak the conflict is likely to escalate.<sup>125</sup> The media can influence the social connection in a number of ways including emphasising the differences or similarities of the parties, or highly dramatising the coverage in a way that heightens audience emotions with regards the conflict.<sup>126</sup>

***Power disparities' between the parties***<sup>127</sup>: This benchmark deals with how media is likely to influence the power relations among the parties. In conflict situations there is

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid at 74.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid at 75.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid at 76.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid at 77.

more often power differences that can make it difficult to achieve constructive outcomes as the higher powers normally want to maintain the status quo while the ones with lower power tend to have negative attitudes that can limit their capacity for constructive outcomes.<sup>128</sup> News media coverage of a conflict or dispute in which a power disparity is present can either enhance or help ameliorate this imbalance.<sup>129</sup> Where coverage heightens imbalances including taking side with the more powerful parties, or remaining neutral hence reinforcing the imbalances, this tends to lead to destructive outcomes. In contrast where the media equalises the power imbalances such as giving audiences and quoting highly respectable authorities and providing information that supports the cause of the lower parties; this tends to lead to constructive outcomes as the higher powers are incentivised to engage in integrative bargaining<sup>130</sup>

### 3.1.2. Agenda Setting Theory

Another theory of relevance from existing literature in assessing the role of the media is the agenda setting theory whose notion is that while media might not always be successful at telling the audience what to think, they are successful at telling them what to think about.<sup>131</sup> Theorists McCombs and Shaw (1972) interpret the theory and explain that it sets the tone for what is important in the eyes of the viewer, which explains why people with similar media exposure will place importance on similar issues. In this regard, media coverage of objects influences the perceived importance of those objects. This supports the notion that media coverage does play a key role in how conflicts are perceived by the public. Beyond perceived importance, another notion of agenda setting has moved towards the second level agenda setting. This deals with

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Wanta, W., Golan, G & Lee, C.. Agenda Setting and International News: Media Influence on Public Perceptions of Foreign Nations (2004) available at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/107769900408100209> as accessed on 10-05-2016.

media coverage influencing how people perceive a particular subject. Media reporting in South Africa is deemed to be highly xenophobic and presenting foreigners as 'criminals, job stealers and illegals' thus creating the perception that their presence in the country is problematic and contributes to some of the social ills facing nationals. In the face of conflict, they are perceived as unworthy victims. As Nohrstedt states, it cannot be denied that media often applies an 'Us' versus 'Them' principle in the distribution of compassion, which is often visible through the headlines.<sup>132</sup>

In summary theoretical evidence suggests that media has the power to influence xenophobic attitudes and the way citizens perceive foreign nationals. However media alone cannot be responsible for fuelling xenophobia as other social ills tend to create tensions between citizens and foreigners which can lead to dislike and to the notion of 'us' versus 'others'.

### **3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This section focuses on research methodology, including 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 are defined. In identifying a research methodology to use, the study takes cognisance of the objectives of the research, which are primarily to verify the link between media reporting on foreigners and xenophobic behaviour towards foreign nationals by citizens in SOWETO, establishing the extent of the influence of media's anti-foreigner sentiments on the xenophobic conflict in SOWETO.

An explanatory approach was used to establish how media reporting on xenophobia and conflicts involving foreign nationals impacts on the conflicts. To answer the question on what extent media reporting is destructive or constructive, an explanatory approach will also be used drawing on the impact that media reporting has had on the interactions of the parties to the conflict.

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<sup>132</sup> Supra, note 108, pg 100.



### 3.2.1. Research Design

The research made use of qualitative tools. Abdalla explains that qualitative methods are open-ended methods of investigation or questions.<sup>133</sup> Qualitative research strength is in gathering in-depth data and in ensuring that data is natural. It provides more room for interviewees to express themselves in their own words instead of compelling them to a certain scheme of responses such as a number scale<sup>134</sup>.

Primary sources of data were the print media online archives'. Other secondary sources quoting the primary sources or commenting on the primary sources' coverage of the mentioned conflicts were used. These included University library centres such as Wits University African Centre for Migration Studies publications, journals and other publications and material relevant to the topic.

**Interviews:** Semi-structured interviews were used to interview key informants. These included eight citizens, 1 representative from the Daily Sun and 1 other journalist, 2 Civil Society Organisations representatives and 2 experts from the Peace and Conflict studies field. Due to time and accessibility constraints, the researcher was not able to interview a journalist from the Sowetan and 2 other civil society representatives. Interviewees were selected using purposive and convenience sampling on the basis of accessibility, and availability and their relevance to the research.

### 3.2.2. Data Analysis

The research used content analysis to analyse data from the media outlets as well as the interviews. Content analysis is a research method that is used to analyse written, verbal or visual communication messages. It enables the researcher to test theoretical issues to enhance understanding of data. Content analysis can be used to analyse either qualitative or quantitative data, and it may also be used in an inductive or deductive way.

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<sup>133</sup> Abdalla, A. Principles and steps of research, 2010 , pg 14.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

On the one hand, quantitative content analysis is often used in a deductive way, to test hypothesis and address questions generated from theories or previous empirical research.<sup>135</sup> Quantitative content analysis is utilised extensively in mass communication as a way to count manifest textual elements, an aspect of this method that is often criticised for missing syntactical and semantic information embedded in the text.<sup>136</sup> Qualitative content analysis on the other hand involves a process of placing raw data into categories or themes based on valid inference and interpretation. It is mainly inductive, based on the examination of topics and themes, as well as inferences drawn from them in the data. Also, qualitative analysis goes beyond merely counting of words or pulling out objective content from texts to observe meanings, themes and patterns that may be apparent or latent in any particular text. It enables researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner.<sup>137</sup>

Although it has sometimes been criticised as being a simplistic technique that does not lend itself in detailed statistical analysis, qualitative content analysis usually produces descriptions or typologies that, along with expressions from subjects reflect how they view the social world. This enables the researcher to better understand the perspectives of the producers of the text.

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) talk about three approaches to qualitative content analysis based on the degree of involvement of qualitative reasoning.<sup>138</sup> These include conventional qualitative content analysis. This is where coding categories are derived directly from the raw data, and directed content analysis, where initial coding starts with a theory or relevant research findings. During data analysis, researchers often immerse themselves to allow themes to emerge from the data. This is normally to validate or extend a conceptual framework or theory. The last approach is summative content analysis, which begins with counting of words or manifest content, then extends the analysis to include underlying meanings or themes.<sup>139</sup> While the process seems

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<sup>135</sup> Zhang, Y., Wildemuth, B.M., Qualitative Analysis of Content available at [https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~yanz/Content\\_analysis.pdf](https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~yanz/Content_analysis.pdf) as accessed on 12 March 2018 pg 1

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid pg 2.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

quantitative in the early stages, its intention is to explore the usage of words and indicators in an inductive way.

This research made use of qualitative content analysis as it enabled a more objective evaluation of the data than comparing such content based on the impressions of the listener. Key words such as illegals, foreigners, Africans, aliens, xenophobic/xenophobia, kwerekwere/amakwerekwere (an informal offensive term used by black South Africans to Africans from other African countries), non-nationals, foreign-business owners, and outsiders are some of the key words used in retrieving media articles and analysing how the media describes the conflict.

Qualitative content analysis was also used to analyse data from the qualitative interviews. The following concepts were identified as key categories for the analysis: dependence on media, understanding of a foreigner, perceptions of foreigners and sources of such perceptions, participants' role in the conflict, role of Daily Sun and Sowetan in influencing participants' involvement in the conflict, role of media in influencing xenophobic attitudes and what role can media play in addressing xenophobia.

### **3.2.3. Research Limitations:**

One of the apparent limitations of the research is the issue of representativeness. The researcher seeks to establish whether or not print media reporting on conflict involving nationals and non-nationals in SOWETO has an influence on xenophobic attacks by citizens towards foreigners and whether or not media reporting on conflicts involving South African citizens and foreigners is constructive or destructive. However, the chosen print media cannot be taken to be representative of the entire media fraternity in South Africa. Neither can its impact on the SOWETO conflict be representative of the entire country. Nonetheless, this can provide useful insights from which inferences can be drawn about similar conflicts in the country.

Also, the interview sample cannot be deemed to be representative of the entire population in SOWETO or the entire country as it is very small. Being a foreigner herself, the researcher was cognisant of her vulnerabilities and how conducting such a

sensitive research which also directly affects her could have been risky. Consequently this affected the research sample to a few citizens who were more willing to open up about the research topic.

Further, the terms constructive and destructive are complicated terms as at any given point and time a conflict can have both elements. In addition, the aspect of perspective as the constructive or destructive nature of the conflicts is largely dependent on who is making that decision, in this case the beholder. For instance, depending on which side of the conflict one is on, especially where there is a clear winner and loser then their views will differ. As Reuben states, it is even more complicated where societal conflicts are involved and assessments on the constructiveness of the conflict turn on ideology, world view, economic consequences, or any number of other personal and group interests that come together to form individual and collective judgment.<sup>140</sup> This also brings into question the aspect of time, as a conflict that might appear destructive at one point might well have a happy, constructive ending. On the other hand, if we ask the question later, we may find that this constructive resolution was illusory, only to be followed by another round of destructive escalation because the underlying conflicting interests were not adequately addressed.<sup>141</sup> However, while these pose a complication this does not mean that such an analysis cannot be undertaken, one must proceed with caution. Besides the matter is not one of absolutes but rather whether dispute is more destructive or constructive when viewed from a particular perspective, at a particular point in time?<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Supra, note 13, pg 52.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid at 54.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

## **CHAPTER 4- RESEARCH FINDINGS**

This chapter presents the main findings and analysis of the research in line with the research methodology used to collect data. The presentation of the findings will begin by focusing on the content analysis of media articles published by the Daily Sun and Sowetan during the conflict.

### **4.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS**

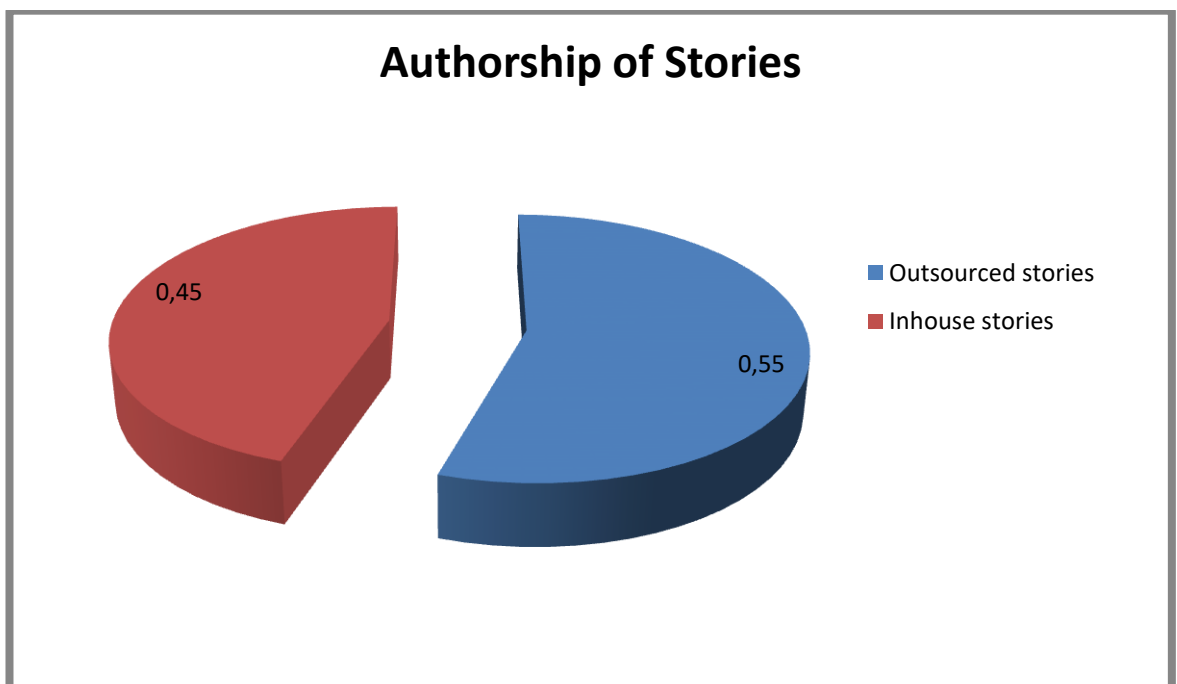
#### **4.1.1. General Quantitative Findings: Number Of Articles And Length**

The study analysed 25 articles from the 19<sup>th</sup> of January to the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 2015 with a view to establish how the Daily Sun and Sowetan reported on the conflict between immigrants and South African citizens in SOWETO. The analysis also sought to establish how this may have contributed to the xenophobic attitudes and the continued violence in the said conflict.

The findings indicate a general interest to cover the conflict as more than 25 articles were published covering the developments of the clashes. During the first days of the violence, both print media outlets published more than one story a day to cover the conflict. Thus indicating a high level of interest in the issue. However as the violence deteriorated, less coverage was given to the conflict including the length of the articles. Generally, the length of each story ranged from between half a page to a page long with more space and coverage during the early days of the conflict. As the days prolonged, shorter space, sometimes half a page was given to the issue which could denote diminishing interest in covering the conflict. Photos such as the one below capturing people carrying goods from the spaza (tuck) shop were also shared. They provided the evidence of the looting and lawlessness happening in SOWETO.



#### 4.1.2. Authorship of Stories



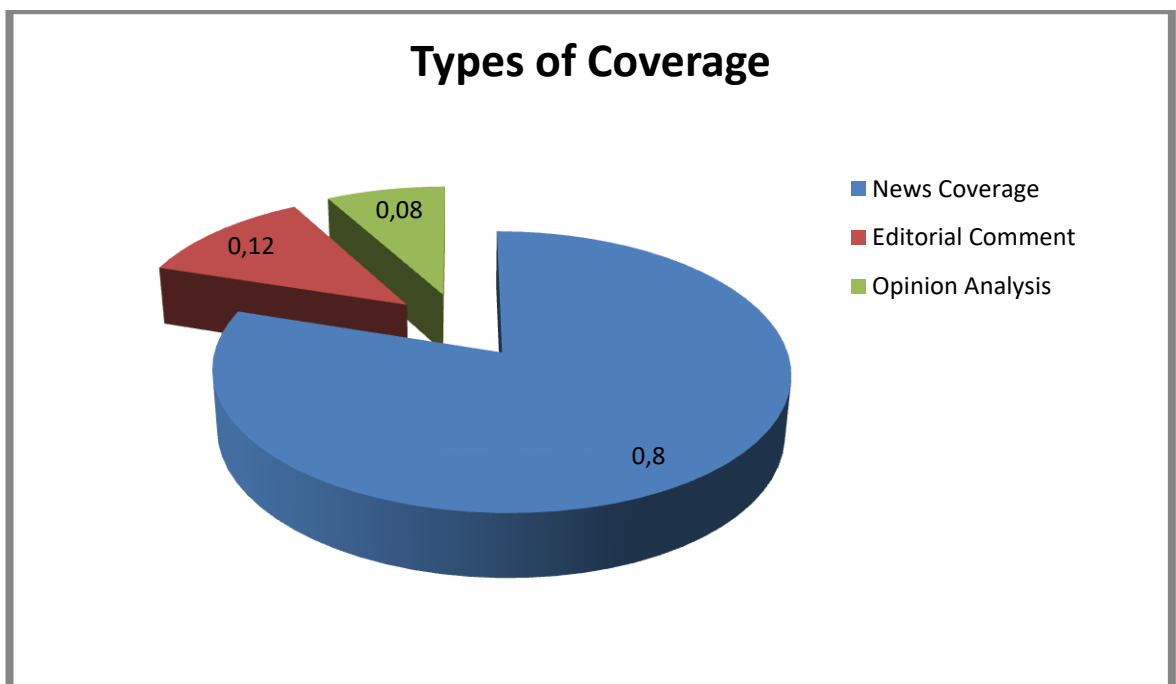
**Figure 1**

The findings also analysed authorship of stories on the conflict, the language used and description of foreigners in the articles. Authorship was used to establish commitment by the two media outlets to the issue. Use of their own journalists is as an indication of

a high commitment to cover the conflict through use of their own resources and time as compared to out-sourcing the stories. It was revealed as demonstrated by Figure 1 above that 55% of the stories analysed were outsourced from other agencies and guest writers, while about 45% were written by in-house journalists, thus implying that the conflict was not given prime priority. However 45% is still a reasonably high percentage meaning the media outlets did pay a significantly high level of attention despite the matter not being a major priority.

#### 4.1.3. Type of Coverage

This speaks to the type and number of stories as a measure of the media outlets' commitment to the issue of xenophobia and the violent clashes between the immigrants and citizens during the mentioned period. Creating more space for news coverage, analysis and editorial comment demonstrates how the media outlets value the matter.



**Figure 2**

Figure 2 above shows that 80% of the stories were news coverage with another 12% given to editorial comment and 8% to opinion analysis. The amount of opinion pieces

and editorial comment illustrates considerable importance attached to the matter as they provide room for analysis, comments and continued coverage of arising issues.

#### 4.1.4. Presentation of Foreigners

The language used to describe non-citizens is predominantly that of neutrality as the term foreigners (which denote neutrality) is used. In other instances foreigners are referred to by the name of their countries such as 'an elderly **MALAWIAN** tuck shop owner was murdered in the early hours of Tuesday morning in Roodepoort'<sup>143</sup> (emphasis added). However while naming foreigners by their country of origin is not in itself derogatory, it carries some negativity within the South African context as it emphasises 'otherness' which can fuel xenophobia.

Derogatory names such as 'makwerekwere' and aliens were not found in any of the news articles analysed. These are terms used to describe and stereotype foreigners, associating them with all forms of negativity such as criminal activities and also enforce the element of 'otherness'. They were only found in a few opinion pieces capturing members of the public comments towards the violence. It is commendable that none of the articles used derogatory words. In the past such terms have often been found in media reporting on issues involving foreign nationals including the print media assessed. Non-use of such words could be as a result of media awareness and being sensitive to the language they used particularly as they desisted from labelling the conflict as xenophobia motivated. However, members of the public's use of derogatory names demonstrated a deeply entrenched negative perception of foreign national shop owners in SOWETO, which is problematic. Many accused foreign nationals of stealing their businesses, exacerbating citizens' economic woes and promoting criminal activities, which is in line with the isolation and scape-goating theories. Foreigners were secluded and presented as 'them' versus the citizens. There was also prejudice against them based on limited resources as foreigners became the target to blame for the citizens lack and poverty.

Although derogatory words were not used, there was still a reference and framing of foreigners as criminals. Most articles highlighted that the conflict started following the

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<sup>143</sup> <http://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/BLOODY-LOOTING-RAGES-ON-20150127> as accessed in 08-06-2016.



shooting of a teenager by a foreign shop owner who had since been arrested and would be charged with murder. However the media did not address the criminal aspects involving the shot teenager and the group he was with who were trying to rob the shop owner. Also, while the looting is mentioned, more often it is faceless, with less reference to it being carried out mainly by citizens against foreign shop owners. On 22 January 2015, the Daily Sun had an article titled '*68 Arrested for SOWETO Violence*' which stated that '*Sixty-eight people have been arrested in Soweto this week for looting and violence, Gauteng's police commissioner said on Thursday*'. It then went on to state that '*Eight of those were foreign nationals who were found in possession of seven unlicensed firearms*'.<sup>144</sup> The effect of emphasising the non-nationality of the eight, while remaining silent on that of the 60 is that, it promotes the notion of foreigners as criminals, while maintaining silence where citizens are involved. This sustains the narrative that taints foreigners as bad thus justifying citizens' desire to remove them from their communities.

While some of the articles in the Daily Sun and Sowetan highlight the plight of foreign nationals who were looted and attacked, there is an undertone of justifying how or why the attacks happened - "which is because of the shooting of a local who was allegedly seeking to rob a foreign national'. Most articles address the criminality of the shooting of the teenager by the Somali foreign national. However they are silent in addressing the criminality of the teenager's activities and the fact that he was part of a group seeking to rob the Somali shop owner. This has the effect of watering down the wrongfulness of what the teenager and his group did or sought to do.

#### **4.1.5. Language Used To Describe The Conflict**

While violence in SOWETO had the hallmarks of xenophobic attitude (targeting of only foreign owned shops; looting including by a law enforcement agent meant to protect residents from violence; use of derogatory names against foreigners; and a call for them to leave their shops and homes) none of the media coverage named it as such. This created a level of denialism of the violence being linked to xenophobic attitude and behaviour. Missing in the media's reporting and analysis is why other foreigners who

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<sup>144</sup> <http://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/68-ARRESTED-FOR-SOWETO-VIOLENCE-20150122> as accessed on 28-12-2017.

had nothing to do with the shooting incident were attacked and had their shops looted if this was purely criminal. In the past, it has been the failure to concede the existence of xenophobia which has negatively affected initiatives to address it, with the State and in this instance the media preferring to call it criminal activity.

However, a few articles do make reference to the attacks being xenophobic though this does not seem to be an agreed upon position. From a conflict resolution perspective, this does not have a positive impact on the conflict. It does not enable conflicting and interested parties to fully identify and address the root causes of the violence if the issue is believed to be mere criminal activity which should be dealt with by the police. Yet xenophobic conduct would require more than the intervention of the justice system alone. There would be need to address issues of social cohesion and other underlying root causes of the conflict such as scarcity of resources including jobs.

Some articles sanitised the violence which is presented as mere 'looting of foreign-owned shops' without presenting the vulnerabilities and challenges faced by the affected foreigners. This is an imbalanced conflict in which foreigners are not only in the minority but also tend not to have the full protection of the law. They also do not have the support of other family members to seek refuge from when displaced from their lodgings. The statement in the Daily Sun on January 22, 2015<sup>145</sup> that '*All those others who were owning tuck shops voluntarily decided to leave*' creates the impression that this was a wilful choice in which they had other options. This waters down the magnitude of the threat of harm on foreigners and the challenges posed by leaving their shops including homelessness. This also does not encourage a more holistic approach to addressing the conflict and needs of those affected by it.

However, a few articles carried a message that encouraged communication between the parties. This is illustrated by articles such as the Daily Sun reporting on 23/01/2015 titled '**where is ubuntu**'<sup>146</sup> which sought to challenge SOWETO residents targeting foreign nationals to desist from such action and the Daily News 27/01/2015 headline titled '**Residents want foreign shops back**' which sought to communicate a message of hope to the displaced foreign nationals. However without acknowledging the root

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> <http://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/WHERE-IS-THE-UBUNTU-IN-SOWETO-20150123> as accessed on 09-06-2016.

causes of the conflict and why foreigners were displaced, such communication does not address the level of risks associated with foreigners' return to their shops. It created an impression that citizens were happily awaiting non-nationals' return to their shop when that may not be so. Also, challenging residents to display a spirit of ubuntu without addressing their concerns and why they resorted to attacking and looting from foreigners may create the impression that no one cares. This can have a negative impact for the long term resolution of the conflict. If foreigners are expected to go back to their shops and homes when underlying conflict concerns and root causes have not been addressed, then the assumption made would be that their return is sufficient to end the dispute. Yet more conflict transformation initiatives are needed to create trust and peaceful co-existence between citizens and immigrants.

However, it may still be argued that this is positive reporting as such headlines create room for parties to view each other in a more positive light. It could also promote communication, thus creating an opportunity for parties to engage each other and address their concerns.

#### 4.1.6. Conflict Presentation And Framing

As Smith states, the media does not just disseminate information to the public but it also reproduces certain ideologies and discourses that support specific positions of power. The two media outlets refrained from naming or acknowledging the xenophobic aspects of the conflict despite the evidence on the ground. They chose to use messages such as 'The **unrest** in Soweto began on Monday when 14-year-old Siphwe Mahori was shot dead'<sup>147</sup>, 'At least three people have been killed and 162 arrested since the **unrest** began'<sup>148</sup>, 'Gauteng police said 121 people have been arrested in connection with the **unrest** and looting.'<sup>149</sup> (emphasis added) By so doing, they reproduced the position taken by the State to deny and underplay the existence of xenophobic attitudes and behaviour by citizens.

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<sup>147</sup> <http://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/FOREIGN-OWNED-SOWETO-SHOPS-ABANDONED-20150124> as accessed on 08-06-2016.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> <http://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/WHERE-IS-THE-UBUNTU-IN-SOWETO-20150123> as accessed on 08-06-2016.

This is in line with stances previously taken by the likes of former president Thabo Mbeki who denied the existence of xenophobia among South Africans, choosing to call the violence in 2008 criminal activity. This position has since been adopted by the administration headed by now former President Jacob Zuma who succeeded Mbeki. Such denialism has a negative bearing on initiatives taken to address the conflict as they may not speak to the real causes. They may focus more on treating the symptoms rather than the root causes. Also, such reporting does not promote honest and open communication amongst the parties to the conflict as denialism of the existence of xenophobia may create mistrust. It may instil a sense of impunity for those perpetrating the violence if its driving force is not addressed. It may also prompt foreign nationals to take the law into their own hands and seek revenge as there may be a feeling that there is no one else to protect them, thus causing the conflict to escalate destructively.

Media reporting by the two media outlets also presented the conflict as being fuelled by acts of criminality with statements such as ‘Seven people were arrested for public violence and looting shops’, ‘**One killed, shop burnt in Soweto violence**’<sup>150</sup>, ‘**Youth the Soweto looting instigators**’<sup>151</sup> being used. By merely focusing on the criminal elements of the conflict and making them more salient in their communication, the Daily Sun and Sowetan promoted a particular framing and problem definition of the conflict. By so doing intentionally or unintentionally, treatment recommendation of the conflict was made. Also, merely focusing on the criminal elements of the conflict may give the impression that the xenophobic aspects are condoned, thus giving perpetrators of xenophobic violence a sense of impunity which would be detrimental for all parties.

In light of the Agenda setting theory, such presentation of the conflict as acts of criminality seeks to influence the public to think of it merely as such without connecting it to the xenophobic elements. Also, statements such as:

“Eight of those were foreign nationals who were found in possession of seven unlicensed firearms”<sup>152</sup>, “We arrested four foreign nationals for possession of unlicensed firearms’firearm.”<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2015/01/22/one-killed-shop-burnt-in.-soweto-violence> as accessed on 08-06-2017.

<sup>151</sup> <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2015/01/23/youth-the-soweto-looting-instigators---photos> as accessed on 08-06-2016.

<sup>152</sup> <http://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/68-ARRESTED-FOR-SOWETO-VIOLENCE-20150122> as accessed on 08-06-2016.

presents foreigners as criminals, thus creating the impression that they are unworthy victims in the conflict. Such presentation of the foreigners does not help to constructively escalate the conflict as it can alienate the parties and further entrench negative perceptions towards non-nationals.

#### 4.1.7. Addressing Power Disparities

There was an attempt to engage public leaders and other key stakeholders to get their views of the conflict as well as convey their messages denouncing the violence. These ranged from government officials, civil society organisations such as Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) as well as community members through their social media posts. An article from the Daily Sun titled 'Lack of Compassion for foreigners'<sup>154</sup> which quoted the LHR saying:

“The unrest that flared up in Soweto and other areas this week showed a lack of compassion for foreign nationals trying to make a living in South

is evidence of the media engaging other stakeholders to address the plight of non-nationals. The Daily Sun article titled '**Makhura shames looters!**'<sup>155</sup> quotes the Gauteng Province Premier denouncing the looting, a move which sought to address the power disparity between the citizens and nationals. By quoting a government official denouncing citizens' actions, this gives voice and power to the foreigners cause. Also, efforts were made in same article to engage and give voice to foreigners through highlighting their challenges and vulnerabilities when an Ethiopian was quoted stating that *"I do not have nowhere to go. I am stuck here. I slept in the open last night,"* This is a departure from the usual practice where foreigners' voices were not captured. However it may still be argued that beyond denouncing the violence, and capturing a few foreigners' voices, there was need to acknowledge the concerns and needs of the conflicting parties so as to move towards finding a lasting solution.

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<sup>153</sup> <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2015/01/21/twelve-arrested-boy-killed-in-dobsonville-violence> as accessed on 08-06-2016.

<sup>154</sup> <http://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/LACK-OF-COMPASSION-FOR-FOREIGNERS-20150124> as accessed on 29-12-2017.

<sup>155</sup> <http://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/MAKHURA-SHAMES-LOOTERS-20150124> as accessed on 28-12-2017.

## **4.2 QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS FINDINGS**

### **4.2.1. General Findings**

The researcher interviewed eight citizens. Of those interviewed five were male and three were female. Three of the interviewees were not formally employed and depended on street vending and social grants. Their ages ranged between 23 and 48 years. All participants had access to print, television, radio and social media. However, more than 50% had more access to social media, radio and television than newspapers. This may be due to the fact that not all can afford to buy a newspaper, while radio, TV and social media is more accessible. The leading newspaper that most participants read is the Daily Sun, followed by Sowetan and then The Star.

The researcher also interviewed two civil society organisations (CSOs) members, two peace and security studies experts as well as two journalists, one from Daily Sun and another independent one. Efforts to secure an interview with a journalist from Sowetan were not successful.

### **4.2.2. Dependence on media for information**

The first question sought to understand how much the eight participants relied on media for important information. More than half of the participants said that they rely on the media for important information on issues such as jobs, service delivery and daily information on what is happening around them. However most rely on the radio and TV and lately social media than they do on print media. Approximately 40% of those interviewed said they did not necessarily rely on media for information, particularly for what is happening around them as mainstream media tends to have a more nationalist approach than focus on local issues affecting citizens at micro level. Mainstream media

tends to give more focus to local issues if there is a major problem or challenge such as when there are service delivery protests or clashes between locals and foreign nationals which the media has famously termed 'xenophobic' attacks. Yet not much reporting is given on the daily struggles by citizens.

However all participants stated that they tend to trust what they read or hear from the media (99%). This was also confirmed by a civil society representative who also stated that people in SOWETO highly trust what they read in the newspapers. However about 10% emphasised that they trust media with the exclusion of the national broadcaster, SABC, which they accused of heavy censorship and romanticising things to present a perfect picture of the 'rainbow nation' and happy citizens when that is not the reality on the ground. They noted that South Africans are not happy because of lack of jobs, poor service delivery and a deteriorating economy. All participants shared that they trust the information they read from the Daily Sun and Sowetan. They find it very relevant to their realities, and is often balanced and informative.

#### **4.2.3. Understanding of a foreigner**

The next question sought to establish the eight participants' understanding of a foreigner. Almost half of the participants started by expressing their strong dislike of foreigners before responding to the interview question. While half started by acknowledging that a foreigner is a non-national who resides in another country for whatever reasons, the other half started by describing how foreigners rob them of their jobs, are the source of their problems, and are criminals who are destroying the country's moral fibre. Much of the understanding about what a foreigner is was embedded in the (mis) conceptions about the suffering they believe is caused by non-nationals. This is in line with the scape-goat theory where foreigners tend to be blamed and cited as an excuse for the challenges citizens face.

An expert in the peace and security field highlighted that there seems to be a race aspect attached to the definition of a foreigner. She shared that the term foreigner is mainly understood in relation to black Africans. She noted that rarely do fellow black South Africans talk about foreigners in relation to Europeans, Americans or Asians. This is a definition used mostly to denote blacks and in the same vein black foreigners are not viewed the same way that non-black and particularly white foreigners from

other continents are viewed. There is a negative attitude towards black African foreigners which is not necessarily exhibited towards other white and Asian foreigners. This, she explained could be as a result of the apartheid history in which black South Africans were secluded and closed up from fellow Africans save for those who were labourers particularly in the mines. As a result, black South African have limited knowledge of other African countries and cultures and tend to treat them with suspicion. This could also be as a result of the oppression they went through in which black people were treated as the least valuable human beings. This view has now been transferred to the black foreigner who has assumed the position of being at the bottom of the tier. This understanding of a foreigner therefore has a bearing on how they are treated and who is a target within the context of xenophobic conflicts.

#### **4.2.4. Perceptions on foreigners and sources of such perceptions**

When probed further on their perceptions of foreigners and what informs those views, a strong dislike which borders on hate was expressed by most participants. Many were quick to defend their position by explaining how foreigners caused so much suffering in their communities by taking away their jobs. For instance where foreigners have positions of influence, they tend to employ their fellow nationals to the exclusion of citizens. One participant was very clear about her hatred for Zimbabweans whom she labelled as criminals, liars and stealers of citizens' jobs and social grants. She noted that because Zimbabweans tend to be more educated than South Africans due to the fact that they attained their independence earlier, this makes it difficult for citizens to compete with them for jobs. She also shared that employers tend to favour Zimbabweans because they are desperate and willing to settle for lesser remuneration. She emphasised how if she found a Zimbabwean lying on the street injured, she would be more than eager to throw the last stone and ensure that one more '*kwerekwere*' dies. If her views are representative of many others, this would explain why Zimbabweans are among the most targeted foreign nationals during xenophobic attacks.

Other participants also shared their strong dislike for foreigners. However there were a few voices which acknowledged that there are some 'good foreigners' who have contributed to the economic development of the country, whose service is much appreciated. Nevertheless, these are considered to be very few in comparison to the



rest. Generally black foreigners are deemed illegal and even where participants acknowledged that not all foreigners are residing in the country illegally, they were quick to emphasise that these are very few and their positive contribution is often rendered insignificant by the damage other non-nationals do. Foreigners are also perceived to be more educated than South Africans because their countries were liberated earlier than South Africa. They are however supposedly not choosy about the jobs they take because they come from countries with poorer currencies and are therefore desperate to take whatever is on offer. They are also deemed to be high contributors of the escalating crime rates the country has been facing as well as contributors to the decay in the societal moral fibre. It is believed that they come with their own '*strange*' practices which are then 'imposed' on South Africans. These include drug dealing and substance abuse allegedly introduced by Nigerians, and human trafficking which is claimed not to have been peculiar to the Country prior to the 'influx' of foreigners. This is despite the fact that the South African Police Services (SAPS) annual crime statistics reports demonstrate that a higher percentage of crimes are committed by citizens. As one civil society organisation representative noted, there is limited appreciation of the positive role that black foreigners play in the country. There is less appreciation of the skills and expertise they bring. While Caucasian foreigners are referred to as expatriates and often highly remunerated, black skill force is not given similar recognition. In the eyes of many people, black foreigners are perceived as desperate, coming from conflict torn zones or seeking economic refuge. South Africa is then viewed as their saviour and thus less acknowledgement and appreciation of their expertise. Such views were also blamed on the media's failure to dispel the negative notions attached to foreigners and report positively on their contributions. One journalist noted that it is difficult for them to focus on creating a positive image of foreigners at the expense of suffering citizens, to whom their allegiance lies.

Almost all participants claimed that their views were not influenced by media presentations. Most participants stated that these perceptions were influenced by their daily encounters with foreign nationals as well as life observations. There seems to be a belief that foreigners have better lifestyles than citizens who feel that they have been robbed of better opportunities by the presence of these non-nationals who take their jobs, houses, even women and businesses. According to one participant, Somalis have crowded SOWETO with their spaza shops (tuck shops) and they have since built their own communities, negotiate to buy goods cheaper in bulk and supposedly sell them at a cheaper price thus pushing citizens' tuckshops out of business. This has also fuelled

the belief that Somalians must be involved in illegal businesses and trade which allows them to buy merchandise at a very low cost and sell at cheap prices that local businesses cannot afford to do. Hence while media does cover such stories, locals said they do not need to rely on the media for them to know the bad things that foreigners do.

This view was also echoed by peace experts who highlighted that most of the perceptions nationals have about foreigners are not shaped by the media but rather by citizens' expectations, needs, aspirations, historical background and information shared with people close to them. If anything the Daily Sun and Sowetan's influence in shaping perceptions of foreigners may have been minimal. What may be understood as negative media presentation of foreigners' may be a reflection of society than the other way round. Interviewed journalists noted that while media has been found to be negative in its presentation of foreigners, this has not been driven by a deliberate agenda to demonise non-nationals but by a desire to present the accurate picture regarding the situation of immigrants in the country.

Interestingly more than half of the interviewed citizens were of the view that if anything, the media has been more defensive and protective of foreigners. According to one participant:

*'This is because lately the media has been more focused on the plight of foreigners, particularly during the looting of foreign owned shops, the media was quick to share on how foreigners had been displaced from their homes yet they had no right to such homes in the 1<sup>st</sup> place.'*

Another participant said newspaper headlines such as 'Makhura shames looters' (24/01/2015), "Where is ubuntu in SOWETO' by the Daily Sun (23/01/2015) were biased towards foreigners as their tone seemed to condemn the attacks on foreign nationals and present them as innocent victims being attacked by citizens. This he said, lacked understanding and interrogation of citizens concerns and why they resorted to such measures. According to one interviewee, citizens are constantly reminded of the important role that other countries played in ending apartheid and the need to be hospitable, without listening to their cares and why they want foreigners to return to their countries.

Most participants shared their resentment of foreigners living in South Africa. They stated that they believe South Africa belongs to its citizens and not foreign nationals, in

particular blacks should go back home. One participant said if it was according to her, all foreigners would be deported regardless of whether they are legal or not. A peace expert shared that such sentiments and demonstration of a strong sense of nationalism is as a result of the apartheid experiences which rallied citizens particularly blacks together around a shared traumatic experience. As such, those who do not seem to have been part of this experience are perceived not to belong and should have no entitlement to the benefits that came with elimination of this terrible system. Most participants stated that their hatred of foreigners living in their Country was influenced by their experiences and the challenges they face which are perceived to be as a result of foreigners' 'influx'. They feel black South Africans were never given an opportunity to settle into their newly found democracy and chart their own path before foreigners began 'claiming a share' of it. Consequently, this has angered many citizens who feel that their hopes and dreams have not materialised as their 'parent' - the government - decided to open the gates for visitors (foreigners) when there was not enough 'pie to go around'.

They also shared that they do not necessarily believe one needs the media to influence how they feel about foreigners living in their country as they have these life experiences and daily observations to inform their perceptions. According to one participant, he knows that foreigners are ill mannered and look down on citizens. When one meets them on the street and greets them, they do not return the same courtesy. Also, according to most participants it is common cause that foreigners are criminals who have brought such ills as human trafficking, drugs, armed robbery and murder.

It was however difficult to distinguish what life observations and daily encounters mean as some of the misconceptions about foreigners seem to stem from information that is handed down from one generation to another. One participant shared how even from back in the day foreigners have been known to be bad people with strange cultural tendencies. Thus one does not need the media to tell them how bad they are. However, a few participants who also hold the same views of not being happy with foreigners living in their Country said this was influenced by politicians' speeches and media reports from newspapers such as Daily Sun and Sowetan.

#### 4.2.5. Participants' role in the conflict

The next question aimed at establishing participants' role in the conflict in SOWETO in January 2015. Although a few participants were initially uncomfortable with explaining their role, more than half were willing to share that they were involved in the looting of foreign owned shops and fighting with foreign nationals. The general sentiment shared by 90% of participants interviewed was that the looting in SOWETO was justified as an appropriate response to the shooting of a teenager who had been trying to steal from a foreign owned shop. According to most participants, many kids do make mistakes and many kids have been caught with their fingers 'in the cookie jar'. As such what this teenager did was nothing extra-ordinary and it certainly did not warrant such a heinous punishment as being killed. One participant shared that in South Africa it takes a village to raise a child and the reason why the Somali shop owner shot the teenager was because he did not belong to their community, did not see that child the way he views his own. Thus with no form of attachment to the teenager, it was easy for him to inflict such fatal harm. Citizens emphasised that had the Somali shop owner behaved liked a parent and used other acceptable means of discipline, instead of shooting the teenager, perhaps the resultant clashes would not have happened. Thus from the citizens' view, lack of social cohesion and the element of 'otherness' of the Somalis was the cause of the shooting. However it would appear that the same reasons resulted in the targeting and attacking of other foreign owned shops as a way of revenging.

While citizens were not keen on labelling their actions as xenophobic, choosing to use the framing from media outlets such as Daily Sun and Sowetan of calling the conflict 'looting', it was apparent that their actions were based on revenge that was deliberately targeted at foreign nationals. Despite the shooting incident initially involving one Somali national and the teenager suspected of stealing, this seemed to have provided an opportunity for citizens to clash with other foreigners. As one participant stated:

*'This presented a good opportunity for us citizens to chase them away and convey a clear message that we do not want them (foreigners) in our country and in our communities.'*

Hence despite media framing of this conflict being merely criminal activity, statements such as the above convey a xenophobic stance. Most interviewed participants who were involved in the looting of foreign owned shops and clashes with foreign nationals

shared that they did not see anything wrong with their actions. They believe they were taking what is rightfully theirs as these shops are in their land and therefore belong to them.

A few participants stated that the looting was wrong because much as they were not happy with how the Somali national who suspected the teenager to have stolen in his shop reacted, they do not believe nationals should have taken the law into their own hands. This they said tainted the somewhat 'tolerable' relations between locals and citizens and it was unfortunate that even a police officer, who is a law enforcement agent was also caught looting.

#### **4.2.6. Role of Daily Sun and Sowetan in influencing participants' involvement in the conflict**

A follow up question to the above sought to understand what role the Daily Sun and Sowetan played in influencing participants' actions in the conflict. Of the participants who were directly involved in the conflict, 70% stated that the media had not influenced their actions. The decision to be involved in the conflict was as a result of what they had heard from other community members regarding the shooting of the teenager and the resulting anger from the community. They had therefore decided with other community members to revenge and send a clear message to all foreigners in their area that such conduct was unacceptable and their presence was unwanted. Thirty-percent (30%) said that they had in some way been influenced by what they read in the papers to join in the looting and 'chasing' of foreigners away from their community. One participant said that when he read in the Daily Sun that a 14 year old had been shot dead by a foreign national, he was very angry and when he read of locals' continued attacks on foreign owned shops in Kagiso, he felt compelled to join in to revenge. When probed further to explain how this was revenge as he was attacking people who had nothing to do with the shooting, he said to him all nationals are the same. 'They are all criminals' he retorted. If one commits a crime, it's as good as all of them have and they all deserved to be punished.

When asked what their views were on how the media presented the conflict, about 60 % stated that they felt the media had been more sympathetic and too lenient towards

the foreigners. One participant said he had been angered by the headline from the Daily Sun on 24/01/2015 which said

*“Makhura shames looters!” which went on to say that ‘Soweto residents taking part in the looting of foreign-owned shops and parents who were allowing them to bring home the goods, were described as a curse to the community by Gauteng premier David Makhura on Friday.’*

He said such an article passed blameworthiness on locals without explaining and naming the evil that the foreign nationals had done. He went on to say such reporting is unacceptable. According to him, the South African media should be more supportive of its citizens who have been with it through thick and thin and not allow foreign nationals to corrupt its reporting. It would appear that by being more supportive, the participant meant the media should not report negatively about citizens’ actions towards foreigners. Other participants went on to share how previously the media had been objective in its reporting and been the voice of its citizens, providing coverage on all the bad that foreign nationals do. Yet there seems to have been a toning down of that approach during the conflict under research. It would also appear that being objective in this instance means portraying foreign nationals as bad while the citizens are portrayed as good and justified in their actions.

Some participants were not happy with the media framing of the conflict as looting of foreign owned shops. One participant felt that while it was important not to label the conflict as xenophobic, the media helped in creating the impression that this was criminal activity, yet the reality is that this was more than just looting. It was about seeking justice and addressing social ills committed by foreigners that citizens felt the government was failing to address. It was about getting rid of people who do not deserve to be in the country. This sentiment illustrates the xenophobic elements that the media failed to address in its reporting. It also demonstrates that it is not always a given that media influences the way people think about certain things as some citizens were still not convinced that their actions were criminal despite several media articles by the Daily Sun and Sowetan saying so.

However, a few participants agreed that the attacks were xenophobic in nature as foreigners who had nothing to do with the shooting incident were targeted and chased away from their homes. They said by labelling the conflict as criminal activity, rather than xenophobic, the media had influenced how people perceived the conflict. This was

echoed by one civil society organisation representative who shared that framing has a strong impact on how conflicts such as those involving foreigners and citizens are addressed. She also said this kind of reporting set the agenda not only on what to think about, but also how to think about it. In this instance it was to think about the conflict as merely criminal activity. Yet the evidence on the ground indicated that while there were criminal elements from both the foreigners and nationals, starting with the shop owner who killed a teenager as well as from citizens through the looting that followed, there was also a xenophobic aspect which was left unaddressed.

Forty-percent (40%) of the participants felt that the reporting had been objective as both views from the foreigners and citizens were presented. The Daily Sun article '**Makhura shames looters!**' on 24/01/2015 quoted an Ethiopian foreign national sharing that as a result of being displaced he had nowhere to go. Another article from the Daily Sun on 23/01/2015 titled '**Where is ubuntu in SOWETO**' also addressed the plight of foreigners as it acknowledged their vulnerabilities in the clashes. This helped some citizens in appreciating the challenges that foreigners faced and some became more sympathetic and realised that violence was not the best way of addressing their differences. However a civil society organisation representative held a different view, noting that only a few articles from both papers had actually engaged, quoted and carried the voices of foreigners. She noted that it is usual practice for the media to exclude foreigners' voices in such conflicts. Hence even though there was a bit of a shift through engaging a few foreigners, which may have helped in presenting a different side of the conflict, this was still inadequate to provide a balanced view.

However much as the media seems to have given a voice to both sides of the conflict, what seemed lacking was a deeper analysis and understanding of the root causes of the violence and looting. Such an understanding would be key to addressing the conflict.

#### **4.2.7. Role of media in influencing xenophobic attitudes**

The next question focused on what role the media plays in influencing xenophobic attitudes and behaviour. There was an acknowledgement by all 8 participants that foreigners are generally presented negatively in the media, be it in newspapers, TV or radio. While this created the impression that foreigners are bad, and contributed to the

negative feelings citizens have towards them, most participants were quick to spell out that foreigners have themselves to blame for doing wrong things such as committing crimes. This has earned them a bad name with citizens. According to one participant, the media is a reflection of society. Hence negative media reporting on foreigners is a reflection of how society in general feels about them. He stated that the media has no obligation to report positively on foreigners when they are bad. In any event foreigners are outsiders, who do not belong and the media cannot create the impression that they are good for the Country when they are not.

A peace and security expert noted that media has a role to play in maintaining xenophobic attitudes through constantly focusing on the negatives about foreigners and providing less well researched information on the positive contribution that they bring to the development of the country. This has created the impression that black foreigners are there to take away and not give anything. In light of the socio-economic challenges that the majority of black South Africans continue to face, this fuels the idea that foreigners are to blame for the social ills faced by citizens. Yet the reality is that even if all the foreigners in Soweto were made to leave, it can be well argued that citizens' circumstances would still not change much.

While participants claimed that the media had influence, it was not clear from their responses what this influence was. This is particularly so as most of them claimed that their views towards foreigners were based on their experiences and the challenges they faced as a result of the presence of such foreigners.

However almost all the participants believed that should the media report positively about foreigners, this could change the way citizens viewed them. Hence if more positive things were covered, the way foreigners are perceived would be more positive.

#### **4.2.8. What role can the media play in addressing xenophobia?**

The last question asked participants if they think the media should be playing a role in addressing xenophobic attitudes and behaviour. There was general consensus that media plays a crucial role in influencing society's views and how they think about certain issues. As such, media has a role to play in addressing xenophobic attitudes and behaviour. Some participants were quick to highlight that in so doing the media needs to exercise caution so that it is not deemed to be partisan. In this regard, media



should not be seen to be too sympathetic to foreigners at the expense of citizens' concerns. The media should draw attention to citizens concerns such as the fact that foreigners take their jobs and resources away. It should also urge the government to address such concerns while also highlighting the positive role that foreigners play in the country. Another participant shared that the media should also capture South Africans doing business in other African countries so that South Africa is not perceived as the 'heaven of Africa' that is exploited by the rest of the Continent. Citizens need to know that they too have access to the rest of the continent and can trade and live anywhere as well. However some participants were of the view that their attitude and perception of foreigners can only change if their socio-economic realities change for the better, and also if foreigners stop doing the bad things they do. From this response it becomes evident that more interventions including addressing the socio-economic needs of vulnerable citizens are needed in addressing this conflict. Also, this illustrates that despite the findings of negative media representation of foreigners', this does not play a significant role in influencing xenophobic conduct. Socio-economic challenges do.

A civil society organisation representative stated that media has a role to play in addressing xenophobic attitudes and behaviour. It would help if the media gave more balanced reporting about foreigners which does not entrench the usual stereo-types. It would also be helpful if their reporting promoted social cohesion instead of reinforcing 'otherness'. This could be achieved by also highlighting the positive social contributions made by foreigners in contrast to the social ills they are constantly blamed for.

One journalist stated however that when it comes to reporting, their national responsibility is to protect and promote citizens' interests. As such communities' needs and interests cannot be compromised at the expense of social cohesion and positive imaging of foreigners. This may also be counterproductive to their business interests which are to service their communities.

In summary, there seems to be a shift in the way the Daily Sun and Sowetan reported on foreigners during the conflict in SOWETO from January 2015. All the articles analysed did not use derogatory language such as 'makwerekwere, alien' in their reporting. However while there was no derogatory language, there was still a packaging of foreigners as criminals while the same image was down-played where citizens were concerned.

The two print media houses tried to capture the realities and challenges faced by foreigners who were displaced, thus giving voice to a group that is often not well represented in the media although it can be still be argued that this voice was not strong enough .

What seemed lacking however was an interrogation of the root causes of the violence which was merely presented as criminal activity. This is despite the fact that there were some signs of the conflict being xenophobic. Such failure to fully address the conflict for what it was could hamper meaningful initiatives to transform it. While arrests were made, addressing such a conflict requires more than just making arrests. It requires addressing issues such as social integration and cohesion of citizens and foreign nationals as well as addressing citizens socio-economic concerns, which have been the underlying reasons for their hatred and dislike for foreigners. Thus framing the violence as merely criminal activity was insufficient to provide information which could help to meaningfully address the conflict.

From the interviewees responses above it is apparent that while media does influence how people view things through the way it frames issues and the agenda it sets not only in terms of what people should think about but also how they think about those issues, when it comes to the issue of xenophobia it is not primarily responsible for fuelling xenophobic attitudes and behaviour. Other factors such as job shortages, lack of access to economic activities, poor service delivery and crime contribute to the negative attitudes that citizens have against foreigners. These are the realities that have fuelled citizens reactions towards foreigners and perhaps also influence how the media reports. Thus as the scape-goat theory states, while foreigners are not the real cause of citizens' concerns, they are an easy target to blame.

## **CHAPTER 5: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

Using the Framing and Agenda setting theories, the study explored the causal effect of media reporting of foreigners on xenophobic attitudes and behaviour in South Africa. Media framing happens when the media selects some perceived aspects of reality and makes them more prominent in communication text that promotes a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and /or treatment recommendation for the item depicted. The notion behind the agenda setting theory is that while media may not always be successful at telling the audience what to think, it is successful at telling them what to think about through setting the tone for what is important in the viewer's eyes.

In particular the study sought to establish what role media reporting of the conflict between foreign nationals and citizens had on the conflict. Qualitative content analysis of media articles from 19<sup>th</sup> January to 5<sup>th</sup> February 2015 as well as qualitative semi-structures interviews were used at arriving on the findings made.

The findings of the research demonstrate that the Daily Sun and Sowetan reporting of foreigners during the conflict in SOWETO from 19<sup>th</sup> January 2015 to 5<sup>th</sup> February 2015 did not use derogatory language such as 'makwerekwere and alien'. However, foreigners were still packaged as criminals while the same representation was downplayed where citizens were concerned. Also, while the two media outlets made efforts to capture the challenges and experiences of foreigners displaced during the conflict, thus giving voice to a group often not well represented in media, it can be argued this was not strong enough. There was a failure to explore the root causes of the conflict by the two media houses who presented it as mere criminal activity. Such

presentation could have adverse effects on efforts to meaningfully address and transform the conflict.

Findings from the interviewees' responses show that although media does influence how people view issues through the way it frames them and the agenda it sets, when it comes to xenophobia it is not primarily responsible for fuelling xenophobic attitudes and behaviour. Other factors such as job shortages, lack of access to economic activities, poor service delivery and crime also contribute to the negative attitudes that citizens have against foreigners. Therefore as the scape-goat theory propounds, while foreigners are not the real cause of citizens' challenges, they are the easy target to place the blame on.

This chapter is thus based on lessons learnt from the findings which can be considered by media outlets when reporting on conflict and xenophobic violence between citizens and foreign nationals.

## **5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1.1. Addressing Root Causes Of The Conflict**

It has been noted that the media presented the conflict as purely criminal activity, despite the potential existence of xenophobic behaviour and attitudes. When reporting on conflicts involving foreign nationals and citizens, the media is encouraged to go beyond the surface level and research further into the underlying causes of the violence from all sides and not only the citizens' interests. This is important in providing a platform for conflicting parties to hear each other's concerns, and see each other's point of view. It also provides various stakeholders seeking to address the conflict with a more holistic understanding which enables for relevant approaches and solutions to be adopted. The media should see their role going beyond merely providing information to that of being able to contribute to seeking solutions and help the conflict escalate constructively.

### **5.1.2. Addressing Stereotyping Of Foreigners**

It is common cause that black foreigners have been stereo-typed as criminals and responsible for some of the social ills facing the community. While it is true that some foreigners do commit crime, it is not true that all foreigners are criminals. Also, it is a fact that there are more criminals who are South African than there are foreigners. As such the media should desist from continuously labelling foreigners as criminals as well as focusing more on crimes committed by foreign nationals, whilst under-playing those committed by citizens. It is suggested that when reporting on crimes, the media should desist from attaching the nationality of criminals as a way of reducing stereo-types against foreigners unless it is completely necessary to do so.

### **5.1.3. Addressing Power Disparities**

The conflict involving foreign nationals and citizens is never an equal one as foreigners tend to be in the minority, do not have the full protection of the law and often their voice is not heard. As such the media is advised to address this imbalance through providing a platform for foreigners to be heard and for their concerns, needs and interests to be addressed. This could be done by also quoting public authorities not just condemning the violence but also the stereo-typing of foreigners. Also, this can be achieved by using language that promotes communication between the parties, and enables both parties to address the conflict positively. Being neutral in a conflict that has power imbalances may only serve to entrench the imbalances than address them.

### **5.1.4. Address /Desist From Scape-Goating Foreigners**

As has been demonstrated in the research and literature review, there is a tendency to blame foreigners for challenges that citizens face. This has been done by citizens, the media and even government institutions. However the researcher is of the view that this position is folly. Even if all foreigners were removed from South Africa, this would not address some of the institutional, structural and cultural barriers that have caused the inequality faced by predominantly black citizens. It is therefore important that media reporting deconstructs this blame game on foreigners and addresses the real causes to citizens' challenges as well as hold the government accountable. The media can also

do so by not only focusing on the negatives about foreigners, but also the positives and the value that they add to the development of society. While media may be loyal to its citizens, it also has a mandate not to discriminate or do harm against all people residing in South Africa.

### **5.1.5. Promote Social Cohesion**

While a direct causal link could not be drawn between media reporting of foreigners as well as conflicts involving non-nationals and citizens' xenophobic behaviour and attitude, it was established that media does influence how citizens perceive foreigners. The media can utilise this power to promote social cohesion between nationals and non-nationals through positive reporting on non-nationals, continuing to desist from use of derogatory names against foreigners and also discouraging other members of society from doing so. A more positive agenda setting in which citizens are encouraged to think more positively about non-nationals as well as co-existing peacefully with their fellow foreign black brothers and sisters is encouraged.

## **5.2 CONCLUSION**

The research question sought to establish *'to what extent media reporting on conflict between foreign nationals and citizens influences xenophobic behaviour by citizens towards foreigners in SOWETO'*. Particularly the research sought to ascertain what impact media reporting of the conflict involving foreign nationals and citizens in SOWETO in January 2015 had on the conflict.

Other secondary questions included *'To what extent is the role of print media coverage of the SOWETO violence constructive or destructive for the citizens and foreign nationals affected by the conflict? How is the conflict in SOWETO presented or reported on in the Daily Sun and Sowetan? What factors influence or inform how local media reports on conflict involving South African nationals and foreigners? As well as what role can the media play to addressing the conflict?'*

This was done through monitoring of news reporting from two media outlets - the Daily Sun and Sowetan from the 19<sup>th</sup> January- 5<sup>th</sup> February 2015. Semi- structured interviews were also used to interview citizens from SOWETO, journalists, peace and conflict experts and civil society organisations representatives to establish their views on the role of the Daily Sun and SOWETAN in the conflict in SOWETO.

While the findings of the research cannot be deemed to be representative of the entire community of SOWETO, it is clear that a deep dislike and hatred towards foreigners continues to exist. It was however established that media is not mainly responsible for these attitudes, but other social factors and experiences have played a major part in shaping these views and perceptions. Socio-economic challenges faced by citizens appear to be the major driving force behind citizens' dislike and hatred of foreigners. As one participant said, citizens had high hopes for a better life when democracy was ushered in 1994. However the reality for many has been that these hopes and aspirations have not been realised to date. Xenophobic attitudes and behaviour are therefore a result of frustrations faced by citizens and only a symptom of the underlying challenges.

The research also established that the media does have some form of influence on how foreigners are perceived by citizens. However, it could not establish a direct causal link between the conflict coverage by the Daily Sun and Sowetan and the conduct of the majority of citizens during the conflict. Most participants seem to have been driven by their own frustrations and experiences with foreigners as well as pressure from fellow community members to resort to violence. Yet the few who said that they were influenced by what they read in the media to seek revenge demonstrates that there is still a role that the media plays in influencing some citizens' behaviour and xenophobic conduct. This contribution needs to be addressed through the media being more cognisant of how they cover and report on such conflicts and on foreigners, as well as the impact it has on conflicting parties.

The media can capitalise on the limited role it has in influencing citizens' conduct and perceptions of foreigners through reporting positively on non nationals and facilitating communication between foreigners and citizens. This can be done by providing a platform for parties to share information on their concerns and how they can resolve such concerns as well as alerting each other on contentious issues. The media should also give voice to those who have been previously silenced in such conflicts, in this instance foreigners.

Also, the media should frame conflicts in a way that does not give prominence to one or a few dimensions of the conflict, while silencing the rest. For instance, the conflict in SOWETO was presented merely as violence driven by criminality, yet there were more pertinent issues beyond the criminal aspects. This only served to hamper on more meaningful engagement and resolution of the conflict, thus leaving room for the conflict to escalate destructively or for violence to erupt again as it subsequently did a few months later.

The media is therefore encouraged to dig deeper on the root causes and provide a more substantial analysis on the socio-economic needs and challenges faced by citizens. It should also hold key stakeholders such as national, provincial and local government as well as the private sector accountable for addressing citizens' needs. This will help in directing citizens to the relevant institutions and stakeholders where they should get assistance instead of venting their anger on foreign nationals, a position which will not change their realities much. Subsequently this will leave the situation between them and non nationals volatile and ripe for future conflicts.

Also, while the media believes its mandate is to serve citizens interests, there is need to take cognisance of its responsibility not to discriminate against other people residing in the Country. As such a balance needs to be struck in its reporting to ensure it does not violate non nationals' rights or jeopardise their well being.



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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: Qualitative Questionnaire For Civil Society

#### Representatives

1. From your knowledge and experience which are the main sources of media in SOWETO and how does the community access them?
2. In your opinion how much does the community you work with in SOWETO rely on media for important information?
3. How much does the community in SOWETO trust news from the media?
4. What is their understanding of a foreigner and what shapes that understanding?
5. What are their perceptions of foreigners? What shapes those perceptions?
6. What do you think is the role of The Daily Sun and The Sowetan in influencing those views/ how do print media such as The Daily Sun and The Sowetan contribute to perceptions of a foreigner in SOWETO?
7. What other factors /aspects influence the way foreigners are perceived?
8. What are some of the names given to foreigners?
9. What role do the media play in shaping xenophobic attitudes and conduct between foreigners and locals in Soweto?

I will ask you to read the following articles from the Daily Sun and Sowetan before we proceed

10. Having read the articles above, in your opinion how did the media present (xenophobic) conflict between foreigners and locals in SOWETO and what effect did such presentation have on the conflicting parties?
11. What informs such presentation?
12. What role do you think the media can play in addressing such conflicts?

## **APPENDIX 2: Questions For Citizens**

1. How much do you rely on media for information?
2. Do you have access to the Daily Sun and The Sowetan?
3. How much do you trust the news you read from the Daily Sun and The Sowetan?
4. What do you understand by the term foreigner?
5. What are your perceptions and views on foreigners and what shapes those views?
6. How do you feel about foreign nationals living in your country and what are the factors that influence the way you feel?
7. What role does media coverage by print media such as The Daily Sun and The Sowetan play in influencing the way you view and relate with foreigners?
8. Were you involved in the Conflict that happened in SOWETO in January 2015 between foreign nationals? If so how were you involved?
9. What role did media coverage by the Daily Sun and The Sowetan play in influencing your actions in the SOWETO conflict?
10. If no what is your position regarding the Conflict?
11. Is your position influenced in any way by media coverage (The Daily Sun and Sowetan) of the Conflict? If yes elaborate.

I will ask you to read the following articles from the Daily Sun and Sowetan

12. What are your views on the way media (The Daily Sun and The Sowetan) presented the conflict in SOWETO in January 2015?
13. Do you think media coverage of the Conflict by the Daily Sun and The Sowetan was positive or negative? Explain
14. What role does media play in influencing xenophobic attitudes and behaviour?
15. What role do you think the media (particularly Daily Sun and The Sowetan) should be playing in addressing xenophobic behaviour and attitudes?

## **APPENDIX 3: Qualitative Questions For Experts?**

1. In your opinion what is the understanding and view of foreigner by locals?

2. What influences such understanding and views?
3. What role do you think the media plays in informing such views?

I will ask you to read the following articles from the Daily Sun and Sowetan

4. How do you think the media presented the conflict?
5. Do you think the media had a positive or negative influence in the development of xenophobic conflict in SOWETO in 2015?
6. How do you think the media should be presenting such conflicts?
7. What are some of the challenges faced by the media in reporting on xenophobic attacks and how can they be best resolved?



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HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND CONFLICT

Date: 21/06/2018

Thesis Title / Topic: ROLE OF LOCAL MEDIA REPORTING ON XENOPHOBIA CONFLICTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN  
EXAMINATION OF PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE CONFLICT IN SOWETO FROM 19 JANUARY 2015 TO  
5 FEBRUARY 2015.

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21/06/2018  
Date and Signature

Name Surname: MPAWA JULLIAN SANDRA MANGWIRO  
Student No: N13221114  
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Program: PEACE AND CONFLICT  
Status:  Masters  Ph.D.  Integrated Ph.D.

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**ADVISOR APPROVAL**

APPROVED.

*[Handwritten Signature]*  
Dr. Ogunwole Oluwalaniran Oluwalaniran Yidele Zahirawogbe  
(Title, Name Surname, Signature)





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My thesis work related to the title above:

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*M. Mangwiro*

**ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL**

  
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**ADVISOR APPROVAL**

APPROVED.

*Dr. Oguzhan Ayar (A. Neven Yolda Zehireroglu)*  
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*M. Mangwiro*

**ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL**

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