

https://dspace.org/

Xenophobia in the headlines: an analysis of news media coverage of the Xenophobic protests in Jeppestown, South Africa in 2019

Fickling, Briony Lee

2021
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/33552

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

University of Witwatersrand
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Development Studies Programme

Xenophobia in the Headlines: An Analysis of News Media Coverage of the Xenophobic Protests in Jeppestown, South Africa in 2019

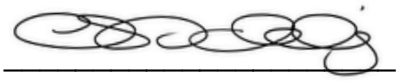
A research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Masters in Development Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, June 2021

Student:
Briony Lee Fickling (Student no. 1759715)

Supervisor:
Prof. David Dickinson

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the Degree of Masters in Development Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Protocol number: DVS20190105). It has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other university.



Briony Lee Fickling

30 June 2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, thank you to all those who shared their stories in the pages of the journals and news articles that made this study on xenophobia possible. I am grateful for all that you have taught me.

Mom and Dad, thank you for instilling in our family a love for learning and for encouraging me to be brave when things are hard. I will never be able to thank you enough for your love and support.

Thank you to my supervisor, Prof. David Dickinson. I have learned so much from you; lessons that have fundamentally challenged my thinking and have pushed me to grow personally and professionally. Thank you for your time and your patience.

ABSTRACT

The news media craft and contribute to discourse relating to xenophobia. This discourse can challenge, transform or reinforce beliefs and behaviours, impacting the insecurity and precarity of African foreigners living in South Africa. This case study explores the nature of balance in the media coverage of violent xenophobic protests in Jeppestown, Johannesburg, in September 2019. The study contributes to existing research on news media coverage of xenophobia, examining the media content produced and assessing the implications of imbalance. A qualitative content analysis on 60 news articles published about the Jeppestown protests examines the aspects of balanced news reporting as it relates to context and analysis, news framing, and representation.

The research shows that this media coverage contained little context and analysis of the protests. The limited representation of the protestors and victims was framed by a dominant criminality narrative, with language reinforcing the othering of foreigners. The implications of this media approach are far-reaching. It erases the personal experience, history, politics, and complexities of xenophobia. It also obscures the prevalence of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa, reinforcing and legitimising beliefs that underpin the severe marginalisation of African immigrants in South Africa.

Conversely, the study also highlights the benefits of balanced news media coverage that represents events and individuals accurately and fairly, brings different perspectives to the fore, and grapples with the complexities of the Jeppestown protests and xenophobia in general. As part of this, the case study considers the challenges – because of how media production influences which news is published, balance is interpreted differently as worldviews differ, and the media are inconsistently impartial regarding human rights issues – in instituting balance in the media.

CONTENTS

DECLARATION i

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

ABSTRACT iii

CONTENTS iv

1 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 BACKGROUND 1

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS 2

1.3 CHAPTER ORGANISATION 3

2 LITERATURE REVIEW 5

2.1 INTRODUCTION 5

2.2 XENOPHOBIA: A RESPONSE TO GLOBALISATION AND MIGRATION? 5

2.3 XENOPHOBIA AND PERCEPTIONS OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA 7

2.4 THEORIES EXPLAINING XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA 9

2.5 MEDIA COVERAGE RELATING TO IMMIGRATION AND XENOPHOBIA 11

2.6 BALANCE IN THE NEWS MEDIA 12

2.7 REGULATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS MEDIA 15

2.8 THE MEDIA: A REFLECTION OF SOCIETY OR A POWERFUL INFLUENCER? 16

2.9 CONCLUSION 17

3 METHODOLOGY 19

3.1 INTRODUCTION 19

3.2 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS 19

3.3 SAMPLE 22

3.3.1 Content Analysis Sampling 22

3.3.2 Sampling Strategy 22
3.3.3 Sample Selection and Data Collection 24
3.4 CODING 28
3.5 ANALYSIS 29
3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS 31
3.7 RESEARCHER BIAS 32
3.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY 33
3.9 CONCLUSION 34
4 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS 35
4.1 INTRODUCTION 35
4.2 CASE STUDY OVERVIEW: 2019 JEPPESTOWN PROTESTS 36
4.3 BALANCE OF MEDIA COVERAGE: CONTEXT AND ANALYSIS 40
4.3.1 Context and Analysis in News Media Coverage of Jeppestown Protests 41
4.3.2 Impact of Sources on Context and Analysis 49
4.3.3 Context and Analysis: Conclusion 52
4.4 BALANCE OF MEDIA COVERAGE: NEWS FRAMING AND CRIMINALITY ... 53
4.4.1 Types of News Articles 54
4.4.2 Criminality Focus: Language and Sources 58
4.4.3 News Framing: Conclusion 63
4.5 BALANCE OF MEDIA COVERAGE: REPRESENTATION 63
4.5.1 Representation and Share of Voice 64
4.5.2 Representation and Language 67
4.5.3 Representation, Visibility and Belonging 70
4.5.4 Representation: Conclusion 71
4.6 CONCLUSION 72

5 CONCLUSION 76
5.1 INTRODUCTION 76
5.2 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS 76
5.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE JEPPESTOWN MEDIA COVERAGE 79
5.3.1 Context and Analysis in the Media 79
5.3.2 The Politics of Criminality in the Media 80
5.3.3 Representation, Visibility and Belonging in the Media 81
5.3.4 Balance in the Jeppestown Media Coverage 82
5.3.5 Implications Conclusion 83
5.4 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 84
5.5 CONCLUSION 85
6 BIBLIOGRAPHY 86
7 APPENDICES 101
7.1 Appendix 1: Sample Selection 101
7.2 Appendix 2: Data Collection 103

LIST OF FIGURES:

Figure 1 21

LIST OF TABLES:

Table 1 25
Table 2 41
Table 3 46
Table 4 59
Table 5 69
Table 6 101
Table 7 103

LIST OF GRAPHS:

Graph 1 26
Graph 2 26
Graph 3 27
Graph 4 51
Graph 5 55
Graph 6 68

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Xenophobia, defined as the fear or hatred of foreigners (Harris, 2002), has increased globally, proportionate to increased cross-border migration, with the onset of rapid globalisation (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). Although not an exclusively South African phenomenon, xenophobia in this country does have unique characteristics. Xenophobia in South Africa is primarily aimed at poor, black African immigrants, who are blamed for the country's persistent socio-economic issues, including unemployment and crime (Gordon, 2015). Such xenophobia manifests as discriminatory practices, institutional exclusion, and violent abuse, forcing African immigrants into chronic insecurity (Jinnah, 2020).

Misrepresentation of immigrants in the media is partly responsible for cementing xenophobic sentiment in South Africa. While this may not directly lead to violence, it is a pre-requisite for it (Danso & McDonald, 2001). While the media's influence is not monolithic, it does play an important role in a human-rights-centred democracy. Ideally, it should inform the public accurately on complex issues and contribute to – rather than limit or inhibit – social progress (Harvard, 2008).

Xenophobia – including violent attacks and protests – is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. The past two decades have seen repeated outbreaks of brutal violence against African foreigners. Major examples include mass attacks in 2008, 2015 and, more recently, 2019, when rioters enacted nationwide shutdowns to protest against foreigners supposedly stealing jobs and dealing drugs (Asuelime, 2020).

In September 2019, the news media covered vicious xenophobic protests in and around Jeppestown in Johannesburg. Jeppestown is an old residential suburb that has deteriorated dramatically over the years (Taylor, 2021). It is near the Johannesburg

central business district – home to people from all over Africa who come seeking employment (De Wet et al., 2008).

The violent 2019 Jeppestown protests were organised weeks in advance. Various organisations distributed anti-immigrant calls to arms and mobilised locals against immigrants, who they blamed for rising unemployment and crime (Bornman, 2019e; Mabuza & Pijoos, 2019a; Selepe, 2019). Overpowered and out-numbered, local police struggled to keep control over protesters – the material destruction and physical harm done to African foreigners in Jeppestown were severe (Makhafola, 2019; Morais & Ngqakamba, 2019; van Diemen, 2019).

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of the research is to contribute to the current body of work analysing media coverage of xenophobia in South Africa. Such research informs our understanding of which xenophobia-related content the news media selects for production, how the media engages with the complexity and prevalence of xenophobia, and whether it achieves its mandate to accurately and fairly inform the public (Fine & Bird, 2006; Hopmann et al., 2011; Mtwana & Bird, 2006; Starkey, 2006).

As discussed in the chapter on methodology, this is a qualitative content analysis of news media coverage of the Jeppestown xenophobic protests. It contributes to existing research as a case study of recent media coverage of xenophobia, allowing for ongoing comparison of said coverage.

This research explores the question: How do news media context, analysis, framing and representation influence the *meta-narrative* of the 2019 xenophobic protests in Jeppestown, South Africa?

Sub-questions:

1. How have the media represented the complexities of xenophobia? (Context and analysis.)
2. How has the meta-narrative of media coverage been developed? (Framing.)
3. How does media coverage represent individuals? (Representation.)

1.3 CHAPTER ORGANISATION

The research report begins with a review of existing research literature on the global response to migration and the prevalence of xenophobia.

This literature review:

- summarises theories attempting to explain this multi-dimensional phenomenon;
- shares the findings of previous analyses of xenophobia-related news media content in a post-1994 democratic South Africa;
- presents an overview of the regulatory framework within which South African media operate as well as the role and influence of the media in democratic societies; and
- presents an overview of beliefs and behaviours surrounding xenophobia in South Africa today.

Thereafter, the methodology chapter discusses the benefits of and strategy for a qualitative content analysis of 60 news articles covering the September 2019 xenophobic protests in Jeppestown. This chapter includes an overview of the sampling strategy, data-collection techniques, coding framework, and content analysis methodology used. It also discusses ethical considerations, researcher bias, and limitations to the study.

The results and analysis of the Jeppestown case study are contained in the following chapter, which starts with an overview of the Jeppestown protests within the context of the aforementioned series of provincial and national shutdowns.

This chapter discusses the findings of the analysis as they relate to:

- the examined elements of balance;
- context and analysis in the news media coverage;
- how the news media framed the Jeppestown protests; and
- how language and sources shaped the representation of protestors and victims.

The concluding chapter summarises the findings of the research and explores their implications for xenophobic sentiment and behaviour. This chapter also discusses media balance and the difficulties involved in instituting it, with suggestions for further research based on the limitations of the case study.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature review examines the media's role in and influence on xenophobia in South Africa. Xenophobia – manifested as discrimination, exploitation and violence – is an everyday occurrence for African immigrants in South Africa (Dodson, 2010; Moagi et al., 2018). It is partly fuelled by persistent anti-immigrant and othering discourse reproduced and legitimised in the news media (Lerner et al., 2009; Neocosmos, 2008).

The review begins by defining xenophobia and placing it in a global context, before summarising the experiences of African immigrants in South Africa and the attitudes of South Africans towards them. It also highlights different theories explaining the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa. Previous media analyses of South African media coverage and the stereotypes, representation and language relating to immigrants and immigration are reviewed. The literature review concludes with a discussion about the role and influence of the media, its regulatory framework in South Africa, and an overview of balance as it pertains to journalistic ideals and best practice.

2.2 XENOPHOBIA: A RESPONSE TO GLOBALISATION AND MIGRATION?

Contemporary migration patterns are characterised by movement – fuelled by rapid globalisation, political unrest, environmental vulnerability, and extreme poverty –between developing countries (Arrocha, 2019). Xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in South Africa or globally. As Crush and Ramachandran (2010) argue, xenophobia has increased apace with (and at least partly as a direct result of) increased migration and has unique characteristics in different places.

Ariely (2017) explores the increasingly positive long-term human development outcomes associated with international migration. The author concludes that globalisation presents an opportunity for progress and cohesion in the global community.

Nevertheless, Crush and Ramachandran (2010) argue that, despite the benefits of global migration, fear of "the other" remains ubiquitous (and growing) amongst the global community. Petersson (2003) suggests that othering is a reaction to global uncertainty and insecurity; xenophobia, they say, is a defence against the perceived economic threat of migration to limited resources. However, the increased securitisation of states, stronger border controls, and increased criminalisation of migration have strengthened (rather than mitigated) perceptions of immigrants as a threat (Arrocha, 2019). Buonfino (2004) discusses the inevitability of the politicisation of migration, arguing that migration controls have become a politicised phenomenon – less related to national security than to public perception and preserving political power.

Neocosmos (2008) prioritises an interrogation of those unchallenged political discourses on migration that that stimulate fear. Similarly, Solomon and Haigh (2009) argue that explanations of xenophobia as a response to economic deprivation are incomplete and do not explain why only certain foreigners are targeted or why xenophobia is common in all spheres of society. They critique the assumptions underlying South Africans' perceptions of foreigners, arguing that they are resultant of political propaganda and media endorsement. They conclude that the influences of these assumptions should be interrogated – even suggesting that they may be unlearned. For example, public promotion of the benefits of globalisation, along with dialogue surrounding the negative impact of anti-immigrant beliefs, has been shown to reduce xenophobic attitudes and replace them with an inclusive global identity (Ariely, 2017).

Hage (2003) described fear of immigrants as “paranoid nationalism”; the result of an insecure attachment to the nation state. This is due to the nation state’s inability to offer citizens hope, along with the threat to a nationalist fantasy (fostered by politicians) posed by outsiders. However, xenophobia explained as a response to this perceived threat is incomplete. Rather, in order to understand this phenomenon, the influences framing foreigners as a threat should be interrogated (Neocosmos, 2008; Solomon & Haigh, 2009).

Xenophobic beliefs and behaviour across the world undermine the positive potential of migration for human development (Ariely, 2017). The influence of dialogue and discourse about globalisation and migration can assist in crafting an inclusive global identity that reduces the defensive xenophobic response to immigrants (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010).

2.3 XENOPHOBIA AND PERCEPTIONS OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

While all the aforementioned factors regarding xenophobia in general also apply in South Africa, its occurrence in this country is characterised by unique elements – both subtle and overt. In post-Apartheid South Africa, xenophobia has escalated along with the increase and diversification of migration into the country (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010).

Notably, xenophobia in contemporary South Africa is distinctive for its targeting of black African foreigners (Mutanda, 2017). Thousands of African immigrants have been attacked and many killed since the country’s transition to democracy, particularly in the aforementioned violent episodes of 2008, 2015, and 2019. According to Klotz (2016), xenophobia in contemporary South Africa is especially violent because it has been shaped by a long history of brutal oppression and institutional discrimination during the colonial and Apartheid eras.

However, overt violence is not the only form that xenophobia takes in South Africa. Severe attacks during xenophobic outbreaks are accompanied by everyday forms of xenophobia, including discrimination and exploitation in the workplace, looting of foreign-owned stores, and regular intimidation (Dodson, 2010; Moagi et al., 2018). This systematic oppression of black foreigners means that they typically live and work in poor conditions with little upward social mobility or recourse against injustice – their exploitation weighs heavily on their sense of security (Moletsane et al., 2017).

Women are subject to sexual abuse, workplace gender discrimination, and difficulties accessing maternal health, in addition to bearing the brunt of the feminisation of poverty and migration (Zikhali & Smit, 2018). While many navigate this precarity with creative integration strategies (Jinnah, 2020), the impact of chronic insecurity, weak rights protection, and compounded vulnerabilities remains severe.

Based on their research, Dodson (2010) and Moagi et al. (2018) suggest that black foreigners in contemporary South Africa interpret xenophobia as a response to perceptions that they are taking local jobs and women or are the cause of socio-economic problems like unemployment and crime. Neocosmos (2008) critiques xenophobic perceptions of foreigners as simply a factor of limited resources and economic interests. To be sure, outbreaks of xenophobic violence have been concentrated in townships and informal settlements and the severe poverty of the perpetrators may account for some anger towards people who they believe to be the cause of their socio-economic struggles. However, xenophobia is also expressed amongst the wealthy, whose livelihoods are not equally threatened, indicating that xenophobia in South Africa is not simply a factor of limited resources and economic interests (Neocosmos, 2008).

Gordon's (Gordon, 2015, 2016, 2017) research on public sentiment in South Africa goes some way towards a more comprehensive explanation. He finds that the perception of foreigners as threats is particularly common amongst South Africans frustrated with the failure of their government to deliver on promises for socio-economic prosperity – African foreigners, with their perceived toll on already limited resources, are caught in the crossfire. However, he maintains that the roots of xenophobic beliefs lie far deeper within the collective psyche. These, Gordon concludes, are deep-seated ideological, non-economic drivers – racism and nationalism – and this explains why not all foreigners are equally perceived as threat.

Clearly, the source of anti-immigrant sentiment in the country is not as simple as self-interest in the face of perceived economic threat. Understanding xenophobia in South Africa requires exploring the intersecting historical, political, social and economic dimensions of xenophobia that form the basis for violent xenophobia (Neocosmos, 2008). The experiences of African immigrants in South Africa highlight how xenophobia is an everyday occurrence, ranging from exclusion to violence, with a material impact on these people's livelihoods and security (Dodson, 2010; Jinnah, 2020; Moagi et al., 2018).

2.4 THEORIES EXPLAINING XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

Two types of theories dominate discussions about the origins of xenophobia globally; cultural theories that explain xenophobia as a factor of social norms and political economy theories that see xenophobia as a result of poverty and inequality (Sen, 2008).

The remnants of a brutal Apartheid regime and sustained systemic violence against black people in post-Apartheid South African continue the dehumanisation of black people and this is coupled with a historical hostility towards immigrants that shapes ideas of belonging and exclusion today (Langa & Kiguwa, 2016).

Sen (2008) argues that cultural theories alone do not adequately explain the hostility towards certain foreigners and they fail to interrogate the assumption that xenophobic violence is an inevitable consequence of social norms or cultural environment.

Meanwhile, explanations of xenophobia in economic terms stem from the perceived economic threat posed by African immigrants. The assumption is that these immigrants' economic utility is necessarily negative, in contrast with that of (generally more educated and skilled) European immigrants (Sen, 2008). Notwithstanding this, Sen (2008) argues that such political economy theories oversimplify xenophobia as a competition for resources, failing to link poverty and xenophobic violence directly, and often generalise phenomena that are not universal.

To understand why African immigrants are the target of xenophobia in South Africa, it is helpful to unpack xenophobia as a political ideology, engineered in post-Apartheid South Africa to demonise and target African people specifically (Neocosmos, 2008). The politics of fear, according to Neocosmos (2008) are defined by the powerful elite and reinforced by the media. Such politics become hegemonic in the public sphere through a discourse of exceptionalism that undermines the rest of the continent to justify the reserving the rewards of citizenship exclusively for the indigenous.

Asuelime (2020), Harris (2002), Misago (2019) Moyo et al. (2018) Ncube and Vanyoro (2018) and Neocosmos (2008) all argue that the embedding of an exclusionary citizenship that goes uncontested creates the conditions for xenophobia to flourish. They challenge any explanation that portrays xenophobic violence as spontaneous or inevitable, or that ignores political interference and elite manipulation for political and economic benefit.

Moyo et al. (2018) argue that xenophobia is not only the result of an exclusionary national identity but, conversely, that the construction of African foreigners as a threat is a key component of the engineering of the South African identity.

Harris (2002) suggests that the rigid, exclusionary South African identity is incompatible with the distinct pan-African identity in post-Apartheid South Africa. However, portraying xenophobic violence as abnormal – a pathology – conveniently reconciles South African nativism with pan-Africanism and maintains both. This is politically beneficial because xenophobia becomes a scapegoat for the socio-economic issues and racial tension that threaten the nation-building project (Harris, 2002).

Reducing the explanation of xenophobia to a single theory, no matter how significant singular influences may appear, cannot explain all of the dimensions of xenophobia and there are always other divisions to consider (Sen, 2008). Sen (2008) concludes that the manifestation of xenophobia is a complex web of economic, cultural, social and political factors that shape today's identities and notions of belonging within a historical context and contemporary realities.

2.5 MEDIA COVERAGE RELATING TO IMMIGRATION AND XENOPHOBIA

A common finding of research on news media coverage on xenophobia and immigration in South Africa is the predominance of negative discourse relating to African foreigners (Chiumbu & Moyo, 2018; Danso & McDonald, 2001; Fine & Bird, 2006; Lerner et al., 2009; McDonald & Jacobs, 2005; Solomon & Haigh, 2009). In addition to covering major xenophobic outbreaks, news stories involving African foreigners are mostly crime stories (Chiumbu & Moyo, 2018) that tend towards sensationalism (Solomon & Haigh, 2009), uncritically reproducing negative stereotypes (McDonald & Jacobs, 2005) and inaccurate associations (Lerner et al., 2009).

There are three main stereotypes that are repeatedly used to describe the negative impact of immigrants in the media: they steal jobs, drain the economy, and are criminals (McDonald & Jacobs, 2005). These stereotypes fail to situate issues associated with immigration within the broader context of South African socio-economic issues, which are complex and interconnected (McDonald & Jacobs, 2005).

Lerner et al. (2009) argue that the preoccupation with criminality and repetition of stigmatising language (such as “illegal immigrant”) legitimises the misrepresentation of African immigrants and normalises their exclusion.

Danso and McDonald (2001), Fine and Bird (2006), Lerner et al. (2009), and Solomon and Haigh (2009) criticise the news media – including print, broadcast, online and social media news sources – for being non-contextual, inaccurate and uncritical in their coverage of xenophobia and immigration. Such coverage does little to expand public thought about a complex issue and inhibits intercultural understanding. Recently, some news media have begun publishing alternative perspectives but, instead of becoming more balanced, coverage has grown increasingly polarised (Danso & McDonald, 2001). Moreover, Danso and McDonald (2001) conclude that the general sentiment of the news media remains anti-immigrant.

2.6 BALANCE IN THE NEWS MEDIA

Balance is regarded as a best practice for ethical reporting that weighs bias and fairness in the pursuit of a journalistic ideal of truth-telling (Benham, 2020). Balance is defined as the absence of bias and requires impartiality in reporting that does not place unequal emphasis on part of a story or one side of an argument that may be distorted, privileged or disadvantaged accordingly (Starkey, 2006). Topics like xenophobia should be presented in a balanced way so that accounts, descriptions and sentiment in the reporting are contextualised, accurate, and representative without being influenced by external interests or the unwitting or ideological subjectivities of journalists (Starkey, 2006).

However, in practice, balance in the news media and journalistic ideals such as truth, fairness and impartiality are difficult to attain because they are fundamentally subjective (Benham, 2020).

News coverage is often unbalanced because it is difficult to measure balance and bias, opinions and sensationalism sell newspapers, journalists are unable to represent accounts completely or completely objectively, and different perspectives are not equally authoritative or fair (Hopmann et al., 2011; Starkey, 2006). News stories are not only influenced by internal news media decisions and factors, but also by external factors – including the environment in which a news story occurs and the people who read and interpret the news – surrounding the journalistic process (Vreese, 2005).

The media influence the visibility and representation of a particular individual, event or issue by the amount of attention and prominence their publications give each story. This, in turn, influences the reader because people rely on the media for information on current affairs (Chapeyama, 2016). However, the principle of journalistic balance is complex.

While journalistic balance seems to demand equal presentation of both sides of a story, with equal attention to conflicting spokespeople, this can result in a false balance when there are multiple perspectives, various sides to a story are not equally just or fair, or when such juxtaposition unnecessarily increases polarisation or conflict (Benham, 2020). News reports viewed as neutral may be upheld for the writer's objectivity, neutrality and impartiality; however, when it comes to the violation of basic human rights, neutrality does not meet the definition of balance either (Danso & McDonald, 2001), as it may give undue authority to xenophobic perspectives, assumptions and representation (Starkey, 2006).

Benham (2020) argues that balance does not end with presenting two sides to a story but that journalists need to continuously assess – from interview to construction to presentation of the news story – the *legitimate* voices in the conflict they are covering. Journalists must create a platform where the key elements of these arguments are laid out and their claims verified, while providing context for the reader to understand the environment in which this conflict takes place.

As mentioned, the news media's choices regarding what they publish affect the balance of news articles and media coverage as a whole. Consequently, the media wield influence over readers' understanding and interpretation of events, awareness regarding specific minorities or issues, and perceptions about xenophobia (Hjarvard, 2008). Chiumbu and Moyo (2018) argue that the framing of incidents of xenophobia in the news media reinforces specific narratives and perceived threats that form the basis of anti-immigrant beliefs that underpins xenophobic violence.

Contextualisation of news reports is an essential element of balanced news reporting, according to Benham (2020), who suggests that balanced, impartial reporting not only includes essential context and presenting the range of views of an incident but a weighing of those views and how they change over time. Paradoxically, the more analytical content becomes, the less balanced it may seem when it moves away from objective reporting toward a more subjective approach that highlights minority voices, experiences and perspectives (Hopmann et al., 2011; Starkey, 2006).

Happer and Philo (2013) propose that contextualised media coverage – which includes essential detail, informative content and news analysis – enables readers to grapple with different ideas, critiques and interpretations to arrive at an informed opinion. However, the presence of contextualised, analytical news articles amidst the media coverage of a specific incident does not effectively balance the news media because it adds to the polarisation of the media – as opposed to the balancing of each news article, which is seen as the primary aim of balanced reporting. This makes it harder for readers to effectively assess different viewpoints to take a more enlightened position (Happer & Philo, 2013).

Media coverage that is representative, contextualised and fair, while difficult to operationalise due to various internal and external influences, brings about new perspectives, challenges the status quo, highlights marginalised voices, and attempts to shine a light on the complexities of people, issues and events covered in the news media (Happer & Philo, 2013; Starkey, 2006).

However, where media attention is necessary to highlight and create engagement with an issue of injustice (such as xenophobia) in the pursuit of equality, journalistic balance that privileges impartiality and neutrality in news reporting has limitations based on the discussion above (Benham, 2020).

2.7 REGULATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS MEDIA

Two legal norms govern the issue of xenophobia in the media: freedom of the press and restrictions on the publishing of racism. Finding balance between the two is essential to maintaining press freedom, while ensuring that the influence of the media in society is not damaging (Flückiger, 2006).

International governance organisations and the international community of media recognise the media's important role to inform as well as their powerful influence in the public domain. As such, a range of international declarations condemn discrimination and incitement to harm. By the same token, these declarations uphold critical analysis and fair reporting that promotes human rights, eradicates ignorance and does not minimise or simplify issues relating to racism (Fine & Bird, 2006; Mtwana & Bird, 2006).

The South African media operate within a rigorous legal framework informed by and ultimately accountable to the Constitution of South Africa, which lays the legal foundation for the media to uphold the egalitarian values of a democratic South Africa (Smith, 2011). In South Africa, the media are guided by various policies, legislations and ethics that speak to upholding the human rights to dignity and equality. The press are monitored by bodies that include the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa, the Press Ombudsman, and the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa to ensure that these rights are respected and promoted (Fine & Bird, 2006; Mtwana & Bird, 2006).

2.8 THE MEDIA: A REFLECTION OF SOCIETY OR A POWERFUL INFLUENCER?

Hjarvard (2008) claims that the news media play a role in contemporary society but their influence is neither monolithic nor universal. The news media's role in determining the news agenda and creating specific, often politicised, frames of understanding influence the way people make sense of the world and how they fit into it (Hjarvard, 2008). Chiumbu and Moyo (2018) argue that journalists, editors and media owners, as news mediators, are strategically positioned to present stories that provide nuance to complex social phenomena like xenophobia and inform public opinion on migration and the experiences of immigrants.

Danso and McDonald (2001) determine that the link between media coverage and public attitudes is mutually reinforcing. That is, the media reflect anti-immigrant attitudes in society but media coverage is not arbitrary and this highlights the power dynamics involved in the dissemination of knowledge and ideology in the media.

Furthermore, the reproduction of stereotypes reinforces fear, while the repetition of nationalism shapes conceptions of belonging and exclusion, creating the underlying conditions for xenophobia (Moyo et al., 2018). Solomon and Haigh (2009) argue that, if the perceived threat of African immigrants in South Africa is this powerful, then removing misrepresentations from the national discourse is critical.

Media coverage of xenophobia is inherently political, argue Ncube and Vanyoro (2019); it has political value because it tends to provide political actors with a platform to assert their positions and reinforce their interests. Therefore, the media coverage of political views on xenophobia needs to be interrogated. The media can be used as a tool by elite groups to achieve political goals, especially where the media uncritically reproduces misinformation and stigmatising language that reinforces certain ideologies, unwittingly or otherwise (Ncube & Vanyoro, 2018).

They conclude that the media are complicit in symbolic violence against African foreigners because they tend to legitimise xenophobic rhetoric by publishing political views without context or critique. This reinforces the institutional marginalisation of African foreigners in South Africa because of the symbolic capital that the press carry in a democracy.

The news media can either mitigate or exacerbate the misrepresentation of African immigrants, the unbalanced coverage of immigration issues, and the reproduction of nativism and its serious consequences for African immigrants in South Africa (Moyo et al., 2018). The production of news can also be used by political actors to achieve ends that may advantage or disadvantage foreigners (Ncube & Vanyoro, 2018).

2.9 CONCLUSION

The experiences of African immigrants in South Africa and the attitudes of South Africans show that anti-immigrant sentiment is a wide-spread, complex phenomenon not exclusive to but certainly distinctive in South Africa (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). No single theory is sufficient to explain xenophobia (Sen, 2008), but understanding xenophobia in South Africa as a constructed, political ideology is important (Harris, 2002).

The news media play a role in reproducing stereotypes, misrepresentations and stigmatising language that normalises xenophobia and reinforces fear (Neocosmos, 2008). Their role is not immune to the influence of external interests, and choices relating to balance are made to disseminate knowledge in particular ways that reinforces specific discourses that impact the lives of African foreigners (Chiumbu & Moyo, 2018).

The news media are increasingly expanding into our lives. As such, it is becoming ever more urgent to understand how narratives of identity, belonging and exclusion are produced, so that we are not passive consumers of rhetoric that may be inaccurate, legitimises xenophobia, and normalises the severe precarity of African foreigners in South Africa.

The following research contributes to the existing body of research examining the content produced by the news media as it becomes increasingly ubiquitous in contemporary society. It is important for research to continue to explore the influences and roots of xenophobic beliefs and behaviour and how these may change over time. This research also adds to the debate around the role and influence of the media and to discussions regarding the utility of balance, neutrality and objectivity in relation to xenophobia and injustice.

The case study of the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests explores the meta-narrative of the media coverage of a specific series of events of which some aspects will be unique to the case study and others transferable. The next section will outline the research methods used to analyse the news articles of xenophobic protests in Jeppestown to examine the balance of the media coverage and assess the implications of those findings.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter unpacks the opportunities and challenges presented by qualitative content analysis as a means to explore representation and balance in media coverage. This is specifically with regard to media coverage of incidents of xenophobia directed against foreigners in South Africa. It details the systematic and logical approach to sampling and data collection employed in this research. This approach used keyword frequency to determine a time frame for analysis. A case study that was covered by a variety of digital media publications with sufficient breadth and depth for analysis was selected after an initial reading of the news articles that the keyword search generated. This chapter also considers the ethics of using the Internet for data collection, the influence of the researcher on the outcomes of the study, and the limitations of case studies as reflections of phenomena in their entirety.

3.2 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis explores social phenomena as they are contained in and shaped by images and text (Krippendorff, 2018). As media technology becomes increasingly integrated into our lives, understanding how its content impacts society is essential (Macnamara, 2005). The proliferation of electronic mass media – alongside the ubiquity of social media – has centred content analysis as a key method for analysing society and it is a common approach in determining the degree of balance (as discussed in the literature review) in news media content (Macnamara, 2005).

Content analysis is an iterative method of “recontextualizing, reinterpreting, and redefining the research until some kind of satisfactory interpretation is reached” (Krippendorff, 2004 in White & Marsh, 2006, p. 34). Content analysis has its origins in quantitative research, but contemporary content analysis is found in qualitative and mixed-method research frameworks as well (White & Marsh, 2006).

A qualitative approach to content analysis is a rigorous and systematic process that explores the diversity of interpretations and representations of social phenomena, considers context, examines themes and requires the researcher to remain flexible in their understanding of complex phenomena (Cho & Lee, 2014; Kohlbacher, 2006; Krippendorff, 2018). Cho and Lee (2014) argue that qualitative content analysis is useful for the flexibility in employing inductive or deductive reasoning, the possibility of extracting manifest and latent meaning from content, and the ability to conduct qualitative research without direct participant observation.

A case study research strategy, with a qualitative content analysis of media coverage of xenophobia and violence against foreigners, was chosen for this research report. Benham (2020) promotes the qualitative examination of media content to explore the role of the media in shaping public discourse. A case study is a useful lens for an in-depth examination of a social phenomenon as complex and highly contextualised (Kohlbacher, 2006) as xenophobia.

It presents an opportunity for systematic, qualitative content analysis of media coverage relating to the research question. This enables the researcher to uncover unique and transferable aspects of the data to generate theoretical leads and build on existing theory (Kohlbacher, 2006). Figure 1 outlines the process of content analysis used in this case study.

Figure 1

Overview of Sampling Strategy and Data Collection



Note. Figure 1 illustrates the process that the researcher took in sampling and data collection from reading of literature to choosing keywords, a time frame and a case study to developing the coding process for analysis. The figure was developed by the researcher from the literature on Qualitative Content Analysis by (Cho & Lee, 2014; Flick, 2018; Kohlbacher, 2006; Macnamara, 2005; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; White & Marsh, 2006).

3.3 SAMPLE

3.3.1 Content Analysis Sampling

Sampling for qualitative content analysis is a logical and deliberate process of selecting an interesting sample of text that is relevant to the topic of study (Flick, 2018; White & Marsh, 2006).
Purposive sampling creates an opportunity to explore the research question and ensure that there is sufficient content to challenge expectations, explore new and different themes and concepts, and add nuance to the big picture(Moser & Korstjens, 2018; White & Marsh, 2006).

The sample size of content analysis may differ from study to study but it is invariably small, given the depth of analysis involved, and is determined by data saturation when the sample adequately elucidates the research question at hand (Flick, 2018; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; White & Marsh, 2006). Purposive sampling strategies for qualitative research are initially outlined in broad terms allowing for the sample to be evaluated and adjusted throughout the course of the study (Flick, 2018; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; White & Marsh, 2006). Lastly, the sample does not need to be representative of a population but should provide the basis for a high-quality, iterative analysis that allows the researcher to investigate specific phenomena in their contexts (Moser & Korstjens, 2018; White & Marsh, 2006).

3.3.2 Sampling Strategy

The proliferation of media technologies and the depth of their integration into modern society (Flick, 2018; Krippendorff, 2018; Macnamara, 2005) position online media publications as ideal data sources to answer the research question. Figure 1 outlines the sampling strategy that began with a keyword search, using a set of terms associated with the research topic, to determine the time frame for analysis.

This time frame was the period during which the online media covered incidents relating to the primary keywords, “xenophobia” and “xenophobic violence”. The case study for analysis was chosen after a review of the articles that covered xenophobia during this time frame to pinpoint a particular narrative with empirical value, based on the breadth and depth of the coverage.

For this study, the researcher used machine learning software tool, Dexter as the sampling database for the research. Developed by Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) in partnership with Open Up and Open Cities Lab, Dexter aggregates digital content published by over 100 online media publications. These include *News24*, *IOL*, *Caxton*, *Tiso Blackstar*, *SABC Online*, and their respective subsidiaries (M. Adendorff, personal communication, February 17, 2021). It is a specialised platform that allows for the analysis of, predominantly, Southern African media with the objective of strengthening a free and fair press by holding journalists and media houses accountable for the content that is published (M. Adendorff, personal communication, February 17, 2021). Dexter was specifically developed to focus on content analysis, report on representation and diversity, identify fake news, monitor children’s issues, and evaluate the credibility of journalists and media houses (M. Adendorff, personal communication, February 17, 2021).

Using Dexter, the researcher was able to aggregate online data more accurately and efficiently than by a manual search, which may have excluded relevant articles. The sampling database consisted of all the mainstream digital news media publications that make up Dexter’s platform. This sampling choice had an impact on the type and quantity of content that was analysed because the target audience for online news media are generally digitally savvy consumers who have access to smartphones and data, and media content is produced accordingly.

News24 is a digital publication focusing on breaking news and current affairs with a range of subsidiaries whose seven million readers are mostly between the ages of 20 and 59 years old, with an almost even split between genders and economic status (News24 Portfolio, n.d.). *IOL* is the online platform for daily and weekend newspapers, with 61% of its 3.8-million-strong online audience under 49 years old and over 60% black, gainfully employed and male (Readership and Audience Demographics, 2019). Caxton hosts 78 community newspapers online and focuses on hyper-local news for its growing low-income demographic of 6.5 million readers (Caxton Digital, n.d.). Tiso Blackstar boasts a high-quality, trusted digital newsroom that invests in top business titles for its audience of one million readers, of which 60% are paid subscribers (Bratt, 2018). *SABC News Online* is a popular news source in South Africa and increasingly aims to capture the young mass market (36% of South Africa between the ages of 15 and 34) by providing live news bulletins and a range of entertainment news (SABC Corporate Plan, 2020).

The exclusion of print, broadcast and social media as well as the range of news media in languages other than English limited the sampling database. It is noted that all of these are significant parts of the media consumed in South Africa and influence the same people and environment on which this research is focused. This is further discussed under Section 3.8, “Limitations of the Study”.

3.3.3 Sample Selection and Data Collection

In Table 1, two sets of keywords were chosen, based on their relevance to the research topic. Primary keywords are intimately associated with the research question and a search for these keywords generated articles that referred to incidents of xenophobia and xenophobic violence specifically. Secondary keywords were selected for their relevance to the topic with the assumption they would add empirical value to the research.

Table 1

Primary and Secondary Keyword Selection for Sampling

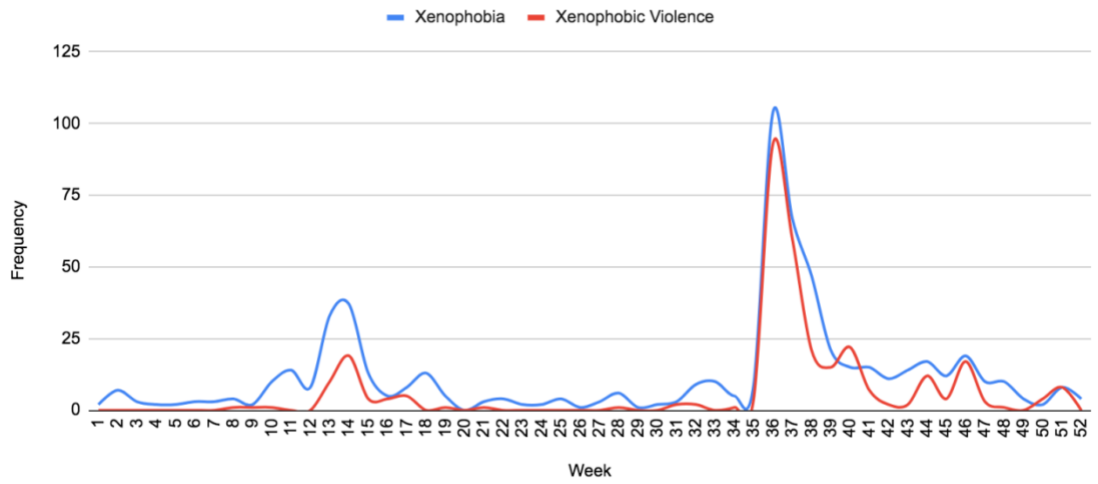
Primary Keywords *Keywords directly related to research question*	Xenophobia Xenophobic
Secondary Keywords *Keywords indirectly related to the research question*	Immigration Immigrant Migrant Foreign National Foreigner

An initial Google search for coverage relating to xenophobia in 2019 indicated that there were events relating to xenophobia covered by the media in April and September. The time frame chosen for the initial keyword search took into account those months, plus an additional three months before and after, for a twelve-month overview of media coverage. Using Dexter, the researcher generated a spreadsheet of the number of articles, containing each of the selected keywords, published each week. This data was then organised into a single table (see Appendix 1) and plotted graphically to determine when events relating to the keywords were covered by the media. This narrowed down the time period from which an appropriate case study could be selected.

Graph 1 illustrates how the number of articles containing primary keywords increased at Week 35 and peaked during Week 36, after which it quickly decreased again. Similarly, Graph 2 indicates that primary and secondary keywords appeared most often – a total of 669 times – during Week 36. Furthermore, Graph 3 clearly indicates Weeks 25 to 39 as the peak period of media coverage of xenophobia and related issues in that year. Based on this, a six-week period from Week 34 to Week 39 was chosen to review for possible case studies.

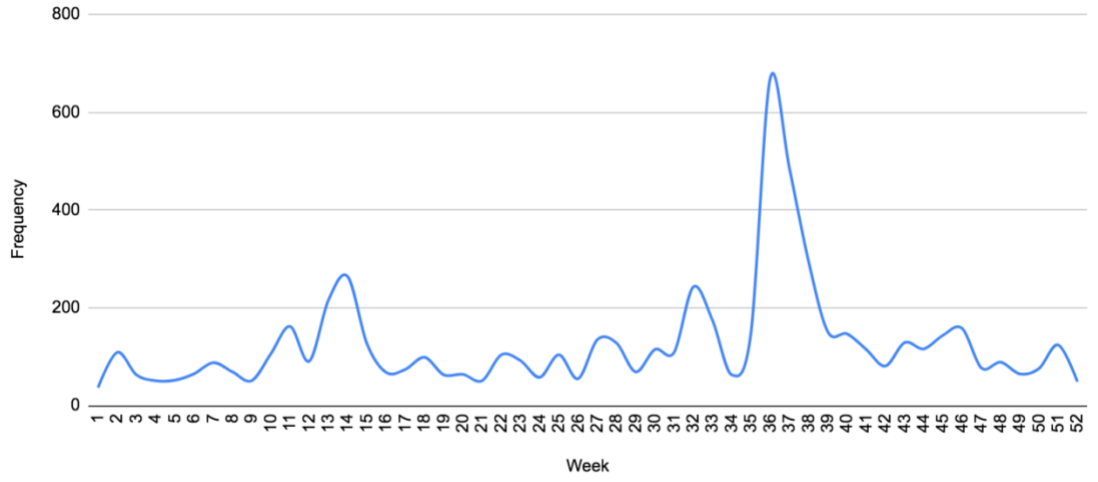
Graph 1

Number of Online Articles Containing Primary Keywords per Week in 2019



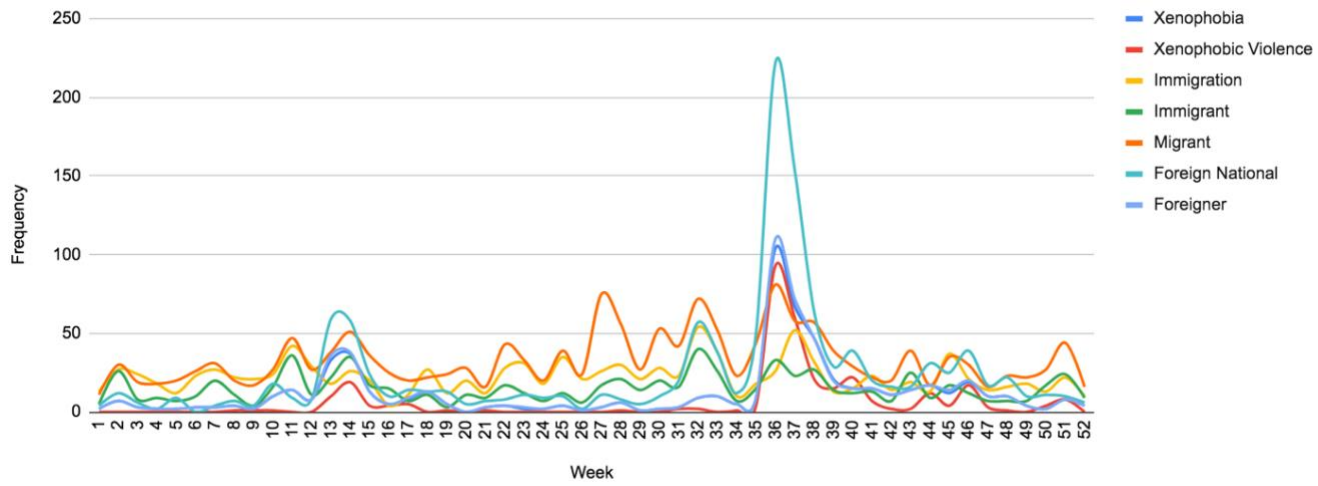
Graph 2

Total Number of Online Articles per Week in 2019 for all Primary and Secondary Keywords



Graph 3

Number of Online Articles Containing Primary and Secondary Keywords per Week in 2019



Next, in order to refine the sample for the case study, the researcher performed a Dexter search to identify 359 articles that contained the primary keywords “xenophobia” or “xenophobic violence” during the aforementioned time period. The secondary keywords were excluded from this search as this helped to narrow down media coverage of incidents relating to xenophobia during this time frame specifically. The researcher selected the case study from this narrowed field in order to answer the research question.

In choosing the case study, the researcher reviewed and categorised each article according to various incidents of xenophobia, in addition to indicating which articles were duplicates, unrelated or uncategorised. Based on the number of articles (breadth of coverage) and the potential empirical value (depth of coverage) for the case study, media coverage of the xenophobic protests and responses to the protests in Jeppestown, the details of which are summarised in the next chapter, was ultimately chosen as the case study for analysis.

Data collection activities, like the sampling process, should continue to be flexible as engagement with the content progresses (Flick, 2018; Moser & Korstjens, 2018). While remaining open to emerging meaning and theory, data collection can benefit from prior theoretical exploration and is influenced, both positively and negatively, by the researcher's knowledge, experience and point of view (Kohlbacher, 2006; Moser & Korstjens, 2018). An organised data-collection strategy should be justified and appropriate to answer the research question using authentic, credible, transferable and meaningful content for analysis (Flick, 2018; Kuper et al., 2008).

Graph 3 represents the number of articles in which each of the primary and secondary keywords appeared during 2019. Interestingly, the graph highlights a large increase in articles concerning foreign nationals, without a commensurate increase in the number of mentions of xenophobia. In other words, during the period studied, there was a considerable amount of content relating to foreigners that did not mention xenophobia at all.

Thus, the Dexter search for data for analysis used the single keyword "Jeppestown" and covered the whole year, in case there were outlying articles that could be included in the analysis that would not have appeared if the search only used the keywords relating to xenophobia specifically. Those articles were each reviewed, and the case study material was further refined according to articles' relevance to the xenophobic protests in Jeppestown (see Appendix 2).

3.4 CODING

Qualitative content analysis requires a rigorous categorisation process of coding to discover messages and meaning in the raw data with the objectivity and validity required of scientific methods (Cho & Lee, 2014; Kohlbacher, 2006). Qualitative content analysis enables a unique opportunity to combine inductive and deductive coding methods to explore manifest, latent and context-dependent themes (Cho & Lee, 2014; Flick, 2018).

While deductive coding may not encourage innovation, an inductive approach is criticised for bias and poor validity (Macnamara, 2005). Qualitative content analysis effectively bridges these gaps.

Further to this, initial exploratory research should be conducted in the field – unpacking data to identify appropriate concepts and themes for analysis, without ruling out possible new discoveries, and testing and building theory – during the coding and analysis process (Kohlbacher, 2006; Macnamara, 2005; White & Marsh, 2006). In this way, shortcomings in both coding approaches will be further mitigated.

Based on early readings in the field of media analysis regarding coverage of xenophobia in the South African media, an initial coding list was drawn up to focus on elements of balance; namely, language, stereotypes, sources, types of stories, viewpoints, biases, context, and critical analysis (Chapeyama, 2016; Danso & McDonald, 2001; Fine & Bird, 2006; Hopmann et al., 2011; Lerner et al., 2009; McDonald & Jacobs, 2005; Mtwana & Bird, 2006; Ncube & Vanyoro, 2018; Smith, 2011; Starkey, 2006). This list was subsequently expanded as new facets and themes, most notably relating to criminality narratives, emerged during the analysis.

3.5 ANALYSIS

In qualitative research, analysis commences with the very first engagement with the research subject, is conducted during the iterative process of qualitative content analysis, and is also the outcome thereof (Kohlbacher, 2006; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; White & Marsh, 2006). An immersive, in-depth reading and re-reading of content and the examination and comparison of a variety of meanings, emphases, intentions, symbols, language is required to collect rich data and gain meaningful findings (Kohlbacher, 2006; Krippendorff, 2018; Macnamara, 2005; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; White & Marsh, 2006).

Flick (2018) roughly categorises the analytic process into two areas of work; the first is a direct analysis the textual content and the second focuses on the interaction of the content with its context. Qualitative content analysis is a scientific method that develops and builds on theory grounded in replicable and reliable empirical evidence, whilst data analysis considers the extent to which the data is transferable, resonant with existing literature, and relevant to context (Krippendorff, 2018; Kuper et al., 2008; White & Marsh, 2006).

For this research project, each news article was analysed, according to the coding framework developed from the literature review, in terms of balance and the specific elements of news reporting from which other researchers had drawn conclusions. During the analysis, the framework was expanded upon as new aspects, trends and questions arose. In order to further investigate or confirm some of the findings and themes identified, the researcher conducted a statistical content analysis to complement the qualitative content analysis, as described below:

- To investigate the degree to which news articles referenced xenophobia or the intended foreign target of the protests, the researcher categorised the articles according to their references to xenophobia, xenophobic violence and/or foreign targets, and organised them by publisher name and type (see Table 2).
- To examine trends relating to the breadth and prominence of context in the news articles about the protests, the researcher rated the various publishers based on the context of the Jeppestown protests provided in the individual articles published, and gave an average context score to each publication (see Table 3).
- To illustrate the range and skew of the sources quoted in the media coverage of the protests, the researcher calculated and graphically represented the sources cited in each article (see Graph 4).

- To illustrate the finding that each article was particularly specific in its framing – i.e. calls for peace, government responses, breaking news, news analyses, damage reports, crime stories, police reports, etc. – of the protests, the researcher categorised each article by ”type” of news story and presented this graphically (see Graph 5).
- As part of her exploration of how language shapes the framing of news stories and in investigating the criminality frame specifically, the researcher drew up a table listing all the different terms used by various publications to describe instances of xenophobia in Jeppestown to assess if publications followed particular trends in this regard (see Table 4).
- Lastly, the study of representation in the media coverage included a summary of the terms used to describe the protestors (see Graph 6) and a breakdown of the connotations associated with those descriptors (see Table 5).

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The diversity and constant evolution of online data rule out a single framework for internet-based research ethics. Instead, these necessitate a similarly evolving and contextualised approach that considers the nature of the subject and research objectives to mitigate potential risk to individual rights and the integrity of data collection (Bassett & O’Riordan, 2002; Buchanan & Zimmer, 2021; Convery & Cox, 2012). Bassett and O’Riordan (2002), and Kantanen and Manninen (2016) all agree that the Internet presents unique ethical issues and conclude that these challenges are worth considering, given the richness of the “cultural capital” (Bassett & O’Riordan, 2002, p.12) produced by media technology.

Online media analysis is categorised as “non-intrusive web-based research” (Kitchin, as cited in Buchanan & Zimmer, 2021, Definitions section, para. 4) and presents a minimal threat to privacy, vulnerability, and other areas because it does not disturb the online community or interfere with its content (Buchanan & Zimmer, 2021; Convery & Cox, 2012).

No formal consent for this research was sought, based on the reasonable assumption that media owners and journalists expect their published content online to be visible in the public domain and accessible indefinitely (Bassett & O'Riordan, 2002; Buchanan & Zimmer, 2021; Convery & Cox, 2012). Finally, the University of the Witwatersrand's Human Research Ethics Committee granted clearance for the researcher to conduct this research (Protocol Number: DVS20190105).

3.7 RESEARCHER BIAS

Reflexivity plays an important role in minimising researcher bias and impacts the validity of the research (Brunsma et al., 2020; Flick, 2018). It requires that researchers consider how they shape and are shaped by the social phenomena they are studying, to acknowledge that there are aspects of themselves of which they are unaware but that unavoidably impact the research, and confront the probability that their world view is incomplete, inadequate and flawed (Flick, 2018; Kohlbacher, 2006; Moser & Korstjens, 2018). Brunsma et al. (2020) declare that "the researcher is not the sole arbiter of truth" (Brunsma et al., 2020, p.10) and it with this humility that researchers should approach the critical negotiation of their beliefs and conclusions, conscious and otherwise, during the research process (Flick, 2018).

The research question at hand was borne out of the researcher's own preconceptions about xenophobia in South Africa and her longing for justice, security and freedom for foreigners in the country. At the same time, her decision to study media coverage of xenophobia came from a desire to learn more about the social phenomena that produce and shape xenophobia in South Africa. This necessitated continued conscious openness to new perspectives, different theories, and the possibility of being proven wrong as essential to the learning experience.

Disparity between the researcher's lived experiences and socio-economic frustrations and struggles of both the victims and the perpetrators of violence in the Jeppestown protests is likely to shape and limit her understanding of related events and their subsequent media coverage. It would also be a mistake to assume that only poor, frustrated South Africans are xenophobic and the possibility of the researcher's own xenophobic beliefs and attitudes, given her context and privilege, had to be negotiated carefully.

3.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The objective of research is to develop and build on theories that explain phenomena and this requires critical examination to validate explanations and reasoning drawn from empirical evidence (Flick, 2018; Taylor, 2013). Internal validity is the variability between the observations of the researcher and the truth of the case study researched (Flick, 2018), and external validity is the extent to which the conclusions drawn can be generalised beyond the specific case study (Flick, 2018; Taylor, 2013).

Flick (2018) and Taylor (2013) both conclude that no research method can mitigate all threats to validity and generate results that are completely without bias or fully transferable and aiming for such denies the diversity of lived experiences and reduces the possibility of new interpretations. Brunsma et al. (2020) argue that researching social phenomena for the purpose of social change will produce outcomes that may contradict existing norms because it will explore the lived experiences of the marginalised that challenges the status quo.

The focus of this research was a single, localised case study exploring how the media covered a series of violent xenophobic protests in Jeppestown, Johannesburg. A significant threat to the internal validity of this research is the fact that the same media that was being evaluated for its content, representation and balance was used to understand the details of the events.

This may limit the diversity of experiences represented (Flick, 2018) and could skew the researcher's perception of the reality on the ground. The assumption is that the case study is not entirely generalisable because it considers a localised narrative and produced context-specific results. Nevertheless, some results may be transferable and herein lies the value of triangulating multiple theories, empirical observations, and angles of analysis (Flick, 2018; Taylor, 2013).

3.9 CONCLUSION

Qualitative content analysis is a tool used to understand the complexities and diversities of social phenomena as they appear in their context. It provides a pragmatic and systemic approach to in-depth examination of representation and balance in media coverage (Cho & Lee, 2014; Kohlbacher, 2006; Krippendorff, 2018). The particular sampling database selected sets the tone for the content for analysis in the next chapter, providing a specific, localised dataset that made up the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests and responses to events in Jeppestown around September 2019. The selected case study may not be representative of all media coverage relating to xenophobia, but it produced contextualised results of a particular series of events as they appeared in the digital media. As such, it contributes to analyses of media coverage and builds on existing theoretical understandings thereof (Cho & Lee, 2014; Kohlbacher, 2006; Macnamara, 2005; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; White & Marsh, 2006).

4 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Xenophobia in South Africa is a complex social phenomenon, strongly influenced by South Africans' attitudes and beliefs – which sometimes prompt violent actions – regarding African foreigners. As the media play a vital role in shaping these perspectives, it is useful to explore the ways in which balance/imbalance in news reporting influences South African society (Hopmann et al., 2011). Accordingly, this chapter contains the results of a content analysis of balance (or lack thereof) in news media coverage of the aforementioned violent xenophobic 2019 Jeppestown protests.

Balance in journalism is defined as the absence of bias and requires reporting to be accurate, contextualised, and representative so that it does not distort certain accounts or privilege others unduly (Hopmann et al., 2011; Starkey, 2006). Unfortunately, the ideal of balance in the news media is contested because it is inherently subjective and difficult to measure (Benham, 2020). Balance can be difficult to operationalise due to a variety of internal factors that influence the production of news articles, as well as external factors that influence how reader's interpret the news media they consume (Hopmann et al., 2011; Smith, 2011; Starkey, 2006).

This is further complicated in the case of xenophobic violence, where neutrality and objectivity might amount to equal representation of the views and voices of both the unjust and oppressive and those who are oppressed. Here, instead, it may be argued that the perspectives and experiences of minorities and oppressed people need to be privileged to raise awareness or highlight and correct social, political or historical imbalances (Benham, 2020).

Balanced media coverage is made up of news articles containing context and analysis that gives readers perspective and challenges their viewpoints (Starkey, 2006). Such articles provide balanced framing of news stories that accurately represents the events being covered and positively contributes to individual interpretation and societal action (Chapeyama, 2016). They also use unbiased language and diverse sources so that those involved in and affected by the events (in this case, the Jeppestown protests) covered are fairly represented (Fine & Bird, 2006; Mtwana & Bird, 2006). Benham (2020) argues that, despite its contradictions inherent in the concept of balance in the media, the study thereof remains important because of the media's role in shaping news coverage and creating a meta-narrative that influences public discourse. This is what this case study seeks to explore.

This chapter is a case study of where the media succeeded and where it fell short in providing a balanced account of the 2019 Jeppestown xenophobic protests. The chapter also explores the resulting news media meta-narratives surrounding the protests and how they relate to balance. This begins with an overview of the events in Jeppestown and contextualisation of the protests on a local and national level, given the history of Jeppestown and the concurrent national protests taking place at the time. The researcher then discusses the various aspects of balance in said media coverage. This includes a review of the context provided and analysis conducted by news media with regard to the protests, a look at how the news stories were packaged and what this means for how readers may interpret the protests, and an inquiry into who was represented (and how) in the media coverage of the protests.

4.2 CASE STUDY OVERVIEW: 2019 JEPPESTOWN PROTESTS

The following overview of the events of the 2019 Jeppestown protests is based on news media accounts thereof as well as media coverage of the public response to the protests. It is important to reiterate here that most of the articles from which these details were gleaned are the same articles examined in the case study's content analysis (see Section 3.8, Limitations of the Study).

This section focuses on providing an accurate account of the Jeppestown protests by triangulating a number of different news articles. In this way, the researcher aims to develop a correct timeline of events and ensure a comprehensive understanding of the roles and contributions of different people, groups and organisations in the unfolding of the protests. This overview provides the necessary context for the researcher's subsequent analysis of news media coverage of the protests.

Jeppestown is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Johannesburg, founded after the gold rush in 1886 (De Wet et al., 2008; Taylor, 2021). Due to its close proximity to the Central Business District in Johannesburg, it has since become a convenient place to stay for economic migrants (many of whom live in the local men's hostels) from all over South Africa – but predominantly from KwaZulu-Natal – as well as foreigners from other African countries (De Wet et al., 2008). According to the University of Johannesburg's Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihood Study (2008), the residents of the Jeppestown community are severely unemployed and under-employed, with many people eking out their livings from the informal economy. The suburb has deteriorated over the years, businesses and industry have moved out, investment into the infrastructure is minimal, and municipal services are poor (Taylor, 2021). More recently, Jeppestown has made it into the news for its severe lack of affordable housing (Tlou, 2021), the arrests of individuals contravening COVID-19 alcohol restrictions (Bhengu, 2021), and the costs of electrical theft and vandalism in the buildings taken over by slumlords (Hlatshaneni, 2020).

A building fire in Jeppestown in the early hours of the morning on Sunday, 29 August 2019, appears to have been mistaken for a signal that a nationwide shutdown had begun (Lebuso, 2019; Njilo, 2019; Seleka, 2019c, 2019b). The shutdown had been initiated in the trucking industry, with truck drivers calling for the dismissal of foreign truck drivers. The All Truck Drivers Forum had previously held mass meetings across the province, mobilising members to engage in national shutdowns and calling for the aforementioned dismissals (Bornman, 2019e; Skiti & Jika, 2019).

In addition to the national shutdowns, the protests in Jeppestown and surrounding areas were fuelled by a distributed pamphlet and social media messages circulated by Sisonke Peoples Forum, with a call to:

> ...come together as South Africans with one voice of enough is enough, on selling of drugs, on property theft, and on our work taken by foreign nationals… South Africa for South Africans. This is not xenophobia but the truth.
>
> (Bornman, 2019e; Lebuso, 2019; Smuts, 2019).

There were also reports of messages – fuelling violence against foreigners and encouraging criminal behaviour as retribution for alleged job theft, crime, and drug dealing – disseminated on social media platforms. These were not exclusively aimed at or only shared amongst hostel dwellers (Mabuza & Pijoos, 2019a; Smuts, 2019).

On the national stage, tension in South Africa surrounding immigrant access to healthcare and employment had been stirred up by politicians' statements during the national elections earlier in the year (Skiti & Jika, 2019; Webster, 2019). This reached a boiling point in Jeppestown the month prior to the protests, when foreign shop owners retaliated against the police after raids for counterfeit goods (Mabuza & Pijoos, 2019a; Seleka, 2019b; Selepe, 2019). The protests in Johannesburg also closely followed a taxi strike in Pretoria – in protest of the alleged killing of a taxi driver in drug-related violence – that saw the disruption of traffic and the looting of stores believed to be owned by foreign drug dealers (Bornman, 2019e; Mabuza & Pijoos, 2019c; Selepe, 2019).

In Jeppestown over the next few days, an expanding group of protestors that eventually reached a count of around 1 200 – believed to be mostly South African men from nearby hostels – engaged in targeted looting, arson, destruction of foreign-owned businesses, and violent attacks on both foreigners and bystanders (Bornman, 2019e; Haffajee, 2019; Haffajee & Simelane, 2019; Morais & Ngqakamba, 2019; Njilo, 2019).

Daily Maverick reported that the war cry, "'*Mabahambe, sesikhathele!*' – [which means] They must leave, we have had enough" (Haffajee & Simelane, 2019) resounded throughout the Jeppestown protests. Despite making more than 400 arrests during the course of the week, police, together with emergency services deployed to the area, were forced to retreat on various occasions as they were overwhelmed by the magnitude of the crowd (eNCA, 2019b; Manyathela & Kubheka, 2019; Njilo, 2019). Meanwhile, foreign targets repeatedly fought back against the protestors during that week of violent unrest, which gradually spread beyond Jeppestown and its neighbouring suburbs (Haffajee & Simelane, 2019; Skiti & Jika, 2019).

On 1 September, Police General Minister Bheki Cele met with local law enforcement for a briefing on the situation at the Jeppestown Police Station. Later, confronted by protestors outside the station, Minister Cele responded with plans to hold an *imbizo* (meeting) that weekend to bring community leaders and residents together to address the relevant issues. His accompanying call for interim peace was rejected by the audience of protestors, who demanded that he rid the country of foreigners (Mahamba & Dlamini, 2019; News24 Wire, 2019b; Seleka, 2019a; Sithole, 2019). Minister Cele subsequently postponed the *imbizo*.

Instead, on Sunday 8 September, Inkatha Freedom Party President Emeritus Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi took the opportunity to speak to the predominantly Zulu hostel dwellers in Jeppestown. As an elder and monarch of the Zulu Nation, Prince Buthelezi called for calm and condemned the xenophobic attacks, pleading for unity for Africa (Inkatha Freedom Party, 2021; Makhafola, 2019, 2019; Mdeni, 2019; Zulu & Cilliers, 2019). At some point, a group of protesters broke away from Prince Buthelezi's gathering and, as they moved through the city, were met with stun grenades and rubber bullets from the police (Dlamini, 2019; Dlamini & Skuy, 2019; Lebuso, 2019; Pijoos, 2019; Zulu & Cilliers, 2019).

By 10 September, there were a total of 12 fatalities reported (van Diemen, 2019). The police stated that they had arrested over 700 people in connection with the protests in Gauteng – including Jeppestown – for a range of offences relating to public violence and destruction (Makhafola, 2019; SAnews, 2019).

The following sections contain the results and analysis of this case study, which investigated the balance of media coverage of these violent, xenophobic protests. The next section looks at the first theme that was explored during the content analysis. This relates to the prominence, depth and breadth of context and analysis in news media coverage of these events.

4.3 BALANCE OF MEDIA COVERAGE: CONTEXT AND ANALYSIS

Context and analysis in news articles relating to xenophobia help readers obtain new information to add to their existing knowledge of the historical, political, social and economic aspects of this complex social phenomenon (Ncube & Vanyoro, 2018). This facilitates reader awareness of developments and changes, which may inform their positions and challenge their misconceptions and prejudices regarding related issues (Danso & McDonald, 2001; Hopmann et al., 2011).

This section of the report examines the depth and breadth of context provided by the news media (articles selected for analysis) in their coverage for the 2019 Jeppestown protests. The report also reviews the availability of news analyses that explore and interrogate the catalysts, actors and events in Jeppestown to provide readers with critical, diverse and informative perspectives on the protests. The objective of this section is to understand how the presence or absence of context and analysis in the news media can influence the meta-narrative of media coverage of events and situations.

4.3.1 Context and Analysis in News Media Coverage of Jeppestown Protests

As discussed in the methodology chapter, the sampling phase of the research process uncovered a number of online news media articles about the Jeppestown protests that did not mention any of the primary ("xenophobia", "xenophobic") or secondary ("immigration", "immigrant", "migrant", "foreign national", "foreigner") keywords. The analysis of the case study material indicated that, as per Table 2 below, there were 13 articles that did not mention either the primary keywords or the foreign target (secondary keywords) of the violence, 19 articles that mentioned a foreign target but did not mention the primary keywords, two articles that only mentioned one primary keyword at least once, and 26 articles that mentioned both a primary keyword and the foreign target.

Table 2

Number of Articles Published by Different Media that Contained the Primary and Secondary Keywords

News Type	Source	Mentioned "xenophobia"/ "xenophobic" and the foreign target at least once	Mentioned only one primary keyword ("xenophobia" or "xenophobic") at least once	Mentioned the foreign target at least once but did not mention the primary keywords	Mentioned neither "xenophobia"/ "xenophobic" nor the foreign target
General News	*The Citizen*	4			1
Breaking News, General News	*News24*	4	2	3	2
News Analysis, Investigation	*Daily Maverick*	2			1
General News	*IOL*	2		3	2
News Analysis, Investigation	*Mail & Guardian*	2			
News Analysis	*New Frame*	2			
General News	*The Sowetan*	2		2	1
General News	*City Press*	1			

News Type	Source	Mentioned "xenophobia"/ "xenophobic" and the foreign target at least once	Mentioned only one primary keyword ("xenophobia" or "xenophobic") at least once	Mentioned the foreign target at least once but did not mention the primary keywords	Mentioned neither "xenophobia"/ "xenophobic" nor the foreign target
General News	*DispatchLIVE*	1			1
News Analysis	*GroundUp*	1			
General News	*HeraldLIVE*	1			1
Breaking News	*SABC News*	1		5	
General News (Government)	*SAnews*	1			
News Analysis, General News	*The Daily Vox*	1			
General News	*TimesLIVE*	1		1	3
Tabloid, General News	*Daily Sun*			1	
Breaking News, General News	*eNCA*			1	1
Breaking News, General News	*EWN*			2	
News Analysis (Politics)	*Politicsweb*			1	
TOTAL:		**26**	**2**	**19**	**13**

Table 2 indicates that, while none of the cited news publications completely overlooked the xenophobic aspect of the protests, a large number of their articles failed to mention it. The 13 articles that did not mention the xenophobic nature of the protests or even that the targets of the protests were foreigners ignored a significant aspect of the events in Jeppestown. Indeed, the protests were organised around decidedly anti-immigrant slogans to force the South African government and businesses to stop hiring foreigners in the trucking industry and to rid South Africa of alleged foreign drug dealers by forcing African immigrants out of the country.

Those articles that failed to draw attention to xenophobic manifestations ignored the underlying deep-seated local resentment against African foreigners. This type of journalism erases the systemic marginalisation and often violent oppression of Africans in South Africa and contributes to minimising the extent and severity of xenophobia in South Africa (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010; Ncube & Vanyoro, 2018).

In contrast, almost 80% of the media coverage (47 out of 60 articles) of the Jeppestown protests either directly connected the protests to xenophobia, thus contextualising and locating events within the historical and systemic attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa, or mentioned that attacks specifically targeted foreigners (even though they were not the only victims). This means that most readers who engaged with the content on the Jeppestown protests were aware of their xenophobic nature, either because of the articles' explicit use of the primary keywords ("xenophobia" and "xenophobic violence"), or because of the indirect implications of the intended protest targets being specified as foreign. Categorising the Jeppestown protests and the corresponding violence and destruction as xenophobic in nature – by using the primary keywords or drawing attention to the specific targets of the protests – frames the news in such a way that the reader is able to locate the incidents within their broader knowledge of xenophobic history in South Africa. This, in turn, impacts readers' growing understanding of the lived experiences of African foreigners living in South Africa (Hjarvard, 2008).

It is important for the media to be mindful of South Africans' general acceptance of or indifference to African foreigners who are systematically targeted in South Africa during episodes of violent xenophobia and in everyday manifestations of xenophobic beliefs. The articles that mentioned that foreigners were specifically targeted in the protests but contained no critical analysis of their xenophobic nature passively entrenched this normalisation of oppression.

Notably, the *Daily Sun*, known as a tabloid newspaper, published a single article on the Jeppestown protests about the protestor's response to Inkatha Freedom Party founder, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi's plea to cease attacks on foreigners (Mdluli, 2019). The article covered Prince Buthelezi's discussion of hatred directed at foreigners and the constitutional rights entitled to all people living in South Africa. Despite not mentioning the primary keywords, this article is an example of how context and analysis can expand ways of thinking about events in the news media.

The literature review discussed the systemic nature of the xenophobic beliefs entrenched in South African society, with Misago (2019) rejecting decontextualised and de-politicised explanations of xenophobia that portray protests such as these as spontaneous and that fail to interrogate the organised nature of xenophobia. Without critical analysis of xenophobia in the media, they miss an opportunity to challenge entrenched beliefs and the engineering of xenophobic violence.

Without breadth and depth of context, the utility of keywords on their own is less meaningful and becomes terminology to which people become indifferent or apathetic (Langa & Kiguwa, 2016). By ignoring Africans' lived experiences of xenophobia and the environment that gives rise to such violent protest in South Africa, the media erase important issues and struggles from the public discourse that they play such a pivotal role in shaping. For example, one *News24* article contains multiple keywords but only in the headline, "Gauteng xenophobic violence: 10 of 12 victims were South Africans – defence minister" (van Diemen, 2019), and a quote from the minister of defence, denying that South Africa is xenophobic. Said quote appears without additional context for the protests that would challenge her assertions. This gives readers an incomplete awareness of the manifestations of xenophobia in society (Fine & Bird, 2006; Solomon & Haigh, 2009), it does not bring to the fore the severity of violent prejudices engrained in South African society (Moyo et al., 2018), and it portrays the protests as spontaneous violence, thus erasing their historical and political influences (Misago, 2019).

Context supplied by the articles analysed spanned a diverse spectrum, ranging from detailed, in-depth context to no context at all. Table 3 breaks down this spectrum across the different media outlets and categorises the articles they published according to the breadth of context provided and the prominence that context held in each news article. The pre-reading of the media coverage indicated that articles could be sorted into four categories relating to the amount of context that was provided for the protests: Articles that contained no context for the protests were allocated one point, articles in which the protests were located within the national shutdowns only were allocated two points, articles that briefly covered broader context were allocated two points, and articles in which the socio-economic, political, and historical context for the protests was a major focus were allocated three points. The points for all of the articles by each publication were tallied to calculate an average score per outlet. This enabled the researcher to explore the prevalence and nature of context across different publications as well as the general media coverage of the protests.

New Frame, *Mail & Guardian*, *City Press* and *The Daily Vox* released fewer articles, but these contained more depth, research, sources, investigations and context for the Jeppestown protests than those by other publications. *Daily Maverick* and *HeraldLIVE* published at least one contextualised article each, although they also published other less contextualised articles. *The Sowetan, DispatchLIVE, IOL, The Citizen, Daily Sun, GroundUp* and *TimesLIVE* published articles that crossed the spectrum but most of the articles in this group included little to no context for the events in Jeppestown. The last group of media outlets who published very little context in their coverage of the protests tended to be breaking news publishers, namely *SABC News, eNCA, News24, EWN, Politicsweb* and *SAnews*.

Table 3

Publications Categorised Based on the Breadth and Prominence of Context in News Articles

Source	No context for the protest in the article (0 points)	Context limited to national shutdowns only (1 point)	Broader context but a minor focus of the article (2 points)	Context was a major focus of the article (3 points)	Average Context Score
New Frame				2	3.00
Mail & Guardian				2	3.00
City Press				1	3.00
The Daily Vox				1	3.00
Daily Maverick			2	1	2.33
HeraldLIVE		1		1	2.00
The Sowetan	1	1	2	1	1.60
DispatchLIVE		1	1		1.50
IOL	2	2	3		1.14
The Citizen	2	1	2		1.00
Daily Sun		1			1.00
GroundUp		1			1.00
TimesLIVE	2	2		1	1.00
SABC News	3	2	1		0.67
eNCA	1	1			0.50
News24	7	4			0.36
EWN	2				0.00
Politicsweb	1				0.00
SAnews	1				0.00
TOTAL:	**22**	**17**	**11**	**10**	**1.15**

This statistical analysis shows that the average context score across all media outlets and all articles is 1.15, which means that the online news coverage of the Jeppestown protests as a whole did not fully encapsulate the complexity of the protests. Nor did it include a broader discussion of the historical, social, economic and political environment that gives rise to and maintains xenophobic violence in South Africa.

As Table 3 shows, most news articles (83%) contained little to no context about the protests in Jeppestown. In their pursuit to provide brief, breaking news, publications like *News24, SABC News, eNCA* and *EWN* neglected context the most, thereby contributing to an incomplete meta-narrative around the protests. The remaining articles (17%) contained a higher degree of context in their reporting and included historical, political, social and economic context for the protests, with analysis of the events, catalysts and people involved. These articles explained why foreigners are blamed for unemployment and drugs and why this is problematic and inaccurate. They provided an effective analysis of the issues being protested against and of the roles of the different parties in exacerbating the conflict, while also outlining possible solutions to be considered.

In addition to providing context and analysis that highlighted and explained the complexities of xenophobia and xenophobic protests, contextualised and analytical articles revealed how balanced news reporting can combat stereotypes associated with xenophobia in general and the Jeppestown protests in particular. As has been shown, the Jeppestown protests were orchestrated according to an undeniably anti-immigrant agenda. Protestors accused foreigners of creating unemployment (by taking South Africans' jobs), selling drugs to their children, turning their children to prostitution, and taking away their free housing (Mahamba & Dlamini, 2019; Zulu & Cilliers, 2019). While many of the analysed articles documented the protestor's slogans to this effect, most did so without context or analysis of the stereotyping of foreigners at play – the articles recognised protestors' beliefs without critiquing them.

This served – inadvertently or otherwise – to condone and normalise these stereotypes. For example, *The Citizen* published an article quoting the ANC's spokesperson thusly: "Our law-abiding citizens are understandably sick and tired of those who are breaking the moral fibre of our society by turning our kids into prostitutes and drug addicts. We urge all South Africans to give the police space to do their work and to refrain from taking the law into their hands" (Zulu & Cilliers, 2019).

Only reporting on the blaming of foreigners for many of the country's socio-economic issues – without balancing these views with analysis, context or diverse sources – maintains a simplistic understanding of the challenges facing the country. However, other articles challenged stereotypes of both foreigners and protestors. This was especially noticeable in articles in which journalists provided context or critique in a way that balanced the stereotypes contained either within sources' quotes or in reported anti-immigrant slogans. For example, an article in *IOL* included a quote from a Mozambican street vendor, who added context about his livelihood in South Africa and explained that he was selling fruit and vegetables to support his family. This vendor challenged the idea that the looting was a result of informal traders stealing jobs from South Africans and claimed it was targeted hate towards foreigners (Mahamba & Dlamini, 2019).

This case study, by revealing the considerable lack of context and analysis in media coverage of the Jeppestown protests, shows how the quest of neutrality and objectivity associated with balanced reporting can go awry. It reveals how the single-minded pursuit of these ideals erased the reality of systematic, violent targeting of African residents during the Jeppestown protests and the constant threat under which they live. Instead, the articles inadvertently reinforced other dominant narratives, such as the criminality angle, which is discussed later in this chapter.

It is true that the presence of some contextualised, analytical articles, presenting different views and a diversity of representative sources, in media coverage of the Jeppestown protests adds to the overall quality of reporting on these events. However, the polarising effect of the generally limited news analysis in the media far outweighed the attempt at balance made by the 10 (out of 60) articles that did provide context. The lack of analysis in publications such as *Daily Sun, GroundUp*, *eNCA, News24, EWN, Politicsweb* and *SAnews,* which had no articles where context was a focus, very likely skewed the perspectives of readers who only consumed media from these sources.

4.3.2 Impact of Sources on Context and Analysis

The articles that provided broader context for the protests and xenophobia in South Africa in general as a minor (11 articles) and a major (10 articles) focus mostly achieved this simply by incorporating diverse sources into their news reports. Many of those articles added no additional analysis or opinion on the issue but, rather, let the quotes speak for themselves, as it were. This was particularly true when the sources were directly involved or impacted by the protests rather than those who were indirectly connected to the events. These sources were often brutally honest, challenged how events and actors had been portrayed elsewhere, provided valuable insights, and pinpointed compelling causes and solutions to the range of issues at hand. Examples of such sources included the Jeppestown Wolhuter Hostel *induna* (tribal headman), a constitutional law expert (who critiqued the involvement of traditional leaders), the principal of a local primary school, and an inside source at a security agency, who provided insight into the failures of law enforcement's response (Mabena, 2019; Skiti & Jika, 2019; Smuts, 2019). The variety of sources and the representation of social minorities brought different perspectives and provided a triangulation of accounts that gave necessary additional insight into the protests.

A particular *Mail & Guardian* article about how the local Jeppe Park Primary School navigated the protests alongside the local hostels exemplifies these more contextualised accounts. The article, written for *Mail & Guardian* by school founder, Melanie Smuts, details meetings between hostel chiefs and foreign teachers employed at Jeppe Park. The teachers arranged said meetings in response to the school being named, in consequence of its employing them, as a potential target for protest action. In the article, Smuts relays teachers' accounts of these meetings as "long conversations about joblessness, criminality, acceptable and unacceptable levels of foreignness, various political players, the state of the country and manhood" (Smuts, 2019). This article, in describing the teachers' meaningful engagement with community leaders, opened up new perspectives on the protestors' motives, needs and role in the protests.

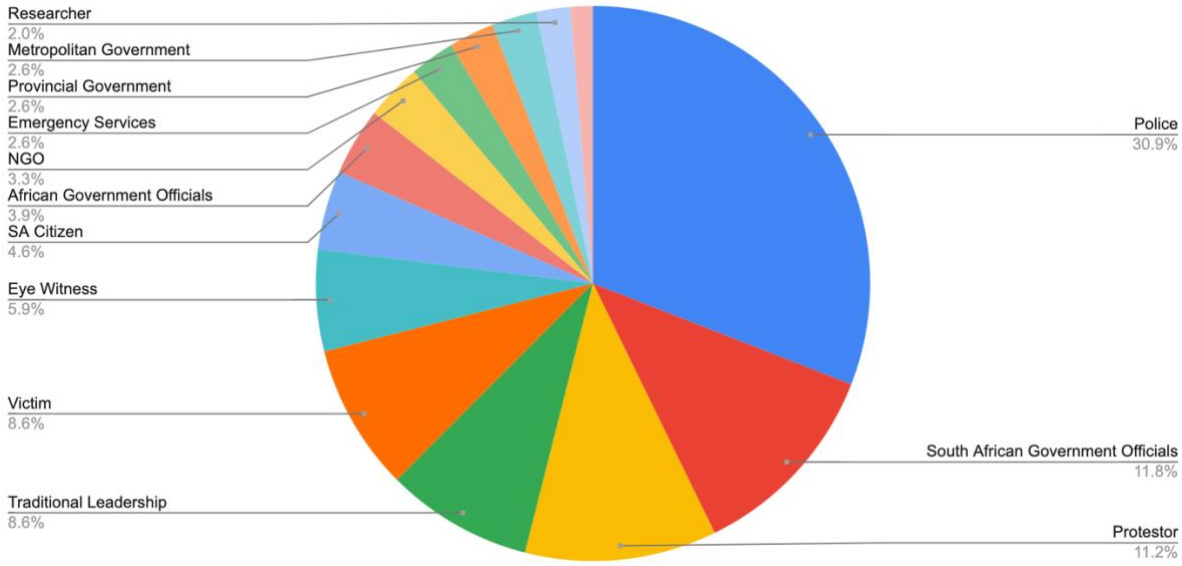
In contrast to the general media depiction of hostel leaders as violent, opportunistic criminals, this article revealed that these individuals valued education deeply and genuinely wanted a future without violence for the next generation (Smuts, 2019). This is an example of a source not only adding nuance and context to a news story, but in doing so, also combating the stereotyping of certain groups of people (the hostel dwellers, in this instance).

This study's analysis of the news media coverage of the 2019 Jeppestown protests highlighted how difficult balancing sources in the news media can be. This is because, naturally, each of the sources cited explained the protests through the lens of their own experience, ideologies, beliefs, misconceptions and prejudices. As the research progressed, this became increasingly apparent as an important element to explore. Significantly, analysis indicated that almost a third (31%) of the sources cited in news articles on the subject were law enforcement officials. This was the case throughout the time frame analysed. This exposes the power differentials inherent in the choices that journalists make about who to interview and whose voices to publish. This may be a result of a variety of factors, such as time and budget constraints or threats to the safety of the journalist, influencing the production of news. Regardless of what motivated them, however, these choices effectively privileged some perspectives over others in the resulting news articles. Consequently, without additional context and news analysis by journalists, media coverage as a whole was unbalanced in this regard.

Graph 4, overleaf, is a breakdown of the different sources quoted in each of the articles analysed. The primary police sources were the Minister of Police, General Bheki Cele, as well as various spokespersons for his office and those of police departments interacting with the protestors on the ground. The graph evidences strong reliance on police sources (reporting on criminal activities surrounding the protests), with ongoing justification made for the necessity of law enforcement, and extensive reporting on police action.

Graph 4

Different Sources Quoted in Media Coverage of the Jeppestown Protests



This unduly strengthens the police's point of view in the language, framing and context for coverage of the protests in Jeppestown. Indeed, there is a general tendency in the media to assign news value to politicians and government officials, under the assumption that the views of the political elite are more relevant and newsworthy than those of the average person. This is evidence of widespread partisan bias and the media's unbalanced portrayal of current affairs (Hopmann et al., 2011).

Meanwhile, the analysed articles seldom aired the voices of victims, protestors, academics in the field, NGOs working in affected communities, eyewitnesses, and representatives from targeted African countries. In the rare instances where they were quoted, these sources offered valuable perspectives, solutions and critiques that expanded context for and enriched analysis of the Jeppestown protests.

Moreover, the choices that the media make in terms of which parts of a source's story, speech, experience or perspective they publish also impact the quality of that source's contribution to the greater narrative.

A case in point concerns varying media coverage of Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech, in which he pleaded that protests be peaceful, to Jeppestown hostel dwellers. On the one hand, some articles only very briefly quoted Prince Buthelezi in his call for peace and their stories focused, instead, on the splinter group of protestors who vehemently rejected his speech by leaving and continuing their protest. On the other hand, a certain number of articles chose to quote those parts of his speech that poignantly contributed to the media coverage as a whole in that they reminded the protestors and, therefore, the readers about foreign nationals' humanity and their entitlement to basic human rights. Prince Buthelezi's words here remembered other African countries as valuable allies in the fight against Apartheid, while bringing the political impact of xenophobia against foreign Africans in South Africa into perspective.

4.3.3 Context and Analysis: Conclusion

The analysis of news media coverage of the Jeppestown protests found that the articles published provided readers with little context for or analysis of the protests. These articles did not adequately capture the complexity of violent xenophobia in South Africa or challenge the ideologies, stereotypes or prejudices that contributed to its outbreak in Jeppestown and elsewhere. Despite mentioning xenophobia and the intended foreign target of the protests, most of the news articles about the protests lacked essential in-depth context. These articles failed to locate the Jeppestown protests within either the historical, social and political context of xenophobia in South Africa or the concurrent national shutdowns in protest of the employment of foreigners in the trucking industry and foreigners' involvement in the drug trade (see Case Study Overview: Jeppestown Protests 2019).

While it is unrealistic to expect all news articles to contain full context, the meta-narrative shaped by context-deficient media coverage is incompatible with the ideals of South Africa's democracy. Such reporting does not adequately engage readers on a social phenomenon as important and complex as xenophobia and the meta-narrative reinforces imbalance in news coverage.

Furthermore, very little news analysis of the violent xenophobic protests in Jeppestown was published. Few articles interrogated the origins of the protests, highlighted their connection to the national shutdowns, or identified the roles played by various organisations in Jeppestown. Only a small number of articles attempted to balance, challenge or critique the sources and perspectives on which they reported. The protests in Jeppestown were not merely spontaneous violent outbursts by a group of opportunistic criminals. Rather, the slogans under which the protests were organised clearly targeted foreigners residing in Jeppestown. In downplaying the extent and severity of xenophobia's and its proponents' roles in such violent protests, the media normalises, tacitly condones, and maintains an environment in which the economic precarity and physical security of African residents is tangibly threatened. This threat is only exacerbated when the aforementioned meta-narrative goes unchallenged.

The next section delves deeper into the impact and influence of citing law enforcement sources in the news articles analysed in the case study. The section explores the impact of this on how these stories were framed and how media coverage of the Jeppestown protests was packaged as a whole.

4.4 BALANCE OF MEDIA COVERAGE: NEWS FRAMING AND CRIMINALITY

News is framed by the types of stories produced and the language used. The framing of news stories around the Jeppestown protests would have influenced the way in which readers interpreted events being covered and how they were able to relate the content to what they already knew.

This undoubtedly added to, entrenched or altered their knowledge about xenophobia in South Africa in general and during the Jeppestown protests more specifically (Chapeyama, 2016; Chiumbu & Moyo, 2018). The following section reviews the types of news articles that were published on the Jeppestown protests, looks at how sources and their language shaped the framing of news coverage and the meta-narrative, and explores the origins of the focus on the protestors' criminality in media coverage.

The objective of this section is to understand how the dominant frames, sources and language used to package news stories impacted the meta-narrative and, therefore, the balance of media coverage of the Jeppestown protests.

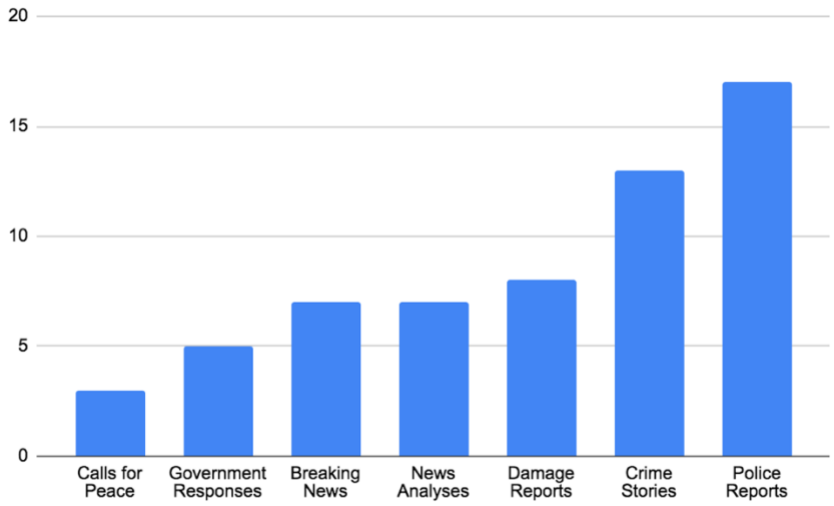
4.4.1 Types of News Articles

The individual news articles were focused on certain elements or aspects of the protests. This correlates with the previous finding that few articles contained breadth of context or wider analysis of the protests and xenophobia as a broader issue, indicating a more focused approach to the reporting. The online media coverage of the Jeppestown protests was made up of 60 articles that were analysed for the case study.

Each article was categorised according to how the content was framed – by calls for peace, government responses, breaking news, news analyses, damage reports, crime stories, and/or police reports – as shown in Graph 5 overleaf. A few of the articles overlapped categories so the dominant type of news story of each of the news articles was selected.

Graph 5

Types of News Stories that Made Up the Media Coverage of the Jeppestown Protests



There were three articles positioned as a call to peace from a traditional leader to the hostel dwellers The stories framed as calls for peace covered Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech begging hostel dwellers to stop their involvement in the violent protests and condemning xenophobia (Makhafola, 2019; SABC News, 2019b; Sithole, 2019).

Five articles focused primarily on the responses from national government. The government response articles covered government press conferences and contained little additional context or analysis. This was except for their coverage of part of the televised speeches of President Cyril Ramaphosa, discussing the national shutdowns with some reference to Jeppestown specifically, and Minister of Defence Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, defending her ministry's response to the national shutdowns (including the Jeppestown protests). Minister Mapisa-Nqakula went on to deny that the victims of the protests were targeted based on their nationality, choosing to blame criminals for opportunistic violence instead (eNCA, 2019a; Mahamba & Dlamini, 2019; Politicsweb, 2019; SAnews, 2019; van Diemen, 2019).

The seven news articles categorised as breaking news included very little contextual information and were made up of a few details available at the time of publishing or published as brief updates on current affairs as new details became available. These articles were either extremely broad, with little detail, or very specific to a certain incident during the Jeppestown protests, with very limited additional context. They were published by media outlets – such as *News24, EWN Eyewitness News* and *eNCA* –known to produce breaking news stories.

Meanwhile, the seven analytical news articles analysed provided depth and perspective into how the protests had been instigated, how they were connected to shutdowns in Pretoria and other provinces, and South Africa's history of violence and marginalisation of African foreigners.

The writers conducted thorough investigations into the forces that brought about the Jeppestown protests, and did not shy away from critical analysis of the various players involved, while presenting the reader with a variety of different lived experiences and perspectives to engage with and arrive at their own conclusions. The sources contained in the articles were diverse and not only gave the reader insight into the source's perspectives on current affairs but also highlighted key details. Such details included the anti-immigrant pamphlet (distributed in the hostels) calling for a national shutdown on 2 September 2019 to protest the employment of foreigners, the part of the All Truck Drivers Foundation (see Case Study Overview: Jeppestown Protests 2019) in holding mass meetings leading up to the protests, and role played by political organisation Sisonke Peoples Forum, which distributed related threats against foreigners on social media (Bornman, 2019e; Haffajee, 2019; Haffajee & Simelane, 2019; Mabena, 2019; Moosa, 2019; Skiti & Jika, 2019; Smuts, 2019).

There were eight articles that covered the destruction wrought during and in the aftermath of the protests. This included buildings and businesses that had been burned, shops and informal traders that had been looted, and people who had been injured or had died.

Some of these stories contained narratives from (mostly South African) shop-owners and street vendors who had been significantly impacted by the protests. However, more than half of these articles focused solely on the material destruction from the point of view of the police and emergency services, without unpacking the human costs of the protests or how the violence and damage targeted a specific group of residents. The framing of the protests' damage, in terms of its human and not merely material cost, will be developed in the concluding chapter.

Exactly half (30) of the articles analysed focused solely on the criminal aspects of the protests (13) and the police reports (17) in Jeppestown. The strong focus on the law enforcement and criminal aspects correlates with the review of the context and analysis in the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests.

The crime stories documented the looting, arson, shooting, and injuries sustained during the protests. They depicted the protests as spontaneous and the protestors as violent thugs. The crime stories tended to misdiagnose the looting and arson as the results of opportunistic criminals taking advantage of a deadly building fire to commit crimes while everyone evacuated the surrounding area. However, it surfaced in later reports that, while the building fire was a catalyst for the start of protests in Jeppestown, it was not spontaneous criminality that underpinned the crimes committed there. Instead, this crime spree was perpetrated by people involved in orchestrating the unrest, who saw the building fire as a signal to start protesting. Therefore, the crime stories did not accurately link the crimes in Jeppestown to the planned nation-wide shutdowns that had started in Pretoria the week before and quickly spread beyond Jeppestown the following week.

Meanwhile, the 17 articles focused on the police response to the criminality in Jeppestown covered the police presence, arrests, and charges against those arrested. These articles mentioned that the police had received criticism for their delayed response to the protests on a national level.

They quoted various police sources highlighting the police's concern for public safety and to reassure the public that the police were present and making arrests in Jeppestown. Fourteen of these articles quoted Minister of Police, General Bheki Cele. General Cele had held a press conference, during which he took a strong stance on the opportunistic criminality of the protests, denying that foreigners had been targeted. He was quoted in various publications as saying, "I have visited streets where shops were burnt. I don't take it that shops were burnt because they were owned by foreign nationals. The main vehicle of this problem is criminality and we are dealing with it as the police" (inter alia; News24 Wire, 2019).

The types of news articles that were published on the Jeppestown protests emphasised the criminal and law enforcement aspects of events, thus shaping the media coverage as a whole to focus on elements to the detriment of others. This focus on criminality is explored in the next section, which looks at how language and sources contributed to the dominant criminal frame that contributed to the meta-narrative of the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests.

4.4.2 Criminality Focus: Language and Sources

In addition to the various types of news stories that made up the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests, the language used in those articles also contributed to how they were framed. The emphasis on the criminal aspects of the protests in the media coverage was evident in the types of stories published, the terms used, and the sources quoted. The majority of the references to criminality and criminals were contained within quotes from law enforcement and government sources. This was especially the case in articles covering the crimes, destruction, police action, and government responses and had a profound impact on the framing of the media meta-narrative.

The media used various terms to describe and categorise the activities in Jeppestown. These included “xenophobia”, “xenophobic violence”, “criminality”, “public violence”, “mob violence”, “looting”, “attacks”, and “violent protests”. (See Table 4) Terms –like “attacks”, “looting”, “criminality” and “public violence” – associated with crime were used more often (77.53%) than terms associated with xenophobia (18.54%) or protests (3.93%). This correlates with the study of context and analysis in the media coverage that showed that, while the terms “xenophobia” and “xenophobic violence” were used by the media to describe the Jeppestown protests, they were often minor focus points in the articles.

Table 4

Terms Used to Categorise Incidents in the Media Coverage during the Period of Analysis

Source	Xenophobia	Xenophobic Violence	Criminality	Public Violence	Mob Violence	Looting	Attacks	Violent Protests
SABC News	2		2	2		3	7	
eNCA			1			1	1	
EWN			2			1		
News24	2	3	3	6		8	8	1
The Citizen	2	2	2	1		1	5	1
City Press	1		1			1	1	1
DispatchLIVE		1	1			1	1	
HeraldLIVE		1				1	1	
IOL	1	1	2	1		5	6	
The Sowetan		2	3	2	3	2	4	
TimesLIVE	1	1	2	2	2	2	4	
SAnews		1	1	1			1	1
GroundUp	1			1		1	1	1
New Frame	2	2	1	1		2	2	1
Politicsweb						1	1	1
The Daily Vox	1	1				1	1	
Daily Maverick	3	1	3			4	4	
Mail & Guardian	1		1		1	2	2	
Daily Sun			1			1	1	

Source	Xenophobia	Xenophobic Violence	Criminality	Public Violence	Mob Violence	Looting	Attacks	Violent Protests
Total:	**17**	**16**	**26**	**17**	**6**	**38**	**51**	**7**
Percentage:	9.55	8.99	14.61	9.55	3.37	21.35	28.65	3.93
Group Percentage:	**18.54**		**77.53**			**3.93**		

The effect of an increased focus on the criminality of the Jeppestown protests is considerable. It directs the audience's attention primarily to the extremely violent, criminal aspects of the protests, targeting a marginalised group of foreign residents in the area.

It is a condemnation of the xenophobic protests by framing them exclusively as violent, criminal and deserving of punitive measures. News story framing and language that lean heavily on the criminality angle – and not the xenophobic elements or protest action – of the events in Jeppestown fail to completely capture the nature of the protests. The incompleteness of this criminality narrative is evident in the words of Gauteng Police Commissioner, Lieutenant General Elias Mawela, who was quoted in an *IOL* article as saying that "[it] is a sad day when people choose to capitalise on the misfortune of others to advance anarchy or criminality" (Mabuza & Pijoos, 2019a). The dominance of the criminality frame in the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests detracts from the deliberately xenophobic element of the protests. Indeed, the dominance of any single frame in news reporting detracts from and excludes others and influences the extent of readers' awareness of the issue. This awareness is what shapes readers' related beliefs, prejudices and actions.

However, the alternative is not to discard the criminality frame entirely. There were undoubtedly violent and criminal actions directed at foreigners in the Jeppestown protests and this does warrant, to a certain degree, the fact that terms referring to criminal activities were used more often than terms like xenophobia and xenophobic violence.

Rather, it is the *excessive repetition* and *dominance* of language relating to criminality in the media coverage that minimises understanding of the prevalence and severity of xenophobia in the country (Happer & Philo, 2013).

Two sources, Defence Minister Mapisa-Nqakula and Police Minister Gen. Bheki Cele, were often quoted airing assumptions about the protests for which there was opposing evidence. Instead of grappling with this evidence, news media frequently published these quotes without critique or analysis. For example, Defence Minister Mapisa-Nqakula, when briefing the media on behalf of Parliament, discussed the lack of evidence that African foreigners had been targeted specifically.

She claimed that South Africa was not a xenophobic country, that the protestors were to be dealt with purely as criminals by law enforcement, and that these protests could not have been prevented by government (eNCA, 2019a; Politicsweb, 2019; SAnews, 2019; Skiti & Jika, 2019; van Diemen, 2019). Similarly, Gen. Cele was quoted numerous times explaining that only increased, stringent policing measures would solve the criminality taking place. He acknowledged the importance of involving leadership at a community level while specifically laying the blame on the hostel dwellers in Jeppestown (Mahamba & Dlamini, 2019; Ndongo, 2019; News24 Wire, 2019b; SABC News, 2019a; Seleka, 2019a; Sithole, 2019). Gen. Cele's remarks were particularly influential because of his position of authority and the fact that they were made at a press conference that accounted for a large amount of the detail cited as information from the police in media coverage of the protests.

Both sources were firm in their perspectives on the criminality of the protests and who was to blame for this, both denied the existence of the historical and daily reality of xenophobia for foreigners living in South Africa, and both made reductive statements about the solution to the problem lying with increased policing. All of this served to oversimplify the complexity and systemic nature of xenophobia in South Africa.

Both sources contributed a great deal to the media coverage on the Jeppestown events and shaped the narrative surrounding them to such an extent that these perspectives should have been interrogated much more thoroughly by the media than they were.

While *New Frame* also published in an article about (four) government ministries' press statements explicitly claiming that South Africa is not a xenophobic country, the article balanced this by recounting the government's historical xenophobia denialism (Bornman, 2019e). This was the only publication analysed that critiqued the government's response to what was, indeed, a xenophobic crisis in the country. More specifically, the article argued that the political elite were failing to acknowledge the severity of xenophobic beliefs and behaviours in South Africa, while encouraging the convenient suggestion that African foreigners were responsible for local unemployment and crime.

The article maintained that these politicians were making blatantly xenophobic statements, while continuing to call the protests anything but xenophobic (Bornman, 2019e). *New Frame* is not the first entity to point out and criticise xenophobia denialism by the South African government. It has long been critiqued by media, academics, NGOs, opposition parties, and African countries in their quest to establish accountability (Bornman, 2019; Crush & Ramachandran, 2010; Mtwana & Bird, 2006; Nkululeko & Cohen, 2019).

However, many politicians continue to blame xenophobic violence on specific isolated groups. This makes these groups into convenient political scapegoats to distract from the actual systemic, institutional xenophobia directed at African foreigners in South Africa (Ncube & Vanyoro, 2018) and shifting responsibility for the situation away from the government and its inadequacies and failures of to take accountability (Bornman, 2019e).

4.4.3 News Framing: Conclusion

News articles covering the Jeppestown protests primarily used the criminal aspect of these events as the frame in which to present their stories to readers. This criminality frame was reinforced by the repeated use of certain language to describe the protests and protestors. This language tended towards crime-related terminology, with events less likely to be described as xenophobic than as criminal, thus obscuring a significant element of the protests. The origins of this frame in the news media lie with its overreliance on government sources, who emphasised and encouraged the criminality angle to the detriment of other explanations or information.

The result is that the meta-narrative conveyed by the media coverage as a whole strongly emphasises and serves to frame the xenophobic protests as criminal. This is despite the fact that the repetition of the criminality angle erases the lived experiences and constant threat that African foreigners in South Africa endure.

As described in the concluding chapter, this crime-focussed meta-narrative also minimises public awareness of the complexity, prevalence and severity of xenophobia in South Africa while increasing media polarisation on the topic.

The next section explores representation in the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests. This includes whose voices were represented and how different groups of people involved in the protests were described and represented.

4.5 BALANCE OF MEDIA COVERAGE: REPRESENTATION

How different people and groups are described and discussed in the media has an impact on readers' perceptions and awareness of them and related issues. It is true that research on the topic of the influence of language in the media shows that it is difficult to create direct links between choice of words used in media articles and reader behaviour.

However, they are at least mutually reinforcing (Danso & McDonald, 2001; Happer & Philo, 2013; Ncube & Vanyoro, 2018; Smith, 2011). This section explores the different forms of representation contained within the media coverage of the 2019 Jeppestown protests and how language and sources may have affected the balance of fair and accurate representation. It examines the share of voice of different individuals and groups contained in the media coverage, how different individuals and groups are described and categorised in news articles, and how citizenship and belonging is represented through language.

4.5.1 Representation and Share of Voice

The previous section on the framing of news articles investigated the different sources used in the news articles to explore the criminality frame. As part of this, Figure 8 revealed that the voices of protestors (11.2%) and victims (8.6%) were restrained in much of the media coverage, in comparison with those of law enforcement (31%) and government sources (12%), which were published more often.

This may have been, in part, due to the aggressive manner in which protestors are said to have met some journalists and the resultant hesitancy of reporters to approach protestors for comment later on. It may also be a consequence of the fact that the foreigners targeted by these protests were likely not highly visible or, given the threat they faced, in the necessary mental state to contribute to media reports (Mabuza & Pijoos, 2019a; SABC News, 2019c). Beyond this, there are other aspects in the production of news media that determine which sources are cited and occupy more space in media coverage. These include, but are not limited to, inexperience, limited resources, time constraints, sensationalism, and/or corporate interests (Chapeyama, 2016; Mtwana & Bird, 2006; Smith, 2011).

The protestors' voices were important because it was through them that the reader could learn about the anti-immigrant pamphlets that were distributed, the beliefs underpinning their xenophobic attacks, their dissatisfaction with traditional leaders' and the government's handling of the situation, and their struggles to find jobs while living in squalor in the hostels. Interviews with hostel dwellers revealed that said pamphlet had been plastered all over their hostel without the due permission from hostel leaders of (the *izInduna*).

Those hostel dwellers who did participate in the Jeppestown protests believed that they were being used as scapegoats for the protests in the Gauteng province. They felt that other mobilised groups and the organisations that had orchestrated the protests held to the same account as they, the hostel inhabitants, were. *City Press* quoted the *Induna* of the Wolhuter Hostel in Jeppestown Manyathela Mvelase thus: "The people who wrote that letter must stop hiding behind the scenes. They must come out and take responsibility for helping incite the violence" (Lebuso, 2019). These details add nuance and complexity to the protest. Such nuance humanises the protestors not only as protagonists but also as victims themselves, while challenging the reader to consider solutions to the intersecting failings and marginalisation that stoked the fire of xenophobic protest in Jeppestown.

Victims of the protests, arson and looting described the devastation in tangible and personal terms that included discussions about how much they had lost, how it would impact their families in their home countries, who they blamed for the protests, and their disappointment in the South African government for not protecting them. This is in contrast to the news stories that were written about the damage and destruction of the protests from the point of view of law enforcement and contained little about the human experience of these devastating events.

An article published in *The Sowetan* that included the voices of foreign nationals whose businesses had been devastated in the protests more directly called out the harmful stereotypes that South Africans put on foreigners.

These foreigners argued that such beliefs underpinned the violent, shattering attacks on their livelihoods. One source spoke openly and honestly about how Nigerian and Pakistani nationals were being made to take the fall for crimes committed by South Africans, and how many South Africans resented their business success and refused to take inspiration from them – opting, instead simply to try to bring them down (Marupeng, 2019). Similarly, one article published on *IOL* includes a response to the attacks on foreign informal traders, in which a Mozambican street vendor questions why South Africans are threatened by informal traders if the protestors are concerned by foreigners stealing formal sector jobs from locals (Mahamba & Dlamini, 2019).

Such contributions from both the victims and the perpetrators of the protests are invaluable in the pursuit to uncover the truth. The narrative should include these important albeit uncomfortable perspectives and hold society accountable for popularly held beliefs and attitudes regarding foreigners. Indeed, where they were consulted, these inside sources critiqued systemic xenophobia in South Africa, challenged misconceptions about their livelihoods, and provided context that was missing in many of the articles that did not include such voices.

The value of articles sharing the experiences of foreign residents amidst the protests was not only that they explored these individuals' victimhood in a targeted series of protests and attacks against them. Such reporting also considered the foreigners' own agency in how they negotiated the protests, with some mobilising and fighting back, and how these people were not merely passive receivers of a violent and focussed attack on their lives and livelihoods. For example, *Daily Maverick* reported on the targeted looting in "migrant rich areas" of Johannesburg and told stories of foreigners fiercely rebuffing their attackers (Haffajee, 2019). This shed light on new information not yet reported in the media.

Balancing media coverage requires the fair representation of all of those involved in events on either side of events (Benham, 2020). Figure 8 shows that victims represented only 8.6% of the sources used in the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests. By limiting the victims' voices in the meta-narrative of the protests, the media perpetuated their everyday systematic oppression by tacitly ignoring that they bore the brunt of severe theft and violence in a calculated assault on their livelihoods.

Furthermore, with so little media analysis of the targeting of African foreigners, their systematic oppression continues to go unquestioned while xenophobia is normalised. This media silence erases African foreigners' positive contributions in communities and their agency in the struggle. The silencing of their voices contributes to the underlying societal conditions that made targeting them seem acceptable in the first place. It contributes to entrenching the singular, reductionist and false identity on this minority group that has formed part of the basis for the engineering of their oppression (Gordon, 2017; Moyo et al., 2018; Sen, 2008).

4.5.2 Representation and Language

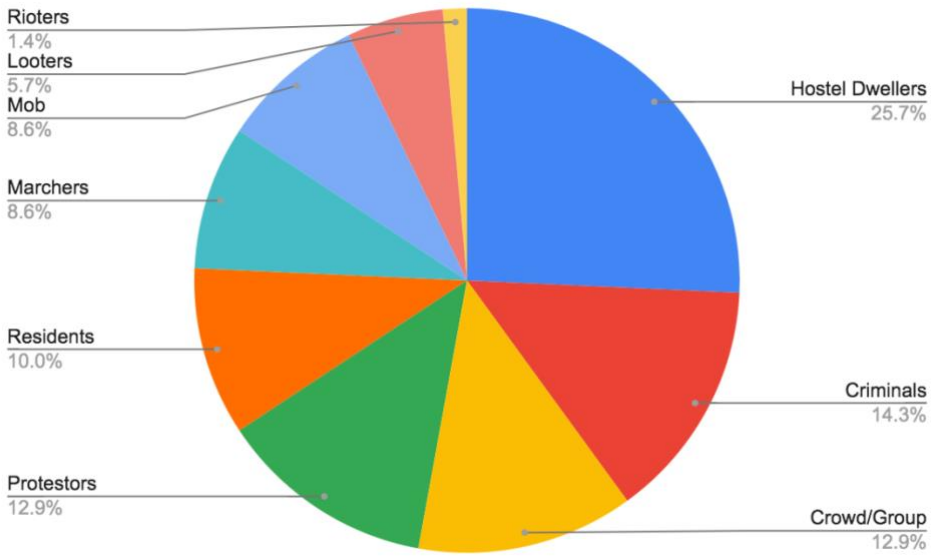
A variety of different terms were used to reference the Jeppestown protestors in the media. These included "hostel dwellers", "criminals", "protestors", "marchers", "residents", "group" or "crowd", "mob", "looters", and "rioters".

Graph 6 illustrates this variety of terminology, indicating that protesters were most often labelled as "hostel dwellers" (25.7%) and that the term "criminal" was used the second most often (14.3%). Both of these terms are only accurate to a degree. To be sure, some of the hostel residents in Jeppestown did admit to having participated in the Jeppestown protests and these protests were also exceptionally violent and saw many crimes – including arson, looting, public violence and murder – committed. This, however, was not the complete story.

The Jeppestown protests were part of a larger, organised series of national shutdowns that had started the week prior in Pretoria and expanded rapidly across Gauteng and other provinces, with news reports revealing that the hostel dwellers were not the only people reported to have been a part of the protests in Jeppestown (Mabuza & Pijoos, 2019a).

Graph 6

Terms Used to Describe Protestors in the Media Coverage as a Total Percentage



Furthermore, while it is true that there was looting, arson and violence reported during the protests, so labels like "criminals" and the frame of criminality were not inaccurate, this is only part of the story. By the excessive use of this language, articles created the false impression of a black-and-white situation.

Collectively, the studied articles used with negative connotations terms – i.e. criminals (14.3%), mobs (8.6%), looters (5.7%) and rioters (1.4%) – 30% of the time, as per table 5, below.

Furthermore, these references were often accompanied by adjectives such as “rowdy”, “opportunistic”, “marauding”, “violent”, “xenophobic”, “angry”, “armed”, “chaotic” and “criminal”. Meanwhile, the protestors were less likely to be described as “protestors” (12.9%) or “marchers” (8.6%), which would have indicated that the subjects had been mobilised around a specific cause and were demanding that certain needs be met. Unfortunately, the news value of violent criminals is greater.

Table 5

Terms Used to Describe the Protestors in the Media Coverage of the Jeppestown Protests

Negative	**Frequency**	**Neutral**	**Frequency**	**Positive**	**Frequency**
Criminals	10	Hostel Dwellers	18	Protestors	9
Mob	6	Crowd/Group	9	Marchers	6
Looters	4	Residents	7		
Rioters	1				

The Jeppestown hostel *Induna* was quoted in *City Press* thusly: “We have been neglected. 25 years since the dawn of democracy and the hostel has not seen any fruits of democracy. We vote governments in and out and they all do not care about what happens here [...] The government must also take responsibility for these attacks. People from the hostels would have never taken part in any of these acts if government did their job. The hostel stinks, there's sewage everywhere, rubbish every corner and the buildings are falling apart” (Lebuso, 2019). Such interviews with the hostel residents added context to their protest.

Theirs is a struggle that is not beyond reproach but one in which hostel dwellers must grapple with the difficulties of being economic migrants at a time when jobs are hard to come by, when they live in squalor far away from their families and homes, when they feel like they have been let down by their government, and they resources seem desperately scarce (Bornman, 2019e; Lebuso, 2019; Skiti & Jika, 2019).

The protestors were often framed as rebels without a cause and described as criminal opportunists, who took advantage of a building fire to randomly attack people (Haffajee & Simelane, 2019; Mabuza & Pijoos, 2019b; News24 Wire, 2019a; Seleka, 2019c). These descriptions obscured their participation in the wider series of shutdowns and protests, as well as hostel dwellers' particular and extreme frustrations with their socio-economic reality. Moreover, the groups who had distributed the social media messages, held mass meetings with their members, and plastered anti-immigrant posters on the hostel walls were not referred to as often or in the same manner as the hostel dwellers were in the coverage of the Jeppestown protests. This produced an incomplete picture of how the Jeppestown protests came to be and the media failed to distribute accountability for the criminal, violent protests accurately amongst all the players. Xenophobia is a complex social phenomenon and it is influenced by historical, social, economic and political factors and catalysts that need to be explored by the media in their complexity if readers are to be correctly informed by the news media that they consume.

4.5.3 Representation, Visibility and Belonging

Another way that the media framed the conflict between groups of people was in describing the protestors as "locals" or Jeppestown "residents" (10% of the terms used to describe protestors in the media coverage in Figure 5), while the victims were not referenced as residents of Jeppestown at all – not even foreign residents. Instead, they were described as "immigrants", "foreigners", "foreign nationals" and "foreign business owners".

At best, this representation is problematic in that it is inaccurate in its depiction of the different groups involved and affected by the protests; the foreign victims of these protests were also residents of Jeppestown. At worst, it highlights an internal bias that suggests that the media regard the victims as being separate and different from other residents. This embeds an exclusionary discourse of othering within media coverage that represented the foreign residents as “other” and different from “residents”, reserving belonging for those who are South African only (Moyo et al., 2018). The othering that is contained in the representation of who belongs to a community and who is a foreigner in the same community maintains perceptions of African foreigners living and working in South Africa as illegal and undocumented, and it subversively relegates African foreigners to an unwelcome, less-than group of people (Moyo et al., 2018).

In fact, much of this very research report has referred to foreigners by various versions of these same terms, which reveals the practical difficulty involved in describing the different groups (who are located in this series of events in different ways) without contributing to the othering of the foreigners and thus failing to be completely inclusive. However, intentionality with regard to selecting descriptors for groups of people is helpful because repetitive language frames people and events in specific ways that shape existing beliefs and behaviour.

4.5.4 Representation: Conclusion

This study examined the repetitive and reinforcing nature of the language used in the news media to describe the two main groups of people involved in the Jeppestown protests. The research also considered the impact that such language has on the framing of people and stories in the news media. The analysis of the Jeppestown protest media coverage showed that representation of victims and protestors – in their own voices – was limited, in comparison to other sources used to add nuance to the news reports. Where protestors’ accounts of the protests were published, they added important details to the news articles about who had mobilised the protests and how they did so.

The hostel dwellers discussed the dire situation in the hostels and shared their dissatisfaction with being used as scapegoats for the violent protests. Their experiences and perspectives added context to the protests and humanised the protestors, amidst news articles that pathologised, blamed and othered these people. The rare accounts of victims provided an emotive point of view of the destruction that the protests had caused them in terms of the human costs. Law enforcement sources, which were used more often to describe the damage done by the protests in Jeppestown, did not convey this reality to readers in the same way. Victims' accounts also challenged the stereotypes and misconceptions – about foreigners stealing jobs and dealing drugs – at the centre of the protests and provided a critique of xenophobia in South Africa from their personal experience.

As mentioned, the Jeppestown hostel dwellers were blamed for the Jeppestown protests in the news media. This was not completely accurate because it erased the influence of political groups and others who had been mobilised in Jeppestown and it pathologised an isolated group. The protestors were also described as opportunistic criminals. This, again, was also only part of the truth and ignored the organised aspect of the protest, reducing the protests to spontaneous criminality. Lastly, the protestors were often referred to as residents whereas the victims were not described as residents even though they lived and worked in Jeppestown. This entrenched their otherness and maintained a discourse of unbelonging that forms the basis of their marginalisation in South Africa.

4.6 CONCLUSION: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The analysis of the media coverage of the Jeppestown protest aimed to explore the balance of the reporting on the protests. It also sought to understand how elements of balanced reporting shaped the meta-narrative of news media coverage of these events. The content analysis considered four aspects of balanced reporting practices: context and analysis, framing, and representation.

Providing context and analysis in news media balances news reports by providing different perspectives, critiques and historical, social, political and economic context that informs readers and challenges or adds to existing knowledge (Lerner et al., 2009; Starkey, 2006). The concept of framing, in news stories, considers how news is packaged in the media using frames, language and sources that shape how news is interpreted. Frames that are accurate and without bias make for balanced news coverage (Chapeyama, 2016; Fine & Bird, 2006; Mtwana & Bird, 2006). Any study of balance in media coverage must also include a review of how subjects in the media are portrayed and how this shapes the way in which events are understood. Balanced reporting means fairly and accurately representing the individuals and groups involved in the news story (Fine & Bird, 2006; Mtwana & Bird, 2006).

The case study of the Jeppestown protests revealed that the studied news articles individually and the media in general conveyed little context for and analysis of the situation. While most articles made reference to xenophobia or that foreigners had been targeted in the protests, these were generally included as minor details and the Jeppestown protests were not contextualised within the concurrent national shutdowns protesting foreigners or the historical, political, social and economic environment in which xenophobia in South Africa is maintained. Furthermore, analyses of how the protests in Jeppestown came about and who was involved were rare, as was any examination of the sources speaking on the protests. Admittedly, some news articles did provide context and analysis and these included diverse sources who added perspective, nuance, complexity and critique to the protests in Jeppestown. In less balanced articles, the media uncritically reproduced quotes from sources with points of view that, without balancing, contained xenophobic stereotypes and ideologies. The impact of such context-deficient and uncritical media coverage on the meta-narrative of the protests erases certain aspects of thereof, normalises harmful ideologies and stereotypes, minimises the systemic marginalisation of foreigners in South Africa, and increases the polarisation of the media.

The framing of the news articles on the Jeppestown protests showed that these articles were very specific in their focus areas, i.e. calls for peace, government responses, breaking news, news analyses, damage reports, crime stories, and police reports. The majority of the articles were framed by the criminal aspect of the protests, due to overreliance on law enforcement sources. This was enhanced by the language – including terms like “looting”, “criminality” and “public violence” – used to describe the attacks in Jeppestown during the protests. The focus on criminality in the news media has value in that it serves to frame xenophobia as a crime; however, no single frame can capture the complexity of the violent, xenophobic protests and the dominant criminality frame is brought to the fore in the media coverage of the protests to the detriment of other aspects. This makes the picture incomplete. The uncritical repetition of the criminality frame and the point of view of law enforcement also served to reproduce the tendency of government officials to blame xenophobic acts on opportunistic criminals. The criminality frame shaped the meta-narrative of the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests, minimising the xenophobic nature of these events and obscuring them as spontaneous violence rather than the systemic oppression of foreigners.

This section of the research showed that there was less representation of protestors and victims of the protests than of police and government officials in the news articles. This may have been a result of various internal and external factors in the production of news media but the absence of certain voices and perspectives in the media coverage revealed the value of representation for balanced reporting. Protestors were framed as criminal opportunists and the hostel dwellers were blamed, but where protestors were given a voice, their contributions added different perspectives, explained the complexity of the protests and their struggles, challenged stereotypes and the pathologising of the hostel dwellers, and minimised the misrepresentation of the protestors as opportunistic criminals.

Similarly, when the victims of the protests were given a voice, they described the destruction of the protests in terms of the human cost, critiqued South Africa's xenophobic beliefs, and unpacked the stereotypes with which foreigners were associated. The invisibility of victims and their experiences and insights in the news articles was enhanced by language that further alienated them, repeatedly referring to the protestors as residents and the victims as foreigners or foreign nationals.

The next chapter concludes this research report. It discusses the case study and its findings, develops theories relating to the case study and existing literature, and makes recommendations for further research.

5 CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The analysis of news media coverage is valuable as a part of a reflexive interrogation of the beliefs and behaviours that underlie the systemic, violent xenophobia in South Africa. The news media are not the only influencers of xenophobic sentiment in South Africa, but they do have a reinforcing and legitimising influence. They have been critiqued for producing sensationalist stories on xenophobia, uncritically reproducing stereotypes and misrepresentations of foreigners, and failing to present a complex social phenomenon accurately and analytically (see Literature Review).

The concluding chapter of this research report starts with a summary of the research by returning to the research questions to show how they were answered. It includes a summary of the research findings and compares these findings to the results of previous media analyses. The researcher then briefly discusses the role of the media in and the potential implications of media coverage for such events and how the media may influence xenophobic sentiment and impact the lives of foreigners in South Africa. The chapter examines the nature of balance in reporting on xenophobia in the news media and addresses the challenge involved in operationalising balance in the news media, as explored during the course of the case study analysis. Lastly, a summary of the limitations of the research is provided and suggestions for further research are made.

5.2 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The purpose of this research was to explore the nature of balance in news media coverage relating to xenophobia and xenophobic violence. The researcher's aim was to contribute to the existing body of work that analyses the content of media coverage and examines the role of the media in society.

Digital news media are consumed at a significant rate because media technology is so integrated into modern society (Buchanan & Zimmer, 2021; Macnamara, 2005) and a case study of the online media coverage of the September 2019 xenophobic protests in Jeppestown was chosen for its empirical value. To achieve these ends, a qualitative content analysis was conducted on the news media coverage of these protests to explore the research questions relating to what constitutes balanced media coverage of xenophobia in the news; how the complexities of xenophobia have been presented in news articles, how the framing of news stories shapes the meta-narrative of media coverage, and how the media represents – or misrepresents – individuals.

The content analysis revealed that most news articles referenced xenophobia or mentioned that the intended targets of the protests were foreigners. However, there was little additional context provided to locate the Jeppestown protests in the context of the national shutdowns or the historical, political, social and economic nature of xenophobia in South Africa. While there were a few articles that interrogated the reasons for and catalysts of the protests in Jeppestown and these articles contained sources that provided perspective and critique, the media coverage overall contained very limited news analysis.

The framing of the Jeppestown protests in the news articles studied focused on the criminality of the protests, as shaped by the dominance of law enforcement sources in the reporting. While this focus on criminality is valuable in recognising xenophobia as a crime, it is incomplete as an exclusive frame and the repetition of the criminality narrative excluded other valid angles from which to consider this violent manifestation of a complex social phenomenon. Furthermore, the discourse around criminality privileges a particular politicised agenda that scapegoats criminals and serves political interests in the denial of xenophobia.

The voices of very few protestors and foreigners were represented in the media. Protestors were incorrectly represented as criminal opportunists, while the hostel dwellers were inaccurately blamed and pathologised as the sole perpetrators.

The victims of the protests were presented as foreign and were not described in terms that indicated that they were also Jeppestown residents, whereas protestors were described as residents. This highlights a discourse of othering in the media content.

The findings of the Jeppestown case study were consistent with previous research on the topic. Although xenophobia has been consistently covered by the media over time, this media coverage has been described as simplistic, decontextualised and non-analytical (Fine & Bird, 2006; McDonald & Jacobs, 2005; Smith, 2011). The media have been criticised for blindly reproducing misrepresentations, not directly challenging stereotypes, and reinforcing othering (Chapeyama, 2016; Chiumbu & Moyo, 2018; Fine & Bird, 2006; Lerner et al., 2009; McDonald & Jacobs, 2005; Ncube & Vanyoro, 2018). Police officials have also long made up the bulk of the sources consulted for this coverage. This has seen news stories on xenophobia presented within a frame emphasising their criminal elements – a reproduction of the beliefs held by law enforcement officials (Chiumbu & Moyo, 2018; Lerner et al., 2009; Smith, 2011). Notably, this case study was unique in that the protestors were labelled as the criminals and the resulting dominant framing of the media coverage was not related to the previous representation of foreigners as criminals.

Media coverage of the 2019 Jeppestown protests provided a case study to explore the journalistic ideal of balance in news articles relating to xenophobia, especially as it relates to contextualisation, framing and representation. The case study revealed similarities and consistencies with prior research as well as how previous findings have become somewhat outdated. It also highlighted the implications of balance – and the lack thereof – in news articles on the meta-narrative of the media coverage as a whole and the challenges of achieving balance as an “imperfect ideal” in media coverage relating to xenophobia. This is covered in the following sections. The next section outlines the impact that the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests may have on South Africans, foreigners living in South Africa, and society in general.

5.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE JEPPESTOWN MEDIA COVERAGE

The media have a difficult and powerful – but not monolithic – role to play in the representation of different issues, lived experiences, and voices. It can either shine a light on injustice and change perceptions and prejudices or misrepresent and misinform – tacitly or otherwise – readers on the issue at hand (Danso & McDonald, 2001; Fine & Bird, 2006; Flückiger, 2006). The following sections explore the implications of the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests and the possibility that the media contributed to changing, challenging or entrenching xenophobic sentiment in South Africa, directly or indirectly impacting the economic precarity and physical security of African residents. The implications of the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests discussed below include the impact of decontextualised, non-analytical news articles on xenophobic beliefs, the origins and political benefit of the criminality frame, the effects of under-representation and discourses of othering, and the challenges in operationalising balance in media coverage relating to xenophobia.

5.3.1 Context and Analysis in the Media

Xenophobia in South Africa is a complex phenomenon that intersects with a range of historical, political and socio-economic issues. Furthermore, the way in which the media reports on xenophobic violence is a key aspect of a multi-dimensional strategy to tackle the systemic nature of xenophobia (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010; Fine & Bird, 2006; Langa & Kiguwa, 2016; Sen, 2008). The Jeppestown protests took place amidst a series of national protests against foreigners and in a country that is not unfamiliar with extreme outbreaks of xenophobic violence. Yet, the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests was largely decontextualised and non-analytical, failing to present or grapple with the issue of xenophobia effectively. The result is that the extent of the constant precarity and insecurity that foreigners in South Africa live with is erased from media coverage. The news media missed an opportunity to draw awareness to the prevalence, complexities and diversity of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa.

This, in turn, limited the potential for the news media to influence social change that an increased awareness about the plight of foreigners in Jeppestown could have catalysed. Lastly, without providing context and analysis for the Jeppestown protests to balance xenophobic viewpoints and present different perspectives, the media unwittingly reproduced and reinforced xenophobic perceptions and prejudices. These deep-seated beliefs about foreigners form the basis of the sustained insecurity and marginalisation of foreigners in South Africa.

5.3.2 The Politics of Criminality in the Media

The media coverage of the Jeppestown protests was framed by the destruction, crime and police response – in essence, criminality. Firstly, this is inaccurate because the focus on criminality ignores the anti-foreigner slogans under which the Jeppestown protests were organised and invalidates the daily threat, precarity and insecurity that foreigners in South Africa face. This implicates the media in a kind of symbolic violence against foreigners by erasing the record of their experiences. Secondly, the framing of the protests as criminality in the media stems from police and government sources, reinforcing the political narrative that positions hostel dwellers and criminals as the sole perpetrators of violence against foreigners in South Africa. In this way, these people became political scapegoats while the media ignored the systemic nature of xenophobia in South Africa the systematic targeting of foreigners during the Jeppestown protests.

The political denialism of the xenophobic nature of the Jeppestown protests was uncritically relayed by the news media without the provision of historical context or political economy analysis. This greatly benefitted complicit politicians because it enabled them to maintain their pan-Africanist reputation while African immigrants residing in South Africa continued to be targeted in violent protests, excluded from basic services, and exploited in their working lives. The xenophobia denialism published in the in articles about the Jeppestown protests increased the polarisation of media coverage of these events by not balancing those views with analysis or different sources.

This approach does not encourage reader engagement with the complexities and viewpoints related to such multifaceted issues as xenophobia.

5.3.3 Representation, Visibility and Belonging in the Media

The absence of the voices of protestors and victims in media coverage of the Jeppestown protests minimised the experiences of vulnerable foreigners in South Africa and portrayed the protestors as rebels without a cause. This severely skewed the meta-narrative of the media coverage of these events. The news articles that contained the experience and perspectives of the protestors and the victims of the protests provided new information and different perspectives, highlighted foreigners' contributions to society, illuminated protestors' socio-economic struggles and frustrations, and attested to the extreme personal losses suffered by the targets of these protests.

The exclusionary language used in reporting on the Jeppestown protests reinforced, unwittingly or otherwise, the othering and alienation of foreign residents there. The media may not have an all-powerful impact on the people who consume what it publishes, but reproducing alienating terminology reinforces beliefs about foreigners and their place in South Africa. This, in turn, influences how foreigners are perceived and treated. This significance of the implications of the use of language and representation in the Jeppestown media coverage becomes apparent when considered in light of the arguments of Solomon and Haigh (2009). They argue that the root cause of xenophobia begins and ends with the alienation of minorities and the maintenance of an exclusionary national identity, therefore, the invisibility and alienation of foreigners in the media coverage of events such as the Jeppestown protests has a material impact on the lives of these people.

5.3.4 Balance in the Jeppestown Media Coverage

As mentioned, some articles did consult diverse sources, highlight different perspectives, and explore the nuances of the Jeppestown protests. These articles favourably contributed to the balance of media coverage in terms of context and analysis, framing, and representation. The Jeppestown case study nevertheless highlighted the general imbalance in media coverage of the Jeppestown protests and tended towards decontextualised content, deficient in analysis and framed by a dominant criminality narrative. This coverage failed to represent victims and protestors fairly and accurately.

The imbalance in the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests revealed the challenge that the news media are tasked with in the pursuit of this ideal: to publish news in a timely and accessible manner with the expectation that all the angles and perspectives of all those involved and affected are presented completely, accurately and fairly. Furthermore, the protests in Jeppestown were deeply rooted in a historical, political, social and economic phenomenon that is complex and systemic. Understandably, it is very difficult to achieve balance when reporting on a complex phenomena like xenophobic protests and requires “issue-based, analytical, educative and informative coverage on race and racism in all its diversity and complexity” (Fine & Bird, 2006). The ideal of balance is further complicated by the fact that the news media had to sell their content regarding the protests to different target audiences with different values, beliefs and frames of reference. Unsurprisingly, news media publishers packaged their content accordingly.

The Jeppestown case study also revealed that equally balancing news stories from all perspectives, airing all voices, can reinforce injustice at times. This is the case when some of these views threatened the human rights of marginalised or vulnerable people and have a material impact on their lives and livelihoods. Indeed, as this report has shown, many news articles merely reflected the views of government sources and their denial that the protests had systematically targeted foreigners.

By contrast, *New Frame* published articles blatantly critiquing the government's denialism of xenophobia and the hypocrisy of politicians who espouse xenophobic sentiment in their speeches and policies (Bornman, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d, 2019e). This shows that what may be considered a balanced article by some, may be viewed by others as merely a partial, and therefore unbalanced, account of events. This reveals the flaw inherent in the ideal of balance; which is clearly dependent on the values, beliefs, prejudices and worldviews of the reader/writer (Hopmann et al., 2011; Starkey, 2006). As such, the news articles that contained so-called objective, neutral and impartial content on the Jeppestown protests raised concerns about the goals of neutrality and impartiality for balanced news. Reporting on matters related to violations to human security like the targeted, violent protests in Jeppestown requires partiality for the sake of the victims, at least in a democracy.

5.3.5 Implications: Conclusion

The news media craft and contribute to prevailing societal discourse regarding xenophobia in South Africa. Therefore, the influence of the Jeppestown media coverage on society's beliefs about a violent, social phenomenon must be examined. The implications of imbalance in the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests reduce the protests to criminality and ignore the complexities and history of xenophobia in South Africa. It negates the systemic oppression of African foreigners living in South Africa, reinforces stereotypes and misrepresentation in the news media, and entrenches a discourse of othering that alienates foreigners. The implications of the Jeppestown media coverage are that it contributes to the xenophobic beliefs that underpin the marginalisation of foreigners, which directly and indirectly impacts their lives. The balanced articles on the Jeppestown protests brought to the fore the voices and experiences of marginalised groups, changing the public's understanding of the Jeppestown protests and xenophobia in South Africa.

However, balance is difficult to operationalise in the news media when it comes to presenting complex phenomena. It is interpreted differently by people with different worldviews and impartial, “balanced” reporting is not always a just goal when it comes to human rights issues.

5.4 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The case study is not an in-depth examination of the impact of individual news articles, particular journalists, or specific publications and their audiences. Rather, it looks at the media coverage as a whole and the meta-narrative that it forms. The news media are shaped by a range of factors and actors that are not completely covered in this research report but include the type of publication, internal biases of journalists, role of the sub-editor, business objectives, budget and time constraints, inexperience and confusion in the newsroom, politics, and deeper ideological issues. The analysis of the media coverage is based on the assumption that social transformation is a priority for the news media who operate within a human rights-based framework in a constitutional democracy with a history of violent racism (Fine & Bird, 2006). This case study is not representative of all media coverage of all instances of xenophobic violence; it is a systematic, iterative analysis of the media coverage of the Jeppestown protests and builds on existing theory (Cho & Lee, 2014; Kohlbacher, 2006).

Suggestions for further research that would add depth to this case study and broaden the understanding of the impact of the media could include investigations of:

- the news media’s will to contribute to positive change relating to xenophobic beliefs;
- the news media production processes and internal factors that influence reporting on xenophobia;
- the political drivers that entrench and reinforce xenophobia;
- similar case studies to determine the generalisability and transferability of the Jeppestown findings;
- the impact of other possible frames for media coverage of xenophobia;

- the actual meta-narrative that different groups of readers receive based on the content, publications and journalists with which they engage; and
- the continuing effect of the media in society, especially as media technologies evolve.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The analysis of media coverage of the xenophobic protests in Jeppestown revealed the imbalance in the media coverage relating to context and analysis, news framing, and representation. This was consistent with previous media analyses and highlighted the value, contradictions and difficulties of balance as a journalistic ideal. The media's influence on society is not titanic but it is also not immaterial. The choices that the news media make relating to coverage of xenophobic incidents adds to, alters and challenges existing beliefs and prejudices that underpin the severe, systemic oppression of African foreigners in South Africa. The implications of imbalance in the news media coverage of the Jeppestown protests reinforces dominant narratives and legitimises xenophobic beliefs, stereotypes and misrepresentations – even if it is not blatantly xenophobic. There is an opportunity for the news media to play a role in the societal transformation needed to dismantle xenophobia, grappling with the breadth and depth of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa by reasonably framing news stories, using language that is fair and accurate, and including marginalised voices, experiences and perspectives.

6 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ariely, G. (2017). Global Identification, Xenophobia and Globalisation: A Cross-National Exploration: Globalisation and Global Identification. *International Journal of Psychology*, *52*, 87–96. https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12364

Arrocha, W. (2019). Combating Xenophobia and Hate through Compassionate Migration: The Present Struggle of Irregular Migrants Escaping Fear and Extreme Poverty. *Crime, Law & Social Change*, *71*(3), 245–260. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-019-09833-w

Asuelime, R. A. (2020). Ubuntu and Xenophobia Incongruities and the 2019 South African Elections Impetus. *Gender & Behaviour*, *18*(1), 14621.

Bassett, E. H., & O'Riordan, K. (2002). Ethics of Internet research: Contesting the human subjects research model. *Ethics and Information Technology*, *4*(3), 233–247. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021319125207

Benham, J. (2020). Best Practices for Journalistic Balance: Gatekeeping, Imbalance and the Fake News Era. *Journalism Practice*, *14*(7), 791–811. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1658538

Bhengu, L. (2021). *Booze bust in Joburg: Police allegedly offered R40K bribe after seizing R100K worth of alcohol*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/booze-bust-in-joburg-police-allegedly-offered-r40k-bribe-after-seizing-r100k-worth-of-alcohol-20210110

Bornman, J. (2019a). *Alarming surge in xenophobic language*. New Frame. https://www.newframe.com/alarming-surge-in-xenophobic-language/

Bornman, J. (2019b). *Herman Mashaba's xenophobic legacy*. New Frame. https://www.newframe.com/herman-mashabas-xenophobic-legacy/

Bornman, J. (2019c). *Politicians' denial of xenophobia*. New Frame. https://www.newframe.com/politicians-denial-xenophobia/

Bornman, J. (2019d). *Taking a stand against xenophobic aggression*. New Frame. https://www.newframe.com/taking-a-stand-against-xenophobic-aggression/

Bornman, J. (2019e). *Xenophobia heightens with calling of 'mass shutdown.'* New Frame. https://www.newframe.com/xenophobia-heightens-with-calling-of-mass-shutdown/

Bratt, M. (2018). *Paywall paying off for Tiso Blackstar Group*. The Media Online. www.themediaonline.co.za/2018/06/paywall-paying-off-for-tiso-blackstar-group/

Brunsma, D., Iyall Smith, K., & Gran, B. (Eds.). (2020). *Sociology for Human Rights: Approaches for Applying Theories and Methods* (1st ed.). Routledge. http://0-web.b.ebscohost.com.innopac.wits.ac.za/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzIyMDQzNzRfX0FO0?sid=3c2f826b-70fa-40c2-a0c9-b3d5d54a18e3%40pdc-v-sessmgr05&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1

Buchanan, E. A., & Zimmer, M. (2021). Internet Research Ethics. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2021). Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2021/entries/ethics-internet-research/

Buonfino, A. (2004). Between unity and plurality: The politicization and securitization of the discourse of immigration in Europe. *New Political Science*, *26*(1), 23–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/0739314042000185111

Caxton Digital. (n.d.). Caxton. Retrieved February 13, 2021, from www.caxtonlocalmedia.co.za/fwp_portfolio/caxton-digital/

Chapeyama, M. (2016). *A comparative study of the South African Sunday Times and Zimbabwean Sunday Mail Newspapers reportage of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa (March and April 2015).* [University of the Witwatersrand]. http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/jspui/bitstream/10539/25707/1/1144886_MutsaChapeyama_MA_Dissertation.pdf

Chiumbu, S. H., & Moyo, D. (2018). “South Africa belongs to all who live in it”: Deconstructing media discourse... *Communicare*, *37*(1).

Cho, J. Y., & Lee, E.-H. (2014). *Reducing Confusion about Grounded Theory and Qualitative Content Analysis: Similarities and Differences*. 21.

Convery, I., & Cox, D. (2012). A review of research ethics in internet-based research. *Practitioner Research in Higher Education*, *6*(1), 50–57.

Crush, J., & Ramachandran, S. (2010). Xenophobia, International Migration and Development. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, *11*(2), 209–228. https://doi.org/10.1080/19452821003677327

Danso, R., & McDonald, D. A. (2001). Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Print Media in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Africa Today*, *48*(3), 115–137. JSTOR.

De Wet, T., Patel, L., Korth, M., & Forrester, C. (2008). Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihood Study. *Centre for Social Development in Africa*. https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/csda/Documents/Johannesburg%20Poverty%20and%20Livelihood%20Study.pdf

Dlamini, P. (2019). *Anti-foreigner sentiment drowns Buthelezi speech*. SowetanLIVE. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-09-08-anti-foreigner-sentiment-drowns-buthelezi-speech/

Dlamini, P., & Skuy, A. (2019). *Hostel residents march against foreigners as Buthelezi appeals for peace*. DispatchLIVE. https://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/2019-09-08-hostel-residents-march-against-foreigners-as-buthelezi-appeals-for-peace/

Dodson, B. (2010). Locating Xenophobia: Debate, Discourse, and Everyday Experience in Cape Town, South Africa. *Africa Today*, *56*(3), 2–22. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2979/aft.2010.56.3.2

eNCA. (2019a). *Defence Minister: Joburg CBD deaths could have been avoided | eNCA*. ENCA. https://www.enca.com/news/defence-minister-joburg-cbd-deaths-could-have-been-avoided

eNCA. (2019b). *We need to stop any form of looting: Cele | eNCA*. ENCA. https://www.enca.com/news/cele-visits-jhb-during-unrest

Fine, J., & Bird, W. (2006). Shades of Prejudice: An Investigation into the South African Media's Coverage of Racial Violence and Xenophobia. *The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation*. https://www.csvr.org.za/publications/1654-shades-of-prejudice-an-investigation-into-the-south-african-medias-coverage-of-racial-violence-and-xenophobia

Flick, U. (2018). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*. SAGE Publications Ltd. https://0-eds-a-ebscohost-com.innopac.wits.ac.za/eds/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzE2NjY5OThfX0FO0

?sid=30c09146-b90e-4dce-8cdc-da00a14f0cb2@sdc-v-sessmgr02&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1

Flückiger, K. M. (2006). Xenophobia, Media Stereotyping and Their Role in Global Insecurity. *Geneva Centre for Security Policy*, *21*, 19.

Gordon, S. (2015). Xenophobia across the class divide: South African attitudes towards foreigners 2003–2012. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *33*(4), 494–509. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2015.1122870

Gordon, S. (2016). Welcoming refugees in the rainbow nation: Contemporary attitudes towards refugees in South Africa. *African Geographical Review*, *35*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/19376812.2014.933705

Gordon, S. (2017). A Desire for Isolation? Mass Public Attitudes in South Africa toward Immigration Levels. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *15*(1), 18–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2016.1151096

Haffajee, F. (2019). *BATTLEFIELD JOZI: City in lockdown as looters target migrant-rich areas across Johannesburg and East Rand*. Daily Maverick. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-09-02-city-in-lockdown-as-looters-target-migrant-rich-areas-across-johannesburg-and-east-rand/

Haffajee, F., & Simelane, B. (2019). *Joburg Xenophobic Terror: "Mabahambe, sesikhathele!" – They must leave, we have had enough*. Daily Maverick. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-09-02-joburg-traders-and-random-people-terrorised-and-beaten-by-weapon-wielding-looters-amid-a-lame-police-response/

Hage, G. (2003). *Against paranoid nationalism: Searching for hope in a shrinking society*. Annandale, NSW. : Pluto Press. https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/144694

Happer, C., & Philo, G. (2013). The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *1*(1), 321-336–336. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v1i1.96

Harris, B. (2002). Xenophobia: A new pathology for a new South Africa? *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*, 169–184.

Hjarvard, S. (2008). The Mediatization of Society: A Theory of the Media as Agents of Social and Cultural Change. *Nordicom Review*, *29*(2), 102–131. https://doi.org/10.1515/nor-2017-0181

Hlatshaneni, S. (2020). Crime, electricity theft kill off critical businesses in Joburg. *The Citizen*. https://citizen.co.za/business/business-news/2352308/crime-electricity-theft-kill-off-critical-businesses-in-joburg/

Hopmann, D. N., Aelst, P. V., & Legnante, G. (2011). Political balance in the news: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings: *Journalism*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911427804

Inkatha Freedom Party. (2021). *Our President Emeritas*. Inkatha Freedom Party. https://www.ifp.org.za/who-we-are/our-leadership/our-president-emeritus/

Jinnah, Z. (2020). Negotiated Precarity in the Global South: A Case Study of Migration and Domestic Work in South Africa. *Studies in Social Justice*, *2020*, 210–227. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v2020i14.1971

Kantanen, H., & Manninen, J. (2016). Hazy Boundaries: Virtual Communities and Research Ethics. *Media and Communication*, *4*, 86–96. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v4i4.576

Klotz, A. (2016). Borders and the Roots of Xenophobia in South Africa. *South African Historical Journal*, *68*(2), 180–194. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582473.2016.1153708

Kohlbacher, F. (2006a). The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *7*(1).

Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. SAGE Publications.

Kuper, A., Lingard, L., & Levinson, W. (2008). Qualitative Research: Critically Appraising Qualitative Research. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, *337*(7671), 687–689.

Langa, M., & Kiguwa, P. (2016). Race-ing xenophobic violence: Engaging social representations of the black African body in post-apartheid South Africa. *Agenda*, *30*(2), 75–85. https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2016.1222086

Lebuso, S. (2019). *Who's to blame for violence? The state, who neglected us, say hostel dwellers*. Citypress. https://www.news24.com/citypress/News/whos-to-blame-for-violence-the-state-who-neglected-us-say-hostel-dwellers-20190913

Lerner, A., Roberts, S., & Matlala, C. (2009). *Race and Migration in the Community Media: Local stories, common stereotypes*. https://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/images/uploads/MDDA_report_final.pdf

Mabena, S. (2019). *Expert slams Zulu king's 'interference' in xenophobia crisis*. The Citizen. https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/news-xenophobia/2178167/expert-slams-zulu-kings-interference-in-xenophobia-crisis/

Mabuza, E., & Pijoos, I. (2019). *First confirmed death in Gauteng looting and violence, as arrests rise to 100*. SowetanLIVE. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-09-02-first-confirmed-death-in-gauteng-looting-and-violence-as-arrests-rise-to-100/

Mabuza, E., & Pijoos, I. (2019c). *"We need to meet, talk to communities about the looting," says Bheki Cele*. SowetanLIVE. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-09-02-we-need-to-meet-and-talk-to-communities-about-the-looting-says-bheki-cele/

Macnamara, J. R. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, *6*(1), 1.

Mahamba, C., & Dlamini, Y. (2019). *Bheki Cele blames Joburg violence on Cleveland and Denver hostel dwellers*. IOL. https://www.iol.co.za/the-star/news/bheki-cele-blames-joburg-violence-on-cleveland-and-denver-hostel-dwellers-31805416

Makhafola, G. (2019). *Crowds walk out of speech as Buthelezi pleads for end to xenophobia*. IOL. https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/crowds-walk-out-of-speech-as-buthelezi-pleads-for-end-to-xenophobia-32564323

Manyathela, C., & Kubheka, T. (2019). *ANC slams JHB CBD violence as acts of criminality*. EWN. https://ewn.co.za/2019/09/02/anc-slams-jhb-cbd-violence-as-acts-of-criminality

Marupeng, P. (2019). *Heavy cost of xenophobic mobs*. SowetanLIVE. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-09-03-heavy-cost-of-xenophobic-mobs/

McDonald, D. A., & Jacobs, S. (2005). (Re)writing xenophobia: Understanding press coverage of cross-border migration in Southern Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *23*(3), 295–325. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589000500274050

Mdeni, L. (2019). *Crowd interrupts Buthelezi as he pleads for peace amidst xenophobic violence*. SABC News. https://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/crowd-interrupts-buthelezi-as-he-pleads-for-peace-amidst-xenophobic-violence/

Mdluli, Z. (2019). *Protesters Walk Away from Buthelezi Mid Speech*. Daily Sun. https://www.dailysun.co.za/News/protesters-walk-away-from-buthelezi-20190908

Misago, J. P. (2019). Political Mobilisation as the Trigger of Xenophobic Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)*, *13*(0), 646. https://doi.org/10.4119/UNIBI/ijcv.646

Moagi, M., Wyatt, G., Mokgobi, M., Loeb, T., Zhang, M., & Davhana-Maselesele, M. (2018). Mozambican immigrants to South Africa: Their xenophobia and discrimination experiences. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, *28*(3), 196–200. https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2018.1475485

Moletsane, M., Coetzee, J. K., & Rau, A. (2017). Life as a Stranger: Experiences of Labor Migrants from Lesotho. *Qualitative Sociology Review*, *13*(1), 74–91.

Moosa, F. (2019). *African Countries Demand Accountability for South African Xenophobia*. The Daily Vox. https://www.thedailyvox.co.za/african-countries-demand-accountability-for-south-african-xenophobia/

Morais, S., & Ngqakamba, S. (2019). *Unrest Flares up in Joburg CBD: Police Fire Rubber Bullets on Marchers Armed with Sticks and Pangas*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/unrest-flares-up-in-joburg-cbd-police-fire-rubber-bullets-on-marchers-armed-with-sticks-and-pangas-20190908

Moser, A., & Korstjens, I. (2018). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 3: Sampling, data collection and analysis. *European Journal of General Practice*, *24*(1), 9–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/13814788.2017.1375091

Moyo, I., Nshimbi, C. C., & Gumbo, T. (2018). Crisis, Identity and Migration in Post-Colonial Southern Africa. In H. H. Magidimisha (Ed.), *Advances in African Economic, Social and Political Development* (pp. 91–110). Springer International Publishing. http://0-web.b.ebscohost.com.innopac.wits.ac.za/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzE1NjE3NTRfX0FO0?sid=75a6391e-015b-4781-bfec-5eb09529b2ef@pdc-v-sessmgr06&vid=0&format=EB&lpid=lp_91&rid=0

Mtwana, N., & Bird, W. (2006). *Revealing Race: An analysis of the coverage of race and xenophobia in the South African print media*. 43.

Mutanda, D. (2017). Xenophobic violence in South Africa: Mirroring economic and political development failures in Africa. *African Identities*, *15*(3), 278–294. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2017.1291325

Ncube, L., & Vanyoro, K. (2018). [Re]-presenting knowledge: The coverage of xenophobia research in selected South African newspapers, 2008-2013. *Journal of Communication and Media Research*, *10*, 76–89.

Ndongo, G. (2019). *Cele calls for calm after xenophobic violence*. GroundUp News. https://www.groundup.org.za/article/joburg-chaos-cele-calls-calm/

Neocosmos, M. (2008). The Politics of Fear and the Fear of Politics: Reflections on Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909608096655

News24 Portfolio. (n.d.). The SpaceStation. Retrieved February 13, 2021, from www.thespacestation.co.za/portfolio/news24/

News24 Wire. (2019a). *31 people arrested for looting, setting shops and cars alight in Johannesburg CBD – The Citizen*. News24. https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/crime/2173733/31-people-arrested-for-looting-setting-shops-and-cars-alight-in-johannesburg-cbd/

News24 Wire. (2019b). *Cele's calls for peace rejected by Jeppestown residents – The Citizen*. The Citizen. https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/protests/2174618/celes-calls-for-peace-rejected-by-jeppestown-residents/

Njilo, N. (2019). *WATCH | Mob loots shops after deadly "hijacked building" fire in Joburg CBD*. TimesLIVE. https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-09-01-watch-mob-loots-shops-after-deadly-hijacked-building-fire-in-joburg-cbd/

Nkululeko, N., & Cohen, M. (2019). *Xenophobic attacks leave migrants living in fear*. Moneyweb. https://www.moneyweb.co.za/news-fast-news/xenophobic-attacks-leave-migrants-living-in-fear/

Odiaka, N. (2017). The Face of Violence: Rethinking the Concept of Xenophobia, Immigration Laws and the Rights of Non-Citizens in South Africa. *BRICS Law Journal*, *4*, 40–70. https://doi.org/10.21684/2412-2343-2017-4-2-40-70

Petersson, B. (2003). Combating Uncertainty, Combating the Global: Scapegoating, Xenophobia and the National-Local Nexus. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, *8*(1), 85–102. JSTOR.

Pijoos, I. (2019). *Maboneng precinct and Joburg CBD shut down as hostel dwellers march*. DispatchLIVE. https://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/2019-09-08-maboneng-precinct-and-joburg-cbd-shut-down-as-hostel-dwellers-march/

Politicsweb. (2019). *Gauteng violence: 10 of 12 victims were South Africans—NEWS & ANALYSIS | Politicsweb*. Politicsweb. https://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/gauteng-violence-10-of-12-victims-were-south-afric

Readership and Audience Demographics. (2019). Independent Media. www.independentmedia.co.za/advertise-with-us/readership/

SABC Corporate Plan. (2020). South African Broadcasting Corporation. https://static.pmg.org.za/SABC_Corporate_Plan.pdf

SABC News. (2019a). *Cele condemns violent attacks, looting across Gauteng*. SABC News. https://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/cele-condemns-violent-attacks-looting-across-gauteng/

SABC News. (2019b). *Current violence in SA a crisis: Buthelezi*. SABC News. https://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/current-violence-in-sa-a-crisis-buthelezi/

SABC News. (2019c). *Looting of foreign-owned shops spreading all around Johannesburg—SABC News—Breaking news, special reports, world, business, sport coverage of all South African current events. Africa's news leader.* SABC News. https://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/looting-of-foreign-owned-shops-spreading-all-around-johannesburg/

SAnews. (2019). *Security cluster moves to stabilise areas*. SAnews. https://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/security-cluster-moves-stabilise-areas

Seleka, N. (2019a). *Cele calls for peace but Jeppestown residents vow to continue attacks*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/celes-calls-for-peace-but-jeppestown-residents-vow-to-continue-attacks-20190903

Seleka, N. (2019b). *Protesters loot Joburg shops as cops rally to quell unrest across parts of Gauteng | News24*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/protesters-loot-joburg-shops-as-cops-rally-to-quell-unrest-across-parts-of-gauteng-20190902

Seleka, N. (2019c). *WATCH | Cars damaged, shops looted in Jeppestown after 3 burn to death in building fire*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/cars-damaged-shops-looted-in-jeppestown-after-3-burn-to-death-in-building-fire-20190901

Selepe, L. (2019). *Rioters, looters force Johannesburg EMS to withdraw from duty*. IOL. https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/rioters-looters-force-johannesburg-ems-to-withdraw-from-duty-31730413

Sen, A. (2008). Violence, Identity and Poverty. *Journal of Peace Research*, *45*(1), 5–15. JSTOR.

Sithole, H. (2019). *Police minister Cele meets Jeppestown residents*. SABC News. https://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/police-minister-cele-meets-jeppestown-residents/

Skiti, S., & Jika, T. (2019). *Behind the Johannesburg riots: How did they happen? - The Mail & Guardian*. Mail & Guardian. https://mg.co.za/article/2019-09-06-00-behind-the-johannesburg-riots-how-did-they-happen/

Smith, M. J. (2011). Violence, Xenophobia and the Media: A Review of the South African Media's Coverage of Xenophobia and the Xenophobic Violence Prior to and Including the Events of 2008. *Politikon*, *38*(1), 111–129. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2011.548673

Smuts, M. (2019). *A school secured what leaders couldn't: A negotiated truce*. The Mail & Guardian. https://mg.co.za/article/2019-10-04-00-a-school-secured-what-leaders-couldnt-a-negotiated-truce/

Solomon, H., & Haigh, L. (2009). Xenophobia in South Africa: Origins, Trajectory and Recommendations. *Africa Review*, *1*(2), 111–131. https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2009.10597284

Starkey, G. (2006). *Balance and Bias in Journalism: Representation, Regulation and Democracy*. Macmillan Education UK.

Taylor, S. (2013). External Threats to Validity. In *Validity and Validation*. Oxford University Press. https://0-oxford-universitypressscholarship-com.innopac.wits.ac.za/view/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199791040.001.0001/acprof-9780199791040-chapter-3

Taylor, S. (2021). *The Mosaic That Is Jeppestown*. The Heritage Portal. http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/mosaic-jeppestown

Tlou, G. (2021). *City of Johannesburg unveils R1.6bn Long Street housing project*. https://www.iol.co.za/the-star/news/city-of-johannesburg-unveils-r16bn-long-street-housing-project-0da16ee3-ee1b-43f2-b1ca-ba4862b53494

Tyali, S. M. (2017). Public perceptions of the media as a political actor in South Africa: Regarding the Mail & Guardian. *Journal of African Media Studies*, *9*(3), 547–562. https://doi.org/10.1386/jams.9.3.547_1

van Diemen, E. (2019). *Gauteng xenophobic violence: 10 of 12 victims were South Africans—Defence minister*. News24. https://www.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/gauteng-xenophobic-violence-10-of-12-victims-were-south-africans-defence-minister-20190910

Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal*, *13*(1), 51–62. https://doi.org/10.1075/idjdd.13.1.06vre

Webster, D. (2019). *Xenophobic 'shutdowns' turn indiscriminately violent*. New Frame. https://www.newframe.com/xenophobic-shutdowns-turn-indiscriminately-violent/

White, M. D., & Marsh, E. E. (2006). Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology. *Library Trends*, *55*(1), 22–45. https://doi.org/10.1353/lib.2006.0053

Zikhali, J. T., & Smit, B. (2018). Negotiated Precarity in the Global South: A Case Study of Migration and Dom... *Gender & Behaviour*, *16*(1), 10834–10850.

Zulu, M., & Cilliers, C. (2019). *Second fatality confirmed in Joburg CBD anti-foreigner protests*. The Citizen. https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/news-update/2176567/second-fatality-confirmed-in-joburg-cbd-anti-foreigner-protests/

7 APPENDICES

7.1 Appendix 1: Sample Selection

Table 6

Number of News Articles Containing the Keywords Published in 2019

Date	Week	Xenophobia	Xenophobic Violence	Immigration	Immigrant	Migrant	Foreign National	Foreigner	Total
2019-01-07 0:00:00	**1**	2	0	13	5	11	4	2	37
2019-01-14 0:00:00	**2**	7	0	27	26	30	12	7	109
2019-01-21 0:00:00	**3**	3	0	24	8	19	6	3	63
2019-01-28 0:00:00	**4**	2	0	18	9	18	2	2	51
2019-02-04 0:00:00	**5**	2	0	12	7	20	9	2	52
2019-02-11 0:00:00	**6**	3	0	23	10	26	0	3	65
2019-02-18 0:00:00	**7**	3	0	27	20	31	4	3	88
2019-02-25 0:00:00	**8**	4	1	22	11	20	7	4	69
2019-03-04 0:00:00	**9**	2	1	21	4	17	4	2	51
2019-03-11 0:00:00	**10**	10	1	24	16	27	18	10	106
2019-03-18 0:00:00	**11**	14	0	42	36	47	9	14	162
2019-03-25 0:00:00	**12**	8	0	29	11	27	8	8	91
2019-04-01 0:00:00	**13**	33	10	18	22	38	59	36	216
2019-04-08 0:00:00	**14**	37	19	26	35	51	58	38	264
2019-04-15 0:00:00	**15**	13	4	20	17	36	24	13	127
2019-04-22 0:00:00	**16**	5	4	4	15	25	10	5	68
2019-04-29 0:00:00	**17**	8	5	11	7	20	14	9	74
2019-05-06 0:00:00	**18**	13	0	27	11	22	13	13	99
2019-05-13 0:00:00	**19**	5	1	12	3	24	13	5	63
2019-05-20 0:00:00	**20**	0	0	20	11	28	5	0	64
2019-05-27 0:00:00	**21**	3	1	12	9	16	7	3	51

Date	Week	Xenophobia	Xenophobic Violence	Immigration	Immigrant	Migrant	Foreign National	Foreigner	Total
2019-06-03 0:00:00	**22**	4	0	28	17	43	8	4	104
2019-06-10 0:00:00	**23**	2	0	31	12	33	11	3	92
2019-06-17 0:00:00	**24**	2	0	18	7	20	9	2	58
2019-06-24 0:00:00	**25**	4	0	35	12	39	10	4	104
2019-07-01 0:00:00	**26**	1	0	21	6	24	2	1	55
2019-07-08 0:00:00	**27**	3	0	26	17	75	11	3	135
2019-07-15 0:00:00	**28**	6	1	30	21	56	8	6	128
2019-07-22 0:00:00	**29**	1	0	21	14	27	5	1	69
2019-07-29 0:00:00	**30**	2	0	28	20	53	10	2	115
2019-08-05 0:00:00	**31**	3	2	23	16	42	20	3	109
2019-08-12 0:00:00	**32**	9	2	54	40	72	57	9	243
2019-08-19 0:00:00	**33**	10	0	38	26	52	38	10	174
2019-08-26 0:00:00	**34**	5	1	10	7	23	12	5	63
2019-09-02 0:00:00	**35**	9	4	18	15	44	50	9	149
2019-09-09 0:00:00	**36**	104	93	26	33	81	222	110	669
2019-09-16 0:00:00	**37**	67	60	52	23	58	154	72	486
2019-09-23 0:00:00	**38**	47	21	32	27	57	64	47	295
2019-09-30 0:00:00	**39**	21	15	13	14	39	29	20	151
2019-10-07 0:00:00	**40**	15	22	15	12	29	39	15	147
2019-10-14 0:00:00	**41**	15	7	23	13	22	20	15	115
2019-10-21 0:00:00	**42**	11	2	14	7	20	16	11	81
2019-10-28 0:00:00	**43**	14	2	19	25	39	16	14	129
2019-11-04 0:00:00	**44**	17	12	13	9	17	31	17	116
2019-11-11 0:00:00	**45**	12	4	37	17	35	25	14	144
2019-11-18 0:00:00	**46**	19	17	21	12	30	39	20	158
2019-11-25 0:00:00	**47**	10	3	14	7	16	17	10	77
2019-12-02 0:00:00	**48**	10	1	16	7	23	22	10	89
2019-12-09 0:00:00	**49**	4	0	18	7	22	10	4	65

Date	Week	Xenophobia	Xenophobic Violence	Immigration	Immigrant	Migrant	Foreign National	Foreigner	Total
2019-12-16 0:00:00	**50**	2	4	13	17	27	11	2	76
2019-12-23 0:00:00	**51**	8	8	22	24	44	10	8	124
2019-12-30 0:00:00	**52**	4	0	10	9	16	6	4	49
	Total	618	328	1171	786	1731	1268	637	

7.2 Appendix 2: Data Collection

Table 7

News Articles Relating to the Xenophobic Protests in Jeppestown in September 2019

ID	Title	Author	Date
1184689	WATCH | Cars damaged, shops looted in Jeppestown after 3 burn to death in building fire	Seleka	2019/09/01
1185067	WATCH | Mob loots shops after deadly 'hijacked building' fire in Joburg CBD	Njilo	2019/09/01
1185619	31 people arrested for looting, setting shops and cars alight in Johannesburg CBD	New24 Wire	2019/09/02
1185778	ANC slams JHB CBD violence as acts of criminality	Manyathela, Kubheka	2019/09/02
1185787	WATCH: 41 arrested as looting continues across Joburg, Ekurhuleni | IOL News	Ngcobo, Selepe	2019/09/02
1185795	We need to stop any form of looting: Cele	*eNCA*	2019/09/02
1185963	Protesters loot Joburg shops as cops rally to quell unrest across parts of Gauteng	Seleka	2019/09/02
1185984	UPDATE: 31 people arrested for looting, setting shops and cars alight in Johannesburg CBD	Seleka, Grobler	2019/09/02
1186095	Rioters, looters force Johannesburg EMS to withdraw from duty | IOL News	Selepe	2019/09/02
1186421	Looting of foreign-owned shops spreading all around Johannesburg	*SABC News*	2019/09/02
1186498	Xenophobia heightens with calling of 'mass shutdown'	Bornman	2019/09/02
1186509	We need to meet, talk to communities about the looting,' says Bheki Cele	Mabuza, Pijoos	2019/09/02
1186515	First confirmed death in Gauteng looting and violence, as arrests rise to 100	Mabuza, Pijoos	2019/09/02
1186546	First confirmed death in Gauteng looting and violence	Mabuza, Pijoos	2019/09/02
1186606	BATTLEFIELD JOZI: City in lockdown as looters target migrant-rich areas across Johannesburg and East Rand	Haffajee	2019/09/02
1186649	Man shot during Gauteng violence confirmed dead - reports	Somdyala	2019/09/02
1186660	Joburg Xenophobic Terror: "Mabahambe, sesikhathele!" - They must leave, we have had enough	Simelane, Haffajee	2019/09/02

1187157	Cele condemns violent attacks, looting across Gauteng	*SABC News*	2019/09/03
1187204	Xenophobic 'shutdowns' turn indiscriminately violent	Webster	2019/09/03
1187260	Heavy cost of xenophobic mobs	Marupeng	2019/09/03
1187482	Cele calls for calm after xenophobic violence	Ndongo	2019/09/03
1187607	Cele calls for peace but Jeppestown residents vow to continue attacks	Seleka	2019/09/03
1187642	Gauteng violence: 5 confirmed dead, 189 arrested	Somdyala	2019/09/03
1187931	Police minister Cele meets Jeppestown residents	Sithole	2019/09/03
1187992	Cele's calls for peace rejected by Jeppestown residents	*News24 Wire*	2019/09/03
1188263	Bheki Cele blames Joburg violence on Cleveland and Denver hostel dwellers | The Star	Mahamba, Dlamini	2019/09/04
1190195	African Countries Demand Accountability For South African Xenophobia - The Daily Vox	Moosa	2019/09/05
1190815	Behind the Johannesburg riots: How did they happen?	Skiti, Jika	2019/09/06
1194155	Anti-foreigner sentiment drowns Buthelezi speech	Dlamini	2019/09/08
1194206	Crowd interrupts Buthelezi as he pleads for peace amidst xenophobic violence	Mdeni	2019/09/08
1194257	One fatality confirmed in Joburg CBD anti-foreigner protests	Zulu, Cilliers	2019/09/08
1194328	Hostel residents march against foreigners as Buthelezi appeals for peace	Dlamini, Skuy	2019/09/08
1194330	Cele postpones Jhb imbizo over 'clash' with reed dance event	Ngatane	2019/09/08
1194349	Maboneng precinct and Joburg CBD shut down as hostel dwellers march	Pijoos	2019/09/08
1194367	Maboneng precinct and Joburg CBD shut down as hostel dwellers march	Pijoos	2019/09/08
1194381	Buthelezi begs angry crowd to calm down as he speaks against xenophobia	Dlamini, Skuy	2019/09/08
1194385	Hostel residents march against foreigners as Buthelezi appeals for peace	Dlamini, Skuy	2019/09/08
1194403	PROTESTERS WALK AWAY FROM BUTHELEZI MID SPEECH!	Mdluli	2019/09/08
1194407	Crowds walk out of speech as Buthelezi pleads for end to xenophobia | IOL News	Makhufola	2019/09/08
1194411	Maboneng precinct and Joburg CBD shut down as hostel dwellers march	Pijoos	2019/09/08
1194426	Police keeping close watch after unrest leaves one dead, 5 injured in Joburg city centre	Morais, Petersen	2019/09/08
1194432	Unrest flares up in Joburg CBD: Police fire rubber bullets on marchers armed with sticks and pangas	Morais, Ngqakamba	2019/09/08
1194435	Buthelezi's xenophobia message shunned as splinter group disrupts his speech to intimidate foreigners	Morais	2019/09/08
1194705	Current violence in SA a crisis: Buthelezi	*SABC News*	2019/09/08
1194744	Police yet to confirm nationalities of victims of Joburg CBD violence	Qodashe	2019/09/09
1194785	Second fatality confirmed in Joburg CBD anti-foreigner protests	Zulu, Cilliers	2019/09/09
1194818	Two people killed	Pijoos	2019/09/09

1194823	Two people killed, 5 injured in Joburg CBD after violence flared up overnight	Pijoos	2019/09/09
1194987	Defence Minister: Joburg CBD deaths could have been avoided	*eNCA*	2019/09/09
1195069	One dead, 16 arrested in attacks in Joburg | IOL News	*IOL*	2019/09/08
1195139	Second person dies in deadly Joburg unrest	Grobler	2019/09/09
1196914	Gauteng xenophobic violence: 10 of 12 victims were South Africans - defence minister	van Diemen	2019/09/10
1196921	Victims dispel xenophobia claims after looting of local shops in Maboneng | The Star	Mahamba, Mketane, Mlala	2019/09/10
1197395	Security cluster moves to stabilise areas	*SAnews*	2019/09/10
1197526	Gauteng violence: 10 of 12 victims were South Africans	*Politicsweb*	2019/09/10
1200052	Expert slams Zulu king's 'interference' in xenophobia crisis	Mabena	2019/09/12
1202265	Who's to blame for violence? The state, who neglected us, say hostel dwellers	Lebuso	2019/09/13
1217764	Zulu King calls for an 'immediate' end to attacks on foreigners | IOL News	Hans	2019/09/24
1230734	A school secured what leaders couldn't: A negotiated truce	Smuts	2019/10/04
1254583	Xenophobia Aftermath: Vulnerable and traumatised -- but fearful Jeppestown business owners rebuild	Simelane	2019/10/23