media
monitoring project

Revealing Race: an analysis of the coverage of race and xenophobia in the South African print media

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Executive Summary

This report forms part of the broader "Revealing Race Project" of the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) funded by the Mott Foundation. The report reveals the results of the monitoring of a sample of Gauteng-based print media undertaken by the MMP from January to May 2006 on the representation of issues of race, ethnicity and xenophobia in the selected mediums.

The previous research undertaken by the MMP has revealed that issues of race and racism did not end with the dismantling of formal institutional apartheid. In fact, racism and xenophobia are not unique to South Africa but are a global phenomenon. However, issue of race have taken a debate in South African media to the manifestations of racism within political discourse and relatively new manifestations of xenophobia.

Other forms of racial incident are nonetheless still on the media agenda, although on a lesser scale. It is evident that coverage of racism and xenophobia share certain patterns, with this coverage often characterised by stereotypical representation of "the other".

The monitoring has also illustrated the tendency of the South African media to cover issues of both racism and xenophobia in simplistic, non-analytical fashion, without due recognition of the complexities and diversities inherent in unpacking these complex phenomena.

The quantity and quality of such coverage has, moreover, tended to represent societal developments over the years since the advent of democracy, but the lack of analysis and context can misrepresent issues of race and xenophobia and tend to perpetuate stereotypes.

It has also been found that incidents of racial violence and crime committed by Black foreign nationals, when the media covers them, tend towards the dramatic. They also receive prominent coverage, often appearing on the first three pages.

Overall, the report reveals a predominant Black victim/White perpetrator breakdown. Blacks consistently appear in the role of victim both of the crime committed against them and the unjust manner in which the justice system hears their cases. The media tends to represent the justice system as serving the interests of the rich and usually White people who can afford the best legal representation.

Although the study aimed at analysing the representation of issues of ethnicity, the findings reveal that the issue has taken another form. In the new political dispensation and due to the dramatic decrease in ethnic violence, the debate has shifted to linguistics and there have been almost no reports on ethnic clashes. At least, until the rape trial of former deputy president Jacob Zuma brought the debate back into news media.

In relation to xenophobia, media discourses utilised continued towards stereotypical representations of migrants, alluding to their supposed inherent criminality. Such discourse was most apparent in the continued use of the pejorative term 'illegal immigrant' to describe undocumented migrants.

Media coverage, furthermore, tended to blur the distinctions between the different categories of migrants to the country, representing them all as "illegal immigrants" or "aliens", when often their only "crime" is not being in possession of the required documents. These findings are in support of previous research undertaken on the issue.

1. Introduction

The role of the media is key in influencing social, historical and political perceptions. It is for these reasons that the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) carefully examines and critiques the South African media's representation of the events of the world.

During the eleven years of democracy, the South African media has undergone substantial change and transformation, especially in the areas of ownership and the number of broadcasters. South Africa now boasts a free-to-air, commercial broadcaster (E-TV) and over 100 community radio stations, where there were none in existence before 1994.

However, despite innumerable changes, juniorisation of newsrooms and a lack of skilled staff and adequate resources have resulted in an increase in the number of incidents of poor reporting in South African media. Coverage of key social issues such as the representation of race, racial stereotyping, xenophobia and racism, is often of limited value, as it often fails to explore pertinent aspects in any depth. Media tend to lead with dramatic headlines that may sell more publications, but often trivialise the issues at stake and promote stereotypes and discrimination, which reinforces the alienation of specific groups of people.

The media holds enormous power to shape opinions and influence how people perceive race and racism, xenophobia and ethnicity. The media also play a key role in communicating, informing and educating the public at large. In this regard, and especially in the context of a democratic, human rights-orientated framework, the media has a responsibility to ensure that the information it communicates about race and racial identities is transparent, accurate, and ethical.

There can be no question as to the substantial progress made in South Africa in the last eleven years, but key social challenges pose serious threats to democracy. Poverty, gender-based violence and gender inequality, child abuse, crime, HIV and underdevelopment are just a few of the challenges that South Africa faces. The media has the daunting task of reporting on all of these complex issues, their respective contexts, developments, challenges and setbacks, while simultaneously ensuring that this reporting is done so in a clearly understandable, balanced, fair and accurate manner.

To make the media's task even more difficult, most of the key social challenges that South Africa faces are interconnected. The result is, for example, that a story on poverty needs to be contextualised alongside issues of race and gender. When all of these different and highly complicated issues have to be taken into account, it is clear that there is considerable potential for limited representations and stereotypes within the media.

The legacy of classifying people by race, which was initiated by the apartheid regime, continues in the new democratic dispensation. People were divided according to their skin colour and the texture of their hair

into four different racial groups. These groups became popular in representing the South African society, classifying all people into Black, White, Indian, and Coloured communities[1]. During the liberation struggle, the non-White groups fought together for equality and thus were branded Black. The division of people into ethnic groups and the homeland system brought issues of segregation along ethnic lines. Although different mechanisms have been put in place by both the current democratic government and civil society to find common grounds in this divided society, policies such as affirmative action and black economic empowerment aimed at redressing past injustices continue to divide the country along racial lines and disadvantaged groups such as women and people living with disabilities.

These policies have drawn on the racial classification as used by the apartheid government to classify people. The MMP has therefore decided to monitor how the media reports and represents issues of race, racism, xenophobia and ethnicity after the country has celebrated a decade of democracy; and how the media deals with the complexities of race and racial identities.

This paper is divided into three sections. Firstly, the MMP look into policies and ethical principles developed to guide journalists and editors on reporting on these issues in a manner that respects and promote people's right to dignity and equality. This discussion will be followed by a section on previous monitoring undertaken by MMP on different topical issues but also had race, xenophobia, or ethnicity as a component. The third aspect of the paper looks into the representation of race, racism, xenophobia, and ethnicity in the media. This study will be compared to previous studies undertaken by the MMP on various issues that had race and racism as a component. The comparison will highlight whether there has been any significant changes in the manner in which the media represent issues of race and racial identities.

The need to include issues of xenophobia and Africa in this form of monitoring research is due to the fact that xenophobic behaviour is always targeted at Black people coming from other African countries. This brings to the fore issues of race and media representation of Africa to South Africans.

2. Media policies and ethics on Race
2.1 National and International Policies

Media practitioners and institutions are governed by the policy and legislative frameworks of the country in which they operate, as well as by a complex set of self-regulated ethical principles. In South Africa, the Constitution and a set of legal instruments, including the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa, the Press Ombudsman, and the various acts including the Equality Act, the Independent Broadcasting

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[1] We acknowledge the problematic nature of racial classifications; they are, however, useful to highlight trends in coverage. The categorisation of people based on the apartheid system was used to determine the race of people in this research.

Authority Act, and the Broadcasting Amendment Bill, govern the role played by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa) and guide the media in its reporting and editorial approaches.

In addition, there are various international governance institutions, including the United Nations, which have set out declarations pertaining to the media and the ways in which the media should conduct themselves. Many of these deal with the principles of freedom of expression, media access, and principles of fair reporting. Notably, there is very little specific attention or focus on issues of racism or guidelines for non-racialised reporting. One document that does have direct relevance is the Unesco Declaration of 1978[2]. The declaration addressed fundamental principles concerning the contribution of mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding to the promotion of human rights and to combating racism, apartheid and incitement to war.

The Unesco Declaration tasks the mass media with the crucial role of promoting peace, human rights and anti-racism in both national and international contexts. Moreover, the mass media is expected to consciously encourage diversity and freedom of expression, while also not supporting hate speech or incitements to violence. Most importantly, the media is given the positive responsibility of adopting anti-racist messages and discourse in the course of its coverage, as suggested by Article 5 of the Declaration:

> The mass media and those who control or serve them, as well as all organised groups within national communities, are urged – with due regard to the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly the principle of freedom of expression – to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among individuals and groups, and to contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination and racial prejudice, in particular by refraining from presenting a stereotyped, partial , unilateral or tendentious picture of individuals of various human groups.[3]

Such an undertaking to peaceful, anti-violent, and anti-racist coverage received popular support among international journalists via the so-called Mexico Declaration of 1980[4]. Meeting under the auspices of Unesco, the second consultative meeting of international and regional organisations of professional journalists, representing working journalists in all parts of the world, expressed its support for the Unesco Declaration of 1978 as referred to above. This meeting also saw the adoption of the Mexico Declaration of 1980, "with a set of principles which represent common groups of existing national and regional codes of journalistic ethics as well

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[2] Otherwise known as the Paris Declaration, this declaration was proclaimed by the General Conference of the UNESCO at its twentieth session in Paris, on 28 November 1978.
[3] Ibid, article 5.
[4] The Mexico Declaration of 1980 was included amongst the documents prepared through several consultative meetings by a number of international journalist organisations, culminating in the International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism, published in Paris, 20 November, 1983

as relevant provisions contained in various international instruments of a legal nature".

Principle 9 of the Mexico Declaration states:
> The ethical commitment to the universal values of humanism calls for the journalist to abstain from any justification for, or incitement to, wars of aggression and the arms race, especially in nuclear weapons, and all other forms of violence, hatred or discrimination, especially racialism and apartheid, oppression by tyrannical regimes, colonialism and neo-colonialism, as well as other great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases. By so doing, the journalist can help eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding among peoples, make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, ensure respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, nationality, religion or philosophical conviction.[5]

Such pronouncements clearly illustrate the extent to which the international community, including journalists, recognise the power of the media to inform and influence public opinion. It is evident that the media should not just refrain from harmful, discriminatory reporting, erroneous stereotyping, and racial profiling, but also has a duty to actively inform and educate the public about non-racialism and non-discrimination. The media therefore has a role to support and entrench democracy, especially in times of social and political transformation.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights[6] also condemns any incitement to war, advocacy of national, religious or racial hatred, and any form of discrimination, hostility or violence.

In a similar expression, the 1983 United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination illustrated the value of the mass media in combating racial discrimination:
> On the negative side, it is necessary to ensure, in the campaign to combat racial discrimination, that messages transmitted by the mass media (television, radio, cinema, the press etc), and, more particularly, those addressed to children and young people, do not directly or indirectly portray stereotypes or contain clichés or slogans likely to foster racial prejudice. There is also a danger that threatens all systems disseminating news or ideas on the contemporary world, namely the self-interested tendency of those in authority to mislead the public, merely in order to please, for example by discarding foreigners as "responsible for all ills..."[7]

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[5] *Mexico Declaration* of 1980
[6] Article 20 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, which was adopted in 1966, and entered into on the 3rd January, 1976
[7] The United Nations Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination, *Systematic Use of the Mass Media to Combat Racial Discrimination*, New York, 1983

With South Africa a signatory to many of these declarations, the central tenets would appear to be binding for the local media.

These calls for tolerance, understanding and positive reporting by media laid the ground for the conciliatory and nation-building focus of the post-1994 period in South Africa. In a country traumatised by a history of separation and racial violence, the media plays a crucial part in restoring a sense of normality and respect for human rights and dignity. It is incumbent upon the media to report such concerns in a comprehensive, sophisticated, and critical manner, which does not reduce racism to a simplistic, homogenous phenomenon, and which does not incite violent or harmful public behaviour.

2.2 The South African media and representation of Race

South Africa is fortunate to have a relatively well resourced and sophisticated media sector compared to other developing nations. Media consumers enjoy a range of products, many of which cater to different constituencies and interest groups. It is this sophistication that makes the debate about racism in the media more subtle. It is unlikely that an editor or journalist would publicly incite violence or engage in hate speech the mselves, or even uncritically represent sources suggesting the same. Thus, while not blatant, racism and racial profiling in South African media takes a more guarded, subtle character; it forms part of the underlying discourse and subtext of reporting, rather than evident as an obvious, clearly identifiable characteristic.

In 1999, the MMP found that:
> Historically, the media used racial identifiers to distinguish Black and White people from each other. Whilst White people were not always racially marked, Black people's skin colour was used as an explanation for their behaviour. This supported the apartheid propaganda of *swart gevaar*, stating that Blacks were dangerous and were a threat to the social order. Whilst South Africa is in a post-apartheid era where racial oppression has been constitutionally removed, it was interesting to find that some of these stereotypes about Black criminality still exist in the media.[8]

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) raised some of the issues on racial discrimination and Black criminality during an inquiry into racism in the media in 1999. In an initial statement, the SAHRC declared:
> Racism is endemic in South African society. There is no reason to believe that the media are somehow insulated from the prevailing racism in our society. In fact, it is not surprising because South Africa has been governed on racist principles. All South Africans have experienced the negative and hurtful power of racism. What is important now is to take stock. To assess the impact of racism in public life, the language and idiom, symbols, expressions and actions that show the reality of racism, feeding on prejudices and

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[8] MMP, *The News in Black and White: An investigation into Racial Stereotyping in the Media*, Johannesburg 1999

limiting the full and equal enjoyment of all the rights and freedoms.[9]

The SAHRC statement also asserted:
> The [Human Rights] Commission wishes to place on record that it is mindful of the implications of this exercise for press freedom. We believe, however, that the best guarantor of press freedom is a society that respects human rights. The press has the same responsibility to respect human rights as everyone else in society. A study of racism in the media, hopefully, will heighten the sensitivity of all South Africans to the issue of racism and will ensure a greater respect for freedom of expression. We believe that these matters are interrelated.[10]

Towards the uptake of this recommendation, the SAHRC in 1999 commissioned the MMP to investigate racial stereotyping in the South African media. The MMP used discourse analysis to analyse print and broadcast media content so as to determine the extent to which the media supports and maintains the ideology of racism. While the inquiry could not conclude that the media was actually racist, the findings focused on the continued use of underlying stereotypical racist discourse and racial representation in the South African mainstream media. The patterns of coverage surrounding race noted in this report provided a useful background in contextualising and framing the research conducted in 2002 for the Centre of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), which investigated the media's representation of racially motivated crime[11].

In the CSVR research, the MMP sought to understand not only whether the media was in support of racist ideologies, but also whether or not the media actively challenged such ideologies. The report provides a constructive critique and demonstrates stereotypical and prejudiced reporting on race based on measurable criteria.

Interestingly, the monitoring results revealed that specific issues around racism received a lot of coverage, while crime stories also reflected a particularly high focus on race. Racist attacks in rural areas featured especially prominently in this regard. The MMP found that the media often failed to actively challenge racial profiling and stereotyping, especially when reporting on crime, thereby contributing to public perceptions about criminality and related racially-based characteristics. A lack of context and deeper analysis on causes of crime might also reinforce historical perceptions that race is a determining factor in criminal motivation.[12]

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[9] SAHRC, Clause 2.3(iv), *SAHRC Statement on the announcement of its decision to conduct the inquiry into racism in the media*, SAHRC, Johannesburg, pg 3, 1998
[10] Ibid, Clause 2.4, pg 3

[11] Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, *Shades and Prejudice,* 2002
[12] Ibid, pg 43-48

In addition, the MMP found that the media placed less value on Black lives than on White. In-depth background information and greater provision of detail often accompany accounts of deaths, accidents and disasters that involved Whites, while those involving Blacks were generally bereft of detail and explanation.[13]

The MMP noted that the media tended to favour simplistic, event-based coverage and that issues around race were not presented analytically or critically. In terms of establishing a positive obligation on media institutions, the MMP recommended that the media should, both individually and through their collective bodies, actively seek ways of ridding their pages, bulletins and programmes of harmful racial stereotypes.

3. Media ethics and policies on Xenophobia

The discussion of racism in a post-1994 South Africa would not be complete without some elaboration on the issue of xenophobia, both a peculiar manifestation of racism, and as a concept in its own right. The SAHRC defines xenophobia "as the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state"[14]. The advent of democracy saw migration of people from other parts of Africa into South Africa. The smooth transition of government and the economic growth of the country represented South Africa as an economic hub and attracted many migrants into the country.

With instability and wars continuing in other parts of the continent, many people turned to South Africa to seek asylum and refuge. Nationals saw the arrival of immigrants from other African countries as a threat. They viewed the newcomers to be coming into the country to take their jobs and as a competition to the access of economic resources.

The MMP points to the connection between racism and xenophobia as follows:

> Racism and xenophobia, although independent concepts, invariably support each other and share discriminatory discourses. Both concepts are anti-democratic, ignore human rights, and promote unfair and unjustified discrimination. Racism and xenophobia operate on the basis of the profiling of people and making negative assumptions about them. While the former profiles individuals in terms of their race, the latter profiles individuals in terms of their nationality. These profiles are often negative and lead to the creation and perpetuation of generalisations and stereotypes[15]

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[13] CSVR, *Shades and Prejudice,* 2002, pg. 18
[14] SAHRC, *Braamfontein Statement on Xenophobia*, clause 2, 1998
[15] MMP, "Representation of Xenophobia in the Media", pg 82-83, in *Media Mask*, Vol 6, no 1, 2003

Xenophobia in South Africa is seen as a relatively recent phenomenon that has attracted much attention, most notably since the end of apartheid. The SAHRC launched a Roll Back Xenophobia campaign in 1998, stating, "South Africa needs to send out a strong message that an irrational prejudice and hostility towards non-nationals is not acceptable under any circumstances."[16]

In 1998, a study by Human Rights Watch, an international human rights non-governmental organisation, labelled South Africa the most xenophobic country in the world:

> South Africa has become increasingly xenophobic in recent years, with a large percentage of South Africans perceiving foreigners – especially, almost exclusively Black foreigners – as a direct threat to their future economic well-being and as responsible for the troubling rise in violent crime in SA.[17]

In 2001, the South African Migration Project (Samp) also conducted an attitudinal survey of feelings about so-called 'foreigners' in South Africa, as well as opinions of foreign nationals about their official and everyday treatment in South Africa.[18] This report states that South Africa compares unfavourably to other countries in its treatment of outsiders and that anti-foreigner sentiments have hardened since the mid-nineties, a period of increased migration and contact between South Africans and new immigrants.

According to the Samp report (2001), South Africans tend not to strongly believe in rights for migrants and non-citizens in their country. Such beliefs are clearly at odds with the constitutional rights government. The South African Bill of Rights (with the exception of the right to vote and hold public office) applies to all people in South Africa, not just citizens.

Detailing and expanding upon South Africa's treatment of migrants, the Samp report (2001) outlines a persistent pattern of verbal and physical harassment, at both the official government level and during contact with ordinary citizens. The report also quotes an investigation conducted by the SAHRC into the Lindela Repatriation Centre which found that:

> Arrested persons were deliberately prevented from providing accurate documents, valid identity documents were destroyed, bribes were taken for avoiding arrest or for release without documentation, and processes were delayed by inefficient methods and insufficient communication between the different departments. As a consequence, many persons with valid documents were arrested.[19]

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[16] SAHRC, *Braamfontein Statement on Xenophobia*, released on the 15th October 1998.
[17] Human Rights Watch, *Prohibited persons: Abuse of Undocumented Migrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees in South Africa,* USA, 1998
[18] South African Migration Programme, *Immigration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa*, SAMP, Cape Town 2001.
[19] SAHRC, Lindela at the Crossroads for Detention and Deportation, 1997, as quoted in Danso, R and D. McDonald, *Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Press in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, SAMP, Cape Town, pg 22, 2001

With respect to the treatment by ordinary citizens, the SAHRC report (1997) stated:

> It is clear that being a Black foreigner… is no protection from racism, especially if you come from a country north of South Africa's neighbouring states. Instead, Black foreigners from these countries can expect to experience the same levels of abuse, discrimination and stereotyping endured by black aliens in other parts of the world.[20]

In South Africa, most interaction between local citizens and migrants appears to take place within the impersonal terrain of the commercial arena, rather than socially. Thus, South Africans may work with, compete with, or consume products sold by migrants in the economic sector.

Such relationships may instil negative perceptions of these migrants and generate various stereotypes. Mattes et al adds that, "South Africans not only hold negative attitudes towards foreigners, they also have a readily accessible set of stereotypes with which to justify or rationalise their negative attitudes."[21]

According to the Samp report (2001) it is evident that much of the discrimination and violence directed against migrants by South Africa has a racial angle, as illustrated by the differential treatment accorded White and Black migrants to the country:

> Not all non-citizens are perceived or treated equally. The great divide, as in many aspects of South African social life, is racial. White immigrants and migrants are not immune from the subtler forms of South African resentment, but their presence does not prompt the kind of panic and hostility that seems to attach to African migrants, immigrants and refugees.[22]

Forms of xenophobic attitudes can be defined by class. Although White foreigners are not immune to xenophobic attitudes, their experience of it is more symbolic than the violent behaviour received by their Black counterparts. White immigrants are often perceived to be wealthy and come to the country as a form of investment whereas the Black foreigners are often perceived as a liability and burden to the state. The representation of Black foreigners as "illegal immigrants" and "criminals" in South African media perpetuates xenophobia. The different treatment received by the different groups has its roots to the racist legacy of the apartheid regime and therefore presents a racist element on how immigrants are treated.

3.1 The South African media and representation of Xenophobia
Many stereotypes of foreign migrants to South Africa tend to be reflected in the South African print and broadcast media. The media contributes to

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Mattes, R, Taylor, D, et al, Still waiting for the Barbarians, as quoted in SAMP, *Immigration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa*, SAMP, Cape Town, pg 15.
[22] SAMP, *Immigration, Xenophobia, and Human Rights in South Africa*, SAMP, Cape Town pg 28, 2001

xenophobia when it supports negative public perceptions of migrants, particularly African migrants, as illegal, criminal and threats to social and economic prosperity, or carriers of diseases such as HIV/AIDS. The MMP comments on these stereotypical representations in its research report on Xenophobia in the media (2003):

> ...there is no doubt that public attitudes have been formed by highly emotional media images that portray South Africa as "flooded" or "overrun" by undocumented migrants from the rest of Africa.[23]

In this study, the MMP also found that much of the media coverage is simplistic and that the media often fails to acknowledge the complexities inherent in discussions around xenophobia and the experiences of African migrants to South Africa.

The Samp report (2000) concurs with the MMP report (2003):

> At best, the press has been presenting a very limited perspective on cross-border migration dynamics, and in the process, are leaving the South African public in the dark about the real complexities at play. At worst, the press has been contributing to public xenophobia generally through weaving myths and fabrications around foreigners and immigration.[24]

Many migrants who enter South Africa do so legitimately, yet the media often categorises all migrants as "aliens" or "illegal immigrants", a particularly damaging catch-all phrase. It may include refugees, who have lost the protection of their own state and who have a well-founded fear of persecution, trying to obtain official South African government recognition of their refugee status. It may also include those people who have arrived in South Africa for temporary employment or study purposes, as well as those who have immigrated permanently to this country. Tourists or short-term visitors from Africa are another group. These categories of migrants have different experiences and lives but the media often fails to make the distinctions clear, and tends to conflate and confuse the issues.

Consequently, such an approach leads to the extension of these negative stereotypical discourses across all the broad types of migration. While this blurring of boundaries echoes and reflects broader public perceptions on the matter, the media can still play a positive role in providing informative and educative reporting on these issues. Far from merely reflecting society, the media has a responsibility to actively challenge erroneous public perceptions, rather than contributing to them.

The study conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (Samp) in 2000 assessed the South African English-speaking media's coverage of cross-border migration in the post-apartheid period from 1994 to 1998,

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[23] MMP, "Representation of Xenophobia in the media", in *Media Mask*, vol. 6, no 1, 2003, p.84, 2003

[24] Danso, M and Macdonald, *Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Press in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, SAMP, Cape Town, pg. 2, 2000

also reviewing its affect on public opinion and on immigration legislation.[25]
Dividing the articles into pro- and anti-immigration examples, the Samp
report (2000) pointed to changes over time, with the number of anti-
immigration items dropping significantly each year since 1994. The report
also maintains that the number of analytical articles have increased over
this time period, partly due to the increased number of articles written by
non-governmental and research organisations, as well as a greater
commitment on the part of journalists and editors to understand and
present the complexities of migration.

However, the Samp (2000) also found that:

> A large proportion of the articles also reproduce racial and
> national stereotypes about migrants from other African countries,
> depicting – for example – Mozambicans as car thieves and
> Nigerians as drug smugglers. This 'criminalisation' of migrants from
> other parts of Africa is made worse by the more subtle use of
> terms like "illegal" and "alien" despite their being roundly criticised
> by institutions like the United Nations for contributing to
> misconceptions of an otherwise law-abiding group of people.[26]

Xenophobic reporting also appears to be a manifestation of the negative,
stereotypical representation of Africa in the country's media. These
practices are not unique to South Africa, as expressed by Brooke's (1995)
commentary on the British press:

> Africa is portrayed as a homogenous block in which violence,
> helplessness, human rights abuse and lack of democracy are seen
> to be its main characteristics.[27]

The South African media often reports on events in Africa in particularly
limited and stereotypical ways, focusing on disasters, conflict, war, and
poverty. Such representation has the potential to feed into and expand
upon a broader xenophobic discourse, where African foreigners and
migrants are ascribed similarly negative attributes.

In recommending a less subjective and less derogatory media discourse
surrounding migrants, the Samp report (2000) calls for more neutral
terminology such as "undocumented" or "irregular" migrants. The CSVR
also favours the term "undocumented migrant", as it appears free of any
pejorative ideological connotation. The term "irregular" may however still
be problematic as it implies a deviation from the norm and continues to
portray migrants negatively. For the purposes of this report, the MMP
chose to use the term "undocumented migrants" wherever possible.

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[25] Ibid
[26] Ibid, pg. 1
[27] Brooke," Suit, tie & a Touch of Juju," in *The Ideological construction of Africa: A critical
Discourse Analysis of News on Africa in the British Press*, University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg, pg. 8, 1995

4. Results on Race and Xenophobia from previous studies

South Africa has a great task of redressing past injustices including the apartheid legacy of segregating people based on their race and ethnicity. Different mechanisms have been put in place to redress racial imbalances of the past. The constitution guarantees equality and dignity to every citizen. In its attempt to monitor and encourage a human rights framework in the media, the MMP has since inception undertaken to monitor issues of race and representation thereof. Since 1993, the organisation has included race as a component of almost every one of the over 100 studies undertaken.

This section of the report looks at how race, ethnicity and xenophobia have been represented before 2006. The studies under discussion are findings of different human rights-related issues that had race and racial identifiers as an element.

4.1 Change in representation of Race and racial identifiers

Research conducted by the MMP; since 1993 shows that the representation of race and racism in the media has changed considerably over the last eleven years. In the early 1990s, for example, when the media reported crime stories, it was commonplace to refer to the race of the victims and the perpetrators. Such reporting was often skewed, with White people most often represented as the victims of crimes and Black people being identified as the criminals. The SAHRC inquiry into race and racism in the South African media in 1999 contained both highlights and lowlights in the fight against racism. While the manner in which the SAHRC and the media dealt with the enquiry was unconstructive, one of the most positive outcomes was that issues of the representation of race and racism in the media were placed firmly on the national media agenda.

The media was conscientised as to how it represents issues of race after the SAHRC Inquiry into racism in the media (1999) and its representation changed subsequently. In 2006, it is highly unlikely that a person's race would be mentioned in an item unless it is clearly relevant to the story (for example, an item about a racially-motivated crime). The chances of a South African media breaking the law and being openly racist are even more unlikely. In spite of the positive changes to the media, however, racism and the perpetuation of racist stereotypes still occur . While race may not be so easily and overtly assigned in stories, negative stereotypes may be perpetuated through trends in representation. The media tended to report on issues of race and especially racially motivated crimes as mere events that took place. The stories often lacked analysis and explanation. These reports tend to perpetuate negative stereotypes rather than challenge them due to the lack of context and analysis given to them. Research studies undertaken by MMP have proven on numerous occasions that events reported in depth and in context provide readers with more information and a better understanding.

For a country that has a past of racially and ethnically divided communities, more informed and contextualised stories are necessary if the media is to play a role in eradicating racism in society.

The studies by MMP show a significant shift in how media represents Black people. Where in the past people would be identified according to their ethnicity, this form of representation has taken another level. The debate in the media around issues of ethnicity has shifted into linguistics. The debate has until recently been more around issues of dominant African languages. The political restructuring of the former homelands into provinces has seen an inclusion and movement of different ethnic groups into one province. It has been only recently that the issues of ethnicity took centre stage in the media. During the rape trial of the country's former deputy president Jacob Zuma the media tended to put emphasis on the Zulu support that the former deputy president received. The "succession battle" within the ruling African National Congress (ANC) also tends to take on an ethnic dimension with the pro-president Thabo Mbeki represented as being Xhosa and the pro-ANC deputy president Jacob Zuma camp represented as Zulu. The ethnic clashes appear to be amongst the two dominant groups while issues of other ethnic groups are hardly featured in the media.

The analysis of race has revealed a bias towards representation of Black African immigrants. The print news media tends to focus more on undocumented migrants and fails to identify the different groups of people who come into the country for different reasons. The lack of context and explanation on reasons why people come into the country serves to disadvantage locals and prejudices against people from foreign countries. There has also been a tendency by the media to name the nationality of people from foreign countries who commit crime. This form of reporting perpetuates the stereotype that foreign people are criminals and fuels xenophobic attitudes amongst nationals.

4.2 Racial polarisation during election periods

Interestingly, it is often in the political realm that race and racial abuse is overt. If media coverage is to be believed, it is inter- and intra-party conflict that has become increasingly racialised, with claims and counter-claims of racism and the use of the so-called "race card" as a tool of political point scoring.

The monitoring conducted by the MMP during the national elections in 1994, 1999, and 2004[28], and the local government elections in 1995 and 2000 revealed that the media reported uncritically on the racially polarised campaigning by the different parties. Similar trends were prevalent during the coverage of the 2006 local government elections, and were most prominent in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. Reports on the outcome of the elections in these provinces often suggested that the people's vote is and was determined by their race. Reports about KwaZulu-Natal included an ethnicity element, as the majority of Zulu people were assumed to vote for the Inkatha Freedom Party, which is lead

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[28] MMP, *Celebrating Democracy: X Making their Mark,* 2004

by Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is also a member of the Zulu royalty. The rest of the Zulu ethnic group and Xhosa people in the province were assumed to vote for the African National Congress, which is lead by people from both ethnic groups. These reports were not critical, nor did they explain why it is assumed that the electorate is influenced by their race and ethnicity when deciding for whom they will vote.

After eleven years of democracy, it could be expected that the media would move away from the classification of people according to their race. The responsibility lies with the media to challenge those politicians and political parties who campaign along racial lines, as the media has the capacity to bring about change. It is, therefore, unfortunate that such trends are still to be found in the South African media.

4.3 Children and Race in the media

In 2003, the MMP undertook a monitoring project to analyse how children were represented in the media, the Empowering Children & Media project (ECM)[29]. The study addressed the different topics and stories in which the media represents children; one of the analytical components was race.

The MMP's (2003) findings showed that racial issues in regards to children were not generally discussed in the media unless it was in a report dealing specifically with a racial/racist incident. Such reports, in the media monitored, did not overtly discuss racial incidents but rather tended to only provide an account of events surrounding particular incident, with little or no discourse around human rights and discrimination. For example, the well-reported incident of two Black children who were forced to paint themselves with white paint by a White farmer was not reported as a racist incident, although race clearly appeared to be a significant dimension in the event. In comparison, the coverage of the Happy Sindane case, the 16 year old from Bronkhorstpruit who went to the police saying that he was in search of his "White" parents claiming that he was kidnapped by a "Black" domestic worker and she brought him to the township as her child. The story was clearly identified as racial, as Sindane's racial identity was at the heart of the story. Ironically, the reports on Happy Sindane had little analysis of the racial issues at stake.

Another incident that received extensive coverage was the story of the 17-year old pupil at a school in Pretoria who shot and killed a fellow pupil. In this instance, it was misinformation on the part of the media that led to a problem. Some media led with headlines reading "White pupil shoots black boy" and others referred to the 17-year-old as a "white learner." The focus on the race of the boys could have led to the incident being viewed as a racial one, when in fact both of the boys were Black and the incident was not racially motivated. The media concerned later apologised.

The MMP (2003) study also addressed the racial profile of children who were sourced during the monitoring period. For the purposes of this project a source was identified as anyone who spoke, was accessed, and

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[29] MMP, *Empowering Children & Media*, 2004

or mentioned in the story. The graph below show the percentage breakdown of children sourced in the mediums monitored.

What race are the children in the news?
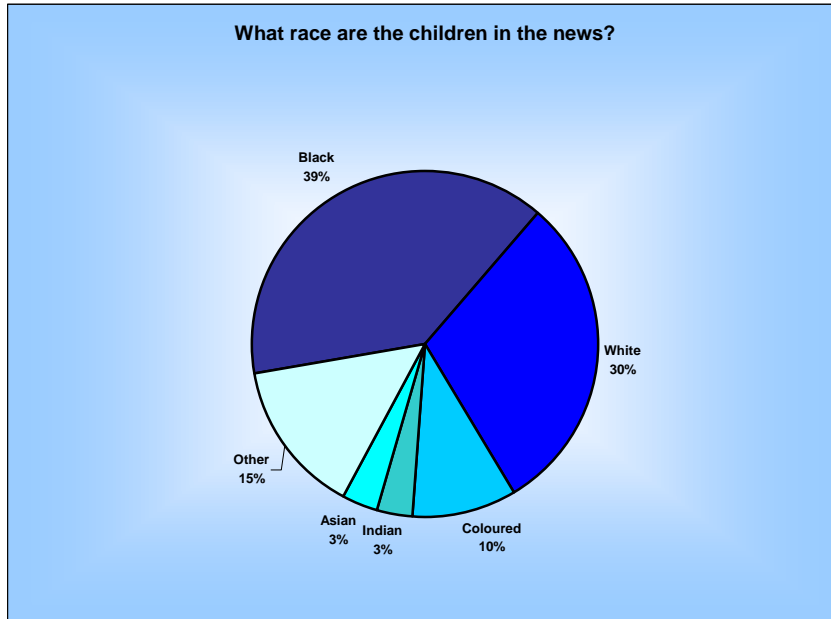
The study revealed that 39% of the children who made the news were Black, White children made up 30%, and the remaining 31% was shared amongst Coloured (10%), Indian (3%), Asian (3%), and other (15%). These findings clearly do not reflect the demographics of the country and the disparity may serve to foreground the concerns of White children while neglecting other children's voices.

4.4 Gender and Race

In 2003 the MMP, together with partners in-country and across 12 South African countries region conducted a study to monitor the representation of gender and women in the SADC region. The objective of the study, titled *Gender and media baseline study*, 2003[30], was to provide baseline data for monitoring progress towards achieving gender balance in media reports; to build capacity in the region for monitoring media content from a gender perspective; and for the monitoring to become a key advocacy tool in the campaign to ensure that the voices of women and men, in all their diversity, are equally represented and fairly portrayed in the media of the region.

The findings of the MMP (2003) study were divided into twelve individual country reports and one broad regional report. Different issues were examined including voices of people accessed by the media. The South African country report found that the representation of people accessed in the South African media did not reflect the reality of the population breakdown at the time. Black[31] women who constitute about 45% of the population represented only 7% of all the people accessed in news media; Black men constituted 27% of all people accessed; White women

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[30] MMP, Misa, and GenderLinks, *Gender and media baseline study*, 2003
[31] Black in this study includes people of Indian and Coloured origin

received a proportional representation of 7% of all the people accessed; with White men constituting a staggering 32% of all people accessed in news media although they represent only 6% of the total population of the country.

4.6 Black Economic Empowerment

The MMP conducted a study about the representation of the Black Economic Empowerment in South African print media from the period of 1st October 2000 to 30th September 2001. The purpose of the study was to monitor and present a clear and accurate understanding of the representation of BEE in the mainstream press and track any significant trends in this coverage. The findings of the study reveal in general, fair coverage of the BEE. The news reports, which constituted an overwhelming majority of articles, on the issue were uncritical and there was no interrogation or even examination of BEE and its implications. Feature articles and editorials however showed a willingness on the part of the journalists to debate issues on a theoretical level. Another element that the study focused on was the representation of race as BEE has a racial element. The study found that there was very little overt racism or negative stereotyping in the media coverage[32].

4.7 Reporting on Africa

The MMP's analysis of how the media represents disasters in 2002 highlighted with concern the differential treatment afforded to disasters resulting in large-scale loss of life of Black and White victims respectively, as well as how reports on disasters in Africa perpetuate negative stereotypes about the continent. Whilst reports on disasters happening in other parts of the world usually make front page news and were covered in detail, disasters happening on the African continent were limited to a few short articles, which tended to merely represent the accident as a commonplace occurrence in Africa[33]. The study analysed two incidents, one a train collision that occurred in Tanzania on the 24/06/2002 and a plane crash that occurred in Germany on the 02/07/2002. The report notes with concern the different treatment the media monitored gave to these incidents. The plane crash in Germany received extensive and analytical coverage whilst the rail accident in Tanzania was reported in brief articles by the mediums monitored. Such reporting tend to represents disasters happening in Africa as a daily and expected occurrence whilst disasters happening elsewhere are represented as occurrences that need to be looked into.

 In many instances, the poor representation of Africa and stereotypical discourses have been acknowledged   and raised by the editors of news media themselves. While there have been attempts by editors to address the poor representation of Africa, these do not appear to have made sufficient impact, nor has there been consistent monitoring of these trends

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[32] MMP, *Moments of Pride and Moments of Prejudice: Representing Black Economic Empowerment in the South African Media,* 2003
33 MMP, Covering Disasters: Black Lives Less Valued Than White Lives? 2002

in the media. Given the inherent links between representations of Africa, race and xenophobia, and South Africa's increasing role on the continent, as well as South Africa's historical policy of isolation from the African continent, it is imperative that the media's representation of Africa is monitored continuously.

This argument does not mean to imply that the sole responsibility of changes to people's attitudes on race and racism lies with the media. However, because the media is a powerful tool to shape and influence people's attitudes it is imperative that the media ensure that negative stereotypes are challenged through its reports. The high incidents of xenophobia and lack of tolerance of people from foreign countries by nationals serves to illustrate South Africans poor understanding of events happening on the continent. The negative reports on other parts of Africa perpetuate stereotypes that people from foreign countries are a burden to the state, that they are in the country illegally, and that they inevitably commit crime.

4.8 Implication of the studies
All of MMP's studies, since it's inception to date, reveal a lack of understanding by the media of the complexities involved in reporting on issues of race, racism, xenophobia, and ethnicity. The media reports tend to be simplistic and are not reported within a particular context. The studies outlined above show that by just reporting on events taking place without putting them in context fails to inform the targeted audience.

Although it is unlikely that any media is overtly racist, issues of race and racial discrimination continue to be featured in the media. The representation of Africa and persons from other African countries in the media continues to perpetuate discrimination, especially against Black people from other parts of the continent. Failure by the media to critique and question politicians on playing the "race card" during the election campaigning fuels racial tension within the country. The disproportional coverage afforded to issues affecting the different races in South Africa fails to meet the objectives of national unity and equality as set out in the constitution.

5. MMP's Monitoring of representation of Race in the media: 2006
Monitoring the representation of race and racial identifiers in the media is essential if negative stereotypes are to be challenged and positive changes are to be developed. Because the media plays a key role in determining how people view society, they are also responsible for representing key events and issues. As such they are in a position to shape debates, act as watchdogs, challenge people's perceptions and help build South Africa's democracy. South Africa's racist history necessitates that issues of race are monitored in the media, which is made all the more relevant given South Africa's goals of building a constitutional democracy based on human dignity and policies of non-racialism. In

addition, South Africa's growing role on the continent and within the AU means that key issues relating to Africa as a continent need to be considered.

This project has been made possible through financial aid from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. The foundation seeks to help communities by affirming its founder's vision a world in which each of us is in partnership with the rest of the human race – where each individual's quality of life is connected to the well being of the community, both locally and globally. The Mott Foundation pursues this vision through creative grantmaking, thoughtful communication and other activities that enhance community in its many forms. The same vision of shared learning shapes our internal culture as we strive to maintain an ethic of respect, integrity and responsibility. The foundation seeks to strengthen, in people and their organizations, what Mr. Mott called "the capacity for accomplishment[34]."

5.1 Objective

The MMP Revealing Race Project (2006) aimed to monitor, analyse and raise awareness around the representation of race, xenophobia, and racial stereotyping in the media in order to promote human rights, people's dignity and equality, as well as reconciliation, and to minimise discrimination.

Monitoring the representation of race and racism in the media enabled analysis of the trends, as well as provided answers to the following key questions:

- When a person's race is mentioned, is attention drawn to that fact; is it a story about racism, or about black economic empowerment?
- If attention is drawn to a person's race, is it problematic in any way? For example, during election periods when politicians and media talk about "garnering the Coloured vote". Is this unpacked in terms of why such terminology is still used or whether a person really does vote on the basis of their skin colour?
- Is a person's race understood to be only about a person's skin colour, or is it represented as a key element of identity?
- If a person's race or nationality is mentioned, what races or nationalities tend to be mentioned more than others?
- Are there any trends in terms of which races dominate media coverage?
- How is racism represented? Is it understood as a human rights violation? Does the media adopt clear

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policies towards the representation of race and racism?

- Are links made between racism and xenophobia?
- When race and racism are reported, what are the key messages?
- Are the connections between the representation of race and key social challenges raised?
- What, if any, elements of race can be identified in the representations of gender, HIV, poverty, black economic empowerment, affirmative action, children, Africa, and development?

This comprehensive array of questions has stimulated debate on issues of race and racism in the media. The MMP is of the understanding that the media do not tell people what to think, but rather they tell people what to think about. In determining what is and is not news, the media offer various representations of the world to their readers, listeners and viewers. Some media will choose to focus on an item about racism in schools, while another will focus on the strength of the economy. In addition to the selection process for each story, stories are represented in the media in different degrees of importance. Just as news stories are selected and given different levels of importance, in terms of where in the medium they appear, so too are the voices of those who speak in and for the media represented in different ways. Through this research study, the MMP aims to analyse priority given to articles on race and the representation thereof.

5.2 Research Method
The MMP designed, tested and trained monitors on a tool aimed at monitoring the representation of race, racism, ethnicity and xenophobia in the media. Issues of race and racial identities are always included as a component in all of the research that the MMP undertakes. The results from these studies were used to develop and refine a monitoring tool for this particular study.

5.2.1 Monitoring Tool
The MMP designed a monitoring tool using results from previous studies. The tool overview attached as Appendix II. The monitoring framework was case-tested before being widely applied and any new themes identified by the monitors during the research were discussed and included. The research team also created a database to capture, transpose, and analyse all the items monitored.

5.2.2 Medium Monitored
Table 1 provides the list of the print media monitored for this pilot study. These mediums were monitored every day of publication for the period starting February to May 2006. Articles reporting on issues of race and racial discrimination featured throughout the paper were monitored. The monitoring excluded letters and advertorials.

Table 1: Print Media Monitored	
Period	Medium
Daily:	The Star
	Beeld
	Daily Sun
	The Citizen
	Sowetan
	Business Day
Weekend:	The Sunday Independent
	The Sunday Times
	Rapport
	City Press
	Sunday World
	The Weekender
Weekly:	Mail and Guardian

5.2.3 Propositional Monitoring

Relevant items were subsequently qualitatively analysed over a number of fields, primarily through the lens of discourse analysis. This well-established methodology within the media studies arena examines the direct and implicit key messages contained within media content.

A key element of this method of research is the use of propositional monitoring. For the purposes of this study, a proposition is something that one finds while reading between the lines of an article. Propositions are about race, gender and other stereotypes, generalisations and social representations, both positive and negative. They are also about (often erroneous) misconceptions and ideas that people have of various groups, not about facts.

The advantage of propositional monitoring is that it allows a standardised and quantifiable method of analysing an essentially qualitative element. Thus, the discourses that are present in an article may be held up to scrutiny, even if they are not necessarily overtly stated.

For every item monitored, the content was analysed to reveal whether the item strongly supported or challenged any of the listed propositions. This was done by examining the language used both in the headline and body of the item. If an item raised a proposition but did not either strongly support or challenge the proposition, it was coded as neutral.

The MMP drew on its own previous research using propositions to develop a series of propositions for this study. It was deliberately decided to include both negative and positive propositions, in order to

gauge the media's handling of the complex issues surrounding race, xenophobia and ethnicity.

Propositions were grouped according to general themes, and dealt with generally held stereotypical views about race, racial incidents and xenophobia. Thus, the first set of propositions deal with the location and nature of racially motivated incidents, followed by those propositions talking about victims and perpetrators, as well as the consequences of racism and racially based events. A number of propositions relating to negative stereotypical views of foreigners were also included, as were propositions on racism and violations of human rights.

The policies and actions of the government in dealing with undocumented migrants were also analysed in propositions. Another proposition tested the perception that South African institutions, including the justice system, still practise racism, despite the fact that they are part of a democratic system of governance.

Some propositions addressed the positive and progressive discourses around racism and human rights violations, and analysed their negative impact on society. Another proposition dealt with the backlash against racism, which suggests that any open discussion around issues of racism contributes to opening so-called "old wounds" afflicted during apartheid.

5.2.4 Monitors Training and Practice
The MMP worked with a team of five monitors for the project, all of whom have at least a junior degree in social sciences.

The monitors were trained on the monitoring tool and propositional monitoring. In terms of monitoring training, monitors were instructed to only note those propositions that were clearly apparent in the item. Cross-monitor standardisation in choosing propositions was aided by standardised training of the monitors, and an extensive process of discussion. Regular checks were also made to test similar applications of the monitoring.

In addition to noting the propositions for every item, other pieces of information required from monitors on the project-specific monitoring form included:
- Medium – name of the newspaper in which the item appeared.
- Monitor code – a system of coding each item using a number and the monitor's initials for reference purposes.
- Date – To record the date of publication.
- Page number – To record the page number on which the item appeared.
- Journalist or agency – Monitors noted whether the item was written by a journalist, came from an agency, or from a combination of these, or if it was an editorial, comment, or opinion piece.
- Topic – Each item was allocated a topic code drawn from a list of possible topics, deemed to be the most common for the subject

under consideration. Monitors were obliged to choose the most specific and most appropriate code for the item being monitored. Only one topic code for each item was permitted. After the coding of topics, the topic codes were then grouped.

- Summary – Monitors recorded a brief summary of the report, usually including the headline.
- Sources – To reflect the role of those persons directly or indirectly accessed or quoted in the report. Those people merely mentioned were not indicated, although the terms to which such persons were referred were pertinent.
- Origin – The geographical location (provincial, national, international or Africa-wide) of each article was captured.
- Nature of the article – For each article, the nature of an article was coded and captured. This is to indicate whether reports on racial issues were generally negative, positive or just neutral.

The qualitative findings ultimately presented in this report are thus the result of an exhaustive and thorough monitoring exercise and data analysis process in which graphical representations of database enquiries have been generated and analysed. This report presents the various possibilities that have been opened up for analysis through the monitoring.

5.2.5 Limitations of this research
The research method used in this study has been tested in numerous successful studies undertaken by the MMP. However, the following challenges are common with research of this nature:

- Metropolitan Focus
It is also difficult to distinguish the degree to which the findings are influenced by the highly uneven patterns of media distribution in South Africa. With the concentration of media in the major metropolitan areas, it is likely that the press tends to focus its coverage on events in those regions, to the detriment of other areas of the country. These research findings should therefore be viewed in terms of possibilities, rather than absolutes.

- Newspapers
This monitoring exercise was further restricted to Gauteng-based newspapers. English and Afrikaans newspapers are aimed at a fairly limited, mostly urban, literate audience and the majority of the country's population are not served by this medium. African language publications were not included in the study. The research results presented here should therefore not be extrapolated to the broadcast or electronic media.

- Monitors' subjectivity
While every effort was made at ensuring that monitoring was undertaken in uniform fashion, one hundred percent standardisation could not be guaranteed. Monitoring by its very nature is a subjective

exercise. The use of multiple monitors was a potential problem in this regard, in so far as eliciting sameness of results was an ongoing concern. While such challenges are common to all monitoring projects, these were minimised through the development and use of a standard user guide, the thorough training of monitors, the solid management of the research process, which included regular communication with the monitors, and the design of high performance standards established for the monitors

- Database

The database set up by the MMP is based on information provided by the monitors and may then have inherited some of the biases of subjective monitoring. Similarly, the analysis does not refer to original events or incidents, but rather to the ways in which these were captured by the press and then evaluated by the monitor; hence some bias may be evident here. It is, however, still valid to analyse broad trends in reporting and to investigate ways in which information is perceived and presented to the public.

6. Findings of the Revealing Race Project

The findings discussed below are as a result of the monitoring conducted during the period of January to May 2006. The analysis looks into issues of the prominence given to articles on race and xenophobia; commonly used topics; and the propositions that were regularly featured.

6.1 Prominence of given to articles on Race and Xenophobia

In determining the prominence of the article, the page number where the article appeared was monitored. A general convention of newspapers is that pages 1, 2, 3 and editorial pages feature headline news and issues that are currently under debate. Graph 1 looks at the spread of articles on race and xenophobia across the monitored mediums.

Graph 1: Prominence of Stories
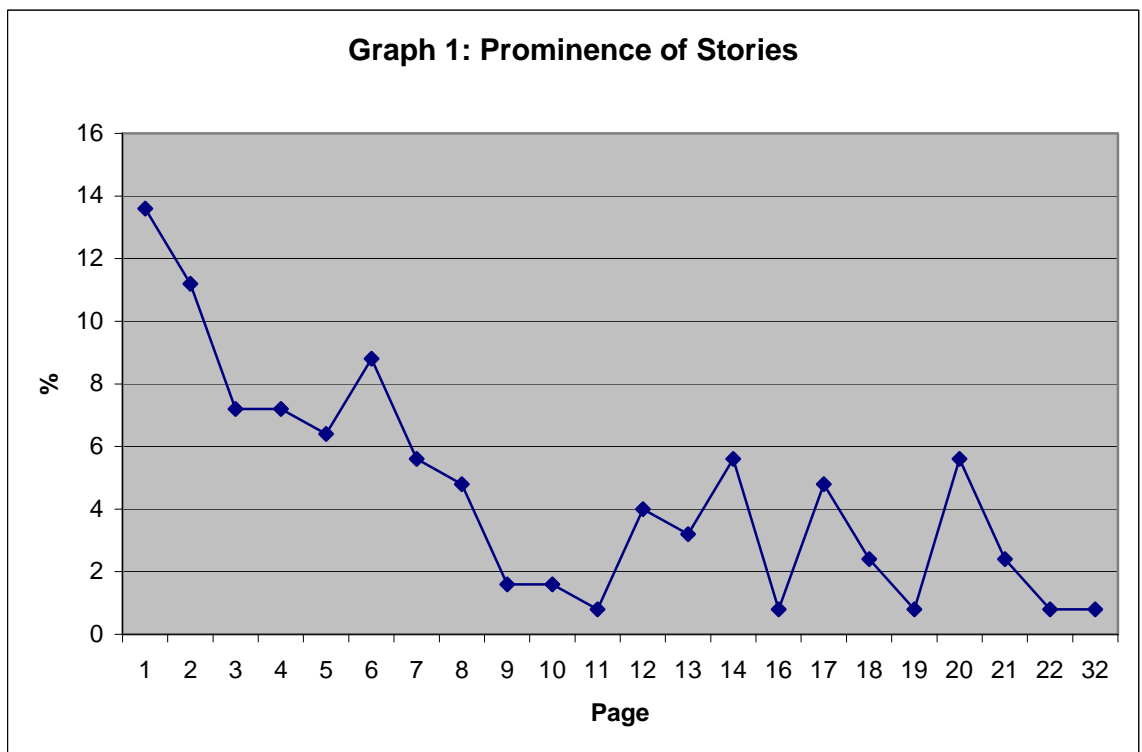
The media can be commended for putting issues of race and racial discrimination high on its agenda as illustrated in graph 1. The graph shows that issues of race and racial identifiers received prominent coverage, with 14% of the articles appearing on page 1. The coverage was spread throughout the monitored publication with most of it in the form of commentary and opinion pieces on the editorial pages.

The prominent coverage does not guarantee the quality of articles. In fact, some of the most problematic articles are featured on the first page of a publication. The *Daily Sun* provides an example of this practise. This publication, on the 12th of April led with an article headlined "Alien gangs of terror". In the article the paper claims, "7 out of 10 break-ins are work of illegal aliens, mostly from Zimbabwe". The source the article accessed for these allegations is South African police. Such reporting clearly perpetuates negative stereotypes and can fuel hatred of people from foreign countries by South Africans. Articles on the different treatment received by both White and Black people also tended to be on the first three pages of the newspapers. More prominently were the articles on court reports that represented the justice system as serving the interests of the White whilst disregarding those of the Black people. Examples of these stories are what become popularly know as "The dry clean murders"; the murder of William Ndaweni; and complaints by politicians that the justice system seems to favour the interests of the White people as they get off lightly after committing crime against Black people[35].

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[35] As reported by the *Daily Sun,* "Magistrate 'does not care about black people', 03/03/2006, pg. 2; the *Sowetan,* 'Dry-clean case tumbles', 25/04/2006, pg. 2; *The Star,* 'Mother upset as men in 'race attack' get bail', 25/5/2006, pg. 2; *Beeld,* 'Racism flourishes on school bus-girls insulted, attacked', 03/03/2006, pg. 1

A fair number of articles on race appeared on the editorial pages where the issues were debated in context through the opinion and feature articles. These pages encourage debate and publish articles from different sectors of the society. It is through these reports that racial stereotypes are often raised, challenged, and sometimes supported within a particular context in the media. For example, the *Business Day* (28/03/2006, pg. 5) carried an opinion piece 'Taking race out of job creation'. The articles challenges government's policies of empowering the Black community saying these policies have failed to deliver as majority of people are still unemployed. *The Star* (24/05/2006, pg. 14) carried a feature headlined "Casualties of white invincibility". The article discusses the different reasons both White and Black men took part in World War 1. The *Sunday Times* opinion "Whites think they are the only ones allowed to debate the arts" (26/03/2006, pg. 20) the article criticises the White people for thinking they are the only ones allowed to debate the arts. The formation of the Native Club was also highly debated on these pages by the different mediums monitored.

These articles serve as example of the priority the media gives to issues of race and racism. They are sourced from different ideological perspective and represent different groups of people and also encourage debate.

An analysis of themes under which issues of race, ethnicity and xenophobia were raised, propositions monitored, and sources of articles, gives a qualitative explanation of how the media addresses issues of race and racial identifiers.

6.2 Topics
Topic refers to the subject matter of an article. Monitors were given a set of seventeen topic codes to choose one that is most applicable to the story. The topic codes developed from previous research studies conducted by the MMP. Graph 2 shows the topics that were featured most prominently in the media monitored.

Graph 2: Topics of Stories
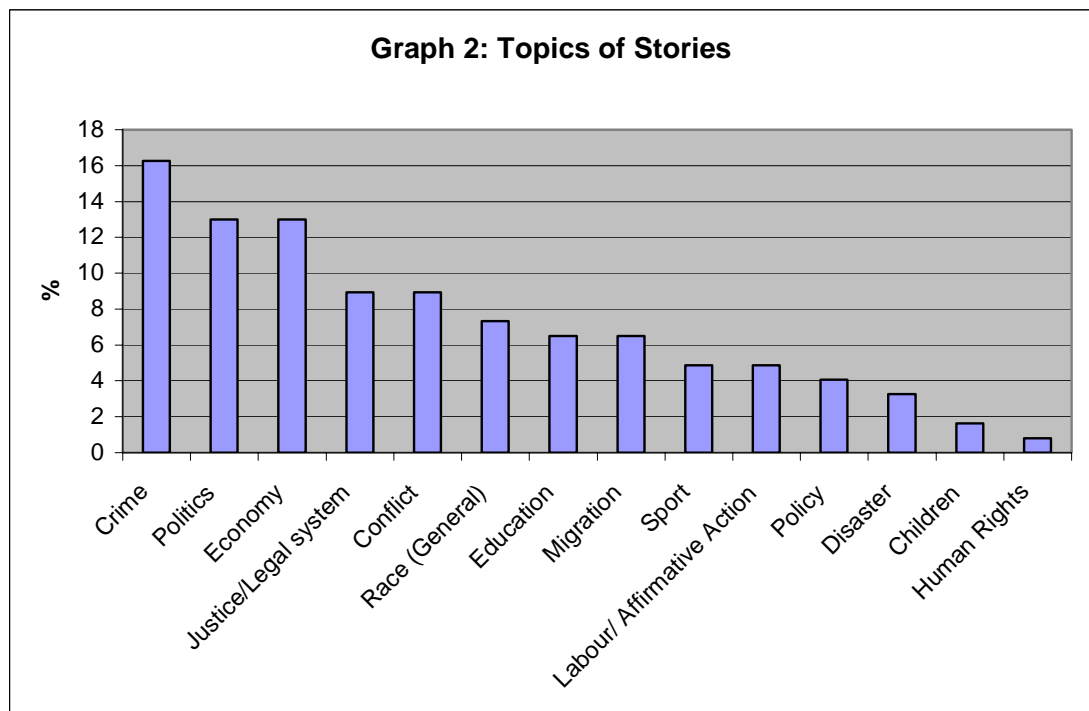
Graph 2 shows the most common themes under which issues of race, racism, ethnicity and xenophobia were reported. The monitoring found a fair degree of diversity in topics covered. It is, however, evident that a handful of subjects provided the majority of stories in this regard. Items on crime, politics, economy, justice/legal system, and conflict together comprised 60% of coverage on race and xenophobia.

Crime
On top of the list is topic code 2, which deals with reports on crime and criminal acts. Reports about crime where race was an issue and criminal acts conducted by people from foreign countries were coded under this category. Just over 16% of the total articles monitored dealt with issues of crime. 36% of stories on crime dealt with crime committed by people from foreign countries. The majority of these articles came from the *Daily Sun*, which carried a total of 40% of the overall crime stories. The publication has been blatantly xenophobic in its coverage of crime committed by people from foreign countries. These stories also compromised fundamental journalistic principles by not reporting in a fair and balanced manner. Allegations made in these stories were seldom substantiated by a credible source and the stories were not reported in context. The publication also took a clear policy of referring to people from other African countries as "Aliens". This practise is in clear violation of guidelines of ethical reporting as put forward by institutions discussed in the first section of the paper.

Articles that reported on incidents where people of different races were involved constituted 64% of articles monitored on crime. These stories were regularly referred to as racist attacks without putting the issues into context, explaining them, or making the connections clear to readers as to

why they are racist attacks. Previous monitoring undertaken by the MMP also highlighted this trend[36]. The simplistic and uncritical manner in which the media reports on criminal incidents that involve people of different races leaves the readers to assume that these incidents are racist.

Politics
Graph 2 also reveals the politicisation of issues surrounding race and racism, with 13% of stories dealing with race and racism in the political realm. A number of items were noted during the recent local government election period on the fight for votes between the ANC and the DA, especially in the Western Cape province, which sometimes foregrounded the racial aspects. In addition, opinion and commentary pieces were noted as presenting the racial legacy of the Apartheid system, as well as on the significant progress made in improving non- or multi-racialism in South Africa. Articles on the debate brought forward by the formation of the Native Club were also coded under this category as the reports were politicised by the involvement of the office of the presidency in the formation of the club. Most of these articles were opinion pieces that analysed the value and further division that the Club is going to add to the general society.

Economy
Economic stories accounted for a sizable 13% of all reports on race and racism. Such attention is primarily the result of extensive coverage on issues relating to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) by some media, especially the *Mail & Guardian*, which carried a supplement on BEE on the 12/05/2006. Most of these stories focused on the major success stories achieved in the mining and financial services sectors. This trend of reporting on the BEE reveals the same pattern of articles monitored by the MMP for the representation on BEE in 2000 to 2001[37]. *The Star* on 16th of March 2006 carried a brief article about the emergence of Black consumers and followed the brief up with a feature article on the 19th of March 2006. Both articles focus on the huge benefits the retailers stand to acquire from these new entrances. Although figures are given that only R130 billion of the R600 billion of the country's buying power is contributed by the majority of the population; very little is said about the large numbers who still do not have access to the economic resources.

Justice/ Legal System
Issues surrounding race and racism in the legal profession also received a fair amount of coverage (9%). Most prominently reported were the court cases and judgments of "racially-based" violence. These articles were featured quite prominently and represented the justice system as serving the interest of White people and ignoring those of Black people. The other news stories and events that come up under this category were

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[36] MMP on behalf of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, *Shades and Prejudice,* pg. 26, 2002

[37] MMP, *Moments of Pride and Moments of Prejudice: Representing Black Economic Empowerment in the South African Media,* 2003

article on the transformation of the judiciary systems. Early 2005 the Cape Town judge president John Hlophe made headlines when he made allegation of racism in the Cape Provincial Division of the High Court. Since then the issues of racism and sexism in the judiciary made headlines. During the monitoring period the same issues came up with the *Sowetan* (23/03/2006, pg. 5) reporting "Lawyers' group in race row". The report is about Black advocates threatening to walk out of the Pretoria Bar if their chosen Black candidate is not elected chairman during the council's leadership elections. In follow up to this story, the *Sowetan* (03/04/2006) carried an editorial about the Black advocated resigning from the council after their candidate was not elected for chairmanship of the council. Both articles state that the reasons given by the White advocates is because of the candidate's personality. The editorial question's this reason implying that it is not a good reason not to elect one to lead such a structure without explaining the candidate's personality. The article that the publication carried earlier also failed to explain what attributes the White advocates objected to or at least source them.

The Star (08/05/2006, pg. 5) carried an articled with headline "New women's law association will fight gender bias". The headline represents the association as representing all women irrespective of race but the article itself implies that the association is formed with objective of highlighting issues faced by Black women in the legal sector. The positive aspect of the article is that it put issues into context and highlights the need for association to address challenges and discrimination faced by Black women in the legal fraternity.

<u>Below the mark</u>
At the other end of the spectrum, stories relating to human rights (1%), children (2%), disaster (3%) and policy developments (4%) received minimal coverage. The topic code dealing with human rights issues received only 1% of the total coverage despite that fact that racial discrimination is a human rights issue. This figure highlights the manner in which the media represents issues on race and racial discrimination and the lack of human rights framework adopted when reporting on issues of this nature.

6.3 Propositions
A list of propositions was drawn from previous monitoring undertaken by the MMP. The value that propositional monitoring adds to the research of this nature is invaluable. Monitors were trained on human rights discourse analysis to enable them to understand reports and be able to read in between the lines. Graph 3 shows the most commonly clearly identified top 10 propositions.

Graph 3: Breakdown of Top 10 Propositions
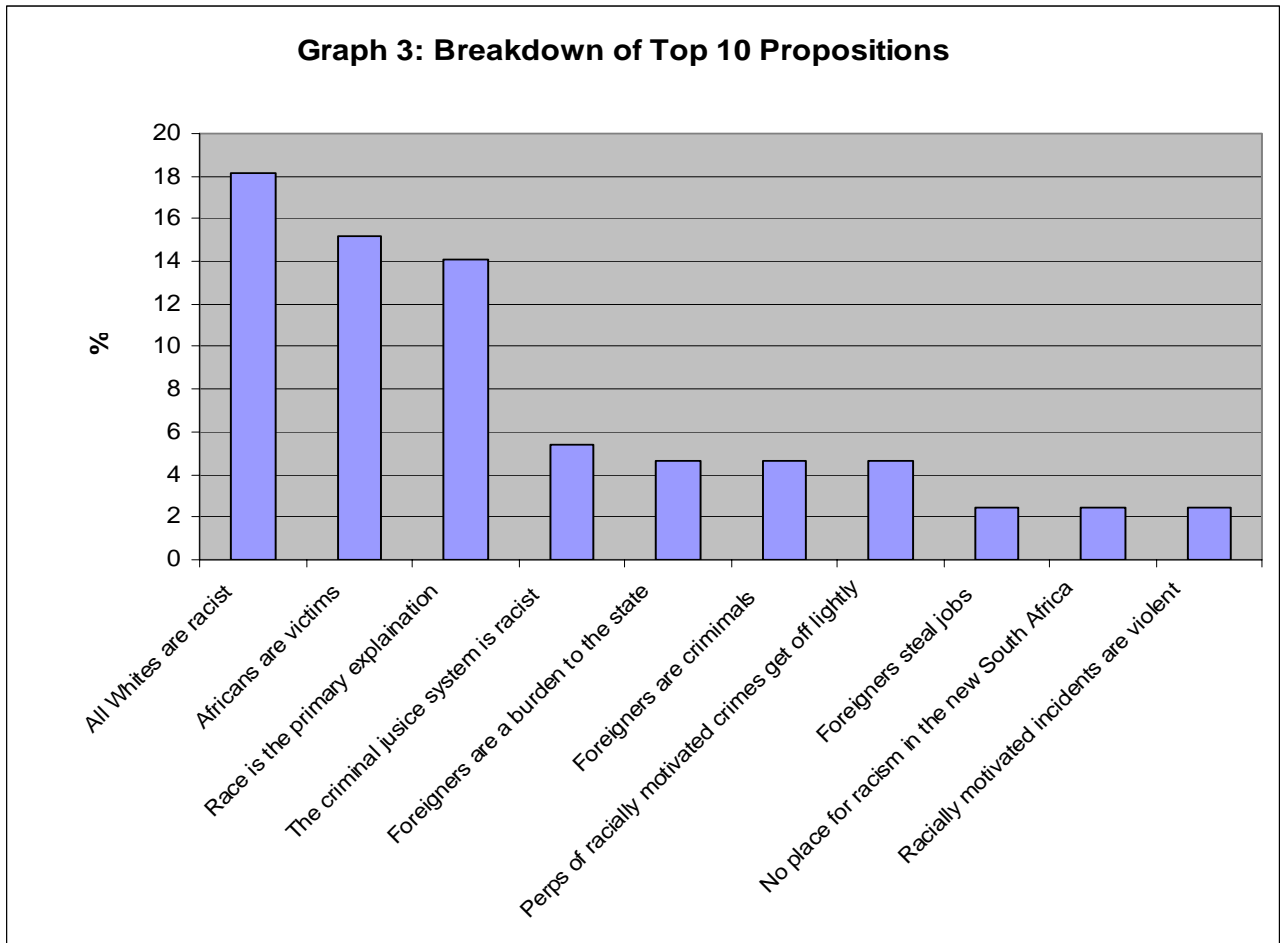
Graph 3 shows the propositions that were most prevalent in all monitored articles. The prominence of the proposition in this study was determined by how the topic codes that received the most coverage were represented. Monitoring for propositions explains what the article implies without actually saying it. This form of monitoring shows how readers understand and draw conclusions from what they read in the newspapers. The propositions however had to be clearly present in an article and monitors had to be able to clearly justify and identify the propositions raised.

The findings show that key messages that the media feature on race tend to be negative, with the proposition "All Whites are racist" being high on the list. This is as a result of stories on crime receiving most coverage. These stories were mostly about crime committed by White people against Black people. Examples of articles that represented Whites as racist include the *Daily Sun* report of 25/01/2006, p.7 with headline "Old flag paintings stir trouble"; *Sunday World* article of 26/02/2006, p. 4, headlined "Death Kiss"; and *The Star* article of 17/03/2006 p. 2 with headline "Judge was 'racially abused'". The manner in which these articles were reported represented Blacks, in the proposition list referred to as Africans, as victims and Whites as racist. The race of both the perpetrator and victim are represented as the primary explanation as to why the incidents are said to be racist, with no other explanation for the

assumption of racism within the incident. This is the reason why the third highest proposition is 'Race is primary explanation'. The articles carried by the *Sowetan* (as discussed under the judiciary and legal system topic code) also perpetuate the notion that race is the primary explanation for the White advocates not electing a Black candidate to lead the Pretoria Bar Council.

The media also sent out messages that the "criminal justice system is racist" and that "Perpetrators of racially motivated crimes get off lightly". These reports came from reactions from people on cases that were not prosecuted to their liking. The majority of the daily publications monitored reported on the case of William Ndaweni who was assaulted and driven over by a vehicle and left to die. The men accused of committing the crime were released on bail leaving the family of the victim claiming that the justice system is racist as the men were granted bail because they are White.

However, *The Star* report of the 25/05/2006, p.2 does give reasons why the state did not oppose the bail application. Other examples that represent the justice system as racist include and article by the *Daily Sun* of 08/02/2006, p. 3 "Race chaos at court"; *City Press* of 26/02/2006, p. 10 "White suspects get it easy – claim"; and "Fury over racist attack ruling" as published in the *Sowetan* of 22/03/2006, p.9. The *City Press* report highlights the preferential treatment given to White people who killed a Black man and investigation into the matter. Although the reports carried by the *Daily Sun* and *Sowetan* briefly explain the processes of the court, they still support the perception that the justice system is racist. The justice system was represented as servicing the interests of Whites who have access to resources and can afford the best legal representation. This said, it is important to note that issues raised by these reports reflect the reality. The MMP however encourages the media to engage and explain the complexity of issues in the articles and not just raise them.

Negative propositions against foreigners were amongst the top 10 propositions. This is due to the high coverage of criminal activities said to be committed by people from foreign countries as by the *Daily Sun.* The other mediums monitored for this study are also guilty of representing foreigners as criminals. Across all mediums monitored, the nationality of people would be mentioned when a crime is said to be committed by a person from another country. The *Daily Sun* is singled out because of the xenophobic strategies that the paper seems to have adopted when reporting on people from other African countries. The publication refers to people from foreign countries as "Aliens" irrespective of the context of an article. Headline such as the following are regular features in the *Daily Sun,* "River swallows an alien" (23/02/2006, pg. 5); "Free living ends in flames! – Aliens's lives on easy street go up in smoke" (30/03/2006, pg. 1); and "Alien dumped in a stinking toilet!" (07/03/2006, pg. 3). These article are about accidents and misfortunes happening to other people but the paper represents them as though they are experiences of an unknown species.

It is encouraging to see that the media also challenge the existence of racism in society, although the proposition about this issue received less than 10% of coverage.

When news events are reported within context and accompanied by an explanation the report provides information that assists the readers to draw informed conclusions. The graph on prominent propositions shows only the top 10 propositions that came up but there were articles that put issues into perspective that are not featured in the graph because they were very few. These results should not be understood to conclude that the media does not understand the dimensions of race and racial issues but as means to highlight where there is room for improvement.

6.4 Origin

The origin of the articles was monitored to assess whether issues of race and racism are confined to certain areas or are addressed as issues that affect the public at large. Origin codes were divided into Local, Regional, National, Africa, and International. Articles on events taking place in a certain community that affect only that particular community were then coded under the local origin code. If the event-taking place, or story reported on, affects the province then the stories would be coded under the regional origin code. Articles of national interest were coded under the national topic code. The articles involving Africa were distinguished from those affecting the rest of the world. The reason for this distinction is because articles from other parts of Africa are much closer to home, as South Africa is part of the continent. Graph 4 provides a breakdown of origin of stories.

Graph 4: Origin of Stories

International 5%
Africa 1%
Local 10%
Regional 21%
National 63%
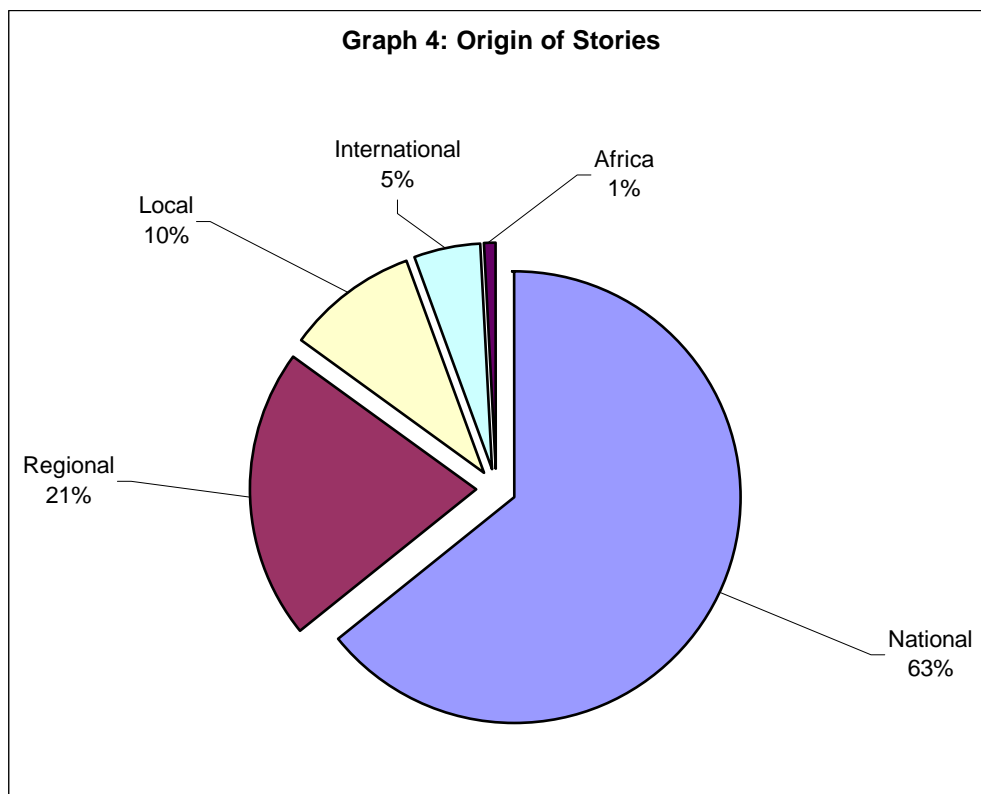
The graph shows a representative spread of focus areas by the media monitored. It is expected that the media would cover issues of national importance prominently as compared to regional and local issues. The 1% coverage of Africa was from a report highlighting the Zambian government's concerns that Whites in that country are trying to topple the government. The International origin received higher coverage compared to Africa as some media took the debate of race to an international level.

6.5 Sources

Monitoring for sources gives an analysis of who is accessed in the media. For the purpose of this study, sources refer to the people who are directly or indirectly accessed in the news articles. A list of sources was developed based on experiences from previous monitoring. The purpose of this exercise is to determine the level at which the media takes the debate around issues of race, ethnicity, and xenophobia. Also, by presenting different opinions of an issue or event, the media tends to reduce biasness in an article. Graph 5 presents the list of top 10 categories of sources accessed by the media monitored.

Graph 5: Top 10 Sources Accessed
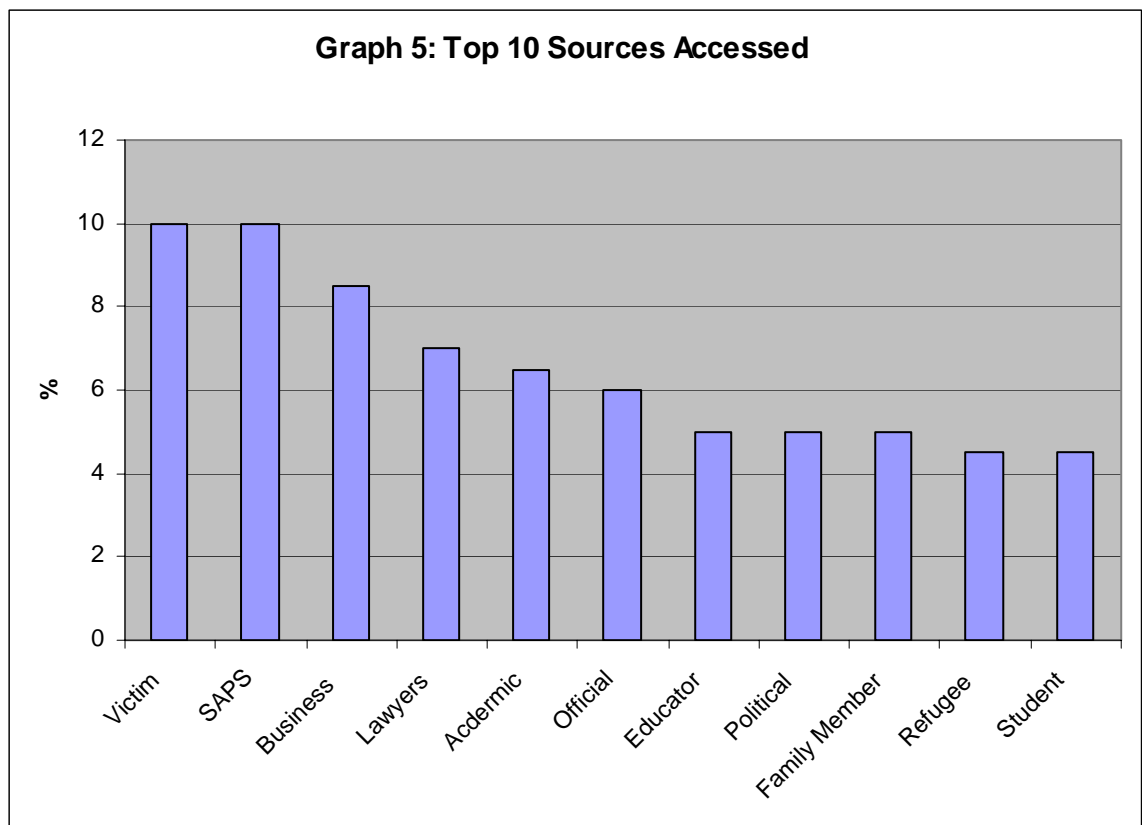
The results of monitoring for sources have revealed that the media tend to source people who are affected by the events being reported. Due to the fact that most articles analysed for this study were features and opinion pieces, very few had sources. Articles that had people accessed were

those based on events taking place. On 10% each, the victims and the police were accessed more than any other category of people. The reason for this is the high number of articles that dealt with crime where the people affected and the police were accessed. Although some of these articles were about the court proceedings and verdicts, very few had a legal perspective or source someone who explains how the justice system works.

The business category includes people accessed by the media who work in the business sector. This group received prominent coverage due to the supplement by the *Mail & Guardian* edition of the 12/05/2006. Issues of race and sexism in the media also received prominent coverage and the lawyers affected were quoted.

An unusual finding is the high incidence of people directly affected by racially motivated incidents being accessed in news reports. The sourcing of people directly affected in racially motivated incidents is quite different to the way other key human rights issues tend to be reported in the media. For example reporting of HIV/AIDS, gender based violence and child abuse stories seldom access those directly affected. Most recently the MMP and Genderlinks conducted a study on how issues of HIV/AIDS and gender are reported in the Southern African media. The results of the *HIV/ AIDS and Gender Baseline Study* (2006) show that only 4% of people living with HIV and AIDS were sourced in the media monitored. Similarly, numerous studies undertaken by the MMP focused on gender and children highlight how seldom those directly affected by gender-based violence or child abuse are accessed in the media. It would thus appear to be a positive trend for people directly affected by racially motivated crimes to be accessed in media stories.

It must however be noted that issues of the privacy and dignity of those directly affected by gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS may explain why so few of these people are accessed. The media is often correct in exercising caution where the rights to dignity and privacy are concerned. The question then arises as to whether the same rights of those directly affected by racially motivated incidents are equally valued. In the past MMP has noted with concern the tendency by some media to identify people who are victims of racially motivated incidents without their rights being respected, and often violated.

Several examples of such reporting came up during the monitoring period, mostly from tabloid publications. The Sunday World on the 19/02/2006, pg. 2 carried an article about two children who were physically abused - "beaten up"- by their 'Indian' boss for waking up late. In spite of this being a clear case of abuse and being reported to the police the paper went ahead and not only named the children but also published their photographs. Thus in spite of highlighting the abuse the paper further violated the rights of the children. On the 10/04/2006, pg. 3 and 04/05/2006, pg. 7 the *Daily Sun* featured articles about four South Africans who were mistakenly identified by police as "illegal immigrants" because of their looks and how they dressed. All the people involved

were named and identified, thus exposing them to the real risk of being further victimised. The *Sowetan* of 21/04/2006 pg. 4 carried an article about a Germiston High School principal who sent away a delegation of parents and student representatives after she had expelled a Black pupil for possession of dagga yet she had allowed his White friend to return to the school. The paper named the Black child who had been expelled but not the White child. Again by naming the child involved the paper exposed the child further discrimination and stigmatisation.

These articles demonstrate how in some instances, while highlighting abuse or the problem of racism, they further violate the rights of people who are victims of racial discrimination and/or xenophobia. In some instances the victims are children who are part of criminal investigations and whose rights are further protected by law.

In most news stories the emphasis tends to be on events taking place at a particular moment. Event based reporting often provides very little context and issues are left unexplained. In instances where human rights related issues are concerned the media has a responsibility to highlight these issues and provide context, analysis and the explanation of the events.

A simple method of improving on event-based reporting is to use a diverse range of sources. News reports that use diverse sources tend not only to provide more interesting reading but also are more likely to provide better context and analysis.

6.6 Value
The value analysis means the analysis of the nature of an article. A negative, positive, or neutral value is given to an article depending on its nature. The purpose of monitoring for value is to determine whether articles on race, ethnicity and xenophobia are negative, positive or just neutral. Graph 6 shows the value of the articles monitored.

Graph 6: Value of Stories

Positive
23%

Neutral
38%
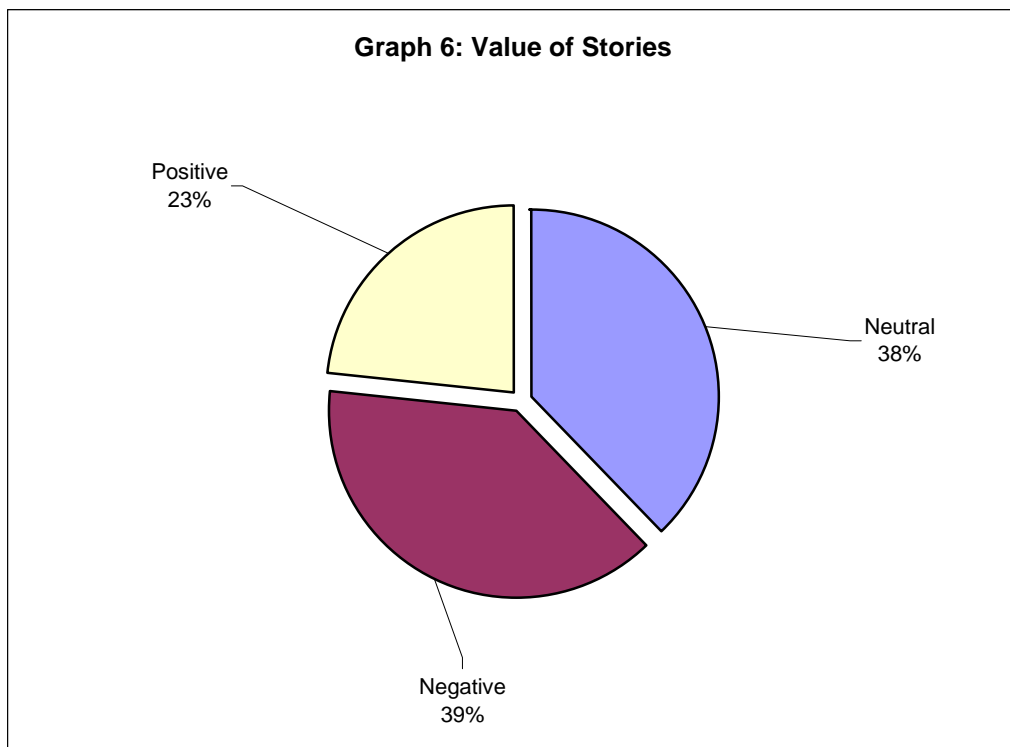
Negative
39%

For the duration of the monitoring project, 23% of the stories relating to issues of race and racial identifiers were deemed to be clearly positive, while 38% were neutral and 39% were deemed clearly negative.

The 23% positive articles constitute articles challenging racial discrimination and promoting unity in diversity. Some of the articles that were given a positive value are articles on redressing past racial discrimination. Articles that represented people from foreign countries, especially Black African people, were also given a positive value. The *Sowetan* (03/02/2006, p.13) carried an article titled "Immigrants have the skills SA needs". The article looks at the positive role that can be played by African immigrants in the country of meeting the skills shortages as some of them come into the country highly qualified and have the necessary experience that some sectors in the country are in dire need of. The Star (13/03/2006, p.9) carried another example of a positive article that challenged the stereotype against African immigrants. The article featured perceptions people have regarding Nigerians. Headlined "Tarred with the same dirty brush", the article looks at the Nigerian community living in South Africa and follows with a profile of a Nigerian businessman who is not involved in drugs and who makes an honest living. The article does recognise that there are Nigerians who commit crime, but at the same time highlights that not every Nigerian is in the country illegally and commits crime. It also highlights inefficiency within the home affairs department where people have to bribe authorities to be granted with asylum seeker or refugee status.

The *Mail & Guardian* featured an article that compared research undertaken by the Southern African Migration Project (Samp) in 1995 and

2005 on how the South African media reports on immigrants. The reports, although a decade apart, revealed the same patterns of misrepresentation of immigrants in local media. The article states that the xenophobic attitudes held by many South Africans do not stem from "first-hand experiences" but are a "product of misinformation, much of which comes from the media". The high percentage (39%) of negative articles is as result of the high number of crime articles that had the race and nationality of the perpetrators as an element. The media tend to mention the nationality and race of the perpetrators of crime without providing any context. This leaves an impression that race and/or nationality of the perpetrators are the determining factors or reasons that people commit crime. These impressions offered by the media perpetuate xenophobic and racial stereotypes.

Articles that were neutral comprised the remaining 38% of articles monitored. These articles neither supported nor challenged racial discrimination, they presented issues of race fairly. Most of these articles were commentary pieces on a range of subjects that had race and xenophobia as a component. There were also reports on the establishment of the Native Club that did not perpetuate or challenge racial discrimination but rather mentioned the existence of the club.

These findings reveal that the media tends to report on race in a negative way. The lack of analysis and context also creates a negative perception in readers' minds. Contextualised and analytical reports tend to challenge stereotypes and produce a much more informed society.

7. Conclusion

Race, ethnicity and xenophobia are not unique to South Africa, they are universal and each country has its own instruments and mechanisms of dealing with these issues. For example, there have been reports on how Germany is trying to challenge stereotypes that the country perpetuates racism by hosting and celebrating different cultures both before and during the soccer world cup tournament of 2006. As the world is uniting and celebrating an era of globalisation, several international conventions have been adopted by countries, including South Africa, against discrimination of people based on their nationality, race, ethnicity and gender.

The findings of this report are parallel to those of the study conducted by Samp[38] as well as previous studies undertaken by the MMP. The Samp study concentrated on issues of xenophobia in the media and compares the 2000 to 2005 research to a study they conducted in 1995. The study however shows that the media is trying to make an effort of addressing issues around race and xenophobia and also encouraging debate. This is evident in the large number of feature and opinion articles published by the media monitored. The tabloids however, and the *Daily Sun* most

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[38] *Mail & Guardian,* 07/04/2006, p.21

notably, continue to violate the rights of people coming from other countries and especially people from other African countries.

It is the role of the media to report on events as they happen, and if foreign nationals commit crime the public has a right to know. How the issues are represented however is another issue. The blatantly xenophobic reports that have been carried out by the *Daily Sun* are reason for concern, especially because they are not balanced and only concentrate on the crime committed by foreign nationals. This puts at risk lives of people who come into the country to seek refuge or to invest economically and bring in skills that the country is in desperate need for. Also, it is important that where the nationality of a person is mentioned, it should add value to the article instead of insinuating that the person has committed crime because of his or her nationality.

This research, together with other research studies conducted earlier; reveal that the xenophobic reporting is skewed towards Black foreign nationals. It is very rare that White foreign nationals are represented as a burden to the state and/ or as criminals or coming into the country to steal employment from the South Africans.

Although the country has opened its borders to the international community, immigrants from African countries who are predominantly Black are often subjected to xenophobic behaviour. The xenophobic incidents reported by the media monitored show that in most cases the attacks are carried out by Black South Africans against people of the same race.

In contrast, Whites are overwhelmingly identified in the media as being racist against Blacks. Clearly there remains a level of sensitivity to White-on-Black racism.

The apparent xenophobia of South Africans against other Africans, as reflected in the media, and the perceived racism by White South Africans against Black Africans, are linked. Historically, Black people have been viewed as less human than White people, this mindset drove colonialism and apartheid systems. This outlook has, perhaps not surprisingly, driven South Africans to think less of their kin from across the border. This is if the xenophobia in the media reflects widespread xenophobia of South Africans. The same legacy may still affect numerous White South Africans. The media is apparently "mirroring" the challenges presented by the institutions of colonialism and apartheid, which remain an issue for both Black and White South Africans.

The study has also revealed a change in the representation of crimes where race is a component. Where in the past crime was largely represented as committed by Black people against White, this study shows that the media now tends to focus on crime committed by Whites against Black. Another key finding is the representation of the justice system as serving interests of the White and rich people who can afford the best legal representation.

Except during the local government elections earlier this year, there have been only a few reports on the Coloured and Indian community. Very rarely does the debate on race and racism look into the challenges and contribution made by these groups in the media.

As the country attempts to redress past injustices, it is important for the media to help build a diverse united nation where human rights are respected and protected. The framework has been established and numerous guidelines developed by different organisations, and these are all available to the media. These guidelines on reporting on race, ethnicity and xenophobia, as discussed on the first section of this report, are accessible to the media and ready to be implemented to promote non-biased and non-racist media coverage.

8. Where to from here?

The MMP aims to engage with the media houses on how to improve reporting on issues of race and xenophobia in a manner that will minimise discrimination and negative stereotypes against groups of people. This will be done through training, workshops and discussions around these issues.

The MMP is also in the process of developing a website where the general public and people with expertise on issues of racism and xenophobia will be encouraged to comment on articles of good and bad practise that will be posted on the site. The objective of this exercise is to have a platform where people from different backgrounds and institutions can comment on how the media represents these issues. The media itself will have access to the website and they can read how the general public, which they target through their reports, view the representation of race and xenophobia in mass media.

Through the Revealing the Race Project, the MMP has also formed partnerships with different institutions such as the Roll Back Xenophobia Campaign, the recently launched National Forum Against Racism (NFAR) of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, and the South African Human Rights Commission. The objective of these partnerships is to work together on different programmes that aim to address issues of race and xenophobia in the media and also, ultimately encourage behavioural change in the general public.

List of acronyms used in the report:

1. MMP – Media Monitoring Project
2. ICASA – Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
3. UNESCO – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
4. SAHRC – South African Human Rights Commission
5. CSVR – Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
6. SAMP – South African Migration Project
7. GMBS – Gender and Media Baseline Study
8. MAP – The Southern African Media Action Plan