2009

Race and Migration in the Community Media: Local stories, common stereotypes

Anna Lerner, Sandra Roberts and Callies Matlala
Edited by Sandra Roberts

MEDIAMONITORING AFRICA

mdda
MEDIA DEVELOPMENT & DIVERSITY AGENCY

Contents

Acknowledgements

This research project's approach entailed the cooperation and contribution of a large number of individuals and organisations.

We are grateful to:

All those who monitored, checked, and captured data, including: Zandisile Dumakusile, Yolande Erasmus, Jack Fine, Charlotte Gouws, Mlungisi Mabedla, Phuthuma Manyathi, Shaun Molokwane, Callies Matlala, Kgobalale Peter Moruthane, Nonceba Mthwana, Reuben Nenzhelele, Carol Netshifhefhe, Mthobisi Patrick Nhlabathi, Mlamuli Nkomo, Musa Rikhotso, and Emilar Vushe.

Callies Matlala for initial research and management of the project.

Those who assisted with data collection, cleaning, and data-entry in various ways: Albert van Houten and Wellington Radu. Albert's contribution to editing is also gratefully acknowledged.

Those who assisted in the collection and distribution of newspapers including: Lowveld Media; Caxton, Distribution; Independent Newspapers, Distribution; Southern African Media and Gender Institute (SAMGI); Thembani Dyule, Kgobalale Peter Moruthane, and Phindile Tladi.

All organisations and individuals that have given input into the research study including: Association for Independent Publishers (AIP), Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA), Coordinating Body for Refugee Communities (CBRC), Eastern Cape Communication Forum, Eastern Cape Non Governmental Organisation Coalition, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Mpumalanga Access to Justice Cluster, Musina Legal Advice Office (Jacob Matakanye), Southern African Media and Gender Institute (SAMGI), with special thanks to Aniela Batschari from the Strengthening Civil Society Programme, of the German Development Service (DED). DED also assisted with financial support for focus group participants' travel and accommodation.

Organisations that participated in the focus group discussions and / or workshops, as well as selection of media:

Eastern Cape:	Eastern Cape Communication Forum, Eastern Cape NGO Coalition, Eastern Cape Youth Development Board, Freedom of Expression Network, and Malibongwe Women's Consortium.
Gauteng:	African Diaspora Forum, CBRC, Refugee Help Desk, Somali Association of South Africa, Somali Journalists Association of South Africa, and Yeoville Bellevue Community Development Initiative.
Limpopo:	Concern Zimbabwe, Jesuit Refugee Service, Lawyers for Human Rights, and Musina Legal Advice Office.
Mpumalanga:	Amazing Grace Children's Centre, Dientjie Advice and Resource Centre, and Mpumalanga Access to Justice Cluster.
Western Cape:	Africa Unite, African Disabled Refugee Organisation, ARESTA, Azaad Youth Services, Black Sash, Bonne Esperance, and Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town.

All those who contributed to the Stakeholder Workshop and Strategy Meeting: Justin Arenstein from Association of Independent Publishers (AIP), Tamlyn Monson from Forced Migration Studies Programme, Birgit Schwarz from FrayIntermedia, Ncedisa Gcobo of International Organization for Migration (IOM), Hopewell Radebe and Femida Mehtar from the South African National Editors' Forum (SANEF), Frank Windeck and Norah Spie from Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Prof Tawana Kupe, MMA/University of the Witswatersrand, Harry Letsebe and

Jayshree Pather of the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA), Diphete Bopape of Seipone, Hamat Mohammed of the Somali Journalists Association of South Africa, Dr Zonke Majodina from the South African Human Rights Commission, and Wandile Fana from Skawara News. Special thanks to Konrad Adenauer Stiftung for hosting and the stakeholder workshop.

Finally, we would like to thank MDDA for supporting this work.

Key Findings

- On average, 2.7 percent of newspapers' coverage addressed the issues of race and migration, directly or indirectly, with some variation between newspapers.

For items relating to coverage of issues relating to race and migration:

- 26 percent of the items appeared on the first three pages, and 61 percent of these were crime stories, suggesting a high degree of newsworthiness.
- 19 percent of known authors were guest or letter writers, suggesting an opportunity for NGOs/CBOs to provide input.
- News stories made up 55 percent of content; opinion pieces and letters/readers' feedback each made up 10 percent; features and news analysis made up 6 percent; editorials made up 2 percent.
- Local stories made up the largest proportion of content (51 percent), followed by provincial (24 percent), then regional (21 percent), with international stories making up 1 percent. *Limpopo Mirror* sourced a large number of stories from neighbouring Zimbabwe.
- Crime made up the largest percentage (13 percent), followed by Arts/Entertainment (11 percent), Religion/Traditional Practice (10 percent), Racism/Xenophobia (8 percent), South Africa (national, including South African government and parliament) (5 per cent), and Profiles and Personalities (just under 5 percent). Eight of the 46 newspapers accounted for 66 percent of the crime stories.
- Crime appeared prominently in coverage, being the most prominent topic of coverage, with the greater proportion of propositions being about crime, and police being the second most prominent source (7 percent).
- The proposition "Group is criminal" appeared overwhelmingly in relation to Zimbabweans (over one third of the time), and was challenged only once. It was also the most commonly featured proposition about Zimbabweans.
- Whites appeared to be over-represented as sources (in proportion to population demographics), but since the target audiences for the newspapers differ, it is not clear what this means.
- The language used to describe migrants/foreigners was mainly "neutral". However, the potentially stigmatising term "illegal immigrant" was used, together with inaccurate use of terms to describe migrants.

Terminology

Alien: A term for foreign nationals once used in official names of laws – Aliens Act (1937) and Aliens Registration Act (1939). It has connotations of non-belonging and has associations with alien plants, which have been the subject of a campaign to root them out (Comaroff & Comaroff 2001).

Black: In this report, Black refers to Black Africans.

Community media: In this report, unless otherwise indicated, used broadly to refer to media that serve a particular community, either a localised geographical community or a community of interest. It may include media owned by large companies, conglomerates, small companies, individuals or communities themselves, for both profit and non-profit purposes. This is a very broad definition of community media, and there are many other principles and values which are seen as important, which will be addressed in the report.

Small commercial media: "independent media enterprises or initiatives that are run for personal gain as micro, very small, or small business" (Media Development and Diversity Act 2002: 1).

Ethnic groups: Groups that believe that they share a common descent, sharing language, culture and often religion (Smith in MacDonald 2006: 17).

Migrant: A person who resides at a different place from where they were born, or who has moved from their habitual place of residence (CoRMSA). The term will be used to refer to people who may have migrated for a variety of purposes, voluntarily or perforce, including economic migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. While migrants can include those moving within a country (internal migrants), for this report, unless otherwise stated, "migrant" is used to refer to international migrants, those who have travelled from other countries. The report uses the terms foreigner and migrant interchangeably.

Foreigner: Unless specified, the term is used to denote people from, or perceived to be from, countries outside South Africa. It will be used instead of "foreign nationals", so that it can refer to people regardless of their legal status or citizenship.

Makwerekwere: A derogatory term used to talk about foreign nationals; it "purportedly depicts the phonetic sound of foreign African languages" (Harris 2002: np).

Prejudice: "An opinion or belief about someone or something that is not based on experience" and "dislike or unfair behaviour based on such opinions" (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2001).

Race: Defined by a set of real or imaginary features, which are largely socially imbued. In South Africa, race categories continue to be largely based on apartheid categories.

Racism: "1. A belief that each race has certain qualities or abilities, giving rise to the belief that certain races are better than others 2. Discrimination or hostility towards other races." (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2001).

Racial discrimination: "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national, or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social,

cultural or any other field of public life" (Article 1 of the 1965 United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination).

Stereotype: "an over-simplified idea of the typical characteristics of a person or thing" (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2001).

Xenophobia: "intense dislike of foreigners" (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2001).

1. Introduction

In South Africa, racism and xenophobia, widely recognised as human rights violations, are particularly pertinent. A long history of institutionalised racism, most recently apartheid, saw the classification, segregation and discrimination of people along racial lines. It has shaped perceptions, attitudes, identities, and relationships, and left a legacy of inequality.

In May 2008, xenophobia came starkly to the public's attention, in the form of violence targeted at perceived "foreigners", making local, national and international headlines. However, negative and discriminatory attitudes and behaviour towards migrants, or xenophobia, have long been documented as widespread and problematic in South Africa. Black immigrants in particular are victims of xenophobic attitudes and treatment.

Within this context, media can play a vital role in preventing and challenging racism, xenophobia and other forms of discrimination. Alternatively, media can be seen to support such prejudice and discrimination, either where they do not challenge these, or in actively supporting them. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings on the role of the media under apartheid helped establish that the media are not immune to complicity in human rights violations.

The role and responsibility of the media in promoting understanding between groups and individuals and addressing racism and other human rights violations is recognised in a number of declarations and articles. Specific reference is made, in some cases, to avoiding stereotyping, disseminating information, representing diversity and particularly giving a voice to the oppressed.

While media freedom and self regulation are important in a democratic society, the media are subject to the same rights and responsibilities as all members of society. These rights include, but are not limited to, freedom of expression, but do not extend to hate speech, as recognised by the South African Press Code.

For many South Africans, community and small commercial media are not only important sources of information for communities about issues affecting them, which may include racism and xenophobia, but also about "groups" of people that they may not come into contact with. While research has helped establish how the national and provincial media cover issues of race, racism, migrants and xenophobia, little information is available about coverage by community and small commercial media.

To address this need, Media Monitoring Africa conducted research into how issues of race, ethnicity, migrants, racism and xenophobia are represented in community and small commercial newspapers. This research provides the opportunity to look at how community and small commercial newspapers covered these issues, a few months after the May 2008 events. The research forms part of a larger project, which sought to go beyond research and analysis, to include the empowerment of local communities – particularly those affected by xenophobia – and the media themselves. As such, the project also involved a series of media relations and advocacy workshops with selected community-based and non-governmental organisations, and a stakeholder workshop and strategy meeting, consisting primarily of media practitioners.

This report will focus primarily on the research aspect of the project. It is intended that the research and practical suggestions can be used by NGOs/CBOs, community and small commercial media, and other key stakeholders, to promote and facilitate media's role in preventing and challenging racism, xenophobia and other forms of discrimination.

2. Declarations, Codes and Legislation on Racism and Xenophobia

Racism and xenophobia as human rights violations

Article 1 of the 1963 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination states: "Discrimination. . . on the grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin is an offence to human dignity and shall be condemned as a denial of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as a violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms…as an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and as a fact capable of disturbing the peace and security among peoples."

The Report of the 2001 World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances (known as the "World Conference against Racism") declared "racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance…" as constituting "serious violations of and obstacles to the full enjoyment of all human rights" and a denial of the "self evident truth that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (2001: 7).

Media's role and responsibilities concerning racism, xenophobia and human rights

Media have a role to play in combating racism and xenophobia, according to various international covenants and declarations. These are explored briefly in this section.

Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted in 1966 and entered into force on 3 January 1976, specifies that "advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law".

Article 5 of the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice of 1978 states, "The mass media and those who control and serve them…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."

The UNESCO Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War of 1978 emphasises the special responsibility and contribution of mass media in addressing racism and other human rights violations, through dissemination of information and giving expression to the voices of oppressed people.

The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights considers "human rights education, training and public information essential for the promotion and achievement of stable and harmonious relations among communities and for fostering mutual understanding, tolerance and peace."

The Report of the 2001 World Conference against Racism recognises the important role media can play in prevention, education and protection in relation to racism and xenophobia. Specific mention is made of community media (Durban 2001: 22): "We affirm that all States should recognise the importance of community media that give a voice to the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance". It

notes that media should "represent the diversity of a multicultural society and play a role in fighting racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance…" It further states how the promotion of "false images and negative stereotypes", particularly of migrants and refugees, has contributed towards racism and xenophobia, and the encouragement of violence. It recognises the role that the exercise of freedom of expression, in relation to media, can play in fighting racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance (2001: 22). It "urges States to encourage the media to avoid stereotyping based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance" (Article 146 of the Programme of Action).

Article 144 of the Programme of Action of the Report of the World Conference Against Racism (2001) "urges States and encourages the private sector to promote the development by the media… taking into account their independence… of a voluntary ethical code of conduct and self regulatory measures, and of policies and practices aimed at:

> (a) Combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerances;
> (b) Promoting the fair, balanced and equitable representation of the diversity of their societies, as well as ensuring that their diversity is reflected among their staff;
> (c) Combating the proliferation of ideas of racial superiority, justification of racial hatred and discrimination in any form;
> (d) Promoting respect, tolerance and understanding among all individuals, peoples, nations and civilizations, for example through assistance in public awareness-raising campaigns; and,
> (e) Avoiding stereotyping in all its forms, and particularly the promotion of false images of migrants, including migrant workers, and refugees, in order to prevent the spread of xenophobic sentiments among the public and to encourage the objective and balanced portrayal of people, events and history."

The outcome document of the Durban Review Conference (2009: 16) re-emphasises the role of media, amongst other sectors, in eliminating all forms of racial discrimination. It calls for State-led media campaigns and for States to combat xenophobic attitudes and stereotyping of "non-citizens" by media and other players "that have led to xenophobic violence, killings, and targeting of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers" (2009: 5). It commends media organisations that have developed voluntary codes of conduct recommended in the 2001 conference. It encourages "consultations among media professionals through relevant associations and organisations at the national, regional and international levels, with the assistance of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), with the view to exchanging views on this subject and sharing best practices, taking into account independence of the media and international human rights standards and norms" (2009: 5).

The International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism (known as the Mexico Declaration) of 1980 were adopted by international and regional organisations of professional journalists at their second consultative meeting, held under the auspices of UNESCO. They expressed support for the UNESCO Declaration. Principle IX stated, "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…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 affect humanity…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 of and dignity of all nationals, all peoples, and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, nationality, religion or philosophical conviction."

South African legislation and codes that promote equality and non-discrimination and condemn hate speech

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa[1] is founded on the principle of non-racialism, and the rights contained in the Bill of Rights are applicable to all in South Africa, regardless of citizenship. According to the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2, Section 9), neither the State nor any person may "unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth."

Chapter 7, Section 7 of the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act[2] of 2000 states that no-one may unfairly discriminate against someone on the grounds of race, including "dissemination of any propaganda or idea, which propounds the racial superiority or inferiority of any person, including incitement to, or participation in, any form of racial violence" or "the engagement in any activity which is intended to promote, or has the effect of promoting, exclusivity, based on race". Chapter 7, Section 10 of the Act specifically deals with hate speech, stating that "no person may publish, propagate, advocate or communicate words based on one or more of the prohibited grounds, against any person, that could reasonably be construed to demonstrate a clear intention to a) be hurtful; b) be harmful or to incite harm; c) promote or propagate hatred."

The South African Press Code, in a section specifically referring to discrimination and hate speech, states that the press should avoid "discriminatory or denigratory reference to people's race, colour, ethnicity, religion" (Section 2.1) and that the press should "not refer to a person's race, colour, ethnicity… in a prejudicial or pejorative context except where it is strictly relevant to the matter reported or adds significantly to readers' understanding of that matter" (Section 2.1). Section 2.3 states that while the press has a right and duty to "report and comment on all matters of legitimate public interest", this "must…be balanced against the obligation not to publish material which amounts to hate speech".

These declarations and codes also recognise and seek to protect the right to freedom of expression, including freedom of the press and other media.

[1] Act 108 of 1996, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

[2] Act 4 of 2000, The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act

3. Race and Migration Literature

This section will provide an overview of the literature on race, racism, migrants and xenophobia and South African media. Although related concepts racism and xenophobia will be explored separately, first in the context of South Africa, and then in the context of South African media.

3.1 Race and racism

MacDonald highlights how an understanding of race is based on underlying beliefs and assumptions about what makes one group separate from another. He suggests that race can be understood in similar terms to ethnicity to the extent that both are defined by borders drawn largely in people's minds (MacDonald 2006: 2-32). As such, racial classifications are socially constructed, rather than fixed and value-free. "Racial characteristics are always wholly ideologically constructed even though they appear to be based on given physical features" (Berger 2004: 15). Noticing difference (termed racialism) does not necessarily mean racism, where values are attached to distinctions, used for the purpose of "gaining privilege or benefit". However, Berger argues that this differentiation, in practice, is not clear-cut, and states: "Even if there is an attempt to make a conceptual distinction between racialism and racism, there is a very close intertwining of these in South African practice." (2004: 14)

South Africa is a prime example of the way in which racial distinctions have been created and used to promote the benefit of one group, to the detriment of others. Apartheid constituted one of the most extensive and successful experiments in social engineering in the world. Seekings outlines the three objectives of apartheid, which required such classification, as firstly, maintaining "racial purity", secondly, ensuring and protecting the privileged economic position of the White minority, and thirdly, maintaining the political dominance of the White minority (Seekings 2008: 3-4). The system of separate development was sustained and supported through business interests in South Africa, with non-White races providing a pool of un-unionised, largely unskilled labour essential to mines and other businesses (MacDonald 2006: 51). The system based on strict separation between groups of people, denied citizenship to the majority of South Africans, ensuring that only Whites had access to citizenship and its associated rights. In order to accomplish this, every person within the borders of South Africa had to be assigned a race (MacDonald 2006: 60-63). Under the 1950 Population Registration Act, races were assigned on the basis of descent, language or culture and appearance.

Considerable economic and social benefits went with "Whiteness". These economic benefits were accrued through policies that disinherited other races and exploited their labour before and throughout the apartheid period (MacDonald 2006). Legislation, policy and practice controlled social interaction between races and provided for differential access to services according to race, entrenching segregation in residential areas, health care, public places, education, and transport. To protect the privileged economic position of the White minority, the apartheid state reinforced policies which reserved land for White ownership and better-paid occupations for White people, and invested disproportionally in the education of White children (Seekings 2007: 4).

Institutionalised inequality continues in South Africa today. MacDonald notes that the transition to democracy may have broken the link between race and citizenship, but it did not end the bond between race and class (2006: 126). Economic inequalities persist, and while these are increasing within race groups (South African Institute of Race Relations 2005: 1), 60 percent of the Black (African) population is relatively poor, compared with 4 percent of the White population. This is despite the population being made up largely of Black Africans (79.3 percent), with Coloureds at 9 percent, Whites at 9.1 percent and Indians/Asians at 2.6 percent (Statistics South Africa 2009: 4).

The effects of apartheid can be further seen through the way that South Africans continue to define themselves and others by race. Seekings noted that South Africans still see society in racialised terms, such that there is a close correspondence between the way people classify themselves, how other people classify them, and official apartheid-era classifications, in terms of race (2008: 5).

The spatial element of apartheid persists too, with most South Africans still living in monoracial neighbourhoods. "Overall, very few South Africans live in racially integrated neighbourhoods, and few of those that do so live in neighbourhoods that can be described as meaningfully integrated across racial lines" (Seekings 2007: 14). Even where people from different races do share a neighbourhood, "there is little interaction, and racial othering and prejudice remain commonplace" (Seekings 2007: 14).

The history of racial discrimination in South Africa has made it necessary to implement various mechanisms to address past inequalities. Enfranchisement policies take place on a number of levels, in areas including economy, land and employment. The Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 has amongst its aims to "enable meaningful participation of black people in the economy", to "achieve a substantial change in the racial composition of ownership and management structures in the skilled occupations of existing and new enterprises" and to promote "access to finance for Black Economic Empowerment". The democratic government also has a policy of land reform governed by the Restitution of Land Rights Act, no. 22 of 1994 and the Land Restitution and Reform Laws Amendment Act, no. 78 of 1996. Employment equity as enshrined in the Employment Equity Act of 1998 tries to address "disparities in employment, occupation and income within the labour market". These measures to address past inequalities, which were based on racial distinctions and racism, necessitate continued recognition and use of racial categories. Where these have been created and used to divide and discriminate, their continued use brings complexities and paradoxes (Berger 2004).

3.2 Race and racism in the media

Media play a role in attempting to redress the inequalities of the past through fair reporting on the mechanisms of redress above as well as incidents of racial discrimination and continuing patterns of exclusion. This section examines some theory on race in the media and then looks at previous research findings of post-apartheid media.

Studying racism in the media is complex, given the "difficulty in South Africa of assessing what race signifies, when it is relevant and when it entails racism in the media" (Berger 2004: 6). Ferguson argues that media make references to concepts relating to normality, which can be used to justify racist positions. This discursive reserve of using these related concepts is drawn upon by both media and the audience (Ferguson 1998: 170). Similarly, Hall and others have argued that journalists encode a message into a news article, and the audience decodes it based on previous experience – either accepting the dominant code, negotiating the code or selecting an oppositional code (Ullmann 2005: 14). So, for instance, if a racist message is encoded into a media item, the audience will interpret it through their own biases.

Historically, the media have used racial identifiers to distinguish Black and White people in their reporting. Black people's skin colour was used as an explanation for their behaviour, for example, in relation to crime stories. In this way, media supported apartheid propaganda of "*swart gevaar*" (black danger), the idea that Black people were dangerous and a threat to the social order (Media Monitoring Project[3] 1999).

[3] Now Media Monitoring Africa.

In 1998, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) initiated an inquiry into racism in the media, prompted by a request from the Black Lawyers Association and the Black Accountants of South Africa to investigate allegations that two Johannesburg newspapers were guilty of racism. The then Media Monitoring Project contributed to the inquiry in the form of research into racial stereotyping in the media. Amongst its findings, the SAHRC found that the South African media could be characterised as a "racist institution"[4], and pointed to the "cumulative effect of persistent racial stereotypes, insensitive and at times reckless disregard for the effect of racist expressions on others" (SAHRC 2000: 89).

The SAHRC found no evidence of "blatant advocacy of racial hatred or incitement to racial violence", together with much evidence of condemnation of hate speech, and increasingly "appropriate" reporting on crime (SAHRC 2000: 90). It was concluded, however, that even where a piece of writing might not constitute hate speech, this did not mean that it did not violate certain constitutional rights; for example, in relation to equality, human dignity, and self-esteem. The inquiry noted concern about the small number of Black subeditors and women in senior management positions in the media, an area of continued concern (SAHRC 2000: 92).

One of the observations made by MMP in the SARHC-commissioned study was, "Whilst South Africa is in a post-apartheid era where racial oppression has been constitutionally removed…some of these stereotypes about black criminality still exist in the media" (Media Monitoring Project 1999: 43). These stereotypes were often perpetuated through failure to challenge the attitudes of sources linking crime to race, as well as by lack of analysis. On the overall coverage of race and racism, it was found that these issues mainly appeared in crime stories and in news items, with letters also making up a significant amount of content.

In a retrospective study into newspaper coverage of racial violence and xenophobia (1994-2002), MMA found that these events received prominent coverage, often appearing on the first three pages. Coverage of racism and xenophobia shared certain patterns, characterised by stereotypical representation of "the other"; incidents of racism and xenophobia were reported on in a simplistic, non-analytical fashion, without due recognition of complexities. Incidents of racial violence, when the media covered them, tended towards the dramatic and there was overall a predominantly Black victim/White perpetrator breakdown (Fine & Bird 2006). While this study related specifically to racial and xenophobic violence, rather than race and xenophobia more generally, the findings reflect themes found in other research. The Revealing Race Study, which looked at South African newspaper coverage of racism and xenophobia, found that content relating to race, racism, migrants, and xenophobia appeared prominently, most often on the front page. It found that the highest percentage of content was in the form of crime stories, mainly involving people of different races, and that it generally lacked detail and analysis (Mtwana & Bird 2006).

Overall, research into South African media representation of race and racism has tended to show that while there is generally no longer blatant racial profiling or advocacy of racial hatred, discrimination or violence, stereotypes that exist are not sufficiently challenged. In addition, despite the high prominence given to issues of race and/or racism, there is a limited amount of detail and analysis in coverage.

3.3 Migrants and xenophobia in South Africa

Media content is not created in a vacuum and it is important to understand societal attitudes. In the case of migration and xenophobia, there are numerous studies on its nature and extent. This section will look at the extent of migration in South Africa and then what attitudes exist towards migrants/foreigners in South Africa,

[4] This finding was controversial and not universally accepted, for instance, Berger critiqued the poor conceptualisation of racism (2001: 10)

together with institutional practices that underpin these attitudes. Finally, the gender dimension of migration is explored.

Estimates of the number of migrants in South Africa vary dramatically between sources. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) has estimated 2.5 million to 4.1 million people (McDonald et al. 2000: 168). This estimate is generally believed to be excessively high (Crush 1997 in McDonald et al. 2000: 168). Statistics South Africa has put the number as low as 500 000 (about 1 percent), and another study estimates between 500 000 and 1 million (McDonald et al. 2000: 168).

Like people in many countries, South Africans express a variety of xenophobic attitudes. In 1998, Human Rights Watch found that the culture of South Africa was becoming "increasingly xenophobic". It pointed to discourse often used by politicians linking migrants to crime, unemployment, and diseases; and abuse targeted at migrants at the level of police, army, Home Affairs, and South African citizens. While drawing on anecdotal experiences of migrants, the report was criticised by Crush (2001) for its lack of primary research into the extent of xenophobia used to support its claims. In the South African context, Harris (2002) suggests that the dictionary definition of xenophobia (see terminology) needs to be "re-framed" to also reflect the violent practice of xenophobia, and the way in which it is specifically directed at certain groups of "foreigners", not foreigners in general. She argues that "the word 'xenophobia' describes violent actions against foreigners, as well as negative social representations of immigrants, refugees and migrants" (Harris 2002: 9).

An attitudinal survey conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in 1997, found, on the basis of responses to questions on immigration, that "South Africans are more hostile to immigration than citizens of any other country for which comparable data is available, including traditional immigrant-receiving countries" (Mattes et al. 1999: 8). South Africans widely supported strict controls on immigration, regardless of race, although there were more restrictive attitudes amongst Africans and Asians than other groups. 48 percent of South Africans saw migrants from neighbouring countries as a "criminal threat", 37 percent said they were a threat to jobs and the economy and 29 percent said they brought diseases. It was reported that "all South Africans" appeared to have "the same stereotypical image of Southern Africans, citing job loss, crime and disease as the negative consequences they fear from immigrants living in the country" (Mattes et al. 1999: 2). A direct relationship was found between people's perceptions of immigrants as job threats, health threats, and a negative economic force, and their opposition to immigration (Mattes et al. 1999: 2).

More recently, a 2006 survey by the SAMP echoed previous findings on South Africans' attitudes to foreigners, in certain respects. The SAMP reported: "Compared to citizens of other countries worldwide, South Africans are the least open to outsiders and want the greatest restrictions on immigration" (Crush et al. 2008: 1). It also found that, on average, South Africans scored high on xenophobia (measured using a composite score), with some differences according to race, language group, class, income category, level of education, employment and political affiliation of respondents. Compared to the previous SAMP survey (1999), the 2006 survey found that attitudes towards migrants, in terms of perceived threat to the social and economic wellbeing of South Africa, in certain respects, had hardened. While South Africans had more contact with foreigners than in 1998, "the majority of attitudes are still formed independent of personal contact with migrants" (Crush et al. 2008: 4).

Research suggests a racial dimension to attitudes and behaviours directed towards migrants in South Africa. Locals' attitudes towards White migrants are different from attitudes towards Black migrants.

> ***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 (Crush 2001: 28).

This also applies to where people come from. "Migrants from North America and Europe are regarded more favourably than those from other SADC [Southern African Development Community] countries who, in turn, are more favourably perceived than those from the rest of Africa"(Crush et al. 2008: 4).

Harris looks critically at various explanations of xenophobia and attempts to understand the situation in South Africa, where "black foreigners, particularly those from Africa, comprise the majority of victims" (Harris 2002: 2). Harris groups explanations for xenophobia into three kinds (or levels) of hypotheses: the scapegoating hypothesis, the isolation hypothesis and the biocultural hypothesis. These are not seen as mutually exclusive.

According to the scapegoating hypothesis, xenophobia is understood in the context of social change and transition. In South Africa, high expectations for employment, housing and other social provisions, coupled with the realisation that delivery of these is not immediate, are seen to result in frustration targeted at foreigners. Harris (2002) criticises this explanation for failing to explain why it is that foreigners, in particular, are scapegoated and why nationality is the determining factor.

The isolation hypothesis places xenophobia in the context of a South Africa that has been secluded from the wider international community, under apartheid, with foreigners coming to represent the "unknown". With increased integration has come increased contact between South Africans and "foreigners", creating space for hostility. Isolation is also seen to have taken place *within* South Africa, for example, between racial or ethnic groups, such that there is little tolerance for difference or the "unknown" (Morris 1998 in Harris 2002).

The biocultural hypothesis, which links xenophobia to visible difference or otherness, such as skin colour, language, or clothing, is seen by Harris to offer some explanation for xenophobia's selective targeting. However, it is still seen as limited in its ability to explain what markers, or differences, signify and how they come to signify it, such that Black foreigners are more at risk from xenophobia than White or Asian foreigners.

Harris places xenophobia in the context of the tension inherent in contradictory discourses of the "new South Africa" (and nationalism) and the "African Renaissance" (and regionalism), and the way this tension is disguised through the representation of xenophobia as a "pathology", itself a threat to a healthy, functioning South African society. Rather than seeing xenophobia as something "pathological" and "alien" to South Africa, she argues that it is inherent in these contradictions in the "new South Africa", nationalism, and culture of violence that is the legacy of apartheid.

Research conducted in the light of the "xenophobic violence" of May 2008 highlights the complexity of the relationship between attitudes and behaviours, and the limited use of attributing simplistic "xenophobic" motivations to behaviour, without understanding how different factors come into play. An investigation by the Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa (Idasa) found that the feelings that drove the violence were widespread, even among non-participants, and related to "bread and butter issues" of poverty, such as poor service delivery, unemployment, and competition for resources, rather than deeper political agendas; that the violence appeared to be the result of "decentralised community organising" (Idasa 2008: 8); that it was focused on informal areas; and, that strong organisational structures, particularly local government institutions, in some cases, served to mitigate the violence. Similarly, Misago found that strong community leadership served to prevent xenophobic violence (Misago 2009).

Violence and discrimination against foreigners happens not only on a community level, but also on an institutional level. In 2000, an investigation into the Lindela Repatriation Centre (a centre outside Krugersdorp where people are sent prior to being deported) by the SAHRC highlighted how practicalities of immigration management fell short of standards of treatment of migrants set out and required by international human rights instruments. These practices included those relating to apprehension, detention, investigation and treatment of migrants. The SAHRC report reiterated findings of a previous study it published in 1999 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 valid documents, and processes were delayed by inefficient investigation methods and poor communication between the different departments (South African Human Rights Commission 2000: 36).***

Landau also demonstrates how migrants are vulnerable to being stopped, arrested and detained by police, regardless of status or documentation. According to a Wits survey, 71 percent of non-South Africans reported being stopped by police, primarily for document checks, compared to 47 percent of South Africans (Landau 2004: 11). He suggests arrests of foreigners serve a number of purposes for the police, including meeting arrest targets, providing an opportunity for extortion, and, given the public's association of immigration and crime, building legitimacy among the South African citizenry by appearing to tackle "crime and grime" (Landau 2004: 12).

Research looked at so far has highlighted the extent, nature, and complexity of discriminatory attitudes and behaviours towards migrants/foreigners. Research has also shown a gendered dimension to migration, in terms of the proportions of migrants, the nature of migration, and particular experiences. For example, females make up 40.5 percent, a minority of the migrant population in South Africa (Statistics South Africa 2007). Female migrants have been shown to be among the most vulnerable to trafficking, sexual exploitation, and other forms of abuse. Citing Goodwin-Gill, the SAHRC report commented on how "experience from custodial settings similar to Lindela has shown that women and girls risk violation of their human rights by being targeted as victims of sexual abuse" (SAHRC 2000: 68). This can be in the form of rape, abduction, and demands for sexual favours, in exchange for securing safety, assistance and protection of certain rights.

Fuller (2008) writes of the "double jeopardy of being both foreign and female". She points out that rape has been used for ethnic cleansing, and that while it is difficult to distinguish motivations for rape in the South African context, there were incidents of rape amongst the xenophobic violence in May 2008. While reports of rape were relatively low in number, Fuller suggests that there may have been under-reporting owing to perceptions of police treatment of migrants, scepticism and stigmatisation of victims of sexual violence.

Clearly the environment in which news content is produced is not neutral. Journalists and editors are drawn from the general population, and may be influenced by the same, often discriminatory and xenophobic, attitudes and behaviours that exist in the wider community. Likewise, as officials serve as an important pool of sources for media, discriminatory attitudes and behaviour by official sources are likely to be expressed in statements to media.

3.4 Migrants and xenophobia in the media

Media may be the only contact some South Africans have with foreign migrants. For this reason, they have a great responsibility to inform and challenge societal perceptions of migrants. However, studies show that they often fail to do this and that coverage is often shallow and lacks analysis. This section looks at some of these studies, which

have focused primarily on mainstream, large commercial and national media, rather than community and small commercial media.

A survey found that 4 percent of South Africans reported having a great deal of contact with people from other Southern African countries, while 80 percent had little or none, and that those who did have a great deal of contact with "non-citizens" were less likely to oppose immigration. Given the low level of contact with "non-citizens", it was suggested that attitudes and stereotypes relating to foreigners, such as their perceived negative impact on the economy, crime, and health, were "not the result of direct personal experience", but were disseminated through "indirect means" such as schools, the media, and interpersonal communication (Mattes et al. 1999: 20).

Similarly, looking at Southern African countries generally, McDonald & Jacobs found that, given the high levels of xenophobia, and the relatively small amount of contact that citizens of these countries have with migrants, "anti-immigrant sentiment in the region is not primarily a result of direct personal contact with foreigners but rather a product of (mis)information from secondary sources including the media" (McDonald & Jacobs 2005: 13).

This is in line with research on migration and xenophobia in the media:

> ***At best, the press has been presenting a very limited perspective on cross-border migration dynamics, and in the process, is 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 (Danso & McDonald, 2000:2).***

Danso & McDonald (2000) found a significant drop in anti-immigration items in the press each year from 1994 to 1998 and an increase in the number of analytical articles over the time period. The latter is partly attributed to increased numbers 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, it was also found that:

> ***A large proportion of the articles . . . 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 (Danso & McDonald 2000: 1).***

McDonald & Jacobs (2005), in a subsequent study, found a similar trend of largely non-analytical newspaper coverage of cross-border migration and "continued perpetuation of negative (im)migrants in the South African press" (McDonald & Jacobs 2005: 1). They found that "images of migrants as 'job stealers', 'criminals' and 'illegals' only serve to perpetuate ill-considered stereotypes of migrants and migration and continue to be used in reportage on these issues in the South African press" (McDonald & Jacobs 2005: 13). They did, however, find an increase in the amount of pro-immigration and analytical coverage.

Looking at messages communicated in the media about race, racism, migrants and xenophobia, Mtwana & Bird (2006) found that negative propositions (or messages) about foreigners were among the most prominent. Corroborating other research, this was attributed to the "high coverage of criminal activities said to be committed

by people from other countries". Such content included, for example, mention of nationalities in reports about alleged crimes, a practice found across media.

Fine & Bird (2006), in their study of violent events in South African print media, found a prevalence of negative discourse on African migrants, particularly, which tended to reinforce the notion of their "inherent criminality" (Fine & Bird 2006: 65). They noted: "Media coverage . . . tended to blur the distinctions between 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." (Fine & Bird 2006: 4) Fine & Bird (2006) proposed that rather than actively supporting blatant racist stereotyping, the media largely failed to challenge it.

Conflating migrants into one category can be seen to present a limited and distorted view of the actual diversity of experiences, motivations and statuses of migrants, and to cause confusion. As Fine & Bird wrote:

> ***This category may include refugees who have lost the protection of their own State and who have a well-founded fear of persecution, or asylum seekers trying to get official South African government recognition of their status. It may also include people who have arrived in South Africa for temporary employment or study purposes, as well as those who have immigrated permanently. Tourists or short-term visitors are another group. These categories of migrants have different experiences and lives but the press has often failed to make the distinctions clear, tending to conflate and confuse the issues (Fine & Bird 2006: 23).***

The use of the term "illegal", in relation to migrants, has been widely criticised for being misleading and adding to negative representations and associations of migrants with crime. Vigneswaran writes: "'illegals' are identified as involved in criminal activity and as being racially or ethnically different to . . . their host population" (Vigneswaran 2007: 3). He argues that this image serves to reinforce practices that separate and exclude certain groups from coming to reside in the country. The idea of categorising cross-border movement into "illegal" and "legal" is seen as a "historical product of the modern state's immigration control mentality and regime" (Vigneswaran 2007: 3).

On the subject of the representation of undocumented or "illegal" migrants and migration, Vigneswaran (2007) points to the newspaper trend that cognitively separates the experiences of non-Whites during the apartheid era from those of undocumented foreign migrants, depicting "illegal migration" as a purely post-apartheid phenomenon (Vigneswaran 2007: 12). Despite the similarities in terms of the documentation required and restriction of movement, efforts by foreign migrants to evade law enforcement are perceived differently, and not as a "continuation of the anti-apartheid tradition of non-cooperation with arbitrary movement controls" (Vigneswaran 2007: 12). The approach that Vigneswaran takes to looking at media representation of migrants comes out of a critique of methodology used by other researchers, which he sees as being isolated from social and historical context, and wider discourse.

Harris, in looking at the nature of xenophobia in South Africa, discusses the way African migrants and Africa are portrayed in the media. Drawing on newspaper extracts, she argues that Africa is presented as a homogeneous mass, "a vague space marked by wars, woes and poverty", distinct from South Africa. African migrants, associated with chaos and disorder, are depicted as "flooding" in, uncontrollably, illegally, and by implication are criminal (2004: 7), as well as associated with disease, thereby a "symbolic threat to the South African nation" (2004: 8). This is similar to the findings of an MMP study which found coverage of Africa was mainly fragmented and negative, with most reports and newspapers giving the impression that the African continent is plagued by corruption, inept leadership, conflict and disregard for human rights and law (Media Monitoring Project 2007).

Such representation of Africa has the potential to feed into and expand upon a broader xenophobic discourse, where African foreigners and migrants are ascribed similarly negative attributes.

While the relationship between societal perceptions and media representations of migrants is not straightforward, media can be seen to contribute to a climate of xenophobia when they condone rather than challenge these negative perceptions. The question remains as to what role community and small commercial media, specifically, can play in society, particularly in relation to racism and xenophobia.

Despite the similar discourses that underscore racism and xenophobia, there is a marked difference in the coverage of the two. Where xenophobic stereotypes are clear, racism is not so clearly evident in media coverage. Rather, stories dealing with race often suffer from a lack of context and analysis. The coverage of these issues in community media, however, remains largely unexplored. Yet often it is these communities that feel the effects of continuing racial tensions and the impact of migration most keenly. Community media, moreover, as we shall see from the next section, have an additional role in giving people a voice.

4. Community and small commercial media in South Africa

This section will look at community and small commercial media and the particular environment in which such media operate. Within existing literature and practice, various underlying values, theories, and practical considerations are used to categorise media, such that there is no single and universally adopted definition of "community media". These various definitions are discussed below.

The Media Development and Diversity Act of 2002, which established and defined the functions of the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA), makes the distinction between "community media" and "small commercial media". It defines "community media" as any media *"owned and controlled by a community where any financial surplus generated is reinvested in the media project"* (Media Development and Diversity Act 2002: 1) [emphasis added]. It defines community in terms of a "geographically founded" community or a community of interest (or "any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific ascertainable common interest"). "Small commercial media" are defined as "*independent* media enterprises or initiatives that are run for *personal gain* as *micro, very small, or small business*" [emphasis added].

Hadland & Thorne (2004) make a clear distinction between what they call "community media", which are community-owned and driven by a "developmental mandate", and "independent media", which are privately owned, commercial, and free of control by corporate or government interest. While "independent" media may target certain communities, unlike "community media" they are neither owned nor controlled by a community, nor do they use participatory decision making. Their understanding of community media is contextualised within legal and mor`al principles and frameworks, which define and safeguard certain rights, including the right to freedom of expression and the right to communicate. As they explain: "This right [to communicate] implies that citizens are offered access to community media to express their concerns, needs, and, through dialogue, find common solutions to local problems." (Hadland & Thorne 2004: 10) Under this conceptualisation, community, private, and public media make up separate components of the media sector. Small commercial media, what the authors call "independent media", fall under the private component, which is profit-driven (Hadland & Thorne 2004: 13).

Girard (2007) summarises many of the key principles that are identified within the literature as characteristic of community media. Focusing on community radio, Girard identifies it as community-based, independent, not-for-profit, pro-community and participatory. In this model, ownership, control and accountability determine whether a medium is "community-based". Legal ownership can take a variety of structures, as long as the owner is "acting on behalf of the community", and there is input from community stakeholders who have a sense of "ownership" (Girard 2007: 1). "Independence" refers to independence from "government, donors, advertisers and other institutions". To be accountable to the community, governance structures should be transparent, for example through elected board members. "Pro-community" means that rather than being motivated by profit, the medium's purpose is to "support and contribute to the community's social, economic and cultural development" (Girard 2007: 2). Community participation can take a variety of forms, at many levels, from production, to contribution of content, to governance.

Milne et al. (2006) challenge clear-cut distinctions between community media (non-profit, community owned and controlled), small independent media enterprises, and NGO (non-governmental organisation) media, proposed by participants of an Institute for the Advancement of Journalism (IAJ) convened workshop (2005). They use the terms "community media", "grassroots media", and "independent media" interchangeably as they found that many of the newspapers profiled in their study crossed over categories. For example, while the newspapers were essentially commercial enterprises, many of them engaged in community outreach and other activities normally

associated with community-owned newspapers. They also found that regardless of lack of "legal ownership" by the community, readers had a strong sense of ownership of the newspapers, which they read and contributed to. An example is provided: "Rose, co-owner of the *North East Courier*, says that the letters section is a way for the local readers to 'own' the newspaper (Milne et al. 2006: 110). The sense of community ownership was also found to correlate with the degree the newspaper practised community outreach – "the greater the degree of community involvement – the greater the sense of ownership" (Milne et al. 2006: 5).

Addison (2006) uses a broad conceptualisation of community press (newspapers and magazines), which is made up of what he calls at least four different sectors or types. Under this classification, "community" and "small commercial media" (as defined by the Media Diversity and Development Act) come under one type, namely "small independent publishers", made up of both those driven by social agendas ("community-based", fitting Gerard's definition) and those driven by profit. The three other types include "commercial papers owned by major groups such as Caxton and Media24", "municipal, provincial and central government publications aimed at communities", and "other players including publications produced by churches, universities, NGOs in health and agriculture, and even tourism services supporting community newssheets" (Addison 2006: 34). "Grassroots" media as a term is used interchangeably with independent media to refer to newspapers and magazines "designed to be accessible and relevant to local communities", but not owned by "mainstream media chains", unlike the "corporate commercial community press sector". They are defined as "independent" and distinguished from, for example, publications by NGOs, in that they do not report to a higher body and are independent of interest groups, government or otherwise (Addison 2006: 39).

Research suggests that large corporations and conglomerates are increasingly moving into the community press sector (as defined broadly by Addison 2006). The AIP Census 2006 Overview identified the biggest competitors to grassroots newspapers as neighbourhood papers operated by Caxton/CTP Group, Media24, Independent Group and JohnCom, now Avusa Limited (AIP in Addison 2006: 215).

Media24's combined community newspaper circulation is about 1.3 million a week (Media24 2007). Independent Group includes amongst its publications 14 free weekly Cape community newspapers, totalling a distribution of about 600 000 (Independent Online). Avusa Community Newspapers publishes nine weekly newspapers in the Eastern Cape, with a circulation of 371 000 and an estimated readership of nearly 700 000 a week (Avusa Limited website). Caxton publishes over 100 "community" newspapers (Caxton/CTP website).

While these newspapers may be included within the broad category of the community press sector, they fall outside the confines of community newspapers as defined by Milne et al. 2006 and the Media Development and Diversity Act. A distinction remains between these "corporate" community newspapers and independent/grassroots newspapers (Addison 2006).

In 2004 there were 246 small media organisations, both "community" and "independent media", in South Africa (Hadland & Thorne 2004). Out of those classified as "fully functioning", almost half were print media, two thirds of which were for profit, and one third were not-for-profit organisations (Hadland & Thorne 2004: 53). The community and independent media sector had an estimated annual expenditure of around R115 million (Hadland & Thorne 2004: 84), employing around 1 000 people full-time, and about 4 000 part-time or as volunteers (seen as a conservative estimate). 65 percent of print organisations derived their income from advertising, and 11 percent from donors (Hadland & Thorne 2004: 84). Small media organisations were mainly concentrated in urban areas, particularly the main metropolitan centres and the wealthiest provinces (Hadland & Thorne 2004: 65). Hadland & Thorne found that most of the 25 small media in their study appealed to a "general population" or audience, and inferred that communities were mainly being defined as geographical entities. They also found the newspapers had minimal contact with non-governmental organisations (2006: 77).

Milne et al. (2006), through case studies of six successful independent newspapers serving local communities, offer a good insight into the way in which such newspapers operate. For example, they report how "on-the job learning" (or training) occurred at all the newspapers. This plays an important role, training "independent journalists" for the "broader media sector". In relation to this, newspapers faced difficulties retaining staff, whom they lost to the bigger media groups. It was also reported that editorial content had a local focus, "relevant to members of the newspapers' communities", and that successful newspapers "avoided perpetuating stereotypes" (Milne et al. 2006: 112).

Grassroots/independent media, as distinct from media owned by conglomerates/large corporations, suffer particular challenges. Among 25 small media surveyed by Hadland & Thorne, all reported high levels of joblessness, poverty, and symptoms of social breakdown in their areas, and all complained of difficulty securing adequate resources, training and assistance. They state: "Almost all of our 25 case studies reported they were either struggling to survive or were barely covering costs." (Hadland & Thorne 2004: 68) Particular difficulties are documented in relation to securing advertising or sponsorship, with advertisers' willingness to invest in newspaper advertisements found to be influenced by the race of the owners and target audience and perceptions of spending power. Milne et al. (2006) found that "every newspaper researched, in some way or another, indicated that White-ness lends credibility as far as advertisers are concerned. Advertisers at the national level, and to a lesser degree the local level, are reluctant to invest their ad-spend on publications that target historically disadvantaged communities." (Milne et al. 2006: 7)

Addison (2006) highlights how the move of media conglomerates into the territory of community newspapers raises further concerns and challenges for grassroots media, in terms of advertising revenues, media independence, diversity, and staff retention.

While there may be differences in the way in which researchers and practitioners define "community media", the research has highlighted that there are some core principles. At the very least, community newspapers, whether "independent", "community", or even conglomerate owned, must be primarily concerned with serving the needs of the community, which necessarily requires a level of commitment to community development. Community media are in a unique position to affect attitudes in communities that remain largely divided along racial (and often national) lines, should they wish to do so.

5. Research Methodology

The research sought to answer the following questions:

1. How are race and racism represented in the community and small commercial media?
2. How are migrants and xenophobia represented in the community and small commercial media?
3. What do non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations say about media in their communities?

This project utilised a participatory research approach, working with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs). The objective in using this approach was to ensure meaningful selection of community and small commercial media and to get input on how communities themselves view their media.

A phased approach was employed, which made use of qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. It involved:

1. Media selection;
2. Content analysis of items identified;
3. Focus groups with monitors;
4. Focus groups with NGOs and CBOs, followed by training in media relations; and,
5. Stakeholder workshop and strategy meeting with community media practitioners.

The logic and activities of the phases are explained in greater detail below.

5.1 Media selection

The term "community media" in this study was defined broadly to mean media serving a localised geographical area (see terminology). The study was restricted to newspapers. The sample included 46 community and small commercial newspapers from the following five provinces of South Africa: Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, and Limpopo. These provinces had been identified early on as provinces where major media houses were located and/or where there had been reports of racist or xenophobic incidents and/or that were affected by migration, due to proximity to neighbouring countries.

Purposive non-probability sampling was used to select papers, by asking organisations working on and/or affected by issues of race, xenophobia and migration and/or based in areas affected by migration to identify community and small commercial newspapers easily available, and, in their view, widely read in their communities. An attempt was made to include a sample of newspapers which reflected a diversity of language, ownership or independence, and geographical location. The newspapers monitored were mainly English, followed by Afrikaans, with a few in Sepedi, and isiXhosa.

For a full list of ownership and geographical details, see Appendix I.

Table 1: Newspapers Monitored

Alex News	False Bay People's Post	Mpumalanga Mirror	Southern Courier
Aliwal Weekblad	Fourways Review	Mpumalanga News	Southern Suburbs Tatler
Atlantic Sun	Germiston City News	Nelspruit Post	Speaker
Barberton Times	Goodwood/Parow Tyger Talk	North Eastern Tribune	Steelburger/ Lydenburg News
Bedfordview and Edenvale News	Grocott's Mail	Northern Review	Table Talk
Bolander	Hazy View Herald	Plainsman	Tembisan
Capricorn Voice	iDikelethu	Polokwane Express	The Rep
City Vision Khayelitsha	Kuranta News	Polokwane Observer	Vhembe Herald
City Vision Soweto	Limpopo Informant	Pondo News	Vukani
Corridor Gazette	Limpopo Mirror	Rainbow News	Winterberg Nuus[5]
Eastern Cape Today	Lowvelder/Laevelder	Seipone	
Eastern Cape Voice News	Mercury	Skawara News	

5.2 Selection and content analysis of newspaper items

A team of 12 trained monitors, who were allocated newspapers according to home language, carried out the media monitoring. All newspapers published between 23 August 2008 and 31 October 2008 were included in the study.

Race and, to a lesser extent, migration can be potentially studied in any newspaper item. However, this would require a huge sample of content items which may have a very tenuous link with the issues. For this reason, items were selected based on whether they mentioned race, ethnicity, nationality, or migration, with reference to a person, people or phenomena in general. In order to guide monitors, they were given a list of keywords: *Race, Racist, Racism, Racial Discrimination, Refugees/Immigrants, Xenophobia, Xenophobic, K****r, Kwerekwere, Makwerekwere, Foreigners, Aliens, Outsiders, Migrants, Ethnicity (Zulu, Xhosa, etc), Non-nationals, Foreign Nationals, Blacks, Whites, Indians, Coloureds, Non-South Africans.* These keywords were a guide only, and items which made reference to ethnicity or nationality that were not included in this list were also monitored. Selection of items was overseen to ensure all monitors worked in the same way.

After items were selected, they were monitored using a standardised methodology, form, and user guide, developed through previous research projects, with reference to relevant research literature and consultation with organisations. The monitoring methodology collected various pieces of information, including:

[5] Also published as Somerset Budget / Cradock Courant / Fort Beaufort Advocate / Middelburg Courant

Date – The date of publication.
Total count – Total number of items in the newspaper (excluding specified types).
Page number – The page on which the item appeared.
Medium – The name of the newspaper in which the item appeared.
Author – Whether the item was written by a journalist, an agency, a combination of these, or a guest or letter writer.
Origin – The geographical origin (local, provincial, national, international or Africa-wide) of each story or item.
Type – Type of item, e.g. news story, editorial or photograph.
Topic – Each item was allocated a topic code drawn from a list of possible topics, deemed to be the most central to the item under consideration. (See Appendix II for full list of codes.) 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.
Summary – Monitors recorded a brief summary of the item's content, usually including the headline.
Language – How were migrants/foreigners referred to? Monitors could select up to six pre-coded words from a list that were used in an item to refer to migrants/foreigners. Where a word that was not on the list appeared, they could select "other".
Sources – The role of those persons directly or indirectly accessed or quoted in the report. The gender and race of the source were also noted, as well as whether the source was South African or not, where these were clearly indicated.

The monitoring framework was case-tested before being widely applied and any suggested additions to the lists identified by the monitors during the research were discussed and, if valuable, included. The research team also created a database to capture, transpose and analyse all the items monitored.

This methodology included propositions; a proposition is something that is referred to or explicitly stated in an article, whether or not the journalist appeared to agree with it. Propositions may be about race, migrants, Africa, gender and other social categories, generalisations and social representations, both positive and negative. They are about (often erroneous) perceptions and ideas that people have of various groups, not about facts. The propositions are derived from previous MMA research, various literature sources and input from NGOs and CBOs.

The advantage of propositional monitoring is that it permits a standardised and quantifiable method of analysing an essentially qualitative element. Thus, the statements referred to in articles may be quantified, and it can be assessed whether they are upheld in the article, challenged or merely raised. This was done by examining both the headline and the body of the item, including statements from sources. If an item raised a proposition but did not either strongly support or challenge the proposition, it was coded as neutral.

Monitors were asked to identify a proposition and then, where it was about a group and this was not included in the proposition, the specific group (identified according to race, religion ethnicity, nationality, or state) to which it applied. They were then required to specify whether the proposition was clearly supported, challenged or merely raised. Individual propositions were searched for in the article and monitored, not propositions of the article as a whole. See Appendix IV for the proposition list.

Monitors were instructed to note only 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. All monitoring was checked, and re-done where necessary, to ensure similar application of monitoring across monitors, particularly given people's diverse experiences relating to racism and xenophobia. There was also continuous feedback and supervision of monitors.

5.3 Focus groups

To complement the quantitative data, a series of focus group discussions was conducted, first with those who had monitored the newspapers and then with NGOs/CBOs in each of the provinces in the study. These were carried out on the premise that newspaper content does not exist in a vacuum, but relies on the experiences and perceptions of readers to be understood.

Focus group discussions with monitors provided the opportunity to collect impressions and note common themes and key contrasts noticed during the course of the monitoring but not recorded. Questions addressed overall impressions, differences between community media and national media (which was the subject of a concurrent project), implicit messages, and their impressions of how coverage of the topic could be improved.

Focus group discussions were conducted with NGOs/CBOs in each province to gather the perceptions of community members and workers of their local media. Questions addressed views on coverage of race and racism, views on coverage of migrants and xenophobia, stories from communities relating to racism and xenophobia not being covered, and suggestions for improvement.

Efforts were made to ensure that focus group participants were diverse in terms of gender and race, and – in the case of the provincial focus groups – representative of both South Africans and foreigners (for a full list, see Appendix V). Each provincial focus group discussion was followed by a workshop on media relations and advocacy, in order to ensure that communities themselves could be empowered to work more effectively with the media. The views of the community organisations were included in the findings presented to the community media practitioners, discussed below.

5.4 Stakeholder Workshop and Strategy Meeting

The final stage of the project was to disseminate preliminary findings to key stakeholders in the community and small commercial media sector, hear their responses, and plan a practical way forward. This part of the project took the form of presentations, panel responses, and facilitated discussion.

The purpose of hearing from community media practitioners was to gain insight into the practical considerations and decisions that informed, or needed to inform, media content on these issues. Efforts were made to include representatives from key associations and organisations, and some publications from at least two provinces besides Gauteng.

5.5 Research limitations

There are a number of limitations to the research methodology. First, the media selected were limited in diversity of ownership, language, target audience, and province. Second, the study took place over a limited time period and included a relatively small number of items. Third, the monitoring could not be completely standardised, given subjectivities inherent in the process. Fourth, the quantitative aspect of the study was restricted to examining race, racism, ethnicity, migrants and xenophobia only in items selected. Fifth, the study looked primarily at content itself, not events or factors that determined content, or that which was not covered. Sixth, it was outside the scope of this research to look at individual newspapers and the context in which they operated.

Newspaper selection and retention in the study was influenced by practical considerations such as ease of access and regularity of distribution. While an attempt was made to cover both rural and urban areas, logistical considerations resulted in an urban bias of newspapers. Despite efforts made to include a diversity of newspapers, in terms of ownership, target audience and geographical area, some independent newspapers initially selected had to be excluded eventually. This was due to irregular publication, irregular distribution, or difficulty accessing them.

Given the monitoring period, and relatively small sample of items, the findings offer a snapshot of coverage. Newspapers were a mixture of bi-weeklies, weeklies, fortnightlies, and a small number of monthlies. In particular, the small number of monthly newspapers makes it difficult to generalise about content.

While every effort was made to ensure that monitoring was undertaken in a uniform fashion, 100 percent standardisation could not be guaranteed. Monitoring by its nature is a subjective exercise. The use of multiple monitors was a potential problem, in relation to eliciting similar responses across media. This is particularly the case given the subject of racism and xenophobia. Monitors are influenced by their own experiences and perceptions of racism and xenophobia. Such problems were minimised through a standardised user guide, training, regular communication, checking and data cleaning.

The quantitative aspect of the research included only items that specifically mentioned race, migration and ethnicity. As content was selected out of all the content available in the newspaper, the picture is restricted to only these items. However, racism and, to a lesser extent, xenophobia are crosscutting issues that are present in our very assumptions of what normality is. Clearly it is not possible, within the confines of content analysis, to monitor these reflections of what is "normal".

In addition, the study was primarily limited to monitoring and analysing newspaper content itself. The research did not look at larger social influences affecting events, events themselves, or factors affecting whether and how newspapers covered these. It was also not possible using the adopted quantitative method to track what was *not* being covered. However, this was partly addressed through asking participants in provincial focus groups what stories relating to race, racism, migrants and xenophobia were happening in their communities that were *not* being covered.

In generalising about diverse newspapers included in the study, differences are downplayed. The newspapers are different in terms of ownership, target audience, context, amount of content, and language. Each newspaper could potentially be the subject of an entire research study and report. Given the primarily quantitative nature of the study, and the broad definition of community media adopted, these could not be adequately addressed here.

Additionally, it is important to acknowledge that the researcher and moderator is White, female and from England. These factors may help to shape perceptions and experiences of the researcher/moderator herself, as well as those of the participants in the form of their openness and responses in focus group discussions.

6. Research Findings

This section will address the findings of the research, both quantitative and qualitative. The initial and main focus of this section will be the quantitative findings from the monitoring. Where relevant, examples of selected items and comments from focus groups with monitors will also be included, to add depth to the analysis. After this, there will be a look at findings from the focus groups with NGOs and CBOs. Where relevant, comments and issues raised in the focus group discussions with monitors will be included. Finally, there will be a summary of the main issues raised in the stakeholder workshop and strategy meeting.

6.1 Amount of coverage

In order to gauge how much coverage related to race, racism, migrants, ethnicity and xenophobia relative to overall coverage, the total number of items for every newspaper was counted and only those relating to the issues of interest were monitored.

Individual newspaper coverage that addressed issues relating to race, ethnicity, nationality, racism and migration (based on the monitoring criteria) ranged from 0 percent (*Pondo News*) to 6.2 percent. (*Polokwane Express*). On average, 2.7 percent of a newspaper's coverage addressed these issues.

There did not appear to be a relationship between the amount of coverage and the provinces the newspapers were from or what language they were published in. *Pondo News*, which had no coverage, is an isiXhosa and English language newspaper covering Kokstad in Eastern Cape. However, *iDikelethu* and *Skawara News*[6], which had above-average coverage, were also isiXhosa and English language medium newspapers, covering Alice (the former) and Cofimvaba, Ngcobo and Cala (the latter), in the Eastern Cape. The reason for the variation in the amount of content is not clear and would need further investigation.

There was some surprise among monitors about what appeared to be little coverage of these issues, especially considering the proximity of some of the newspapers, such as *Mpumalanga News*, to other countries. One monitor remarked: "Community newspapers seem like they do not want to get involved [in issues of racism and xenophobia], but when your neighbour is burning it becomes an issue. Racism is a national issue and to find them not reporting seems very strange" (Monitor, Focus group discussion 2)

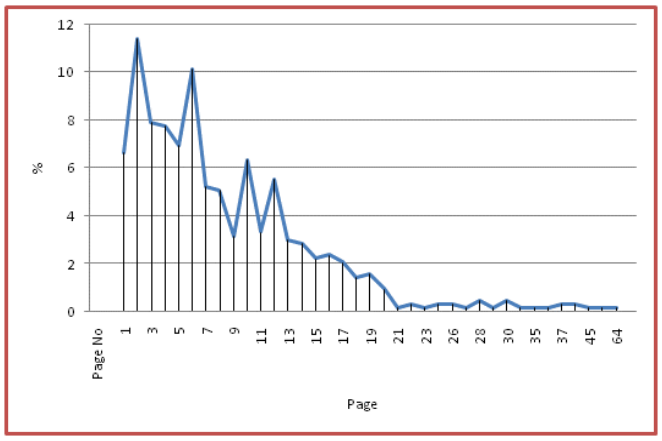
The limited coverage of these issues may be due to the fact that many newspapers serve areas which are monoracial and therefore inter-race issues are not prominent. Migrants may likewise be ignored in communities that are believed to be homogeneous. Journalists may not be able to think of stories to cover around these issues, other than stories about events. Or they may avoid these issues because they are divisive or difficult to report on.

6.2 How prominent are these issues?

Newspaper convention is to put stories considered important on the first few pages or on the features or analysis pages, which are typically close to the editorial. The following graph represents the total number of items per page number across the monitored newspapers. It should be taken into account that newspapers varied dramatically in size.

[6] As these were both monthly newspapers at the time of the monitoring period, caution is needed in generalising about their coverage.

Graph 1: Pages on which stories appeared



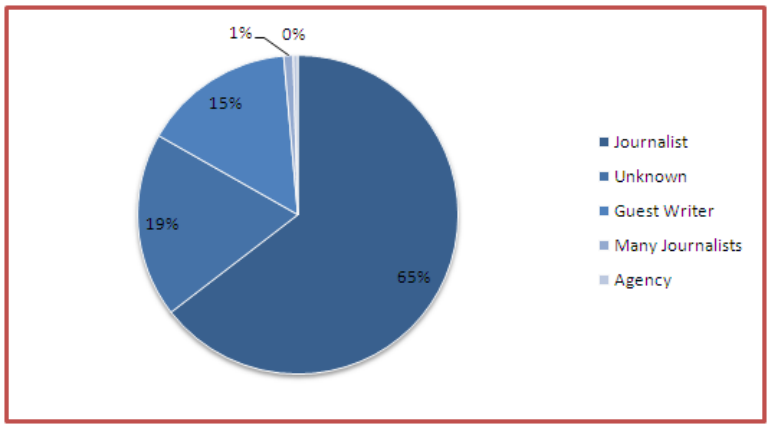
26 percent of items appeared on the first three pages. 6.6 percent of items appeared on the front page. The largest percentage of coverage appears on page 2 (11 percent), followed by page 6 (10 percent). Some newspapers accounted for a larger proportion of the prominent items, e.g. *Bolander*, *The Rep*, and *Vukani* had the lion's share of front page stories. Notably, 61 percent of items which appeared on the first three pages of the newspaper were crime stories, suggesting that readers, unless they had already established opinions to the contrary, would strongly associate crime with migrants[7].

Some newspapers included regular features, such as *Kurunta News*' *Soul Talk with Dan Motaung*, which directly or indirectly addressed issues relating to race, racism, migrants and xenophobia. Regular features indicate a willingness to give these issues greater prominence and reflect interest in and commitment to addressing these issues.

6.3 Who writes on race, racism, migrants and xenophobia?

Another indicator of editorial commitment to an issue is the resources devoted to the production of news. Typically, journalist-produced content represents more editorial commitment. The situation is, however, slightly different for community media, in that agency stories about the community are not likely to be readily available. The graph below represents the breakdown of authorship.

Graph 2: Authorship (n = 514)



[7] It is possible that some of these items related to race, but it is unlikely, since crime with racial elements would have been coded under the topic of racism/xenophobia.

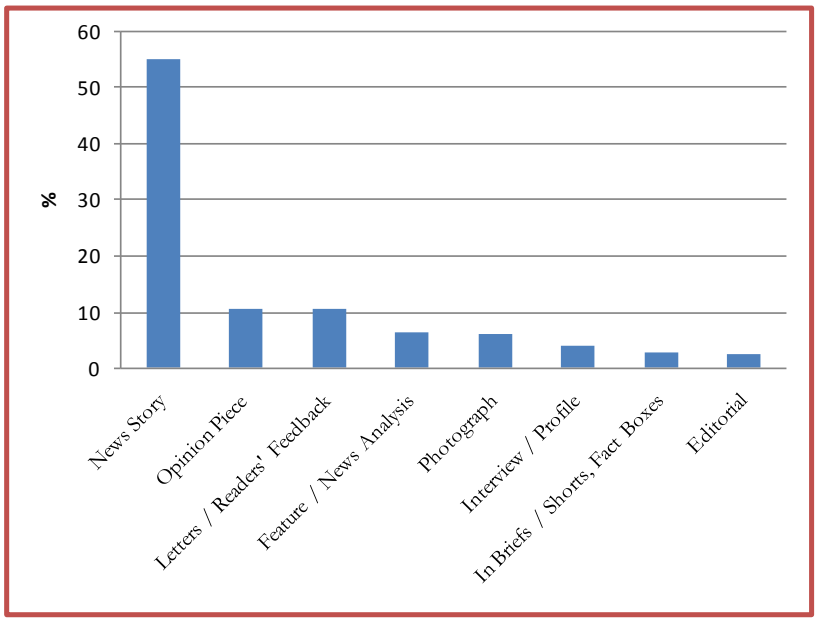
In national newspapers there is very little unattributed content. In these community newspapers, 19 percent of the items were unattributed or, occasionally, a name was present but it was not clear in which capacity the author was contributing.

The fact that 15 percent of items were by guest writers or letter writers is notable. This suggests a degree of community interest and involvement in these issues. It also indicates that there is a space for non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations to provide content to community newspapers, through letters and opinion pieces.

6.4 Type of content

Type of content is a further indicator of the degree of editorial commitment to these issues. Opinion pieces, analysis pieces, features, and editorials indicate a greater level of commitment than, for example, news stories. They provide opportunities to go beyond immediate events-based reporting, to look at issues in more depth, and to inform debate. The following graph depicts the breakdown in the type of content that issues relating to race, racism, migrants, ethnicity and xenophobia appeared in.

Graph 3: More prominent types of content (N=632, n=614)



News stories made up the majority of items (55 percent). Opinion pieces and letters/readers' feedback each accounted for 10 percent. Features and news analysis made up 6 percent. Editorials made up 2 percent. Least prominent items (each making up 1 percent or less) were sports stories, cartoons and graphics, business pieces, and opinion polls. This pattern may in part reflect the general content of the newspapers. However, editorial comment on the issues reflects that these issues were of interest to the editors, possibly because of the contentious nature of the issues of race and migration.

In *Table Talk*, 38 percent of the coverage relating to race, racism, migrants and xenophobia was in the form of letters. Over four weeks of publications (8-29 October 2008), there were letters relating to the University of Cape Town's admission requirements for medical students, questioning the basis and implications for the differential pass rates required of learners of various races. The newspaper published the response from the UCT

Communications and Marketing Department (8 October 2008, p. 2) and, recognising the interest in the issue, forwarded readers' letters to the university to provide comment (15 October 2008, p. 2 and 22 October 2008, p. 2).

Grocott's Mail, based in Grahamstown, featured coverage about Rhodes University. The news story, "Badat apologises for Rhodes discrimination" (19 September 2008, p. 5), reported on how, at the ceremony to change the name of the Student Union Building to Bantu Stephen Biko Building, the Vice-Chancellor took responsibility for and apologised on behalf of Rhodes University for the racist treatment of Black students during apartheid. On the same day and over five other publications, following the alleged vandalism of one of the portraits of Biko, readers gave their views on the name changes, the legacy of Biko, whether the possible vandalism was racist in nature, and racism at Rhodes University.

Despite the comparatively high number of editorials on the issues, monitors felt that community newspapers did not clearly condemn racism, as national media did in items on the same issues that they had monitored from mainstream press.
Similarly, one monitor remarked: "I have not come across any racial incident [in community newspapers] that catches the editor's attention." (Monitor, Focus group discussion 2)

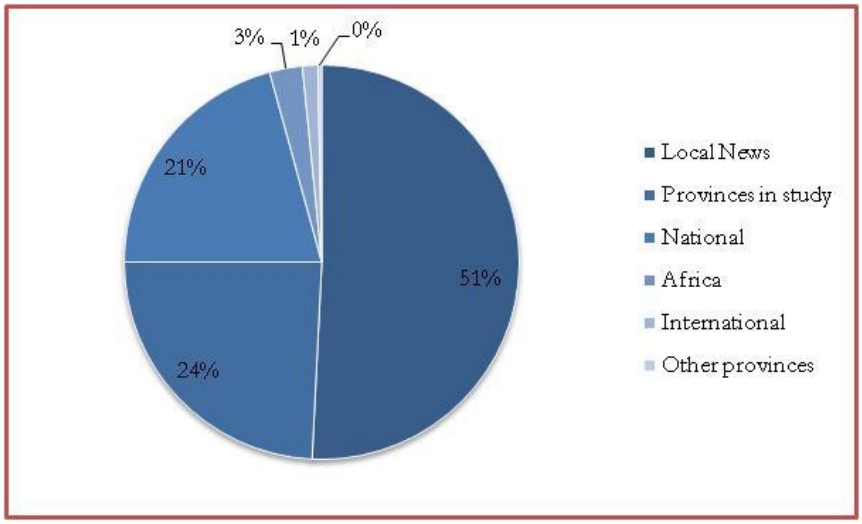
> "National newspapers condemn racism. They say that it is wrong and it should be stopped. However, community newspapers just report a racial incident but do not condemn it. Maybe because they are afraid to condemn people in the communities they write about." (Focus group discussion 2)

Again, it is clear from the graph above that there is space in community press for readers' perspectives. This was also confirmed in the stakeholder meeting where community newspaper representatives said they would welcome the contribution of content from NGOs and CBOs in their communities. However, it seems that community newspapers may be more reticent in condemning racism.

6.5 Where do the stories come from?

The origins of stories were monitored to assess at what level issues of race, racism, ethnicity, migrants and xenophobia were covered and represented, whether local, provincial, national, regional/African, or international level. Each province was individually coded. The following graph shows the breakdown of where stories were from. In this graph, all the provinces are grouped together as "provincial".

Graph 4: Origin of stories



Local stories made up the largest proportion of content (51 percent), followed by provincial (24 percent), then regional (21 percent), with international stories making up 1 percent. The breakdown in origins of stories is as would be expected for community newspapers.

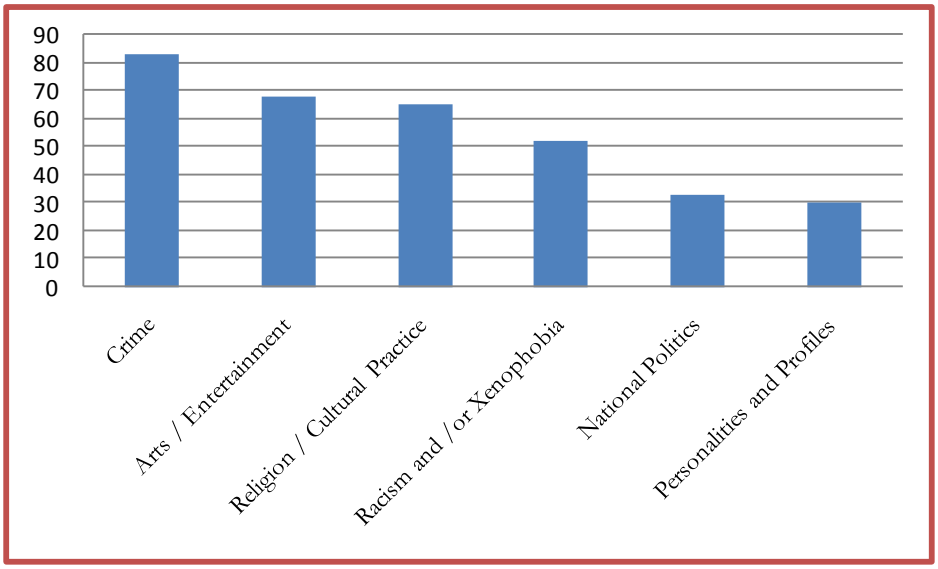
Limpopo Mirror sourced a considerable amount of news from Zimbabwe and included these stories alongside news from within the South African borders, as if local community news, apparently without recognition of boundaries. According to Milne et al. (2006: 61), *Limpopo Mirror*'s target readership is within South Africa, but the close proximity of their readership to Zimbabwe is likely to account for the sourcing of stories from areas within Zimbabwe. For example, on 29 August 2008, on page 16, a news story about a Zimbabwean businessman in Beitbridge who was killed by a group of five suspects who robbed him ("Man Axed to Death") appeared immediately above a news story reporting the arrest of four suspects by local South African (Thohoyandou) police.

A monitor in one of the focus group discussions commented: "National media make it very clear that foreigners are foreigners. They put local news under the local section and international news under the international section. The impression given by community media [in Limpopo] is that we are all one community." (Focus group discussion 2)

6.6 What were the stories about?

Every monitored item was assigned a topic based on the content of the story. Items spread across 40 wide-ranging topics. The graph below depicts topics that made up 5 percent or more of the total. It should be noted that the figures are not necessarily representative of newspapers in general, but arise directly as a result of keywords identified to obtain relevant articles for this research.

Graph 5: Topics making up more than 5 percent (N=632, n=331)

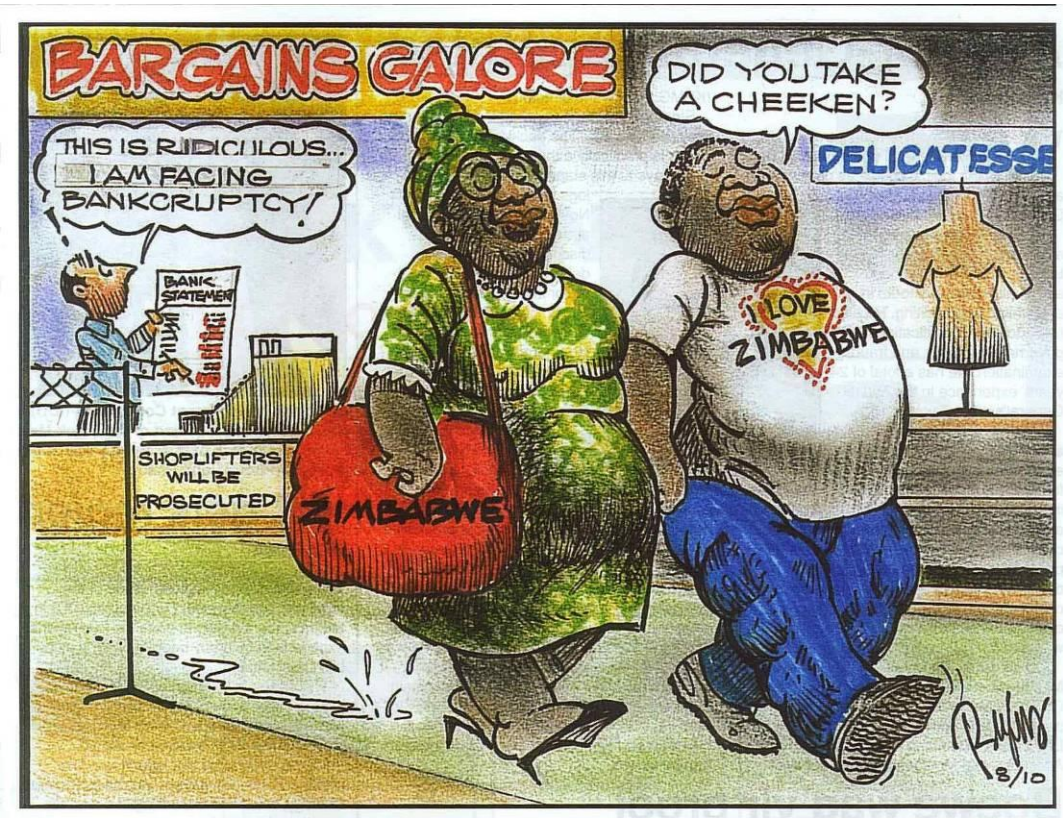


These five topics together made up over half of the total items. Crime made up the largest percentage (13 percent of all items), followed by Arts/Entertainment (11 percent), Religion/Cultural Practice (10 percent), then Racism/Xenophobia (8 percent). On the other end of the scale, Black Economic Empowerment and Affirmative Action made up a combined 1 percent; Refugees, Undocumented Migrants and Immigration 3 percent; Land 1 percent; and Housing 1 percent.

Eight newspapers accounted for 66 percent of the ***Crime*** stories, with 24 percent of the crime stories attributable to *Limpopo Mirror*. The high percentage of crime stories relating to race, racism, migrants and xenophobia may partly reflect the prominence of crime stories, overall, in the newspaper. According to Milne et al. (2006: 71), for *Limpopo Mirror*, apart from sport (which is also prominent), "the police are still the biggest source of news". This newspaper used Zimbabwean police, South African police, and joint operations between the two as sources. Crime stories in *Limpopo Mirror* included those from South Africa, Zimbabwe, and the border.

Across newspapers, there were a number of examples, including photographs and news stories, where nationalities of suspects were mentioned when not relevant. For example, in *Limpopo Informant* (8 October 2008, p. 3), there was a photograph, with accompanying caption, featuring police with stolen goods and the denim pants with

hidden pockets used by a shoplifter. The caption stated that the police demonstrated how "wily a seasoned Zimbabwean shoplifter is", and described how police arrested four "Zimbabwean suspects" for shoplifting. Mentioning race and nationality are not relevant or necessary to the story, and including such details can help to contribute to negative perceptions and stereotyping. This is generally accepted in South African media for race, but less so for nationality.



There were other examples of items that clearly associated Zimbabweans with crime. In the same publication of *Limpopo Informant*, an untitled cartoon appeared (8 October 2008, p. 6) depicting a shopkeeper facing bankruptcy, with a sign up saying "Shoplifters will be prosecuted". An overweight man with a t-shirt reading "I love Zimbabwe", and overweight woman with a bag leave the shop, and the man asks "Did you take a cheeken?" The cartoon seems to suggest well-off Zimbabweans are shoplifting at the expense of local (South African) business. The cartoon, especially seen together with the other item, appears to support negative stereotyping of Zimbabweans as criminals.

Arts/Entertainment made up the second-largest percentage of items (11 percent), a larger proportion than is normally the case for national newspapers, and the highest percentage of photographs. 56 percent of Arts/Entertainment items were news stories, 22 percent were photographs. Items included those relating to music, events, and competitions amongst others, where nationality or ethnicity was mentioned in relation to participants or activities. Photographs included images of local events, such as galas, competitions, and models, described as "Black beauties". The high percentage of Arts/Entertainment stories may reflect the generally high coverage of these issues.

Religion/Cultural Practice made up 10 percent of the relevant content, a larger proportion than is normally the case for national newspapers. Out of these, while most were news stories (58 percent), 12 percent were opinion pieces. Stories included, amongst others, the Zionist Christian Church celebrations, appointment of the new Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown, Heritage Month and reflections on culture.

"In small community papers, there is much more celebration of South African diversity than in mainstream national media" (Monitor, Focus group discussion 1).

There was a crossover between Arts/Entertainment and Religion/Cultural Practice, as many of the items that were classified as Arts/Entertainment were cultural or religious in nature, and vice versa. Together, these topics made up 20 percent of the relevant content. One monitor commented: "In small community papers, there is much more celebration of South African diversity than in mainstream national media." (Focus group discussion 1)

Racism/Xenophobia made up 8 percent of the relevant content. While each of the items in the study dealt in some way with issues of race, racism, ethnicity, migrants and xenophobia, items classified under this topic addressed racism/xenophobia directly, as a central topic. They differed, for example, from items that mentioned the race or nationality of a victim or perpetrator of a crime, which were reported as crime stories.

Under the topic of Racism/Xenophobia, stories included the following:

- Assaults, abuse and neglect by police and nurses of those perceived as "foreign" or "illegal immigrants";
- Shelters for displaced victims of xenophobic attacks (including closures, moves, and conditions);
- Mark Scott-Crossley's release on parole a short while after being found guilty of being an accessory to murder after throwing a Black man to the lions;
- Release of a report by the Employment Equity Commission (showing White people still dominate middle and upper levels of employment, while Black people are more at semi-skilled and unskilled occupational levels);
- Differential admission requirements for medical students of different races at the University of Cape Town;
- Rhodes University: renaming of building, vandalism, and racism; and,
- Threats against Somali shopkeepers in Western Cape.

The Rep (15 percent) and *Fourways Review* (14 percent) made up significant proportions of the coverage of Racism/Xenophobia. One example of a Racism/Xenophobia story, covered by *Fourways Review*, was that of a domestic worker in Dainfern, Johannesburg, who reportedly experienced abuse and the confiscation of her identification document (ID) by nurses at a hospital, as they suspected her being an "illegal immigrant". The story appeared on the front page of the newspaper ("Identity Crisis: Hospital confiscates patient's ID", 18 October 2008) and was followed up the subsequent week (25 October 2008) with "ID crisis Resolved", p. 1 and "Patient's happy ending", p. 4. The newspaper sought the views of readers the day the story was first reported, by asking them to SMS. The following week, a number of views were published on page 8, condemning the behaviour of the nurses and calling for action to be taken (25 October 2008). In the same week as the newspaper followed up on the story and published readers' SMSs, it published another story, "Hospital from hell". Appearing beneath "Patient's happy ending", the article reported on another woman's experience in the same hospital, who witnessed nurses' negative attitude and behaviour towards (perceived) foreigners. This kind of coverage and follow-up shows a level of editorial commitment to investigating and highlighting the problem of discriminatory attitudes and behaviour towards perceived foreigners.

The topic of ***South Africa (National, including South African Government and Parliament)*** made up 5 percent of the content in the study, the largest number of editorials (although still a small number), and the second-largest proportion of letters/readers' feedback. Only 27 percent of items under this topic were news stories, a relatively small percentage. 24 percent were letters or readers' feedback and 24 percent were opinion pieces. During the period of the study, a number of significant events were taking place, seen to have far-reaching consequences for South Africa, in term of its political landscape, justice and constitutional development. These included:

- Judge Nicholson's judgment that the decision to charge ANC president Jacob Zuma in December was flawed and politically motivated;
- Recall of then President Thabo Mbeki by the ANC;

- Swearing in of interim President Kgalema Motlanthe; and,
- Divisions within the ANC.

Such events provided opportunities for the public and media to reflect, engage and discuss the broader implications for South Africa. Given the central role that race has played in South Africa's history, and continues to play today, as efforts are made to redress racial inequalities, it is not surprising that issues relating to race and racism continue to be addressed in the topic of South Africa.

Personalities and Profiles made up just under 5 percent of the content in the study. As may be expected, a significant percent (30 percent) of Personalities and Profiles were interviews or profiles; 10 percent were features or news analysis. Profiles included prominent politicians and activists like former President Thabo Mbeki and Steve Biko, musicians, successful business people and entrepreneurs, and those seen to have contributed significantly to their industries. Most of these items mentioned people's race, when relevant, for instance the "first Black woman to be appointed chair of the board", and "Mtetwa to head Artscape for the next three years (*Plainsman* 24/09/2008, p. 37 and *Atlantic Sun* 25/09/2008, p. 19). It would seem possible to similarly profile prominent foreigners from communities. This may help combat negative stereotypes and discrimination in the communities.

6.8 Who is accessed?

Sources refer to people who are directly or indirectly accessed by the media for information or who are clearly depicted in cartoons or images. The capacity in which people are accessed (role, occupation, or organisation), gender, nationality, and race give an indication of whose stories are reported, who is given the opportunity to speak, and how representative the media are.

6.8.1 Source (role or capacity)

Sources could be individuals or organisations. Monitors were required to be as specific as possible in selecting sources, which were grouped together under parent categories for convenience.

Broken down individually, sources spread across 96 roles, with none making up more than 15 percent of the total. Table 2 depicts sources which each made up more than 5 percent of the total, with the racial breakdown where possible. The four roles featured made up 32 percent of sources accessed.

Table 2: Top sources

	N	%
Resident	135	15
Police	64	7
NGO/CBO/FBO[8]	48	5
Business	42	5

Residents constituted the largest single source overall. Given the role of community newspapers in reporting on issues affecting local communities, it is expected that residents would be a key source of information. The high number of residents can be problematic if residents make xenophobic statements. In the stakeholder group, it was raised that stereotyping could be inflammatory, and the amount of space (at least in national newspapers) given to "uninformed lay voices" was of concern.

[8] FBO – Faith-based organisation

Police made up, by far, the largest proportion of justice system sources, and the second-largest percentage of single sources. This partly reflects community and small commercial newspapers' use of police as sources (e.g. Milne et al. 2006), more generally, but takes on a particular nuance where issues of migrants are concerned. As one monitor commented: "Community papers, particularly from the Limpopo province, give the impression that journalists do not go to the communities to hear about migrants but rather go to police stations and magistrates' courts. This gives the impression that if we are talking about migrants, we are talking about crime." (Monitor, Focus group discussion 1)

In the stakeholder meeting, it was recognised that community newspapers have limited sources and may rely on police, phone interviews and press releases. The journalistic skills pool was also continuously undermined through practices of headhunting of community media practitioners.

A positive finding is the (relatively) high rate of sourcing NGOs, CBOs and FBOs, which seems to indicate that the voices of civil society activists are sometimes heard on issues of race and migration. Business is also a prominent source, which is consistent with previous monitoring.

In discussing sourcing, monitors commented on the different kinds of sources accessed by community and small commercial newspapers, as compared to national newspapers.

> ***If you look at national papers, they tried to involve other stakeholders like the Human Rights Commission, the Wits Centre for Forced Migration Studies, or parliamentarians. However, that effort is not evident in community papers, maybe because their scope is small or they have a small resource base (Monitor, Focus group discussion 2).***

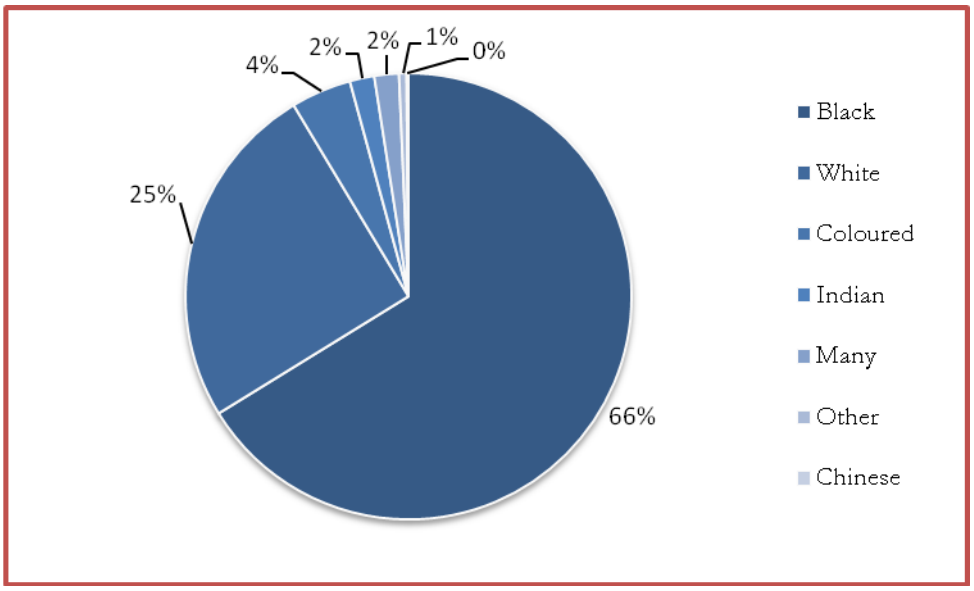
For some monitors, the "credibility" and "relevance" of sources, when reporting on migrants and xenophobia, was problematic. Examples were given where negative statements about foreigners by apparently random and anonymous sources were used in articles, or where negative statements about foreigners featured in headlines, without context. It was felt that such use of sources could wrongly give the impression that they are representative, and that "South Africans are xenophobic and do not want foreigners in the country" (Monitor, Focus Group 1).

A few worrying patterns emerged with regard to sources, in the reliance on police as sources, which serves to associate these issues with crime.

6.8.2 Race

Where possible, and clearly indicated, the race of sources was monitored, to see how representative they were of the overall population.

Graph 6: Race of sources



Whites continue to be over-represented generally as sources in relation to the overall population of South Africa. This is particularly the case for certain types of sources, including residents, South African citizens, NGOs/CBOs/FBOs, and prominent people/celebrities. While in some cases this may reflect the demographics of the target readership of the newspaper. This does not sufficiently explain the over-representation. This is consistent with findings from national media, in that Whites are over-represented relative to the population demographics. Despite the over-representation of Whites, the number of Black sources is quite high considering the high number of English and Afrikaans publications.

The lack of Coloured sources is interesting, considering that the Coloured population is numerically similar to the White population and that there are many Coloured communities in the provinces under study. This is consistent with findings about national media, but one would have expected more Coloured sources from community media.

6.8.3 Nationality

One of the areas of interest in this study is whether, and to what extent, migrants themselves are approached for information by the media. Where clearly indicated, monitors were asked to note whether the source was South African or a foreign national.

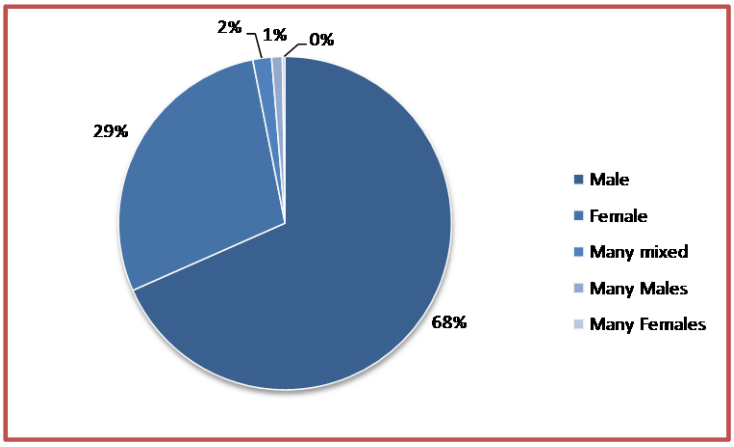
Where known, 87 percent of sources were South African, and 13 percent were foreign. Foreign migrants are well represented, even over-represented as sources, when looked at in relation to their overall population nationally. However, this may be an effect of the selection of items for monitoring, which relates to race, racism, migrants and xenophobia. In addition, indicators of whether they are South African or not may be used more often to describe non-South Africans than South Africans. The affect of this may be to "other" foreigners; however, one could expect the nationality of sources to be mentioned when relevant to the story. The fact that migrants voices do feature is a positive finding.

This is particularly the case for certain kinds of sources. For example, they make up just over 32 percent of residents (23.5 percent of foreign sources) and 59 percent of other members of society (10 percent of foreign sources).

6.8.4 Gender

The graph below depicts the breakdown of sources by gender, where known.

Graph 7: Gender of sources (N= 905, n=772)



Overall, male sources featured more than twice as much as female sources. Females are under-represented as sources, given that females make up 52 percent of the population of South Africa (Statistics South Africa 2001). The under-representation of female sources may partly reflect gender disparities in the workplace, and more broadly in South African society.

While under-represented, there was a greater proportion of female sources in this study than for national and provincial media, where studies have shown they make up just over a quarter of sources (e.g. Fine et al. 2007, SAMGI 2005).

6.9 What language is used to describe migrants/foreigners?

Monitors were required to note the language used in items, by both sources and authors, to describe migrants. Language can give some indication of the way in which migrants are represented in newspapers. Where the same word may be used a number of times in an item, it would be counted once.

Table 3: Language used (N=137)

LANGUAGE	COUNT
Foreign national	36
Foreigner/foreign	32
Refugee	20
Illegal immigrant	14
Other	12
Migrant/immigrant	12
Foreign migrant	6
Asylum seeker	3
Expatriate	1
Makwerekwere/ nyampane	1

Migrants were mainly referred to as foreign nationals, foreigners, or

foreign, relatively neutral terms compared to words like alien, illegal or illegal immigrant, or makwerekwere/nyampane.

Monitors in the focus group discussions commented on the way in which terms were used interchangeably in articles. One commented:

> ***Both community and national media use names such as economic migrant, illegal immigrant, refugee . . . interchangeably as if they mean the same thing. You get one story that reads "these people are running away from Zimbabwe because there are no jobs and they are refugees" . . . One tends to question whether journalists verify if a person they are referring is an illegal immigrant or a refugee. And because these words are used interchangeably in the same article, it means that most people are labelled illegal when in fact they are not (Monitor, Focus group discussion 2).***

Language alone cannot give a fair indication of the type of coverage and needs to be seen in the context of the kinds of stories the words appear in, and specific examples. For example, where the word "kwerekwere" was used, it was in the context of a headline, "Do not call us "Kwerekwere" (*The Tembisan*, 31 October 2008, p. 8). The story was about foreign nationals in South Africa, who were making a living by begging for money on trains. They were directly quoted in the article, pleading with South Africans not to discriminate against them or call them "kwerekwere".

The term "illegal immigrant" is problematic in that it is inaccurate, has negative connotations, and is stigmatising (as highlighted in the literature review). As McDonald and Jacobs wrote: "Images of migrants as 'job stealers', 'criminals' and 'illegals' only serve to perpetuate ill-considered stereotypes of migrants and migration and continue to be used in reportage on these issues in the South African press." (McDonald and Jacobs 2005: 13) Where the term is used in relation to crime stories, the association between "illegal immigrants" and crime becomes stronger.

The use of indicators of a person's nationality or immigration status, where the information is not relevant to the story, is itself problematic, in the same way that the use of racial (or other) indicators is. In both cases, such indicators serve to stereotype, giving the impression that certain groups, nationalities, or races, are – in the case of crime stories – "criminal" or "responsible for crime".

6.10 Propositions about race, migration and Africa

A key component of the monitoring was to examine the kind of "propositions" or messages communicated in the newspapers relating to race, ethnicity, migration, migrants, racism and xenophobia. These included propositions clearly expressed by the author and by sources. Monitors were required to limit propositions identified to a maximum of four. They were also required to state whether the proposition was neutrally raised ("neither clearly challenged nor clearly supported"), clearly challenged, or clearly supported. Propositions could be neutrally raised, for example, where it was mentioned that such an "attitude" or opinion exists. Ideally, to combat potentially harmful (supported or neutral) propositions, the proposition should also be challenged.

Propositions were ordered into those that could be applied to a particular group, whether it was race, religion, nationality, ethnicity or country, and general propositions. The Methodology explains where the propositions come from.

In the 632 items, 862 propositions were found, falling into 117 identified propositions. Not all items contained propositions.

The table below depicts the propositions that appeared more frequently, all of which were applicable to groups. Given the large number of propositions overall, the numbers are relatively small.

Table 4: Top propositions

PROPOSITION	CHALLENGES	SUPPORTS	NEITHER	TOTAL	%
Group is criminal	1	36	23	60	7.0
Group should have equal rights	0	37	6	43	5.0
Group contributes to our society	1	35	4	40	4.6
Group needs to be taken care of	2	22	8	32	3.7
Group tradition and culture is primitive	20	1	4	25	2.9
Group looks after others	1	24	0	25	2.9
Group is welcome here	2	17	6	25	2.9

Most of the above top propositions also made up the top *supported* propositions, apart from "group tradition and culture is primitive", which was predominantly challenged. Most of the top propositions supported, excluding "group is criminal", could be considered statements contributing to positive perceptions of a group or about equality in general. The proposition "group needs to be taken care of" is a bit problematic to analyse, as it was construed in two ways, as group is unable to look after themselves due to an alleged innate inability to do it themselves, and group needs to be taken care of given their circumstances.

"Group is criminal" appeared overwhelmingly in relation to Zimbabweans (over one third of these propositions), and was only challenged once out of the 24 times it appeared (as neither clearly challenged nor supported, and as supported). It was also the most commonly featured proposition about Zimbabweans.

This proposition also appeared predominantly in relation to migrants/foreigners, where propositions about specific nationalities are included. It was applied primarily to migrants from countries with predominantly Black African populations. The proposition was used in a very small number of cases in relation to particular racial (White, Indian and Black) or ethnic groups (amaZulu, amaXhosa, and amaSwati). For example, in *The Rep*, "Crack shock – drugs rife in Queenstown"(17/10/2008, p. 1) reported on the apparent increase in popularity of crack cocaine in Queenstown, and the link to crime. According to police, Nigerians had been identified as some of the dealers who at times took stolen property in return for drugs. The nationalities of only the Nigerians, and not the others involved, was mentioned, supporting stereotypes about Nigerians' involvement in the illicit drug trade, and responsibility for crime.

Many of these instances may be attributable to the use of police as sources, but may also be linked to the many "person on the street" or resident sources. In addition, it's important to bear in mind that some of these messages may have been in letters, as one of the more prominent types of content.

"Group should have equal rights" was applied predominantly to South Africans, in 13 out of the 40 cases, followed by White (6), Black (5) and migrants (general) (4). It was also primarily supported. Where propositions about particular nationalities (e.g. Somalis or Zimbabweans) are included in the count, the proposition appeared in relation to migrants 11 times. It was not challenged at all, but in five cases merely raised. The proposition implies that groups associated with it lack equal rights. Stories with this proposition addressed views or statements relating to the xenophobic attacks in May 2008 and the consequences thereof, treatment of foreigners or those perceived

to be foreign by officials, threats against foreign business people, differential benefits available to foreign and local medical professionals (apparently favouring foreigners), history and transformation in sport, and how Whites continue to control and benefit from the economy.

"Group contributes to our society" appeared in relation to 17 groups, primarily supported. It was challenged once in relation to Zimbabweans, and appeared as neither clearly challenged nor clearly supported in relation to Migrants (1), Coloureds (2) and Somalis (1). Out of the 40 times it appeared, it was used mainly in relation to Whites (7), then Migrants (general) (4), and Blacks (general) (4).

In one of the focus groups with monitors, participants expressed the view that community/small commercial newspapers did not emphasise migrants' contribution in the way that national newspapers did, but rather focused on the negative. One commented: "Mainstream media also emphasise that migrants are welcome if they bring skills but community papers do not emphasise skills, rather they carry negative stories like crime." (Monitor, Focus group discussion 2) Another agreed: "National newspapers emphasise that our economy would not have been the same if these foreigners had not come to work in the mines, but community papers do not emphasise that." (Monitor, Focus group discussion 2)

"Group needs to be taken care of" appeared predominantly in relation to Blacks (general) (10) and Zimbabwe/Zimbabweans (10). For Blacks (general), it was challenged as often as it was supported, while for Zimbabweans it was primarily supported (9), and challenged once. Many of the items in which this proposition appeared covered issues relating to charity and provision for people displaced by the xenophobic attacks. Items that included propositions about Blacks (general) related to (the need for) transformation in land, sports and the economy, in terms of measures needed to redress previous disadvantages.

The proposition appeared in relation to White people in an editorial, "Death before prison", in *Limpopo Informant* (08/10/2008, p. 6), which commented on poor prison conditions, including overcrowding and cruel treatment by fellow inmates. It mentioned a White Polokwane man who said he was put in a cell with the only other White man "to protect us from the other prisoners". It suggested threats of violence came from non-White prisoners, from whom White prisoners needed protection.

"Group tradition and culture is primitive" was primarily challenged, and mainly appeared in relation to particular ethnic groups – mostly amaXhosa (8 out of 25 cases) in Eastern Cape newspapers only. Underlying themes to these items were the importance of "celebrating", "learning", "teaching", and "knowing" people's cultural heritage. Cultures such as Venda and Pedi were mainly celebrated in Limpopo newspapers, although these papers also celebrated other cultures such as Shangaan and Tsonga. Celebration of particular cultures appeared to reflect the demographics of the newspapers' readers, as Pedi, Venda and Tsonga are mainly spoken in Limpopo (Statistics South Africa 2001).

Items were mainly focused on reporting on events or initiatives, for example, that were taking place in schools or universities, but also included commentaries. For example, in *Soweto City Vision*, an opinion piece ("Teach your children about their heritage", 25/09/2008, p. 10) by a guest writer implores readers to teach children about their heritage. As the monitoring period included Heritage Month, it may be that this proposition would not be so predominant outside this period.

"Group is welcome here" appeared primarily in relation to Migrants (general), 12 out of the 25 times it appeared. The number would increase where particular nationalities, such as Zimbabweans and Somalis, are included. In general this proposition is not clearly supported or challenged in the articles. It appeared in relation to Somalis five times, supported once, and neither clearly challenged nor supported four times. Items included those

that focused on the closure of the camps, and events where speakers condemned xenophobia and encouraged residents to "embrace" foreigners.

In *Southern Courier*, a news story reported on the Constitutional Court ruling to keep shelters open until a certain date, provided the foreigners had been relocated into the community and were safe ("Shelters to close September 30", 27/08/2008, p. 3). In the news item, the Gauteng premier is reported as urging "all Gauteng communities to continue opening their hearts to foreign nationals".

The proposition ***"Affirmative action/sports quotas/BEE promotes undeserving people"*** featured a total of 15 times. This proposition, was supported more than it was challenged or neutrally raised, and where it appeared in items, it was not often left unchallenged.

The appearance of messages such as these in letters, readers' feedback and opinion pieces is consistent with the finding discussed earlier that racism/xenophobia and related issues found more space in letters, where they were openly and directly addressed by readers, than in content produced by newspapers themselves. One monitor in the focus group said:

> ***Vernacular racism has changed in South Africa . . . Racism is more subliminal. Journalists have by and large been trained to be more sensitive. However, the public is not. Views expressed by community members in the community newspapers are often still racialised (Monitor, Focus group discussion 1).***

Given that letters and opinion pieces can be used to express negative views, which may be racist or xenophobic, it is important that newspapers find ways of challenging these views, for example through alternative opinion pieces and editorials.

One example of where the proposition, "Affirmative action/sports quotas/BEE promotes undeserving people", is challenged is in "Is it a matter of colour" (*Table Talk*, 08/10/2008, p. 2). Here, in addition to publishing the reader's letter that questioned the rationale and fairness of UCT's admission requirements, the newspaper published UCT's response, which explained that their policy was to redress past inequalities and offer opportunities to a range of students meeting the basic requirements. This is a good example of the way in which the media can provide a means for views to be exchanged openly, and to provide information in a way that is balanced and fair, and contributes to informed debate.

6.11 What did non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations say about newspapers in their communities?

While there were differences in the opinions of participants and groups, particularly as the discussions took place in different provinces, there were also a number of similar observations. This section will address some of the key observations made by participants.

6.11.1 On race and racism

Overall, participants had less to comment on in relation to race and racism in the community newspapers than on other topics addressed. This is not surprising as more organisations worked with migrants than with race issues. Amongst the focus groups, it was reflected that racism was not covered much in the local newspapers, and where it was covered, it was not done in depth. Participants, overall, did not identify any "problematic" or "insensitive" coverage in relation to race and racism, although there were some exceptions.

In most focus groups, participants explained the low level of racism seen or experienced as the result of a lack of contact between races. In Mpumalanga, one NGO focus group participant said: "I live in a Black community, and we hardly have any other race apart from Blacks", a comment reiterated by others. While there were some Indians and Pakistanis living in the same area, the participant commented: "There is nothing newsworthy around that apart from to report that we live separately . . . separate lives in the same community."

While racism, in terms of inter-racial groups, was not seen as a big issue within the communities, "Black on Black" racism, in different forms, was identified as a potential problem by some participants in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng focus groups. For example, in the Eastern Cape NGO focus group, a participant spoke of the need to look at racism more broadly including Black on Black racism, as well as White on Black racism, in relation to ethnicity and culture. He gave the example of Mdantsane, a predominantly amaXhosa community, with a few amaSotho and amaZulu, where "[people might] say you 'must stay aside from us"'. In the Gauteng NGO focus group, a participant also spoke of "Black on Black" racism in Yeoville, a multinational, predominantly Black area. He remarked: "We have racism…but between South African and non-South African."

Among focus groups in Eastern Cape and Gauteng, a key concern was that certain communities, primarily Black and impoverished communities, including informal settlements and some in rural areas, were not being served or represented by local newspapers. One Eastern Cape NGO focus group participant remarked: "We don't have community papers reporting in Duncan Village or Mdantsane." In Gauteng, speaking of the Yeoville community, a participant mentioned the "orientation [of newspapers like *North Eastern Tribune*] towards White interests", which, rather than adapt to serving the now predominantly Black community of Yeoville, moved out of the previously White-dominated area. In the Eastern Cape focus group, in relation to communities in Duncan Village and Mdantsane, participants commented:

> ***People on the ground don't have much say. If you have something you want to voice out . . . it means nothing to [the community newspaper] . . . [but] if someone from the suburbs, their dog is lost, it gets covered.***
>
> ***Their voices are not even heard because there are no community papers around who talk about the poor.***

There were some exceptions, such as *Skawara News* serving communities in the Eastern Cape. As one participant commented, "We like *Skawara News* . . . [It talks about what is happening] in our area."

6.11.2 On migrants and xenophobia

Generally, it was expressed across the focus groups that there was "not much reporting" on migrants and xenophobia by local newspapers, outside the period of the xenophobic attacks in May 2008. Where these issues were addressed, it was through event-based reporting, rather than on-going investigation and analysis. A few examples were provided of good reporting on migrants, although it was generally felt that coverage was negative, especially in the Gauteng and Western Cape NGO Focus Group.

The following comments were made in relation to the amount and type of coverage:

> ***[There is] coverage only when bad things happen [not positive] . . . the editorial policy does not protect the interests of migrants (Gauteng NGO Focus Group).***

The apparent paucity of coverage outside the periods of the May 2008 xenophobic attacks was attributed, by some, to the fact that xenophobia did not affect their communities, and by others to the lack of coverage of

certain communities. For example, Limpopo, particularly Musina, was not seen by the focus group members to be directly affected by xenophobia, given the diverse and predominantly migrant population. Participants commented on the mix of races, groups and nationalities that made up Musina: "Almost three quarters of the community is made up of foreign nationals" and "[t]here is a history of migrant workers [in Musina]" (Limpopo NGO focus group). This description of the Musina community may account for the way in which newspapers covering the area reported on stories from Zimbabwe as if it were local community news.

Across focus groups, particularly in the Eastern Cape, Gauteng, Mpumalanga and the Western Cape, it was apparent that negative perceptions existed in the communities about migrants, which associated them, for example, with crime, exploitation, unemployment and taking women. Whether or not these were seen as perceptions or misconceptions (which varied within and across groups), it was generally reflected that they needed to be addressed, somehow, in the local media.

There were some examples provided of coverage of migrants and xenophobia, including more "positive" or helpful coverage. In the Western Cape, *City Vision Khayelitsha*, one of the local newspapers that covered the xenophobic attacks in May 2008, was seen to have been helpful during that time and afterwards, by asking readers for assistance and providing contact details.

However, many participants across groups also reported experiences of newspapers not reporting the full or "accurate" story, including misrepresenting what people were saying (Limpopo, Gauteng, Western Cape NGO Focus Groups). In the Western Cape focus group, one participant gave the example of reporters going into the camps for displaced migrants without interpreters, so that they were unable to fully report on what people were saying.

Participants were also conscious of the "event-based" nature of reporting, and the way newspapers "reacted to problems". One participant observed that community newspapers covered issues when they affect people everywhere, but did not cover people's "everyday experiences [e.g. of racism and xenophobia]" (Western Cape NGO Focus Group).

A common concern was the way in which newspapers neglected, in one way or another, to fully investigate causes, follow up on stories, offer solutions, or inform readers. Specific instances raised were neglect of reporting on (problems associated with) re-integration of migrants into the Alexandra community, merely reporting back

perceptions of local residents when covering stories on the xenophobic attacks in Western Cape, and the lack of coverage of problems experienced by migrants in Musina. In the Western Cape, a participant commented in relation to the coverage of the xenophobic attacks, "In my area [Athlone], when the xenophobic attacks happened . . . all the newspapers wrote something . . . but the journalists didn't have knowledge about why these things were happening . . . they were covering just because it was news." In the Limpopo NGO focus group, one participant spoke of the way in which newspapers reported, like an "incomplete sentence", crises affecting migrants in the area without follow-up, and without providing solutions.

Where migrants were covered by the newspapers, the general perception was that they were mostly negatively represented. One participant from the Mpumalanga focus group expressed surprise on reading a "positive article" about Mozambicans coming to South Africa on holiday: "I have never seen a good report about Mozambicans specifically." Another participant from the Western Cape NGO Focus Group remarked, "90 percent of foreign nationals are educated but the media prints that they take our jobs and wives, especially the Coloured newspapers."

There was a widely held perception in focus groups that newspaper coverage associated migrants, in some way or another, with crime. In the Western Cape NGO Focus Group, a participant commented on how there had been separate incidents of Somalis and Zimbabweans killed, which media "did not talk about . . . [but] when you find one person is maybe from Nigeria, and caught for a small offence, it will be [in the media] to say this is what [they] are doing". One Limpopo focus group participant observed that newspapers "implicitly" created a link between Zimbabweans and crime, giving the example of a crime report that might include an "unnecessary statement" about the number of Zimbabweans in town.

6.11.3 On stories *not* being covered

Participants were asked if there were stories from their communities, relating to race, racism, migrants and xenophobia, which were not being covered by their community/small commercial newspapers. While there were some differences between focus groups, partly related to the composition of the focus groups (in terms of whether South African or migrant), there were also some recurring themes.

Positive contribution of foreigners

Participants spoke of where foreigners had contributed to the community, both locally and nationally, through bringing skills, providing services, setting up businesses, creating employment, and generating economic growth. One participant in Limpopo stressed that Zimbabweans, rather than being seen as "coming to create congestion", or "so desperate they are in need of intervention from government or the NGO community", could be seen as "creating employment for the community". This was in relation to the growth of the economy in Musina.

> ***There might be a story about how shops are empty because guys have come and bought all the things. The negative side is what is given emphasis. Musina has gone from a . . . village to what it is now . . . because of the thriving economy, which is being propped [up] by the Zimbabwean shoppers who are coming on a daily basis . . . [I] have not seen [a] story that covers [the] positive side of Zimbabweans coming to Musina . . . [It] should be given more attention as it will address ill feelings that could be fostered in the community (Limpopo NGO focus group).***

The "real" situation for refugees

Participants (both migrants and South Africans) said their newspapers did not educate readers about why people came to South Africa, and what being a refugee entailed.

> ***Local papers do not . . . educate people on why people come to South Africa as refugees…what the situation in their country is . . . or where they [the countries] are. (Western Cape NGO Focus Group)***
>
> ***It is the responsibility of community papers to explain why foreign nationals are here. (Mpumalanga NGO Focus Group)***

Assaults, harassment, abuse of migrants by officials

In the Western Cape, Mpumalanga and Gauteng, participants told of how migrants were (mis)treated by officials, including police, as well as security personnel at Home Affairs. They spoke of arrests by police (Gauteng), harassment by officials (Mozambicans in Mpumalanga), confiscation of and tearing up of documents by police and officials (Western Cape), and assaults by security staff at Crown Mines (Johannesburg) and Port Elizabeth Refugee Reception Offices. These stories corroborate research findings about treatment of migrants in South Africa by officials (e.g. Landau 2004).

Corruption and discriminatory practices by Home Affairs

In the Western Cape NGO focus group, a participant expressed the view that migrants from "lighter skinned" countries were able to get identity documents quicker than those from African countries. There was also the perception that, where reported, there was a lack of follow-up on stories concerning corruption in Home Affairs.

Negative experiences of foreigners/foreigners as victims of crime

Some participants reiterated the views expressed in a focus group with monitors, that newspapers did not report on experiences of migrants as "victims", but rather as perpetrators of crime.

> ***You might be shocked to get one newspaper report that foreigners are the worst victims of crime yet they are often accused of being criminals. And when you ask them they tell you that they are soft targets (they sell their products in the open and are susceptible to being arrested by the police). If their house is broken into or they are mugged they cannot go to the police because they do not have IDs so criminals take advantage of that. (Monitor, Focus group discussion 2)***

One NGO worker in the Western Cape described how a migrant from Khayelitsha, after the xenophobic attacks, was told to load their furniture onto (what they understood to be) a police van, so that it could be taken to a place of safety. Reportedly, the van subsequently drove off with their belongings.

Unaccompanied migrant children

In Musina (Limpopo), there were reported to be many unaccompanied migrant children, "living in terrible conditions", some of whom suffered abuse, and who were staying in the open, "deep in the bush" and "in the mountains", with some girls living in the community "married to older people" – " . . . but it is not covered, they are silent on that" (Limpopo NGO focus group).

Crime committed by White people/White foreign nationals

Although examples from the local communities were not given, participants in the Gauteng and Mpumalanga NGO focus groups spoke of how newspapers did not report on crime committed by White people.

[There is a] perception that White people don't commit crime, but both White and Black people commit crime . . . (Mpumalanga NGO Focus Group)

[There is] nothing about White foreign nationals involved in criminal activities [only black foreign nationals, when there are plenty of White foreign nationals involved in crime]…is it a race issue?(Gauteng NGO Focus Group)

Perceptions, misconceptions and stereotypes within the communities about migrants

Focus groups primarily made up of South Africans spoke extensively about "perceptions" in the community about foreign nationals and particular nationalities, in relation to "stealing women", "monopolising" businesses, "exploiting" workers, not banking money, and involvement in crime (Mpumalanga and Eastern Cape NGO Focus Groups) – "Writing about it would clear out misconceptions and perceptions." (Mpumalanga NGO Focus Group) Within the focus groups, there was some debate about whether small businesses owned by foreigners "exploited" workers and undermined wages by using "cheap labour", or whether they were providing employment in difficult circumstances, where they earned little money themselves (Eastern Cape). Many perceptions could have been challenged by hearing from and engaging with migrants in some of the other focus group discussions.

6.11.4 On how coverage could be improved

In focus groups with both monitors and NGOs/CBOs, participants were asked how they thought community newspapers' coverage of race, racism, migrants and xenophobia could be improved. The suggestions are featured below.

Give space/voice to migrants and people from disadvantaged communities

Participants expressed the need for (existing) community and small commercial newspapers to reflect and give space to the communities they were located in, through, for example, providing a column, page or slot for people of different nationalities to discuss problems in their community or country.

One way this could be done is through the use of different (local and migrant) languages. This could be in a section of the newspaper – for instance "a page in Shona for Zimbabweans" – or the entire newspaper.

If you serve people in Duncan Village it doesn't make sense if it is in English…Language is important . . . If you write in Cofimvaba it should be in isiXhosa (Eastern Cape NGO focus group).

This need was reiterated by representatives of the Association of Independent Journalists and the Somali Association of Journalists in South Africa, as well as Diphete Bopape, founder and editor of *Seipone*.

Each community has own newspaper

Similarly, participants in two of the focus groups expressed the need for "each community to have its own newspaper" that talks about issues relevant to the community. This was particularly where certain communities – communities of interest –shared concerns and experiences that were not reflected in existing community newspapers.

Sensitive and accurate language

In provincial and monitor focus groups, participants spoke of the need to use accurate, "sensitive" and non-derogatory language to describe migrants. This included avoiding words like "alien" and "makwerekere".

Although it was seen by some as acceptable to use a language that could be "understood" by the community, it was also emphasised that this should "not be harmful to others" (Gauteng NGO Focus Group).

"Pro-active" role of media to "educate" people about race and migration

One participant spoke of the "pro-active" role the media needed to play in addressing racism and xenophobia and the need for "constant education" – "don't wait for something to happen" (Eastern Cape). Suggestions included having an international section in the newspaper, raising awareness of racism and xenophobia in public services, and reporting "in a way that creates awareness of foreigners…report[ing] on their plight…[and the] reasons why they are here" (Eastern Cape).

Profiles/features/interviews

The use of profiles, features, and interviews was seen as a way of educating readers about people from different communities, cultures, and nationalities, and improving understanding about why refugees and other migrants had come to South Africa.

Training and employment of migrants as journalists

In both the Gauteng NGO focus group and monitor focus groups, participants suggested training and employing migrants as journalists, partly as a way to ensure greater understanding and representation of global and migrant issues in the media.

> ***Most multinational companies employ people from different countries and I think newspapers should do the same. (Monitor, Focus group discussion 2)***

While a welcome suggestion, the practical considerations and difficulties experienced employing migrants was raised as a concern by AIP in the Stakeholder Workshop and Strategy Meeting.

Training, workshops, sponsorship and support for journalists, editors and community papers

Participants in the Eastern Cape, Western Cape, and monitor focus groups suggested specialist training for community newspaper reporters on human rights, migration, and how to report on xenophobia and migrants in a way that helps communities "be more welcoming to foreigners". It was also suggested that other training and support around reporting and financial management might be helpful (Eastern Cape).

> ***You get a sense when reading these stories that journalists think migration is a temporary thing, yet people are always on the move worldwide. Migration is a permanent feature. (Monitor, focus group discussion 1)***

Alternatively, it was suggested that journalists be given opportunities to travel to other countries, through sponsorship. One participant commented, "How can journalists write about places they haven't been to?" (Western Cape NGO Focus Group and monitor focus groups).

Relationship between NGOs/CBOs and community/small commercial newspapers

There was recognition of the role that NGOs, CBOs and the wider community could play. This included keeping newspapers informed of what was happening in their communities, suggesting stories, writing pieces, and facilitating workshops or training for reporters. It was recognised that this was a two-way relationship, and newspapers needed to access organisations working with rural and other communities for news. NGOs/CBOs could also be utilised to distribute newspapers to communities.

In the Eastern Cape, participants suggested regular meetings between NGOs/CBOs, community members and journalists, to facilitate direct feedback to community/small commercial media, for example on how their needs

were being served – "we want our voices to be heard" (Eastern Cape). In the Western Cape, there was also the suggestion that NGOs could be empowered to monitor, influence and improve media coverage.

Guidelines, standards and code of conduct

Participants spoke of the need to ensure community and small commercial media adhered to existing codes, guidelines and legislation. There was a suggestion for guidelines around reporting on migrants, similar to those that existed for reporting on children, which, for example, ensured protection from stereotyping.

6.12 Feedback from stakeholder meeting

The findings of the research were presented to community media practitioners together with some migration and human rights specialists. They had two main suggestions for improving coverage: training and editorial guidelines.

Training

There was a need for training, but this should relate to broader issues of quality, diversity, sustainability, business and financial management, *as well as* issues of human rights, regionalism, migration, xenophobia, racism, etc. However there was a realisation that practical considerations, such as deadlines, make it difficult for newsrooms to send their staff on training. It was suggested that training should be developed in consultation with (community) media, and delivered by those with experience working in the field and that it needs to be practical. There were some concerns: "for some people [training] may not change attitudes"; it depends on who goes on training; it is difficult to evaluate the impact; training needs to be on larger scale. It was deemed important that journalists be exposed to other cultures.

Guidelines

There was recognition that guidelines may undermine media freedom, which should be protected, and that guidelines should also serve the interests of community/small commercial media, considering the difficult sector in which they work. There is a wider debate around media freedom, where codes are being tightened, and the clause on hate speech is being tightened. These present good opportunities to provide input.

There are some guidelines in place, both formal and informal, but they are not always practised, and in some areas, more detail is needed. Rather than create new guidelines or codes of practice, it was felt that there was a need to strengthen and develop those in existence by focusing on certain areas, and providing practical resources alongside these, e.g. style guides, how to speak to sources, etc. It was also deemed important to work with key existing industry structures such as ProJourn, SANEF, and the Press Council, to develop, distribute and implement guidelines, and take part in existing meetings.

7. Conclusions

Community newspapers, particularly independent publishers, operate in a difficult environment. They face many of the same pressures as national media, but with fewer monetary and human resources. This is important to bear in mind when looking at the results of the study. Overall, while there were some differences between newspapers, there was relatively little coverage of race, racism, migrants and xenophobia, especially considering that many items included did not directly address these issues.

The amount of coverage partly reflects the immediate interests of particular, narrowly defined communities, which are still predominantly mono-racial, and, in some cases, have limited contact with people of different races and nationalities. However, the stories told by participants in the focus groups, perceptions in the communities about foreigners and particular nationalities, and the apparently negative representation of migrants in the newspapers, suggested a need to address these issues. Newspapers appear to present a partial picture and miss opportunities to challenge negative representation of migrants and address racism.

More disturbing is the implicit linking of migrants with crime, through mentioning migrants in crime stories, quoting police in migration stories and including propositions that link migrants (particularly Zimbabweans) with crime. This sentiment may also have appeared in the words of residents, both as sources and as letter writers, since this is a common perception of South Africans. The use of police and residents as sources may reflect a lack of resources, as these are relatively cheap and easy to access, but the effect is damaging considering the vulnerable situation for many migrants in South Africa. Both the quantitative findings and the views expressed in the focus groups suggest that negative messages are also found in community media, both reflecting and perpetuating negative perceptions that exist in communities and across South Africa.

However, there were examples where newspapers showed a commitment to addressing racism or xenophobia and challenging stereotypes, through for example regular features, profiles and columns, investigating and following up stories, and providing opportunities for different views to be heard.

The high proportion of authors that were guest or letter writers suggests that these issues are pertinent to the community, who in some cases may be more ready to raise them than newspapers themselves are. It also suggests opportunities for civil society to engage with community and small commercial newspapers by providing content.

While newspaper reporting did not appear to make reference to people's race, unless it was clearly relevant to the story, there were many examples that suggested it was acceptable, at least for some newspapers, to state people's nationality or migration status, where it was not necessary. Such indicators can be seen to contribute to negative perceptions and association of migrants with crime.

There seems to be a role for NGOs and CBOs to play in supporting their local media through providing much-needed content that counters xenophobia. There also seems to be a desire from the participating NGOs to do so; however they themselves suffer from resource constraints.

8. Recommendations

This study acknowledges that there are many examples of good practice but also that there is always scope for improvement, particularly with respect to the concerns highlighted in the findings. The recommendations on how coverage could be improved incorporate many suggestions made by participants in the focus group discussions, discussions with media practitioners or stakeholders and the research findings.

For community/small commercial media:

Coverage could be improved by:

- Language diversity – within and across newspapers;
- Training for journalists and editors – however, training must be practical, convenient, and linked to the realities of resource-poor community newspapers;
- Relationships with NGOs/CBOs who can provide sources, stories (see previous section), specialist knowledge, contacts, a critical perspective, and a means to distribute newspapers to larger audience;
- Amending Section 2.1 of the South African Press Code to include nationality and immigration status;
- Reviewing and strengthening existing codes and guidelines, to include specific, practical guidance on reporting on race and migrants; complemented by resources, toolkits and tip sheets; and,
- Partnership and support for newspapers serving or seeking to serve other communities and neighbourhoods. This would support the objective of each community having its own newspaper; expose journalists to other communities, and provide opportunities for readers to hear about other communities.

A summary of specific suggestions from monitors and NGOs/CBOs which are in line with the findings is provided below (details provided in Section 6.11.4). Community/small commercial newspapers could:

- Give space to different members of the community or other communities within the newspaper (to reflect diversity and the needs of different nationalities, races, ethnicities, etc);
- Report on positive contributions of migrants [and all members of the community];
- Train or employ foreign nationals as journalists;
- Provide information on refugee rights;
- Promote exposure of journalists to other cultures and countries;
- Report solutions, not just problems;
- More investigation and follow-up;
- Educate about different cultures and communities (local and migrant); and,
- Play a pro-active, not reactive role, in preventing xenophobia and racism.

For NGOs/CBOs

- Read, know and build relationships with your local newspapers;
- Actively engage with newspaper content, and find opportunities to provide input, through writing opinion pieces, letters, press releases, and feature articles; and,
- Provide press releases with research.

9. References

Addison, G. 2006. *Report to the MDDA on printing, circulation and marketing.* Accessed from www.mdda.org.za.

Avusa Limited. Avusa Website. Accessed from www.avusa.co.za/aboutus/brands/default.aspx?pageid=302511#community.

Berger, G. 2004. Problematising Race for Journalists: Critical Reflections on the South African Human Rights Commission Inquiry into Media Racism. *Race, Gender & Class* 11.

Brookes, H. 1995. *"Suit, Tie & a Touch of Juju". The Ideological Construction of Africa: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News on Africa in the British Press*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Business Report. 2007. *South Africa's Media Sector: Its History and Major Players*. Accessed from http://www.busrep.co.za.

Caxton/CTP Group. Titles Owned. Caxton/CTP Website. Accessed from http://www.caxton.co.za/pages/Caxton_Titles_Owned.php.

Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J.L. 2001. Naturing the Nation: Aliens, Apocalypse and the Postcolonial State. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. September (627-651)

Crush, J. (ed.) 2001. *Immigration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa.* Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project. Accessed from http://www.idasa.org.za/

Crush, J., McDonald, A., Williams, V., Lefko-Everett, K.., Dorey, D., Taylor, D., & la Sablonniere, R. 2008. *The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*. Cape Town: Idasa.

Danso, R. and McDonald, D.A. 2000. *Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Press in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project. Accessed from http://www.idasa.org.za/

Dodson, B. 1998. *Women on the Move: Gender and Cross-Border Migration to South Africa.* Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project. Accessed from http://www.idasa.org.za/

Dodson, B. 2008. *Gender, Migration and Remittances in Southern Africa.* Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project. Accessed from http://www.idasa.org.za/

Ferguson, R. 1998. *Representing Race: Ideology, Identity and the Media*. London: Arnold.

Fine, J., Kalu, G., Harries, G. and Bird, W. 2006. *Getting the Best out of the Media: Analysis of Media Coverage of the 16 Days of No Violence Against Women and Children Campaign 2005*. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project.

Fine, J., van Houten, A. and Roberts, S. 2007. *Delivering Service: Local Government Elections 2006 and the Media.* Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project.

Fine, J. and Bird, W. 2006. *Shades of Prejudice: An Investigation into the South African Media's Coverage of Racial Violence and Xenophobia.* Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project

Fuller, R. 2008. *Double Jeopardy of Women Migrants.* All Africa.com. Accessed from http://allafrica.com/stories/200806060206.html

Gender Advocacy Programme. 2006. *Report on the Gender Advocacy Programme's 2nd Media Monitoring Survey of Rural-based Newspapers.* Cape Town: Gender Advocacy Programme

Girard, B. 2007. What is community media? In *Management Resources for Community Media*. Accessed from http://man.comunica.org/.

Hadland, A. and Thorne, K. 2004. *The People's Voice: The development and current state of the South African small media sector*. Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Harber, A. 2008. Two Newspapers, Two Nations? The Media and the Xenophobic Violence. In *Go Home or Die Here: Violence, Xenophobia and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa*. Hassim, S., Kupe, T., and Worby, E. (eds.) Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Harries, G., Fine, J., Mtwana, N., Kalu, G., and Bird, W. 2004. *Making their Mark: Coverage of the 2004 Elections*. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project. Accessed from http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org.

Harris, B. 2002. Xenophobia: A New Pathology for a New South Africa? In *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Human Rights Watch. 1998. *"Prohibited Persons": Abuse of Undocumented Migrants, Asylum-Seekers and Refugees in South Africa*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

Human Sciences Research Council. 2008. *Citizenship, Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Perceptions from South African Communities*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Independent Online. Accessed from: http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=22&click_id=1918.

Knol, B. 2008. *The Picture that Became a Symbol for Xenophobic Violence*. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project. Accessed from http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org.

Knol, B. and Roberts, S. 2008. *Crime According to Beeld: Fear in Black and White*. Johannesburg. Accessed from http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org.

Idasa. 2008. *Background Report on Recent Xenophobic Violence in Gauteng: Preliminary Investigation*. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project. Accessed from http://www.idasa.org.za.

Landau, L. 2004. *The Laws of (In)Hospitality: Black Africans in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Programme. Accessed from http://migration.org.za/research/#WPS

MacDonald, M. 2006. *Why Race Matters in South Africa*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Mattes, R., Taylor, D.M., McDonald, D.A., Toore, A., and Richmond, W. 1999. *Still Waiting for the Barbarians: SA Attitudes to Immigrants and Immigration*. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project. Accessed from http://www.idasa.org.za.

Mbeki, T. 2007. Freedom from Racism – A Fundamental Human Right. *ANC Today* 7 (10). Accessed from http://www.anc.org.za.

McDonald, D.A., Mashike, L. and Golden, C. 2000. "The lives and times of African migrants and immigrants in post-apartheid South Africa." In *On Borders: Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa*, edited by D.A. McDonald. New York: St. Martin's Press.

McDonald, D. & Jacobs, S. 2005. *Understanding Press Coverage of Cross-Border Migration in Southern Africa since 2000*. Cape Town: Idasa.

Media24. 2007. *Media24 Newspapers*. Media24 Website. Accessed from: www.media24.com.

Media Monitoring Project. 1999. *The News in Black and White: an Investigation into Racial Stereotyping in the Media.* Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project. Accessed from http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org.

Media Monitoring Project. 2003. Nigerians – All Drug Dealers and Corrupt Fraudsters. *Media Mask* 6(1).

Media Monitoring Project. 2003. Representing Black Economic Empowerment in the South African Media. *Media Mask* 6(1).

Media Monitoring Project. 2007. *Africa in SA Media: A Snap Survey*. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project. Accessed from http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org.

Media Monitoring Project. 2008. *Media Monitoring Project Submits Complaint about Daily Sun Reporting on Xenophobia.* Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project. Accessed from http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org.

Milne, C., Rau, A., Du Toit, P. and Mdlongwa, F. 2006. *Key Editorial and Business Strategies: A Case Study of Six Independent Community Newspapers.* Grahamstown: Sol Plaatje Institute for Media Leadership (SPI), School of Journalism and Media Studies, Rhodes University. Accessed from http://www.mdda.org.za/themddaResearch.htm.

Misago, J. P. 2009. *Towards Tolerance, Law, and Dignity: Addressing Violence against Foreign Nationals in South Africa.* Johannesburg: International Organisation for Migration: Accessed from http://iom.org.za/site.

Mtwana, N., and Bird, W. 2006. *Revealing Race: An Analysis of the Coverage of Race and Xenophobia in the South African Print Media.* Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project. Accessed from http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org.

Murray, M.J. 2003. Alien Strangers in Our Midst: The Dreaded Foreign Invasion and "Fortress South Africa". *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 37 (2-3).

Oxford English Dictionary. 2001. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PMSA. 2008. *Media Consumption Information from AMPS*. Accessed from http://www.printmedia.org.za/industry.

Polzer, T. 2004. *We Are All South Africans Now: The Integration of Mozambican Refugees in Rural South Africa.* Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Programme. Accessed from http://migration.org.za/research/#WPS.

Radebe, N.M. 2005. *"Thieving Blacks": Gangs and Crime in Soweto as Reported in White English Newspapers During the 1940s and 1950s.* Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg.

Republic of South Africa. 2002. *Media Development and Diversity Agency Act.* Cape Town: Government Gazette. Accessed from http://www.mdda.org.za/themddapolicy-and-legislation.htm.

Republic of South Africa. 1994. *Restitution of Land Rights Act no. 22 of 1994.* Accessed from www.info.gov.za/**act**s/**1994**/a22-94.pdf.

Republic of South Africa. 1996. *Land Restitution and Reform Laws Amendment Act, no. 78 of 1996.* Accessed from www.info.gov.za/**act**s/**1996**/a78-96.pdf.

Republic of South Africa.1998. *Employment Equity Act, no. 55 of 1998.* Cape Town: Government Gazette. Accessed from: www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFile**Act**ion?id=70714.

Republic of South Africa. 2003. *Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act.* Cape Town: Government Gazette. Accessed from: www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFile**Act**ion?id=68031.

Roberts S., and Sanz, K. 2008.*Media Mostly Mum on Refugee Rights.* Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project. Accessed from http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org.

SAMGI. 2005. *Who makes the news: South Africa. Global Media Monitoring Project National Report 2005*. SAMGI: Cape Town. Available from http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org.

Seekings, J. 2008. The continuing salience of race: Discrimination and diversity in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26(1).

South African Human Rights Commission. 1999. *Report of the Inquiry into Racism in the Media.* Johannesburg: South African Human Rights Commission.

South African Human Rights Commission. 2000. *Lindela: At the Crossroads for Detention and Repatriation.* Johannesburg: South African Human Rights Commission. Accessed from www.info.gov.za.

South African Institute of Race Relations. 2005. *Fast Facts: Leadership with Facts.* Sept. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations. Accessed from http://www.sairr.org.za.

Statistics South Africa. 2001. *Census*. Accessed from http://www.statssa.gov.za.

Statistics South Africa. 2004. *Provincial Profile Gauteng.* Accessed from http://www.statssa.gov.za.

Statistics South Africa. 2007. *Community Survey*. Data accessed directly from Statistics South Africa July 2009.

Statistics South Africa. 2008. *Mid-year Population Estimates.* Accessed from http://www.statssa.gov.za.

Stucky, C. 2005. Fear and Loathing in the Media: Dealing with Racism. *Democracy, Transformation and South Africa's Media.* (Gumede, W. Ed.). Zebra Press. Accessed from http://www.csvr.org.za/wits/articles/artstuck.htm.

Ullmann, C. 2005. *Black Peril, White Fear – Representations of Violence and Race in South Africa's English Press, 1976-2002, and Their Influence on Public Opinion.* Köln: Universität zu Köln.

Vigneswaran, D. (2007). *Free Movement and the Movement's Forgotten Freedoms: South African Representation of Undocumented Migrants.* Working Paper Series. Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre.

Appendix I: Newspapers

Eastern Cape				
Newspaper	**Frequency**	**Language**	**Owner**	**Areas**
Aliwal Weekblad	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Hannes Botha	Aliwal North
Eastern Cape Voice News	Fortnightly	Xhosa / English	Destiny Production, Dr. Mandla Makubalo	King William's Town
Eastern Cape Today	Fortnightly / Weekly from 9 Oct 2008	English	Harry's Printers	Bathurst, Bhisho, Butterworth, Cathcart, Dutywa, East London, Grahamstown, Kenton on Sea, King William's Town, Mthata, Port Alfred, Port Elizabeth, Queenstown, and Stutterheim
Grocott's Mail	Bi-Weekly	English	Published by David Rabkin Project for Experiential Journalism	Grahamstown
iDikelethu	Monthly	Xhosa / English	Hope Media	Alice, Balfour, Fort Beaufort, Middledrift, Semo, Hogsback and surrounding villages
Mercury	Weekly	English	Avusa	King William's Town and surrounding areas
Pondo News	Weekly	English / Xhosa	Nkosiyabo Mxabo	Kokstad
Rainbow News	Monthly	Xhosa / English	Mkhululi Mlandu	Butterworth
Skawara News	Monthly	Xhosa / English	Wandile Fana	Cala, Cofimvaba, Ngcobo, former Transkei villages
The Rep	Weekly	English	Avusa	Cathcart, Cofimvaba, Ezibeleni, Queenstown, Sterkstroom, Stutterheim, and Vaalbank
Winterberg Nuus	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Albert van der Walt	East Cape Midlands: Adelaide, Bedford, Cookhouse, Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Hofmeyr, Middelburg, Pearston, Somerset East, and Tarkastad districts

Gauteng				
Newspaper	**Frequency**	**Language**	**Owner**	**Areas**
Alex News	Fortnightly	English	Caxton	Alexandra
Bedfordview Edenvale News	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Caxton	Bedford Gardens, Bedford Park, Bedfordview, Buurendal, Clarenspark, De Klerkshof, Dowerglen, Dunvegan, Eastleigh, Edenglen, Edenvale, Elmapark, Essexwold, Glendower, Harmelia, Highway Gardens, Hurlyvale, Illiondale, Isandovale, Marais, Meadowbrook, Modderfontein, Morninghill, Senderwood, Steyn Park, Thornhill, and Wilbart.
City Vision Soweto	Weekly	English	Media 24, Daily Sun	Johannesburg central business district, Soweto East, Soweto South, and Soweto West
Fourways Review	Weekly	English	Caxton	Fourways, Fourways Garden, Fourways Extension, Glen Nerine, Glenferness, Jukskei Park, Kengies, Kildrummy, Kyalami, Lonehill, Magaliesig, Magaliesig Extension, Marise, Maroeladal, , Megawatt Park, Norscot, Palmland, Paulshof, Paulshof Extension, Pineslopes, Plooysville, Saddlebrook, Salfred, Sunninghill, Sunninghill Park, Sunninghill Extension, Waterford, Witkoppen, Witkoppen Extension, and Witpoort
Germiston City News	Weekly	English	Caxton	Germiston and surroundings (Albermarle, Castleview, Cruywagen Park, Dania Park, Dawnview, Delville, Dinwiddie, Driehoek, Elandsfontein, Elsburg, Elspark, Fishers Hill, Germiston, Germiston South, Gosforth Park, Hazeldene, Homestead, Klopper Park, Klippoortjie, Lambton, Leondale, Malvern East, Marlands, President, Primrose, Primrose Extension 1 & 2, Primrose Hill & Simmerfield, Rondebult, Rooikop, Symridge, Tedstoneville, Woodmere, and Wychwood)
Kuranta News	Weekly	English	Kurunta News / Kenny Mametsa	Tembisa
North Eastern Tribune	Weekly	English	Caxton	Bagleyston, Balfour Park, Bramley, Bramley Manor, Bramley View, Bramley Gardens, Casey Park, Cheltondale, Corlett Gardens, Crystal Gardens, Dorelan, Dunhill, Dunsevern, Fairmount, Fairmont Ridge, Fairvale, Fairwood, Fellside, Forbesdale, Formain Gardens, Glenhazel, Glenkay, Glensan, Gresswold, Hawkins Estate, Highlands, Highlands North, Kew, Lyndhurst, Linksfield, Linksfield Extention, Linksfield North, Lombardy, Lombardy East, Lombardy West, Maryvale, Mountain View, Norwood, Orange Grove, Orchards, Paterson Park, Percelia Estate, Raedene, Raumarais Park, Rembrandt Park, Rembrandt Ridge, Rouxville, Sandringham, Savoy Estate, Silvamonte, Sunningdale, Sunningdale Ridge, Sydenham, Talboton, The Gardens, Victoria, View Crest, Waverley, and Whitney Gardens
Southern Courier	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Caxton	Bella Vista Estate, Booysens, Chrisville, Comptonville, Crown Gardens, Elandspark, Evans Park, Forest Hill, Gillview, Glenesk, Haddon, Kenilworth, Kibler Park, Klipriverbergh, La Rochelle, Lindbergh Park, Lougherinah, Mayfield Park, Meredale, Moffat View, Naturena, Ormonde (including Ormonde View), Patlynnah, Pioneer, Regents Park, Reuven, Ridgeway, Risana, Rissipark, Robertsham, Roseacre, Rosettenville, South Hills, Southdale, Southgate, Springfield, Steeldale, The Hill, Towerby, Tulisa Park, Turfclub, Turffontein, Unigray, and West Turffontein
Tembisan	Weekly	English	Caxton	Ivory Park, Kaalfontein, Kempton Park, Olifantsfontein, and Tembisa

Limpopo				
Newspaper	**Frequency**	**Language**	**Owner**	**Areas**
Capricorn Voice	Weekly	English	Caxton, Northern Media Group	Limpopo (Capricorn District, Sekhukhune, Moletjie)
Limpopo Informant	Weekly	English / Some Afrikaans	Hannes & Marietjie Cilliers	Polokwane and surrounding areas, Alldays, Dendron, Lebowakgomo, Mankweng, Seshego and Vivo
Limpopo Mirror	Weekly	English / Some Afrikaans	Zoutnet Publishers	3 editions: Giyani (Giyani and Malamulele); Makhado (Makhado, Elim, Kutama, Musina, Nancefield, and Sinthumul); and, Thulamela (Levubu, Nzhelele, Punda Maria, Shayandima, Sibasa, Thohoyandou, and Vuwani)
Northern Review	Bi-weekly	English / Afrikaans	Caxton, Northern Media Group	Limpopo
Polokwane Express	Weekly	English / Sotho Advertising	Caxton, Northern Media Group	Polokwane (suburbs)
Polokwane Observer	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Polokwane Observer (Pty) Ltd.	Polokwane
Seipone	Fortnightly	Sepedi / Northern Sotho	Balaodi Publishers	Limpopo (Polokwane)
Speaker	Fortnightly	English	Limpopo Media Corporation	Limpopo (Polokwane and surrounding suburbs)
Vhembe Herald	Weekly	Afrikaans / English	Caxton, Northern Media Group	Vhembe Area of Limpopo

Mpumalanga				
Newspaper	**Frequency**	**Language**	**Owner**	**Areas**
Barberton Times	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Lowveld Media, Caxton	Barberton
Corridor Gazette	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Lowveld Media, Caxton	Hectorspruit, Kaapmuiden, Komatipoort, Low's Creek, Malelane, Marloth Park, and Tonga
Hazy View Herald	Fortnightly	English / Some Afrikaans	Lowveld Media, Caxton	Bushbuckridge, Graskop, Hazyview, Lydenburg, and Sabie
Lowvelder / Laevelder	Bi-weekly	English / Afrikaans (90 / 10)	Lowveld Media, Caxton	Barberton, Bushbuck Ridge, Emjindini, Graskop, Hazyview, Hectorspruit, Hoedspruit, Kaapmuiden, Kanyamazane, Komatipoort, Lydenburg, Machadodorp, Malelane, Mkughlu, Nelspruit, Ngodwane, Pilgrim's Rest, Sabie, Tonga, Waterval Boven, and White River
Mpumulanga Mirror	Fortnightly	English	Lowveld Media, Caxton	Barberton, Bushbuck Ridge, Emjindini, Graskop, Hazyview, Hectorspruit, Hoedspruit, Kaapmuiden, Kanyamazane, Komatipoort, Lydenburg, Machadodorp, Malelane, Mkughlu, Nelspruit, Ngodwane, Pilgrim's Rest, Sabie, Tonga, Waterval Boven, and White River
Mpumulanga News	Weekly	English	Lowveld Media, Caxton	Nsikazi and Tonga
Nelspruit Post	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Lowveld Media, Caxton	Nelspruit
Steelburger / Lydernburg News	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Lowveld Media, Caxton	Alverton, Bothashoek, Burgersfort (Mashmuthane), Driekop, Eastern Chrome, Lydenburg (Mashishing), Manok, Moroke, Origstad, Penge, Praktiseer, Sekhukhune, Steelpoort, Tubatse, Vantech, Waterval Rivier Valley, and Winterveld

Western Cape				
Newspaper	**Frequency**	**Language**	**Owner**	**Areas**
Atlantic Sun	Weekly	English	Independent CCN	Bakoven, Bantry Bay, Clifton, De Waterkant, Devil's Peak, Fresnaye, Gardens, Green Point, High Cape, Mouille Point, Oranjezicht, Schotschekloof, Sea Point, Tamboerskloof, Three Anchor Point, Vredehoek, and Zonnebloem
Bolander	Weekly	English / Some Afrikaans	Independent CCN	Select areas of Franschhoek, Gordon's Bay, Paarl, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Strand, and Wellington
False Bay People's Post	Weekly	English	Media 24	False Bay
Goodwood / Parow Tyger Talk	Weekly	English / Some Afrikaans	Independent CCN	Avondale, Beaconvale, De Tijger, Fairfield, Glenlily, Goodwood Parow, Klipkop, Monte Vista, Northgate, Oostersee, Panorama, Parow East, Parow North, Parow Valley, Plattekloof, Plattekloof Glen, Richmond Estate, Thornton, Townsend Estate, Tygerdal, Vasco, and Welgelegen
Khayelitsha City Vision	Weekly	English	Media 24	Khayelitsha
Plainsman	Weekly	English / Afrikaans	Independent CCN	Bay View, Beacon Valley, Colorado, Eastridge, Heinz Park, Las Vegas, Lentegeur, London Village, Lost City, Mont Clare, New Woodlands, Old Woodlands,Portland, Rocklands, Rondevlei Park, Strandfontein, Tafelsig, Weltevreden Glen, Weltevreden Park, Weltevreden Valley, Westgate, Westridge, and Wildwood
Southern Suburbs Tatler	Weekly	English	Independent CCN	Bishopscourt, Claremont, Fernwood, Harfield Village, Kenilworth, Kenwyn, Kirstenbosch, Lansdowne, Mowbray, Newlands, Pinelands, Observatory, Rondebosch, Rondebosch East, Rosebank and Sydrand Park, Salt River, University Estate, and Woodstock
Table Talk	Weekly	English / Some Afrikaans	Independent CCN	Blouberg, Blouberg Sands, Blouberg Strand, Bothasig, Brooklyn, Century City, Duynefontein, Edgemead, Flamingo Vlei, Killarney Gardens, Melkbosstrand, Milnerton, Milnerton Ridge, Parklands, Phoenix, Richwood, Rugby, Sandrift, Summer Greens, Sunningdale, Sunridge, Sunset Beach, Table View, Tygerhof, Van Riebeckstrand, West Beach, and West Riding
Vukani	Weekly	English / Some Xhosa	Independent CCN	Bongweni, Crossroads, Gugulethu, Ikwezi Park, Jonkersdam, Khayelitsha, KTC, Langa, Litha Park, Merrydale, Mfuleni, Nyanga, Phillipi, Site B, Site C, Tembani and Washington Square

Appendix II: Topics

Code	Description
1	Economics
2	Politics (International)
3	Diplomacy
4	Party Politics
5	South Africa – National, Including SA Govt & Parliament
6	Provincial & Local Government
7	Disaster, Accident
8	Conflict, Political Violence, Protests, War
9	Corruption
10	Crime
11	Justice System
12	Racism and /or Xenophobia
13	Labour, Strikes, Unemployment
14	Education
15	Housing
16	Rates & Services
17	Gender
18	Gender Based Violence
19	HIV/AIDS
20	Media, ICT and Technologies
21	Human Rights
22	Children
23	Child Abuse
24	Development
25	Poverty
26	Health
27	Environment
28	Land
29	Sport
30	Science
31	Arts/Culture
32	Personalities and Profiles
33	Disability
34	Black Economic Empowerment
35	Affirmative Action
36	Refugees, Undocumented Migrants, Immigration
37	Elections
38	Discrimination – General
39	Religion, Cultural Practice
40	Scandals and Controversies
41	Social Welfare
42	Other – LAST RESORT

Appendix III: Sex, Race and Nationality of Sources

Sex Code	Description
1	Female
2	Male
3	Unknown
4	Many mixed
5	Many females
6	Many males

Race Code	Description
1	Black
2	White
3	Coloured
4	Chinese
5	Indian
6	Other
7	Unknown
8	Many Black
9	Many White
10	Many Coloured
11	Many Chinese
13	Many Indian
14	Many other
15	Many mixed

Nation Code	Description
1	South African
2	Foreign national/migrant
3	Unknown
4	Many South African
5	Many foreign nationals/migrants
6	Many mixed

Appendix IV: Propositions

No	Ethnicity/ religion
1.1	**Black (general)**
1.2	AmaSwati / Swazi
1.3	AmaXhosa
1.4	AmaZulu
1.5	BaPedi
1.6	Basotho
1.7	BaTswana
1.8	BaVenda
1.9	Shangaan/ Batsonga
1.11	**Coloured (general)**
1.12	Coloured
1.13	Griqua
1.14	Malay
1.15	San/ Khoi
1.21	**White**
1.22	White (Afrikaans)
1.23	White (English)
1.24	**Asian**
1.25	Chinese
1.26	Indian
1.27	Other Asian
1.31	**Religious general**
1.32	Jewish
1.34	Muslim
1.35	Religion other
1.41	Other
1.42	Unknown

No	Nationality/State/Group
2.1	**SADC**
2.2	Angolan/ Angola
2.3	Basotho/ Lesotho
2.4	Botswanan/ Botswana
2.5	Malawian/ Malawi
2.6	Mozambican/ Mozambique
2.7	Namibian/ Namibia
2.8	Swazi/ Swaziland
2.9	Tanzanian/ Tanzania
2.10	Zambian/ Zambia
2.11	Zimbabwean/ Zimbabwe
2.21	**African/ Africa**
2.22	Burundian/ Burundi
2.23	Cameroonian/ Cameroon
2.24	Congolese /DRC
2.25	Congolese (Republic)
2.26	Egyptian/ Egypt
2.27	Ethiopian/ Ethiopia
2.28	Ghanaian/ Ghana
2.29	Kenyan/ Kenya
2.30	Nigerian/ Nigeria
2.31	Rwandan/ Rwanda
2.32	Somalian/ Somalia
2.33	South Africans
2.34	Sudanese/ Sudan
2.71	**Other 3rd world**
2.72	Pakistani/Pakistan
2.41	**1st world**
2.42	European/Europe
2.51	**Migrant (general)**
2.52	**Black/ African (general)**
2.53	**Illegal immigrant**
2.61	**Other**

Match the above with a proposition below:

Category		Proposition	Example, where necessary
1. Africa/ governance	1.1	State is undemocratic	
	1.2	State politicians are power hungry / corrupt	
	1.3	State parliamentarians are inefficient and lazy	
	1.4	State politicians are incompetent	
	1.5	State is incapable of running anything by themselves	
	1.6	Racism and/or apartheid/colonialism is used as an excuse for poor governance	
2. Governance /race	2.1	Black government results in patronage and nepotism	
	2.2	Where there is a Black government, there is crime and corruption	
	2.3	Where there is Black government there is anarchy and the breakdown of social order	
	2.4	Black governments fail and/or Only White governments can succeed	
	2.5	There can be no African Renaissance or development in Africa by Africans	
	2.6	Africans must westernise to advance	
	2.7	Africa is ridden with disaster, disease, death and violence	
	2.8	HIV/AIDS is an African disease	
3. "Culture"/ Tradition	3.1	Group tradition and culture is barbaric	
	3.2	Group tradition and culture is primitive	
	3.3	The primary explanation is culture/ tribe	
4. Work/ competence	4.1	Group is lazy / idle	
	4.2	Group is hard working	
	4.3	Group is stupid/ simple/ irrational	
	4.4	Group is intelligent/ rational	
	4.5	Group is incompetent and unskilled	
	4.6	Group is competent and skilled	
	4.7	Group lowers standards	
	4.8	Group improves standards	
5. "Natural" characteristics	5.1	Group lives in squalor / are dirty	
	5.2	Group causes/brings disease	
	5.3	Group die in large numbers / their life is cheap	
	5.4	Group lives in splendour	
	5.5	Group's lives are very important in contrast to others	
	5.6	Group needs to be taken care of	e.g. Blacks can't take care of themselves, they need help.
	5.7	Group looks after others	
	5.8	Group is physically ugly	
	5.9	The primary explanation is culture/ tribe / race	e.g.. Because being good//clever/dirty etc. is in their nature
	5.10	Group is dominant and/or stubborn	
	5.11	Group is submissive	
6.Social relations	6.1	Group/ State blames others for their misfortune	
	6.2	Group represents a threat to society	
7.Moral character	7.1	Group is criminal	
	7.2	Group is law-abiding	
	7.3	Group steals our women	
	7.4	Group takes our houses	
	7.5	Group is greedy / only after monetary rewards	
	7.6	Group sells unreliable merchandise	
	7.7	Group sells reliable merchandise	
	7.8	Group exploits workers	
	7.9	Group is racist /bigoted	
	7.10	Group supports/ engages in terrorism	
	7.11	Group lies/ manipulates	
	7.12	Group deals fairly	
	7.13	Group is likely to be gangsters	
	7.14	Group is likely to be drug dealers	
	7.15	Group is likely to be drunkards	
	7.16	Group is violent	
	7.17	Group cannot be trusted	
	7.18	Group can be trusted / is morally superior	
	7.19	Group take our women, impregnates them and leaves	
8.Contribution	8.1	Group undermines wages	
	8.2	Group takes takes/ steals our jobs	
	8.3	Group creates more jobs	
	8.4	Group contributes to our society	
	8.5	Group does not contribute to our society	
	8.6	Group reaps the rewards of our struggle history and do not deserve to	

	8.7	Group rightfully reaps rewards of struggle which they contributed to	
9.Rights	9.1	Group does not deserve / should not have equal rights	e.g. Other Africans helped SA when we
	9.2	Group should have equal rights	
	9.3	Group should be grateful for our hospitality/patronage and have no right to ask for	
	9.4	Only this group is entirely human	
	9.5	Group is somehow not quite human	
	9.6	Group does not need/ deserve privacy	
	9.7	Every body has a right to respect	
10.Status	10.1	Group controls economy and/or the media	
	10.2	Group is foreign	e.g. White South Africans / Shangaans will always be foreign, no matter how long they've lived here
11. Migrants/ Xenophobia	11.1	Migrants are men/likely to be men	
	11.2	Migrants are here temporarily and will return to their own countries	
	11.3	Group is likely to be illegal migrants	
	11.4	Group is likely to be legally in SA	
	11.5	Group is flooding the country	
	11.6	Group does not belong here and/or should go back to their own countries	
	11.7	Group is welcome here	
	11.9	Undocumented migrants are criminals because of their lack of documents	Ie. The fact that they are here illegally means that they are criminal, whether or not they commit crime
	11.10	The distinction between migrants, whether asylum seekers, refugees, students, those with work permits, etc, is not important or there is no distinction.	This is the blurring of lines and defining all people as aliens/ foreigners regardless of status E.g. Reference is made to "refugees" or "illegals" to include all migrants, whatever their status.
	11.11	The distinction between migrants, whether asylum seekers, refugees, students, those with work permits, etc, is important.	
	11.12	Refugees deserve more protection and assistance than economic migrants	
	11.13	Group are new-comers to South Africa / migration is a recent phenomenon	
	11.14	The State is not doing enough to protect migrants	
	11.15	The State is doing enough to protect migrants	
	11.16	South Africans/ groups in South Africa are xenophobic	
	11.17	Xenophobia is not a significant problem in South Africa	
	11.18	Xenophobic violence is understandable / justified	
	11.19	People from different countries cannot live together without problems	
	11.20	Xenophobia only happens in poor communities	
	11.21	Xenophobic violence is a good (effective) strategy for ridding South Africa of migrants	
	11.22	Migrants deserve to be attacked and/or killed	
	11.23	Migrants misuse grants and free health services	
	11.24	Government is directly or indirectly responsible for xenophobia or government needs to	
	11.25	Xenophobic attacks are not more than thuggery	
	11.26	Poor people are xenophobic / xenophobia is confined to poor communities	
	11.27	State is not doing enough to protect us from the influx of foreigners	
12. Race/ crime	12.1	Crime disproportionally affects White areas	
	12.2	Crime disproportionately affects Black people	
13. Race general	13.1	Only Blacks can be African	
	13.2	Whites accused of race crimes are victims of a race witch hunt	
	13.3	Blacks want revenge against innocent Whites	
	13.4	All crimes are racially motivated	
	13.5	Affirmative action / sports quotas / BEE promotes undeserving people	
	13.6	Affirmative action is racial discrimination against Whites	
	13.7	Black economic empowerment/ affirmative action/ sports quotas/ land reform is doomed to failure	
	13.8	Blacks practice reverse racism against Whites / want revenge	
	13.9	Public holidays celebrate Black history and/or Whites' history is not valued in the new South Africa	
	13.10	White NGOs only act in the interests of certain groups	
	13.11	Quotas, affirmative action and BEE is anti-national unity	
	13.12	Quotas, affirmative action and BEE unfairly discriminates against group	
	13.13	Racially motivated incidents / xenophobic attacks are committed by men not women	
	13.14	Blacks blame everything on apartheid	
	13.15	State politicians are doing enough to promote racial unity	
	13.16	State politicians are not doing enough to promote racial unity	
14. Race & Gender	14.1	Black women are weak/ helpless victims and/or need men to survive	
	14.2	Black women are strong - mothers of the nation/ rocks	
	14.3	Black women are ugly and obese	
	14.4	White women are beautiful and thin	
15. Youth	15.1	Youths are the most common perpetrators of racial incidents	
	15.2	Black youths have nothing to do but cause trouble, steal and/or drink or take drugs	
	15.3	Black youths care about fashion and little else	
16. Racism/ racial violence	16.1	Blacks blame everything on apartheid	
	16.2	White Farmers are racist	

	16.3	Racially motivated incidents take place in small towns and rural areas (not big cities)	
	16.4	Racially motivated incidents are isolated cases (ie. Racism is not a general feature of SA)	
	16.5	Racially motivated incidents are group crimes	
	16.6	Racially motivated incidents are linked to rightwing organisations/religious fundamentalist groups	
	16.7	Racially motivated incidents are message crimes	
	16.8	Racially motivated incidents are violent	
	16.9	Racially motivated incidents are sensationalised	
	16.10	Discussing racism is inflammatory/ opens up old wounds	
	16.11	Racism is over exaggerated / some people are just over-sensitive and think EVERYTHING amounts to racism	
	16.12	There is no place for racism in the new South Africa	
	16.13	Racism is a human rights violation	
	16.14	Racially motivated incidents threaten the social order and progress of society	
	16.15	Africans are victims and/or Whites are perpetrators	

Appendix V: Focus Group Participants

Gauteng		
Yeoville Bellevue Community Development Initiative/African Diaspora Forum	Male	
Coordinating Body for Refugee Communities (CBRC)	Male	
Somali Association of South Africa	Male	
Refugee Help Desk	Male	
Somali Journalists Association of South Africa	Male	
Somali Association of South Africa	Male	
Refugee Help Desk	Male	

Mpumalanga		
Amazing Grace Children's Centre	Male	
Access to Justice Cluster	Male	
Dientjie Advice and Resource Centre	Male	
Dientjie Advice and Resource Centre	Female	

Eastern Cape		
Malibongwe Women's Consortium	Female	
Eastern Cape Youth Development Board	Male	
Eastern Cape Communication Forum	Female	
Eastern Cape NGO Coalition	Female	
Freedom of Expression Network	Male	

Limpopo		
Musina Legal Advice Office	Male	
Lawyers for Human Rights	Male	
Concern Zimbabwe	Male	
Concern Zimbabwe	Male	
Jesuit Refugee Service	Male	Workshop only
Jesuit Refugee Service	Female	Workshop only

Western Cape		
Bonne Esperance	Female	
Africa Unite	Female	
Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town	Female	
Azaad Youth Services	Female	
African Disabled Refugee Organisation	Male	
ARESTA	Male	
Black Sash	Female	Workshop only