

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).



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DECLARATION

I Mutsa Belinda Chapeyama, declare that this research report is my own original work and that all the sources that have been used or quoted from have been acknowledged by means of complete references. This work has not been submitted previously or concurrently, in candidature for any degree at any other University.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the way in which xenophobic violence was framed during March and April 2015. This is undertaken through qualitative content analysis of the editorial, news, opinion and feature articles in order to identify themes and news values selected for the coverage of the violence. The study draws on some of the news values enshrined in two newspapers, *Sunday Times* (South African newspaper) and *Sunday Mail* (Zimbabwean newspaper), coverage of the xenophobic violence and framing of the violence that occurred during 2015. News values are used to determine how much prominence an event or issue is. Hence, this insight is used to analyse the news articles to determine what the newspapers considered newsworthy during the xenophobic violence. In addition, framing theory asserts that the media put more focus on certain events than others and place them within a field of meaning. As such, overall, the findings of the study show that both newspapers framed xenophobic violence in a manner that was not derogatory to the foreigners i.e. the use of words such as makwerekwere or aliens but however different considering the different contexts from which the newspapers reported from. The *Sunday Mail* had little coverage on the violence and mostly reported on the violence if there was a Zimbabwean national involved. On the contrary, *Sunday Times*, reported on all the events that took place during the span of the violence.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In March and April 2015, South Africa experienced a wave of xenophobic violence in which seven people, amongst them Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and South Africans were killed (Winsor, 2015). Xenophobic violence has elicited much interest from various people within South Africa and other African countries. Xenophobia is a term used to describe a “strong feeling of dislike or fear towards people from other countries, their values, beliefs, cultures and religions” (Harris 2002:9). According to Harris (2002:9), xenophobia is an intense and irrational phobic behaviour towards people from other countries by nationals of the recipient state. It operates on the basis of making negative assumptions or perceptions about other people (Media Monitoring Africa, 2003:82). This study focuses on the newsworthiness of the xenophobic violence and how it was framed by the media.

Media coverage of xenophobic violence has been a topic of interest for many scholars (Fine and Bird, 2002, McDonald and Jacobs, 2005 and Smith, 2009) and an important issue in Africa. South Africa is the safe haven of most people from other African countries (Games, 2012). Citizens of other African countries migrate to South Africa for various reasons, some of which are to seek business investments, better living conditions, and refuge away from their countries succumbing to wars and crises (South African History Online [SAHO], 2016). However, the presence of these foreign nationals is in contention because of their alleged hindrance to South African citizens’ worth and benefits (Wilkinson 2015:1). As such, discriminatory attitudes may manifest due to these perceptions despite the fact that South Africa is “presented as a model for reconciliation and hope for the African continent” (Mshubeki, 2016:2). According to Steenkamp (2009:349) in relation to 2008 xenophobic attacks, “within a single month, notions of a rainbow nation, pan-African solidarity and equality in South Africa were ringing hollow.” Therefore, xenophobic violence challenges the commitment to human rights as well as South Africa’s commitment to being a rainbow nation (Steenkamp, 2009:349).

It is important to note that many newspapers covered the xenophobia violence that happened in Kwa-Zulu Natal and Gauteng in March and April 2015. According to most media reports in local and international media such as the, South African *Daily Sun*, Zimbabwean *Sunday Mail* and United Kingdom’s *BBC News*, the attacks started in Kwa-Zulu Natal and spread to Gauteng with

rumours that local businesses were hiring foreign nationals instead of local workers (Bekker, 2015:232). The events brought to the fore issues regarding the coverage of violence with, the South African Press Code (SAPC) stipulating that “news shall be presented in context and in balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation, material omission, or summarisation” (SAPC, 2013). Hence, media messages should not carry negative or discriminatory perceptions about sensitive issues such as xenophobia violence. Bakare (2013:5) however, notes that the reports from most media documented the causes of xenophobia violence which included failure of government policies to address criminal activities and high unemployment rate. The research findings from most literature on xenophobia in South Africa (McDonald and Jacobs 2005, Hanekom and Webster 2008), show that the media is somehow to blame “for misrepresenting the xenophobic attitudes towards foreign nationals in their news reports by not challenging existing stereotypes that prompted xenophobic sentiments” (Bakare, 2013:5). In other words the manner in which xenophobic attacks were reported by the media helped to reinforce stereotypes about foreign nationals. However, Chiyamwaka (2008:1) asserts that “the media has assumed and reinforced its important role as a legitimate reflection of public interest and opinion”. Therefore, the newsworthiness of the violence and the ways in which xenophobia was framed are what this study concerns itself with.

The Zimbabwean media also reported on the xenophobic violence that took place in South Africa and its reportage cannot be ignored as it expresses how the Zimbabweans observed the violence. According to the Zimbabwean Code of Conduct for media practitioners, the Zimbabwean media when reporting issues of violence “must not prejudice the legitimate national security interests of Zimbabwe” or contribute to the spreading of ethnic, nationality and political violence (Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe [VMCZ], 2015). As such, the media had to be balanced and mindful of its reportage on xenophobia. Mpofu and Chimhenga (2013:1) assert that “the Zimbabwean media provides news and analysis about what is happening inside the country and beyond our borders.” Therefore, the Zimbabwean *Sunday Mail* had a duty to report on the xenophobic violence that took place in South Africa in 2015. It is however important to note that the *Sunday Mail* newspaper is state-owned and “tend to take a negative and simplistic view of migration related issues”; thereby questioning “the motives and patriotism of those leaving the country” and succumbing to xenophobia (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005:21).

Based on the discussion above, the study will explore the ways in which South African *Sunday Times* and Zimbabwean *Sunday Mail* newspapers framed xenophobia in March and April 2015 and what determined the newsworthiness of the violence. This period is chosen because it captures the time in which the xenophobia attacks were taking place.

1.2 SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

South Africa has had a long history of xenophobia which keeps on resurfacing (Mshubeki 2016). The media is thus significant here. It has the power to influence people's thoughts and behaviour (Ashby and Diener, 2014:17), with Wilkinson (2009:13) stating further that people's attitudes towards foreign nationals can also be influenced by the media. When people access the media, reports on xenophobia often leave them with little or more than incriminatory innuendos and sensational accounts of what foreign nationals might have allegedly done. Smith (2009:3) is of the opinion that the media [South African media] has a tendency of running stories that are anti-migration because their reports confirm people's negative perceptions about foreign nationals. Crush (2008:42) concurs that the media has played a damaging role of perpetuating xenophobic behaviour towards foreign nationals, and this is exemplified in the *Daily Sun's* use of the term 'alien' in 2008, to refer to foreign nationals (*Daily Sun*, 2008, May 20).

The way in which the past xenophobic violence has been framed by the media is important. This is because some studies' findings show that the media played a huge role in perpetuating xenophobic violence against foreign nationals (Smith 2009, Bakare 2013 and Mwilu 2010). Danso and McDonald (2000) point out that the media are implicated because they are either critical of the messages they send out or by not challenging or curbing the already existing stereotypes against foreign nationals. The research conducted by Media Monitoring Africa (MMA, 2003:24) reveals that the media's xenophobic reporting is a manifestation of the negative and stereotypical representation of Africa. Danso and McDonald (2000) also observed that the media reproduces stereotypes about foreign nationals from other African countries, as noted in the popular depiction of Nigerians as drug dealers and human traffickers. Thus, media coverage is both significant in framing perceptions on foreign nationals and this have a positive or negative impact on the image of certain individuals.

The study will use news values as an approach to find out what was newsworthy in the coverage of xenophobia by the selected two newspapers. News values can be defined as general guidelines

that are used by media outlets, such as newspapers, to determine the level of prominence that should be given to a story (Spencer-Thomas, 2005:1). News values assert that the media decides which issues or events are more important than the others and this is why some issues make it as news while some are not considered as newsworthy. According to Caple and Bednarek (2013:3) “news values is firmly centred on how events become news. An event either possesses them (factors of newsworthiness or news factors) or does not possess them.” Thus, it appears that the xenophobic violence was infused with newsworthiness because of the human interest and conflict factor, a factor leading to the much coverage of the phenomenon. The notion of news values assists the researcher in determining how the media selects and publish news items. Furthermore, news values are important with regard to understanding news production and the choices that the media face when determining what’s newsworthy and what’s not. As such, the study explores the different elements of news values in its evaluation of the ones that made to xenophobic violence prominent and worthy.

News values are indeed important in journalism. According to Spencer-Thomas (2005:1), Galtung and Ruge (1965:80) coined twelve news values that determine newsworthiness in journalism. For the purposes of this study, only four news values will be used to analyse the newsworthiness of the xenophobic violence by the two aforementioned newspapers. The new values considered in this study, which are also the most relevant ones in relation to xenophobic violence, are timeliness, impact, proximity, and conflict. Timeliness entails events that are immediate or recent, while impact refers to information that affects many people, with proximity involving issues that are close to the people geographically and/or emotionally and conflict referring to events that encompass war, strife, animosity or violence (Spencer-Thomas, 2005:1). These four news values, therefore, the researcher in the examination of aspects of the xenophobic violence which the media thought were newsworthy at the time when the violence was taking place.

The principal theory employed in this study is framing theory. The framing theory explains the media’s influence in society. According to Tettah and King (2011:505) framing theory shows how an idea, issue or personality is presented in the media and how it influences people’s thoughts about the issue or personality. The reality that the media is a trustworthy primary source of information makes people to believe it and form opinions or perceptions based on the

information acquired from media sources regardless of whether or not the information is credible or accurate. (Chyi and McCombs, 2004:22) also note that “The news media often reframe the event by emphasising different attributes of the event, consciously or unconsciously, in order to keep the story alive and fresh”. Hence, this theory will help the researcher to explore the ways in which xenophobic violence was framed by the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* during March and April 2015.

In addition, media framing refers to “a central organising idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue” Gamson (1989:157). The theory stipulates that the media focuses on certain events and places them within a field of meaning. Therefore, this study examines the media’s coverage of xenophobia violence to explore the frames in which the violence was put in. Media frames are used for both presenting and comprehending news. As such, the study analyses how the xenophobic violence was framed as well as the representations of foreign nationals in the South African media and that of South African nationals in the Zimbabwean media. Media representation of foreign nationals is relevant and significant in light of the coverage of the xenophobic violence. By looking at how xenophobia was covered, it is also important to look at how a certain group of people were represented because it can have a huge impact on the society. The media indeed has power to reinforce or curb certain assumptions about a certain group of people through the way they represent that certain group when producing content (Harper and Philo, 2013:1). As such, the study also focuses on representation of local and foreign nationals of South Africa in the media in order to understand how the media re-represents aspects of xenophobia.

The agenda-setting theory is used as a theoretical framework for this study. The agenda-setting theory relates closely to media framing theory (Knox, 2013:7). The theory stipulates that the media sets the agenda for public debate. According to Carol and McCombs, (2003:36) the major principle of the agenda-setting theory is that “the prominence of elements in the news influences the prominence of those elements among the public”. Therefore, the importance of a topic such as xenophobia increases the topic’s prominence and the amount of coverage about it. According to Chyi and McCombs (2004:22), “news media can increase the importance of a news story by the amount of time spent reporting on the issue.” In 2015, many people from all over Africa became interested in the xenophobic violence which took place in South Africa. The violence

received a lot of coverage and the media portrayed it from an economic, political and social perspective. Therefore, it is important to examine the media's coverage of the xenophobia violence.

The principal theory of this study is framing theory. However, it also draws on the agenda-setting theory and news values approach in order to support the main theory and provide a full understanding of media framing. This is because attributes of agenda-setting theory can be easily integrated into framing theory. For instance, agenda-setting selects and determines what to think while framing establishes frames on how to think (Oller Alonso, 2014). Hence, the decision to use the agenda-setting theory, which links to the nature of the framing theory.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Previous research on media and xenophobia by scholars such as Bakare 2013, Mwilu 2010 and Bekker, 2015 focused specifically on print media and its reportage on xenophobic attacks. However, these researches focused on South African media only and not coverage of the violence by other African countries. Since the reportage of xenophobic violence that took place in 2008 and 2015 no research has ever analysed how newspapers from different contexts and African countries have covered the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. In particular, there exists no study that compares a newspaper from where the xenophobia victims come from (Zimbabwe) and a newspaper from where the xenophobia violence took place (South Africa). Thus this study focuses on the South African *Sunday Times* and Zimbabwean *Sunday Mail* in its analysis of the reportage of and newsworthiness of the 2015 xenophobic violence.

1.4 AIM OF THE STUDY

The main aim of the study is to make a comparative study of the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers to find out what the newspapers considered newsworthy and the frames used in the reportage of the xenophobic violence during March and April 2015?

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

A number of study objectives are constructed from the study's main aim and these are:

- To determine what was considered newsworthy through analysing the coverage of the 2015 xenophobic violence by the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers

- To analyse the frames used by the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers in their reportage of the xenophobic violence.
- To compare and contrast the 2015 reportage of xenophobic violence by both newspapers in order to provide a comparative account of the coverage in two different countries.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions are considered in this study:

1. What aspects of xenophobic violence were considered newsworthy by the two newspapers in their reportage of the violence in 2015?
2. How has the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers constructed the frames of xenophobic violence in 2015?
3. Are there any notable differences or similarities on the issue of xenophobic violence given that the two newspapers are from different countries?

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study uses qualitative content analysis to provide answers for the research questions above. Lewis, Taylor and Gibbs (2005:38) argue that qualitative data is information gathered in a non-numerical form. It is the most suitable design because it is a way of collecting information on the knowledge, values, attitudes, beliefs feelings and behaviours of the target population. Data is analysed in qualitative content analysis by extracting themes. Therefore, articles published by the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers from March and April 2015 are analysed in order to extract themes. The research design is a case study of two newspapers and the selection of these two newspapers was based on their being national newspapers in their countries. The *Sunday Times* and the *Sunday Mail* newspapers are the biggest Sunday newspapers in South Africa and Zimbabwe respectively. Both newspapers are also suitable for the research because accessibility of both newspapers (online and print format) is efficient.

The study focuses only on the xenophobic violence that took place in March and April 2015 because that is the time when the violence took place.

The samples for this study are articles in the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers. The researcher used purposive or judgemental sampling in arriving at the articles for the study. The

researcher analyses the content in the newspaper articles in order to determine how the violence was framed.

Document collection will be used as data collection technique in this study. Newspaper articles on xenophobia are used as textual data and these are examined to determine the framing of the violence by the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers. All the news stories, editorials and opinion pieces with content about xenophobia were bought and downloaded for analysis.

A thematic content analysis of the newspaper articles is also carried out in this study. Content analysis refers to a “process in which narrative data is divided into units of analysis to examine contents of a particular body of material for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes or biases” (Leedy and Omrod 2005). Therefore, the researcher analyses newspaper articles to identify the themes revealed in the reportage of xenophobia violence. This process of data analysis leads to establishment of themes and categories from the two newspapers and these are carefully examined and compared since the newspapers are from different countries and backgrounds. The data analysis method provides a comprehensive understanding of how xenophobia violence was framed in these two newspapers in March and April 2015.

Qualitative content analysis enables the researcher to access the newsworthiness of the xenophobic violence through a study of headlines, first paragraphs and last paragraphs of the articles, in order to explore how they were worded to give a reasonable reflection of the xenophobic violence. The researcher also examines the news angles used by the two newspapers to extract the news values and frames used to report on the violence.

The assumed themes which also set the framework for this study are presented in the table below. However, it is important to note that the themes may change as the researcher analyses the data in depth.

Thematic Area	Sub-themes
Governments and stakeholders response	Calls by the governments to stop the violence Repatriations and displacements State authority such as army and police raids
Causes of the violence	Economic reasons Political reasons

	Cultural reasons
Xenophobia	Foreign nationals South African nationals Stop xenophobia

1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

In order to analyse the reportage of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers, chapter 1 states the research problem, and outlines the aim, research questions, methodology and theoretical frameworks of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on and outlines the theoretical framework around the subject of this study which is xenophobia.

Chapter 3 analyses the data. It identifies and explains the qualitative content analysis approached used. Conclusions are drawn from identified categories in order to reveal how the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers framed the xenophobic violence in March and April 2015.

Chapter 4 discusses the results of the study.

Chapter 5 concludes the study. It also outlines suggestions and recommendations for further studies in framing, agenda-setting and newsworthiness of the xenophobic violence in journalism.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

South Africa is the hub or centre of attraction of and/or for many African countries as noted by the immigration of people from other parts of Africa who leave their own countries because of war, poverty, politics, and other reasons. to seek refuge in South Africa (Mshubeki, 2016:2). However, this immigrant influx has resulted in a number of attacks on foreigners. This is because immigrants are perceived by locals as engaging in illegal dealings in South Africa and fueling the decline in the nation's economy, competition for resources, an increase in the unemployment rate and eroding social and cultural values of South Africans (Yakushko, 2009, Bakare, 2013). According to Yakushko (2009:37) generally, "immigrant individuals are often portrayed as criminals, poor, violent and uneducated." These negative perceptions account for the violence against foreign nationals that has been witnessed in South Africa for a number of years.

Xenophobic violence erupted in South Africa on the 5th of March in 2015 and left 7 people dead, as well as various others injured and displaced. According to Mshubeki (2016:3) a Somali shop owner shot and killed a 14 year old South African boy during an alleged robbery in January 2015 and that triggered xenophobic violence in the country. The violence was characterised by looting of foreign owned shops and physical harming of foreign business owners and individuals. Most houses, shops and belongings of foreign nationals were looted or destroyed (Mshubeki 2016). Among the black foreign nationals who were severely affected by the violence were Zimbabweans, Mozambicans, Nigerians, Ethiopians and Somalis. Nonetheless a few South Africans also fell victim to these xenophobic attacks. This is a sad reality of xenophobia in the country as confirmed by Harris (2002:1) that "black foreigners from Africa are usually the majority of victims", black South Africans citizens in particular are the ones who exhibit a majority of the xenophobia attacks towards fellow black African nationals.

The Zimbabwean and South African media were in the midst of these 2015 xenophobic attacks, obliged by the Code of Conduct and Press Code respectively to provide accurate and balanced news. The media was expected to produce news that did not incite more violence or promote prejudices or stereotypical innuendos. In addition, the media is essential during occurrences of violence and social unrest because it has the power to influence on people's perceptions in the society. The media also has a duty to inform people about what's happening around them and in

the process reproducing certain ideologies and ideas in the society. Nonetheless, the Zimbabwean Press Code of Conduct and the South African Press Code required the media to cover xenophobic violence while adhering to journalist standards that include truthfulness, accountability and accuracy.

2.2 DEFINING XENOPHOBIA

Xenophobia is defined as dislike of foreigners that is characterised by a negative attitude and hatred towards these foreigners (Harris, 2002:1). However, it is important to note that xenophobia in South Africa is not limited to hatred and dislike only as it is also exercised through violence or other forms of attacks. Hence, Harris (2002:1) states that xenophobia is “not just an attitude, it is an activity.” He notes further “it is a violent practice that results in bodily harm and damage.” Mwilu (2010:12) also opines that “xenophobia in South Africa is not just a mind-set but it is also expressed through physical violence against targeted people.” This therefore, shows that xenophobia is not only the fear or dislike of all foreign nationals but that of specific targeted ones. The 2015 xenophobic violence targeted groups of black foreigners and not all or white foreigners. According to South African History Online (SAHO, 2015), “white people are not viewed as foreigners in the context of xenophobia. There had been attacks on some black people who ‘looked foreign’ because there were ‘too dark’ to be South African.” As such, the violence is directed to people who are non-citizens because of the stereotypes and prejudices attached to them. For example, Nigerians are believed to be associated with drug-trafficking and that makes them targets of xenophobia violence (Neo-Cosmos, 2011:359). Therefore, xenophobia manifests in many forms, from derogatory language and stereotypes to physical violence (Handmaker and Parsley, 2001:44).

There is a common sentiment, held by some people in South Africa that the high rate of crime and violence in the country is caused by the presence of a rising number of illegal migrants (Maine, Mathonsi, William and McConnell, 2011). The South African Migration Project (SAMP, 2011) carried a study which revealed that most nationals in South Africa are “particularly intolerant of non-nationals, especially African non-nationals.” This therefore, suggests that foreign nationals are at risk in South Africa. It is important to refer back to the South African history in order to understand the crisis of xenophobia towards foreigners within South Africa. According to Maine, Mathonsi, Williams and McConnell (2011), “over the years,

South Africa has been host to a variety of African immigrants, many of them refugees, in the 1980s Mozambicans, in the 1990s Nigerians and other immigrants from Angola, Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi.” More recently, South Africa has been a host to Zimbabweans fleeing from President Robert Mugabe’s disastrous policies and the resultant, political and humanitarian crisis in Zimbabwe. However, xenophobic tendencies have always been visible but increased over the years as the number of foreigners increased (HSRC, 2008). Derogatory terms such as *makwerekwere* or *aliens* have been used for decades to describe foreign nationals and to make them feel unwanted and remind them that they do not belong, thus indicating that xenophobic tendencies have always been in existence in South Africa.

Societal xenophobic stereotypes are a common and increasing phenomenon in South Africa (Fluckiger, 2006). African immigrants succumb to prejudices and stereotypes from indigenous South African citizens and this subjects them to discrimination. Various groups of foreign nationals living in South Africa are portrayed as criminals and face rejection as well as assault (Mshubeki, 2016). These stereotypes and prejudices often lead people into thinking, assuming and acting in a certain way, in this case attacking the black foreign nationals. More so, Mshubeki (2016:4) opines that, “foreigners in South Africa have always been accused of ‘stealing jobs from South Africans and these are stereotypes that are not grounded in reality.” Furthermore, the coverage of xenophobia by the media often reinforces these stereotypes and influences the readers’ opinions (Fluckiger, 2006:2). The media, as stated further by Fluckiger (2006:3) leads consumers into discriminating against immigrants through the negative way they report stories about immigrants. As such, it is through the media that the society learns and knows the happenings around them, in the case of this study, society learns from these negative reportages.

Representations of certain groups of people can lead to discrimination, hatred and xenophobic attacks. According to Fluckiger (2006:3), “through representation, groups of people can be constricted in particular ways, for particular reasons and with particular effects.” Scholars such as Misago (2009) and Mshubeki (2016) have analysed the ways in which immigrants are represented or portrayed in media and the impact thereafter, such as, hostility and violence. This indicates that, the frequent association of immigrants with crime in the media may reinforce the belief that negative behavior is inextricably linked to the ethnic identity features of the individuals’ group belonging (Fluckiger, 2006:3). It is less wonder then that, during the

xenophobic violence in 2015, most foreign nationals appeared to be in the negative light. As such, the media should take precaution when it comes to the frames it puts foreign nationals or its citizens when reporting issues of xenophobic violence.

The media is an important and powerful tool of communication in the society. It serves to inform the public about issues, events and happenings in the society and other communities (Happer and Philo, 2013). It has an obligation and mandate to report news that is fair, balanced, accurate and factual. This is because “incompetent journalism and partisan news management can generate misinformation which may inflame xenophobia, ethnic hatred, class warfare and violent conflict in almost any fragile state such as South Africa” as well as Zimbabwe (Howard, 2002:2). As a result, the media must uphold its responsibility when it comes to coverage of xenophobia so that it does not incite negative thoughts or opinions in their readers’ minds. This also suggests that news texts, opinion analysis, features and editorials may reveal so much about how frames are constructed and portrayed with regards to the reportage of xenophobic violence by the selected two newspapers. Finally, xenophobic violence is a controversial issues hence the study of the role of the media in framing the 2015 violence during its coverage.

The conditions during the xenophobic violence are significant in the exploration of the media’s coverage of the violence. This is so because; the media is expected to be the watchdog of the public and thus deliver factual news and not to incite violence or hatred. Tomaselli (2011:18) opines that the society (audiences, viewers, listeners and readers) largely trusts the media and as such the media has to be well balanced and ethical. A research conducted by Media Monitoring Africa (MMA, 2010) reveals that the media in 2008 was biased and distorted, a condition which contributed to xenophobic violence and the associated debates on media ethics and issues of representation. This indicates that, the media is perceived as having promoted xenophobic sentiments and reinforced stereotypes (MMA.2010). Therefore, Harber (2008:161) suggests that “what is needed from the media at the time of ugly anti-social violence is brutal honesty, caution and sensitivity.” As such, the *Sunday Times* is supposed to abide by the South African Press Code while the *Sunday Mail* abides by the Zimbabwean media laws, when reporting xenophobic violence.

However, it is important to note that the media was also a powerful tool in promoting anti-xenophobia stance. Gomo (2010:9) notes inconcurrence that the media plays a huge in curbing

the xenophobic violence. This is so because “the media can influence behaviour, decision and public opinion” which is used as a nexus between the media and xenophobia (Gomo, 2010:9). Both newspapers framed some of their articles in a way that challenged the xenophobic violence and urged people to stop the violence and promote unity as exemplified by the articles “*A call against xenophobia*” (Makawa, 2015:1, *Sunday Mail*).

2.3 THE MEDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

The media in South Africa is guided by editorial policies stipulated by the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa and Press Ombudsman and legislation as per the Equality Act, Authority Act and the Communications Authority of South Africa (Smith, 2011:117). Such statutes stress that the media should not report stories that discriminate, are harmful or stereotypical and racial profiling (Smith, 2011:117). However, the South Africa media has generally been found guilty of negative and stereotypical reporting on matters relating to foreigners and xenophobia (MMA 2015). Harris (2001:44) emphasizes the idea that the media should be careful when reporting issues that involve foreigners in South Africa as it has a vital role in the creation of assumptions or perceptions about foreigners. Instead, the South African media often associate foreign nationals with poverty, crime, unemployment and other ‘social costs’” (Harris, 2001:45).

2.3.1 Sunday Times Newspaper

The *Sunday Times* is the biggest South African Sunday newspaper and it is distributed all over the country and in neighboring countries such as Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland (Media Club South Africa, 2016). According to Times Media (2016:6) the Sunday Times newspaper has a readership of 3,733 000 thus circulating 455,129 copies per Sunday. The reality that it is the best-selling Sunday newspaper indicates that it has power to shape or sway readers’ opinion and ideas on important issues in the society. Times Media (2016) states that, “it gives South Africans a time to relax and unwind, socialize and interact and gain knowledge that will help readers to cope and give better quality to life”. The *Sunday Times* also ties heavily into Times website, its sister publication which provides additional content such as blogs, podcasts and videos online thereby blurring “the line between print and electronic media” (Media Club South Africa, 2016:1).

2.4 THE MEDIA IN ZIMBABWE

The Zimbabwean Newspapers which is publicly owned by the state dominate the print media. Chari (2009:15) notes that “The media in Zimbabwe is polarized along political lines. The state media is unapologetic in its support for the ruling Zanu PF government.” This suggests that most media outlets in Zimbabwe that are pro-Zanu PF, do not really report on issues that implicate the government in any way. Thus, reporting on the xenophobic violence would be limited or non-existent as it would embarrass the then president Robert Mugabe because most Zimbabweans, who were forced to migrate owing to his disastrous policies and leadership, are being accommodated in South Africa (Ndebele, 2015). According to Mushore (2012) state media at times follow the development media theory which seeks to provide positive views, social harmony and preservations of indigenous cultural identity and encourages support for state developed efforts. As such, the Zimbabwean media was expected to present very limited perspective on the xenophobic violence and, in the process, left Zimbabweans in the dark about the real complexities that were at play.

2.4.1 Sunday Mail Newspaper

The *Sunday Mail* newspaper is the Zimbabwe’s leading Sunday publication. It is a government controlled weekly newspaper with a circulation figure of 90 000 (Chaguta, 2006:25). The paper falls under the Zimbabwe Newspapers stable, owned and published by ZimPapers formerly owned by Argus Printing and Publishing Company. The *Sunday Mail* which is distributed in five cities in Zimbabwe has a content mix of news, features, arts, sports and business that makes it a more credible and most read weekly newspaper (*Sunday Mail*, 2015). It has an online edition that provides additional content on bloggers and extra news. The weekly’s nature as a family newspaper makes it a mass market and obligated to publish news that has a human interest and is generally important. The *Sunday Mail* has an obligation and a responsibility to the readers to give accurate and balanced information on important and controversial issues such as xenophobia attacks. The general policy of the *Sunday Mail* newspaper is that the newspaper must be credible, and give readers’ information that is as accurate as possible. It is important to note that the *Sunday Mail*’s editorial policy stipulates that newspapers will be supportive of Zimbabwe and its goal and generally supportive of the elected government of the day.

The *Sunday Mail* newspaper is guided by its parent company's editorial policy (Mushore, 2012) which stipulates that:

- Newspapers must be credible and give readers information that is accurate
- Newspapers must be as complete as possible, publishing reports of the major national, regional and international events, whether sports, news or cultural.
- Newspapers will be supportive of Zimbabwe and its goals and generally supportive of elected government of the day
- Newspapers must be fit to read for all, requiring sensitivity in the handling of sensational stories

For the purposes of this study the framing theory is the principal theoretical framework. Reese (2001:1) defines framing as “the way events and issues are organized and made sense of especially by the media, media professionals and their audiences.” The basis of media framing is rooted in the idea that the media focuses attention on certain events or issues and places them within a field of meaning. Hence, it is important for this study to understand the negative and positive coverage of xenophobic violence and how it affects the negative and positive frames thereof. As such, the study explores how the xenophobic violence was framed and presented in the media.

2.5 FRAMING THEORY

According to Fourie (2010:245), framing refers to the way the media influences the public through news angles, context and ideologies. Framing influences audiences and contribute to the manner in which the audience develops meanings and understand issues reported in the news (Chong and Druckmann, 2007:104). The way individuals classify information also adds to the framing theory. (Gamson, 1989:167).states further that media framing entails “central organizing ideas for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue.” Framing plays a major role in journalism by providing meaning to news events or issues. According to Chong and Druckmann (2007:106) a frame organizes information in a certain manner and with the aim of presenting it as reality to audiences. As such during the time of the xenophobic violence, frames were seen as schemas for both constructing, presenting and comprehending news. Hence, framing ultimately influences how the society perceives certain information framed in a particular way by the media (Chong and Druckmann, 2007:111).

Framing has particular characteristics that seek to achieve certain goals. McCombs (1997:37) suggests that,

“Framing is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the agenda when a particular object is discussed. News media frame all news items by emphasizing specific values, facts, and other considerations and endowing them with greater apparent applicability for making related judgment.”

More so the media promotes particular definitions, interpretations, evaluations and recommendations (Raychuk, 2015), thereby influencing the choices that the people make with regard to processing that information. For instance, through coverage of xenophobia, the media presented the facts of the violence in a way that they gave the audience a particular frame of reference and interpretation.

According to Chong and Druckmann (2007:112) “The media actively set the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events”. Both scholars note further that “people’s information processing and interpretation are influenced by preexisting meaning structures or schemas” (Chong and Druckmann, 2007:112). For example, the *Daily Sun* in 2008 used the word alien to describe foreign nationals; thereby setting a frame that foreign nationals do not belong in South Africa as the word means something that is foreign and unacceptable. Some of the citizens engaged in the 2008 violence because they wanted to do away with aliens who were causing chaos and unnecessary competition in their country. As such, it is evident that these frames that the media set become the dominant set of ideas and perspective from which many Africans view xenophobic violence and issues around it.

Entman (2007) argues that media framing through priming shapes and alters people’s interpretations and preferences. Mork (2012) agrees that the framing of news stories changes the attitude of an audience towards the issue, and this may be shaped or derived from exposure to certain already existing frames. For instance, in 2015 the reports about King Zwelithini’s speech suggested that he triggered the attacks. People misinterpreted the King’s speech about foreigners who were said to be inconveniencing locals (*Times Live*, 2015). As such, Entman (1993:52) explains that the media “select some aspect of a perceived reality and make it more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal

interpretation, word evaluation and/or treatment recommendation.” The media highlighted a certain sentence from the King’s speech which raised salience of the issue of chasing out foreigners out of South Africa. The media made the King’s speech more noticeable by emphasising that the King fuelled xenophobic attacks in 2015 when he said that foreigners must pack up and leave the country (*Times Live*, 2015). As such, the way the King’s speech was packaged shaped people’s interpretations of it which speaks to the effects of framing.

According to de Vreese (2005:52) framing can have individual and societal consequences with an individual level consequence being “altered attitudes about an issue or people based on exposure to certain frames” (de Vreese, 2005:52). That is, if a person has never had a problem with people from other countries, his/her perception may change when exposed to stories that portray foreign nationals as criminals or illegal immigrants who are inconveniencing locals. Furthermore, on the societal level, “frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making and collective actions [xenophobic attacks]” (de Vreese, 2005:52). This affects the public’s knowledge of a news topic as noted in the way xenophobic violence was portrayed in the media in many different ways. The South African *Daily Sun* called foreign nationals ‘aliens and makwerekwere’ and *Sowetan* called foreign nationals illegal immigrants in 2008. In addition, the Zimbabwean *Sunday Mail* also portrayed South African citizens as unfair and insecure. News media in South Africa in 2015 began using derogatory terms when reporting on xenophobia and foreign nationals. South African media depicted society as a victim of illegal immigrants. On the contrary, Zimbabwean media portrayed it’s nationals as victim of radical nationalism and political scapegoating (*Sunday Mail*, 2015). Therefore, as mentioned before, the framing of a person or issue can have a positive or negative effect on the public’s opinion.

The way in which xenophobic violence was covered by the media may have affected the way the consumers of the news came to understand the events. According to Gitlin (1980:7) “frames largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and in some important degree, for us who rely on it.” As a result, the frames in which xenophobic violence was put in determined the conclusions or perceptions that South African citizens had and influenced their behavior towards foreign nationals. Furthermore, the frames may organize everyday reality and provide “meaning to unfolding strip of events” such as the violence to the

people outside South Africa (Chong and Druckmann, 2007). Therefore, Entman (1993) opines that frames are determined in large part by their outcome or effect. In addition, Media Monitoring Project (MMP, 2008:5) suggest that framing in the media affect public opinion, a suggestion that is confirmed by the interpretations that emerged during the coverage of the March-April 2015 xenophobia by the media.

A review of research on framing is significant. Previous framing research (Scheufele, 1999) focuses on the way that media portray news stories. Media framing is based on the idea that how an issue is characterized in news reports has an impact on how the audience interprets the story. In this regard, framing refers to “modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience” (Freyenberger, 2013). Scheufele (1999:106) opines that “viewing media or news frames is necessary to turn meaningless and non-recognizable happenings into discernible event” which leads to a story getting framed. The way in which the media reports on certain news events can affect the way receivers of that content come to understand it. The audience of a news story builds their opinions and perceptions based on how the news story was framed and their own already individual frames. Scheufele, (1999:107) agrees that viewers interpret and process information based on the tone of the news story. As such, the media plays a vital role in the development of perceptions, assumptions and opinions in the society. More so, when a story is framed negatively or positively it often means that some other aspects of the story would have been excluded. For instance, foreigners are depicted negatively “from an anti-foreigner perspective” where there are calls for strict measures when dealing with foreigners, or even requests to ban them from entering the country (Danso & McDonald, 2000:117). Then the positive coverage of foreigners is “accommodating and thoughtful”, whereby there is a positive attitude in the way foreigners are portrayed in the press (Danso & McDonald, 2000:117).

The media profiles foreign nationals in discriminatory discourses (MMA, 2003). While the South African media framed foreign nationals as illegal immigrants and criminals, the Zimbabwean media profiled South Africans as irrational and violent. The MMA (2003:18) further states that, the South African media operate on “the basis of profiling people and making negative assumptions.” Tuchman (1978) also notes that “mass media set the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events.” The media tailor their stories

bearing in mind the audience while the audience's interpretation of the media content is influenced by pre-existing frames of reference. Therefore, the media frames a certain issue such as xenophobia using the social norms, pressures and interests of the society. Hence, the frames of xenophobia in 2015 were driven by stereotypes and prejudices.

The effects of framing can be seen on many reports of the 2015 xenophobic attacks. The media used the same information as a base and thus created a frame that changed the reader's perceptions on issues such as xenophobia violence and its causes without altering the actual facts. The frames used by the media in covering xenophobic violence were packaged in a way that encouraged certain interpretations and to discourage others. For instance, most South African media in 2015 packaged elements of xenophobia to encourage the idea that foreign nationals were inconveniencing locals. As such, Raychuk (2015:2) opines that "framing often presents facts in such a way that implicates a problem that is in need of a solution."

To sum up, framing in the media refers to the manner in which information is presented to the audience with the aim of achieving a certain interpretation (Cissel, 2012). Thus, framing theory is powerful in relation to people or issues which an audience has little or no adequate information, and in shaping their interpretation.

2.6 NEWS VALUES

The news values approach blends well with framing and agenda-setting theories because it shares a similar logic of decisions about what is worthy of coverage, what's not and why. News values play an important role in the way journalists' frame and shape stories. The way journalists' select and publish news items is not so different from the way the rest of us perceive and discuss the world (Braun, 2009:2). News values can be seen as one of the several stages in the gate keeping and agenda-setting process. According to Braun (2009:2), news values "make a story or event more likely to be chosen as news." As such, the more news values a given issue or event possesses, the more likely it is to become news (Braun, 2009, Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

According to Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke and Roberts (1978:53) news refers to "an end-product of a complex process which begins with a system of sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories." This complex process enables media producers to select the most worthy issue or event from the contending ones. The media

producers here would be assuming that the chosen issue or event is of interest to their audiences. As a result, journalists place news within a frame of meaning familiar to the audience. Furthermore, Cohen and Young (1973:183) note that “the selection of news is a logical outcome of particular ways of working and of a shared set of criteria of what makes material newsworthy.” As such, information is made news because of the news values it embodies.

The media uses news values when constructing news in order to attract media attention. Galtung and Ruge (1965) coined twelve news values in order to determine factors that make an event newsworthy. The twelve news values are conflict, frequency (timeliness), threshold (impact), unambiguity, proximity, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite persons, reference to elite nations, and reference to something negative. Each of the twelve news values is outlined below.

Conflict- Stories with conflict especially two-sided conflict usually make it to be news.

Frequency (timeliness) - the time-span of an event/ story and how it frequents the newspapers’ or broadcast’s schedule. (Galtung and Ruge, 1965:68) state that “An event that unfolds at the same frequency as the news medium (such as a murder) is more likely to be selected as news than is a social trend that takes place over a long period of time”. In addition, the timeliness news value asserts that a story itself does not necessarily have to be new but if some new information come to light that makes the story timely and/or relevant again.

Threshold (Impact) - The greater the intensity a story has, the more gruesome the murder, and the more casualties in an accident; the greater the impact on the perception of those responsible for news selection (Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

Unambiguity- The less ambiguity, the more likely the event is to become news. An event that is clear, easily understood and without double meanings, has a better chance of being newsworthy.

Proximity- stories that are closer to people’s interest or impact them closely easily become newsworthy. Proximity also refers to geographically relevant stories such as weather events and local affairs.

Consonance- The news selector may predict or want something to happen, thus forming a mental “pre-image” of an event, which in turn increases its chances of becoming news (Galtung and Ruge, 1965:69).

Unexpectedness- The most unexpected or rare events among those that are culturally familiar and/or consonant are found to be more newsworthy.

Continuity- Once an event has become headline news it remains in the media spotlight for some time even if its amplitude has been greatly reduced because it has become familiar and easier to interpret. Continuing coverage also acts to justify the attention an event attracted in the first place (Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

Composition- Stories must compete for space in the media. As a result, editors may seek to provide a balance between different types of coverage. For instance, if there is an excess of foreign news, the least important foreign story may have to make way for an inconsequential domestic item onto the news pages.

References to Elite Nations- The actions of elite nations are seen as more consequential than the actions of other nations. Definitions of elite nations are culturally, politically and economically determined and vary from country to country. However, there may be universal agreement about the inclusion of some nations (e.g. the South Africa and Zimbabwe) among the elite.

Reference to Elite Persons- The actions of elite people, usually the famous, may be seen by news selectors as having more consequence than the actions of others. Furthermore, readers may identify with them.

Reference to Something Negative- Negative news that is seen as clear and consensual are considered more newsworthy than positive news (Galtung and Ruge, 1965:66). Stories about death, tragedy, bankruptcy, violence, damage, natural disasters, political upheaval or simply extreme weather conditions are usually found more newsworthy than positive stories such as royal weddings or celebrations (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). In addition, Galtung and Ruge (1965:68) note that “bad news stories are more likely to be reported than good news because they

are more likely to score high on other news values, such as threshold, unexpectedness, unambiguity and meaningfulness.”

These are various research perceptions on the nature and significance of news values. According to Caple and Bednarek, (2013:11) news values are said to be journalists’ “internalized assumptions about what is important to transit”. These news values “influence journalistic decisions, by providing or functioning as guidelines or parameters thereby establishing selection criteria and a hierarchy of importance” (Caple and Bednarek, 2013:11). In this sense, journalists use news values to determine and decide on how to frame the news. In addition, Cotter (2010:75) asserts that “news values do not only determine what to cover or what counts as new but answer to other relevant journalistic questions related to the story and the story construction: how to cover it, what to emphasize or start off with, who to talk to, when to proceed or hold back.” Therefore, the use of news values enables the media to set the agenda and frame news stories in any way that is easily received by the audiences.

Finally, the news values approach asserts that the media decides which issues are important than others. This assertion is considered as another way used by journalists to achieve gatekeeping. As such, the more news values an event possess the more likely it is to become relevant and important. Furthermore, news values have the ability to influence and drive coverage (Caple and Bednarek, 2013). Thus, news values are used by the media in decision-making. In addition, Bell (1991:163) notes that news values, “approximate to the-often unconscious-criteria by which news workers make their professional judgments as they process stories.” Schultz (2011:83) also suggests that news values reflect a predominant cultural view of social discourse. This means that news values entail selecting and sorting information or news according to social and cultural categories.

Media Framing and News Values

Media framing refers to the way in which the media selects news stories for consumption in order to create a particular interpretation within a certain context. According to Chuma (2007:21) “the essence of framing is selection to prioritize some facts, images or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events. Similarly, news values approach is centered on how events are shaped to become news (Caple and Bednarek, 2013).

Therefore, media framing and news values approach are interlinked because they both specialize in selection and salience. Media framing seeks to promote a particular problem definition, “causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Weaver, 2007:143). Correspondingly, the news values approach seeks to promote newsworthiness of events and in that way make it more salient in order to portray the events into an interpretative structure. Therefore, framing and news values allow journalists or the media to organise events into a systematic fashion and somehow infuse newsworthiness on stories (Chuma, 2007:22). News values and media framing also promote certain events (Framing-one event is framed over the other, news values- some events are considered newsworthy over others) and reinforce certain interpretations.

Framing, agenda-setting and news values are linked in the sense that they all construct a ‘reality’ that readers digest to construct meanings. For instance, media framing specializes in selection and salience that give meaning of events and processes, news values specializes in selection and salience that makes events or processes newsworthy and agenda-setting specializes in selection of events and processes that set the agenda for the day or that make news. As such, these three are interconnected and involve similar cognitive processes and effects. In the context of this study, these three assist in the analysis of how the two newspapers selected their news for coverage and how they promoted salience of the news pertaining to xenophobic violence.

2.7 AGENDA-SETTING

The theory of framing is closely related to agenda-setting. The basis of the framing theory is that the “media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning (Mass Communication Theory). As such, it can be construed as a form of second level agenda-setting because it [framing theory] does not only articulate what to think [agenda-setting] but also suggests how to think about specific events or issues. More so, according to Entman, (1993:52) “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way that promote a particular problem definitions...” Therefore, in framing and agenda-setting theories, a certain subject in this case xenophobic violence is given attention in order to push a specific agenda. Both theories focus on how the media can draw the public’s eye or attention to specific events, issues or topics-in this way they set the agenda or frame.

According to Carol and McCombs (2003:36), the core principle of the agenda-setting theory is that “the prominence of elements in the news influences the prominence of those elements among the public.” The media present an agenda for the issues to be reported on and make the more salient. Therefore, the media influences the audience by determining whether an event or issue can become the lead story, is put on the front page or the size of the headline (Carol and McCombs, 2003:37). As such, the amount of focus or repeated attention given to a story has the potential to influence the audience.

Agenda-setting theory is “the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media. That is if a news item is covered frequently and prominently the audience will regard the issues as more important” (Raychuk, 2015:4). As such, the media has the ability to determine which issues are important to the public. Raychuk (2015) opines that in agenda-setting theory, the media does not reflect reality but filter and shape it. The fact that the media covered xenophobia attacks a lot in 2015 led the public to perceive it as an important and topical issue than other issues. Therefore, in agenda-setting the more frequently the media covers a certain issue, the more that issue becomes accessible to audiences.

The media has the power to set a nation’s agenda and to influence the public’s attention to certain public issues. People rely on the media for information that is why the media can easily influence them. McCombs (2007:1) opines that “not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news.” As such, the media provides a number of cues about the salience of a topic in news. For instance, “television news also offers numerous cues about salience-the opening of a story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story, etc. (McCombs, 2007:1). These cues when repeatedly given, can effectively communicate the importance of the topic. Therefore, the media sets the agenda for the public’s attention to topical issues in the society from which the public form opinions.

Finally, “People learn from the media what the important issues are” (McCombs & Shaw, 1972: 176). This is because in setting the agenda by choosing and displaying news stories, editors and other newsroom staff play a vital role in shaping reality. The audience learns about the given issue or event and the level importance to give to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. For instance, the media can determine the important focus on

xenophobia by reflecting what people are saying about xenophobic violence, which means the media can set the ‘agenda’ for the violence.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed literature that focuses on xenophobia. The chapter also outlined the terminology, key concepts and theories used in the study. The theoretical framework and the theories used, specifically, a combination of framing, agenda-setting and news values approach was also outlined. The next chapter describes the research process and the methods used to gather, categorize and analyse the data.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research methodology used to carry out this study. According to Popenoe (1975) research methodology is the analysis of “conceptual, logic and research procedures through which data gathering techniques and samples are used in research.” The chapter presents the research design used for the collection and analysis of data on the xenophobic violence witnessed in South Africa in March and April 2015. Brynard and Hanekom (1997:28) opine that research methodology, compels a reflection on the planning, structuring and implementation of the research in order to conform to demands of the principles of truth, objectivity, validity, reliability and accuracy. A qualitative content analysis was conducted for this study. Content analysis is used as an effective technique/instrument to achieve research goals. The key concerns raised in the literature review are also discussed and contextualized in this chapter in order to answer the research questions.

The purpose of this study was to offer a comparative analysis of the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers in order to find out what both newspapers considered newsworthy and to determine the frames of the xenophobic violence during March and April 2015. This study also considers the opinion and analysis pieces in the newspaper for a discussion on what the media debated on. References to certain events that occurred during that year which prove useful to the whole xenophobic violence are also used. As a result, research questions were formulated and a research design developed in order to appraise the purpose of this study

3.1.1 Research Questions

The research questions for this study are:

1. What aspects of xenophobic violence were considered newsworthy by the two newspapers in their reportage of the violence in 2015?
2. How have the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers constructed the frames of xenophobic violence in 2015?

3. Are there any notable differences or similarities on the issue of xenophobic violence given the two newspapers are from different countries?

The study intends to answer these questions using qualitative content analysis with data derived from the newspaper articles.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND APPROACH

The study used newspaper articles to explore how the media framed xenophobia and what they considered newsworthy during the spate of xenophobia in March and April 2015, in order to unravel the intricate relationships between news values and framing in media issues. Therefore, the study used content analysis to assess these newspaper articles.

There are two main approaches to data collection and these are Qualitative and Quantitative research methods. According to Huysamen (1994:212) quantitative data refers to data which can be sorted, classified, measured, expresses a certain quantity, amount or range. Whereas, qualitative research is defined as “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:17). Lewis, Taylor and Gibbs (2005:38), qualitative data refers to information that is gathered in a non-numerical form. Qualitative research is holistic, explanatory and interpretative hence it seeks to explain rather than measure the world (Iorio, 2004).

Qualitative research befits this study because it enables examination and interpretation of data for purposes of discerning hidden meanings, patterns and relationships. Qualitative research is appropriate because the data derived from newspapers was only expressed in words hence there was no data that could be quantified. Qualitative research is an umbrella term which brackets many techniques (Silverman, 1993) that describe and analyse people’s “individual and collective actions, beliefs, thoughts and perceptions” (Macmillan 2006: 315). The qualitative approach was chosen for this study because it offers insight into human activities, the “social and cultural contexts of human activities that cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and experiences attached” thereto (Ogunyemi: 2012). Furthermore, “qualitative methods can give the intricate details of phenomena that are difficult to convey with quantitative methods” (Strauss et al 1990: 19). Therefore, the adoption of the qualitative method enables this study to “sacrifice uniformity of questioning to achieve fuller development of information” (Weiss, 1995: 3).In

addition, the study's focus on framing of the xenophobic violence and news values, meant that, the qualitative methodology was the best solution to use for obtaining detailed and textured information to our main question.

The study engages in a qualitative content analysis of the newspaper articles. The articles are analyzed and interpreted using qualitative content analysis as a research method. Elo (2014:1) notes that qualitative content analysis represents a "systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena". In order for a qualitative content analysis to be successful, the data analysed can be applied to concepts that describe the research phenomena (Elo, 2014:1). This is achieved by creating "categories, concepts, models and conceptual maps" (Elo, 2014:1).

Krippendorff (2004:20-50) defines content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use." Furthermore, Ogunyemi (2012) notes in concurrence that "content analysis has its own approach to analysing data that stems largely from how the object of analysis, content, is conceived". Therefore, content analysis encompasses a "systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter, not necessarily from an author's or user's perspective" (Krippendorff, 2004:20-50). Content analysis is also defined by Babbie (2001:491) as a research method that examines words or phrases within a wide range of texts that include books, book chapters, essays, interviews and speeches as well as informal conversations and headlines. An examination of the presence or repetition of certain words and phrases in these texts, enables the researcher to make inferences from the philosophical assumptions of a writer, written piece and the audience for which a piece is written, and even the culture and time in which the text is embedded (Ogunyemi, 2012, Babbie 2001:491).

3.3 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

The *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspaper articles focusing on the xenophobic violence in South Africa that were published in March and April 2015 are the target population for this study.

3.4 SAMPLE SELECTION

Purposive sampling was used in order to generate qualitative data. Purposive sampling is where the researcher randomly selects elements to conform to some criterion appropriate for the study (Cooper and Schindler, 2011:495). As such, the researcher selected sample articles from the

Sunday Times and *Sunday Mail* newspapers published in March and April 2015 that focused on xenophobic violence. As mentioned earlier, two months worth of data were collected in the qualitative study by sampling news stories, opinions, columns and other articles on xenophobic violence a content analysis of the news values and frames found in them was later carried out. The qualitative study examined articles from the above-noted newspapers that were published from 5 March to 30 April 2015.

Sunday Times is South Africa's biggest selling weekly newspaper. "It's a part of Sunday for South Africans with a readership of 3,733,000 – gives South Africans a time to relax and unwind, socialize and interact, and gain knowledge that will help readers to cope and give better quality of life" (Times Media Group,2015).

Sunday Mail is Zimbabwe's biggest selling weekly newspaper. It is a well-read Sunday family newspaper.

3.5 UNITS OF ANALYSIS

The units of analysis for this study are the news articles in the selected *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers focusing on the 2015 xenophobic violence which happened between March and April in South Africa. Elo (2014:5) opines that units of analysis contribute to the credibility of qualitative content analysis. The next step involves sorting the data into different categories. According to O'Sullivan (2003:13) the main purpose of qualitative content analysis is to categorise data so that the researcher can identify commonalities and divergent views which form a pattern. The categories of data have to correlate with the research question and are determined during the process of analysing the data (Mayring, 2006:6).

3.6 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

The obtained qualitative data for the study is processed and analysed by drawing on the statements, articles and opinion which emerge as categories. These categories form the basis for thematic analysis. Thematic content analysis seeks to understand the process and character of social life to arrive at meaning and process. The data derived from the different categories are examined and reviewed for the entire study. The researcher goes through three stages to analyse the data. The first stage is where the researcher examines the data in order to yield specific themes. The second involves the search for the data to find all the themes that contradict each

other. The most frequently and significant themes will be used in the findings chapter for illustration.

Content analysis was used to analyse the data gathered from the newspapers articles. Data gathered in content analysis is categorized in themes and sub-themes, so that is become easy to compare (Moore & McCabe, 2005). Content analysis is advantageous because it helps to reduce and simplify data collected and produces results that can be measured. Moreover, Ogunyemi (2012:20) points out that “content analysis gives the ability to researchers to structure the qualitative data collected in a way that satisfies the accomplishment of research objectives.” However, human error is also visible in content analysis because there is a possibility that the researcher might misinterpret the data, and in that way generate incorrect and unreliable conclusions (Krippendorff & Bock, 2008).

According to Gunter, (2000:61), a researcher using qualitative content analysis on the way newspapers framed a particular issue, is required to decide on the newspapers, the editions and how the topic will be chosen in those particular newspapers. The researcher is obliged to create categories from the material analysed since the research question is based on little information (Mayring, 2000:7). Furthermore, Mayring (2000:7) asserts that a criterion for categorizing the material has to be formulated and derived from the literature review, research question and the material under analysis. Therefore, a qualitative content analysis enables the researcher to understand and describe procedures of a systematic text analysis (Mayring, 2000:6).

The final stage of qualitative content analysis involves examination, contextualisation and review of the data derived from categories for the whole study. The researcher is obliged to be objective, honest and balanced during the analysis and when presenting the results of the study. Elo (2014:1) also underscores that it is essential for the researcher to draft a report that entails an explanation of how the results were obtained.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the methodology used for the study. The chapter also outlined the specific research methods used to collect and analyse data.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter sets out to present the findings of the study from *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* Newspapers. These findings are based on a combined total of 44 articles from the two newspapers with 14 articles from the *Sunday Mail* and 30 from the *Sunday Times*. These articles were published between 5 March and 30 April 2015 the period when the violence was rife and receiving wide media coverage. Therefore, the findings are drawn from a qualitative content analysis was selected as a research method for analyzing the sampled 44 articles from the two publications.

4.2 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The overall objective of the study was to explore the way in which xenophobic violence was framed and what the newspapers considered newsworthy during the time of the violence. Hence, the presentations in this chapter focus on the frames given to the xenophobic violence in relation to their level of newsworthiness.

4.3 COVERAGE

The period of study runs from 5 March to 30 April 2015. News stories, opinion pieces and columns published by the two newspapers were used for the study.

4.3.1 STORY GENRES

The researcher analysed newspaper articles from news reports, opinion pieces, commentaries, editorials and features on xenophobic violence. These genres were all analysed because selecting a specific genre would limit the number of articles to be analysed. Editorials are well informed opinion pieces which can be written in first person. The researcher analysed editorials on xenophobic violence in order to explore how the opinions, arguments and persuasions of the newspapers were framed and to find out what they found newsworthy in the editorials. Features are news articles that are built on the audience's interests. Feature stories also focus on people and what they do in the society. Therefore, features about xenophobic violence were considered because they entail historical pieces

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS

A thematic approach was used during data analysis. Thematic analysis seeks to pinpoint, examine and record themes within the research data. The themes become the categories for analysis. Gibbs, (2007) points out that a thematic analysis is performed through the process of coding. Thematic coding involves identifying and recording passages of text or images that are linked by a common theme or idea. The coding process allows the researcher to index text into categories and to establish a ‘framework of thematic ideas about it’ (Gibbs, 2007).

Three thematic areas with corresponding sub-themes emerged from the analysis of the data as presented in the table below. The thematic areas were sorted according to their (frequency) which is the number of the times each thematic area appeared in the 44 separate articles. The findings are presented in Table 1 below and discussed in detail in the following section.

Frequency	Thematic Area	Sub-themes
44 out of 44	Xenophobia	• No to xenophobia • Xenophobic
15 out of 44	Relief	• Displacements • Repatriation
35 out of 44	Government s and stakeholders response	• Calls by governments to stop xenophobia • State authority (army and police deployments)

Table 1: Thematic Areas

4.4.1 Xenophobia

Newspaper articles categorized under this theme were anti-xenophobic and were called for it to stop. The themes in the articles were condemnation of the xenophobic violence, advocacy for solidarity with foreign nationals and calling for peace to prevail. For instance, the anti-xenophobic theme is expressed in the statement, “The reality is that this criminality dressed up as xenophobia or Afrophobia is wrong now, like it was in 2008. It will never be right. Ever!” (BBK, 2015:21). It is also noted in the call to refrain, “We call upon our regional governments to act decisively where xenophobia rears its ugly head so that it is nipped in the bud. We also urge all

leaders to speak responsibly on sensitive issues to avoid arming the criminal mind with excuses for carrying out barbaric acts on people from other countries” (Makawa, 2015:2). Furthermore, the view of life as a basic human right and that it is supposed to be treasured was recurrent in most articles.

However, there were also articles under this theme which depicted anti-foreign nationals sentiments. These articles revealed that too many foreigners in South Africa were competing for limited resources with deserving locals. The articles documented accusations that foreign nationals were committing crimes and stealing jobs meant for locals. For instance, the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was quoted saying, “When foreigners look at them, they will say: “Let us exploit the nation of fools...We ask foreign nationals to pack their belongings and go back to their countries” (Olifant, 2015:10). In addition, evidence of xenophobic sentiments under this theme is expressed through President Jacob Zuma’s son, Edward Zuma who was quoted saying, “We (the nation of South Africa) are also unnecessarily accommodating illegal immigrants in this country. You never know whether they (foreigners) are funding ISIS (Islamic State) and al-Shabaab” (Tawengwa, 2015:1).

4.4.2 Relief

This thematic area reflects the actions taken by the African governments and their stakeholders to ensure the safety of their citizens. The victims of the violence were displaced into safe houses and some were repatriated to their respectful countries. Shelter and humanitarian assistance was provided. Examples of the theme are expressed in article statements such as , “since the attack he has been living in the temporary camp in Chatsworth and getting treatment from a mobile clinic” (Savides 2015:5). The provision of food relief to displaced people is noted in, community organisations provided breakfast and supper. “This night it was pap and vegetable stew served on paper plates” (Savides, 2015:5). While the repatriation relief by some African governments such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, is noted “Dlamini said 120 people were transported back to Zimbabwe and Mozambique this week and three Malawians were collected by officials from their embassy” (Bornman and Ndabeni, 2015:4). The South African government also ensured the safety of its citizens working in other African countries. The article “SA expatriates keeping their bags packed just in case” (Savides, Govender and Magwaza, 2015:5) it provides evidence that some South Africans were afraid of facing hostility from the

locals ‘following threats of tit-for-tat attacks on expatriates’ (Savides, Govender and Magwaza, 2015:5).

4.4.3 Governments and Stakeholders

Governments and stakeholders made calls during the March and April 2015 xenophobic violence, for the violence to stop. President Jacob Zuma made several comments about the violence, some of which expressed his blaming of other governments for letting their citizens live in South Africa, “As much as we have a problem that is alleged to be xenophobic, our sister countries contribute to this. Why are their citizens not in their countries and are in South Africa?” (Gwaunza, 2015:6). In addition, Southern African Development Community (SADC) Heads of State who include the then regional bloc’s chairman and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, the South African President Jacob Zuma, and Malawian President Peter Mutharika also strongly condemned the violence (Gwaunza, 2015).

4.5 CATEGORIES/ THEMES

The different categories found in the research data show different angles from which the two newspapers covered the xenophobic violence. Thematic analysis aided the research in finding the various ways in which the two newspapers framed the violence. The articles were grouped thematically into categories with the researcher’s thematic analysis dependent on the use of words from samples and her ability to extract ideas from the texts and categorise them. Commonalities and differences were identified and categorized into the economic, socio-economic, political, statistical and nationality. However, not all of these categories were present in both publications.

4.5.1 Explanation of Categories

The form six categories were constructed from an analysis of the stories from both the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers. The researcher studied and observed the commonalities or themes in the news stories and then created the categories. The articles were assigned to each of the categories summarized below:

Economic

This category entails stories that were put in an economic frame. It consists of stories that documented the impact of the xenophobic violence on the South Africa and Zimbabwe economy.

The stories illustrated that the xenophobic violence affected South Africa's business sector and reputation to the extent that other countries and some African countries threatened to withdraw their business and tourists even considered that they might not want to visit South Africa. More so, investors from other African countries whose citizens are victims of xenophobia were wary of investing in South Africa due to the violence. This category had 5 articles out of the 30 articles on xenophobic violence from the *Sunday Times* and 4 articles out of 14 from the *Sunday Mail*.

This economic category was built up on articles that were written in the economic context both countries. This category reveals the history of unemployment in the both countries and how it contributed to the violence. The majority of people from Zimbabwe are displaced around South Africa as a result of economic crisis in their country which is often exacerbated by political and social ills that drive them of their own country. The ensuing economic crisis left most Zimbabweans unemployed and stranded hence their migration to South Africa, to seek employment and better living conditions. However, this migration frustrates South African citizens who are also fighting a high rate of unemployment. This frustration spark attacks on those Zimbabweans and other African migrants. According to Mamabolo (2015:144) "there are citizens' frustrations with perceived competition for access to the available resources, especially among poor people who are unemployed with no formal business support from government." In addition, "there is a common belief among South Africans that every job given to a foreign nationals one less job for a South African" (Mshubeki, 2016:3). As such, unemployment in both countries creates hatred between foreigners and locals and thus fuel xenophobic violence.

The following were found in *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspaper and categorized under the economic category:

Sunday Times

In the aftermath of the xenophobic violence, most countries were distancing themselves from some parts of South Africa and cautioning their citizens about the violence in fear that they might be attacked. "This comes as the UK issued a travel advisory to British citizens to avoid Johannesburg, Durban and other parts of KwaZulu-Natal following the violence against nationals" (Pillay and Lefifi, 2015:2).

The xenophobic violence has negative effects on the economic sector. However, it is important to note that the root causes of the problem should be addressed by all sectors of the society so that the economy does not suffer. Hence an expression by Bam (2015:10),

“Today, the economy is reeling from power failures, price hikes and wide-scale unemployment.”

South Africa’s economic wealth shows that the xenophobic violence against foreign nationals cripples the country’s economic growth (Chen, 2015: 1).

“The perception of South Africa as a gateway to Africa is now being eroded, while investment inflows (both foreign direct investment and portfolio investment) are also being negatively impacted” (Tshabalala, 2015:10).

“We depend on foreign portfolio and foreign direct investment inflows to local business to finance this deficit -inflows that are currently as considerable risk” (Tshabalala, 2015:10)

The xenophobic violence also contributed negatively to local business and tourism industry because foreign tourists became skeptical about visiting the country during the time of the violence.

“Durban reports a decrease in Tourism Indaba bookings” (Pillay and Lefifi, 2015:2)

Sunday Mail

Many South African locals in various townships feel more oppressed economically than they did during apartheid because foreigners have jobs or businesses (McKnight, 2008). However, they need to understand that legal immigrants maintain a strong competition and create jobs for South Africans.

“Foreigners that run businesses employ more South Africans than South African run businesses do” (*Sunday Mail* Correspondent, 2015:2).

“Research by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory showed that rather than causing unemployment, international migrants contribute to the economy by renting shops from

South Africa, providing jobs to locals and paying value added tax.” (*Sunday Mail* Reporter, 2015:5)

“The only way to beat xenophobia permanently is build our own economies and that means insisting that our money is essentially spent on growing our own prosperity” (Hwengere, 2015:4).

It can be noted from this category that economic issues account for some of the reasons why xenophobia is rampant in South Africa. People from other African countries perceive South Africa as their saving grace in terms of economic stability. More so, South Africa also relies on other countries and their goodwill in terms of investments and trade.

Socio-Economic

South Africa and Zimbabwe’s socio-economic status is considered in this category in relation to causes of the xenophobic violence. The category considers poverty, unemployment and competition for resources as major tenets of both countries’ socio-economic status. Sources in the stories were experts, foreign nationals in South Africa and locals of Zimbabwe and South Africa. This category highlighted that foreign nationals had left their countries to seek better living conditions in South Africa. However, this unintentionally caused socio-economic instability and causing conflicts in South Africa owing to the competition for resources and rampant as social injustices. The *Sunday Times* had 8 articles that fell into this category while *Sunday Mail* had 3 articles.

This category reveals the social ills that affect South Africa’s and Zimbabwe’s societies. Most societies, if not all in Africa, are characterised by various social ills. According to Mshubeki (2016:3), the “rejection of foreigners in South Africa is a result of limited resources such as housing and unemployment.” Unemployment therefore leads to other social ills such as poverty, xenophobia, and racial and sexual inequalities in the society. Poverty is a social ill that has perpetuated xenophobic attitude and violence in South Africa. According to Statistics South Africa (2014), poverty in 2010 increased by 57.2% however declining to 45.5% in 2011. Hence Mamabolo (2015:145) opines that “poor people are blamed for orchestrating all acts of xenophobic attacks.”

For example, some of Sunday *Times* articles expressed that:

South Africa is a home to many people from almost 53 foreign countries that leave their countries because of economic crises, political crises, and wars among other things, to look for better living conditions.

“These people feel pressure to move to South Africa in search of better opportunities”
(Bam, 2015:10)

Poverty and unemployment in South Africa is one of the reasons why the attacks on foreigners happen and these need to be addressed at the highest level. Considering the living conditions of the poor, the fact that most foreigners come to their communities and stay there causes competition for resources and locals also perceive them as threats to their rights.

“But we need to look deeper: the attacks on foreigners are taking place against the backdrop of serious structural impediments to growth and employment that have become more pronounced in recent months” (Bam, 2015:10).

South Africa has been battling social inequalities since the 1994. Maina, Mathonsi, Williams and McConell (2011:1) suggest that the “socio-economic struggles of the post-apartheid regime of South Africa are not in any way a justification for the violence directed against immigrants.”

“First, we tell ourselves that other Africans are here to steal our jobs. What a lousy excuse for hatred. Unemployment, inequality and poverty were unacceptably high long before many Africans came here” (Mangcu, 2015:21).

Many African foreigners who are desperate to make ends meet have a tendency of working shady jobs or at exploitative rates without any complaints. However, most locals do not prefer to work for minimum wages. This then results in unfair competition for casual labour and violence erupts because foreigners will be accused of stealing jobs.

“Yes, they did employ foreigners. We were asking how do they do that, how do they buy in undocumented foreigners instead of dealing with what caused the strike” (Msomi, 2015:4).

The following were found in the *Sunday Mail*:

Xenophobic violence was sparked by desperation triggered by high rates of poverty and unemployment in South Africa.

“It’s about dire socio-economic circumstances for the majority of South Africans”

“They were in South Africa not to plunder its resources or to reap where they did not sow, but to fend for their families in a land that God created for all his children. (Makawa, 2015:4)

The post-apartheid government had vowed to put policies that put the needs of its citizens first in line with the country’s transformation and change (Maina, Mathonsi, Williams and McConell, 2011). However, the government failed to deliver these promises and this created a breeding space for hatred and violence because locals became frustrated and blame foreigners for it.

“At the local ward level, foreigners are easy scapegoats for the ruling African National Congress (ANC) party’s service delivery failures- and are the victims of violence in nearly every protests against the government’s performance” (*Sunday Mail* Reporter, 2015).

Political

This category shows stories about the governments’ response to the xenophobic violence and their plans to curb the violence and to resolve conflict. Government officials and leaders were used as sources in this category. The governments were also criticized over the manner in which they dealt with xenophobic violence. There are 3 *Sunday Mail* articles and 7 articles from *Sunday Times* on xenophobia which fall in this category.

Violence in South Africa manifest itself in various ways that include the burning and looting of foreign nationals’ shops and the beating, burning and killing of foreign nationals. Violence against foreigners dates back to 1994 and later 2000 and 2008 where 67 people died due to xenophobic attacks (Mshubeki, 2016:3). Violence also erupted in many parts of South Africa especially the Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng Provinces in 2015. It is however important to note that violence in South Africa is politically rooted in the apartheid era. According to Mamabolo (2015:147) “the origins of xenophobia in South Africa is older than the outbreaks of 2008, traceable to the immediate post-194 period.” In addition, Tlhabi (2015:10) is of the

opinion that “we must admit the reality of our violent past.” As such, the people of South Africa have misplaced anger towards other Africans a condition that Maina, Manthosi, Williams and McConnell (2011) call scapegoating hypothesis. Maina, Manthosi, Williams and McConnell (2011) suggest that “the seclusion of the country from the rest of the world in the apartheid era is taken to be an explanation for the fear and distrust that South African communities have towards foreigners.” The post-apartheid era had vowed to put the needs of its citizens first in line with the country’s transformation and change. However, the government failed to develop the country and to decrease poverty as per its promise. This failure to eradicate poverty created a breeding space for xenophobic violence; because the locals needs were not met yet foreigners’ were somehow met because foreigners had jobs as foreigners were willing to work any kind of job to earn a living (Mamabolo, 2010, Maina, Mathonsi, Williams and McConnell, 2011). Therefore, a failure by the South African government to address poverty and unemployment has future consequences. “South Africa might still face major disastrous attacks which would undermine the notion of a rainbow nation”(Mamabolo, 2015:146).

Examples from the *Sunday Times* include the following:

There were calls by the South African government during the March and April 2015 xenophobic violence, to stop the violence.

“And despite our government’s initial reluctance to acknowledge and accept that we were witnessing systemic and unprecedented attacks on migrants, it too, has eventually woken up to reality” (Tlhabi, 2015:5)

To try and keep the foreign nationals safe, the state moved victims of the violence to safe places and provided shelter.

“Government officials scrambled to resolve the escalating crisis, and on Thursday moved them from the police station to Isipingo Beach Sport Grounds and provided tent for shelter” (Olifant, 2015:10).

There was also a sense that the government manipulated popular immigrant phobias for political gain. Hence Mthombathi (2015:1) notes,

“It’s a political tool, too, and not even the advent of democracy has been able to wean us from the addiction. Parliament in its short life has seen its fair share of violence” (Mthombothi, 2015:21).

The *Sunday Mail* had the following under the political category:

The president of South Africa criticized other African governments for letting their citizens down and exposing them to violence as they live in South Africa. In a statement by the Democratic Alliance’s Honourable Chair (2015), President Zuma “blamed the xenophobic violence on other countries instead of looking into the failures of his own government”.

“South African President Cde Jacob Zuma used his Freedom Day address last Monday to take a swipe at African governments for letting their citizens reside in South Africa” (Gwaunze, 2015:3).

The Zimbabwean government refused to be held accountable for its citizens’ decision to leave the country in pursuit of better living conditions.

“The people who are described as influx into South Africa are not pushed by governments; they are people who voluntarily go to South Africa” (Gwaunza, 2015:3).

Most governments did not make comments to the media about the violence while some took action by sending buses to fetch their citizens during the attacks.

“Most governments’ leaders do not want to speak out on this matter because they are scared of losing votes” (Tawengwa, 2015).

Statistical

Statistics in news reporting is important because they can back up or discredit a theory (Lucas, 2012:1). As a result, there was statistical data, in some of the stories that were analysed, and these showed records deaths, displacements and the numbers of the repatriated victims of the violence. The numbers of arrests and other estimates were also present. Statistics in news reporting is important because they can back up or discredit a theory. (Lucas, 2012:1). This category had 2 articles from *Sunday Mail* and 3 articles from *Sunday Times*.

Sunday Times

“Dlamini said 120 people were transported back to Zimbabwe and Mozambique this week and three Malawians were collected by officials from their embassy” (Bornman and Ndabeni, 2015:4).

“More than 60 people have been arrested in Gauteng following a spate of xenophobic violence in the province” (Bornman and Ndabeni, 2015:4).

“More than 350 foreigners killed, but only one murder conviction” (Laganparsad, 2015:4).

Sunday Mail

“After an upsurge in violence in Durban and Johannesburg that has claimed *seven* lives and forced more than 5 000 people to flee their homes” (*Sunday Mail* Extra Contributor, 2015).

“Some 34 people have been arrested for possession of unlicensed firearms and other crimes in the last two days” (*Sunday Mail*, 2015)

“It is estimated that as many as 3 million Zimbabweans are lining in South Africa, many as illegal immigrants” (*Sunday Mail* Correspondent, 2015).

“More than 5 000 foreigners including Zimbabweans were displaced after xenophobic violence that erupted on March 30 in Durban before spreading to Johannesburg in the Gauteng province”.

Nationality

Most articles mentioned the nationalities of the people affected by the xenophobic violence. For purposes of identification and to create a contrast between victims (foreigners) and perpetrators (locals). Xenophobia cannot be isolated from nationality, hence, mentioning the nationalities of the victims and in essence that of the perpetrators was standard procedure. This category has 3 articles from *Sunday Mail* and 4 articles from *Sunday Times*. Examples from the two newspapers are provided below:

Sunday Times

“*Mozambican* murdered a day after pledge to curb xenophobic attacks” (Tromp, Olifant and Savides, 2015; 1).

“On Thursday night, *Malawian* Sam Justin, wearing a red t-shirt with the bold legend “NEVER GIVE UP”, huddled around a fire with his new found friends and recounted the attack by eight knife-wielding men in Unit 11, Chatsworth” (Savides, 2015:1).

“Marcus is among four foreigners and 3 *South Africans*, including a 14 year-old boy, who have been killed since the attacks on foreigners started in Isipingo, South of Durban” (Mthethwa, 2015:5).

Sunday Mail

“*South African* police fought running battles with hundreds of locals armed with knobkerries, pangas and rocks in the port city of Durban yesterday as a new wave of xenophobia showed no signs of abetting” (*Sunday Mail* Reporter, 2015:1).

“Five people have died since Friday, starting with two *Ethiopians* who were petrol-bombed in the container they slept in and ran their small business from” (*Sunday Mail* Correspondent, 2015:4).

Emotive

This category consists of stories that would touch the readers’ emotions. The stories show the extent to which xenophobic violence affected many people physically, socially and emotionally. There were 8 articles from the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* in this category.

For example, the following was found in the *Sunday Times*:

“I could see it was him holding the knife. I know him. He’s my child” (Tromp and Ndabeni, 2015:4)

“They told me they don’t want ‘*amakwerekwere*’ [foreigners] here. I ran away, but I fell. One tried to stab me” (Savides, 2015:5).

“There we found his family of three toddlers, two young wives and his distraught mother. They are deep in mourning for the man who dutifully sent money home every month. Now they have

nothing. Sithole's dream of building them a brick home is over. The women said their hopes for the future died with him" (Tromp, 2015:1).

The example from the *Sunday Mail* includes the following:

"In that state of semi-consciousness, they attacked him again inflicting huge cuts to his back and buttocks. He suffered multiple stab wounds, while a part of his buttocks was carved off using a large knife" (Towindo, 2015).

"These people are vulnerable. We are not here to take over the job of police" (Towindo, 2015).

Other

There are other articles usable for this study that did not fit in any of the above-noted categories. Themes from these articles were not recurrent enough to merit creation of new categories. As such, this category entails 6 out of 44 articles with once-off and incoherent topics.

It is important to note that other articles fell under two or more categories.

Sunday Times References to Victims

The Sunday Times newspaper used various terms to refer to foreign nationals in their coverage of xenophobic violence. The most used terms by the publication were foreigners, migrants, foreign nationals and immigrants.

"The savage attacks on *foreigners* have stunned and embarrassed us all" (Mthombeni, 2015:21).

"This comes as the UK issues a travel advisory to British citizens to avoid Johannesburg, Durban and other parts of KwaZulu-Natal following the violence against *foreign nationals*" (Pillay and Lefifi, 2015:2).

"And despite our government's initial reluctance to acknowledge and accept that we were witnessing systemic and unprecedented attacks on *migrants*, it too has eventually woken up to reality" (Tlhabi, 2015).

"About two thirds of *immigrants* to South Africa are from the rest of Africa" (Bam, 2015:10).

Sunday Mail References to Victims

Similarly, the Sunday Mail newspaper used terms such as foreigners, foreign nationals, locals and immigrants in its reportage of the xenophobic violence.

“Hundreds forced to flee their homes amid unrest that has killed *foreigners* and 3 South Africans including a 14 year old boy” (*Sunday Mail*,2015).

“It quoted the president as saying that many *foreign nationals* are living legally in South Africa and are contributing to economic development” (*Sunday Mail*, 2015).

It is evident from both newspapers that they were consistent with their terminology in reporting on xenophobic violence. The terminology used to describe foreign nationals has an impact on the framing of the stories because the terms are not properly defined for readers’ understanding. The terms are used as if they mean the same thing hence creating a perception that they can be used interchangeably, which is wrong because they have different meanings.

4.5 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

As the xenophobic violence unfolded in March and April 2015, the reportage of both the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers became complicated and contradictory with regards to their allegiance to the victims and perpetrators of the xenophobic violence. The *Sunday Times*’ coverage was catered for mainly South African citizens (citizens who were responsible for starting the violence against foreign nationals, whereas the *Sunday Mail*’s coverage was tailored for mainly Zimbabwean citizens (victims of the xenophobic violence by South African locals). This led to a few similarities and differences in their reportage.

According to Smit (2011:117) some reportage on xenophobia lacked consistency because coverage would only happen when high profile cases took place. The findings from this study show that there was less coverage of the xenophobic violence in the *Sunday Mail* newspaper and Coverage would occur if there was a Zimbabwean victim from the violence or if there was a Zimbabwean involved. Hence, this proves that *Sunday Mail* really think about relevance to its audience in terms of reporting.

More so, labeling foreign nationals was another issue related to consistency. The two publications used the same terminology to refer to foreign nationals. However, the labeling of foreign nationals in these two newspapers was inconsistent because it lacked contextualization

since the labels used to refer to foreign nationals were not defined or explained to readers. For instance, the definitions of the words used to describe foreign nationals such as immigrants, foreigners, migrants, etc. are not clearly defined, they are used as synonyms.

The analysed two newspapers' articles vindicate Danso and McDonald's (2002:112) argument that there was little or no contextualization when it came to covering statistics involving foreign nationals in the publications. Contextualization implies providing additional information about the statistics or numbers and putting them into perspective for the readers' consumption.

The categories in the newspapers reflect how the xenophobic violence was framed in 2015. Fourie (2010:245) defines framing as the "way in which the media influences the public through news angles, context and ideologies." Negative framing is identified in the study's findings. This is because most of the analysed articles negatively portrayed foreign nationals as victims of the xenophobic violence who did not deserve the harsh treatment from South African locals. The two newspapers, framed xenophobic violence in a negative frame to express the urgency of fighting wrongdoing. There were a few articles that contained positive acts with one describing how foreigners overcame the challenges faced during the spate of the xenophobic violence.

Another category of frames defines foreigners as members of an out-group. Media homogenisation frames people from other African countries as one homogenous group without giving reference to individual differences (Shadid, 2005). According to Brown (2000) such frames put emphasis on the out-group aspect because in-group members are usually considered distinct individuals whereas out-group members are not regarded as distinct members. Moreover, the findings show that media otherness frames are evident thus further highlighting the characteristics of foreign nationals that define them as out-group members.

There is no solution to the problem that is suggested in most articles. In a related context, McManus and Dorfman (2001:23) opine that the idea of the existence of little need for an explanation of solutions suggests that the society already understands [xenophobic] violence; hence, there is no need to stimulate thinking about "what can be done" to stop it. Some articles presented some solutions, and the two most common solutions were repatriation and displacements. This, in my view, suggests that the South African citizens are steadfast on their

decisions of not wanting foreigners in their communities because a few arrests were made and also most foreigners were displaced and repatriated to ensure their safety.

4.5.1 Dominant Frames

South Africans framed as dangerous neighbours

The *Sunday Mail* mostly portrayed South African citizens as people who terrorize their Zimbabwean neighbours. Most articles claim that the locals do not support their neighbours because they increase competition for resources in their country. For example, the selection of words by the newspaper gives the impression that South Africa is the most dangerous place where you one cannot walk out in the street or go about your business if they're a foreign national, which is however not entirely true. This framing is noted in a statement such as, "Having watched the gruesome events of xenophobic attacks in Durban and Johannesburg; hearing reports of the deaths, injuries and suffering of fellow Africans at the hands of the delinquent community members. Pained by the thought of the unnecessary suffering of the people who are seeking to make ends meet back in their countries" (Makawa, 2015).

South Africans framed with infuriating words

The *Sunday Mail* used infuriating word 'goons' to refer to perpetrators of xenophobic violence. It depicts the coexistence of Zimbabweans and other African nationals as provoking to the South African citizens hence their bullying of foreign nationals. The newspaper insinuated that South Africans terrorized their neighbours. The articles also presented one side of the story because the journalists interviewed Zimbabweans only (foreign nationals) and gave them space for claims such as "South Africans threaten to kill us!". The other side (South Africans) were not taken into account to confirm or reject these claims.

4.5.2 News Values

According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), stories with one or more of the news values would be regarded as newsworthy. This is because it is unlikely that a story exhibit all of the twelve values hence four were chosen. As such, the researcher narrowed the number of news values to four because they were the frequent in the research data. Most of the analysed stories had two or more

of the news values used. In addition, using all twelve news values would be far too broad for the purpose of a mini research report.

My analysis of how the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers covered xenophobic violence in 2015, considers the following news values which dominate the study sample as determining factors in a story being or not being newsworthy. These news values outlined below reinforce one another and they do not work in isolation.

Timeliness: stories that involve current affairs or have news information are newsworthy. This value operates on the basis of ‘new’ when it comes to a story that is recent events and has a higher news value than earlier events. There are a few questions that are asked in assessing the value of timeliness and these are: - is the story itself new? Is there any new development to the story? Is there a new angle? While xenophobia is not new, the extent to which it happened in 2015 was new and there was also more new analysis and new information around the violence. Hence the newspapers found it newsworthy. The two aforementioned newspapers indeed reported on xenophobic violence during March and April 2015 because the violence was unfolding during that time.

Impact: the bigger impact an issue has, the more it is likely to be reported (Levine 2014:53). This value has a lot to do with how a story will affect the reader or viewer or listener’s life. The impact of a story establishes its importance to the audience and the consequences for the audience when they read the story. For example, the xenophobic violence affected many people nationally and internationally, hence it was newsworthy.

Proximity: audiences relate more to stories that are closer to them geographically or involve people from their country; hence stories that are reported that way are considered more newsworthy. Galtung and Ruge (1965) opine that the media must consider how meaningful a story will be to their particular audience before publishing it. The media has to ask itself if their stories matter to people and how their audience may be able to relate with it. For instance, xenophobia took place in South Africa, and the violence was against African foreign nationals, hence it was relevant to most African countries especially the ones with nationals affected by the violence. Therefore, “the closer an event takes place to the intended audience, the more important it is” (Levine, 2014:54).

Conflict: stories that involve conflict between people are more newsworthy. People's opposition or forces that results in violence or drastic effects become newsworthy. This value concerns itself with conflicts that engage audience emotionally where they are able to judge who is right and wrong. Xenophobic violence was reported on because it involved conflict among Africans, some South African citizens against other African foreign nationals which resulted in violence.

4.5.3 Headlines

Headlines provide a rich texture of analytical information hence they were also analysed for this study. Headlines reach a wider audience than those who actually read the articles because headlines can be easily glimpsed at. Metila (2013:72) opines that “as the most significant message about the news, headlines enjoy a privileged position that is explicitly reflected by a distinct layout and typography”. As such, headlines present what newspapers consider to be the most important information that their audience ought to know. More so, according Taiwo (2007: 219) “the role headlines play as precursors to the news makes them to be constructed in such a way that they usually evoke readers’ emotions. Most editors ensure that the choice of expressions in headlines reflects the feelings, opinions and attitudes of people about issues in the news.” As such, headlines reveal the social, cultural and societal representations.

Thematic Classifications

The corpus for this study consists of 44 headlines collected from two weekly newspapers (South African *Sunday Times* and Zimbabwean *Sunday Mail*). These headlines were published between March and April 2015. The headlines were placed into classes according to the themes that emerged.

Themes from the Headlines	The number of articles in the newspapers	
	<i>Sunday Mail</i>	<i>Sunday Times</i>
Crime	1	2
Death	2	6

Political issues	1	3
Economic issues	2	4
Government reforms	1	2
Social issues	2	4
Emotive	2	4
Violence	3	5
Total	14	30
	44	

Table 2

Headlines on Crime

Crime is a topical issue that attracts the attention of people everywhere in the world. According to Taiwo (2007:226), “stories on crime usually find read columns on the front page of newspapers.” The xenophobic violence towards foreign nationals by South African locals was criminal because it involved murder, lootings and/or theft. The *Sunday Times* newspaper had 2 headlines on xenophobic crime awhile the *Sunday Mail* had 1 headline. This is probably because xenophobia was happening in South Africa and so the *Sunday Times* was close to the happenings of the criminal activities resulting in easy access for a news story than the *Sunday Mail*. Examples of headlines that address this theme are given below:

“Kill thy neighbor: Alex attack brings home SA’s shame” (Tromp, Olifant and Savides, 2015:1, Sunday Times)

The presence of the nationality of the victim (Mozambican) suggests the headline’s significance. Killing is a grave offence in any country, but killing a foreigner in a country that projects itself as a great tourist destination and influential hub of many African countries makes the murder more embarrassing and deplorable. The headline was framed in a manner that portrayed the victim as helpless, innocent and someone who did not deserve what happened to him. More so, it is ironic that the same person who is being killed is being referred to as a neighbor. Even though he was

labeled as neighbor, the act of killing him contrasts South Africa's pride because of the emphasis on a neighbor turned victim.

“Zimbabwean man in two horrific SA attacks” (Towindo, 2015:1, Sunday Mail)

The negative connotations of the words ‘horrific’ and ‘attacks’ vividly frame South Africans as violent people and criminals. The xenophobic attacks imply that they were premeditated and this heightens the headline. The label “horrific SA attacks” sensationalises the whole incident by implying that the xenophobic violence was criminal and emotional. The presence of the word ‘Zimbabwean’ suggests its significance because of the Zimbabwean audience.

Headlines on Economic issues

Xenophobia is more of an economic than a social issue. It is a constant focus of discussion in most African countries especially South Africa considering the potential impact the xenophobic violence has on the economy. Xenophobic violence has a negative impact on the local businesses and economic status of South Africa and Zimbabwe. This is because tourists might not want to visit the country (South Africa) because of the attacks. More so foreign investors might be wary of investing in South Africa. The *Sunday Times* newspaper had 4 headlines on economic issues out of the 44 articles while the *Sunday Mail* had 2 headlines out of 14 articles. This is not surprising if one understands the nature of the two countries at during that time. Below are the examples of headlines that address these issues:

“Buy local to beat xenophobia” (Hwengere, 2015, Sunday Mail)

This headline somehow suggests that the solution to xenophobia is buying local. In addition, the use of the word “beat” implies that xenophobia is an economical problem that needs to be dealt with. It is framed in a way that tries to persuade the reader into thinking that buying local means conquering xenophobia. Thus, it is framed like a set of instructions that one must follow to avoid something that would be troublesome to them.

“Xenophobia hits tourism” (Pillay and Lettif, 2015, Sunday Times)

This headline is informative and gives a vivid idea about the news story. The headline is indicative of the consequence of the violence on the economic sector. It addresses what

happened in the news story and entices the readers to read the story. Dor (2003) and Gattani (2005) are of the opinion that “headlines are negotiators between stories and readers.” This means the tourism (sector) capitalised on the story’s prominent value. However, the violence did not really damage the entire tourism industry but affected specific tourism places. Hence, this could be an oversight by the *Sunday Times* or a deliberate choice to put across the impact of xenophobia on the business or economic sector.

Headlines on Death

Death is considered one of the most newsworthy events. Both newspapers reported on death as a result of xenophobic violence. However, the *Sunday Times* had more coverage with 6 headlines on death than the *Sunday Mail* which had 2 headlines on xenophobia related deaths. The *Sunday Mail* newspaper mostly covered deaths of Zimbabwean nationals while the *Sunday Times* newspaper covered the death of all foreign nationals who had succumbed to xenophobic violence. This is noted in the following examples,

“More than 350 foreigners killed-but only one murder conviction” (Laganpargad, 2015:4, *Sunday Times*)

The use of statistics (350 foreigners) to describe the number of deaths indicates the slant towards evidence based reporting. This headline shows the number of the deaths and the word ‘more’ gives leeway for extra possible deaths. The framing of this headline downplays the effort by the police force to end the violence. It could be episodic framing with intend to give the average reader a pessimistic impression. Episodic framing draws people’s attention to the police action with the regards to xenophobic violence rather than the causes of the violence. Metila (2013:73) notes that “episodic framing draws people’s attention to individual responsibility or agency rather than social responsibility.” The phrase, “but only one murder conviction” allows the interpretation that there is no justice for the victims of the violence because there are severely little or no arrests of the perpetrator of xenophobia. This headline therefore derives significance because of the number of deaths due to the violence. This headline presents a specific reality and a concise report on the limited or no arrests yet there were more deaths. According to Andrew (2007:24) “headlines are simplifying mechanisms that summarize and attract attention to what

lies ahead (or below).” Therefore, headlines have framing effects because of the role they play in orienting the interpretation of the reader.

“XENOPHOBIA: SA cops, goons in street battles as five foreigners die” (Sunday Mail Reporter, 2015:4)

The use of the word ‘battles’ invites thoughts of violence and a clash between the police and the perpetrators of the violence as well as a clash between locals and foreigners. The placement of the word in the headline capitalises the value of conflict and impact on the story. More so, the inclusion of the death statistics (five) illustrates how bad the ‘battle’ was. The term ‘die’ implies that the foreigners died a natural death yet they were killed. The preference of the neutral term ‘die’ as an alternative of killed results in a confused attribution of the violence. The extent of the violence is highlighted by the significant details. For instance, victims were labeled as ‘foreigners’ and not by their specific nationalities. This deserves scrutiny because foreigners are ‘high value targets’ of terrorist acts (Bloomfield, 2001), and their involvement gives the headline a higher impact value. However, the way the headline was framed fails to portray the victims for who they really are, thereby failing to fairly represent the prominence of the deaths.

Headlines on Political issues

The headlines in both newspapers focused on the political side of the xenophobic violence. For South Africa, “The failure to balance the political governance system and economic approaches adopted since 1994, has led to the escalation of poverty, unemployment and inequality” (Terreblanche, 2012). While, it appears as if Zimbabwe’s citizens are the victims of the oppressive government and prevalent political and socio-economic crisis, hence their migration to South Africa to seek better living conditions only to become “secondary victims” of xenophobia. The *Sunday Times* newspaper had 3 headlines on political issues out of all its 44 headlines while the *Sunday Mail* newspaper had 1 article on political issues. This is probably because there is media freedom in South Africa than in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean media is highly censored when it comes to news that is political hence reporting on news stories that portray a bad image on the government, as shown below, is highly avoided.

“When our leaders add fuel to the flames” (Tlhabi, 2015:19, *Sunday Times*)

“Cde Zuma, we are not your enemies, ask Cde Malema” (Gwaunza, 2015:2, *Sunday Mail*)

Headlines on Government reforms

These headlines focused on government officials and stakeholders’ thoughts and actions on the violence. Both governments’ concern with human rights and people’s well-being during the period of xenophobic violence became very important and newsworthy. The displacements and repatriations done by the South African government and the Zimbabwean government respectively drew the attention of the media and made it to the headlines. The *Sunday Mail* had 1 headline about the government involvement in the violence and *Sunday Times* had 2 headlines on government reforms. Examples of headlines that address this theme are given below:

“A call against xenophobia” (Makawa, 2015:1, *Sunday Mail*)

This headline is a single, short and simple sentence, comprising four words, and the effort needed to read it is insubstantial. It is a command headlines which expresses a request with regards to xenophobic violence. There is not much effort needed to construct the context or interpretation of the headline. It is clear that it is a plea to eradicate violence against foreign nationals in South Africa where it’s rampant. Additionally, the use of the phrase “A call” suggests a request for to action to stop xenophobia. The use of the word “against” further implies that it is something that has been rampant and needs to be subdued. The framing of this headline suggests a state call to action and something that needs urgent attention.

“SA expatriates keeping their bags packed ‘just in case’ (Savides, Govender and Magwaza, 2015:5, *Sunday Times*)

The careful packaging of this headline is framing. The *Sunday Times* used the word expatriates in the headline and in the contents of that specific article but used words such as foreigners, immigrants in other articles. The word expatriates was used to describe South African citizens working and living in other African countries.

Headlines on Social issues

South Africa faces various social issues associated with the influx of foreign nationals. Many lives are lost to xenophobic violence. Whenever xenophobic attacks occur, they naturally attract

the attention of the media who present them from different viewpoints and contexts in their headlines. The *Sunday Mail* and *Sunday Times* newspapers covered the violence, although *Sunday Times* had more coverage with 4 headlines on social issues while the *Sunday Mail* had 2 headlines under that theme. This is noted in the following example,

“SA xenophobia problem: Dispelling the myths” (*Sunday Mail* Correspondent, 2015)

The term “SA xenophobia problem” straight away suggests an existing issue in South Africa. Furthermore, the word “dispelling” implies that there are doubts surrounding the xenophobia problem that needs to be cleared. The use of “myths” further emphasizes the need to set the record straight. The framing of the headline suggests that there is a narrative that needs to be made clear, hence the use of ‘dispelling the myths’. Moreover, the headline presupposes certain stock of knowledge about the underlying issues of xenophobia.

“United in flight and trapped by the terror” (*Sunday Times*, 2015)

The headline above presupposes certain stock of knowledge and people who are not aware of the xenophobic violence might not be able to decode the kind of terror being talked about. That is, if the readers have been closely following the xenophobic violence reports then, they might understand the headline. Hence, Taiwo (2007:222) opines that “newspaper headlines are rich sources of information about the field of cultural reference and they can be sometimes difficult to understand especially when the reader cannot recognize the field, allusions, issues and cultural references necessary to decode the content.”

Headlines on Emotive

The headlines under this theme raised the readers’ emotions. The *Sunday Times* newspaper had 4 headlines under the emotive theme whereas the *Sunday Mail* newspaper had 2 headlines. This is because the *Sunday Times* generally had more articles on xenophobia than the *Sunday Mail*.

“Daddy isn’t coming home”

This newspaper headline is incomplete but catchy. It teases the brain to start thinking about the story related to the headline. The headline makes the reader think about questions such as ‘whose daddy? Why was he not coming home?’ The questions compel the mind to start focusing on the

story at hand. As such, Ortego (2010:23) suggests that “headlines usually stimulate the interest of the reader for the content of the article.” The headline is emotive and its connotations (death, disturbance and turmoil) arouse the reader’s curiosity through human interest to want to read the story. In addition, the headline draws from a well-recognised value of love of a father. It is an example of what a parent would say to their child and hence appeals to the reader’s sense of pity and compassion for the children of the victim.

“AFROPHOBIA: More Zimbabwean victims, SA ARMY deployed to Alexandra” (*Sunday Mail* Correspondent, 2015:4)

The term Afrophobia refers to a disdain for African people by other Africans. The emphasis on more Zimbabwean victims implies an ongoing issue facing Zimbabweans. The victimisation is made more significant by the deployment of the army. This goes further to stress the seriousness of the situation. The army is only deployed in a state of emergency and so the indication is that the xenophobic violence are one emergency. The headline is framed in such a way that the reader has no choice, but to feel sympathy for the victims. Also, it stresses just how serious things are; therefore it works as a public interest article.

Headlines on Violence

Violence was widely reported as it happened by the two newspapers. The media knows the importance of human life and human rights and as such presented captivating headlines on issues. The *Sunday Times* newspaper had 5 headlines on violence which were more than the 3 headlines that the *Sunday Mail* had. South Africa has experienced many years of violence and the recent xenophobic violence came with various issues and generated debates and discussion across the nation and beyond. The *Sunday Mail* reported on violence against Zimbabweans mostly whereas the *Sunday Times* reported on xenophobic violence against all foreign nationals as well as locals. Examples of headlines on violence are given below:

“The blood of these fellow Africans is our blood too” (BBK, 2015:4, *Sunday Times*)

The word ‘blood’ invites thoughts of gruesome happenings such as violence, severe injuries or the killing of a lot of people. The term was placed in a phrase-initial position that capitalises on the story’s impact value. The framing of this headline implies that violence against each other

should not be part of Africa. The headline heightens the story's relevance and proximity because of the words "fellow Africans is our blood too" since the violence was between South Africans and other Africans. The headline therefore succeeds in making the audience relate to the xenophobic violence and history of Africa.

"Xenophobic violence in South Africa leaves at least five dead" (Sunday Mail reporter, 2015)

The use of statistics 'five' to describe the number of deaths indicates the effects of the xenophobic violence. The mention of loss of lives capitalizes on the headline's prominence and conflict values. However, the xenophobic violence did not only result in 5 deaths as more deaths were reported owing to the reality that the violence continued. The word 'leaves' insinuates that only five people died during the xenophobic violence and yet there were more deaths. As such, the headline enhances the story's conflict and impact value at the expense of accuracy. Although victims' nationalities were not mentioned, this is easily understood by the audience as a reference to foreigners since the headline was packaged during xenophobic violence. In addition, the headline was packaged in a way that framed the victims as helpless, innocent targets who did not at all deserve what happened to them especially because they were just people who migrated in pursuit of better living conditions or to bring revenue to the country.

The findings show that foreign nationals and locals are largely described in the headlines. The study also focused on headlines in order to determine how ideologies on xenophobic violence were constructed through framing. The use of plain headline to describe xenophobic violence in a simple way was of maximum practice in both newspapers. However, there are some hidden ideologies in those plain headlines. A casual reading of some of the articles revealed that the *Sunday Times* newspaper used words such as Neighbour to refer to a foreign national during the violence as shown in the example of, the story headlined "Kill thy Neighbour: Alex attack bring home SA's shame". Clearly, the headline seems to be neutral but it has highlighted an irony, that is the story is about the murder of a 'foreigner' but the same foreigner is being called Neighbour in the headline.

The findings of the study show that all the analysed headlines used words such as foreigners to refer to people from other African countries other than South Africa. The terms "*foreigners*" and "*foreign nationals*", are more neutral and discreet in their nature, and closely diplomatic, hence

their use. The use of such words was not offensive and it did not impinge on the guideline of the South African Press Code (SAPC, 2013:12) which states that “headlines and captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report or picture in question.” More so, Gomo (2010:35) argues that “despite the negativity of the stories on foreigners, non-South Africans are still largely described in the headlines and in the articles as foreigners which is an indication of neutrality and balance, while the term immigrant also denotes neutrality, but carries negativity in the South African context.” Therefore, the headlines used in both the *Sunday Mail* and *Sunday Times* proves Gomo’s argument to be true.

4.6 COMPARISON OF THE *SUNDAY TIMES* AND *SUNDAY MAIL* FINDINGS

Reportage on xenophobic violence by the *Sunday Mail* seemed to be dominated by official sources such as government officials, religious and other high profile people. As such, it is evident that journalists from the *Sunday Mail* appear to have considered the views of ordinary Zimbabwean citizens, xenophobia victims and their relation, on to the coverage of the xenophobic violence. Hence, this denotes a disproportionate voice. However, coverage by the *Sunday Times* attempted at a balanced voice, as it included official sources, perpetrators and their families, victims and their relatives/friends as well as some community members. Another difference in their coverage of the two publications is that the *Sunday Mail* framed the xenophobic violence more negatively and portrayed foreign nationals as helpless victims in a senseless and ruthless South African citizens’ behavior.

The two newspapers reported on the March and April 2015 xenophobic violence differently although there are commonalities in their reportage. The publications had the same number of categories. Distinctively, the *Sunday Times* had more coverage than the *Sunday Mail*. The possible reason for such a difference could be that the publications are from different countries and cater for different audiences hence they could not report on the same day.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The following section will discuss the research findings in order to answer the research question below.

What aspects of xenophobic violence were considered newsworthy by the two newspapers in their reportage of the violence in 2015?

The findings of the study show that death was considered newsworthy by the two publications in their reportage of the xenophobic violence in 2015. Journalists undoubtedly play a huge role in making stories get the most attention and provoke emotions. The news value of the impact entailed the death aspect of xenophobia. For example, the death of Emmanuel Sithole, a murder victim during xenophobic violence, affected many people hence it was newsworthy. The story had a huge headline and made it to the front page and other pages inside the *Sunday Times* newspaper. According to the South African Press Code (2007:12) “Headlines and captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report or picture in question”. As such, the death of a foreigner due to murder during xenophobic violence was more newsworthy and more controversial than the death of a local citizen due to some illness. During the violence, deaths were considered more relatable to a greater number of people and received the most attention. For example, *Sunday Mail* newspaper considered the death of a Zimbabwean man due to xenophobic violence newsworthy because it was violent and relatable to the Zimbabwean citizens who had some of relatives living in South Africa and affected by the violence.

Displacements were also considered newsworthy by both the *Sunday Mail* and *Sunday Times* newspapers. A number of many foreign nationals were displaced by a spate of xenophobic violence during March and April 2015. This was newsworthy because it was significant. Significance implies that if an event affects a lot of people then it is important. In this case and in accordance with both the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail*, 5 000 foreign nationals were displaced, hence it was considered newsworthy. More so, this aspect responds to the news value of Proximity. This is because stories which happen near to people have more significance than those that happen far away. The *Sunday Mail* reported on the displacements because they were closer to home and also involved Zimbabwean citizens. Similarly, the *Sunday Times* considered

it newsworthy because the displacements were happening in South Africa and the displaced people residing in refugee camps in South Africa and hence the news value of proximity applies.

Stories that appeal to emotion which are stories that evoke responses such as sadness or sympathy are considered newsworthy. The emotive stories include ones focusing on the repatriation of foreign nationals due to xenophobic violence. The aspect of pathos in the repatriation of foreign nationals was newsworthy because people are amenable to hearing about the misfortunes of others and this often elicits sympathy, pity or compassion. Therefore, the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers considered repatriation of foreign nationals newsworthy. Readers of both newspapers would probably feel sympathy and compassion for their fellow Africans who had hoped to find better living conditions in South Africa but had to go back to their countries to face whatever it is that had made them leave in the first place.

How has the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers constructed the frames of xenophobic violence in 2015?

The *Sunday Mail* and *Sunday Times* newspapers' reportage of xenophobic violence, framed the violence as a societal problem.

Black people from other African countries other than South Africans were framed in various ways. The common framing involved their representation as foreigners, foreign nationals, immigrants and migrants. These frames are evident in both newspapers. These names show a common characteristic of the people as being outsiders who do not belong to South Africa, as exemplified in the article, "The savage attacks on foreigners have stunned and embarrassed us all" (*Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015).

Most foreign nationals in South Africa were framed as illegal immigrants in the *Sunday Times*. In its reportage, most people from other African countries were portrayed as illegal people without official authorization from the South African government. This is expressed in the example, "Following the path of thousands of his countrymen, he crossed the border illegally, paying R100 for the privilege of entering South Africa" (*Sunday Times*, 26 April 2015).

Foreign nationals were also sentimentally framed as 'neighbors' in the *Sunday Times* as noted in the example, "Kill thy neighbor: Alex attack brings home South Africa's shame".

This is a positive frame to describe and represent black African people in the coverage of xenophobia. It is important to frame them positively because they are humans who deserve to be treated equally as their South African counterparts because they belong to the same continent.

Both publications sometimes describe Africans from other countries by their nationalities. Framing the foreign nationals by their respective nationality illustrated the normalisation of the situations.

Zimbabweans and other African nationals apart from South African citizens were framed as victims in the *Sunday Mail*. They are described as victims of xenophobic violence by the local South African residents. The South African citizens are alleged to be hostile people who murder, rob and injure foreign nationals living in South Africa and also chase them away. For example, Emmanuel Sithole was murdered and his belongings were stolen.

Are there any notable differences or similarities on the issue of xenophobic violence given the two newspapers are from different countries?

The *Sunday Mail* newspaper did not go at length to describe the horror of Emmanuel Sithole during xenophobic violence. It did not print the photograph of the stabbed victim on the front page and did not do many follow-ups on the story. The *Sunday Mail* took a less dramatic stance. Its coverage was limited to death tolls, looting, displacements, repatriation and rioting without using too many explicit pictures. On the contrary, *Sunday Times* went to cover the murder of Emmanuel Sithole and put it on the front page with the pictures of the victim as well.

The *Sunday Mail* newspaper being a Zimbabwean paper covered xenophobic violence differently from the *Sunday Times*. The newspaper portrays Zimbabweans and other African nationals living in South Africa as victims of the violence and South African citizens as perpetrators. This is reflected in the article, “Their only crime was crossing the Limpopo to get an honest living in a different part of God’s creation. They were/are in South Africa not to plunder its resources or to reap where they did not sow, but to fend for their families in a land that God created for all his creation” (*Sunday Mail*, 22 April 2015). It is apparent from the above mentioned example that in some other situations and contexts, black foreign nationals in the *Sunday Mail* are described as “victims” or “vulnerable human beings,” which seem to be a slight improvement from “illegal immigrants” or “foreigners”.

The *Sunday Times* being a South African newspaper also frames xenophobic violence differently from *Sunday Mail*. It portrays xenophobic violence as a problem that humiliating and uncalled for. However, in some articles it is evident that some citizens justify the violence as a necessary evil to do away with crime and socio-economic problems. Most foreign nationals are said to be illegal immigrants who are a security risk and a threat to the well-being of local citizens. For example, “I said illegal immigrants are a ticking time bomb. Illegal” (*Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015).

The two publications both indirectly describe the xenophobic violence as a problem using words such as outbursts, rage, etc. and refrain from typecasting it as a crisis or conflict. The publications are clear from their reportage that xenophobic violence is inhumane and should stop, however, it will take a lot of time to get rid of the views rooted in and caused by a various factors which need to be resolved first before tackling xenophobia itself. For instance, xenophobia is a ‘sickness in itself and/or a symptomatic of greater social dysfunction’ (*Sunday Mail*, 2015). More so, “but at the heart of this problem is a lack of leadership” (*Sunday Times*, 2015).

5.2 CONCLUSION

The research report was generally an exploration of the frames used for xenophobia coverage and the newsworthiness of the violence. The study was carried out as a case study of the *Sunday Times* (a South African newspaper) and *Sunday Mail* (a Zimbabwean newspaper) reportage of the 2015 xenophobic violence that took place in South Africa. It was noted that both publications are popular and have a large audience and widest reach.

The study undertook to provide an exploration of the frames that black foreign nationals were put in by both the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers. The key intention was to build up on previous research on xenophobic violence. The 2015 xenophobic violence proved that class and nationality matter in South Africa. More so, most articles revealed that xenophobic violence is difficult to curb if the issue of poverty and social inequality in South Africa is not tackled first and also if other African countries have not tackled the problems that push their citizens out of their countries.

The study offers an expansive work on the framing and newsworthiness of xenophobic violence in both the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* newspapers. It examines the implications of the news articles of the two publications from different contexts and countries in effort to provide a comprehensive understanding of the way in which both publications reported the xenophobic violence against other African black foreign nationals and the ideology behind the coverage.

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IN THE DOCK: Sizwe Ngomezulu, Ayanda 'Zakes' Sibiya, Mthintha Bhengu and Sfundo Shezi during their first appearance in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court

Picture: SIMPHIWE NKWALI

FAT/assa

Four sons, four weeping mothers

What turns a young man with a loving mother into the kind of person who mercilessly attacked Emmanuel Sithole? Reporters **Beauregard Tromp, Khanyi Ndabeni** and photographer **Simphiwe Nkwali** visited four homes in Alexandra to find tales of loss, poverty, despair and absent fathers

"KILLA". The word is etched on the wooden table as Tshitshi Bhengu fumbles her hands in the lap of her hand-sewn dress, trying to figure out where to start.

She has been thinking of killing herself. The shame.

Last Saturday morning, after a night of drinking at Madala Hostel and looting nearby foreign-owned shops, her son **Mthintha Bhengu** plunged a knife into Emmanuel Sithole.

Hours later he joined his mother and seven siblings, cracking jokes, waiting for Tshitshi to finish cooking their

go to school and have a better life. That was 13 years ago.

"I couldn't even afford to buy my children school uniforms," she said. "I thought life would be much better here. My aim was to get a job and raise my children properly and send them to school, as I never went to school."

Work was hard to find. She met a man with whom she had four more children.

She remembers her children's births by the historic events of the time — the release of Nelson Mandela, the first democratic election, the Soccer World Cup.



What they said . . .

● March 21: King Goodwill Zwelithini in Pongola: "As I speak, you find [foreigners] unpleasant goods hanging all over our shops, they soil our streets. We cannot even recognise which shop is which . . . there are foreigners everywhere."

"We ask foreign nationals to pack their belongings and go back to their countries."

● April 10: Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba said: "South Africa is not against Africans."

"I'm appealing to all leaders to stop making statements that instigate or condone attacks against foreign nationals. "All our leaders in the country have a responsibility to use words to build and not destroy."

● April 10: Police Minister Nathi Nhleko defended the king, saying he was misquoted. He said: "His context was [that] our borders were porous, people were walking in and out without any documentation. If we continue to allow that situation, we'll end up not being able to trace them and that contributes to the escalation of crime."



'MISQUOTED': King Goodwill Zwelithini

● April 11: King Goodwill said: "I ask political leaders that we should respect each other. Democracy should not make them feel like demigods. Although everyone has a right to comment about [kingship], I will not allow myself to be insulted by people who think because of five years which was given to them at the mercy of voters, they are now demigods who should be praised."

"I wish that politicians who comment on what I said in Pongola should do so with knowledge. They should ask Police Minister Nhleko about what I had said, as I was there on his invitation. A person should not comment just because he is standing in front of microphones and cameras."

Violence in Gauteng

ISAAC MAHLANGU

MORE than 60 people have been arrested in Gauteng following a spate of xenophobic violence in the province.

Mozambican national Emmanuel Sithole was killed in full view of bystanders in Alexandra early yesterday morning.

Gauteng police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Lungelo Dlamini said arrests had been made between Wednesday and yesterday in Jeppestown and Cleveland in central Johannesburg, Thokoza in Ekurhuleni as well as Alexandra.

"The arrested individuals will be facing charges of public violence, malicious damage to property, housebreaking and theft," Dlamini said.

Johannesburg metro police arrested three men and recovered a pistol after an attempted robbery at a shop owned by a Pakistani in Protea, Soweto, on Friday evening.

The suspects were South African and were on the verge of being set alight by the angry crowd of locals. "They had already doused them with petrol when our officers arrived," metro police spokesman Chief Superintendent Wayne Minnaar said yesterday.



FLEEING: Foreigners pack up their Germiston, after looting and violence

In addition, 24 people were arrested at a Thokoza informal settlement after they allegedly broke into a warehouse owned by foreigners on Friday night following a meeting of locals who agreed to drive foreigners out of the area.

There were attempts to loot shops owned by foreigners in Primrose, Marathon and Makhause informal settlements near Germiston.

More than 350 foreigners killed —

MONICA LAGANPARSAD

EBRAHIM Mohamed Ali knows why his brother Abubakar was killed — it was because he was a Somali.

What he does not understand is why the police have made no arrests since the murder in 2008.

Abubakar Ali, 40, is among an estimated 357 foreigners killed during xenophobic violence over the past seven years.

Disturbingly, activists and monitoring groups this week could cite just one case of a successful prosecution for the murder of a foreigner.

Abubakar was killed in June

2008 in Fordsburg, three weeks after anti-foreigner violence broke out in Alexandra.

"I'm scared," Ebrahim said. "I don't want them to kill me too."

He said he had not been able to follow up on his brother's murder because he is illiterate.

Amir Sheikh, chairman of the Somali Community Board, said at least 100 Somalis had been killed since 2008, and only a few of those cases had gone to court.

"Abubakar was killed in his garage. Nothing was taken. Not the fancy cars in the workshop or even the money in his pockets. The police came to take his body away. We haven't seen them since," said Sheikh.

Jean Pierre Misago, a researcher at the African Centre for Migration and Society based at the University of the Witwatersrand, has been tracking xenophobic attacks since 2008.

In a report he is due to publish later this year, Misago says:

● In 2008, at least 62 people were killed, 670 wounded, dozens raped and more than 100 000 displaced;

● Since mid-2008, almost every month there has been at least one attack on groups of foreigners;

● Between mid-2009 and late 2010, at least 20 foreigners were killed and more than 40 seriously injured, while at least 200

foreign-run shops were looted and more than 4 000 people were displaced;

● In 2011, at least 120 foreigners were killed (five of them burnt alive), 100 were seriously injured and at least 1 000 displaced; and

● In 2012, there were 140 deaths and 250 serious injuries.

According to the Southern Africa office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), up to March 2014, an estimated 300 incidents of violence against asylum-seekers and refugees had been reported.

"The violence never stopped since 2008," said Misago. "What we've seen is that some people



STAREWAY TO HEAVEN: Mandi and

Kevin Greenberg





DISPERSED: A stun grenade and teargas are used on people after a skirmish between locals and foreigners during a peace march against xenophobia in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal



BARRIER: Police disperse a group of people after seven people have been killed in

3 The brutal death of Emmanuel Sithole

source Bafana-loving Mozambican stabbed to death in Alexandra

Shortly before 7am yesterday, journalists **BEAUREGARD TROMP** and **JAMES OATWAY** were in Alexandra township, near Sandton, speaking to shop owners who had their businesses looted overnight. Children played, people walked the streets, some stopped to gawk at the carnage from the night before. Then this happened ...

source IN a gutter in Alexandra a Mozambican man stopped and lay down. The gash to his chest meant he could go no further.

At the day clinic less than 100m away they could not help him. The doctor scheduled to be on duty did not show up because he was a foreigner and feared being a victim of xenophobia.

It began on Friday night when mobs blockaded Arkwright Avenue, one of the main thoroughfares in Alexandra, with rubble and burning tyres. Foreign-owned shops' roofs were ripped open and metal gates torn away as looters went on the rampage.

Outside one spaza shop, a man in a black corduroy jacket

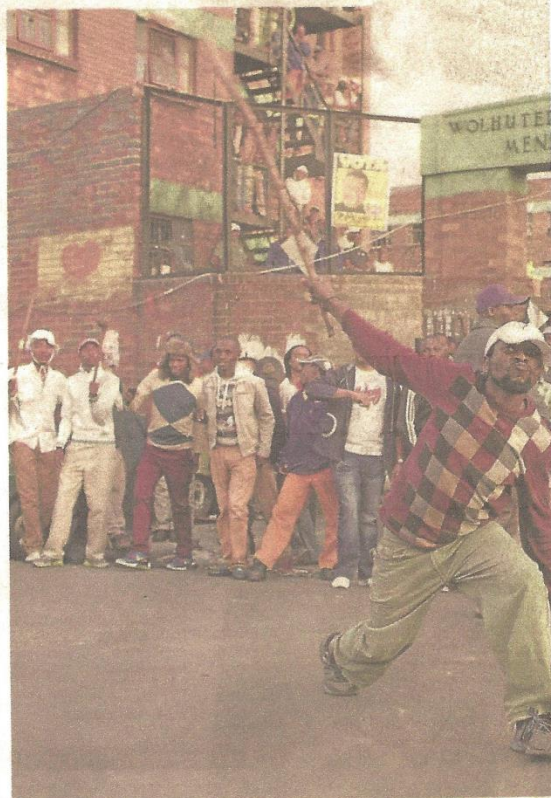
and red shirt was walking along the road.

Suddenly a young man dressed in a grey tracksuit jacket beat him over the head with a wrench. The red-shirt man tried to fend off the blows, his arms raised. He stumbled back, falling into rubbish strewn by the roadside. The blows with the wrench rained down. Then the bludgeoning stopped and the man with the wrench moved away.

"Are we safe here?" asked a South African woman watching the attack.

The man in the red shirt got up. Now another man with a beige spottie approached, holding an okapi knife high above his head. Again, the man in the red shirt raised his hands, pleading for mercy. But his pleas were in vain. He was stabbed ... again and again.

The two grappled and fell to the floor. The man with the wrench returned. Finally, a lanky young man sprinted towards the man among the rubbish, kicking him in the head. The young man pulled a butcher's knife. A man in a black



STREETS OF FURY: Residents of Wolhuter Men's Hostel (also known as foreigners from the area. The night before, shops were looted and

leather jacket who had discouraged the attack grabbed the wrist with the butcher's knife. The attackers fled.

The red-shirt man tried to get up but fell. Finally he made it to his feet. Feebly, he walked up the road.

Do you know why they attacked you? Who are you? Where are you from, we asked him.

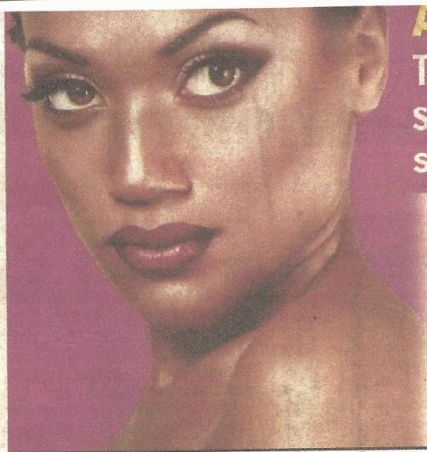
He turned his head towards the questions fired at him, his face pleading. He said nothing. His shirt was drenched, a 2cm gash in his chest.

Metres further he stumbled and lay down in the gutter. He struggled to sit up and fell down.

"Help me get him into the car. Help me, please," said photographer James Oatway, looking around at the men gathered around him. One stepped forward, reluctantly.

Up the road, at Alexandra Day Clinic, nurses did what they could. There was no doctor; he would have to be taken to Edendale Hospital.

Along the way the man was flailing wildly, sitting up, being



ATTRACTION

The surprising
secrets of
sexiness P16



LIED!

The Mac
Maharaj
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BROWNS

The Most Beautiful

① Kill thy neighbour: Alex attack brings home SA's shame

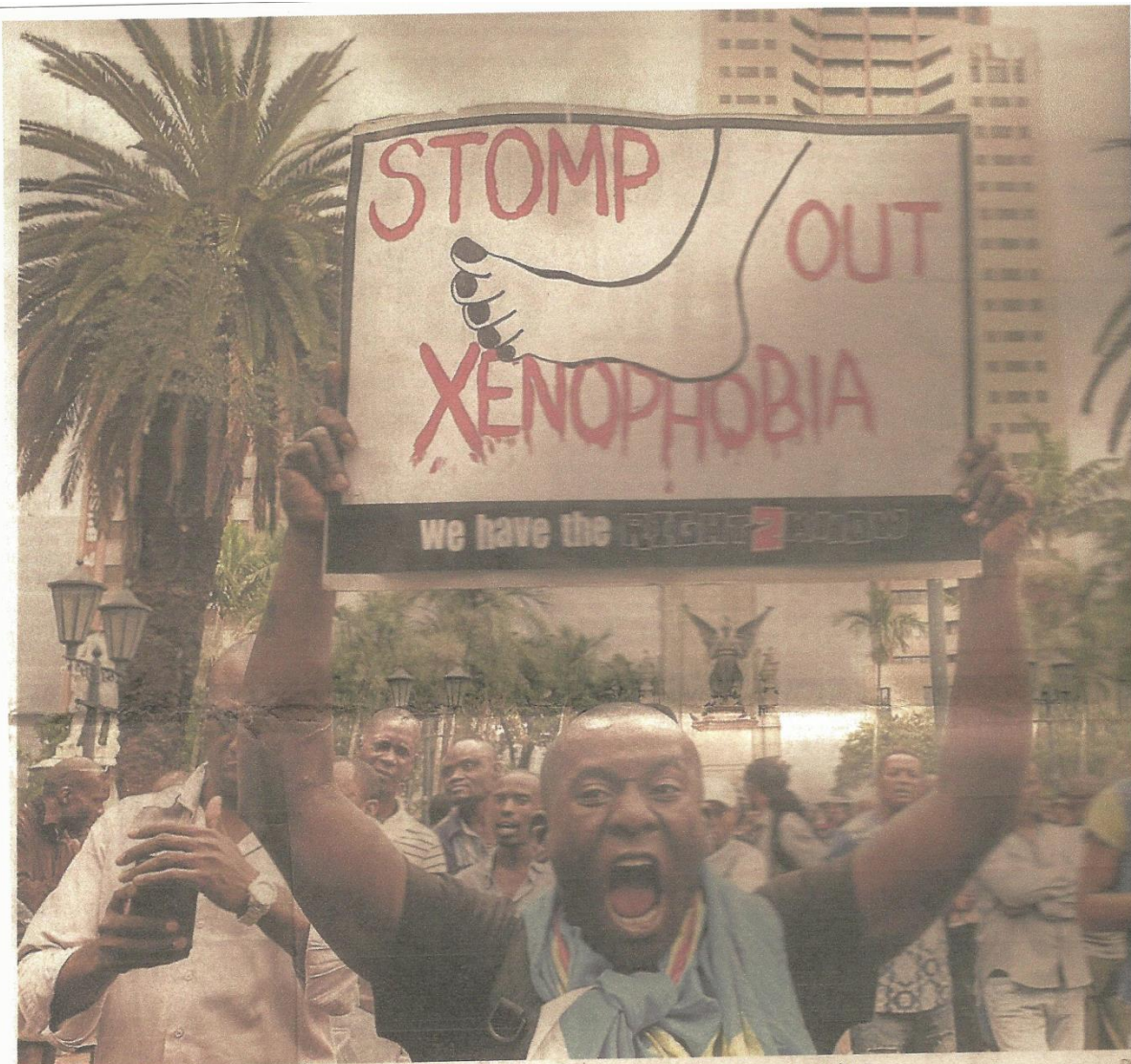
*Eric
Mphahlele*

Mozambican murdered a day after
pledge to curb xenophobic attacks

MOVING IN FOR T
left to die on a rut

BEAUREGARD TROMP, NATHI
OLIFANT and MATTHEW SAVIDES

Pictures by



IN FULL CRY: Foreign nationals gathered at the Durban City Hall to protest against the recent attacks on them

Xenophobia hits MTN, Sasol square

THEKISO ANTHONY LEFIFI

SOUTH African companies with operations north of the border are suffering a fierce backlash from this week's wave of xenophobic violence, blamed on remarks by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

On Friday, officials of the newly elected Nigerian government handed a memorandum to the South African high commission in that country, demanding that South Africa take swift action against the attackers — or else South African business in Nigeria would be shut down, news network eNCA reports.

This will be of particular concern to MTN as Nigeria is the cellular giant's largest

market, responsible for a third of its revenue for the year to December. MTN's share price shed 0.9% afterwards.

On Friday, Chris Moroleng, MTN's head of corporate affairs, said none of its staff had been threatened.

He said MTN was seen as a local rather than a South African company in most of its markets.

Other companies with exposure to Nigeria — including Standard Bank, Nedbank, Shoprite, Sun International, Old Mutual, Naspers's MultiChoice and Massmart — may yet feel the sting of this threat.

Petrochemical giant Sasol was directly affected. It was forced to halt work at some of

its projects in Mozambique.

The group would evacuate 340 South Africans from Mozambique, Sasol spokesman Alex Anderson said on Friday.

"Mozambican employees of our service providers have expressed concern around the reported incidents of violence against Mozambicans and other foreign nationals in South Africa, and are also protesting about the presence of South African employees," he said.

The border post between the two countries was closed on Friday after a Mozambican mob barricaded the N4 highway near Ressano Garcia, targeting trucks with South African registration numbers,

according to the Corridor Gazette newspaper.

Citizens in a number of African countries have vowed to retaliate, which puts several other South African companies at risk, including Barclays Africa, Vodacom and SABMiller.

Earlier this week, Primedia CEO Roger Jardine said on social media that the corporate sector should act to mitigate the damage. "Can corporate South Africa expect to do business on the African continent yet be silent on xenophobia?" he asked.

Gilbert Mutubuki, president of Zimbabwe's national students' union, allegedly incited Zimbabweans to attack South African students

and business in his country. Within 5 borders, the business. Nedbank down bran Verulam, 1 Isipingo in Nedbank "evacuation branches in place. S not discuss measures was "work scenarios" Jabu Kh FNB Inter bank rema committed African op opening in

Africans.

XENOPHOBIA OR AFROPHOBIA? Read more here

Whereas most media commentators have identified the violence as “xenophobia” — a hatred of foreigners — Prof Moyo used the word “Afrophobia”, which is a hatred of other Africans.

He warned that xenophobia could “easily mutate” into genocide.

“Xenophobia today can easily mutate into genocide tomorrow. Stop It,” the minister said on Twitter, using the hashtag #AfrophobiaInSAMustEnd.

Prof Moyo also took aim at Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, whose call for “foreigners to leave” appeared to have inflamed the latest anti-foreigner sentiment in KwaZulu Natal Province, whose capital is Durban.

“King Zwelithini must extinguish what he ignited. Xenophobia is a crime against humanity,” Prof Moyo tweeted in one of the first public reactions from a Zimbabwe Government official to the violence that has horrified many Zimbabweans.

Reports from South Africa said a crowd of about 700 people gathered at the end of Monty Naicker Road, where it intersects with Dr Yusuf Dadoo Road, in the Durban CBD — taunting police and baying for the blood of foreign nationals.

Police used water cannons and stun grenades to control the crowds. Pictures of a man showing injuries to his right leg circulated online with claims that he had been shot by police using rubber bullets.

As commuters headed home late in the afternoon, sirens wailed throughout the seaside city and a pall of smoke rose from the CBD.

Police spokesperson Jay Naicker said: “The police are still monitoring the situation.”

When asked to clarify unconfirmed reports on social media that a Pakistani national had been shot, or had been set alight, he replied: “We heard that there was a man injured but we cannot confirm at this stage as no case has been opened.” Rights group Amnesty International called on South Africa authorities to “launch full, transparent and independent investigations, and bring suspected perpetrators to account.”

“The prevailing culture of impunity must be stopped,” said Sichel’mpilo Shange-Buthane, executive director of Amnesty International-South Africa.

Keynote Address by the President of the Zimbabwe Heads of Christian Denominations BISHOP ISHMAEL MUKUWANDA of Trinity Methodist Church, Harare April 22 2015

ONE profound saying from King David in Psalm 133:1 reminds us of the need to live together in harmony with our brothers (and sisters) when he said, "How good and pleasant it is when brothers and sisters live together in unity."

Today, we meet together with heavy hearts as we remember some of our mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, uncles, children, aunts, nephews and nieces who are being hounded like wild animals by our own brothers and sisters in our neighbouring country of South Africa.

Their only crime was crossing the Limpopo to get an honest living in a different part of God's creation. They were/are in South Africa not to plunder its resources or to reap where they did not sow, but to fend for their families in a land that God created for all his creation.

The level of hatred and anger displayed by our brothers and sisters was unprecedented: decapitating some and burning others alive. One needs to ask the question, "How can we do this to ourselves, a black person murdering another black person?" This does not imply that murdering someone of a different pigmentation is acceptable or justified.

God the creator, author and perfecter of our lives made us all in His image so that we may love one another even with our differences.

The xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals were perpetrated in defence of what the South African citizens claim is rightfully theirs: their land, their jobs, their businesses, their women and their country, but they do not know how they came to be in South Africa.

The Almighty God reminds us in 1 Corinthians 10:26 that, "The earth is the Lord's, and everything in it." And again in 1 Timothy 6:7, "For we brought nothing into the world and we take nothing out of it."

Xenophobic or Afrophobic attacks as some would like to call them, bring vain glory to perpetrators as they defend what is not theirs.

God is very clear about how we must treat strangers and foreigners as God instructs us in Exodus 22:21, "Do not mistreat an alien or oppress him (or her), for you were aliens in Egypt."

Who knows where we came from? A few hundreds of years ago, some among us were South Africans and decided to move north. Today they are called foreigners.

A few hundred years ago some among us came from the north but today, if we go back north, we are considered foreigners. The Samaritan was called good not because he had helped another man but because

excuse to create a situation where foreigners are allowed to inconvenience locals..." – Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, March 2015

Following the xenophobic comments by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, 250 people have been attacked and foreign-owned shops have been looted in South Africa's port city of Durban.

Further, an estimated 1 000 African migrants have fled their homes.

Some have sought refuge at police stations and others have found shelter in tents provided by government and well-wishers.

President Jacob Zuma's son, Edward, also expressed anti-foreigner sentiments, saying: "We (South Africa) are also unnecessarily accommodating illegal immigrants in this country. You never know whether they (foreigners) are funding ISIS (Islamic State) and al-Shabaab."

Nevertheless, what is xenophobia, and when did it rear its ugly head in South Africa?

Xenophobia literally refers to a phobic (anxious) attitude towards foreigners.

According to researchers, the origins of South Africa's xenophobia can be traced back to 1994 when thousands, perhaps even millions, of other Africans entered that country looking for opportunities under the new majority ANC government.

Yet, as early as 1998, reports emerged that a mob of South African nationals had attacked and killed non-South Africans for the reason that "they were stealing their jobs".

Still, since the recent reports of xenophobic violence in Durban surfaced, many have joined the "stop xenophobia" campaign. However, how do you treat a disease if you do not know its causes?

Moreover, in this particular instance, is xenophobia a sickness in itself or is it symptomatic of greater social dysfunction?

Arguably, the causes of xenophobia are:

- 1 The perception of foreigners as a threat to physical security;
- 1 Racism;
- 1 Radical nationalism;
- 1 Political scape-goating (exemplified by King Zwelithini's utterances that foreigners must pack and go because they are interfering with the social development of South Africans); and

Ambassador Bimha

The xenophobic violence in South Africa is highly likely to come under discussion at the ongoing Sadc Heads of State Extraordinary Summit which began in Harare yesterday.

The summit started with an indaba of senior officials which ends today, while the meeting of the council of ministers takes place between tomorrow and Tuesday before the convention of the Heads of State brings down the curtain on the high-level meeting on Wednesday.

Nationals from Sadc countries Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe have been the most affected by the anti-immigrant violence.

Sadc Heads of State who include the bloc's chairman, President Robert Mugabe, South African President Jacob Zuma, and Malawi President Peter Mutharika have strongly condemned the xenophobic attacks.

Speaking to The Sunday Mail last Friday, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ambassador Joey Bimha said while the issue of xenophobia was not on the main agenda, the matter was likely to be brought up at the summit.

"This is a special extraordinary summit, which was called to discuss specific issues on industrialisation. But the issue of xenophobia is likely to arise because it is the most topical subject that is affecting the region at the moment.

"I would suppose that during discussions on any other business, this issue of xenophobia will be discussed."

Ambassador Bimha said Heads of State at the summit could also come up with resolutions on xenophobia.

"Once the matter is discussed you can expect that they can come out with a resolution pertaining to xenophobia. It will be up to the Heads of State to make such a decision, in the context of what is happening," he said.

Last week, President Zuma revealed that members of his cabinet and senior government officials from South Africa would be deployed to countries across Africa to give South Africa's assurance of its commitment to end the attacks that have targeted fellow Africans.

South Africa Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry Mzwandile Masina last week revealed that he would visit Zimbabwe as part of the team of officials that would be deployed to different parts of the continent.

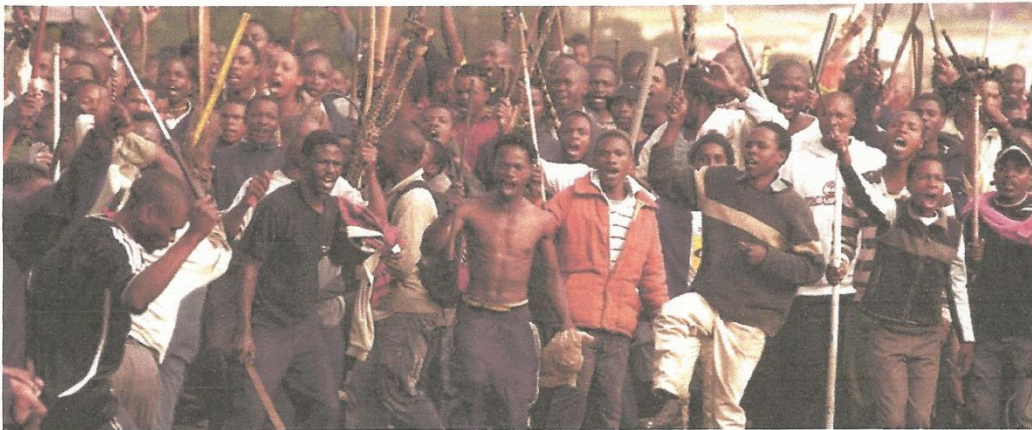
"The president has sanctioned all members of the executive to crisscross the continent.

"I will be in Zimbabwe to try and explain," he said.

At least seven people have died as a result of the violence while thousands have been displaced from their homes and businesses.

Xenophobia not going away anytime soon

TAU TAWENGWA APRIL 26, 2015



XENOPHOBIA

"Most government leaders do not want to speak out on this matter because they are scared of losing votes... As the king of the Zulu nation, I cannot tolerate a situation where we are being led by leaders with no views whatsoever. We are requesting those who come from outside to please go back to their countries. The fact that there were countries that played a role in the country's struggle for liberation should not be used as an

<http://www.sundaymail.co.zw/xenophobia-not-going-away-anytime-soon/>

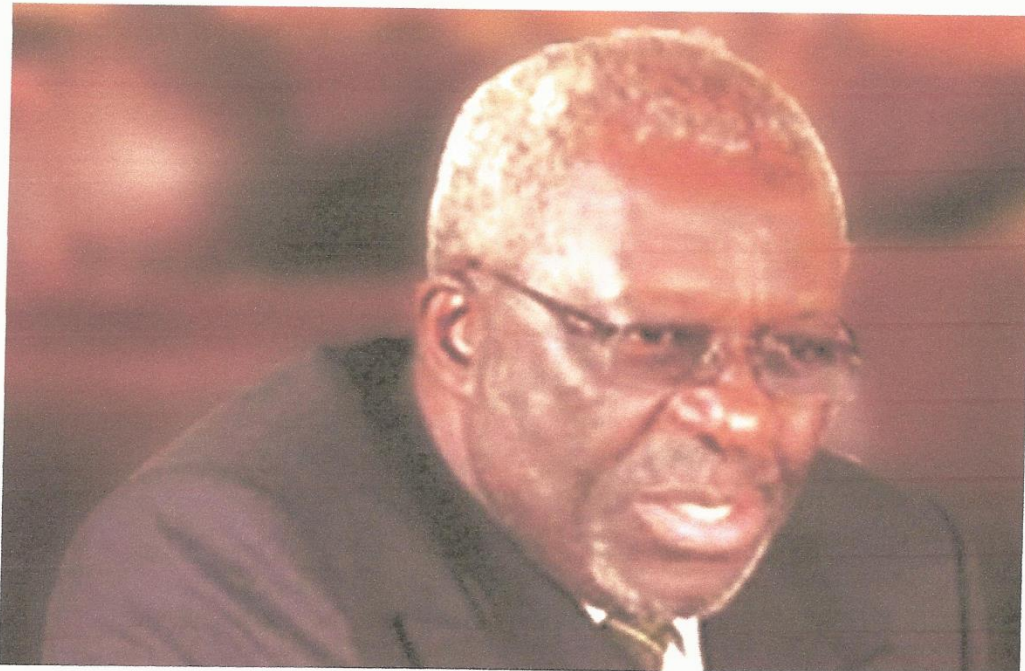
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The Sunday Mail

Summit to discuss xenophobia

 KUDA BWITITI  APRIL 26, 2015



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XENOPHOBIA: SA cops, goons in street battles as five foreigners die

SUNDAY MAIL REPORTER APRIL 15, 2015

A policeman douses flames on an immigrant who had been necklaced and doused in petrol in xenophobic attacks that are rearing their ugly head in South Africa. — News24

A policeman douses flames on an immigrant who had been necklaced and doused in petrol in xenophobic attacks that are rearing their ugly head in South Africa. — News24

Bulawayo Bureau

SOUTH African police fought running battles with hundreds of locals armed with knobkerries, pangas and rocks in the port city of Durban yesterday as a new wave of xenophobia showed no signs of abetting. Durban's CBD witnessed most of the clashes between police, foreigners and locals, with a car set alight, stun grenades and tear gas canisters being fired.

Five people have died since Friday, starting with two Ethiopians who were petrol-bombed in the container they slept in and ran their small business from.

No Zimbabwean deaths have so far been reported.

Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Minister Professor Jonathan Moyo yesterday said Zimbabwe was watching with concern the unfolding wave of violence which he said appeared to be targeted at black