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Through the media's lens: an analysis of the print media's portrayal of asylum seekers and refugees within South African borders (May2008–December 2018)

Kganyago, Reshoketsoe Precious

2020
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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND
JOHANNESBURG/SOUTH AFRICA
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THROUGH THE MEDIA'S LENS:

An analysis of the print media's portrayal of asylum seekers and refugees within South African borders (May 2008 – December 2018)

Reshoketsoe Precious Kganyago
Student Number: 1245377

Research presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand

Supervisor: Dr Michelle Small

2020

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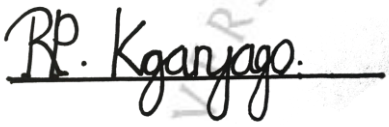
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PLAGERISM DECLARATION

I hereby declare that "Through the media's lens: An analysis of the print media's portrayal of asylum seekers and refugees within South African borders (May – December 2008)" is my own work and that all the sources which I have used or quoted have been duly acknowledged by complete references. This research report is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The work presented has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university, neither has it been published by any other person or organisation.

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SCIENTIA ET LABORE
JOHANNESBURG

Reshoketsoe Precious Kganyago



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people I have to thank for their aid in making this research report possible. First and foremost, I would like to thank the Almighty God for granting me the ability, strength, opportunity and knowledge to undertake this research report and to persevere and complete it satisfactorily. If it had not been for God's blessings, this achievement would not have been possible.

In my overall journey towards the pursuit of this degree and the writing process of this research report I have found an inspiration, a teacher and a pillar of support in my guide Dr. Michelle Small. She has been present and patient in providing her guidance and heartfelt support at all times and has given me inspiration, suggestion and invaluable guidance in my quest for knowledge. She provided me with all the freedom to pursue my research and has been constantly present to ensure that I do not deviate from the core of my research. If it had not been for her able guidance this research report would not have been possible and I am eternally grateful to her for her assistance.

My acknowledgement would not be complete without thanking the biggest source of my strength, my family. Firstly, my parents Lizzie Kganyago and Salthiel Kganyago for always being there to encourage me when my motivation to carry on ran low, for providing me with the physical and emotional support that made it possible for me to persevere and ultimately complete this research journey. In addition, my brother Emmanuel Kganyago who was always available to help me generate new ideas for the overall presentation of the research report. All in all, I thank them for being patient with me during the difficult moments and always encouraging me to ultimately complete this research report. If it had not been for their constant support and unwavering love this achievement would not have been possible.

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KEYWORDS

South Africa

Migration

Immigration

Immigrant

Migrant

Refugee

Asylum Seeker

Foreign National

South African Print Media

Framing Theory

Xenophobia

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ABSTRACT

This research report seeks to understand how media framing has evolved in South Africa through time with a particular focus on the subject of asylum seekers and refugees. This was done by reviewing articles from five South African newspapers namely: Pretoria News, Mail & Guardian, Daily News, The Cape Argus and The Sunday Independent. These newspapers were analysed by using qualitative means to examine the initial trends present in how these particular newspapers represent refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. Moreover, the report seeks to identify and understand the media frames which are attributed to articles on asylum seekers and refugees, this was done by using four identified frames namely: the threat frame, the human-interest frame, the managerial frame and the economic frame. These frames are deemed to be essential in constructing a search in the data, as well as an organisational mechanism in the management of the data. Initially the findings present the evolving nature of the frames showing that: the human-interest frame declined as the years went by, this can be attributed to the quieting down of xenophobic attacks as they are seen to fluctuate very often. Additionally, the use of the managerial frame had a general decline through the years, this can be attributed to the fluctuating levels of migration generally. Moreover, the threat frame was consistent in the period 2009-2012 and then declined in 2013. The economic frame is the only frame which remained consistent and did not decline. Essentially, even though the use of the human-interest frame decreased, the human interest frame was the most used frame among all the newspapers which shows that reporting of asylum seekers and refugees was not negative overall, rather it was positive painting them as a population which requires assistance because of their traumatizing lived experiences.

CHAPTER ONE

"ESTABLISHING THE GROUND USED FOR THE LENS OF THE FRAME" – A GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

"It is not just a lack of humanity on the news agenda or a matter of luck or a matter of caring more about some people at the expense of others. We need a broader lens to see what really is going on" (Egeland, 2015).

1.1) Chapter Introduction

The phenomenon of migration, be it involuntary or voluntary, is a contested topic that has been covered extensively by news media in recent years. There is an existing argument among scholars debating the weight of significance media portrayals of immigrants play in framing public debates, public perceptions and policy-making and political discourse which rise in the management of immigration. Even though demonstrating the casual impact between the media and the public proves to be difficult, Blinder and Allen (2016) propose that: through studying media portrayals of an issue one gains understanding of how perception can shape public attitudes. South Africa has become an essential destination country for asylum seekers and refugees since its transition into democracy in 1994. Through recognizing the trend of increased migration to South Africa some writers have coined South Africa as the "America of Africa" (Nair and Fauvet, 2011). A place to endeavour on the pursuit to greener pastures. As a result, the number of asylum seekers in South Africa reached its peak in the year 2009 with approximately 223 324 newly registered asylum seekers. In addition, since mid-2018 South Africa has been believed to host approximately 89 285 recognised refugees (UNHCR, 2018). These high numbers of people referred to as asylum seekers and refugees is not context specific to the continent of Africa or to South Africa only. However, it is a trend which can be studied globally. The trend of individuals being involuntarily displaced is at an all-time high and the numbers are alarming.

This is by no means an exaggeration: today's world has seen more people being forced to involuntarily flee their homes than any given time in history. According to the

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Annual Global Trends Report which was released in June 2019 - by the end of 2018 approximately 70.8 million people were forcibly displaced as a result of violence, human rights violations, conflict and persecution. Disturbingly, this amount has doubled compared to the amount recorded two decades ago (UNHCR, 2018). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees recorded that in 2018 approximately 25.9 million people are living as refugees globally, approximately 20.4 million of these individuals under the UNHCR's mandate. Additionally, approximately 3.5 million people were actively seeking asylum. According to this information, it is clear that a large number of people worldwide are being referred to by the words refugee or asylum seeker, these words account as two signifiers which are void as they disclose very little about the individuals they represent.

The word refugee is a legal term and we derive its definition from the first article of the 'Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees' (1951) as a person who: "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (UNHCR Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, Article A (2): 14). It is important to distinguish the term refugee from the term asylum seeker because in most cases they are used interchangeably, however legally these words are different. The Oxford Dictionary states that: asylum is the protection granted by a state to someone who has left their home country as a political refugee (Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary, 1999). Accordingly, an asylum seeker is defined as: "someone who says he or she is a refugee, but whose claim has not yet been definitively evaluated" (UNHCR, 2014). This particular institution of asylum developed simultaneously with international Human Rights. In 1948, the United Nations General Assembly integrated the institution of asylum into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It states that: everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum from persecution (Article 14(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). The definitions provided might seem to be precise, however

these definitions do not say anything about the actual people which the signifiers stand for.

The present research report seeks to examine products of a particular practice which serves to provide the words asylum seeker and refugee with additional meaning, through the representation of people drawn together under the respective signifiers. Specifically, the research report aims to look at textual representations of asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa's print media. It is essential to note the role that mass media plays in attempting to shape our understanding of reality, print media representation of asylum seekers and refugees will serve as a starting point for the research report. Van Dijk claims that mass media is the core source of people's knowledge, this implies that radio, television and newspapers to a large extent provide the majority of the population what we know or at least what we presume we know (Van Dijk, 2000: 36). In this case what we think we know about asylum seekers and refugees.

1.2) Problem Statement

South Africa's migrant stock has been increasing through the years (According to the International Organisation for Migration – The increasing levels of immigrants living within South Africa has rapidly mounted, with there being approximately 1 million immigrants within South African borders in the year 2000 to approximately 4 million immigrants in the year 2017 (van Lennep, 2019). These increasing levels of migration and the increasing numbers of asylum seekers and refugees residing within South African borders has prompted an increase in news reporting relating to immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Particularly, these growing trends of asylum seekers and refugees can be seen in an Africa check analysis of the recognised stock of asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa from 2000 to 2018. According to this there were about ten thousand refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa in 2000 the number of asylum seekers reached an all-time high in the year 2009 with approximately two hundred thousand individuals seeking asylum, the number of

refugees gradually increased and reached an all-time high in the year 2015 with approximately one hundred and forty thousand refugees in South Africa (Africa Check, 2016). Through increased levels of migration, a tendency rises to lump all the different categories of migrants together and through the lack of distinction in reporting of the category of migrants there is a conflation in the associations with illegality, issues of un-documentation and the degree of skills the different categories of migrants possess. Therefore, the immigrant population is seen to be lumped into an identical group without any form of distinction. The issue of lumping different categories of migrants together presents itself as a problem. For example, because certain categories of migrants such as refugees are lumped together with illegal migrants, refugees now have a hovering cloud associated with illegality and illegitimacy even though they can validate their reasons of fleeing their own countries and seeking refuge in a different country which they have a legitimate right to pursue under international law. Therefore, through studying the way in which media framing has evolved throughout the years with a particular focus on asylum seekers and refugees which this present study seeks to venture on, there is opportunity to redirect discourse in the framing of illegality, legitimacy or issues of economic insecurity associated with the lumping of different categories of migrants in news reporting and overall discourse of migrants.

1.3) Research Question and Aims

This research aims to answer the following research question:

- How has the framing of asylum seekers and refugees evolved in South African print media from 2008-2018? (This is a decade long time-frame spanning from the point of South Africa's first most violent xenophobic attacks until the year that had decreased documented instances of xenophobic attacks in South Africa.)

The aims of this research report are as follows:

- To uncover how different print media depicted asylum seekers and refugees from 2008-2018.

- To trace the discourse surrounding asylum seekers and refugees in South African print media from 2008-2018.
- To trace the way in which different print media reports on asylum seekers and refugees.

1.4) Significance of the study

Media representations of immigrants, whether asylum seekers or refugees is of contemporary relevance and significance in the light of the increased levels of immigration to South Africa throughout the years. According to the International Organisation for Migration: The increasing levels of immigrants living within South Africa has rapidly mounted, with there being approximately 1 million immigrants within South African borders in the year 2000 to approximately 4 million immigrants in the year 2017, this is more than double the amount and we have to keep in mind the numbers of undocumented people residing in South Africa which means the number could be even higher in reality (van Lennep, 2019). Essentially, asylum seekers and refugees are considered to be one of the most vulnerable populations in the world, therefore the way in which they are depicted and portrayed should also be considered as important.

The scale of attacks against refugees and asylum seekers has increased through time. The scale and impact of the 2008 xenophobic attacks is the prime example with 213 shops being burnt down, 342 shops being looted, hundreds of individuals being injured, thousands chased away from their homes and approximately 56 people losing their lives. The victims of these attacks included foreign nationals and due to the fact that all foreign nations are lumped together illegality is subsumed even with refugees and asylum seekers further adding to their vulnerability. Fundamentally, this research is considered to be significant as it aims to trace the way in which asylum seekers and refugees have been represented in the South African print media industry, highlighting the categories and classifications afforded to these individuals through time. It is important to understand the narrative and perception that is being shaped by the

media, as well as the population at large to better understand how we frame illegality and economic security in South Africa and around the world.

1.5) Research Design & Methodology

A research design refers to the option available for researchers to study certain phenomena according to certain formulae suitable for a specific goal (De Vos et al 2005:268). This study made use of a qualitative research method. Qualitative research is a research method which has two elements, the first element of qualitative data is the fact that it is a multi-method which involves the use and collection of a variety of empirical materials such as: words, texts, images and discourses (Denzin and Lincoln 1998; Silverman 2013). To account for the first element of qualitative research, the empirical materials which aim to be studied in this particular research report are words ascribed to depicting asylum seekers and refugees in South African print media. The report will look into words such as: influx, strain, flood, and illegal amongst other words and the relationship these words have in depicting asylum seekers and refugees to the South African society. The second element of qualitative data is fact that the interpretation and understanding of these empirical materials is based on explanation, elaboration and the act of looking for meaning within the empirical materials. It does not only focus on the objective nature of behaviour but it also includes subjective meanings: peoples own accounts of their behaviour, attitudes and motivations (McIntyre 2005:127). To account for the second element of qualitative research this research report aims to interpret the list of words as falling into different frames, namely: the managerial frame, the economic frame, the threat frame and the human-interest frame, this will then help to elaborate the meanings, attitudes and motives present within the empirical materials (words). Therefore, this method can be described as an interpretative science (McIntyre 2005:127). This study, which focuses on the ways in which asylum seekers and refugees are perceived and depicted in South African print media, thus makes use of a qualitative research methodology. Aristotle discussing the word quality states: “By a quality I mean that in virtue of which things are said to be qualified somehow” (Aristotle 1984:14).

Essentially, quality has to do with what something has or what something is, this means that the distinction derived from its environment is important. Through this we can view qualitative research as a process in which new significant distinctions are made to the scholarly community: the act of making distinctions is a crucial aspect of obtaining new knowledge. According to Ragin “Qualitative methods are appropriate for in-depth examination of cases because they aid the identification of key features of cases. Most qualitative methods enhance data” (Ragin, 1994:79). Qualitative data is about oscillation between theory, analysis, finding sources, evidence, generating material and becoming deeply familiar with the material and then communicating and distilling some of its essential features. The essential point is that the categories used by the researcher and sometimes overlooked at the beginning of the research process usually go through qualitative changes which are the result of what is found. Qualitative research aids the researcher in getting closer to the phenomenon which is being studied and the data. Essentially, because of the methods they use qualitative researchers are enabled to get into direct contact with the material being studied such as the analysis of texts.

Qualitative research does not only present strengths, but also some weaknesses. There are criticisms of qualitative research methods. Allan and Skinner (1991: 180) argue that “the major criticisms made of qualitative methods are that they are impressionistic and non-verifiable”. The accuracy and validity of claims and findings made by qualitative studies is often questioned. The issue of verifiability is one which is closely linked to quantitative research, therefore it will prove to be difficult or rather impossible to link it with quantitative data. There is therefore a need to adopt a new criteria in the determination of verifiability and reliability which will then ensure rigor in quantitative study. Guba and Lincon established a criteria which substituted reliability and validity with the parallel concept of trustworthiness which contains four aspects which are: transferability, confirmability, dependability and credibility. Among these were qualitative rigor like: categorizing, member checks while coding, peer debriefing and confirming results with participants (Morse, et al, 2002). These particular criteria can be used in order to observe the trustworthiness of the overall study.

This analysis makes use of a single case study approach. Particularly, a case study investigates contemporary phenomenon which is in its real-life context, this entails a very comprehensive method encompassed with the logic of gathering and planning data. The inherent scope of a case study approach is broad and flexible. The case study offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon. Anchored in real-life situations, the case study results in a rich and holistic account of a phenomenon. It offers insights and illuminates meanings that expand its readers' experiences. These insights can be construed as tentative hypotheses that help structure future research; hence, case study plays an important role in advancing a field's knowledge base.

A single case study focuses on a single instance and unit as a result of this the issue of generalizability become apparent. However, there is a lot that could be learned through using a single unit or instance. Readers can learn vicariously from an encounter with the case through the researcher's narrative description. (Stake, 2005). The colourful description in a case study can create an image: "a vivid portrait of excellent teaching, for example--can become a prototype that can be used in the education of teachers or for the appraisal of teaching" (Eisner, 1991, p. 199). Further, Erickson (1986) argues that since the general lies in the particular, what we learn in a particular case can be transferred to similar situations. It is the reader, not the researcher, who determines what can apply to his or her context. Stake (2005, p. 455) explains how this knowledge transfer works: case researchers "will, like others, pass along to readers some of their personal meanings of events and relationships--and fail to pass along others. They know that the reader, too, will add and subtract, invent and shape--reconstructing the knowledge in ways that leave it...more likely to be personally useful."

1.6) Sources of data

For the purpose of this study, content from five newspapers aim to be selected for analysis, namely: Daily News, Pretoria News, Cape Argus, Mail and Guardian and The Sunday Independent. The selection criteria of these newspapers had to achieve two main goals. Firstly, this research report aims to study the regions which had concentrated levels of xenophobic attacks throughout the period under study, these regions were understood to be: Pretoria, Johannesburg, KwaZulu-Natal and Cape Town. Therefore, it was imperative to include newspapers from specifically these areas. It was also important to not only get a regional view, but to also include newspapers which had a national orientation in the study. The second factor which guided the selection of newspapers was grounded on newspaper type, mainly analysing two specific types: broadsheet and tabloid. These two newspaper types were selected because of how the two differ in their relative discourse, structure and news set up. Tabloids include comments from ordinary people, uses heightened language, makes use of less complex vocabulary and mixes emotion and fact in reporting news stories (Jani, 2019: 52). On the other hand, broadsheet newspapers use government and politicians as their main sources, uses statistics, complicated vocabulary and is considered to be more factual than emotional (Jani, 2019: 52). The main difference between these two types of newspapers lies in orientation, scope and language, as a result this shows that these different newspaper types address different audiences (Jani, 2019: 52). Therefore, the study selected two national newspapers of different types: The Sunday Independent (weekly broadsheet newspaper) and Mail & Guardian (weekly tabloid newspaper) and three provincial newspapers: Pretoria News (daily broadsheet newspaper), Daily News (daily broadsheet newspaper) and the Cape Argus (daily compact newspaper- a compact newspaper is a newspaper that is printed in a tabloid format but has the quality of a broadsheet newspaper) (Jani, 2019: 52).

The secondary sources used in this analysis were obtained by using the online archive SABINET: SA Media Database. The SA Media Database is a comprehensive collection of all newspapers published in South Africa, including The Sunday Independent, The Mail and Guardian, Pretoria News, The Cape Argus, and The Daily

News. The study covers all the stories that refer to asylum seekers and refugees specifically. Essentially, for an article to be included the words “asylum seeker” or “refugee” needed to appear at least twice in the text and the particular setting of that article needed to be in South Africa. Additional terms were used in the process of acquiring data, this was done by including additional key terms, namely: “makwerekwere”, “undocumented”, “illegal” and “influx”. SABINET sources stories from a cross-section of hardcopy and electronic newspaper outlets and feeds in South Africa. The SA Media database is one of the most comprehensive press cutting services offering access to a database consisting of more than 3 million newspaper reports and periodical articles that have been indexed on computer since 1978.

1.7) Time Period

The period of study is set at 10 years, initially the time period rages from 1 January 2008 to 31 December 2018. The substantiation behind choosing this particular period for analysis is rooted in the fact that the year 2008 in particular was a period when issues relating to immigration dominated national and international discourse due to the widespread violence directed towards immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa through the xenophobic riots that took place. Therefore, the aim of stretching the study through ten years is to uncover how has print media discourse relating to asylum seekers and refugees changed through time or if it changed at all. Through this, the study is able to trace the characteristics of print media discourse regarding refugees and asylum seekers before, during and after the 2008 xenophobic riots in South Africa. Accordingly, Fine and Bird (2002, p. 10), clearly point out that there is an interconnectedness which exists between the media and society, namely that ‘the press responds to news and reports on incidents as they occur, thereby reflecting issues pertinent to the broader societal context. Therefore, the xenophobic attacks of 2008 would instantaneously spark the interest of the press, as it would seek to report on the incidents as they occur as a result, changing the current media discourse at the time. Ideally, the press is also seen to influence and shape social issues in the ways in which news are chosen, covered and highlighted. This resonates with the work of Berg (2003), writing about the (xenophobic) press in Sweden. In this particular study Berg argues that it is not just about the media constructing reality, but

that there is sometimes an almost invidious element to this reality. Thus the media aids in 'maintaining the invisibility of the paradigm by constructing a perception of diverse opinion through standards such as balance objectivity and fairness. These standards mask what is in reality a narrow range of perspectives reported in the media' (Berg, 2003: 5).

It is important to note that this study is not making a direct causal link between xenophobic violence and the media. Accordingly, (Hadland, 2008: 14) notes that: "The literature is, in general terms, underwhelming about the linkage between the mass media and violence. While there is a connection between violence in the media and aggression and/or violent behaviour, it is a complex, multi-faceted and variable connection". This research report holds that even though the media may not be culpable of acting as agent provocateur, it might have been guilty on endeavoring to contribute to the way in which the public sphere is shaped, in order for it to ultimately function in a way which prevents the articulation of public opinion, suppressing grievances and inhibiting the transference of knowledge. The outcome of a system such as this, which caps and subverts public needs and wants will inevitably include aggression, anger and when other channels have been closed off, even violence (Hadland, 2008: 14). Essentially, the breakdown of communication between communities and the state and between newly arrived communities and local communities was arguably a key factor in the eruption of the violence which took place in South Africa in May 2008. These particular cleavages present in the public sphere were widened by the fractured existing power relations between state, media and society (Smith, 2011: 126).

1.8) Limitations

The scope of this analysis is understood to be micro in its nature as it will be focusing on a single case-study and a limited time period. However, even though the analysis might be micro in its scale it aims to contribute to the all-round international discourse of the way in which the media views refugees and asylum seekers and aims to help with the way in which this discourse is understood and interpreted within the international community. In addition, the analysis only considers articles referring to

asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa and not outside of the region though this is a limitation this promotes specificity and an in-depth analysis by only focusing on one particular region. Additionally, another overarching limitation attached to this analysis relates to the fact that in most cases, words such as “foreigner, illegal and makwerekwere” are ascribed to both documented and undocumented immigrants and within the articles it proved difficult to extrapolate whether an article referred to asylum seekers and refugees which are the main population aimed to be looked at. However, the attempt to curb this limitation was displayed through the analysis only looking at articles which had the words “refugee” and “asylum seeker” used together with the other words. Additionally, the frames which were utilized in this research report may be seen as inconclusive or limited however, the frames incorporated in the study were done so under careful consideration because other researchers studying this field have also used the frames provided.

1.9) Ethical Considerations

There were no human participants involved in conducting the research.

1.10) Chapter Summary

This chapter aimed to provide the reader with a general overview of the study, establishing the ground of the broad analysis which is to follow and acquainting the reader with the overall argument which the research report aims to hold throughout. This chapter has outlined why the current research been undertaken and the overall importance of the research report.

CHAPTER TWO

"ESTABLISHING THE FOUNDATION TO THE LENS OF THE FRAME" - LITERATURE REVIEW & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

"Refugees are neither seen nor heard, but they are everywhere. They are witnesses to the most awful thing that people can do to each other, and they become story tellers simply by existing" – (Helton, 2002).

2.1) Chapter Introduction

This chapter aims to establish the foundation and base which the research report will stand on. Essentially, this chapter will acquaint the reader to existing literature on the topic of refugees and asylum seekers and the inherent relationship which exists between the media, refugees and asylum seekers. Through doing this the reader is presented with the core arguments which have been prevailing in this particular field of study which presents the foundation of the argument which will then be held throughout the whole research report.

2.2) Refugees & Asylum Seekers in International Relations

Fundamentally, refugees conjure two dimensions of international politics which conflict. Firstly, there is an instance of the question of realpolitik epitomized by the tensions which refugees create between international actors and states. To elaborate, it is a political decision when states choose to recognise certain countries as being in conflict or being in a crisis to then accord a status of asylum seeker or refugee. For example, if South Africa fails to recognise the fact that there is a conflict in Zimbabwe, South Africa will not extend the category of asylum seeking or grant refugee protection to people from Zimbabwe. On the flip side, refugees present a challenge to the concept of sovereignty, it does so through coercing international actors to take into consideration issues of fundamental human rights and ethical principles forming part of their international obligations which takes precedence over the individual interests of states which have sovereignty (Skran 1988: 278).The history when it comes to the

replies given by international refugee movements and the building of norms which will help to mould them shows a relative concern for the international system to stabilize a process which is not stable to begin with (Rogers and Copeland, 1993: 39).

Additionally, refugees lose the protection afforded to them by their state of origin when they decide to cross an international border. It does not matter if the refugees are classified as regular civilians for a state to provide refuge to its neighbour's citizens poses a challenge in inter-state relations. Refugees as individuals who seemingly have no protection in a world that is closely linked to notions of nationality and citizenship, refugees are presented as a challenge to efforts of the state in regulating relationships between themselves.

2.3) Refugees & Asylum Seekers in South Africa

The government of South Africa agreed with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) about exiles returning back to the country. When this agreement came about the government also agreed to a set criteria which will be used to determine refugee status. The set the scene for the foundations of refugee reception in the country coming into place. The 1969 Organisation of African Unity was ratified by South Africa in the year 1995. The following year the 1951 United Nations Protocol of 1967 was acceded to (Human Rights Review, 1999). In the times of apartheid South Africa was a country with a reputation of producing refugees. This transformed when South Africa transitioned into a democracy. South Africa turning into a democracy has not only brought freedom to those who were oppressed it also opened the door for many individuals who were being oppressed outside its borders. Many people view South Africa as a safe haven as a result individuals from across Africa are seen to flee to South Africa for a better livelihood.

Presently, the majority of asylum claims in South Africa are not yet processed. The year 1999 had a backlog of about 50 000 asylum seekers waiting for their decisions.

Approximately 8000 individuals who had their applicants processed were granted refugee status. In recent times according to an article in the Star “there are approximately 68 000 asylum seekers living in South Africa, the majority of these individuals hail from African countries while some come from Pakistan. Of these individuals about 16 000 of them are official refugees” (The Star, 2008). The South African Refugee Act was passed in April 2000, before this refugees were determined through a Section 28 permit. This permit made provision only to recognised refugees and granted them numerous legal rights which include: freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention, freedom and security to person and freedom from torture to name a few (UNHCR, 1998: 4).

Additionally, recognised refugees in South Africa are afforded rights such as: the right to acquire movable and immovable property, access to all forms of education, to have a travel document and an identity card, emergency healthcare to name a few. In addition, asylum seekers are also accorded rights as they wait for their applications to be processed. The position they have was governed by a Section 41 permit gave them an entitlement to some basic human rights listed above and the following: the right to have their asylum applications processed, right to not be deported, the right to primary education for children and healthcare (UNHCR, 1998: 4). Refugees and asylum seekers are bound by the law of South Africa and if they were to break it they will receive due prosecution. From the time that the refugee Act was enacted in April 2000, refugees and asylum seekers are governed by a Section 22 permit. This is rather different from the Section 21 permit as it does not allow refugees to study or work until the processing of their applications. The application process can take as long as a few months and there are no basic services which are afforded by the United Nations so these individuals are left in very vulnerable positions while they wait for their documentation. It is important to note that in South Africa refugees and asylum seekers are awarded the rights to employment, health care and education. In South Africa one is recognised as a refugee under specific instances which are directly linked to conflict, situations such as socio-economic hardships and poverty are excluded.

2.4) Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Media

There is evidently a very limited body of work pertaining to the way in which immigrants are depicted in the South African media. However, even though the literature is limited it has been growing throughout the years and it presents itself as an established area of study. The scholars who have ventured into studying immigrants and media's portrayal of immigrants in South Africa include the following: Firstly, Bird and Fine ventured into conducting a study in 2008. This particular study aimed to investigate the South African media's coverage of xenophobia and racial violence. The study went on to report that even though the racist structures of apartheid no longer formally exist, there seems to be numerous "racial incidents in the media's agenda" (Bird & Fine, 2008). To elaborate, this study observed that there is an evident shift from bias on the basis of racial lines to new manifestations of racism, for instance the emerging racism within xenophobia and political discourse (Bird & Fine, 2008). This particular study put forward three key findings: firstly, it outlined that 'stories relating to incidents of xenophobia, as well as those discussing the issue of African migrants to South Africa, have been a consistent feature of media coverage. However, the frequency with which these have appeared is dependent on the prevalence of high-profile events' (Bird & Fine, 2008: 59); secondly, stereotyping tends to be 'covert and subtle' rather than 'an active intention of the media' (Bird & Fine, 2008: 59) and lastly, migrants identified by a number of terms, do however still appear in the role of criminal perpetrator in a number of items, particularly in the case of arrest (Bird & Fine, 2008: 59). It is important to note that this particular study mainly focused on how the instance of xenophobia is covered in the media and not how asylum seekers and refugees are portrayed. The current study aims to provide an in-depth study to the way in which asylum seekers and refugees are portrayed in the media.

Additionally, there has been a wide range of research regarding the topic of migration and xenophobia in South Africa has been conducted by the Southern African Migration project (SAMP) (Crush et al, 2008, 2011). Particularly, they conducted a study in 2008 which published a report titled "The perfect storm: the realities of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa". The study went on to conduct surveys and interviews which were essential in identifying key variables which motivated the xenophobic

attacks perpetrated on African migrants residing in South Africa, the study also went on to suggest workable suggestions which aimed to thwart a repetition of these incidents. Among the various issues identified, one of the key issues which the study rooted out pertained to the paranoia and general mistrust toward African migrants among the South African population, this emerged in the interviews conducted. This study concluded by stating that: 'nearly two out of three South Africans find the idea of reciprocity for past support of the liberation struggle either wrong or irrelevant' (Crush et al, 2008: 39). It also concluded that 'May 2008 need never happened, but it is the culmination of a long process in which xenophobia was allowed, sometimes even encouraged, to grow unchecked' (Crush et al, 2008: 39). This particular study relies heavily on other studies about media's portrayal in order to draw its conclusion. The main argument which their research is putting through is centred on a survey which was conducted in 2006 distributed approximately 3600 random individuals older than eighteen years. The study failed to ask the respondents reflections on where their attitudes towards migrants originate and depended on the survey even through it was conducted two years before the violence of May 2008 occurred.

Danso & McDonald (2000) ventured into critically analysing the way in which South African print media covered cross-border migration in the period of post-apartheid. This study in particular is of high significance as it was premised on a survey which was understood as the first and most comprehensive of its kind to be undertaken in South Africa. The study went on to analyse more than 1 200 newspaper clippings on migration from all the English newspapers in South Africa between the period of 1994 and 1998. The study presented both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the portrayal of African migrants within South African borders. Overall, the study argued that the way in which international migration is covered by the South African press has largely taken the form of being anti-immigrant and presents that it has also been un-analytical (Danso & McDonald, 2000). This particular study presented two key findings: firstly, that 'print media is largely un-analytical in its coverage of migration issues (70%), with another third of the coverage being blatantly anti-immigrant, the second finding presented states that: '56% of the stories made a negative reference to migrants and migration in the period 1994-1998 (Danso & McDonald, 2000). However, even though this study is considered important, it only provides a historic

account as it mainly focuses on a four-year period after apartheid, this current study will then provide a rather current view of how the media portrays refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa.

The volume of research on media and migration has increased in the past two decades in Western countries. A substantial number of these studies cover analysis of ethnic minorities and migration in media texts, frames and discourses. For example, Hollinsworth (1998) in his book “Race and Racism in Australia” provides an extensive elaboration of the negative stereotypes held by the Australian press in the year 1893. The texts included cartoons and articles which warned people of the supposed threat that the Asian poses to Australia. Another example made by Hollinsworth is when an Australian newspaper stated: “Australia for the White Man – with the cheap Chinamen, the cheap nigger, and cheap European pauper to be absolutely excluded” (Hollinsworth, 1998:103). Additionally, Emily Dzilenski in her work titled: “Crossing the Border: The Framing of Global Migration by National News Media” investigated the way in which news media construct narratives of migration domestically and internationally, primarily focusing on three countries namely: Spain, Germany and the United States. The findings of this research illustrates that the selected examples of national news coverage do not frame migration in one dominant manner, but rather depict migration in accordance with its current state within a local, regional, or international context. Journalists often offered multiple narratives within individual articles as they recognized the complexity of the migrant or refugee experience. One recurring theme throughout all the sampled articles was the involvement of national governments or international organizations in the migration process, both in positive and negative lights. As modern migration aligns with human rights to freedom of movement, but with the complications of security and nationality, governing bodies have taken on the responsibility for regulating and administering migration within the global community. Many journalists framed governing bodies as failing to meet this responsibility and repeatedly included demands to take larger steps to deter the need for mass migration by migrants and asylum-seekers, to more adequately accommodate migrants when they do arrive, and to introduce more informed, effective policy for handling migration in the future (Dzilenski, 2017: 20).

Additionally, Ashley Bradimore & Harald Bauder; in their work titled: “Mystery Ships and Risky Boat People: Tamil Refugee Migration in the Newsprint Media” examined how the Canadian newsprint media portrayed the arrival of Tamil refugees off the coast of Victoria, British Columbia in the year 2009. The findings of this study explains that the media contributed to a reified image of the migrants as exhausted, weakened, unkempt criminals. This is very ironic due to the fact that refugees are individuals who are understood to be a population which is the most in need for humanitarian protection and compassion, however the findings of this study shows that they were dehumanised and framed as a risk that needed to be managed (Bradimore & Bauder, 2012: 656).

Furthermore, Hajo Boomgaarden and Rens Vilegenthart in their work titled: Explaining the rise of anti-immigrant parties: the role of news media content” analysed five popular Dutch national newspapers to provide evidence for the relevance and importance of taking media content into account when explaining the rise and decline of anti-immigrant populist parties. This particular study found a significant positive influence of news on vote intention for anti-immigrant parties. Secondly, immigration news was a stronger predictor than economic news in an immigration frame. This indicates that it was not primarily the focus on economic threat in immigration-related news that made people turn to support anti-immigrant parties but presumably some perception of a cultural threat and accordingly an issue of the public problematizing immigration.

Moreover, Banu Akdenizli, E.J. Dionne, Jr, Martin Kaplan, Tom Rosenstiel and Roberto Suro in their work titled: “A Report on the Media and the Immigration Debate” analysed the way in which immigration and immigration policy were framed in the U.S. news media between 1980 and 2007, and if the framing of these subjects changed over time. This particular study presented the following findings: firstly, there was a trend of national security concerns influencing the attitude toward immigration which stand out. Secondly, the portrayal of the immigrant was more likely to be that of an “outsider” in most instances (Akdenizli et al. 2007: 62).

In addition, Andrea Lawlor in her work titled: “Deciding Whose Legitimate: News Media Framing of Immigrants and Refugees” in this article Lawlor analysed the way in which the Canadian media frame perceptions of immigrants and refugees within Canadian borders. This study presented the following findings: firstly, refugee coverage is episodic and that more thematic and durable coverage is reserved for immigrants rather than refugees. Secondly, even though intake can spike in response to episodic events, refugees’ arrival and integration is ongoing; media coverage does not reflect this and lastly, regardless of their country of origin, refugees’ backgrounds were a focus of coverage, and this tended to be negatively framed. (Lawlor, 2017: 985-986).

Therefore, as noted above there exists a whole body of work both locally and internationally regarding media representations of immigrants. It is important to note that the number of studies conducted in South Africa lag behind compared to those done in western countries. Hence, this study is an attempt towards filling this gap. As a scholarly endeavour, this research aims to contribute to the international body of knowledge which already exists and hopes to provide a better understanding of how discourse on migration is framed, adding to the overall international understanding of media discourses regarding migration.

2.5) The Media’s Influence on Societal Opinions

The role played by the media in society of relaying messages and being a strong tool used in presenting political, developmental and educational messages is one which is understood to be critical (Danso & McDonald, 2000: 1). However, an essential question which presents itself is: to what extent does the media influence societal opinions and societal opinions influence the media? Essentially, Agenda-setting theory seems to tackle this question head on. This theory recognizes the media as an instrument which is utilised to influence public opinion by “setting the agenda in public discourse” (Nwankwo, 2011: 12). Accordingly, the theory holds that when issues are covered in the media as often as possible, the public deems these issues as being important (Willinger, 2010). This theory stems from the work of Walter Lippman in 1922. Lippman argued that “the public responds not to actual events in the

environment but to the pictures in our heads" (LittleJohn and Foss, 2008: 293), that the news media is the one constructing our view of the world (Coleman et al, 2009: 147). As time went by, McCombs and Shaw (1972) conducted a study which validated the notion put forward by Lippman. In this particular study their findings presented that numerous campaign themes being emphasized by the media had a relationship with the way in which undecided voters judged the importance of the campaign themes presented. Through this their findings presented that media personnel were actively shaping political reality (Brown and Deegan, 1998: 25).

Agenda-setting is a theory regarding the way in which there is a transferal of salience from mass media's pictures of the world to the pictures in our heads, in such a way that the issues which are given prominence in the media's picture also become prominent in the audiences picture (McCombs and Ghanem, 2006: 67). The opinions held by the public is understood to be influenced and shaped as the media sift and select certain elements of news, leading to the audience thinking along a certain pattern. Therefore, the media's choice of topics and the way in which these topics are presented are elements of the theory (Fourie, 2001). The writers, editors and reporters are then now understood to be the news gatekeepers (Sanchez, 2002) as they determine what will count as news (Dainton and Zelly, 2011). The importance of the news stories in a newspaper for example would be observed by: bold characters, headlines and pieces placed on the front page. On the other hand, in broadcast media, important news stories are reported first and in detail, therefore stories ranked to be of less importance by editors are then placed at the back of the newspapers or reported last in the broadcast (DeFleur, 2010: 159). Agenda setting theory puts forward two major assumptions: firstly, "the news media do not mirror reality, but instead filter and shape it, secondly, emphasis by the media, over time and on relatively small number of issues, leads the public into perceiving these issues as more important than other issues" (Weaver, 1984. Cited in Wanta, 1997: 2).

Essentially, even though the media is understood to be the one setting the agenda for the public, it is held that the reverse could also be the case, in the sense that sometimes 'the public's agenda occasionally influences the media's issue agenda'

(Uscinki, 2009: 797). Uscinki states that due to the reverse also holding true the two competing frameworks compete among researchers: the agenda-setting framework which posits that the news agenda influences the public agenda and the audience driven framework which posits that the audience agenda influences the news media (Uscinki, 2009: 2). In their act of reporting news stories journalists will make a consideration regarding the relevance of the news story and how appealing the story would be to the audience who are seen to often prefer 'exciting spectacular events like violence, conflict, scandal or disaster' (Graber, 1980, cited in Uscinki, 2009). Therefore, if the selected material deemed to be newsworthy is based on its relevance to the audience, this means that the audience also exerts influence on the media agenda. Uscinki puts forward an argument and states: if the public is interested in issues such as 'environmental cleanups' this will then make reporters report on stories which are environment-oriented. Straubhaar et al (2010) states that actions of prominent people like the president for example also influences the media agenda.

Ultimately, we have come to understand that news media tends to report stories based on the preferences of the audience, these particular preferences that the audience hold however were developed based on the information they might have received from the media. Thus, regarding the issue of 'environmental cleanups' stated above one must then question: what was the trigger of this concern from the audience? Where and how did the audience get the knowledge about the environment? Hence, although the public could be understood to be setting the agenda for the media, in some cases (on a minimal level), it all rests on the media. In addition, regarding the audiences preferences on content which is compelling, entertaining and stimulating (Uscinki, 2009: 798), the media is the one which decides which news stories will be deemed as compelling and entertaining. This illustrates then that the public 'think about what they are told' rather than 'think what they are told' (Mcquail, 2010: 512).

2.6) Conceptual Framework

This research report will use framing theory in order to meet the purposes of this study. Framing theory will be adapted extensively to perform an in-depth analysis of the newspaper content. This particular theory is considered to be a good fit for the study as the main aim of the study is directed to the analysis of media content, studying the way in which newspapers depict asylum seekers and refugees. The framing theory will help with providing an analysis on the way in which articles are written and what the main focus of the article is. Framing theory is grounded in the fact that the media places its focus on specific events and provide them with meaning. Essentially, framing theory suggests that the way in which something is presented to an audience (the frame) has a direct influence in the choices that people will make to decide how that specific information will be processed. As a result, we can then deduce that framing theory performs two key elements: firstly, telling the audience what to think and secondly the way in which the audience should think about specific issues. A frame generally refers to the presentation and organisation of events, ideas and topics covered by the media (McCombs & Shaw 1972).

Essentially, the choice in the frames selected stem from previous studies which discussed the way in which immigration issues had been represented in the media. These studies identified numerous immigration-specific “master frames” which will also be included in this study (Snow and Benford 1992). The identified frames include: a threat frame, a managerialist frame, a human interest frame and an economic frame (Benson 2013; d’Haenens and de Lange 2001; El Refaie 2001; Horsti 2003; Van Gorp 2006; Vliegenthart 2007). The human-interest frame is mainly in favour of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants, this frame in particular paints this population as victims who need help and compassion (d’Haenens and de Lange 2001; Van Gorp 2006). Secondly the threat frame mainly paints asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants in an inherently negative light, this frame particularly paints this population as a threat to receiving countries (Horsti 2003), and immigration as being irreconcilable with the host society (Baker and McEnery 2005). Thirdly, the economic frame puts forward a discussion on asylum and immigration in terms of economic gains or losses

specifically for receiving countries (d'Haenens and de Lange 2001). The economic frame highlights immigration as a source which places immense pressure on the welfare state and arrangements which had been made by the welfare state, on the other hand the economic frame also highlights the gains associated with immigration oftentimes making a distinction between forms of migration which are "wanted" and "unwanted". Lastly, the managerialist frame approaches immigration as a depoliticised governance challenge, placing focus on what would be the best way to cope with the consequences of immigration, thus going beyond discussions of whether immigration is a phenomenon which is wanted or not (d'Haenens and de Lange 2001).

This particular study will make use of four specific frames, namely: the human interest frame, the managerial frame the economic frame and the threat frame. These frames will help with the organisation of the data and providing the search criteria of the articles which aim to be used. There were specific questions which aim to be used in the overall selection of frames. These questions have been provided and can be seen on Appendix A. Through using these media frames we will then be able to see which topics South African print media seem to be focused on regarding asylum seekers and refugees. In addition, we will be able to trace how these focus areas have shifted or evolved as the years go by.

2.7) Chapter Summary

This chapter specifically aimed to provide a general overview of the information which is available regarding asylum seekers and refugees. The chapter unfolded the concept of refugees and asylum seekers through discussing them and the relation they have with these three elements which include: refugees and asylum seekers in the field of international relations, the country of South Africa and the media. The chapter provided a very thorough background relating to the migrant population in South Africa. Therefore, we see a distinction in the different categories of migrants and how their experiences in their home land have influenced them to move. The content of this chapter form part of the greater discussion which the research report provides.

CHAPTER THREE

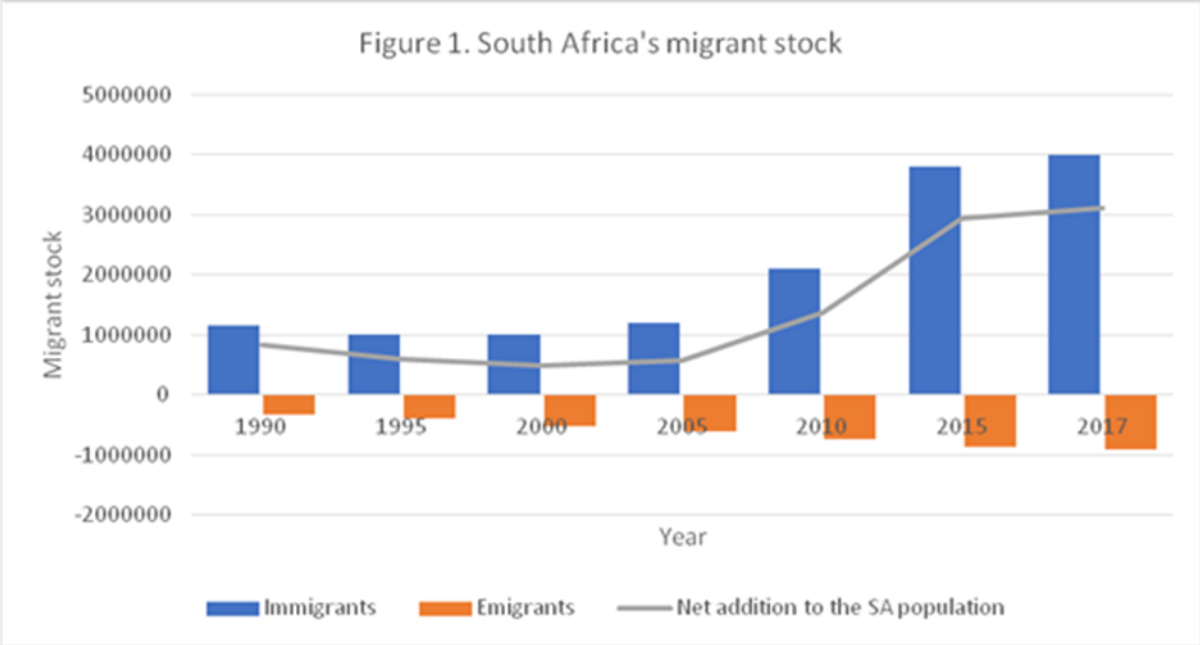
"ESTABLISHING THE WALLS SUPPORTING THE LENS OF THE FRAME" - BACKGROUND TO REFUGEE AND ASYLUM SEEKING IN SOUTH AFRICA

"What I'm only asking is for the UNHCR to help us, to give us a place where we can be safe. Where they can accept us like human beings, because South Africa doesn't treat us like human beings" – (Nadine Nkurukiye - Refugee from Burundi)

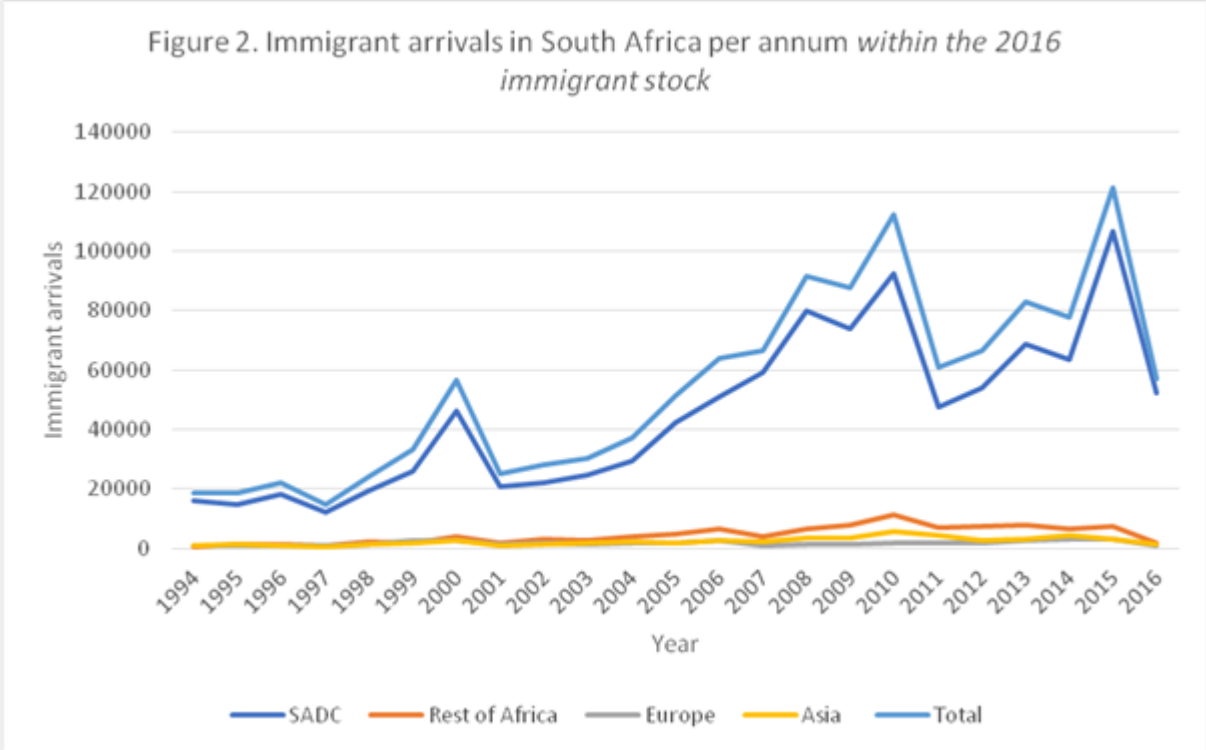
3.1) Chapter Introduction

The previous chapter provided an overview of the literature on asylum seekers, refugees and the media. This chapter aims to provide the reader with the background associated with refugee and asylum seeking in South Africa, acquainting the reader to the specific case study the research report focuses on.

3.2) Background to Refugee and Asylum Seeking in South Africa



Source: International Organisation for Migration - Found on (Van Lennep, 2019).



Source: Community Survey 2016 – Found on (Van Lennep, 2019)

The graph on (Figure 1) presented above clearly shows South Africa's migrant stock, the source of the graph on (Figure 1) is the International Organisation for Migration and it used data which is provided by the United Nations *(Van Lennep, 2019)*. The graph illustrates an increasing trend in the number of immigrants residing in South Africa from the year 2000. The graph clearly shows that there has been a rise in the numbers of these individuals, with the numbers increasing from one million to four million in the year 2017. The stock of emigrants has been on an upward trend since 1990. This data includes estimations of undocumented migrants, this data is given by Stats SA. Yearly data of the migrant stock is not available. The data that's available fails to differentiate between the different categories of migrants which exists.

3.3) Graph Analysis: Fluctuations of Migrant Stock Trends

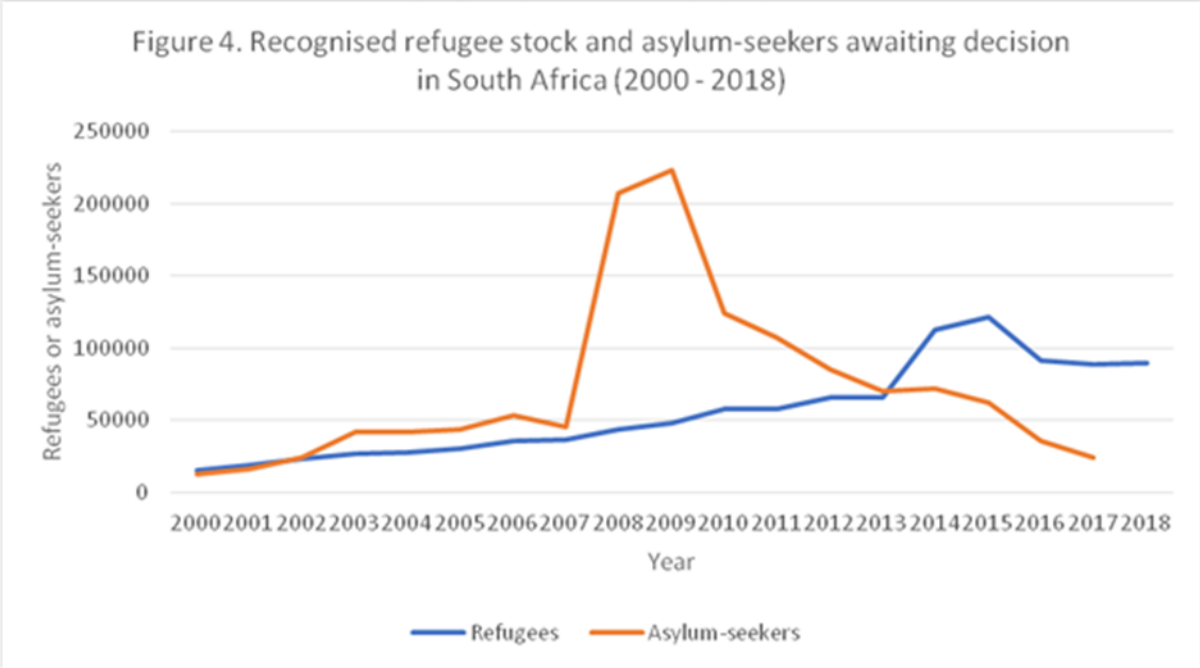
As it can be seen in the graph provided above (Figure 2). The period 1998-2001 witnessed an apparent rise in the number of foreign arrivals to South Africa hailing from SADC. This can be attributed to the regime of apartheid coming to an ultimate end. As a result, South Africa's attractiveness increased catching the attention of

migrant workers in the SADC vicinity. In addition, the establishment of the 1998 Refugees Act allowed South Africa to open itself to individuals seeking asylum which further contributed to rise in the number of foreign arrivals. These incidents happened when there was growing instability in SADC leading to numerous SADC migrants receiving amnesty.

The next period of analysis that we can witness on the graph is the period 2001-2010. We observe a fair and consistent increase in the migrant stock. Part of this increase can be attributed to the nature of the sample. The population of migrants who arrived would have most likely passed away or have left at the time the census occurred. However, it is important to note that the increase in the migrant stock can also be explained by successful formulation of temporary migration in the 2002 Immigration Act. In addition, according to Crush, the period 2000-2008 saw an increase in the issuing of temporary work permits, from issuing approximately 59 000 work permits per year to about 137 000 (Crush, 2011). In addition, the Department of Home Affairs recorded a substantial increase of asylum seekers during this period, these asylum seekers came from countries like: The Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe (PMG, 2016).

In 2010 a policy was passed for the regulation of Zimbabweans in South Africa named The Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project, this policy aimed to respond to the number of undocumented migration which was believed to be straining the asylum system (Crush, 2011). Immigrants coming from Zimbabwe were given an opportunity to apply for this permit until December of 2010. The year 2011 witnessed a hardening of access and control of migration through the 2011 Refugees Amendment Act and the Immigration Amendment Act (Crush, 2011). The xenophobic violence that occurred in South Africa in May of 2008 discouraged migration to South Africa particularly for individuals coming from the SADC region. However, the South African FIFA World Cup resurrected opportunities and the desire and motivation to migrate.

We observe an increase of SADC arrivals from 2011 all the way to 2015. This can be explained by the escalation of political conflict in Zimbabwe due to Robert Mugabe gaining a seventh term in office. Additionally, we witness a dramatic decrease in SADC arrivals after the year 2015 this can be attributed to the decreasing levels of asylum seeking expressed by the Immigration Act of 2016 in response to the numbers of irregular migration taking place. The 2017 Refugees Amendment Act was a clear indication of the South African governments aim to continue curbing migration completely.



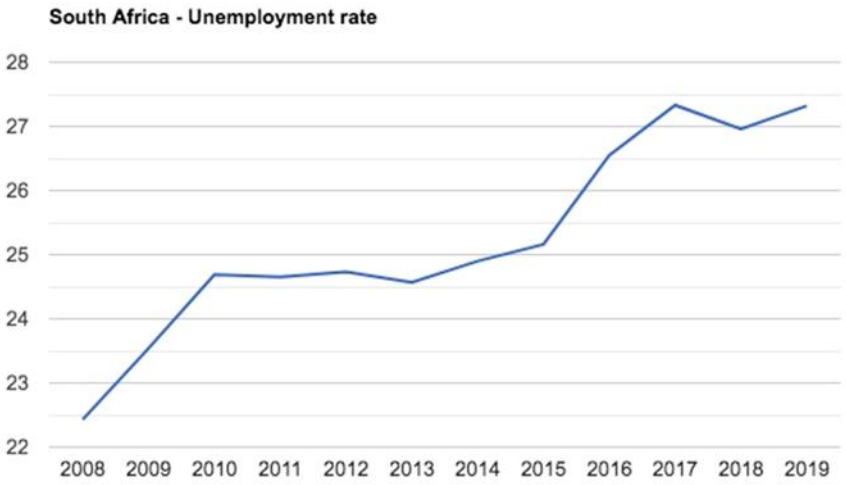
Sources: UNHCR Database (refugees) and DHA 2017-18 Annual Report (asylum, though contested, (Africa Check, 2016).

This particular graph shows the amount of recognised refugees and asylum seekers awaiting decision in South Africa in the period 2000-2018. From the graph we see a noticeable incline in the amount of asylum seekers in 2007, and a steady incline in 2008. However, we can also notice a decline in the amount of asylum seekers starting from the year 2009 and steadily declining through time. In addition, the trend of the refugee population in South Africa is noticeably lower than that of the asylum seeking population. There is a steady increase through time of the numbers of refugees in South Africa, it is important to note that the refugee fluctuations provided above

underwent minimal fluctuations compared to the fluctuations experienced in the data regarding asylum seekers.

Portrayal and Perception regarding Asylum Seekers and Refugees in South Africa

The most dominant narrative existing on the streets regarding Asylum Seekers and Refugees and immigrants in South Africa is one which is frequently outlined around a metaphor of the “makwerekwere”. Essentially, this is a derogatory phrase that is used to distinguish between individuals who are indigenous inhabitants of a place and people who are not. Therefore, through the act of using this frame, South African citizens seem to be laying a claim of spatial ownership on the land, expressing that individuals who are not indigenous do not belong. Accordingly, this quote clearly exemplifies the tough and practical impression held by South African’s towards individuals who are not indigenous: “They should go because we have no jobs. I’m a citizen and I want to work for 150 rand a day but foreigners will do it for 70 rand a day. In the kitchens and the factories they are taking over our jobs. They bring cheap goods and we don’t know where from. They leave their countries with a lot of skills and we have nothing. Our education is not good enough” (Local South African).



Source: TheGlobalEconomy.com, The World Bank

Consequently, South Africa is a country with a growing unemployment rate as seen on the graph above. Therefore, claims of competition for scarce resources have become a very common issue, with South African citizens blaming asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants for the joblessness experienced in South Africa. Therefore, calling them “job takers”. Accordingly, price is the driver of competition particularly within the trading sector and historically, according to Neves and Du Toit South African traders’ “motivations for trading are not necessarily reducible to the idea of maximization of profit through prices” (Neves & Du Toit, 2012: 131). Therefore, the willingness of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants to work for less money contributes to forming a point of social conflict between South African citizens and asylum seekers and refugees (Piper & Yu, 2016: 661). Through perceiving asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants as “job takers” this narrative immediately presents this population as the enemy, citizens being deprived by a non-citizen their natural right to employment (Landau, 2011).

The majority of individuals blaming migrants for taking their jobs do not have the adequate academic qualifications and skills required to get these jobs. However, in their attitudes we witness a passionate sense of entitlement. It can be argued that these attitudes originate from the ANC government. Through presenting promises such as the eradication of poverty, free education and job creation and the unfulfilled nature of these promises we witness an escalation in the numbers of youth unemployment, the worsening of social problems such as crime and poverty. The South African citizenry seems to have found a scapegoat in African migrants (Harris, 2002). According to the stories told by local South Africans, the motivations behind attacking “foreigners” especially of African descent symbolizes a cleansing ritual performed to exorcise foreigners. A local South African states: “this is our country and we do not want foreigners here, these makwerekwere must go back to their country, hamba makwerekwere hamba” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001: 651). We observe an element of impassioned hatred in statements like these. This conceals itself in the language of belonging and who is entitled to belong in a specific area framed around ideas of the indigeneity (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001: 651).

According to Landau: “when state institutions evidently failed to deliver on their promises to protect and promote a politically entitled but materially deprived citizenry, the population (or parts of it) took on the obligation to alienate and exclude those standing in its way” (Landau, 2011: 3). The impassioned sense of spatial control held by some locals projects its self in the attacks of businesses owned by foreign nationals in South African townships. According to a local South African cited in a study by Comaro and Comaro: “These foreigners are everywhere doing business, they come to the locations and take over the businesses there and we cannot do our business because everyone wants to buy from them. How do they expect us to make money when they have spaza shops in every corner and trading at low prices? They are destroying our own businesses and lives because our businesses are closing down because of Somali foreigners. They must go back to their countries and things will be better in South Africa” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001: 651).

One important component to note about these street level narratives is the fact that locals are misusing the term foreigner. Accordingly, the term foreigner refers to non-citizens who reside in South Africa and it does not regard the individual’s nationality, race or ethnicity. However, the way that this term is used in the street level narratives is associated to illegality. Therefore, the motivations put forward for attacking “foreigners” is closely associated to riding undesirable illegal individuals who have no right to reside in their areas, it does not take into account that some of these individuals are legal refugees or in possession of asylum permits which legally allow them to reside. Through this we see a conflation and the lumping together of all categories of migrants, there being no distinction between illegal immigrant, refugee or asylum seeker. As a result illegality is subsumed over all categories of migrants even though this should not be the fact.

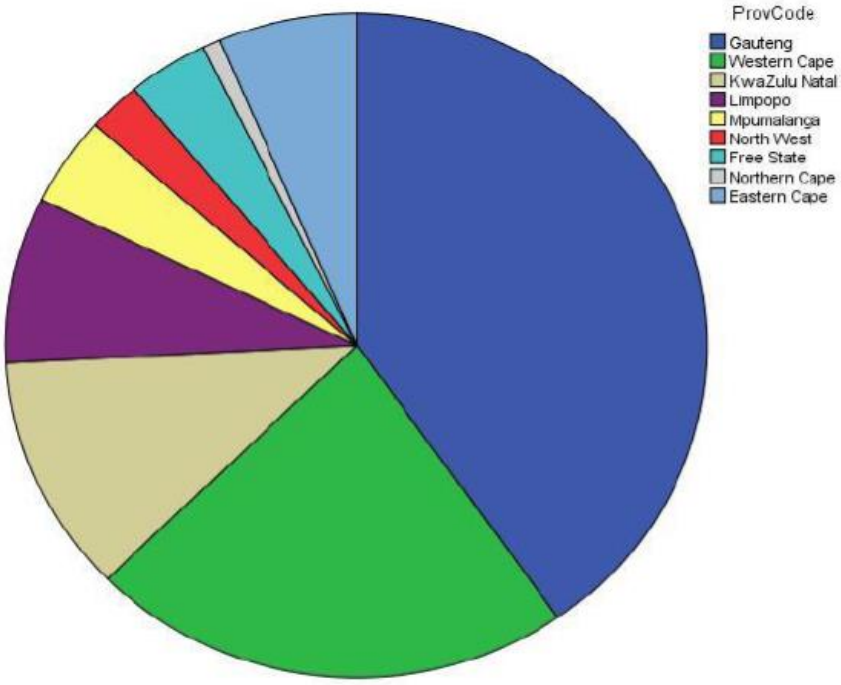
3.4) Xenophobic incidents in South Africa (2008-2018)

This section aims to provide a discussion relating to the xenophobic incidents which occur in South Africa. These incidents increase the vulnerability of an already vulnerable population. Therefore, framing the refugee and asylum seeking population as being vulnerable. Furthermore, it is important to understand the trends which are apparent regarding these incidents because this paints a broad picture of the way in which xenophobia affects different individuals both locals and non-locals.

Victimization	Total (1994-2018)	2018 (Alone)
Total number of incidents	529	42
Deaths	309	12
Physical Assaults	901	29
Displaced	100 000+	1145
Shops looted	2193	139
Threat to Safety or Property	257	23

Xenophobic violence incidents and types of victimization: (1994-2018) Xenowatch - (Mlilo & Misago, 2019).

Xenophobic violence incidents by province, 1994-2018
Xenowatch - (Mlilo & Misago, 2019)



According to the graph presented above, we can clearly see that most reported incidents of xenophobic violence come from three main areas: Gauteng, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal (Mlilo & Misago, 2019). Therefore, the newspapers which will be studied will include one newspaper for each of the hot-spots.

The 11th of May 2008 marked the first most violent xenophobic incident in South Africa. The eruption of these set of events first occurred in the township of Alexandra in Johannesburg (SAHO, 2015). These events spread all over South Africa, firstly spreading across the Gauteng province. In a few weeks xenophobic attacks spread across the whole country. The main areas which it spread to were Cape Town and Durban. However, there were also incidents recorded in Limpopo (SAHO, 2015). The violence took the form of attacks both in physical and verbal form perpetuated by township residents. The victims were referred to as foreigners placing emphasis on the fact that they were not originally from South Africa. The events resulted to approximately 213 shops being burned down, houses being burnt, hundreds of people being injured, thousands being displaced and 56 fatalities (SAHO, 2015).

In November 2009, about 3000 Zimbabwean nationals who resided in De Doorns (an informal settlement in the Western Cape) were displaced due to the xenophobic attacks taking place. The events in this area specifically targeted Zimbabwean nationals (SAHO, 2015). Even though other foreign nationals were working and living in the same area the attacks were directed towards areas where Zimbabweans resided. The informal settlements of Hasie Square, Stofland and Ekuphumleni were the main areas where the violence occurred. The first instance took place on the 14th of November 2009 in the area of Ekuphumleni, this resulted in the displacement of approximately 68 Zimbabweans. The violence escalated on the 17th of November as a result it spread to the areas of Hasie Square and Stofland. The second instance of this violence resulted in the displacement of approximately 3000 Zimbabwean nationals (SAHO, 2015).

Another occurrence of the xenophobic violence happened on the 27th of February 2013, in Daveyton (a township in Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg) (SAHO, 2015). This incident included eight police officials tying up a 27 year old Mozambican man by the name of Mido Macia onto a police van and dragging him across the road. After this incident Mido Macia died in a police cell as a result of the injuries he had sustained. Additionally, In Diepsloot (a township in Johannesburg) a South African mob killed two Zimbabwean nations during an instance of xenophobic attack (SAHO, 2015).

In Soweto (a township in Johannesburg) Simphiwe Mahori a 14-year old boy was killed during an alleged robbery by a shop owner who comes from Somalia. The teenage boy was shot on the neck and passed on a few moments after the incident. A 23 year old South African man Lebogang Ncamla was another victim who was shot (SAHO, 2015). These incidents sparked the looting of shops owned by foreign nationals and further escalated the xenophobic violence at hand. Approximately, 120 shops owned by foreign nationals were looted, specifically these shops were owned by individuals coming from Bangladesh and Somalia. These lootings happened across townships in Johannesburg such as Kagiso, Meadowlands and Zola to name a few. There were reports which alleged that police officers were also involved in the stealing of goods and assisted people to raid shops.

The xenophobic violence spread to the Limpopo province on the 5th of March 2015 (SAHO, 2015). During this period a group of South African protested against the presence of foreigners in their areas, the protestors threatened to loot shops and incite violence onto the foreign shop owners. In the village of Ga-Sekgopo in Limpopo, violence went on to escalate when a foreign shop was discovered to be in possession of a stolen phone which belonged to a local man who had been killed, the people in the area wanted answers as to how he came into possession of the phone. The people in the village people convinced a group of foreign shop owners out of the village as they threated that the violence will get worse.

The Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini commented on the presence of foreigners in South Africa on the 21st of March 2015 (SAHO, 2015). He stated that foreigners should return home because they change the natural operation of things in the society, making reference to their goods and the way they gain profit, leading to them enjoying the wealth that was initially due to the local people. This instance alarmed foreigners and increased their fears as they dealt with a series of xenophobic violence across the country. The King made these comments in Pongola, Kwazulu Natal. These comments escalated the violence which foreign nationals suffered. For instance, a shop belonging to two Ethiopian brothers was set on fire injuring one of the brothers and killing the other. The torching of shops owned by foreign nationals was rampant in areas such as: KwaMashu and Umlazi. The incident of looting and burning shops spread all across Durban. For instance on the 14th of April 2015 locals looted a shop in Verulam (a town in the north of Durban). Approximately 300 local individuals were believed to be associated with the looting of shops however, there have only been two arrests (SAHO, 2015).

The rampant xenophobic violence spreading through South Africa reached Grahamstown (a town in South Africa) in October 2015 (SAHO, 2015). There were approximately 500 individuals who were displaced as a result of the violence and about 300 shops were looted, in some instances the shops were destroyed. The instigation of these attacks was projected by local taxi drivers in the area during a staged protest which specifically addressed the rise in crime, the horrible state of the roads and murders which were rumoured to be committed by foreigners. These taxi drivers demanded the mayor to act accordingly and listen to their grievances, however the major failed to do so. On 21 October 2015 taxi drivers went on to attack spaza shops owned by Ethiopian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Somali people residing in Grahamstown (SAHO, 2015). The taxi drivers mobilized local people to attack and loot foreign owned shops, it was rumoured that these foreigners were responsible for the spate of murders happening in the town. The police did nothing to dispel the rumours which led to them pushing locals to incite violence against foreigners.

A town meeting was held in the Makana Municipality at City Hall (SAHO, 2015). The meeting discussed how the South African police and the municipality would pacify the

residents and ultimately address the situation. The meeting had no representative from the police, the ward councillor available held xenophobic sentiments rooted in denying foreigners a platform to have their own shops, this further legitimized the attacks and led to the continuation of the violence. Locals reported that the police officials were also guilty as they also participated in the looting of shops. The xenophobic attacks which occurred in Grahamstown deviated from the normal patterns of the attacks in South Africa as it focused and targeted individuals based on their religion, targeting Muslims. The reasons for this is grounded in a rumour which circulated about an Arab man being responsible for murdering the women in the town.

Pretoria was hit with a spate of riots starting from the 20th of June 2016. The origin of this was believed to be sparked by the political discontent of the ANC. The violence specifically targeted Somalian and Pakistani shop owners, with the locals looting their shops and in some cases physically attacking the foreign nationals. An anti-immigrant protest took place in Pretoria on the 24th of February 2017. A group of protestors marched to the Union buildings with aims of handing in a petition to government representatives. In this petition protestors alleged that immigrants are causing crime and are taking the jobs from the South African locals, one protestor said: “they are arrogant and they don’t know how to talk to people, especially Nigerians”. The match resulted in approximately 136 protesters being arrested.

The trend of the xenophobic violence perpetuated against foreign nationals in South Africa is one that fluctuates through the years as seen in the discussion provided above. One important characteristic of this violence which needs to be noted is its ability to spread throughout the country in very short spaces of time. A specific pattern which is observed in these xenophobic incidents is the fact that specific groups of foreign nationals are targeted and this may differ across different locations. For example: the violence in Soweto targeted Pakistani and Bangladeshi individuals while on the other hand Zimbabweans bore the brunt of the attacks in De Doorns. In addition, another pattern that is noticed pertains to the fact of murders escalating the degree of the attacks. Moreover, through time more and more individuals are being displaced due to the xenophobic violence we see an upsurge in the number of

displacement during 1994-2018 resulting in more than 100 000 individuals being displaced.

3.5) Challenges faced by Asylum Seekers and Refugees in South Africa

This section aims to present the systematic and systemic challenges asylum seekers and refugees face in South Africa. The section will provide a discussion of four specific areas namely: xenophobia, access to basic rights, education and employment. These areas are understood to be essential to the well-being of refugees and asylum seekers presenting themselves as important issues which the government need to address. These challenges instigate the desperation and vulnerability of refugees and asylum seekers therefore presenting them in a frame of vulnerability and desperation.

3.5.1) Xenophobia

One of the major challenges which confront Refugees and Asylum seekers in South Africa pertains to the degree and intensity of the xenophobic violence suffered by them. Xenophobia is one of the key influencers of government policy regarding refugee and asylum seeking protection. Xenophobia is an element which negatively affects the well-being of refugees and asylum seekers as it compromises their rights by negatively impacting their abilities to attain services. According to Timngum there is a systematic intolerance of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa this is observed by the xenophobic attacks and sentiments which are held by some South Africans, these instances affect their ability to access jobs, housing and basic services in their everyday lives (Timngum, 2001). Therefore, asylum seekers and refugees endure the suffering of xenophobia like other foreign nationals. However, due to their experiences and the trauma which they have suffered this increases their vulnerability to abuse and discrimination.

The attitude of xenophobia seems to infiltrate the activities of the police and state security officials which worries the refugee and asylum seeking population. According to a study which was conducted by the University of Witwatersrand “most refugees

feel that they cannot rely on the police or approach them if they are victims of a crime and 49% of forced migrants did not believe that the police could generally be trusted" (Segale, 2005: 51). The refugee community have brought forward allegations of: arrests based on xenophobic sentiments disregarding the fact that they possess valid documentation, corruption and police harassments. According to Segale, police in some instances seem to take the documents of asylum seekers refusing their validity and sometimes destroying them (Segale, 2005: 51). Xenophobia is a phenomenon which affects society as a whole, affecting both non-citizens and citizens. Xenophobia is a social evil which perpetuates the dehumanization of dignity and human rights, limiting people from reaching their full potential which is necessary to aid in the development and growth of a society.

3.5.3) Access to Basic Rights

According to the South African constitution and the Bill of Rights, refugees and asylum seekers are afforded rights which they are entitled to, namely: legal protection, access to social services, administrative justice, basic medical services and education. These rights constitute the basic level rights and standards facilitating the survival of asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa. In order to enjoy these rights it is imperative for refugees and asylum seekers to obtain the necessary documentation from the Department of Home Affairs. Having access to basic health services is an essential element aiding the survival of asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa. Silove and Steel state that: "refugees and asylum seekers who flee conflict areas may develop mental health disorder and may be traumatised by the consequences of war, either on transit or in the country of asylum" (Silove and Steel, 1998). Refugees and asylum seekers are confronted with difficulties in the way they cope with being in a new environment and may suffer the inconvenience of not receiving the asylum and refugee permits from the Department of Home Affairs, these situations contribute to the development of emotional and mental disturbances and a deterioration in their health. Therefore it is imperative that this population receive the assistance due to them.

3.5.4) Education

In addition, education is considered one of the most fundamental rights afforded to asylum seekers and refugees. According to Kofi Annan: “education is a human right with immense power to transform and on its foundation rest the cornerstone of freedom, democracy and sustainable human development” (Kofi Annan, 2017). From this quote we see education as an essential key providing children with important opportunities for emotional, mental and cognitive development, granting them the opportunity to develop into their full potential which will then aid in enabling them to contribute to the society and face challenges presented in the society. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees the right to education in Article 26. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights states that education plays an indispensable role in developing the realization of human rights, this is presented in Article 13. There have been some issues blocking the achievement of providing the right to basic education to the children of refugees in South Africa. There are also problems relating to the integration of refugees and asylum seekers in educational institutions some of these problems are: xenophobia, the payment of educational material and school fees, rejection by schools to name a few.

3.5.5) Employment

Furthermore, employment is another essential aspect forming part of the basic rights attributed to asylum seekers and refugees. The 1998 Refugee Act of South Africa allows asylum seekers and refugees to seek employment in both the private and public sector in South Africa. However, there is a regulation which stands that asylum seekers should not seek employment and studying if their asylum claims have not been finalized. However, this restriction presents itself as being unconstitutional because chapter two of South Africa’s constitution allows non-citizens, including asylum seekers the right to benefit from all the rights stipulated in the Bill of Rights, with the exception of those rights reserved for South African citizens like political rights.

3.6) Challenges faced by the South African Government

One of the major challenges presented by the South African government pertains to the economic constraints which it is experiencing. In August 2018, the South African government addressed the nation regarding the economic constraints pulling them back. The communications minister Nomvula Mokonyane stated that: “Government will continue to collaborate with business, labour and civil society to restore confidence in the economy and address the structural constraints to economic growth” - Nomvula Mokonyane (SAGNA, 2018). Therefore, there is an apparent need for the government to prioritize a particular set of problems while placing other issues on hold. Therefore, through this we can then understand that the deteriorating nature of the refugee project regime, is a result of an overstretched mandate and regardless of the constitutional and international obligations, the government needs to prioritize vulnerable South Africans. As a result, the need to create employment, build houses and provide welfare to vulnerable South Africans provide a justification for abandoning the initial post-apartheid system and closing down Refugee Reception Offices.

Accordingly, the argument provided by the South African government suggests that most South Africans are still struggling to meet their basic needs and that competition for scarce public resources is rampant. It also implies that there is a zero-sum game mentality whereby every advantage granted to the refugee and asylum seeker is seen as a disadvantage to the citizens. This particular narrative appears across political sentiments and policies, leading to the provocation of xenophobia and the local South African targeting foreign nationals as scapegoats for the high rate of unemployment and the dissatisfaction which was initially meant for the government. On the contrary, the economic argument seems to ignore the fact that refugees and asylum seekers also contribute to boosting the economy. In South Africa refugees and asylum seekers are granted the right to seek employment which then results in a positive contribution to the economy these individuals boost the economy as rent and tax-payers, consumers and in most cases as job creators. According to a research conducted in the Gauteng province, foreign nationals who set up businesses are in most cases employing South Africans. The study presented that foreign shop owners provide employment to locals than local business owners.

Essentially, the actions taken by the South African government stated above such as the closure of Reception Offices, feeds the narrative that refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa overwhelm, strain and put pressure on the government. Therefore, framing them as individuals who change the way in which the government were meant to spend, allocate and use already strained capital. Therefore feeding into the media framing refugees and asylum seekers as a threat to the South African society as they take away money and services which were intended for them.

3.7) Challenges faced by South African Citizens

One of the main challenges faced by the local South African is the challenge to access basic services. Therefore, when the government is seen to be providing services for the refugee and the asylum seeking population these individuals are then framed as competitors. This is the case which is apparent in townships particularly, within these areas the citizens and the asylum seekers and refugees are in a constant competition for meagre resources such as: basic services, casual jobs and space for housing (Ebrahim, 2019). Accordingly, locals hold that foreigners (with legal or irregular status) are the ones who benefit from social delivery services, and that the majority of them are being left out. Allegations abound of some foreigners undeservedly benefitting from public services, these allegations are justified in some cases. However, these occur when corruption is in the mix (Ebrahim, 2019). In most cases, the locals tends to obscure the entitlement of migrants to these services as a result of receiving permanent citizenship or residence. The Constitution of South Africa grants the same rights to citizens and those with permanent residence (Ebrahim, 2019). As stated above, the public fails to make distinctions between the different categories of migrants. Therefore, there is a prevalence of ignorance amongst the public regarding the category of migrants entitled to social services.

Chapter Summary

This particular chapter aimed to unfold and discuss the concept of refugees and asylum seekers. It aimed to provide an understanding of the way in which the asylum

seeking and refugee population is framed by the government and local South Africans. This has been achieved by providing a discussion relating to the statistical background of asylum seeking and being a refugee in South Africa, a general overview of South Africa's migrant stock, perceptions held by local South Africans, the occurrence of xenophobic incidents in South Africa and lastly discussing the range of challenges faced by asylum seekers and refugees, the South African government and local South Africans. The information provided in this chapter establishes a clear and concise discussion regarding the one of the main subject of this research report which is the asylum seeking and refugee population.

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CHAPTER FOUR

"YOU'VE BEEN FRAMED" – RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1) Chapter Introduction

This chapter aims to provide the reader with a presentation on the findings which are discussed and presented with reference to the research reports aims, which was to uncover how different print media depicted asylum seekers and refugees from 2008-2018, to trace the discourse surrounding asylum seekers and refugees in South African print media from 2008-2018 and to trace the way in which different print media reports on asylum seekers and refugees. Therefore, the chapter will outline the main analysis of the current research report.

4.2) Newspaper Ownership

South Africa has a robust and free press. The country's turbulent passage from apartheid to democracy made South Africans remarkably news hungry, fed by a robust, free and flourishing press (BSA, 2020). South Africa has 22 daily and 25 weekly major urban newspapers in South Africa, most published in English (SAI, 2020). About 10.5-million South Africans read the urban dailies, with around 17,5-million people – or 50% of South Africans over the age of 15 – reading newspapers, according to the South African Advertising Research Foundation's All Media Products Survey (Amps) 2012.

Daily News is a daily newspaper owned by Independent News & Media SA and published every weekday afternoon in Durban, South Africa (BSA, 2020). It was called Natal Daily News between 1936 and 1962 and The Natal (Mercantile) Advertiser prior to 1936, going back to the 19th century. In June 2010 the newspaper had daily average sales of 57,000 and an estimated daily readership of 320,000 people. It is an English-language newspaper and was first published in 1878 (BSA, 2020).

Pretoria News is a daily English-medium newspaper established in 1898 in South Africa's capital city Pretoria (BSA, 2020). It is distributed in the Tshwane Metropolitan area. Pretoria News covers a range of local news, as well as national and international news, comment and analysis by experts, sport, entertainment and lifestyle (SAI,

2020). It publishes a daily edition from Monday to Friday and also offers a weekend edition. Pretoria News is part of the Independent Media South Africa group and is available online via the Independent Online website (BSA, 2020).
The Mail & Guardian is a South African weekly newspaper, published by M&G Media in Johannesburg, South Africa. It focuses on political analysis, investigative reporting, Southern African news, local arts, music and popular culture (BSA, 2020).

The Cape Argus is a daily newspaper published by Sekunjalo in Cape Town, South Africa. It was co-founded in 1857 by Saul Solomon (BSA, 2020). The Cape Argus is owned by Independent News & Media SA as of 2012, the Argus had a daily readership of 294 000, according to the South African Advertising Research Foundation's All Media Products Survey (Amps) Newspaper Readership and Trends (BSA, 2020).

The Sunday Independent is a weekly English-language newspaper based in Gauteng, South Africa. It is one of the titles under the Independent News & Media South Africa group acquired by Sekunjalo Media Consortium and was owned previously by Independent News & Media. The paper is distributed mainly in the Gauteng region, but can also be found around South Africa (BSA, 2020).

The Mail & Guardian is a weekly English-language newspaper, published by M&G Media in Johannesburg, South Africa. The Mail & Guardian is distributed in the Gauteng region, however it is also available around South Africa (BSA, 2020).

4.3) Newspaper Articles

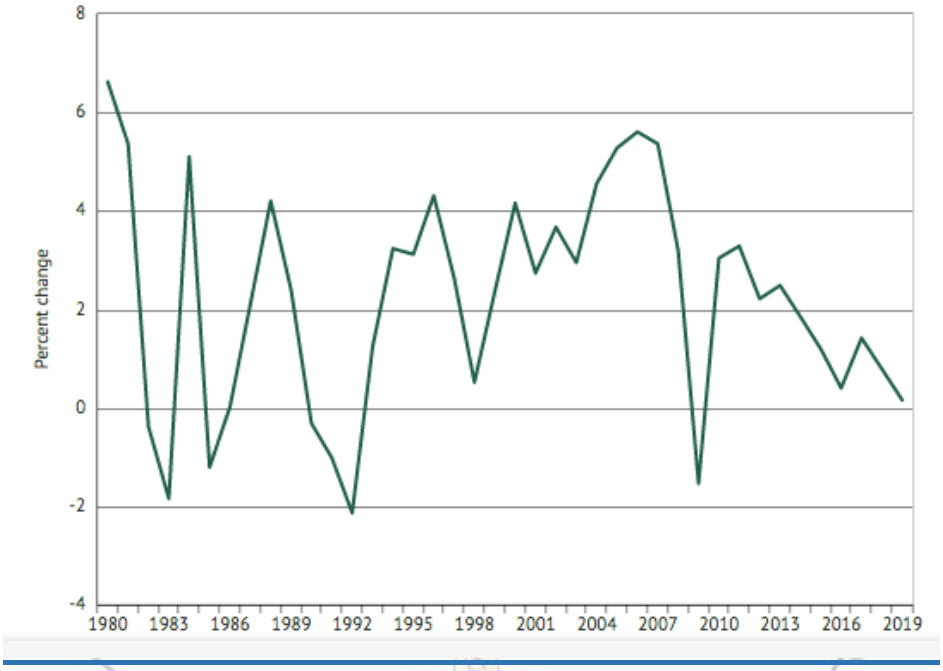
This section aims to introduce the number of articles used in this research. Essentially, for an article to be included the words “asylum seeker” or “refugee” needed to appear at least twice in the text and the particular setting of that article needed to be in South Africa. Additional terms were used in the process of acquiring data, this was done by including additional key terms, such as: “makwerekwere”, “undocumented”, “illegal”, “backlog” and “influx”.

Year	Articles
2008	78
2009	48
2010	24
2011	41
2012	12
2013	16
2014	1
2015	26
2016	19
2017	19
2018	62
Total	346

4.4) Key Frames

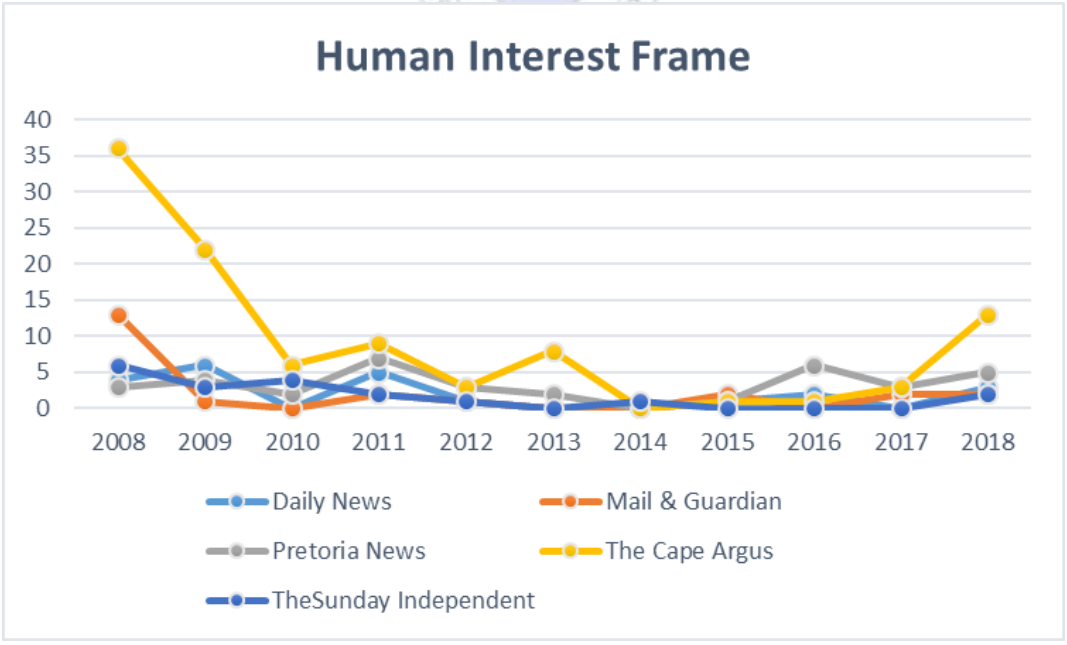
This section aims to provide an analysis of the different frames which are present in the newspaper articles used for this study. The frames which will be analysed include: the human-interest frame which presents how vulnerable the refugee and asylum seeker population are. The other frame which will be presented is the managerial frame which places the government at the centre as they establish new regulations and policies in order to better manage the numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in the country. Additionally, the economic frame which not only argues that refugees and asylum seekers come with a price tag and cost the government, the frame also alludes to the fact that refugees and asylum seekers are positive contributors to the growth and development of the economy. Lastly, the threat frame will be presented which argues that refugees and asylum seekers should be perceived as a threat, in most cases this frame is associated with notions of criminality and illegality. The trends of the different frames will be analysed and discussed to help in the understanding of what they entail.

4.4 (a) South Africa's real GDP growth



Source: IMF: World Economic Outlook (WEO), April 2020

4.4.1) Human-interest Frame



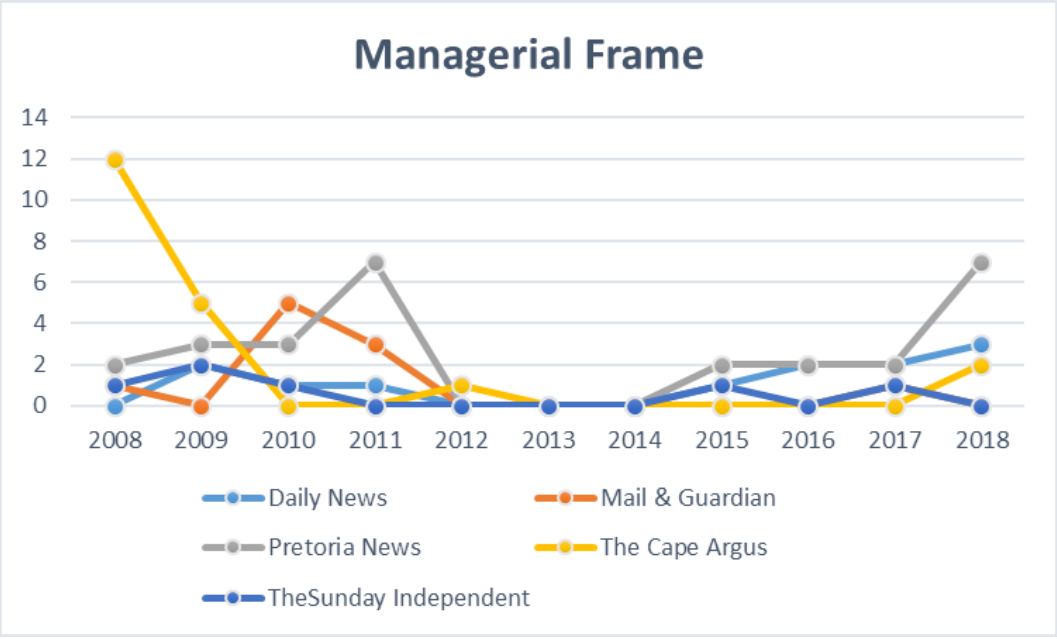
The first frame which was included in this research report is the human-interest frame. Initially, this frame was expected to have a high association throughout the newspapers because the subject of asylum seekers and refugees is always closely connected to suffering, to being victims and to documenting their struggle. The newspaper which had the highest association to the human interest frame is the Cape Argus which had 50% of the human interest frame, it is followed by Pretoria News with 18% after that then comes The Mail & Guardian with 11% alongside Daily News which also had 11% and lastly The Sunday Independent with 9%.

The general trend presented on the graph above adopts a fluctuating nature, as a result of this the study will note when there is a recorded consensus among the different publications reporting on the human interest frame, noting when there is a general rise or decline taken on by all the publications. The period 2010 – 2011 displays a general rise among all newspapers regarding the use of the human interest frame. This juxtaposed with the GDP graph above, explains that since the overall economy experienced a healthy increase during this period (an increase of 3.3%), South Africans did not find it problematic to sympathise with refugees and asylum seekers. Therefore, advancing reporting associated with the human interest frame in the newspapers. In addition, the period 2011 – 2012 displays a general decline among all newspapers, this being juxtaposed with the GDP graph can be attributed to the fact that South Africa experienced a decline in its GDP during this period, specifically suffering a decline of 2.2% as a result, South African citizens due to the decline in the economy might have seen the population of asylum seekers and refugees as one which poses a threat to their economic livelihoods because of the capital directed to them to aid in their vulnerable situations, thus this capital is in a way taking from the hands of South Africans and into the hands of the refugee and asylum seeking population. Therefore South Africans failed to sympathise with this population which decreased the reporting of the human interest frame. The period 2017 – 2018 displays a general rise among all newspapers. However, this finding is not consistent with the ones listed above because during this period GDP decreased by 0.8% the rise of reporting on the human interest frame even when the GDP decreased can be ascribed to the worsening of the situations asylum seekers and refugees were in due to the worsening of the economic situation in South Africa.

The use of the human interest frame in the articles tended to use personalization, which gave the article a more compassionate aspect because each report focused on someone's personal endeavour. A large number of the articles with a human interest frame were relating to the personal accounts of refugees, how he/she arrived in the host country and how he/she had suffered. Often the name of the person was written in the article and some of his/her own words were quoted. The majority of the articles with the human interest frame were rather sad, where the refugee's future was uncertain and rather bleak this may be due to difficulties in gaining documentation, difficulties to make a living or the difficulties of being in an unfamiliar place with unfamiliar people. Some of the articles even though they are in the minority had a happy ending, where the refugee was able to live a normal life.

All those articles were reporting stories that would try to not only relate the event itself but also to expose the suffering and therefore bring emotion and compassion to the reader.

4.4.2) Managerial Frame



The second frame which was included in this research report is the managerial frame. The majority of the articles which used the managerial frame were related to the government coming up with new policies and bills to assist or curb refugee admission, most of these policies were directed to assisting the strained refugee system which in most instances was depicted as being under immense pressure to the numbers of asylum seekers who were “flooding”, “flocking” and “swamping” the system (these keywords will be used in the next section which discusses the common words used to describe asylum seekers and refugees). The articles with the managerial frame dealt with new rules, quotas and new policies which aimed to deal with the “influx” of refugees and how to move forward from it, additionally how these impacted asylum seekers and refugees.

The general trend presented on the graph above adopts a fluctuating nature. The data on the graph shows that there were no periods where all the newspapers reporting on the managerial frame increased or declined in consensus. However, an alarming factor presented by the data shows that in the period of 2013 – 2014 there were no news stories on the managerial frame this can be attributed to levels of asylum seekers and refugees going down as they are seen to fluctuate throughout the years. In addition, similar to the graph on the human interest frame there is an upward trend in the period 2017 – 2018, this can be attributed to the fact that since the economy was seen to be experiencing a decline within this period this may have been a sign that there might have been similar economic declines happening throughout Africa which then pushed or influenced asylum seekers and refugees to seek a safe haven in South Africa, therefore increasing the numbers of refugees and asylum seeks entering South African borders which then prompted government officials to come up with new policies to deal with these new arrivals. Ideally, this was the intention of the 2017: Refugees Amendment Act which enforced control and deterrence at the expense of newcomer’s rights, granted the Department of Home Affairs, the Minister of Home Affairs and the Director General more unchecked power and guarding against the strain and abuse of the system (Lennep, 2019: 1).

The South African government implemented a new policy intended for the regularization of Zimbabwean nationals in South Africa. In 2009 the cabinet approved the Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project or “DZP” allowing Zimbabwean holders of

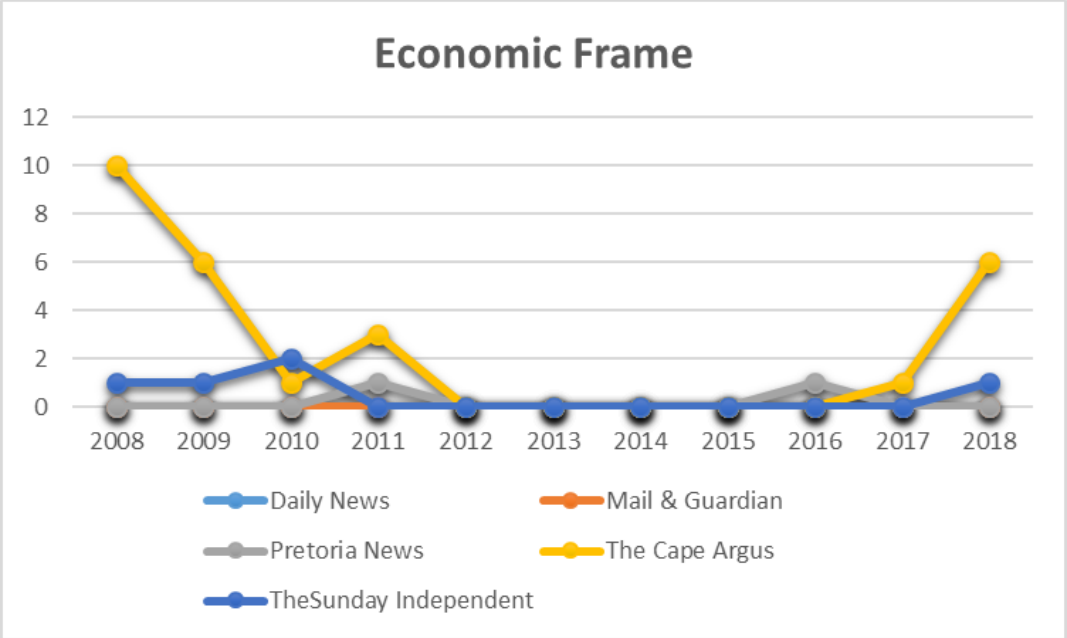
this special permit to work, conduct business and study in South Africa. At the launch of the DZP IN 2010, the Department of Home Affairs estimated that there were approximately 1.5 million undocumented Zimbabweans in South Africa (Bimha, 2017). The DZP relaxed the normal requirements for work, study, or business permits. Applicants were required to submit a valid Zimbabwean passport, evidence of employment in the case of a work permit, evidence of business in the case of an application of a business permit and an admission letter from a recognised learning institution in the case of a study permit (Amit, 2011).

The newspaper which had the highest association to the managerial frame is the Pretoria News with 37%, followed by the Cape Argus with 26% and then the Daily News with 16% and the Mail and Guardian with 13% and lastly the Sunday independent with 8%. These results are not that alarming since Pretoria is the capital city of South Africa dealing with South Africa's administrative issues.

From the graph presented above we observe that the most recorded instance of the managerial frame happened in the year 2008. This is explained by the eruption of xenophobic violence in South Africa which pressured the government to establish policies which will help in the management and regularisation of immigrants residing in South Africa. We can observe a sudden disappearance of the managerial frame in the years: 2013, 2013 and 2014. The only article which appeared during this period was from the Cape Argus in the year 2012.

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4.4.3) Economic Frame



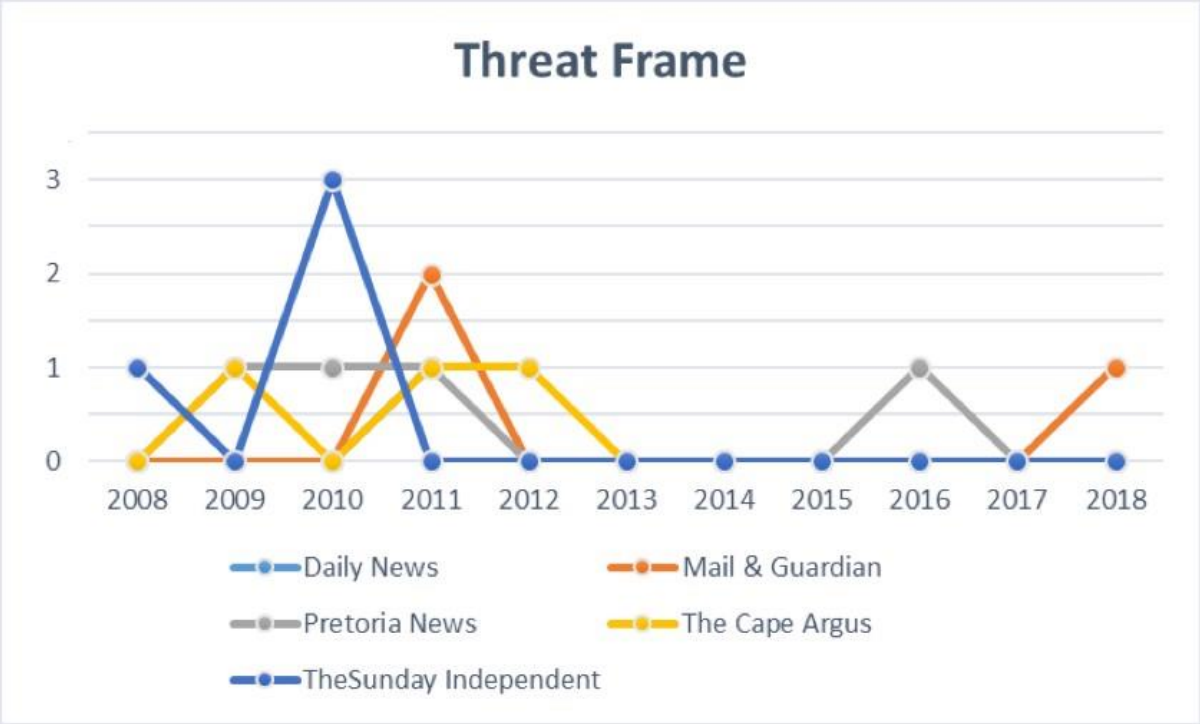
The third frame which was included in this research report is the economic frame. This particular frame was only associated with three of the five newspapers which were used in the study. The newspaper which had the highest association to the economic frame is the Cape Argus with 82% followed by the Sunday Independent with 12% and lastly the Pretoria News with 6%. Articles with an economic frame presented a positive view of asylum seekers and refugees, highlighting the fact that their work was needed in certain labour markets. For example one article in the Sunday independent states: “The argument about jobs ignores the fact that aliens are consumers, helping to generate employment, and that they fill low-paying jobs many of the native-born unemployed refuse to take They pay taxes, they are held to all the rules and responsibilities of citizens, yet are denied the privileges. They have the responsibility of citizens, without any of the benefits” - Rich Mkhondo (Daily News, 2008).

The general trend presented on the graph above takes an overall flat nature, with the exception of three newspapers exhibiting movement whether slightly or dramatically. Particularly, the period 2010 – 2011 displays a slight rise by two newspapers. Ideally, when this is juxtaposed with the GDP graph above we can clearly see that there was

a 3.3% increase in the GDP during this period. This can be attributed to the World Cup which was held in South Africa which attracted different people from all over the world. Therefore, asylum seekers and refugees seeing an opportunity to improve their economic well-being, increased the numbers of asylum seeks and refugees entering South African borders. As a result, newspaper publications outlined the economic gains and losses associated with this specific population. In addition, the period 2011 – 2012 displays a slight decline between those same newspapers, this can be attributed to the decline which also happened on the GDP (as it declined by 2.2%) Therefore the opportunities for economic advances became slimmer, leading to less asylum seekers and refugees coming into the county and ultimately leading to less coverage of the economic frame on the newspapers. Lastly, just like the other two graphs presented above, there is an upward trend presented in the period 2017 -2018, even though the GDP witnessed a decline of 0.8%, this upward trend can be attributed to the fact that work performed by the refugee and asylum seeking community was needed in certain labour markets in order to help boost the economy as a result of the decline suffered.

The same positive view was present in a Sunday Independent article which states: In so doing, we are aware that it is not only skilled migrants that can or do, make a positive contribution to our economy, but there is a lot that unskilled, low-skilled poor and working-class migrants contribute towards our economy, the deepening of our humanity as a people and further promotion of our cultural diversity as a nation – Melusi Gigaba, (Sunday Independent, 2010).

4.4.4) Threat Frame



The fourth frame which was included in this research report is the threat frame. This frame particularly was one which all newspapers had a rather low percentage of articles associated with it. The majority of the articles with the threat frame reported on specific incidents. For example, an article in the Daily News with the threat frame reported on a fake Ugandan doctor who has been giving people abortions. Kinane, of Chase Valley, is charged with terminating pregnancies while not registered as a doctor or nurse (Daily News, 2011). The incident reported on one particular individual who was an asylum seeker even though he had failed to renew his temporary asylum seekers permit and was in the country illegally for an entire year before applying for a life partnership permit, which would allow him to remain in South Africa - Sherlissa Peters in (Daily News, 2011). The newspaper which had the highest association to the threat frame are both the Sunday Independent and the Pretoria News both with 27%, followed by the Cape Argus and Mail & Guardian both with 20% and lastly Daily News with 7%.

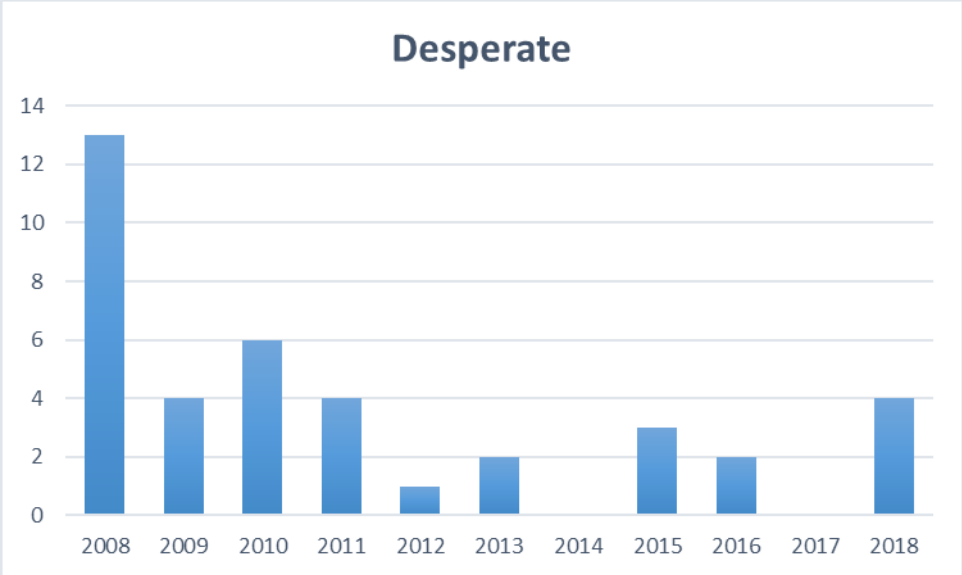
The general trend presented on the graph above takes on slight fluctuations and has a flat structure mostly towards the later years. The period 2010 – 2011 witnessed an increase in the reporting of the threat frame, this can be attributed to the increasing numbers of asylum seekers and refugees entering South African borders during this time due to the opportunities presented by the World Cup, as presented by the GDP graph there was a 3.3% increase in the GDP, thus leading asylum seekers and refugees to try and capitalize on the opportunity, this then triggered notions of illegality among South African citizens and as they assumed that this population will in a sense pose a threat to them. In addition, there is an upward trend witnessed in the reporting of the threat frame during the period 2017-2018. On the GDP graph we witness a 0.8% decrease of the GDP during this time this can be ascribed to the South African population witnessing the competition of business owned by refugees and asylum seekers understanding this population to be a threat as they may be taking away their customers which, then decreases their income. Therefore, there might have been news stories covering the concept of the completion faced by South African business owners and the way in which they perceive business owners who are refuges and asylum seekers as a threat.

4.5) Frame Associated words used to Describe Asylum Seekers and Refugees

This section aims to provide a list of words which are attached to the frames discussed above. These words are frequently used words in the newspaper article which are used to depict and describe the refugee and asylum seeking population. The analysis provided will also discuss how the use of these words have evolved through time, discussing the evolving discourse associated with the depiction. The words which aim to be discussed are: desperate, vulnerable, makwerekwere, low-skilled, influx, flood and criminality. The frequencies of these words will be noted describing increases, declines and in some cases instances where the use of this word did not change.

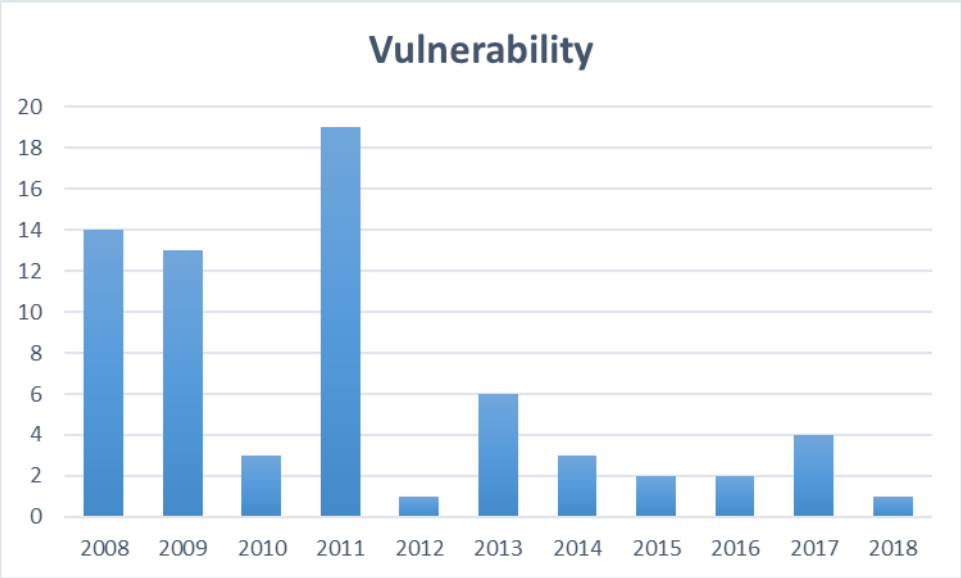
4.5.1) Human-interest Frame

4.5.1.1) Desperate



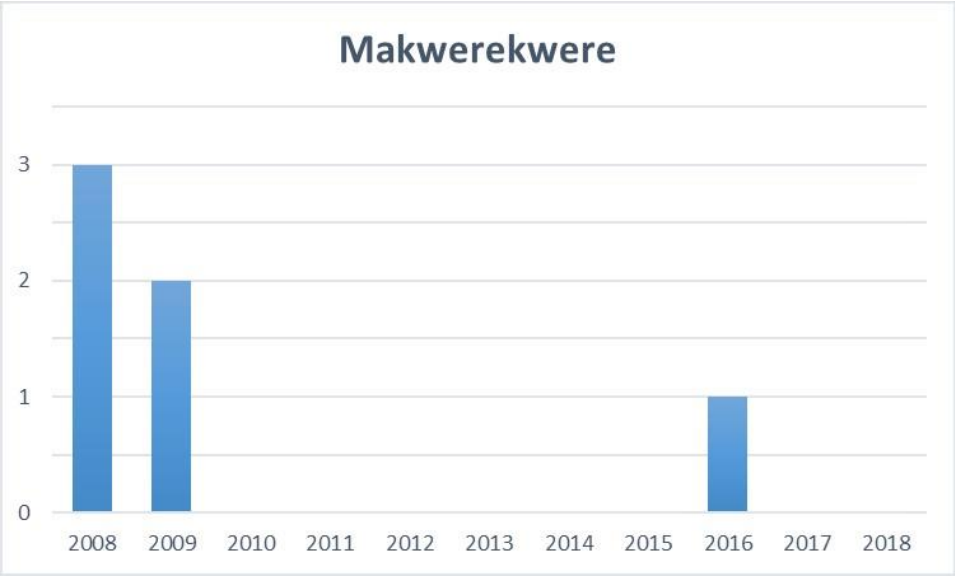
The framing of asylum seekers and refugees as being desperate appears a total of 40 times in the different newspapers throughout the set time-frame. The year 2008 records the highest instances of desperation suffered by asylum seekers and refugees in the newspapers under investigation. Accordingly, this result may be associated with the fact that 2008 was the year that the most violent xenophobic incidents took place in South Africa leaving refugees and asylum seekers in hopeless situations. As a result newspapers capitalized on the use of framing refugees and asylum seekers as being desperate including personal stories which outlined the extent of suffering experienced by asylum seekers and refugees. The framing of asylum seekers and refugees as being desperate is seen to have an overall downward trend with no instances being recorded in the years 2014 and 2017.

4.5.1.2) Vulnerable



The framing of asylum seekers as being vulnerable appears a total of 68 times in the different newspapers throughout the set time-frame. The years 2008, 2009 and 2011 record the years with the highest levels of refugees and asylum seekers being framed as being vulnerable. Accordingly, this result is not surprising as these were the years whereby widespread xenophobic violence took place. The xenophobic violence which leaves refugees and asylum seekers very vulnerable fluctuates and is not constant throughout the years. Therefore, we see a reflection of this in the fluctuating levels of the framing of vulnerability. The overall use of the word vulnerability is seen to be a downward trend even though there was a spike which occurred in the year 2011.

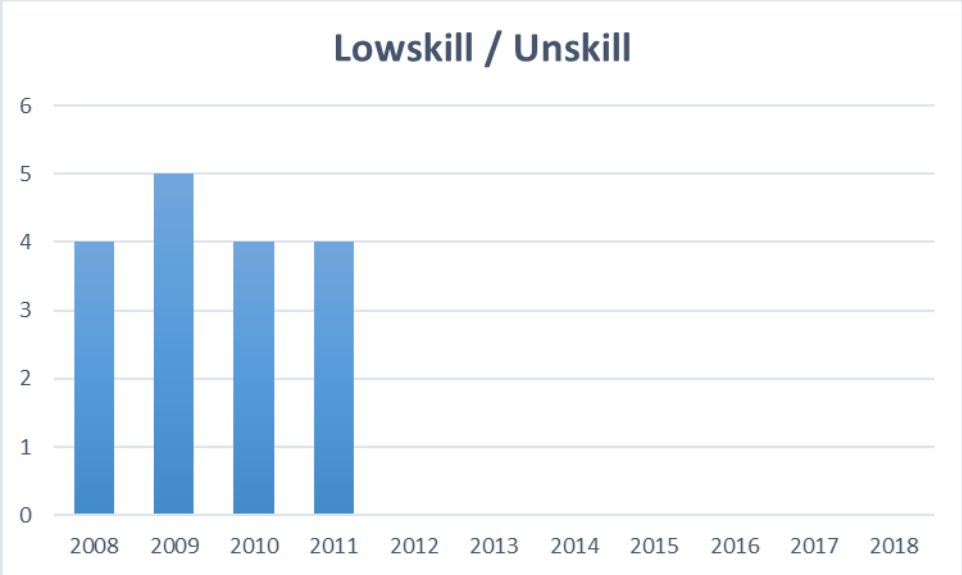
4.5.1.3) Makwerekwere



Over the years the word Makwerekwere has been used to refer to not only refugees and asylum seekers rather the word seems to be attributed to African migrants. The use of this word becomes rampant during spikes of xenophobic violence and attacks. This can be observed on the graph at hand. The highest period which saw the use of makwerekwere is the year 2008.This is the year where the first most violent xenophobic attacks took place in South Africa. The years 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017 and 2018 have no data. However, even though this is the case the use of the word makwerekwere is seen to be taking a downward slope, decreasing through the years with the exception of the year 2016 which saw a sudden rise after disappearing for a period of 6 years. The framing of the use of makwerekwere appears a total of six times in the articles under study. This result is somewhat surprising and was expected to be more.

4.5.2) Economic Frame

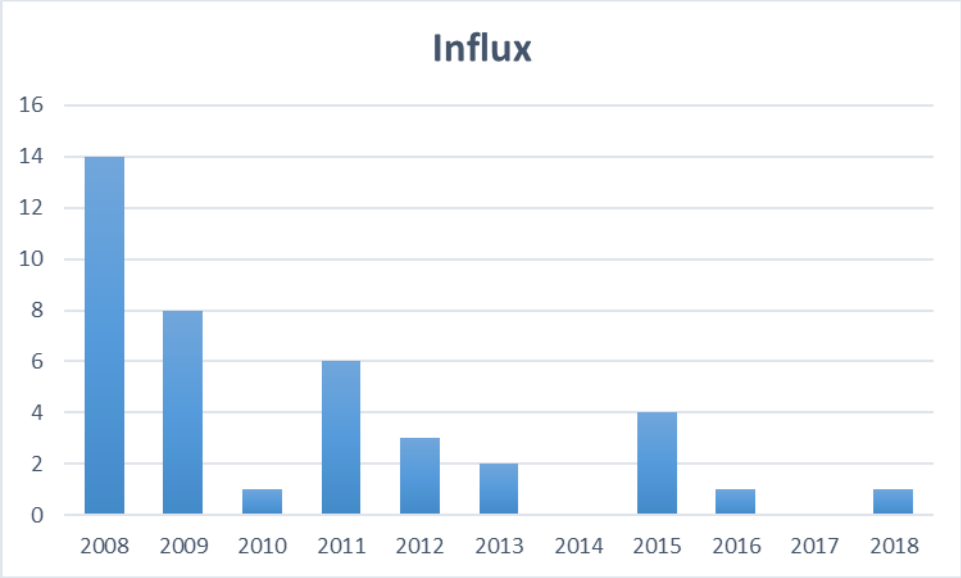
4.5.2.1) Low-skilled/Unskilled



The framing of refugees and asylum seekers being depicted as low-skilled or un-skilled appears a total of 17 times in the articles under study. The use of these words appear to be rooted in an economic sphere. Putting forward the notion that most refugees and asylum seekers do not have the adequate skills necessary to aid in the growth and development of South Africa, therefore associating them to what is referred to as the lowest paying jobs. Initially the trend observed in the graph above seems to be consistent with the exception of the year 2009 where there was a slight increase, the data seems to take a halt from the year 2012. The year which recorded the highest use of the words low-skilled or un-skilled to describe refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa was the year 2009.

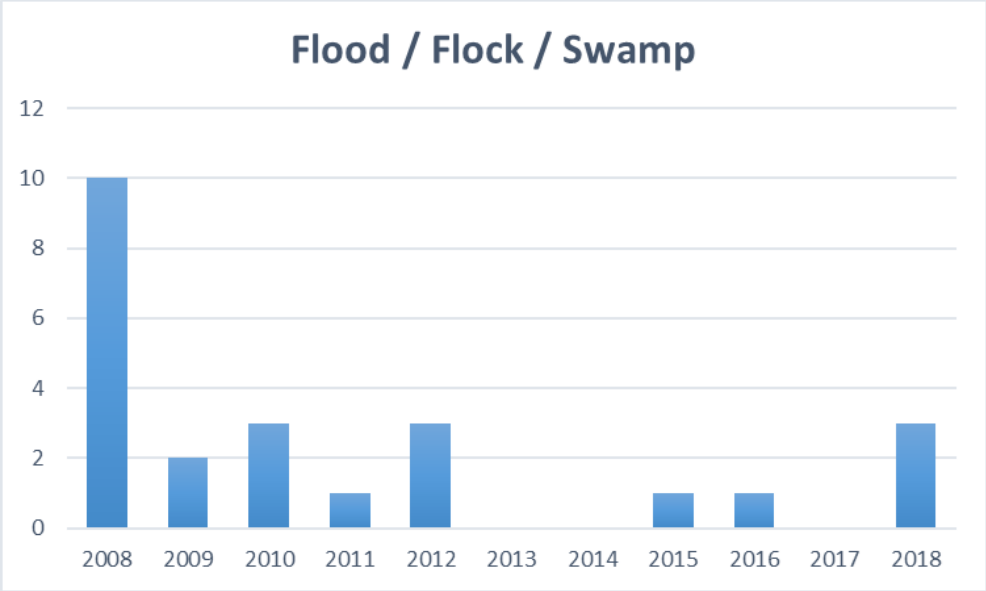
4.5.3) Managerial Frame

4.5.3.1) Influx



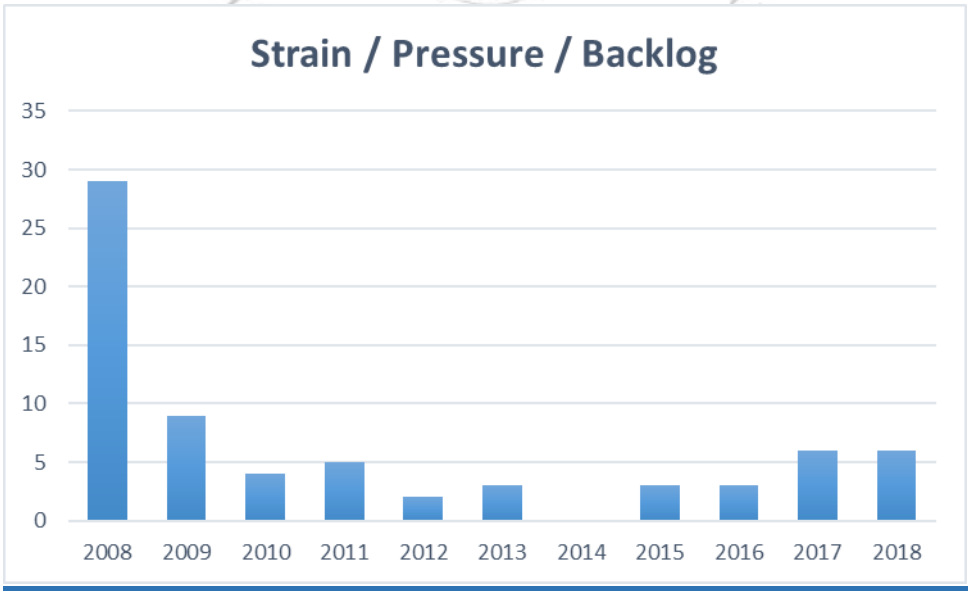
The framing of refugees and asylum seekers being depicted as contributing to an influx appears a total of 40 times in the articles under study. The word is directly linked to the very high numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. In the majority of the cases which are presented to be using the term influx, the term was coupled by numbers and expressions of these numbers straining and overwhelming the refugee system. The general trend in the use of the term influx describing refugees and asylum seekers takes on a downward trend, decreasing overtime. This may be linked to the fact that the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa decreased through time. However, it is important to note that there are still people who have not had their applications processed yet. The year that recorded the most cases in the use of the word influx was in 2008.

4.5.3.2) Flood/Flock/Swamp



The framing of refugees and asylum seekers being depicted as constituting a flood, flock or seen to be swamping the country appears a total of 24 times in the articles under study. Similar to the word influx, these terms are usually coupled with numbers and explained to be contributing to straining and overwhelming the refugee system in South Africa. Similar to all the other words discussed above there seems to be a downward trend in the use of the words flock, flood and swamp. Surprisingly, not even one of the words appeared in the articles in three specific years, namely: 2013, 2014 and 2017. The highest instance of the use of this word was in the year 2008.

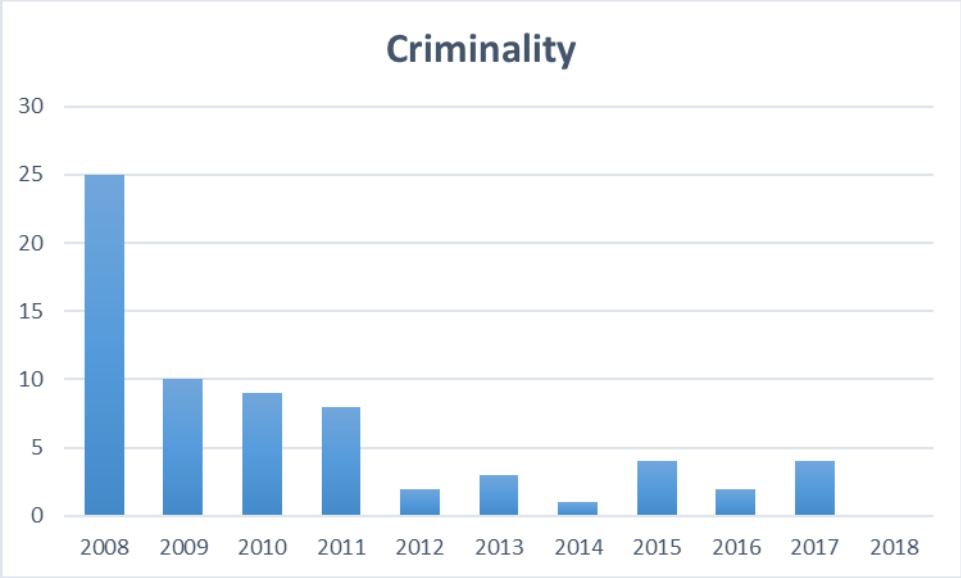
4.5.3.3) Strain/ Pressure/ Backlog



The use of the words strain, pressure and backlog in describing refugees and asylum seekers appeared a total of 70 times. Initially, these words are in most cases linked to the managerial frame as government comes up with new policies and regulations aimed at regulating the numbers which strain and pressure the refugee system therefore, resulting in a backlog. The general trend of these words reflects he trend which has been dominating in all the words under study as we see it to be taking a downward slope, decreasing through time. The year which witnessed the most cases of the words strain, pressure and backlog was the year 2008 after taking a down slope in 2009 the trend seems to be fairly consistent from the years 2009-2018.

4.5.4) Threat Frame

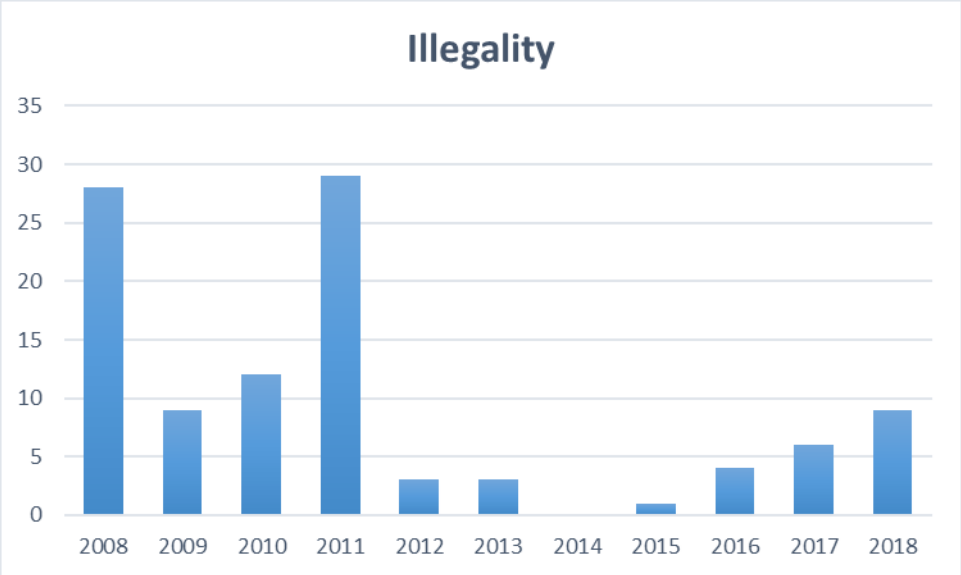
4.5.4.1) Criminality



The framing of refugees and asylum seekers being depicted in an element of criminality appeared a total of 68 times. Refugees and asylum seekers seem to be associated with criminality. The elements of criminality mentioned were a result of the sentiments and attitude of local South Africans. The year in which most cases of this element of criminality appeared is 2008. The general trend of the word criminality

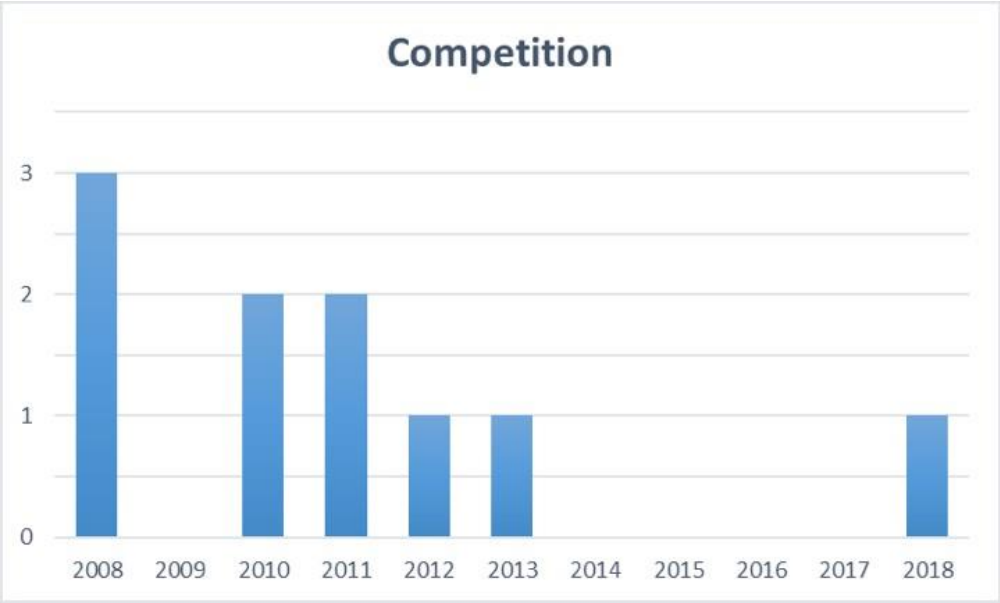
reflects the findings received regarding the other words included in this study. The year 2018 was the only year where no cases were recorded of this instance.

4.5.4.2) Illegality



The framing of refugees and asylum seekers being depicted as illegal, appeared a total of 68 times. As mentioned above, the different categories of immigrants is not distinguished correctly by the South African population. Therefore, this leads to legitimate categories such as refugees and asylum seekers being referred to as illegal. The year where the most cases of subsuming illegality to refugees and asylum seekers was in 2011. The number of cases which are recorded in the year 2011 are not far from the 2008 numbers. The trend seems to be fluctuating with different periods recording both incline and declines with the exception 2014 which had no data.

4.5.4.3) Competition



The framing of refugees and asylum seekers being depicted as the competition towards locals appeared a total of 10 times. The trend of the graph above cleary shows a downward slope which means the the number of articles regarding this frame decreased throughout the years. We witness that there is no data fo the years 2009, 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017.The year 2008 was the year in which most newspaper articles which put forward the description of refugees and asylum seekers as the competion.

4.5.5) Chapter Summary

This chapter has attempted to provide a well-rounded presentation of the data at hand. Firstly this was done through the identification of media frames in the newspapers under study. The chapter has done this through identifying the media frames and tracking how they have evolved through the ten year span. In addition the chapter has identified key terms which are used in the media to depict asylum seekers and refugees. The key terms have been displayed in a graph to easily trace the evolving nature of the key words through time. A brief analysis has been provided with each of the words which helps the reader to better understand the data presented.

CHAPTER FIVE
"CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS"

5.1) Introduction

This chapter presents the closing comments of the study, providing an overview and conclusion to the overall research report. The reader will be presented with a general overview of what the study has done and highlighting recommendations regarding aspects that could be explored in future studies.

5.2) Research Conclusion

This research report ultimately aimed to provide an analysis pertaining to the way in which South African print media frames asylum seekers and refugees residing in South Africa. To achieve the aims of this research report the study took on a qualitative nature because it aimed to analyse newspaper articles. Firstly, the report needed to establish what framing theory is and the way in which it will be adopted to meet the aims of the research report. This was established through getting acquainted with similar studies which were presented in the literature review. The literature review presented the use of well accepted media frames used by different researchers and scholars through time. The frames which were then presented were: the human-interest frame, the managerial frame, the economic frame and the threat frame. The data presented that the representation of asylum seekers and refugees is not negative this was shown by the prevalence in the use of the human interest frame across the different newspapers included in the study. The human interest frame paints refugees and asylum seekers as victims who are 'desperate' and 'vulnerable' presenting most articles through the refugee and asylum seekers perspective.

The initial research question was: how has the framing of asylum seekers and refugees evolved in South African print media from 2008-2018? Initially the findings present the evolving nature of the frames showing that: the human-interest frame declined as the years went by, this can be attributed to the quieting down of

xenophobic attacks as they are seen to fluctuate very often. Additionally, the use of the managerial frame had a general decline through the years, this can be attributed to the fluctuating levels of migration generally. Moreover, the threat frame was consistent in the period 2009-2012 and then declined in 2013. The economic frame is the only frame which remained consistent and did not decline.

Ideally, the first aim of the research report was to uncover how different print media depicted asylum seekers and refugees from 2008-2018. The research report has done so by providing a list of frequently used words in the newspapers which depict and portray asylum seekers and refugees these words are: desperate, competition, makwerekwere, influx criminality, illegality, vulnerability, flood, low skilled and strain. The research report provides an analysis of how frequent these words or elements relating to these words appear in different newspaper articles through time. This also accounts to the second aim of the research report which aimed to trace the discourse surrounding asylum seekers and refugees. The third aim was to trace the way in which different print media reports on asylum seekers and refugees. Essentially, even though the use of the human-interest frame decreased, the human interest frame was the most used frame among all the newspapers which shows that reporting of asylum seekers and refugees was not negative overall, rather it was positive painting them as a population which requires assistance because of their traumatizing lived experiences.

This research report had a number of limitations attached to it however, the data collected can serve as a reference point for future studies seeking to look into the way in which newspapers portray or frame asylum seekers and refugees.

5.3) Research Recommendations

Even though this study is seen to be shedding some light on the way in which the South African print media frame refugees and asylum seekers, there is still a need which arises for further research to be done to trace if the results of this study are changing or if they remain consistent. The studies which are to come after this one

should look into venturing to a different form of media such as: internet forums, television or podcasts to name a few this will then increase the range of the study. Further studies may also look into the examination of images presented in newspaper articles rather than examining texts or words. Finally, it would be a good idea to include human participants in the research as it would clearly prove the influence that the media has on those receiving information from them.



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Appendix A: List of questions related to identifying key media frames

Economic Frame:

1) Is the article discussing financial effects of refugees whether positive or negative?

2) Does the article discuss the costs that refugees may have to a country, an organization, a business or other?

3) Is there a discussion regarding the number of refugees coming into a country and its costs or benefits?

Human interest frame:

1) Does the article include personal stories by refugees?

2) Is the article presented from the refugee's point of view?

3) Is the article focusing on the suffering of refugees, and presenting them under a sympathetic or empathetic light?

4) Is the article portraying them as victims?

Threat frame

1) Is the article portraying refugees as a threat?

a) national security threat, terrorism

b) individual security threat, crimes

c) welfare system threat

d) cultural identity threat

Managerial frame

1) Is the government coming up with policies to assist or curb refugee admission?

2) Are organizations laying out their plans to assist, welcome refugees?

3) Are certain countries refusing to assist, open their borders to receive refugees?

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