Textual Representations of Migrants and the Process of Migration in Selected South African Media: A Combined Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics Study

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Rhodes University

By

Leigh Crymble

December 2010

ABSTRACT

South Africa has long been associated with racial and ethnic issues surrounding prejudice and discrimination and despite a move post-1994 to a democratic 'rainbow nation' society, the country has remained plagued by unequal power relations. One such instance of inequality relates to the marginalisation of migrants which has been realised through xenophobic attitudes and actions, most notably the violence that swept across the country in 2008. Several reasons have been suggested in an attempt to explain the cause of the violence, including claims that migrants are taking 'our jobs and our women', migrants are 'illegal and criminal' and bringing 'disease and contamination' with them from their countries of origin. Although widely accepted that many, if not all, of these beliefs are based on ignorance and hearsay, these extensive generalisations shape and reinforce prejudiced ideologies about migrant communities. It is thus only when confronted with evidence that challenges this dominant discourse, that South Africans are able to reconsider their views. Williams (2008) suggests that for many South Africans, Africa continues to be the 'dark continent' that is seen as an ominous, threatening force of which they have very little knowledge. For this reason, anti-immigrant sentiment in a South African context has traditionally been directed at African foreigners.

In this study I examine the ways in which African migrants and migrant communities, as well as the overall processes of migration, are depicted by selected South African print media: *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times*. Using a combined Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis approach, I investigate the following questions: How are migrants and the process of migration into South Africa represented by these established newspapers between 2006 and 2010? Are there any differences or similarities between these representations? In particular, what ideologies regarding migrants and migrant communities underlie these representations? My analysis focuses on the landscape of public discourse about migration with an exploration of the rise and fall of the terminologies used to categorise migrants and the social implications of these classifications. Additionally, I analyse the expansive occurrences of negative representations of migrants, particularly through the use of 'othering' pronouns 'us' versus 'them' and through the use of metaphorical language which largely depicts these individuals as en masse natural disasters. I conclude that these discursive elements play a crucial role in contributing to an overall xenophobic rhetoric.

Despite subtle differences between the three newspapers which can be accounted for based on their political persuasions and agendas, it is surprising to note how aligned these publications are

with regard to their portrayal of migrants. With a few exceptions, this representation positions these individuals as powerless and disenfranchised and maintains the status quo view of migrants as burdens on the South African economy and resources. Overall, the newspaper articles contribute to mainstream dominant discourse on migrants and migration with the underlying ideology that migrants are responsible for the hardships suffered by South African citizens. Thus, this study contributes significantly to existing bodies of research detailing discourse on migrants and emphasises the intrinsic links between language, ideology and society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to a number of people who helped, supported and guided me through my Masters journey. First and foremost, to my supervisor Sally Hunt, for her insightful comments, patient revisions and unfaltering encouragement over the past two years (and all the late night email correspondence that accompanied this!) I look forward to our future PhD journey ;) Sincere thanks also to Ralph Adendorff and Mark de Vos for their input in the final stages of my thesis write up.

To my fiancé: Marcel: thank you for putting up with a long-distance relationship while I completed my studies in Grahamstown. Your emotional strength, kindness and love sustained me. A&F. To my family: Mom, Dad, Greg and Teg thank you for encouraging me throughout my university studies and showing an interest in my research. Mom and Dad, particularly, thank you for giving me the education opportunities that you have and promoting a love of, and a pride in, academia. To my best friend and fellow Masters colleague, Stu, who walked the Masters path alongside me: your friendship is invaluable and I will always have fond memories of our last year together in Grahamstown.

Heartfelt thanks to the Mellon Foundation and the National Research Foundation for funding my studies over the past two years. Were it not for your financial support, I would not be where I am today.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my dear friend and fellow linguist: Christine Marshall. Your unassuming and dedicated nature inspires me daily and I appreciate the kind support you gave me during my undergraduate years ... "May the wind be ever at your back".

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES, GRAPHS AND FIGURES

TABLES

GRAPHS

FIGURES

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE STUDY

Over the past decade, substantial research on migrants and migration has been conducted world-wide with a specific focus on the role that the mass media plays with regard to its representation of migration processes (Danso and McDonald 2001; Harris 2002; Fine and Bird 2002; McDonald and Jacobs 2005; Gabrielatos and Baker 2006 and Neocosmos 2006). Often, newspaper headlines are blamed (Crawley and Sriskandarajah 2005) for framing foreigners as job stealers, criminals, illegals, and most worrying of all; „aliens", with negative metaphors describing migrants as „floods", „hordes", „waves" and „droves" entering a country which creates a sense of a „country under siege" from an „alien invasion" bringing the threat of disease, destruction and death (Croucher 1998). Thus, McDonald and Jacobs (2005: 296) suggest that dominant discourse on migrants and migration incorporates "anti-foreigner rhetoric".

In order to locate this within a South African context, some background information is needed. In 2008 a series of riots started in the township of Alexandra (in the north-eastern part of Johannesburg) when local members of this community attacked migrants from Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe, killing two people and injuring forty others (Geldenhuys and de Wet 2008). In the weeks that followed, the violence spread, first to other settlements in the Gauteng Province, then to the coastal cities of Durban and Cape Town. Attacks were also reported in parts of the Southern Cape, Mpumalanga, the North West and Free State resulting in nation-wide xenophobia (Neocosmos 2008). In light of the relevance of this to a South African context and looking for some sort of definitive and rational explanation for the barbaric violence inflicted on African migrants in these xenophobic attacks, I found a wealth of literature centred on migrants and migrant communities in South Africa. A trend that revealed itself from the early research on this topic was how these individuals were represented.

Thus, using a linguistic analytic framework which combines Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, my initial aim was to further the body of literature on African migrants with regard to their portrayal.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an outline of the research done in this study and the overall structure of this thesis. The following sections provide contextual background to the research; the research goals and questions; the methodology used and the overall structure of each chapter.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

This research falls within the field of Critical Theory within Sociolinguistics and focuses on the study of language in relation to broader social, political and economic structures of society. More specifically, the study aims to use Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to investigate, linguistically, the ways in which migrants and the process of migration are constructed in selected South African media.

In order to contextualise this research, it is necessary to reflect briefly on South Africa‟s stratified past. From 1948-1994 a system of legal racial segregation was enforced by the ruling National Party government in the country. This system, known as Apartheid, curtailed the rights of the majority „non-white‟ population of South Africa and maintained minority rule by white people. Translated from the Afrikaans meaning „apartness‟, Apartheid was an ideology which called for the separate development of the different racial groups in South Africa, forcing these groups to live separately and in fact to develop unequally with the aim to prevent inter-racial and inter-cultural marriage and social integration (SA History 2010). Apartheid was eventually dismantled in a series of violent events from 1990 to 1993 which culminated in the government elections in 1994 which saw a change of power in South Africa. In societies with such stratified pasts, it is often the case that prejudice and discrimination extend to multiple areas of the social order with racism being accompanied by other forms of intolerance as a result of conflicted contexts (UNESCO 2001). This study reports on one such form of intolerance, namely xenophobia, and determines whether this phenomenon is reflected linguistically in selected South African media through their representation of African migrants.

Despite South Africa‟s transition to democracy in 1994, prejudice and violence still continue with a range of new discriminatory practices and victims (Harris 2002). One easily identifiable victim is the „foreign‟ immigrant (or „foreign national‟ as referred to by Palmary 2004 and Neocosmos 2008).

These immigrants are often taken to represent the unknown and may be perceived by the local community as competition for the limited resources in the country, such as housing, education, health care and employment. Consequently, communities often see these migrants as a target for their frustrations in the form of a "scapegoat" (Harris 2002: 171). The result of this is the current and socially-located phenomenon that is xenophobia. Harris (2002) suggests that the targets of xenophobic violence, in a South African context, are mostly African foreigners, and in order to understand why this is, it is necessary to discover how these individuals are represented in society and what ideologies underlie these representations with the understanding that "social phenomena are linguistic phenomena" (Fairclough 1989: 23).

Harris (2001, 2002) suggests that one is able to gain valuable insight into the xenophobic attitudes directed towards African foreigners by looking at the various stereotypes and generalisations offered by the media. For the most part, Africa and foreign Africans are negatively depicted through the use of language as troubled, disease-ridden and poor with newspaper articles creating the impression of migration into South Africa as "an uncontrollable, unstoppable process" (Harris 2002: 175) that is cause for concern. Harris (2002: 175) notes that in some media, there is a „xenophobic rhetoric" which is characterised by the use of "language of contamination" with metaphors of disease and floods. Metaphors form part of our "conceptual system" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3) which is something that we are not aware of as it functions covertly at subconscious levels and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stress that metaphors are pervasive in our everyday lives and exist and function not only in language, but in our thoughts and subsequent actions. As a result, it is appropriate to conclude that metaphors play an important role in influencing what we perceive and how we relate to other people. By incorporating negative metaphorical language in discourse on migrants and migration, migrants are represented as abnormal and unhealthy, fuelling xenophobic views by portraying these groups as a burden on the state (Palmary 2004). Under these conditions it is not surprising that a discourse of fear and xenophobia has become a hegemonic discourse among the public (Neocosmos 2008). Seeing a certain group as „abnormal" results in the process of „othering" (Caldas-Coulthard 2003). Caldas-Coulthard contextualises the historical „other", showing the roots of this term as referring to „cannibalism" with connotations of underdeveloped, wild and primitive beings. By dehumanising people in this way, perpetrators of xenophobic behaviour feel justified in their actions against the „other" (Caldas-Coulthard 2003).

Danso and McDonald (2001: 115) suggest that the root of the xenophobic problem in South Africa lies in the media‟s coverage of cross-border migration and they criticise the majority of South African media for "uncritically reproducing problematic statistics and assumptions". While rejecting a deterministic link between media coverage and xenophobia, I concur with Wodak (2007) who stresses that what people read is influential in determining how they think and subsequently act. Danso and McDonald (2001: 117) emphasise that newspapers have the right to report on issues such as xenophobic attitudes and actions but, more importantly, they have the responsibility to ensure that they are not contributing to the problem by "internalising xenophobic language" and "reproducing anti-immigrant stories and research".

Although it is problematic to draw a direct link between anti-immigrant media and the issue of xenophobia in South Africa, most authors (cf. Harris 2002 and Palmary 2004) agree that the two reinforce each other and thus newspapers need to be critical and balanced when reporting on this sensitive issue. It is therefore crucial to deconstruct potential textual representations of xenophobia in newspaper articles and recognise the implications that xenophobia has at a social, as well as an individual, level. In current literature on xenophobia and the media in South Africa, there is a significant gap with regard to updated research (post-2005) incorporating linguistic considerations of migrant discourse in newspapers, specifically in terms of the newspapers‟ political persuasion, target class and type of reporting. This type of linguistic study operates on the premise that it is descriptive and its aim is to describe the nature of language and the ways that language is used by the members of particular communities. Additionally, research by McDonald and Jacobs on the link between anti-immigrant sentiment and the print media in a South African context was published in 2005 and thus could not take later discourse on migrants into account.

For these reasons this research examines three newspapers that differ in these aspects, the *Sunday Times*, *Mail & Guardian* and *City Press* between 2006 and 2010. The *Sunday Times* is South Africa‟s biggest Sunday newspaper and is considered more „conservative‟ in nature; *Mail & Guardian* was established at the height of resistance to Apartheid and self-classifies as more „liberal‟, whilst *City Press* is the biggest English broadsheet newspaper that is specifically aimed at black readers (Media Club South Africa 2009) and is considered a „populist‟ publication (all three terms „conservative‟, „liberal‟ and „populist‟ are more thoroughly discussed in Section 2.5.4). This

study aims to investigate how these media describe migrants and migrant communities in South Africa. Fairclough (1995: 2) emphasises that the media has the power to "influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, social identities". Wodak (2007: 1) supports this view, adding that language reflects power structures at the same time as having a strong impact on these structures and can be seen "as an indicator of social and therefore political situations". She states that language can also be seen as a „driving force" directed at changing politics and society and it is therefore closely linked to beliefs, opinions and ideologies (2007). In this way, language is the primary medium of social control and power (Fairclough 2001).

An important concept when exploring migrant representation in society is that of „national identity". Smith (1993: 9) defines this type of identity as one which is collective and "involves some sort of political community". A „national identity" involves common institutions and a single code of rights and duties for all members of the community as well as a "social space within which members identify and to which they belong" (1993: 9). In a country that has experienced as difficult a past as South Africa has, it is not surprising to see a community taking pride in what has been established as the „national identity" with shared images and beliefs about the national in-group and its relationship to other groups or „foreigners" (Van Dijk 1993). Billiet, Maddens and Beerten (2003: 242) propose that this „national identity" involves a community of citizens sharing a common "cultural heritage" which often produces an intense identification within their in-group at the same time as producing negative perceptions of the out-group, who are seen as a threat to the national culture.

To better understand xenophobia, it is important to consider how communities make sense of their world and in what ways prejudices are produced. Harris (2002) suggests that the media can play a crucial role in guiding, shaping and transforming the ways in which communities look at their world and understand it. Baker, Gabrielatos, Khosravinik, Krzy"zanowski, McEnery and Wodak (2008: 283) stress that the effects of media power are growing, "working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth" and they insist that the hidden power of media discourse should not be discarded. Harris (2002: 177) points out that "words are multifunctional" and represent the world at the same time as enacting social relations and identities. This highlights the significance and purpose of my research and forms the underlying reason that this type of research is being undertaken.

1.3 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The goals of this research are to investigate the various discourses used by three South African newspapers with regard to representing African migrants in order to explore to what extent the differences and similarities between them define the „migrant identity". This research also aims to consider how these portrayals either support or challenge the status quo perceptions of migrants overall. These goals are achieved by answering the following questions:

1. How are migrants and the process of migration into South Africa represented in *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* between 2006 and 2010?

2. What are the differences and similarities between the representations in the three newspapers?

3. What ideologies regarding migrants, migrant communities and processes of migration underlie these representations?

By answering these three questions, the aim is to reveal the ideological standpoint of the media, specifically these three newspapers, towards migrants and the process of migration. Furthermore, this study reflects on whether the power of the media is being used in a positive and liberating manner for these individuals, or whether it merely maintains the status quo subjugation of migrant communities.

With xenophobia being such a topical issue in the South African context, the overall aim of this research is thus to investigate how discourse surrounding xenophobia is determined, reproduced, and maintained or changed by social structures (Fairclough 2001). Additionally the aim is to explain the connections between texts and the wider social and cultural context and provide insights into the ways of talking and thinking that are bound up with world views associated with those who are xenophobic. The proposed research has the potential to have far-reaching implications in the South African community and for this reason is a beneficial contribution to the existing body of literature on the topic.

1.4 METHODS OF RESEARCH

The three weekly newspapers in this study, *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* are all English-medium and distributed around South Africa and in neighbouring countries such as Botswana and Zimbabwe. All three newspapers have rich online data sources and by searching for articles in these archives which mention the term „migrant" in its various forms, I compiled a collection of data to analyse using Corpus Linguistic and Critical Discourse Analysis methods.

I collected all the articles in the three newspapers using a keyword search for the terms: „immigrant", „foreign national", „illegal", „refugee", „foreigner", „alien", „asylum seeker", „makwerere" and „kwerekwere" (foreigner). As is reflected on in the Literature Review (cf. 2.2; 2.3.2; 2.3.4), I was guided by similar research conducted by McDonald and Jacobs up to the end of 2005. In light of the post-2005 xenophobia which has been evident in South Africa, I felt it was necessary to examine articles from where McDonald and Jacobs' research ended in the South African context - hence my research focus from 2006 onwards.

To briefly contextualise Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the main aim of the CDA framework is to describe, interpret and explain "the ways in which discourse constructs, becomes constructed by, represents and becomes represented by the social world" (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui and Joseph 2005: 366). In order to fully develop CDA, Fairclough combined two existing linguistic theories - namely that of Halliday's (1975, 1978) Systemic Functional Linguistics and Foucault's social theory of discourse (Rogers *et al.* 2005). SFL theorists state that every interaction can be located and understood at three different levels: 1) textually 2) interpersonally and 3) situated in a wider context (Rogers *et al.* 2005). Halliday emphasises that as language users, we have a choice in how we interact linguistically in order to "represent and construct dialogue" (Rogers *et al.* 2005: 369). Critical Discourse Analysis is thus a means of interrogating social phenomena using discourse analytic techniques combined with a critical perspective. It sees language as a form of social practice which shapes society and in turn is shaped by society and it aims to challenge certain preconceived ideas and stereotypes that have been „naturalised", that is, rendered normal and thus viewed as common sense (cf. 2.4.2). There are three stages in this framework namely: *Description* (in which the researcher notes formal features of the language), *Interpretation* (where s/he considers

the micro-level relationship between the text and the interaction which includes the productive and interpretative discourse processes) and finally *Explanation* (which considers the macro-level relationship between the interaction and the broader social contexts, that is, the relationship between the discursive processes of using language and the social processes of the consequences of this usage). As part of the Description stage, I investigated the experiential values of words (through classification schemes, rewording, overwording, synonymy, hyponymy and antonymy etc.) as well as the experiential values of grammatical features (agency, sentence structure and use of pronouns etc.). The Data, Interpretation and Explanation stages are important in my research as they explore discourse as part of social processes and practices, relating linguistic choices and constraints to broader social contexts. These social contexts are crucial in understanding how communities (re)produce their values and belief systems and how these determine various world views and ideologies.

The Faircloughian „school" of CDA sees discourse, power and identity as interconnected and, for this reason, CDA lends itself well to the analysis of the construction of power relations within society and examines how communication practices construct identities and reveal certain power relationships and structures of inequality. Thus, my study looks at how the texts are positioned and how they position their readers and considers whose interests are served by this positioning as well as whose interests are negated and the overall consequences of this. These issues relate discourse to relations of power.

Simpson and Mayr (2010: 5) suggest that a CDA-style analysis can be "extended, enriched or otherwise made more rigorous" by combining it with complementary approaches such as Corpus Linguistics. Critiques of CDA express concern over the lack of quantitative and comparative methods with this methodology being largely qualitative in nature. Thus, CDA research has traditionally been targeted as too subjective with regard to the ways in which it approaches texts. Garzone and Santulli (2004: 352) claim that because CDA researchers are particularly preoccupied with sociological and political issues, they "tend to focus their attention on larger discursive units of text often at the expense of linguistic analysis proper". In order to offset these criticisms, using a combined Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis approach helps to critically "bolster and firm up interpretations made on linguistic evidence" (Simpson and Mayr 2010: 5) and in this

way offers a fuller and more extensive picture of language patterns and trends across a wide collection of data on which the interpretations are based. Thus, the mismatch between CDA and the amount of data to analyse in my research led to my decision to incorporate Corpus Linguistics therefore combining the traditional qualitative analysis procedures of CDA with corpus linguistic concordance programmes. This use of concordance software is intended to guide and supplement, not replace, the methods normally used in CDA because qualitative and quantitative techniques need to be paired rather than "played off against each other" (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 2).

What is therefore beneficial with the corpus linguistic method is that these computational procedures are able to manipulate large amounts of linguistic data and in the process "uncover linguistic patterns which can enable us to make sense of the ways that language is used in the construction of discourse" (Baker 2006: 1). The analysis of linguistic data using corpus methods adds an empirical as well as a social dimension to my analysis. Textual analyses by themselves are only able to focus on a few selected features of elements of a text but this method combining CDA and Corpus Linguistics encourages the qualitative analysis of a more holistic study of many features of many texts. This is because a corpus linguistic method allows a researcher to initially capture a substantial amount of data which can then be broken up and looked at with more precise detail using CDA. Consequently, the results and conclusions found are based on a wider range of data and thus more accurate generalisations can be drawn (Fairclough 2003).

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

My thesis is structured into five chapters, the details of which are outlined below.

Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature that outlines and guides the research. It is divided into four sections. ***Section 1*** contextualises xenophobia within a South African context before moving on to ***Section 2*** which looks at the various forms of intolerance related to race, ethnicity and culture which is essential to this research due to the underlying concern of xenophobia and South Africa‟s turbulent past of prejudice and persecution. This section deals with contextualising the „Other‟ and provides an initial understanding of the various categories of migrant in South Africa as well as the stereotypes that surround these individuals. ***Section 3*** emphasises the role of ideology in this study

and traces the historical development of this concept and investigates the link between ideology and society. This section offers insights into how and why various prejudices are produced and realised by individuals and communities. In ***Section 4***, a discussion of the role and impact of the media contextualises the type of discourse being researched and explains its influence on the producers and receivers of the texts. This section also highlights the intrinsic links between the media and a „xenophobic rhetoric" as well as gives an overview of the three newspapers used in this study.

Chapter Three, on research methodology, provides a detailed explanation of the data collection procedures, the data used in the research and the tools used to analyse the chosen texts. This chapter contextualises the linguistic interpretive frameworks that are drawn on in this study; Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, and outlines how these two frameworks combine to focus the analysis on the goals at the core of my research.

Chapter Four reports on both the findings and discussion of my study. These include a consideration of word frequencies, the various terms of reference for migrants, the different stakeholders involved in discourse on migrants/migration, collocations and discourse prosody, the use of metaphorical language, reference to African countries and demonyms and contrasting lexical sets of the „criminal" opposed to the „victim". For ease of reference, the Data, Interpretation and Explanation stages of CDA are reported on concurrently and this chapter is divided into five key themes or patterns - ***Theme 1***: The classification and status of migrants; ***Theme 2***: Migration as an unstoppable and uncontrollable process; ***Theme 3***: The „victim" versus the „criminal"; ***Theme 4***: Migrants as deviant, brutal and contaminated versus xenophobia as deviant, brutal and contaminated and ***Theme 5***: Stakeholder and societal involvement in discourse on migrants and migration.

Chapter 5 concludes this thesis. In it, I answer the research questions of the study and provide a summary of the results. I reflect on the significance of this study to the existing body of literature as well as deal with how the limitations of my study give rise to potential future research in this area.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, I synthesise and discuss central literature that contextualises my research and forms the basis of my study. I begin with a discussion of the various forms of intolerance related to race, ethnicity and culture which is essential to this research due to South Africa‟s tumultuous past of prejudice which shapes the overall focus of my study: xenophobia. I then move on to a section contextualising the „Other‟ which illustrates several discursive means of excluding different racial, cultural and ethnic groups. Additionally, in this chapter I provide an initial understanding of the various categories of migrant in South Africa as well as the generalisations and stereotypes that are associated with these individuals. In my discussion I draw extensively on Harris‟ (2001, 2002) hypotheses which account for the phenomenon that is xenophobia as well as her observations on the stereotypical portrayal of migrant communities. I then consider the role and impact of the media which contextualises the type of discourse being studied and explains its influence on the producers and receivers of the texts. This section highlights the intrinsic links between the media and a „xenophobic rhetoric‟ as well as gives an overview of the three newspapers investigated in this study. My discussion then shifts to the abstract in terms of the theoretical underpinnings of this research with a consideration of ideology and, through this discussion, I provide the background to my study with an exploration of the ideology underlying the mass media and the relationship between ideology, the media and society. I draw extensively on work done by Van Dijk (1988, 1992, 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1997, 1998, 2000) whose research has been particularly useful to my own in that he offers a wealth of insights into the links between discourse and discrimination and highlights the relationship between ideology, prejudice and discourse.

2.2 SETTING THE SCENE: THE RISE OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

Xenophobic attitudes and behaviours have been present in South Africa for a considerable period of time but have only recently become a point of national, and indeed international, focus after the violent xenophobic attacks across the country in 2008. Crush (2001) suggests that antagonistic attitudes towards migrants and foreign citizens began increasing as early as the 1990s. In a 1998 survey conducted by the Human Rights Watch, it was found that “South Africa has become

increasingly xenophobic in recent years, with a large percentage of South Africans perceiving foreigners – especially, almost exclusively black foreigners – as a direct threat to their future economic well-being and as responsible for the troubling rise in violent crime in South Africa" (Crush 2001: 12). Geldenhuys and de Wet (2008: 3) suggest that one of the reasons for these widespread anti-immigrant sentiments is the "unfulfilled promises made before the 1994 elections" which left South African citizens feeling vulnerable and weary of their government with little confidence that their rights and needs will be met. In a nation-wide survey in 2008, over 550 people were interviewed to measure their attitudes towards foreigners and thus their subsequent degrees or „levels" of xenophobia. The overwhelming response to these interviews shows that the majority of South Africans do not welcome migrants from African countries and instead attribute lack of resources, crime and unemployment to these foreign individuals (Geldenhuys and de Wet 2008).

Various studies (Danso and McDonald 2001; Fine and Bird 2002 and McDonald and Jacobs 2005) have analysed the ways in which migrants are portrayed by the South African print media and their research is summarised in Table 1.

Start	Completion	Authors	Size of research	Language of print media
1994	1998	Danso & McDonald	132 selected from 1200 articles	English
1994	2002	Fine & Bird	4500 articles in total	English and Afrikaans
2000	2005	McDonald & Jacobs	294 selected from 1773 articles	English

Table 1: Existing bodies of research conducted on the print media in South Africa

All three bodies of research illustrated above systematically assess South African print media using discourse analysis. All studies conclude that the majority of print media articles that were analysed were anti-immigrant in that they made negative references to migrants and the process of migration. Additionally, the studies note that the print media in question persisted in making reference to certain pejorative labels when representing migrants including the term „illegal immigrant" and incorporated generalisations about migrants with reference to „job stealers", „criminals" and „illegals". Danso and McDonald (2001) conclude that 70% of the articles in their study were unanalytical and 56% of the newspaper reports made a negative reference to migrants. Fine and Bird

(2002: 59) conclude that migrant stereotyping was covert and subtle rather than "an active intention of the media" but stress that migrants appeared predominantly in a criminal role in articles, particularly with regard to arrest reports and statistics. McDonald and Jacobs (2005) offer the most recent study of South African print media and although they conclude that there is a shift to more pro-immigration discourse, they maintain that a large proportion of articles remain anti-immigrant and unanalytical. These extensive studies of English-medium newspapers demonstrate that for over a decade, the print media in South Africa has been producing "anti-foreigner rhetoric" (McDonald and Jacobs 2005: 296) warranting continued efforts in monitoring discourse on migrants in the media.

The causes of xenophobia are many and complex and McKenzie (2008) states that "the fact that South Africans still resort to violence and intimidation as the primary means of resolving their issues reflects how problems were dealt with in the past and demonstrates the fact that much work needs to be done to educate South Africans in other, more constructive and peaceful conflict resolution strategies" (cited in Geldenhuys and de Wet 2008: 4). The following section contextualises the focus of this study, xenophobia, and explores key definitions of and explanations for this phenomenon and locates it within existing racial, ethnic and cultural frameworks.

2.3 RACIAL, ETHNIC AND CULTURAL INTOLERANCE

In September 2001 the United Nations sponsored a world conference on "Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance" in Durban, South Africa (Fredrickson 2002: 140). The use of the multiple terminologies „racism", „racial discrimination", „xenophobia" and „related intolerance" in this title reveals the complexities involved with these types of prejudices. They can no longer be considered under the blanket term „racism" but instead have individual meanings and characteristics. In this section I contextualise xenophobia by locating it within studies of racism and highlight areas where it differs from „usual" racial intolerance.

To begin with, it is necessary to stress that, although the terms „racism" and „xenophobia" seem to be used interchangeably in various contexts (Goodman and Burke 2010), these two phenomena should not be conflated. They have wholly different meanings, with racism based solely on race and

ancestry whereas xenophobia is based on religious, ethnic, cultural and national prejudices. Fredrickson (2002: 1) points out that the term „racism" is often used in a "loose and unreflective way" to describe any negative feelings that one ethnic group may have for another group. Fredrickson (2002: 6) adds that racism is not only a set of beliefs or an attitude, but extends to "practices, institutions and structures" and is based on differences between various people.

Taguieff, a French sociologist, distinguishes between two types of racism namely "le racism d'exploitation" and "le racism d'extermination" (Fredrickson 2002: 9). Fredrickson interprets these as racism of inclusion and exclusion respectively. Inclusionary racism appears oxymoronic in that our understanding of racism is to exclude but in this context it refers to groups allowing the inclusion of other racial groups only on the basis of a "rigid hierarchy justified by a belief in permanent, unbridgeable differences" (Fredrickson 2002: 9). As such, other racial groups are only permitted if they „know their place". Exclusionary racism, on the other hand, goes further and does not accept that different racial groups can coexist in the same society. This creates a hierarchy or continuum of racism with the two types located on the same side of the continuum but with racism of exclusion being ranked more prejudicial than racism of inclusion.

Taguieff (1991) expands on these types of racism and suggests three different methods of racism within these types, namely ideological racism, prejudice-based racism and behavioural racism (cf. Riggins 1997: 69). Ideological racism refers to a "structured cluster of representations and views" (Riggins 1997: 69 and Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1996: 112), while prejudiced-based racism refers to a „sphere" of beliefs, attitudes and opinions. What is significant here is that both these types, ideological and prejudice-based, are separated and differentiated in the literature on racism but, based on their definitions, denote racism similarly with regard to it being based on views, beliefs and attitudes and I argue that these terms can thus be used interchangeably. The final and more sinister method of racism is behaviour racism which involves actively practising some sort of discrimination, be it persecution or even annihilation (Wodak 2009). This broad characterisation of racism is useful in helping to formulate an understanding of xenophobia to include in its description violent practices such as bodily harm and damage. The full working definition of xenophobia drawn on in this study is considered in Section 2.3.2.

Ashcroft (2001) provides historical background information on how language, race and ethnicity came to be seen as virtually synonymous from the nineteenth century onwards. He explains that, in fact, the whole concept „race" and „culture" only exists in, and is based on, language and that this is centred in and generated by relations of power. Ashcroft states that language has always inscribed rather than described human difference and what this means is that, through language, certain evaluations and judgements are taken as „facts" with unevaluated descriptions of some event or state of affairs (Martin 1995). These then have the capacity in a culture to evoke judgmental responses and are a manipulative tool often used to suggest that there are differences in the moral and mental capacities of different ethnic groups. Caldas-Coulthard (2003), drawing on postcolonial social theory, raises the important notion of re-contextualisation in that it is common for people to substitute, delete and add elements of a given social practice according to their own goals, values and priorities. For this reason, institutionalised racism, as was seen during the Apartheid era in South Africa, becomes accepted by the hegemonic society at large. The idea of minority ethnic groups deviating from the „normal" hegemonic group introduces links to a normality/abnormality framework which is something we draw on to make sense of our world. Thus, seeing a certain race or ethnic group as „abnormal" results in the powerful process of „othering" (Caldas-Coulthard 2003). This is discussed in Section 2.3.1.

Van Dijk (1992) considers the prominent role of denial of racism in modern society - particularly among the elite - what Dixon, Foster, Durrheim and Wilbraham (2004) term „camouflaged racism". In Van Dijk's analysis, he considers the various types of denial strategies in everyday conversations, press reports and parliamentary debates. "*I have nothing against Africans/Zimbabweans but…"* illustrates the type of disclaimers that Van Dijk is interested in with his conclusion that the elite strive for positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in order to align themselves to in-group allegiances which form their identity (1992). Van Dijk (1992) notes paradoxically that the denial of racism is part of a positive in-group presentation with many, if not most, dominant group members overtly prohibiting ethnic prejudice and discrimination. Due to this, their discourse tends to incorporate certain disclaimers and other denial strategies showing that they are well aware of the fact that they may be understood as breaking the social norm of tolerance and acceptance. They therefore try to show that they are conforming to the official group norm that racism is wrong, thus constructing themselves as „decent" citizens. This links to the following excerpt taken from Dixon *et*

al (2004: 13) which states *"The problem is not the skin colour of the masses foisted on us, but that they did not get there the way the rest of us did"*. This shows that it has been constructed precisely to pre-empt accusations of irrational bigotry showing how subtle and rhetorically complex modern racism has become. It is important to examine how statements like these both endorse a racist moral view, at the same time disclaiming racism (Van Dijk 1992). Riggins (1997: 17) adds that in a modern context, public expressions of xenophobia and related intolerance are more complex because it now occurs in situations where it is socially unacceptable. For this reason, lexical terms that are likely to be used are those that "mitigate and disguise a speaker"s or writer"s tendency to discriminate" (1997: 17). The opinions of a prejudiced person will therefore appear to be milder and less severe than their actual opinions. In the example of xenophobia, prejudiced people may refer to „economic" refugees, foreigners, migrants or „those" people and prefer euphemisms such as „ethnic cleansing" to the harsh reality of genocide showing deliberate linguistic choices to preserve a positive in-group presentation.

In these „modern" societies, prejudice is erroneously seen as a thing of the past and Wodak (1997) notes that this makes it difficult for ethnic minority groups to be taken seriously and not just be seen as oversensitive, exaggerating and over demanding. Wodak (1997) investigates the concept of the „anti racist" who is considered to be the guilty party trying to prevent free speech and a „true" or „honest" assessment of the ethnic situation. She uses the example of the French Front National Party who typically accuse those who are not against immigration of non-Europeans as engaging in „anti-French racism". On the whole, Van Dijk (1998: 138) stresses that racism is a "complex system of domination" and thus needs to be analysed at various levels in society. These levels of society include those of individual cognition, discourse, group relations, culture and organisations. I argue that xenophobia is similarly a complex system of domination which also warrants analysis at the abovementioned levels of society. My particular focus is therefore on the ideological institution of the media and the rippling effects that this level has over both individuals and broader society.

2.3.1 The 'Other'

Riggins (1997) states that the term „the Other" can be traced back as far as Plato who refers to this expression when representing the relationship between an observer (self) and an observed (other). Caldas-Coulthard (2003) and Ashcroft (2001) contextualise the historical „Other" showing the roots

of this term to refer to „cannibalism" with connotations of underdeveloped, wild and primitive beings. The term „cannibal" (meaning other) signalled the opposite of human life and thus of civilised beings (Ashcroft 2001). By dehumanising people in this way, it has resulted in a multitude of unethical treatments in history such as those associated with the xenophobic attacks in South Africa in 2008, with the perpetrators feeling justified in their actions.

Hall (1994: 395) suggests that self identity is „a production" that is never complete and for a person to develop their self-identity, they need to "generate discourses of both difference and similarity". In this way, discourses of otherness are articulated. Wodak (2009) adds that outsiders do tend to perceive „others" as a homogenous group, which explains why the singular terms „the stranger" and „the Jew" were used by German sociologist Simmel, to refer broadly to all Jewish people (Riggins 1997). Riggins (1997) emphasises that the mode of identifying people is a very important issue. He notes that if you are a member of a „we" group, you may be identified by personal names more than if you are part of a „them" group. „Others" tend to be identified anonymously purely according to their occupation, age, or social status. Overall, Riggins (1997: 9) warns that the rhetoric of othering "dehumanises and diminishes groups, making it easier for victimisers to seize land, exploit labour, exert control while minimising the complicating emotions of guilt and shame".

Hafez (2000) suggests that there are certain social and cognitive principles and strategies of inclusion and exclusion at play when it comes to xenophobic ideologies. He states that these practices aim to keep the „othered" in vulnerable positions in society – out of „our" country/city/neighbourhood, township, jobs etc. The implication is always that the in-group (we) are self-assigned as superior and deserving of being placed in a better or higher position. Van Dijk (1998: 159) adds that these ideological principles then combine with other issues such as competition for limited resources "so that prejudice gets worse in times of economic pressure". My research focuses on the role of language and the various linguistic strategies that are used in this process of othering and the consequences of this at a social level.

2.3.2 Xenophobia - the 'new' racism

Despite South Africa"s transition to democracy, prejudice and violence continue to mark this country with a range of new discriminatory practices and victims. One easily identifiable victim is

„the foreigner" or immigrant who migrates to South Africa for a variety of reasons (Harris 2002). These foreigners often represent the unknown and are interpreted by the local community as a threat to the limited resources in the country, which include housing, education, health care and job opportunities. Consequently, native citizens often see these migrants as a target for their frustrations in the form of a "scapegoat" (Harris 2002: 171) resulting in the current and socially-located phenomenon that is xenophobia.

The term „xenophobia" was coined by the ancient Greeks and is formed from the Greek elements *xenos* meaning „guest, stranger, foreigner" and *phobos* meaning „fear" (Palmary 2004). This type of prejudice stems from a feeling of hostility to the stranger or the „Other" and has been called „the new racism" in the United States, Great Britain and France (Fredrickson 2002). In the UK and France, the arrival of large numbers of migrants has resulted in „culture" being the new distinguishing factor when differentiating between „genuine" citizens and "unwelcome newcomers" (Fredrickson 2002: 141).

Hook and Eagle (2002) stress that current definitions of xenophobia need to be adapted to describe the phenomenon appropriately. These authors argue that xenophobia is not merely an attitude but is intrinsically linked to violence and physical abuse and suggest re-working its definition to include violent practices in the form of bodily harm and damage. Harris agrees that framing xenophobia as merely an attitude is misleading. She emphasises that there needs to be more focus on the consequences or effects of such a mind-set. She adds (2002: 2) that a definition of xenophobia in South Africa should include the "intense tension and violence by South Africans towards immigrants". I take these suggestions to heart and, for the purposes of my work, McDonald and Jacobs' (2005) extended definition of xenophobia will be accepted as it encompasses several elements of relevance to this study. These authors (McDonald and Jacobs 2005: 296) see xenophobia as "the deep dislike of non-nationals based on fear of the unknown or anything perceived as different, and involves attitudes, prejudices and behaviours that reject, exclude, and often vilify persons on the perceptions that those persons are outsiders or foreign to the community, society or national identity". From this definition, my understanding is that xenophobia is not merely a fear of foreigners, but is a phenomenon that is both a persistent attitude and an active practice, which includes physical and behavioural actions. I take this definition further in my

research and suggest incorporating the statement that xenophobia is physically a violation of human rights in order to fully convey the severity of this type of prejudice. Thus, the direct link between xenophobia and violence is one that is investigated in this study. Before moving on to a consideration of the various stereotypes and hypotheses associated with migrants, it is necessary to contextualise migration and migrant communities within a South African setting.

2.3.3 Migrants in South Africa

Migrants within contemporary South Africa have received much media and political attention. According to Harris (2001), this attention has fluctuated unevenly between negative exposure and positive sympathy within the media. To a large extent, migrants are portrayed as "a coherent, uniform group in South Africa" (2001: 13) ignoring their individual diversity and intricacies and instead viewing the group as a homogenous whole. This representation does not recognise that certain migrant groups are prone to more antagonism and aggression than others and it is therefore significant to consider the various categories of representation for these individuals within the context of migrants and migration in South Africa. In exploring the treatment of foreigners in South Africa, it is important to define some of the concepts to be used. This is particularly important because legal definitions of these terms differ from those in common usage.

To begin with, three broad categories that are utilised in South African legislation to refer to these groups include: refugee, foreigner and immigrant. The flexibility and overlap between the three categories of „refugee", „foreigner" and „immigrant" are important considerations throughout this study with regard to the context in which these varying terms of reference are used and whether the use of the terms in society reflects the legal definitions the terms aim to encode. The next section focuses on the definition and demographics of these categories in terms of contemporary South African law and popular public discourse as outlined by Harris (2001). Their significance to current xenophobia is detailed in the socio-political focus of Chapter 4.

a) Refugees

A refugee is defined as a person fleeing from "individual persecution, generalised human rights violations or armed conflict in their country of origin" (UNHCR 1998: 2). This category is a

relatively new one in terms of South African state policies and procedures with it first emerging during the country‟s political transition in relation to returning „exiles‟ in the early 1990s. In 1993, with this transition being put into effect, the South African government reached an agreement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) regarding the return of these exiles to the country (Harris 2001). International legislation in the form of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees underpins the current definition of a refugee in South Africa‟s 1998 Refugee Act which was "developed from recommendations in the 1997 Green Paper on International Migration to deal specifically with refugees in South Africa" (Harris 2001: 13).

With regard to this Act in a South African context, a refugee is defined as a person who is outside the country of their nationality and is unable or unwilling to return to it owing to reasons related to a well-founded fear for being persecuted (UNHCR 1998: 2). While seeking refugee status, the applicant is known as an „asylum-seeker‟. This category represents a person whose asylum claim has not yet been examined to ascertain whether their fear of persecution is well-founded and they can move „up‟ to refugee status (UNHCR 1998: 2).

What is crucial about this categorisation of migrant status is that there are particular rights accorded to recognised refugees in the country. These include the rights not to be deported, the right to acquire possessions and earn wages, the right to education and health care and the right to an identity card for travel purposes (UNHCR 1998: 4). Asylum seekers in South Africa are also granted certain rights as they await a decision on their status which entitles them to the same basic human rights as listed above, as well as the specific rights to have the asylum application processed and decided upon in a fair and transparent procedure and the right to be treated according to basic humanitarian standards, with regard to employment, primary education for children, and health care (Harris 2002: 15).

b) Foreigners

In much of South Africa, the term „foreigner‟ is regularly used to portray a coherent and uniform group of people without South African citizenship (Crush and Williams 2003). However, this definition not only disregards the internal diversity and complexity among foreign citizens in South

Africa, but also risks ignoring the significant difference between documented and undocumented migrants (Crush and Williams 2003). Contemporary definitions of this term consider a foreigner to be a person who comes from a foreign country and someone who does not owe allegiance to „your" country and is excluded from, or is not a member of, a group. The Oxford English Dictionary (Sixth Edition) links the term „foreigner" to words such as „stranger", „outsider" and even „alien" and combined with the off-putting images of foreigners portrayed by the mass media, the term „foreigner" became intrinsically associated with negative connotations (Iglicka 2008). In the beginning of the 1990s, foreigners represented a completely new element of the South African landscape. They quickly became the subject of negative reports and journalists concentrated on criminal activities undertaken by foreigners or different aspects of their cultures not welcomed by local South Africans. Elements of fear and suspicion were thus augmented and anxiety related to immigration focused predominantly on poverty and crime (Shindondola 2002).

The constitutional rights pertaining to foreign migrants in South Africa are not clearly explained within the legislation. It appears that non-South Africans in the country are largely protected by the Bill of Rights although the 1999 White Paper on International Migration (1999: 13) states that "we will need to determine the extent to which the circumstances of being an alien, either legal or illegal, may authorise government to provide them with a lesser degree of constitutional protection".

c) Immigrants

Migrants who are categorised as „immigrants" in South Africa share a stability in their position in the country (Harris 2001). Unlike migrants who are defined through the temporary nature of their stay in the country, immigrants are categorised as in a more permanent position and are those who "enter another country in order to make one"s permanent life and home there" (White Paper on International Migration 1999: 52).

Although the definition of the term „immigrant" appears straightforward, this term is often associated with ambiguity as it overlaps with several other categories classifying migrants. Harris (2001) suggests that the reason for this is because individuals who enter as either refugees or asylum seekers can be granted permanent status under certain conditions such as after five years of

temporary legal employment in South Africa or on the basis of a permanent offer of employment. Additionally, if a refugee is recognised as such and granted asylum over a period of five years, then they can make an application for „naturalisation" (Draft Refugee White Paper 1998) and thus move from „asylum seeker" to „refugee" to „immigrant" signalling an intrinsic hierarchy within these terms.

Overall, all three terms „refugee", „foreigner" and „immigrant" occur under a blanket term „migrant". Additionally, migrant communities, as a whole, are often associated with various stereotypes and generalisations that have far-reaching implications on a societal level. The next sections highlight several stereotypes that serve to perpetuate xenophobic attitudes and actions as well as outline possible hypotheses for why xenophobia is a phenomenon that is increasingly being realised in South Africa.

2.3.4 Stereotypes that perpetuate xenophobia

Harris (2002) suggests that the targets of xenophobic violence, in a South African context, are often African foreigners, and in order to understand why this is, it is necessary to examine how these individuals are represented in society and what ideologies underlie these representations. Harris suggests that one is able to gain valuable insight into negative attitudes directed towards African foreigners by looking at various stereotypes and generalisations.

To begin with, a stereotype is "a standardised mental picture that is held in common by members of a group and that represents an oversimplified opinion, prejudiced attitude, or uncritical judgment" (Flückiger 2006: 3). Bhabha (1994: 82) refers to stereotypes as "a substitute and a shadow of the Other" and suggests that they are one of the main discursive tools (which include concepts, metaphors, similes, tropes) that are used to make sure differences between individuals and groups are recognised. Stereotypes or generalisations are relevant phenomena to any research concerning prejudice because through these means, "the self expresses ambivalence towards the others" (Riggins 1997: 9). Despite these generalisations resting on the "most insecure intellectual foundation" (Riggins 1997: 10), stereotypes often become an apparatus used by dominant groups to

maintain unequal power relations and for this reason are significant precursors to ethnic intolerances such as xenophobia.

According to Danso and McDonald (2001) there are various common stereotypes which contribute to the perpetuation of xenophobic ideologies (the concept of ideology is discussed further in Section 2.4). These stereotypes see migrants as „criminals", „illegals", „job stealers" and „disease carriers". Authors including Fine and Bird (2002) and McDonald and Jacobs (2005) conclude that migrants appear more frequently in certain news genres, such as crime news, than others, and these reports often show migrants in a negative light, "as the culprits rather than the victims" (Flückiger 2006: 3). In a press release taken from The Star, Colonel Van Niekerk from the South African Police Services stated that "illegal aliens are thought to make up 8.5 million of South Africa"s approximate 40 million people ... [and] on the whole are considered to be a threat to the socio-economic structure and safety and security of the country" (Fine and Bird 2002: 12). McDonald, Gay, Zinyama, Mattes and de Vletter (1998) emphasise that although immigration statistics are often grossly overestimated, the reality is that immigration into South Africa has increased dramatically over the past decade and this increase is often foregrounded by the media.

Danso and McDonald (2001) suggest that two of the most common terms for migrants, „aliens" and „illegals", are to blame for the majority of the prejudice towards these groups due to the negative connotations they evoke. Flückiger (2006: 3) points out that this has "become systematic and leads to ethnicisation or racialisation of crime". According to Danso and McDonald (2001), the term „illegal" is seldom explained in the media, and should only refer to someone who has overstayed their visa, given false documentation to enter the country or has entered clandestinely. However, it has become a common term to refer to any migrant, and is used particularly by the print media. Additionally, the use of the term „alien" "drives yet another degree of „otherness" between the citizens of South Africa and people from outside the border" (Danso and McDonald 2001: 129).

Thus, in this way, the media has fuelled xenophobic views by portraying migrants as burdens on the state, poor, unskilled and as competing for scarce public resources such as employment and health care (Crush 2003). The media often problematically associate migrants with crime, using inflated statistics and sensational headlines which in turn encourage prejudice towards migrants and lends

xenophobia a certain degree of legitimacy (Crush 2003). This legitimacy allows the South African nation to put blinkers on and ignore their prejudice and what would normally be considered intolerance.

McDonald, Gay, Zinyama, Mattes and de Vletter (1998) state that although a more balanced debate about cross-border migration in South Africa is starting to take place, xenophobic stereotypes about migrants of African origin are still all too common. Allusions to a „flood of illegal aliens" who bring disease and crime to the country and who are seen to be a "threat to the social and fiscal stability of South Africa" (McDonald *et al.* 1998: 1) are still prevalent in the mainstream press. These authors argue that the negative stereotyping around cross-border migration into South Africa is simply unfounded and stress that xenophobic stereotypes need to be challenged. Academic research into this area of prejudice (Centre for Development & Enterprise 2008 and Steinberg 2008) helps to contextualise important issues that are a part of South Africa"s history in an attempt to educate individuals by encouraging alternative ideologies to the ones which advocate intolerance of others. South Africa"s current political, social and economic climates are in constant flux (Everatt 2010) and with continual changes occurring at all levels in society, it is crucial to keep xenophobic research modern and updated. For this reason, my research aims to build on the findings and conclusions of previous work done in South Africa (cf. 2.2) and contribute recent data to this field of study. Thus, this research determines the extent to which the selected South African media is challenging or merely reproducing, and therefore perpetuating, „anti-foreigner rhetoric" (cf. 1.1).

2.3.5 Hypotheses of xenophobia

Harris (2002) states that various explanations for xenophobia have been offered by literature in the form of magazines, speeches and documentaries. She groups these explanations into three hypotheses, namely, the scapegoating hypothesis, the isolation hypothesis, and the biocultural hypothesis. Harris (2002: 3) notes that it is important to recognise that these hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, but rather "offer different levels of explanation for xenophobia within contemporary South Africa".

The first hypothesis that Harris (2002: 3) notes is the „scapegoating" hypothesis which locates xenophobia "within the context of social transition and change" and links antagonism towards

foreigners directly to scarcity of resources (housing, education, health care and job opportunities). Soon after Apartheid, people became more conscious of their deprivation and their sense of discontent was at a peak. This was the ideal situation for xenophobia "to take root and flourish" (Harris 2002: 3) in that in this context, it is common for people to create a frustration-scapegoat to blame for their poverty. Because foreigners can be seen as threats to these limited resources, they become these scapegoats. However, political scientist Seegers states that "frustration breeds anger, yet angry people do not always commit violence" (Harris 2002: 3). These frustrated people either release their anger on the frustration-scapegoat or alternatively could turn their anger inwards and commit suicide. Tshitereke (1999) suggests that concepts of frustration and aggression are interpreted as subjective, intra-psychic processes. In this way, the scapegoating hypothesis understands xenophobia from the inside out. Additionally, politics, economics and patriarchy are important influences on the scapegoating process with foreigners being blamed for taking „our" jobs, taking „our" houses and stealing „our" women. Shindondola (2001) further argues that the occurrence of scapegoating is especially prevalent in transitional societies such as current South Africa. He points out that in times of slow economic growth or economic hardship, society requires scapegoats – thus it is often the foreigners that take the blame.

The second hypothesis that Harris (2002: 4) highlights is that isolation is a potential cause of xenophobia and this hypothesis "situates foreignness at the heart of hostility towards foreigners". According to this hypothesis, the interaction between previously isolated South Africans and unknown foreigners creates an ideal space for hostility to develop and as Morris (1998: 1125) suggests, "when a group has no history of incorporating strangers it may find it difficult to be welcoming". South Africa"s difficult past, with regard to the many years of Apartheid, has influenced people"s ability to be tolerant of difference (Morris 1998) because of the strict boundaries that were in place to separate South African citizens from each other, as well as from other nations (Harris 2002). As was detailed in the scapegoating hypothesis, it is clear that foreigners become an easy target for antagonism and violence and it is important to note the implicit assumption that „outsiders" automatically become these scapegoats. Thus, in this theory, "xenophobia exists because of the very foreignness of foreigners. It exists because foreigners are different and unknown" (Harris 2002: 5). However, it must be acknowledged that this hypothesis does not fully account for why this „unknown" evokes such anxiety and why this often leads to aggression.

The final hypothesis which attempts to account for xenophobia is the biocultural hypothesis. In a South African context, foreigners are not always treated as a homogenous category as is the case where xenophobia occurs in other parts of the world (Crush 2003). Instead, some foreigners are at greater risk than others, with African foreigners seeming to be particularly vulnerable to violence and hostility (Harris 2002). Harris (2002: 5) states that the biocultural theory offers "an explanation for the asymmetrical targeting of African foreigners by South Africans". This hypothesis locates xenophobia at the level of visible difference, or „otherness" such as physical biological factors and cultural differences shown by the African foreigners in the country. Some of these differences include skin tone, clothing style, accent and language. Harris (2002: 6) adds that "the biological-cultural features of hairstyles, accents, vaccination marks, dress and physical appearance can be read as indexical markers or signifiers. They signify difference and point out foreignness in a way that is immediately visible. As signifiers, these features do play a common role in prompting xenophobic actions". Although the visible „otherness" of African foreigners seems to be a significant factor behind hostility towards them, this is not a fully sufficient explanation for the asymmetrical xenophobia directed towards this group.

Thus, although the three hypotheses discussed above offer essential insights into xenophobia, they do not account fully for the violence and aggression that is directed towards African foreign nationals. Thus, the hypotheses do not explain the „whys" of xenophobia. For this reason, it is necessary to use all three hypotheses as an "interconnected series of explanation" (Harris 2002: 6) to avoid simplistically presenting xenophobia as clear-cut and uniform. Harris concludes that a potential way of understanding why African foreign nationals are the targets of xenophobic violence is to put forward a new hypothesis that locates xenophobia within the context of South Africa's transition "from a past of racism to a future of nationalism" (Harris 2002: 6).

At the most basic level, research into xenophobia needs to focus on the role that social institutions, such as the media, play in representing African foreigners in South Africa. Additionally, research needs to look at nationalism as "an apparatus of prejudice" (Harris 2002: 6) and how migrants and migrant communities are perceived in the country. This concept of nationalism is revisited in Section 2.4.5.

2.3.6 Xenophobia and the media

The underlying assumption of my research is that the media plays a significant role in forming public opinion and views when it comes to issues such as xenophobia. Rice and Bartlett (2006) state that the media frame issues of public concern and, at the same time, can influence and track this public opinion.

Danso and McDonald (2001: 115) suggest that the root of the xenophobia problem in South Africa lies within the media‟s ideological coverage of cross-border migration in South Africa and they criticise the majority of South African media for "uncritically reproducing problematic statistics and assumptions". Crush (2001) specifies the South African Press Association (SAPA) as the main culprits in this regard and accuses them of merely parroting the police‟s interpretation of events as well as reproducing police press statements which link migration with crime. While rejecting a purely deterministic link between xenophobia and media coverage, I concur with Wodak (2007) who stresses that what people read is influential in determining how they think and subsequently act. Danso and McDonald (2001: 117) emphasise that newspapers have the right to report on issues such as xenophobic attitudes and actions but, more importantly, they have the responsibility to ensure that they are not contributing to the problem by "internalising xenophobic language and reproducing anti-immigrant stories and research". Although it is problematic to draw a direct link between anti-immigrant media and the issue of xenophobia in South Africa, most authors (cf. Harris 2002; Fine and Bird 2002 and Palmary 2004) agree that the two reinforce each other and thus newspapers have a responsibility to be critical and balanced when reporting on sensitive topics. It is therefore crucial to deconstruct textual representations of xenophobia in newspaper articles and recognise the implications that xenophobia has at a social, as well as an individual, level.

Gabrielatos and Baker‟s 2008 research focuses on the discursive construction of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK Press between 1996 and 2005. Their analyses point to a number of negative categories of representing these individuals as well as the media‟s conflation of the four terms under consideration – refugee, asylum seeker, migrant and immigrant. According to Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), the press has the power to influence its readers and thus the public in general and, very pertinently for my research, this influence extends to the public‟s stance towards

minority social and ethnic groups. Newspapers exert a great deal of social control and power when it comes to their reporting in that they choose what they want to highlight or reject in terms of content and they also determine "the extent and frequency of coverage according to their editorial policy or agenda" (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 9).

In research conducted prior to the xenophobic attacks in 2008, Africa and foreign Africans were negatively depicted through the use of language as troubled, disease-ridden and poor with articles creating the impression of migration into South Africa as "an uncontrollable, unstoppable process" (Harris 2002: 175) that is cause for concern. Harris (2002: 175) notes that xenophobic rhetoric is characterised by the use of "language of contamination" with metaphors of disease and floods. These metaphors form part of our "conceptual system" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3) which is something that we are not aware of as it functions covertly at subconscious levels. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stress that metaphors are pervasive in our everyday lives and exist and function not only in language, but in our thoughts and subsequent actions. As a result, it is appropriate to conclude that metaphors play a vital role in influencing what we perceive and how we relate to other people. By incorporating negative metaphorical language in discourse on migrants and migration, migrants are represented as abnormal and unhealthy, fuelling xenophobic views by representing these groups as burdens (Palmary 2004).

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that a discourse of fear and xenophobia have become a hegemonic discourse among the public (Neocosmos 2008). McDonald and Jacobs" research done on the mass media in South Africa between 1994 and 2005 (cf. 2.2), with the percentage of articles with negative references to migrants and migration. As can be seen in this table, negative indexes include depicting migrants as „burdens", „job stealers", „criminals", „aliens", „illegals" as well as the use of inflated statistics, sensational headlines and negative metaphors to describe migration such as „hordes" or „floods". According to this research, between 1994 and 1998 56% of articles had at least one negative reference to migrants or migration whilst this dropped to 44% between 2000 and 2005. These authors point out that whether the xenophobic press is merely a reflection of public sentiment or stems from xenophobia within the press itself is difficult to decide. What is clear is that there "is a

cycle of negative (mis)representation of migration in the print media and it is likely that public opinion and journalistic opinion simply feed off of one another" (McDonald and Jacobs 2005: 17). Although a significant contributor to the overall body of xenophobic research, this work is now outdated, particularly in light of the post-2005 xenophobia which has been evident in South Africa. It is therefore important to examine articles from where McDonald and Jacobs' research ended: hence my research focus from 2006 onwards.

Type of Negative Reference	Percent of Sample with the Negative Reference			
	South Africa (1994 - 1998)	South Africa (2000 - 2005)	Zimbabwe (2000 - 2005)	Botswana (2000 - 2005)
Makes reference to migrants as job-stealers and / or as a general burden to the country's economy	24	6	5	19
Associates migrants with crime	25	19	9	26
"Nationalises" and / or "Africanises" crime	11	8	15	23
Refers to non-citizens as "illegals"	38	22	7	29
Refers to non-citizens as "aliens"	24	4	0	1
Uses negative metaphors to describe migration into the country (e.g. floods, hordes, waves)	9	21	8	22
Presents negative images of other African countries	12	15	15	28
Uses inflated statistics on the number of (im)migrants in the country	17	2	n / a	n / a
Uses sensational headline(s)	26	9	21	26
Percentage of articles that include at least one negative reference	**56**	**44**	**22**	**39**
N =	**132**	**294**	**228**	**192**

Table 2: Percentage of articles with negative references to migrants and migration

2.4 IDEOLOGY

As outlined in Section 2.3.4, intrinsic to the study of xenophobic prejudice and thus central to my research is the concept of ideology. This can be broadly understood as referring to a set of attitudes and values that result in both an individual and/or collective world view (Fairclough 2001), for example, negative perceptions of migrants or migrant communities that are realised as xenophobia. This section of the literature review outlines the significance of ideology to this language study with regard to the origin and understanding of this concept, particularly when looking at instances of power inequalities where language is the "site of social struggle" (Fairclough 1989: 162). This is integral to my study as it considers how prejudiced attitudes are discursively manifested and how these can then become belief systems and values in both individuals and in society- shaping the way we think and thus contributing to the way we act (Pinker 2002).

2.4.1 Historical definitions of ideology

In his preface to Ideology, a Multidisciplinary Approach, Van Dijk (1998: vii) tellingly states that a definition of ideology is "as elusive and confused as ever" and suggests that in order to locate this concept in a modern context, it is necessary to focus on the roots of the term itself. The term ideology was coined in the 18th century by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy who referred to "idéologie" meaning the „science of ideas" (Kennedy 1998: 28). The word is built from two Greek components: „*ideo*" derives from „idea" and indicates that the associated element denotes an idea or an image and the combining form „*logie*" derives from the lexical item „*logos*", which means „to speak about or to study" or „word or discourse". Destutt de Tracy aptly thought that such a science would help "to regulate society and morale for a better and fairer world" (Petitclerc 1998: 2).

Since then, various classical approaches to ideology (supported by theorists such as Marx and Engels) have tended to take a negative, critical view of this concept, seeing it as a "system of wrong, false, distorted or misguided beliefs" (Van Dijk 1998: 2). It was in the early 19th century that this term was first given negative connotations by Napoleon, who referred to the concept of "ideologues" to ridicule his intellectual opponents (Kennedy 1998: 30), accusing them of trying to undermine the state and the rules of law, and of just being "dreamers who didn't know anything

about the reality of the state" (Petitclerc 1998: 3). Van Dijk (1998: 2) states that the early use of the term became associated with trying to "express or conceal one's social or political position, perspectives or interests".

Scholarly debates during this period suggested several tenets of „classical" ideology including the view that ideology was a self-serving false belief that „others" had and which aimed to deceive by hiding certain social relations (Wodak 1997). The critical element of this notion of classical ideology was deeply rooted in issues of power and dominance, with Marx and Engels equating dominant ideas with the ruling class who were able to control the production of these ideas through institutions such as politics, the media, literature and education (Wodak 1997). In this way, the ideologies of the ruling class were easily accepted by the ruled as „the way things are", that is, "undisputed knowledge" (Van Dijk 1998: 2). Up until the 20th century, ideology was seen merely as the positions, attitudes, beliefs and values of social groups with no reference to power relations or social domination between these groups (Geuss 1982). However, in the early part of the 20th century, a Neo-Marxist view of ideology started to emerge which combined elements of these traditional approaches with a more critical view of ideology, with this approach maintaining the importance of the "socio-economic and symbolic power of the elite groups" (Van Dijk 1998: 3). It was only toward the end of the 20th century that a more inclusive and less negative view of ideology started to develop. Here, ideology was defined less pejoratively as "a political or social system of ideas, values, prescriptions of groups or other collectivities" (Van Dijk 1998: 3) which existed to categorise and manage the actions and behaviour of these groups. This shift to a more „critical" view of ideology was one initiated and supported by theorists such as Eagleton (1991), Larrain (1979) and Thompson (1984) who all argued that ideology be seen primarily as a means of establishing and maintaining social control and power. One of the causal effects of language, and thus texts, is the effects that texts have when it comes to "inculcating and sustaining or changing ideologies" (Fairclough 2003: 9) and the critical definition of ideology permits this line of thinking.

Gramsci explains the relationship between society and ideology with the term „hegemony", referring to a process which "works subtly through the management of the mind of the citizens" to persuasively create "a consensus about social order" (Van Dijk 1998: 3). Wodak (2007) points out that because of this manipulation, the ideology of a society is of great importance because it serves

to confuse the alienated groups creating „false consciousness", which is discussed in more detail in Section 2.4.2.

Althusser (1970) problemitises several aspects of Marx"s definition of ideology, particularly opposing the inherent class reductionism in his view (Hall 1985: 97). He argues that there is no guarantee that the "ideological position of a social class will always correspond to its position in the social relations of production" (Hall 1985: 97) and that Marx is wrong to assume this is always the case. Another important point that Althusser raises is that ideology needs to be seen as a „practice" which is located within various "rituals" (Hall 1985: 99) of specific social institutions and organisations such as churches, trade unions and the media. He emphasises that ideas appear and are realised as social phenomena, principally in language and in the "rituals or practices of social action and behaviour in which ideologies imprint or inscribe themselves" (Hall 1985: 99). Hall supports Althusser"s view, stating that ideologies are certain frameworks of thinking and calculation about the world which show individuals how the social world works and how they should act in it. This understanding, in my view, sees ideology as a „moral touchstone" for both individual and collective behaviours. For this reason, Hall stresses the significance of deconstructing language use and behaviour in order to "decipher the patterns" (Hall 1985: 100) of ideological thinking encoded in them.

For a working definition of ideology I have used various features of the term from modern discussions of it from an array of theorists over the years. While I subscribe to Ober"s (1989) understanding of ideology as describing the ideas and values of social groups, I also agree with Croally (2007: 259) who states that seeing ideology in a merely descriptive light makes it "ubiquitous" so whilst it is a convenient approach, it runs the risk of conflating society and ideology. For the purposes of my research, this definition is too passive for the demands placed on it and for this reason a more interactive and holistic understanding is needed. Thus, in my study I see the relationship between ideology and society as dialectic; that is, ideology affects society at the same time as being influenced by it.

Fairclough (2003), Van Dijk (1998) and Wodak (1997) recognise the earlier limitations with regard to defining ideology as „descriptive", and in their explanations of the term they incorporate certain

elements which instead view ideology as a „multidisciplinary" concept involving cognition, society and discourse. Van Dijk (1995a: 248) states that:

> "Ideologies are basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of sociocultural values, and organised by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group. Besides their social function of sustaining the interests of groups, ideologies have the cognitive function of organising the social representations (attitudes, knowledge) of the group, and thus indirectly monitor the group-related social practices, and hence also the text and talk of members".

This definition of ideology sees it as an organisation of ideas, thoughts and beliefs that are unquestionably related to the social sphere in that ideologies are linked to group interests, struggles and conflicts and function to support or oppose dominance (Van Dijk 1998). By understanding ideology in terms of it being a shared view of a particular social group, my research is able to highlight how this collective phenomenon forms the basis of societal values and thus, „norms". Van Dijk's (1995a) definition above also places emphasis on sustaining group interests which in turn are associated with power relations. With the main focus of my work being on social control and the discrepancy between those with power (the newspaper editors, reporters) and those without (the individual migrants or migrant groups being reported on), this understanding of ideology pinpoints the need to challenge assumptions that are often taken for granted and that result in oppression.

2.4.2 'False Consciousness'

An integral part of the notion of ideology relates to „false consciousness". This concept has been a big part of the history of the study of ideology from its early days of development by Marx and Engels. Engels (1893: 1): states that:

> "Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker. Consciously, it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or apparent motives".

Van Dijk (1998: 96) adds that these misguided or „false" ideologies are due to various mixtures of "ignorance, indifference, manipulation, compliance or concern" that prioritise short-term interests over long-term ones. This concept of false consciousness is used by people as a means of ignoring

„real" social facts and Van Dijk (1998: 97) points out that such ignorance may be "actively inculcated through biased information or by other forms of ideological manipulation by dominant groups". A related issue when discussing false consciousness and ideology is whether individuals who „have" them are actually aware of this. Often, group members are not conscious of the social representations they have because they have become so „natural". Unless they are challenged by members of the other group, they continue to be unaware of their ideologies, particularly so in the case of racism and xenophobia (Van Dijk 1998). Virtually all racists deny that they are in fact „racist" and will overtly reject racist ideologies. However, when the same ideological beliefs are framed as „normal/natural" in favour of their own group, for example seeing oneself as a nationalist, the beliefs are then seen to be wholly acceptable (Van Dijk 1998). This brings us to a discussion of individual and collective identities and how these are linguistically and socially realised.

2.4.3 Ideology, language and society

The primary means by which ideology is reproduced is through discourse. Foucault (1991) states that discourse is a formalised way of thinking that is realised or manifested through language. This concept is closely linked to different theories of power and state and although it is not the only means of expressing ideology, it does play a significant role in (re)producing ideologies. For this reason, contemporary approaches to ideology focus on the role of language use and discourse. After all, the primary means by which ideology is transmitted is through discourse and in this way, ideological assumptions are often framed as „common sense" and are thus constructed as a natural, "implicit philosophy" (Gramsci 1971 cited in Fairclough 1989: 84). Fairclough (1989: 23) emphasises that language does not exist in a vacuum outside of society, but rather it exists within society and as such, "social phenomena are linguistic phenomena". According to Fairclough (2001), using language is the most common form of social behaviour and is where individuals rely most heavily on their „common sense" assumptions, hence, the close link between ideology and language. Fairclough (2001: 2 - 3) goes on to state that "nobody who has an interest in modern society or an interest in relationships of power in modern society can afford to ignore language". Wodak (2007) supports this view adding that all types of language use from text to communication (that is, discourse) are needed and used by individuals in various groups. These group members have to learn, acquire, change, conform to or convey certain ideologies to other members of their „in-group"

as well as hide these ideologies from the „out-group" members. Van Dijk (1998: 6) stresses that if we want to deconstruct ideologies to see how they come into existence, how they work and how they are sustained, then it is crucial to "look closely at their discursive manifestations". Van Dijk's (1997: 23) interest is in the social functions of ideologies and he suggests that seeing ideology merely as a means developed by dominating groups to reproduce and legitimate their power is "not fundamentally wrong" but "one-sided and much too superficial".

Thus the basic function of ideology is rather "to manage the problem of coordination of the acts or practices of individual social members of a group. Once shared, ideologies ensure that members of a group act in similar ways in similar situations […] and will thus contribute to group cohesion" (Van Dijk 1997: 24). Ideology then addresses the question of the identity of a group and Pinker (2002) explains that ideologies describe this identity in terms of membership, activities, aims, values, norms, position and resources. These categories and their contents are self-schemata, and define a group's socio-cognitive identity. Van Dijk (2000) points out that a definition of the ideological self-schema of being xenophobic is problematic because these groups seldom identify themselves as such. However, with regard to this study, even when not explicitly xenophobic, this schema may feature the following categories- *membership devices:* by colour, race or nationality (We South African people); *activities:* prejudiced practices/discourse (talking negatively about minorities, discrimination, differentiation, exclusion); *aims:* keeping „them" in a subordinate position; *values:* the purity and priority of the own group; *position:* superiority and dominance over „Others"; *resources:* protecting „our" territory (space, nation and preferential access to social resources). In other words, regardless of whether someone identifies with a prejudiced group or self-defines themselves as such, if they have an ideology featuring these categories, they are considered to have a xenophobic ideology. This characterises the link between identity and ideology which will now be discussed.

2.4.4 Identity and ideology

When a group develops an ideology, this ideology defines the basis for the group's identity (Van Dijk 1998). Identity is thus a "mental representation" (Van Dijk 1998: 118) that is both an individual, personal construct as well as a group, social one and when individuals strongly identify and cooperate with their groups, they are viewed positively as loyal and part of the „in-group". Van

Dijk (1998: 119) differentiates between two types of identity, namely personal identity and group identity. Personal identity refers to "a mental representation of the self as a unique human being with its own personal experiences" whereas group identity refers to seeing oneself as part of a collective whole and embracing the social practices and social behaviours of that group (Van Dijk 1998: 120).

Because xenophobic ideologies are essentially shared, they need to be located and defined at the group level and Van Dijk (1998: 120) suggests that the same is true for "the social and collective identity of the group as a group". For this reason, many fundamental beliefs are generally shared by members of a group who acquire the beliefs, use them and thus reproduce them. These beliefs are taught and repeated continuously in "social encounters, symbolic interaction and other group activities" (Van Dijk 1998: 121). Hall (1985: 113) states that language and ideologies are continually shifting and part of a "constant, unending process" with Van Dijk (1998: 121) adding that social identities, just like personal ones, are easily-changeable, particularly attitudes which "adapt strategically to social and political change". For this reason it is necessary to see social identity as dynamic rather than static with identity then becoming "a process in which social groups are engaged" (Van Dijk 1998: 121). As a result, migrant identities in South Africa are continually shifting. Through the political and social influences of the mass media, societies negotiate their individual as well as their group identities.

This brings us onto a thorough discussion of „national identity" - a significant part of social group identity and a key concept worth exploring in research centred on migrant representations and related xenophobia.

2.4.5 National identity

To begin with, Smith (1993: 9) defines this type of identity as one which is collective and "involves some sort of political community". A „national identity" links common institutions with a single code of rights and duties for all members of the community as well as provides a "social space within which members identify and to which they belong" (1993: 9). Billiet, Maddens and Beerten (2003: 242) point out that national identities play an important role when it comes to attitudes towards foreigners because such perceptions are determined by the "social representation of the

nation". Billiet *et al.* (2003: 242) propose that national identity involves a community of citizens sharing common "cultural heritage" which often produces an intense identification within their in-group at the same time as producing negative perceptions of the out-group (in this case, migrant groups) who are seen as a threat to the national culture. Thus, ideologies are the basis for judgment inside the social group and rule what is evaluated as part or not of the social community (Petitclerc 1998). In this sense, national identities enable the establishment of an "us" versus "them" dichotomy, regulating the out-group as well as the in-group, mostly due to a positive self- and negative other- presentation (Petitclerc 1998: 10).

National identity is closely related to the concept of „nationalism" which is a term that was coined by Herder (*nationalismus*) during the late 1770s and a key concept in my research (Wolff, 2006). In an article included in Cozic"s 1994 Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, Alter (1989) refers to nationalism as an ambiguous concept "associated with forces striving for political, social, economic and cultural emancipation, as well as with those whose goal is oppression" (cited in Cozic 1994: 18). I agree with Alter"s suggestion that the term itself is rife with contradiction in that on the one hand it symbolises hope for a free and equal social order whilst at the same time it is synonymous with inhumanity, intolerance and thus related violence (cited in Cozic 1994). In this way, nationalism "conceals within itself extreme opposites and contradictions" (cited in Cozic 1994: 19). Alter (1989) also outlines certain features which are associated with nationalism. These include an awareness of the similarities and differences of groups of people with a consciousness of ethnic, linguistic and/or religious differences. The emphasis here is on shared social and cultural views and historical memories. Significantly, one key characteristic of nationalism is the sense of a common mission such as disrespect for and animosity towards other people which is realised through the prejudiced attitude and behaviour of xenophobia (Cozic 1994: 20).

Based on modern discussions of nationalism, there are vast differences when it comes to the definition of this term and its historical context. The academic world has been studying the concept of nationalism and the related terms „nation" and „nationalist" for decades but it is yet to agree on generally acceptable definitions of the terms. Current linguistic usage defines a „nationalist" as someone who gives "indiscriminate precedence to the interests of one nation" (cited in Colzic 1994: 19) and this precedence is usually given to the nation they feel most attached to. This definition sees

nationalism as an appropriate means of loyalty where one is subscribing positive feelings towards their „homeland". However, in modern German encyclopaedias, the term is defined pejoratively as "an exaggerated and intolerant form of thought in relation to a nation" (cited in Colzic 1994: 19). This definition sees nationalism as an extremist ideology and is appropriately negative in light of Germany"s ethnic past during the Nazi regime. German theorists, in particular, prefer to speak of „national interest" and „national pride" which are more positive terms that do not suggest ethnic conflict. Another term commonly used to avoid the negative connotation of nationalism is „patriotism", meaning the love of one"s homeland (Fredrickson 2002). This term reflects an "emotional attachment to a landscape" (Cozic 1994: 20) and unlike nationalism, is not associated with any form of aggressive political force. However, in a South African context, I believe it is hard to divorce this attachment from aggressive force. The attachment to landscape is more of an attachment to belonging and a claim to land rights and ownership (Crush 2003). With this comes the rights to employment, education and various limited resources and when these are threatened, they are fought for.

According to Van Dijk (1993) it is not unexpected to see a community taking fierce ownership in what has been established as their „national identity" with shared images and beliefs about the national in-group and its relationship to other groups or „foreigners". This is therefore very applicable to a country that has experienced such a troubled past as South Africa. Crush (2003), in his research into migration, xenophobia and human rights in South Africa, points out that there is often a direct connection between national identity and attitude to foreigners. In general, Crush (2003: 12) suggests that "the more nationalistic a population, the less tolerant it is likely to be". Sha (1992) emphasises that national identity plays a critical part in a country"s nation building but stresses that notions of national superiority should never be encouraged (cited in Cozic 1994). Stuller (1993) agrees that in the past, nationalism has integrated "diverse faiths and cultures into unified countries" (cited in Cozic 1994: 163) but argues that these same countries are now threatened by the rising ethnic tensions as a result of this nationalism and South Africa is clearly a case in point.

A specific type of nationalism relevant to this research is that of ethnic nationalism which is based on the hereditary connections of people (Kersting 2009). Wolff (2006: 31) states:

> "Ethnicity acquires enormous power to mobilise people when it becomes a predominant identity and means more than just a particular ethnic origin; it comes to define people as speakers of a certain language, belonging to a particular religion, being able to pursue some careers but not others, having access to positions of power and wealth or not".

In terms of the South African context, this understanding of „ethnic nationalism" is useful in that it refers to the inclusion of individuals in a group which is based on the criteria of religion, language and the "myth of shared kinship" (Kersting 2009: 8). People will often unite ethnically for a multitude of reasons which can include economic, social and political hardships as well as shared histories and experiences of oppression which serve to unite groups of people (cited in Cozic 1994). These are appropriate justifications in a South African setting. Ethnic nationalism specifically seeks to bring all people of a certain heritage together and does not aim to include people of other ethnicities (Fredrickson 2002). Despite the pejorative connotations associated with this term, Jones (1992) stresses that the concept can in fact be beneficial and that it plays an important role in developing democracy by promoting a sense of identity and worth for all individuals and thus encourages a multilingual and multicultural society (cited in Cozic 1994). Although my initial thoughts were that this was an improbable outcome, I am optimistic about De Wever's (2010: 1) insistence that "[national] identity is a social construct that binds a group of people who do not know each other into a community". With creating a sense of belonging among members of society being an important step in post-conflict reconstruction, (in the case of South Africa: post-Apartheid reconstruction), national identity goes a long way in contributing to nation building (Thomas 2004). In fact, Smith (1993: 143) goes as far as saying that of all types of collective identities that human beings share today, national identity is perhaps "the most fundamental and inclusive".

However, this being said, it seems that nationalism is often a double-edged sword and Kersting (2009) links it to rising xenophobia in the African context and suggests that this strong national identity is the underlying factor in the majority of xenophobic incidents. Specifically, modern nationalism is no longer directed at other countries, but rather at the non-citizens, also known as "denizens" (Kersting 2009: 10) within one's own country. This variety of nationalism is thus closely

linked with internal xenophobia and Kersting (2009: 10) states that "the inclusiveness of the beginning of independence is gone, now the exclusion of social groups within the same society defines the new nationalism". This new nationalism is evident in the multicultural setting of South Africa where the focus is on citizenship and thus the appropriate rights to employment, land, social welfare and the denial of these rights to migrants.

In light of this, McKinley (2008) suggests that we should not be surprised about the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa, given the political and socio-economic context within which the post-1994 South African state was formed and has since functioned. He stresses that in order to understand and critically appraise the incidents, it is necessary to analyse this political and socio-economic context with regard to how nationalist politics and „nation-building" agendas were imposed. Importantly, the African National Congress (ANC) came to power after the 1994 elections and was the political party at the forefront of the country's liberation movement. Despite the move to a free and fair democracy, McKinley somewhat cynically criticises this political party whose main aim, in his opinion, was to build and ensure the interests of Black Nationalist capitalists. At this time, strategic choices on the part of the ANC leadership required the formation of a prevailing discourse of „nation-building" in order to "politically legitimise the role and character of the „new" bourgeois/neoliberal state and the „place" of those under its leadership" (McKinley 2008: 1).

According to McKinley (2008: 1), what was consciously constructed was an exclusive nationalist identity to be "secured by political loyalty to a „new" South African state to represent the national will and interest". This nationalist identity aimed to supersede all other social identities of social relations and as Fredrickson (2002: 99) points out "ethnic and national identities tend to attain their greatest importance in situations of flux, change, resource competition and threats against boundaries". McKinley (2008) suggests that at the same time as presenting itself as the new and natural leader of an African „renaissance", South Africa has systematically instituted immigration policies that have disenfranchised black African migrants, resulting in the exploitation and displacement of these individuals in the name of a „national interest". It is in this context that the South African state has helped create and feed xenophobia. At its core, xenophobia is a fear of the „other", and in this case the „other" is defined by nation or state membership.

2.4.6 Prejudice and ideology

Having discussed the concept of ideology and identity, I now consider the link between prejudice and ideology and the relevance of this connection to studying migrant representations. In my research I operate on Van Dijk"s (1998: 49) premise that where there is ethnic prejudice towards migrants, it is likely to be due to certain ideological beliefs that groups have, such as "we are fundamentally different from them, superior to them but still tolerant of them despite the fact that they do not respect our norms and principals and are a threat to us".

Van Dijk (1998: 49) points out that ideologies generally "apply to what is most characterised for a group, namely, its opinions about itself and other groups". These ideologies in turn, control group attitudes and opinions and certain evaluative beliefs play a part in establishing prejudiced, nationalist or racist attitudes towards migrants. These include the following, among others (Van Dijk 1998: 66):

1) Too many people come to our country
2) Our country already has too many people
3) Migrants only come to live off welfare
4) Most migrants are economic refugees
5) The government must send back illegal migrants
6) Immigration has to be restricted to „real" refugees only.

What becomes problematic is that these beliefs are regularly articulated in both influential and accepted discourse about migration and consequently define the negative attitude about migration (Van Dijk 1998). Acquisition of these beliefs can be based on personal experience but Van Dijk (1998: 85) stresses that they are more often "directly inferred from generalised opinions in opinion discourse", for instance in newspapers. As was mentioned in Section 2.4.5, typical of prejudiced ideology is the strong polarisation between representing „us" and representing „them". This suggests that groups build an ideological image of themselves with positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation with „us" represented as superior whilst „them" are represented as inferior. Van Dijk (1998: 69) refers to this as a "polarisation schema" and suggests that it is a fundamental

property of ideology. This concept of „othering" (cf. 2.3.1) and the implications it has with regard to xenophobia is a focus in this study.

2.4.7 Power and ideology

Language is an instrument of control as well as of communication and thus linguistic features allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted. Consequently, text receivers can be both manipulated and informed, preferably manipulated while they think they are being informed. Language is ideological in another, more political, sense of that word: "it involves systematic distortion in the service of class interest" (Kress and Hodge 1979: 6). Kress and Hodge's observation here is acute. They assume that language is linked to power through ideology and they share the same point of view to Fairclough (1995, 1989, 2001) who also argues that language used through the media never presents an event or a phenomenon in a neutral way. It follows that those ideological factors and power relations always go hand in hand with their presentations. What is essential to this study from this debate is the discovery of the fact that since ideologies function in language in a form of power relations, it is necessary for text receivers to be aware of the underlying ideologies encoded in text when making sense of the text.

Fairclough (2001: 2) states that ideologies are closely related to issues of power because of "the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular linguistic conventions". This means that ideologies themselves are able to legitimise existing social relations as well as legitimise power differences in society. This is primarily done though the "reoccurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted" (Fairclough 2001: 2). Fairclough points out that there are two different types of exercising power namely *coercion* and *consent*. Coercion involves compelling a person to behave in a certain way by use of some form of pressure or force whereas consent is far more covert in that an individual or group is usually not aware that they are being forced or manipulated into certain actions or behaviours (Fairclough 2001). Fairclough (1989: 69) states that "the operation of ideology can be seen in terms of ways of constructing texts which constantly and cumulatively „impose assumptions" upon text interpreters and text producers, typically without being aware of it". Fairclough (2001: 3) also later points out that "ideology is the prime means of manufacturing consent" and that ideology is its most effective,

and thus most powerful, when it is least visible. When ideologies are „invisible" (when they are back grounded as common sense and „natural" in discourse rather than explicit elements in the text), the interpreter is "led to interpret the text in a particular way" (Fairclough 2001: 71). Under this guise of „common sense", ideology can then be (mis)used to legitimate unequal power relations in a particular society. Van Dijk (1998) states that common sense is associated with Gramsci"s contributions to understanding ideology, particularly with his concept of „hegemony" (cf. 2.4.1). Gramsci points out that when any group (and therefore its members) accepts a dominant ideology and endorses it as part of their own values and interests, this ideology may in turn solidify into beliefs that are then taken for granted and „naturalised" into common sense (Fairclough 1989). Van Dijk (1998: 193) adds:

> "One important implication of the notion of taken-for-granted knowledge for the study of discourse is that such knowledge tends to be presupposed. That is, such beliefs are not explicitly stated, but incorporated without challenge in new statements about social reality, because language users may assume that the recipients have similar beliefs".

For Wodak (2007), language can also be seen as a „driving force" directed at changing politics and society and it is therefore closely linked to beliefs, opinions and ideologies. This illustrates the power that language has when it comes to being an agent of ideological change and not merely oppression. In this way, language is the "primary medium of social control and power" (Fairclough 2001: 2). Wodak (2007: 1) adds that language reflects power structures at the same time as having a strong impact on these structures and can be seen "as an indicator of social and therefore political situations". This is what makes texts into sites of struggle, and as sites of struggle they are sites of linguistic and cultural change. Thus, individuals, as social agents, are constructed in discourse, and are the bearers and agents of that struggle (Kress and Hodge 1979).

2.5 THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF THE MEDIA

2.5.1 The role of political discourse in the media

As has been reported, discourse plays an important role in the production and reproduction of prejudice. Public discourse in the form of television programmes, textbooks, news reports etc. engage daily in communication about ethnic minorities and this communication often has the power

to influence a society‟s beliefs and values when it comes to how they interact, and thus treat, these minority groups. Van Dijk (1997: 33) explains that:

> "Discourse plays a role at both the micro and macro levels as well as in both interaction and cognition. At the micro level, discourse as a form of interaction may be directly discriminatory, for example, when speakers or writers derogate minorities. At the same time, discourse expresses and influences social cognitions such as ethnic prejudices, and this contributes to their acquisition, use, and reproduction in everyday life. At the macro level, genres or orders of discourse, such as those of the media and politics, may be seen as the overall manifestations of organisations or institutions in the system of ethnic-racial relations and as expressing the shared ideologies of the dominant group".

Fairclough suggests that discourse is „political" when there is a focus on communication in political forums (such as debates, speeches, newspaper reports) and where there is an agenda to implement some form of control (often legal) over individuals (1998). Fairclough (1998: 145) states that political discourse is seen as an „order of discourse" which he defines as a "structured configuration of genres and discourses [which include elements such as style and register] associated with a given social domain".

2.5.2 The power of the media

Baker, Gabrielatos, Khosravinik, Krzy‟zanowski, McEnery and Wodak (2008: 283) stress that the effects of media power are growing, "working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader" and they insist that the hidden power of media discourse should not be discarded. Harris (2002: 177) points out that "words are multifunctional" and represent the world at the same time as enacting social relations and identities. To better understand xenophobia, it is necessary to take into account certain social factors such as social relationships and identities that are reproduced in the term itself. Harris adds (2002: 181) that "exclusion, alienation and hostility operate in a complex, ongoing spiral across the line of nationality" and it is clear that the media play a crucial role in guiding, shaping and transforming the ways in which communities look at their world and understand it. Danso and McDonald (2001: 131) suggest that a journalist‟s language is able to convey messages through "complex associations and implications of its metaphors and unstated assumptions" with newspaper articles having the power to translate a dominant ideology into a public opinion.

Although news providers insist that they are merely portraying general public attitudes and opinions, it is widely accepted that they too perpetuate the existence of xenophobic attitudes (McDonald and Jacobs 2005). Based on this, Geldenhuys and de Wet (2008: 13) conclude that "because media has such a profound impact on public opinion, the news media should shoulder their responsibility and focus on factual reporting that does not maintain myths or encourage negative stereotypes".

Overall, what is evident is that the relationship between the press and the readers is "bidirectional and dynamic" (Crawley and Sriskandarajah 2005: 3). In the same way that newspapers are able to influence readers in terms of their ideologies and views, a newspaper is influenced, and indeed governed, by the readers‟ interests, views and concerns. Thus, newspaper readers tend to read newspapers that are "generally in accord with their own perceptions and approaches" (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 9). These factors make newspapers an ideal source of data for attitudes and views concerning the „migrant‟ and thus for the examination of how these individuals are constructed in South African media and society. Thus, the bidirectional relationship between newspapers and readers signals the importance of reader attitudes which both influence, and are influenced by, media discourse.

2.5.3 South African attitudes towards migration

Van Dijk (1995b: 15) states that the "strategic control of knowledge is a crucial element in the control of discourse understanding and, therefore, of discourse access and the critical counter power of oppositional reading and understanding". However, beyond this „knowledge‟ there are other significant forms of what is termed „social cognition‟ and for this research one of these important forms includes socially shared opinions otherwise known as attitudes (Van Dijk 1995b). Whereas control of knowledge influences understanding, control of attitudes influences evaluation.

	Let anyone in who wants to enter (%)	Let people come in as long as there are jobs available (%)	Place strict limits on the numbers of foreigners who can enter (%)	Prohibit people from other countries (%)
SA (06)	***2***	***23***	***38***	***37***
SA (99)	***2***	***12***	***53***	***25***
SA (97)	***6***	***17***	***45***	***25***
SA (95)	***6***	***29***	***49***	***16***

Table 3: South African attitudes towards migration (Geldenhuys and de Wet 2008: 24)

Research conducted by Geldenhuys and de Wet (2008) examined the change in attitudes towards migrants over a ten year period as reflected in Table 3. What can be seen by these results is that there has been a rapid decline in the welcoming of migrants into South Africa from 1995 to 2006. What is also important to note is that there has been a drastic increase in the percentage of South African citizens who want foreigners prohibited from entering South Africa entirely. This percentage has gone up from 16% in 1995 to 37% in 2006 clearly showing a more negative attitude towards migrants and migration into South Africa in recent years. While attitudes which favour restricting immigration do not automatically imply a dislike of foreigners, in South Africa defensive and nationalistic attitudes often go hand-in-hand with xenophobic sentiments (Duffield 2008).

As a result of repeated news reporting and other forms of public discourse, fundamental patterns of knowledge, attitudes and ideologies become cemented within a particular society (Van Dijk 1995b). Once these are in place, they are drawn on when people need to evaluate news events and after a certain period of time "there is little need for conspicuous manipulation of specific knowledge and opinions of the readers for each case" (Van Dijk 1995b: 16). Ideological control thus becomes hegemonic because persuasive text and talk are "no longer seen as ideological but as self-evidently true" (Van Dijk 1995b: 16). This is the case for much dominant discourse on migrants and migration in South Africa.

2.5.4 Brief contextualisation of the print media in South Africa

Over the past two decades, South Africa has undergone substantial social, political and economic transformation which has had far-reaching impacts on the media and in particular, the print media, in the country. Free speech and free media are well-established in the new South African constitution with the aim for the media to exist free from "oppression, persecution and the repressive legislation which sought to restrict and control the media" in the past (World Association of Newspapers 2007: 1). South Africa has always had a "courageous and opinionated press" (MediaClub 2009: 1) but although the media has the right to freedom of expression, this right does not extend to the incitement of violence or any "advocacy of hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender, or religion" (MediaClub 2009: 2). However, soon after democracy, little attention was paid to the oppression and persecution that can arise as a result of the media"s power and control in society and

even today the print media is not as regulated as broadcast media with little clear legislation on how it should behave.

The past sixteen years since South Africa achieved democracy have seen major transformations in the newspaper industry with regard to the ownership of papers and thus their control and composition. As a result, the newspaper industry has changed from a previously white-owned and white-dominated industry to one that has a "more representative spread of black and white ownership and of foreign and local interests" (World Association of Newspapers 2007: 2). It is also worth noting that South Africa is one of only two countries in Africa with a history of competing newspapers under multiple ownership (Press Reference Online 2008: 1). According to Press Reference Online, the majority of the newspapers in South Africa are published in English or in Afrikaans with the English papers tending to be more influential because of their high numbers of readers and larger distribution around the country (2008: 1). Of late, the South African newspaper market is "stable showing slight increases in circulation and readership" (World Association of Newspapers 2007: 3) and additionally, literacy levels have improved by 30% in the country with more South Africans being able to read newspapers. Both of these factors highlight the fact that newspapers are significant sources of data in the modern South African context which should ideally reflect public opinion and ideology. Newspapers in South Africa can be classified according to certain criteria including the following (MediaClub 2009):

- Political persuasions – conservative stance versus liberal or populist stance
- Style – broadsheet format versus tabloid format
- Frequency – daily publications versus weekly publications
- Coverage – national distribution versus regional distribution

According to Messerli (2008), a definition of a liberal is someone who advocates change, new philosophies and new ideas while a conservative is someone who avoids change, and instead prefers to stick to the „tried and tested". Those with more of a conservative stance aim to preserve established institutions whereas those with more of a liberal stance aim to accept unconventional behaviour and favour reform and progress. In modern times, these definitions have expanded to include a wide set of political beliefs. To agree with the „Left" political point of view is synonymous with being liberal and to agree with the „Right" political point of view is synonymous with being

conservative. These Left and Right terms were created because political ideology is viewed on a continuum with most people generally holding views somewhere in the middle (Messerli 2008). With regard to the term „populist", this is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary (Sixth Edition) as political ideas and activities that are intended to represent ordinary peoples" needs and wishes and relates to *City Press*" preamble which classifies it as the „people"s paper".

Figure 1 below illustrates the self-classified and generalised positioning of the three newspapers in my research.

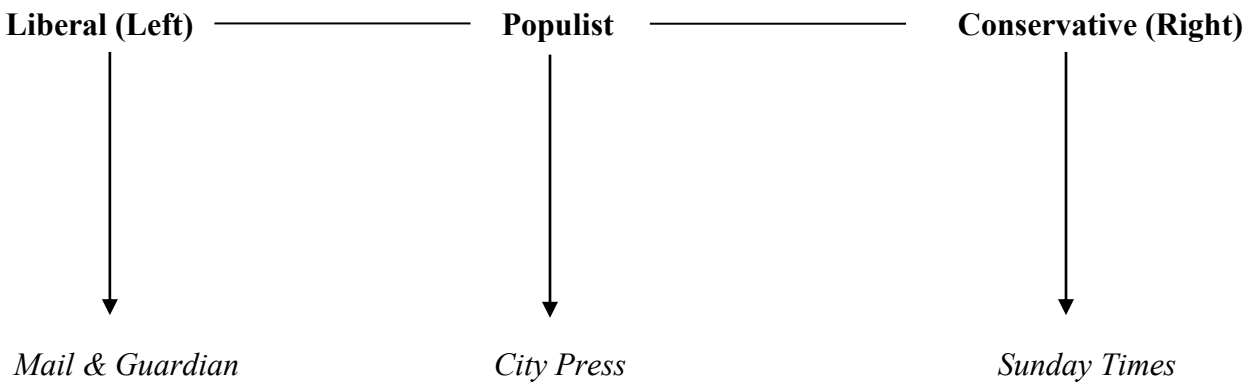


Figure 1: Continuum representing the political persuasions of the three newspapers

As outlined in Section 1.2, a significant gap in the literature detailing previous research on the representation of migrants in the media in South Africa is a linguistic consideration of newspapers with different variables in terms of political persuasion, target class and type of reporting. For this reason this research examines three broadsheet newspapers that differ in these aspects, *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times*. Therefore, my main aim is to investigate the ways in which these media describe and represent migrants and migrant communities and whether these descriptions are similar or dissimilar.

2.5.5 Overview of the three newspapers[1] in this study:

CITY PRESS

Circulation[2]: 197 112

Readers[3] : 2 142 *000*

Established in 1982, *City Press* is the biggest English broadsheet newspaper that is specifically aimed at black readers (MediaClub 2009). It is a weekly Sunday newspaper and the third biggest selling newspaper in South Africa and is distributed in neighbouring countries including Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland (MediaClub 2009). *City Press* weekly sales rose from 185 000 in 2007 to 201 000 in 2008 making it South Africa‟s fastest growing newspaper (MediaClub 2009). The table below shows the demographic readership information of this paper.

Population group			
„Black"	***"White"***	***„Coloured"***	***„Indian"***
2 052 000	48 000	32 000	10 000

MAIL & GUARDIAN

Circulation: 58 300

Readers: 466 000

The Mail & Guardian was established in 1985 at the height of resistance to Apartheid and is considered to be of a more „liberal" stance than alternative publications. The early shareholders of the newspaper were liberal professionals, academics and business leaders who believed strongly in critical journalism in the increasingly harsh political climate of an Apartheid South Africa (*Mail & Guardian* Online 2009). After the arrival of the democratic government in 1994, many thought that

[1] All newspaper readership statistics are taken from http://www.southafrica.info/about/media/news.htm [accessed on 17 March 2009]

[2] **Circulation** refers to the number of copies sold taken from the Audit Bureau of Circulations South Africa (ABC) from October – December 2009

[3] **Readers** refers to the number of readers of the newspaper taken from the South African Advertising Research Foundation‟s All Media Products Survey (AMPS) 2009

the *Mail & Guardian* would "lose its purpose – and its voice" (*Mail & Guardian* Online 2009: 1) but it in fact adapted quickly and today boasts "analytical, in-depth feature articles" (MediaClub 2009: 2). The table below shows the demographic readership information of this paper.

Population group			
„Black"	***„White"***	***„Coloured"***	***„Indian"***
321 000	108 000	26 000	11 000

SUNDAY TIMES

Circulation: 504 400

Readers: 4 229 000

The *Sunday Times* is South Africa"s biggest Sunday newspaper (in terms of both its circulation and its number of readers) and is considered to be more „conservative" in nature (MediaClub 2009). Founded in 1906, this English broadsheet paper is distributed all over South Africa and in the neighbouring countries of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland (MediaClub 2009). The table below shows the demographic readership information of this paper.

Population group			
„Black"	***„White"***	***„Coloured"***	***„Indian"***
2 825 000	744 000	383 000	277 000

The relevance of these readership and circulation statistics as well as the pertinence of the newspapers" political persuasions are examined in more detail in Chapter 3, which details the research methodology of this study. This information is further significant in light of the socio-political focus of my research and a consideration of political persuasion, in particular, is incorporated in the results discussion.

2.6 CONCLUSIONS

The 2008 outbreak of xenophobic violence across South Africa prompted academics in the country to "bring their minds together to try and get to the bottom of the social ills at the root of the

violence" (Magubane 2008: 1). Academics were encouraged to discuss the underlying causes, contexts and consequences of the xenophobic attacks that had taken place, and the media came under fire for what were seen as their (often) irresponsible reporting and sensationalised news stories (Magubane, 2008). A review of researchers who have critiqued the role of the print media in South Africa (Danso and McDonald 2001; Fine and Bird 2002 and McDonald and Jacobs 2005) led me to conclude that newspapers routinely perpetuate various myths with regard to migrants and play a critical role in shaping xenophobic ideologies in the country. This role is realised through the dissemination of information about migrants to the South African public and also through offering a platform for the public to comment on migrants and migration (Harris 2001). The abovementioned studies reveal that the media produce certain ideologies and discourses that support specific relations of power and Fine and Bird (2002: 10) reiterate that "the press also shapes and influences social issues in the ways in which news is chosen, highlighted and covered".

Assuming a direct link between what one reads and how one behaves is problematic and most researchers in South Africa are careful to emphasise that a direct correlation cannot be made between the two. Hadland (2008: 7), however, insists that although only considered anecdotal evidence, there are indications suggesting a "causal, linear relationship between mass media non-fictional content and violence". Danso and McDonald (2001: 115) stress that anti-immigrant media coverage and xenophobia are "mutually reinforcing" and add that the media is often "both a reflection of racism and xenophobia as well as an instigator". This links to Fairclough‟s (2001) and Wodak‟s (2007) assertions that what we read can strongly determine the ways we see things and thus influence the ways we think and subsequently act.

Overall, this review has illustrated the different factors that come into play in a multicultural society which has historically been linked to racial intolerance and prejudice. The existing body of literature on media discourse demonstrates the clear influence that the media have when it comes to their reporting and how this influence extends over both individuals and social groups. Additionally in this review I emphasise the role that language plays with regard to constructing identities and how this contributes to negotiating ideologies such as xenophobia. Finally, through this chapter I highlight the importance of critically deconstructing texts and analysing how "language both (re)produces and reflects social relations and practices" (Ricento 2003: 630) through discourse analysis methods.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I outline and discuss the various methodological decisions and considerations that I took into account while conducting this research. I begin by highlighting the research aims and goals of this study and further contextualising the selected South African newspapers that were introduced in Section 2.5.5. Before offering an explanation on the chosen methodologies of this research, I account for the rationale and advantages of using a combined Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis approach. Subsequently, my discussion on Corpus Linguistics begins with an introduction to the corpus software used in this research, *AntConc*, and I detail the construction of my corpus using articles from the three newspapers‟ online archives. I then illustrate the three main computational processes that I incorporated in this study namely: word frequencies, concordances and collocations. The challenges inherent in any Corpus Linguistic research illuminates my justifications for combining this method of analysis with a complementary method: Critical Discourse Analysis. Additionally, in this discussion, I outline the central tenets of the CDA method and I focus particularly on Fairclough‟s (1989, 2001) contributions to this methodology with his Description, Interpretation and Explanation stages of an analysis. I conclude this chapter with the limitations of the CDA method and a consideration of the ways in which these methodological weaknesses can be offset.

As stated in Section 1.3, the goals of this research are to investigate the following research questions:

i. How are migrants and the process of migration into South Africa represented in *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* between 2006 and 2010?

ii. What are the differences and similarities between the representations in the three newspapers?

iii. What ideologies regarding migrants, migrant communities and processes of migration underlie these representations?

In order to expand on the readership and demographic statistics introduced in Section 2.5.5, Tables 4 and 5 are presented below. The information in these tables is taken from the South African Advertising Research Foundation‟s AMPS survey (2009). These tables reflect the demographic readership and circulation of the three newspapers as both numerical figures and as percentages. The percentage reference is significant as it allows easier cross-comparison between the three newspapers with regard to the demographic make-up of their readership base.

Newspaper	Total readers	Circulation
City Press	2 142 000	197 112
Mail & Guardian	466 000	58 300
Sunday Times	4 229 000	504 400

Table 4: Newspaper readerships and circulation

Newspaper	‘Black’ readers	‘White’ readers	‘Coloured’ readers	‘Indian’ readers
City Press	95.7 %	2.3 %	1.5 %	0.5 %
Mail & Guardian	68.9 %	23.2 %	5.6 %	2.4 %
Sunday Times	66.8 %	17.6 %	9.1%	6.6 %

Table 5: Demographic information of newspaper readership reflected as a percentage

In this study I combine Corpus Linguistic and Critical Discourse Analysis methods for a multidisciplinary approach to language study. Both of these methods incorporate similar theoretical foundations with regard to focusing on examples of “real life language use” (McEnery and Wilson 1996: 1). Thus, the fusion of these two methods is described positively as a „useful methodological synergy‟ (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008), a conceptual “co-penetration” (Partington 2004: 11) and an “aid to research” (Garzone and Santulli 2004: 351). This is largely due to the main methodological difference between Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis which relates to their contrasting approaches to text selection. Corpus linguists construct corpora from a collection of hundreds (or thousands) of representative text fragments whereas critical discourse analysts base their analyses on “in-depth studies of small collections of [entire] texts” (Mahlberg 2003: 98).

Simpson and Mayr (2010: 6) state that "newspaper discourse offers fertile ground for testing out a combined CDA/CL approach" and there is a substantial body of newspaper article research based on this methodological combination including studies done by Garzone and Santulli (2004), Orpin (2005), Baker and McEnery (2005) and Gabrielatos and Baker (2008). The ways in which both methods complement one another are detailed in Sections 3.2.3 and 3.3.3 which highlight the challenges within these methods and consequent research prospects to ease these challenges. I now outline the central tenets of the two methodologies paying particular attention to their conception, advantages and weaknesses.

3.2 CORPUS LINGUISTICS

Corpus Linguistics emerged in the 1960s and is thus a fairly new approach to language studies (Teubert and Cermakova 2007). Over the past ten years, corpora of language data have started to play an increasingly important function in determining the role that languages play in society (Coniam 2004) making corpora "a supreme tool for linguistic data analysis" (Gilquin and Gries 2009: 8). Sinclair (1991) defines a „corpus" as a collection of naturally occurring language text, chosen to characterise a state or variety of a language and Baker (2006) emphasises the importance of using corpus processes in language study and states that these computational procedures are able to manipulate large amounts of linguistic data. By using corpus processes, a researcher is able to "uncover linguistic patterns which can enable [them] to make sense of the ways that language is used in the construction of discourse" (Baker 2006: 1). What is emphasised by corpus linguists is that this method of data collection and analysis enables researchers to study language on the basis of discourse and sees language "as a social phenomenon" (Teubert and Cermakova 2007: 37). According to Wiechmann and Fuhs (2006), corpus-linguistic research involves a number of routine procedures, all of which were used in this study:

1) searching a corpus for a particular phenomenon,
2) counting this phenomenon,
3) organising the results, and
4) displaying these results.

For this research I used a computer software programme called *AntConc 3.2.1* which hosts a comprehensive set of features including a powerful concordancer, word and keyword frequency

generators, functions for cluster and lexical bundle analysis, and a word distribution plot. *AntConc*'s strength "lies in its sophisticated text analysis that surpasses creating simple concordances" (Wiechmann and Fuhs 2006: 116). The software is available to researchers who have limited or no access to the more sophisticated (and generally unmarketed) software being developed in specialised research centres. In addition to it being a free internet download, I selected this corpus software because it operates on multi-platforms and is multi-purpose in terms of the functionality it offers. This software can be downloaded from *www.antlab.sci. waseda.ac.jp/software.html*.

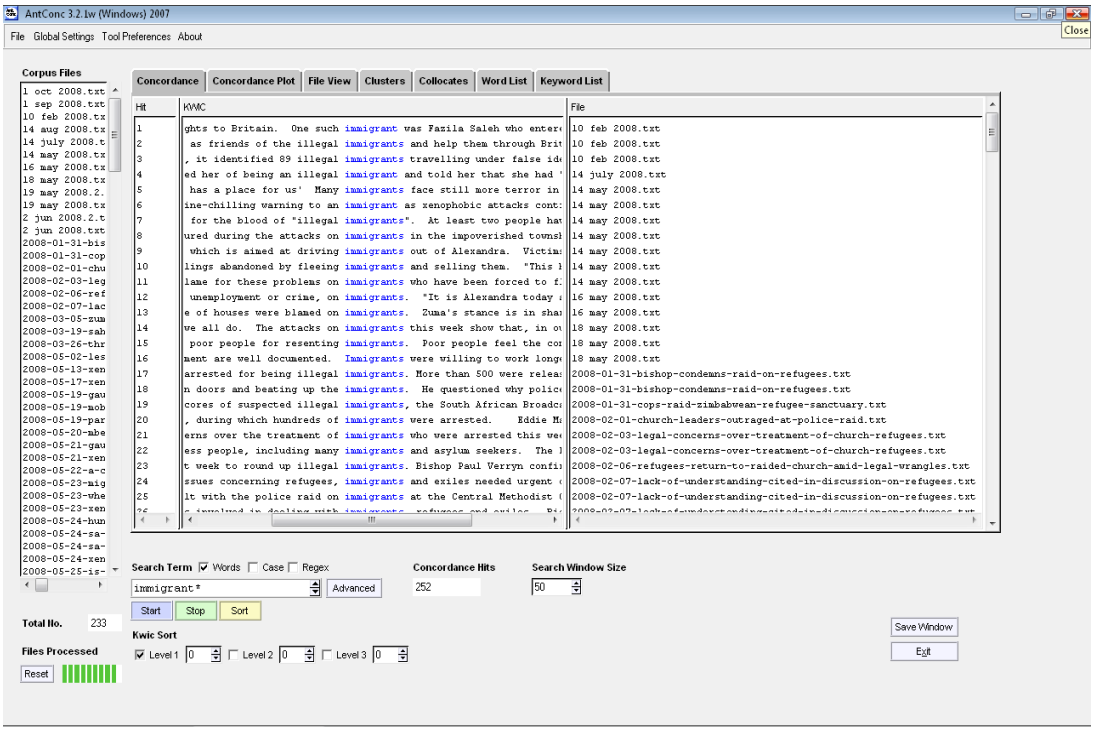


Figure 2: Illustration of the corpus software; *AntConc*

As can be seen in Figure 2, the concordancer tool has a wide range of features that make it useful for language researchers. Laurence Anthony, the creator of *AntConc*, summarises these as follows (2004: 8-9):

1) Search terms can be substrings, words, or phrases, and can be case sensitive or insensitive. They can be embedded with a wide range of wildcards, which the user can assign to any particular character or string of characters.

2) Search terms can be defined as full regular expressions, offering the user access to extremely powerful and complex searches.

3) Three levels of sorting of KWIC (Key Word In Context) lines are possible, with user definable highlight colours at each level.

4) If a user clicks on any search term in the KWIC results display, the programme will automatically open the View Files tool and show the search term hit in the original data file.

5) The KWIC results display is divided into columns, in which the hit number, KWIC line, and file name are shown separately. As in all other tools, each column can be either displayed or hidden, and standard selection methods can be used to save data in the columns or rows to the clipboard or a text file.

Authors such as Hardt-Mautner (1995: 22) support the combination of corpus linguistic tools with „traditional" methods such as CDA and suggest that concordance software provides "new ways of kick-starting the analysis because it enables researchers to pursue even the most tentative leads". This was relevant in my study when initial and impressionistic findings, which would otherwise have been ignored, were looked at in context with a wide array of supporting data. In this way, Corpus Linguistics allows the researcher to describe syntactic and semantic properties of key lexical items "exhaustively rather than selectively" (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 23). With a computer's help, both in retrieving and displaying the data, a researcher can analyse a much larger collection of data rather than generalising a few purposely selected examples from a limited data set. Concordance software thus functions as a heuristic tool, "raising questions to be followed up, and drawing analysts' attention to phenomena that they can then investigate with the help of their qualitative apparatus" (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 23).

3.2.1 Building the corpus

To begin with, Baker (2006: 25) insists that researchers need to familiarise themselves with their corpus and as such, interact with the texts in the corpus so as not to "commence from the position of *tabula rasa*". For this reason, the decision to build my own corpus from scratch; by choosing the texts to go in it, finding and selecting these texts, transferring them to electronic format and checking the texts, gave me a much better „feel" for the data. This corpus is thus a "specialised corpus" (Kennedy 1998: 20) designed with a specific research project in mind - in my case, the language of newspapers that is used to represent migrants and migration in South Africa.

The following table reflects the composition of the corpora that were built. The full corpus is available on disc and attached as Appendix 1.

		Total # of articles[4]		**Total # of words in all articles**	
	City Press 2006	***34***		***19 876***	
SUB - CORPUS 1	*Mail & Guardian 2006*	***6***	***50***	***5 849***	***37 563***
	Sunday Times 2006	***10***		***11 838***	
	City Press 2007	***51***		***27 706***	
SUB - CORPUS 2	*Mail & Guardian 2007*	***8***	***69***	***7 886***	***42 039***
	Sunday Times 2007	***10***		***6 447***	
	City Press 2008	***83***		***42 393***	
SUB - CORPUS 3	*Mail & Guardian 2008*	***117***	***233***	***79 374***	***140 123***
	Sunday Times 2008	***33***		***18 356***	
	City Press 2009	***51***		***35 017***	
SUB - CORPUS 4	*Mail & Guardian 2009*	***55***	***177***	***28 734***	***93 606***
	Sunday Times 2009	***71***		***29 855***	
	City Press 2010	***18***		***10 612***	
SUB - CORPUS 5	*Mail & Guardian 2010*	***14***	***60***	***10 004***	***34 731***
	Sunday Times 2010	***28***		***14 115***	

Table 6: Composition of the newspaper article corpora in this study

One question which is crucial when starting to build a corpus is how large the body of collected data should be. Hunston (2002: 26) states that despite the call for large bodies of data in corpora in the past, "there are [now] thousands of [small] corpora around the world, some comprising only a few thousand words and designed for a particular piece of research". The point here is to make use of as much data as is available, without worrying too much about what is not available. Overall, my corpus consists of **589 articles** with **348 062 words** in total. I collected all the articles using a wild card facility search „*" of the key terms listed in the footnote below (which searches the item in

[4] with keyword search for immigrant, foreign national, illegal, refugee, foreigner, alien, asylum seeker, makwerere / kwerekwere (foreigner)

terms of a part word, affix and/or phrase) between 2006 and 2010 in all three newspapers; *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times*.

The data used in this research already exists in electronic format due to the proliferation of South African newspaper archives on the internet. The three website archives that I drew on are *www.citypress.co.za*, *www.mg.co.za* and *www.sundaytimes.co.za*. These online articles are stored as individual texts and I was therefore able to collect all the articles which contained a specific word or phrase. Once finding these relevant articles, the texts were downloaded and saved as *.txt files* which effectively removes all images and formatting styles from the data. Because these articles are available in online archives to the public and thus public domain, it was not necessary to ask the newspapers for permission to access these texts. The newspapers are, however, acknowledged in this research.

3.2.2 Analysing the corpora using Corpus Linguistics

A number of routine processes and procedures are involved when searching a corpus in order to recover, organise or display linguistic information. The three processes that were used in this research were word frequencies, concordancing and collocation as these are highlighted by Baker (2006) as being the most revealing in terms of how migrants and migrant communities are portrayed.

a) Word frequencies

The use of corpus linguistic software to elicit word and phrase frequencies is one of the most central concepts underpinning corpus analysis and if used sensitively, it can illuminate a variety of interesting phenomena (Tognini-Bonelli 2001). Using the corpus analysis software *AntConc* a word list of the text files was obtained. This wordlist is a list of all the words in the corpus with their frequencies and the overall percentage contribution that each of these words make towards the text, as well as the corpus, as a whole. The wordlist outputs tabulated in Appendices 4A, 4B and 4C have been done on each newspaper by year, each newspaper as a whole and finally each year as a whole (which incorporates all three newspapers in the same sub-corpus). A rank order of words in each

corpus is a useful means of highlighting the authors‟ main concerns and preoccupations and in order to study the content words in each sub-corpus, I edited out the majority of closed class words (except for pronouns) and instead opted for mainly open class words (nouns, verbs, adjectives). These tend to be more ideologically charged and thus pertinent in this study. As is discussed more fully in Chapter 4, the frequent lexical words in the corpora give a clear indication of the focus of the three newspapers over the years with regard to their reporting on migrants and migration processes. This is useful for identifying possible similarities and differences between the corpora (and thus the newspapers) that can then be studied in greater detail.

What is crucial to point out at this stage is that because the sub corpora are of different sizes, a comparison of actual frequencies would not be useful. For this reason, it was necessary to „nomalise‟ the corpora by calculating the figures of occurrences as a figure per thousand words. For example: the *City Press 2006* corpus is *19 876* words. There are *10* occurrences of the word „refugee‟ in this corpus giving a frequency per thousand of ***0.503***. The *Mail & Guardian 2006* corpus is *5 849* words. There are *25* occurrences of the word „refugee‟ in this corpus giving a frequency per thousand of ***4.27***. The *Sunday Times 2006* corpus is *11 838* words. There are *9* occurrences of the word „refugee‟ in this corpus giving a frequency per thousand of ***0.76***. In this way it is appropriate to now compare the frequencies ***0.503*** and ***4.27*** and ***0.76*** across the three newspapers and the 2006 – 2010 time span. This is crucial for the purposes of this study because my aim is to compare and contrast the newspapers directly according to the results that are elicited. For this reason, the results need to be directly comparable – hence the need to normalise them.

Although a good starting point for the analysis of my data, Baker (2006: 47) warns against a reliance on wordlist frequencies and he states that they “can be reductive and generalising, they can oversimplify and their focus on comparing differences can obscure more interesting interpretations of data”. Kennedy (1998) adds that words in isolation can often be ambiguous and thus meaning can be misinterpreted. Overall, the analysis of the frequent lexical words reveals some of the most important concepts in the corpora but a more detailed analysis of these lexical items in context is crucial. Context plays a significant role in signalling relations between particular words which is impossible to achieve by just considering word frequencies alone. Therefore, while these findings are very suggestive of the ideological focus in the newspapers, it is important to still discuss what

ideologies or actions the newspaper is actively or passively advocating. For this reason, the next stage that was necessary in my research was to consider the use of additional computational processes: concordancing and collocation.

b) Concordancing

Also termed "phraseology" (Hunston 2002: 9), a concordance is a list of all the occurrences of a specific search word in the corpus. A concordance is also referred to as KWIC (key word in context) and this approach is one which combines quantitative and qualitative analysis because it results in a sizeable amount of data that can be analysed at once whilst still maintaining the context of the key word to examine in closer detail at a later stage (Tognini-Bonelli 2001), which I did using the CDA method (cf. 3.3). When concordancing, the key term is presented in a list within the context that it occurs, for example:

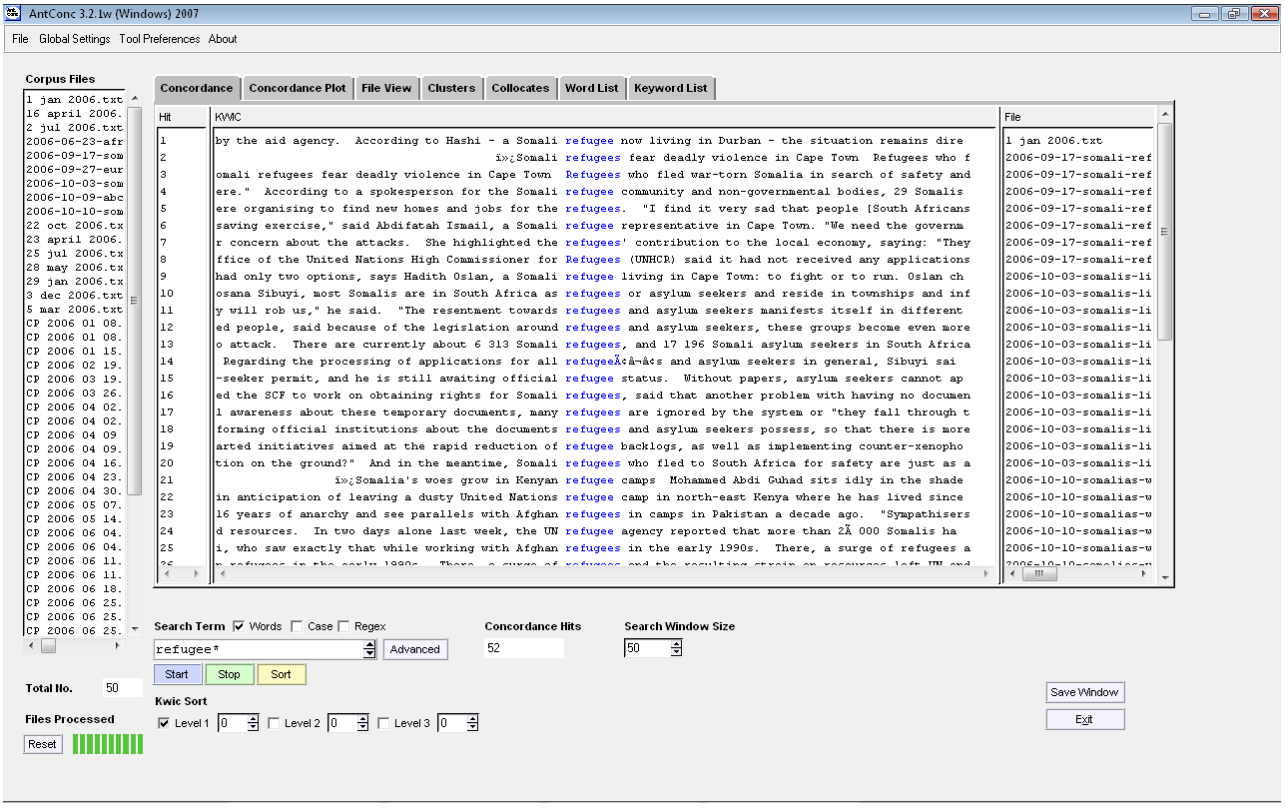


Figure 3: Example of concordance search results

As exemplified in Figure 3, concordances can then be sorted alphabetically, by frequency, or based on their position in the corpus with the object of creating these concordances being to "look for patterns of language use, based on repetitions" (Baker 2006: 77). A significant area of focus within concordancing is that of semantic preference. This is the relation between a word form and "a set of semantically related words" (Baker 2006: 86) for example, in this study the word "***refugee***" co-occurred with a lexical set of words relating to African nationalities (known as demonyms cf. 4.4.3) such as "***Somalia***" and ***"Zimbabwean"***. Semantic preference is closely related to another key concept, discourse prosody. This describes the way in which certain seemingly neutral words can be perceived with positive or negative associations through frequent occurrences with other words (Louw 1993 and Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003). This was an important consideration in my research as it showed the connotations and associations with the various terms of reference to categorise migrants (cf. 3.2.1). In recent years, linguists have found many hidden associations affecting the neutrality of language and thus these discursive features are significant in light of the nature of my research.

Overall, Baker (2006: 92-93) summarises the process of concordancing as follows:

1. Build a corpus
2. Decide on a search term(s)
3. Obtain a concordance of the term(s)
4. Clean the concordance by removing repetitions or other lines that are not relevant
5. Sort the concordance repeatedly on different words to the left and right. Look for evidence of grammatical, semantic or discourse patterns
6. Look for further evidence of such patterns in the corpus
7. Investigate the presence of particular terms more closely by exploring their collocates (to be explained in Section 3.2.2 c)
8. Attempt to hypothesise why the patterns appear
9. Relate this to issues of text production and reception

All nine of the steps above were used in this research. Steps 1 and 2 remained static throughout the study, Steps 3 to 7 were carried out on the multiple search terms (cf. 3.2.1) and Steps 8 and 9 formed the basis of further investigation carried out using Critical Discourse Analysis methods (cf. 3.3).

c) Collocation

Collocation is defined as the "statistical tendency of words to co-occur" (Hunston 2002: 12) and is therefore the process of uncovering words which regularly appear near other words, and thus examine the relationship between these words as a result of their co-occurrences. Single words and their frequencies are not only of interest in our analyses of texts. Often, it is far more important to be able to analyse groups of words or phrases because these constellations may be much more indicative of the content of corpus materials (Weisser 2007). Collocation therefore deals with examining a word and making sense of it based on the company it keeps (Hunston 2002). In order to derive the collocates in my corpora, I counted the number of times a given word appeared within a span which is a 5-word window to both the left and right of a search term. Sinclair (1991) suggests that this is the environment in which collocation is most likely to occur and beyond that, words do not seem to affect each other as much. The results gave a clear picture of the discourse prosody of the search term(s).

It was thus significant to calculate the degree of relatedness of words that occur near a particular node word; in the case of my study I studied collocations of the nodes „immigrant", „refugee" and „foreigner". I generated a list of the nodes" collocates and sorted these by their Mutual Information measure (MI). This expresses the extent to which observed frequency of co-occurrence of lexical items differs from what one would expect statistically speaking. I was then able to explore the discourse prosody of these terms of reference. Calculating the degree of relatedness may be done using a variety of different statistical measures, most of which have advantages and disadvantages, the latter because they usually assume that words are randomly distributed, which is rarely the case in language. Weisser (2007) suggests that the basic mechanism of calculation is usually to compare the ratio of *observed frequency (O)* (how often two words have actually co-occurred within the span and relative to the overall size of the corpus) to their so-called *expected frequency (E)* (how often the two words have actually occurred independently in the corpus, again relative to the size of the overall corpus).

Thus, these calculations are:

- for *observed frequency (O)*:
  frequency of joint occurrence / number of words in corpus
  = relative frequency of joint occurrence

- for *expected frequency (E)*:
  frequency of node / number of words in corpus * frequency of collocate / number of words in corpus
  = relative frequency of node * relative frequency of collocate / square of corpus size

These statistical calculations are performed automatically when using the *AntConc* software and a Mutual Information (MI) measure is displayed. This compares the ratio of O to E directly using the formula: $\log_2$ O / E. It is thus fairly sensitive to corpus size and values or results can be relatively unreliable for small corpora. A general cut-off point for MI values is 3, that is, any results with a lower value should probably be excluded (Weisser 2007). Put another way, MI measures the likelihood of a word being near a search term and tells you how significant this positioning is, by taking into account how many instances of that word there are in the text as a whole, in proportion to how many occur near the search term.

Overall, I was guided by Baker's (2006: 119-120) summary of the collocation process. Having generated a list of collocates (of the nodes „immigrant", „refugee" and „foreigner") I cleaned the results by removing non-content grammatical words. By obtaining concordances of the collocates, I was able to search for patterns of these collocates within their immediate and surrounding context. This enabled me to uncover dominant discourses surrounding the subject of migrants and migration. At this point I was then able to consider contesting discourses by examining the concordance lines which went against or questioned the dominant reading of the term and thus I explained why particular discourse patterns appeared around certain collocates. The final consideration of this process was to relate this to issues of text production and reception linked to the Interpretation and Explanation stages of the Critical Discourse Analysis method which is discussed in Section 3.3.2.

3.2.3 Challenges and research prospects

While Corpus Linguistics has, without question, revolutionised the study of language, Hunston (2002: 1) warns against the seductive power of corpus findings and stresses the need to be "aware of the possible pitfalls in their production". Although hailed as "an adequate approach to observe the construction of social reality in a given discourse at a given time" (Teubert and Cermakova 2007: 89), there are limitations to corpus linguistic methods. One such limitation of corpus study is that it can be particularly empirical. It relies on a large amount of data and can only reveal information that it is programmed to do which may often result in invalid conclusions. Thus, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 33) point out that it is still the job of the analyst "to make sense of the linguistic patterns thrown up via the corpus-based processes".

In order to resolve this challenge, I enriched my methodology by using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on a subset of texts in order to achieve a more nuanced perspective on the ways in which ideologies are constructed in discourse. Naturally, time and space constraints prevented full critical discourse analyses on every text in the corpus. However, the breadth of the study is achieved by corpus methods while the depth of the study is achieved by CDA which brings me onto a discussion of this complementary interpretative tool.

3.3 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Although critical studies of discourse can be traced back to social theorists and language philosophers such as Volosinov (1930), Pecheux (1975) and Wittgenstein (1953), many attribute the conception of CDA to Fairclough‟s 1989 work Language and Power (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui and Joseph 2005). During the 1970s there was increasing interest on the link between the study of discourse and the study of society and social events (Rogers *et al.* 2005). During this period linguists, in particular, saw a great need to relate the field of linguistics to societal elements. Five scholars are considered to be responsible for the development of CDA as we know it today. In the 1990s this group of scholars, which included Fairclough, Kress, Van Dijk, Van Leeuwen and Wodak, attended a two-day symposium where they discussed theories and methods specific to CDA at length (Rogers *et al.* 2005). Their diverse academic backgrounds gave rise to the interdisciplinary approach reflected by CDA, which is a combination of social theory with discourse analysis.

Because of the focus on power and inequality in this research, this chosen interpretative framework used to analyse my data is useful. This section provides a definition of CDA in terms of its key concepts as well as shows the relationship between CDA and society throughout. By combining situational and societal level analysis, the critical discourse analyst is able to show how micro-level linguistic choices are constrained by institutional and societal structures, such as racial and ethnic inequalities (Rogers *et al.* 2005).

Drawing on Fairclough (2001), CDA asserts that there is a rich and complex interrelationship between language and power. CDA is concerned with how unequal power relations are expressed through the use of language "in processes of exploitation and domination of some people by others" (Fairclough 2001: 25). Theorisations of ideology and hegemony play an important role in this framework and CDA starts with the consideration of social issues and problems with an aim to change "people‟s lives for the better" (Fairclough 2002: 26). Importantly, CDA pays special attention to common sense assumptions that are implicit in the ways we interact linguistically (that we are often not conscious of) and the resultant ideologies that become naturalised as a result. CDA focuses on how language is a vehicle for social control and power (Fairclough 2001). Postmodern philosophers such as Foucault (1991) demonstrate how language, being an instrument of exerting power, is particularly significant in both means of oppression and strategies of liberation. An individual or group is able to „dominate‟ through the control of language, but equally, one can challenge and resist by means of capturing and making use of the language of the dominator. Foucault (1991) asserts that by being fluent in the language of the oppressor, the dominated are able to tactically use language to increase resistance.

Fairclough (2003: 8) emphasises that "texts as elements of social events have causal effects, that is, they bring about changes" and these changes can include immediate shifts in our patterns of thinking, beliefs or values as well as longer-term adaptations to how individuals see themselves and their worlds as a whole. However, there is the risk of assuming "simple mechanical causality" (Fairclough 2003: 8) which is something research on newspaper discourse needs to avoid at all costs (cf. 2.6). We cannot assume that "particular features of texts automatically bring about particular changes in people‟s knowledge or behaviour or particular social or political effects" (Fairclough

2003: 8) but, as reported in Section 2.4, texts do encode various ideologies that can influence our individual ways of seeing the world and thus our individual attitudes.

3.3.1 Key concepts in CDA

For Critical Discourse Analysts, language is not seen as neutral because it is wrapped up in cultural, social, economic, political, racial and religious elements. For this reason, these analysts begin their work with a deep interest in "understanding, uncovering and transforming conditions of inequality" (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui and Joseph 2005: 369). CDA supporters argue that their analyses move beyond the traditional description and interpretation of language and incorporate explanations of why and how language works as it does in the broader macro level of society (Wodak 2009). Thus, through CDA we are able to study the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are produced and resisted by texts in a social and political context with the aim to ultimately resist social inequality.

CDA falls under the intellectual movement of post-structuralism. This movement argues against the existence of binary distinctions between various constructs and does not believe that we are able to remove ourselves from the structure of language (Rogers *et al.* 2005). The main aim of the CDA framework is instead to describe, interpret and explain "the ways in which discourse constructs, becomes constructed by, represents and becomes represented by the social world" (Wodak 2007: 5). In order to fully develop CDA, Fairclough (1989, 2001) combined two existing linguistic theories- namely that of Halliday"s (1975, 1978) Systemic Functional Linguistics and Foucault"s (1991) social theory of discourse. SFL theorists state that every interaction can be located and understood at three different levels: 1) textually 2) interpersonally and 3) situated in a wider context (Halliday 1978) and Halliday emphasises that as language users, we have a choice in how we interact linguistically in order to "represent and construct dialogue" (1978: 20). Importantly, CDA sees language as a social construction and views the relationship between language and society as dialectic (that is, influencing one another). Additionally, CDA emphasises "the cultural and historical acts of meaning making" (Rogers *et al.* 2005: 369).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) outline common tenets of discourse under a critical umbrella, as follows:

- Discourse does ideological work and constitutes society and culture.
- Power relations are partially discursive.
- Mediation of power relations necessitates a socio-cognitive approach.
- CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm that addresses social problems.
- Discourse analysis is interpretive, descriptive, and explanatory and uses a systematic methodology.
- The role of the analyst is to study the relationships between texts and social practices.

From the above description of discourse we can see that through CDA, language is viewed as a "cultural tool" (Rogers *et al.* 2005: 367) that is able to mediate relationships of power and advantage in social institutions and their interactions. Additionally, the assumption here is that analyses of language are inherently critical because language is a social practice, and social practices are not created and treated equally (Rogers *et al.* 2005). Riggins (1997: 2) adds that although many writers see themselves as truthful and accurate, they are "unwittingly trapped in a world of biased perceptions and stories". For this reason, CDA is based on perspectives that see the relations between words (language) and truth as "highly tenuous and problematic" (Riggins 1997: 2). Thus, any type or form of language is considered to be a selection and interpretation (as well as dramatisation) of events (Wodak 1997). This being said, a CDA analysis in itself is also a subjective selection and interpretation of data. Thus, the challenges of CDA and the ways in which this study addresses these challenges is detailed in Section 3.3.3.

Part of the aim of CDA is to show the connections between language, power and ideology and it attempts to foreground commonsensical ideologies, to use language to challenge the oppressive status quo, to promote an awareness of false consciousness and alienation and finally, to emancipate (Fairclough 2001). CDA sees discourse, power and identity as interconnected and, for this reason, CDA lends itself well to the analysis of the construction of power relations within society and examines how communication practices such as newspaper discourse construct identities and reveal certain power relationships and structures of inequality. The focus of my study is on how the texts (newspaper articles) are positioned and how they position their readers, a consideration of whose interests are served by this positioning as well as whose interests are negated and the overall consequences of the positioning. These issues relate discourse to relations of power. The assumption

of my research is that texts have the power to constrain readers' interpretations because language is not neutral - as Stubbs (1996: 107) points out "no terms are neutral. Choice of words expresses an ideological position".

In this study I draw extensively on Fairclough's (1989) model of CDA. What makes this model distinct from other models of critical reading is that he foregrounds social processes by differentiating between 'text' and 'discourse'. The text is a 'product' of the processes of text production while 'discourse' refers to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part. There are three stages in this framework which include the analysis of texts, interactions, and social practices at the local, institutional, and societal levels. I now consider each stage in more detail.

3.3.2 Data Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis in practice

Having incorporated the quantitative aspects of the data collected using Corpus Linguistics, it was necessary to implement a more fine-grained and intricate analysis of the texts. The results obtained through the corpus processes guided the decision on which excerpts to analyse using the CDA method. These excerpts were analysed using Fairclough's (2001) dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis which is interpreted by Janks (1998: 197) in Figure 4.

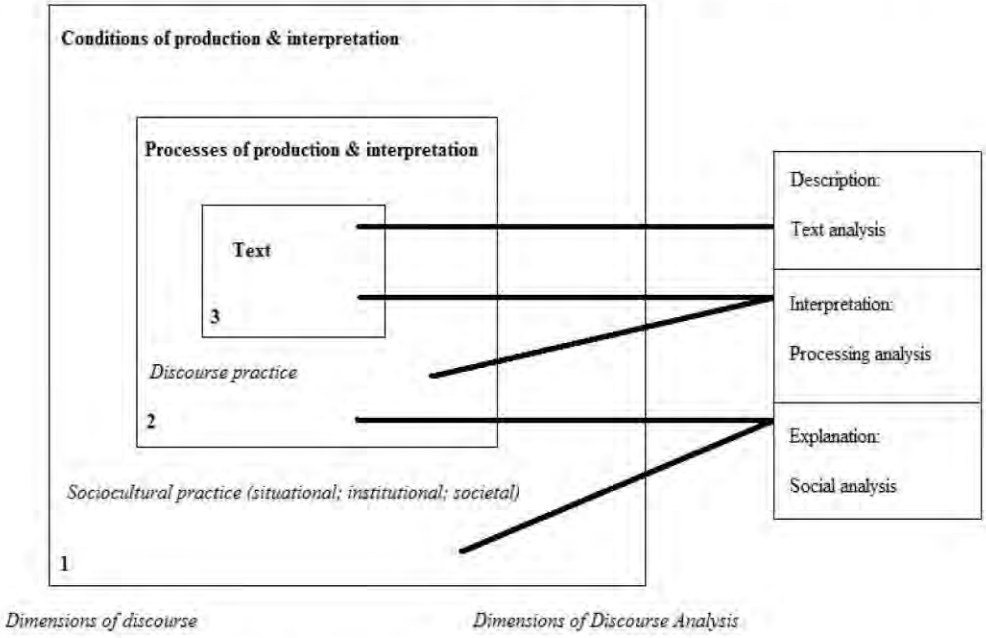


Figure 4: Janks' (1998) dimensions of discourse

This interpretation delineates how the stages of CDA relate to the different dimensions of discourse. Each of these dimensions of discourse analysis will now be explained using examples from the study to better illustrate the various stages of analysis.

a) Description

The Description Stage is an analysis of the formal features present in the text which provides the researcher with tools for identifying the specific choices that have been made in constructing the text (Fairclough 2001). There are different views that one must evaluate when analysing a text descriptively, and these cue the interpreter to what the producer (newspaper journalist) aims to represent in the text (newspaper article). According to Fairclough (1989, 2001), analysis at the textual level involves use of Halliday‟s (1978) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which includes three additional metafunctions - the ideational, interpersonal, and textual analysis. An analysis at the first level, the ideational level, includes transitivity, which involves the different processes (or types of verbs) involved in the interaction (Rogers *et al.* 2005). The interpersonal function is concerned with the "meanings of the social relations established between participants in the interaction" (Rogers *et al.* 2005: 371). An analysis of this domain includes an analysis of the mood (whether a sentence is a statement or declarative, question or interrogative, or command or imperative) and modality (the degree of assertiveness in the exchange) (Rogers *et al.* 2005). These principles are tied to Halliday‟s (1978) functional theory of language which places emphasis on meaning as choice. When writing newspaper articles for example, the linguistic choices the journalists make imply that they have rejected other choices and there are often subtle reasons why this is the case.

Finally, the textual level involves the thematic structure of the text. Overall, this stage pays careful attention to certain textual features that are discussed below. These are included as part of Appendix 2 which is a list adapted from Fairclough‟s (2001: 92 - 93) set of ten questions that should guide a critical discourse analysis. I drew on certain questions from this list in my analysis, based on the relevance and pertinence of these questions to the data collected. These questions are signalled in Appendix 2 using star notation „*‟ and justifications for selecting these questions are now provided. It is important to note that this is not an exhaustive or all-encompassing list, but is rather a suggested list of possible directions that can be investigated in a critical language study.

Fairclough's list of analysis questions:

A: VOCABULARY

1. **What *experiential* values do words have?**

What classification schemes are drawn upon?

Classification schemes refer to particular ways of dividing up "some aspect of reality which is built upon a particular ideological representation of that reality" (Fairclough 2001: 96). In answering this question, it is important to identify the various ways a text"s vocabulary is organised and shaped in order for it to fit a particular discourse. The main focus of my research is on the various ways that migrant and migrant communities are represented and thus the different categories that are drawn on when representing these groups. For example, in all three newspapers there are classification schemes where the process of migration is represented as a type of natural disaster. This scheme derives from a view of migration as an uncontrollable and unrestricted process, signalled by terms such as *flooding*, *influx*, and *hordes*. Such terms encode an assumption that migration is an undesirable, yet drastically increasing phenomenon.

Are there words which are ideologically contested?

It is often difficult to define the „experiential meaning" of words with absolute certainty because "the nature of language is such that, in the majority of cases, words have „blurred edges"; their meanings are, to a large extent, negotiable and are only realised in specific contexts" (Baker 1992: 17). This question relates to ideological struggle in discourse suggesting that within a text there are particular words or phrases which may be a point of tension or contestation within the text itself. In my study this was easily identifiable in that the dominant discourse on migration is inherently negative (Neocosmos 2008; Fine and Bird 2002 and Palmary 2004) so anything opposing this can be classified as contesting this mainstream ideology. Additionally, in several articles from the corpora in this research there is negotiation of the meaning of the term refugee. Some representations of this term depict migrants as poverty-stricken and desperate (linked to lexical sets of economy and hardship) whilst others oppose this representation and argue instead that „refugee" implies disease-ridden and infected (linked to lexical sets of contamination and illness).

Is there *rewording* or *overwording*?

Firstly, rewording is the process by which an "existing, dominant, and naturalised wording is being systematically replaced by another one in conscious opposition to it" (Fairclough 1989: 113). This process therefore provides an alternative representation of a particular aspect of reality and this alternative representation opposes the dominant one. For example, some excerpts from newspaper articles in this study feature positive views on migrant communities and the process of migration. This discourse contests the dominant negative representation of migration as the normal attitude towards this process. Very often this rewording occurs with negative assertions which seek to contest prejudiced views against migrants. For example, the anti-xenophobic discourse states „foreign nationals should ***not*** be viewed and treated as inferior beings and are part of South African society and should ***not*** be kept apart". These negative statements "implicitly take issue with the corresponding positive assertions" (Fairclough 1989: 154) in traditional and dominant migrant discourse. This is discussed further as part of Question 5 below.

Secondly, overwording refers to the repetitive use of a term or set of terms, which are synonyms or near synonyms in order to describe a particular aspect of reality. Overwording is significant ideologically because it signals a text's main concerns and the text producer's main preoccupations. With specific reference to this research, the terms used to refer to „migrant" are overworded themselves with examples „foreigner", „foreign national", „immigrant", „asylum seeker" and so on. These numerous classifications encode varying expressive value and have differing connotations. In this case then, the overwording of terms related to classifying migrants is evidence that this is an area of ideological struggle, one in which the preferred use of one term over another encodes a particular set of assumptions and associations. At this point, the Corpus Linguistic analysis was particularly useful in generating large lists of frequent lexical items which could then be looked at more closely using CDA methods.

What ideologically significant meaning relations are there between words?

The three types of meaning relations, as outlined by Fairclough (2001), include hyponymy, antonymy and synonymy. Synonymy is the most significant meaning relation in this study, not only in terms of the overwording of the classifications of migrants but also the associated lexical sets with migrant individuals and their communities. A consideration of these lexical sets introduces an

additional meaning relation: hyponymy. This indexes an "inclusive semantic relationship where the meaning of the superordinate term is included in the hyponym" (Pienaar 2006: 59). An example of a hyponymous relation in this research is a consideration of the lexical set „criminal". The „criminal" taxonomy contains a notable set of hyponyms of the superordinate term *criminal*, including the following co-hyponyms: *illegals*, *thief*, *drug-dealer*, *tsotsi*. This group of words shares similar features to negative descriptions of migrants and emphasises the ideological issue with reference to the text producers" decisions. Again, Corpus Linguistic methods proved useful in terms of generating and manipulating large amounts of data taken from the newspaper corpora.

2. What *relational* values do words have?

Are there euphemisms/dysphemisms?

According to Fairclough (2001: 97), "the choice of wording depends on, and helps create, social relationships between participants" so there is important relational value in the terms used throughout the newspaper articles. With regard to euphemisms and dysphemisms, the former refers to a mild or inoffensive term as a substitute for an offensive one and the latter uses an offensive word or expression in place of a more politically-correct or conventional one. In this study, the various terminology used to refer to migrants, with their contrasting expressive values, can be placed into the euphemism/dysphemism categories for example *asylum seeker* is a euphemistic description of the more potentially „charged" and negative term *illegal* whereas the use of *alien* represents a dysphemism. The failure to avoid such terms (and thus the endorsement of them) assumes that all text receivers subscribe to an anti-migrant ideology that is, that they share a negative evaluation of migrant and migrant communities.

Are there markedly formal or informal words?

The inherent nature of newspaper reporting means that the articles in this study are formal in style and register. What becomes significant is any inclusion of causal words or expressions in this context that are markedly informal such as the use of colloquialisms and slang. An example of this taken from the *Mail & Guardian* corpus is the reporting of local words to refer to „foreigners" with interlinguistic slang terms such as „makwerekwere", „amakwerekwere" and „kwerekwere". As soon as a language or language community have their own terms of reference to represent something in

the world, it signals a preoccupation with this and is of great relevance to the significance of seeing language as a social phenomenon.

3. What *expressive* values do words have?

This question links to what Baker (1992: 13) refers to as „expressive meaning" and relates to the speaker"s feelings or attitudes "rather than to what words and utterances refer to". As discussed above, many words and phrases have contested expressive meaning depending on the value attached to them by language users. These can be classified into two groups, namely words with positive expressive value or connotations and words with negative expressive value or connotations. Drawing on two lexical sets from the data, the „criminal" lexical set and the „victim" lexical set, I determined the contrasting expressive values in these taxonomies in context. *Criminal, thief, steal* and *violence* all encode a negative expressive value whereas *relief, aid, support* and *assistance* encode positive expressive values. Expressive values index the text producer"s evaluation of reality and thus act as important clues to the hidden ideologies embedded within a text.

4. What metaphors are used?

Metaphors are a means of constructing a reality rather than simply describing it and are regarded as a cognitive mechanism of ideology, which will produce various ideological effects (Balkin 1998). Goatly (2007: 3) states that the choice of one metaphor over another is a "symptom of ideology" and in this research, metaphorical language played an important role in the representation of migrants. Examples of where metaphors were used in the corpora include the clear xenophobic rhetoric in what Harris (2002: 175) terms "language of contamination". Here, metaphors of natural disasters are encoded with examples like „*waves of people flooding from areas of limited opportunity"* and reference to needing to "*stem the flow of illegal immigrants".* Using a metaphor classification scheme suggested by Mawadza and Crush (2010), I explored the extent to which the three newspapers incorporated metaphorical language in their representations of migrants and the migration process by using Corpus Linguistic searches for terms associated with these metaphors such as „flood", „horde", „waves" and „tides". Mawadza and Crush (2010) emphasise that many, if not all, of these elements are present in contemporary South African media responses to migration,

sometimes individually, and more often combined. In these ways, migrants are represented as „taking over", fuelling xenophobic views by representing these groups as burdens.

B: GRAMMAR

5. What *experiential* values do grammatical features have?

Is agency unclear, are sentences active or passive?

Through this property of text, important information about power relations can be conveyed. Agency questions who is depicted as in power and over whom, who is depicted as powerless and passive and who is exerting power and why. Agency highlights these issues of power and interaction which often remain at the subconscious level unless made visible by the analyst or critical reader. Halliday (1978) suggests that agency can be hidden or distanced by the choice of grammatical structure used. An example of this is the use of verbs in the passive form which results in the deletion of actors and focuses the attention of the reader on certain themes "at the expense of others" (Thompson 1984: 120). In this research, agency is a form of hidden power and it is left to the reader to understand why the media alternates between illuminating and eliminating agency. The agency in this study appears to be two-fold. When migrants are represented in a sympathetic way, they are depicted as passive and powerless with them being „affected" rather than doing any „affecting" themselves. An example of this from the *City Press* corpus is "*migrant workers are often **assaulted** and **robbed** by South African officials and are **exploited** by farmers who **employ them**"*. The four finite verbs in this sentence illustrate the passive nature of these migrants and as a result we see their position in this context as powerless and lacking control. On the other hand, when migrants are represented negatively as burdens they become more agentive in the press with examples from the *Sunday Times* corpus including "*most illegal immigrants **moved** into impoverished neighbourhoods and informal settlements* and *the immigrants **cut** their fences, **steal** crops and **are a serious security threat**"*. The change here is that migrants are now depicted as active and agentive – they are causing the problems – and therefore this influences a reader's perception of these individuals.

Are sentences positive or negative?

In terms of experiential value, negative sentences "distinguish what is not the case in reality from what is the case" (Fairclough 2001: 104). These are therefore particularly significant in terms of

how they encode intertextual reference and in terms of the subtle and covert meanings they generate. An example of this from the *Mail & Guardian* corpus includes the sentences ... *we should be seen as bringing skills and services,* ***not*** *intruding or being associated with drugs and violence* and *we are* ***not*** *criminals*. Both these examples are the „voice of the migrant" and the use of negation here points to a competing discourse and the contestation of the dominant discourse which views migrants in a negative light. By comparison, an example of a positive equivalent of the sentence above is *"you're now illegal aliens. You're criminals"* which does not generate the same notion of contestation nor the possibility for competing discourses. According to Pienaar (2006: 65), the trends and patterning of positive and negative sentences cue the analyst or critical reader to the "ideological struggle taking place in the form of competing discourses".

6. What relational values do grammatical features have?

What *modes (declarative, interrogative, imperative)* are used?

There are three types of sentence modes in English which include declarative (statement), interrogative (question) and imperative (command). What is important to consider with this question is the patterning of these modes in a particular text as the sentence modes contribute to the overall function of a text. This study focused exclusively on newspaper reports which typically feature a high frequency of declarative or statement type sentences in order to convey an informative textual function, that is, to inform readers of newsworthy events. However, in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus, I noted a high frequency of interrogative sentences in the articles. Some examples of these include *"my boss says I'm not from here so why should he pay me much?"* and "*why would we leave? There's no safety"*. These two questions are asked by migrants and give voice to their concerns. Additionally, there are examples of interrogatives from a different perspective with the sentences *"why don't they stay in their country and fight?"* and "*why are foreigners the beneficiaries of houses when they don't even belong in South Africa?"* By using the interrogative mode in the news reports, it allows a reader to critically evaluate the differing perspectives on migrant and migrant communities. Moreover, the use of questions from migrants themselves contributes to challenging dominant anti-migrant discourse in the texts. The interrogative mode thus encourages more interaction between the text producer and the text receiver.

Are the pronouns *we* and/or *you* used, and if so, how?

The pronominal structure of a text is a significant consideration when analysing texts because the ways in which text producers use pronouns have implications for interpersonal relationships between the producer and receiver and have implications for the ways in which the receivers are positioned. In this study I focused on the pronouns *we/us* and *they/them* as my main schema for social categorisation based on the context surrounding their use. These pronouns are generally associated with issues of inclusion and exclusion as well as in-group and out-group dynamics (Oktar 2001). Fairclough notes that newspaper discourse frequently uses the inclusive „we" pronoun which "presupposes agreement with the reader and the authority to speak to others" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 115). This can be seen in an example taken from the *Sunday Times* corpus where the Safety and Security Minister of South Africa says in an address: "***We** want foreign people to come to **our** country, but **we** need **them** to do so legally"*. Here, the „we" is inclusive for the ideal reader (a South African citizen) as it conveys solidarity with the general South African public.

Examples of where „we" is more exclusive can be seen when used in direct quotations by migrant communities "**we** *still don't trust the people who attacked **us**, but if **we** have IDs **we** would feel free because at least **we** won't be attacked"* as well as by local South African members of the community *"we're going to burn **them** if **they** don't leave"*. This *us* versus *them* polarisation regulates the in-group as well as the out-group, mostly due to a positive *self* and negative *other* presentation. Thus, the use of reported as well as direct pronouns within a text is important in the process of ascertaining what a journalist is trying to convey as well as what their intentions are.

7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?

Are there important features of *expressive modality?*

Modality is concerned with the extent to which text producers commit themselves to, or believe in, the truth of what they write and the degree of obligation or necessity involved in what is said (Halliday 1978). The tone of a text is set with the use of specific words to convey the degree of certainty and authority of the text producer by using modal auxiliaries such as *may, might, could, will, can, must etc.* The following examples are taken from the *Sunday Times* corpus where there is the use of the modal *will*. The first two examples reveal a particular viewpoint of the text producer

who includes their own evaluation in the sentence; "*There **will** always be tension between locals and foreigners, **especially** in the context of scarce resources*" and *"they **are** involved in crime"*. The certainty encoded in these two sentences is high with the use of the simple present tense form of the verb *to be* expressing a "categorical commitment of the producer to the truth of the proposition" (Fairclough 2001: 107). Furthermore, Pienaar (2006) explains that it may also signal that to the text producer, these claims are universally generalisable and valid. By contrast, the use of a modal auxiliary such as *might* results in the surety of the truth of the statement being lowered. The example from the *City Press* corpus *"The statistics show that **up to** 30% of immigrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) possess tertiary qualifications and the number **might be** higher among Zimbabweans"* illustrates that the text producer is aware that their position is unsubstantiated and open to other statistics and interpretations.

C: TEXTUAL STRUCTURES

8. What large-scale structures does the text have?

A final consideration in Fairclough's set of questions as part of the CDA framework is to investigate the large-scale structures in a text. Wodak (2009) states that describing discourse as a social practice implies a dialectic relationship between a discursive event and the contexts, institutions and social structures which frame it. Thus, the overall aim of the CDA framework is to investigate how texts are ideologically shaped by power and power struggles and how this links to wider social and cultural structures (Fairclough 1995). Newspaper reports have inherently asymmetrical power relations. It is the journalist or text producer's prerogative to write in a style and tone of their choice and as readers we are unable to co-produce the text and thus there is no interaction between producer and receiver in this regard. However, newspaper journalists are themselves constrained by the textual conventions of the newspaper report genre and often by the editorial team of the newspaper. This is an important consideration in the study and my generalisable results are attributed to the different political persuasions of the three newspapers rather than the individual writers.

To conclude this section, as can be seen in Appendix 2, there are certain questions from Fairclough's (2001) list that I decided to leave out in my research. The first question relates to the

types of processes and participants involved in the texts. While this is a relevant question, I decided that the scope of my research and the amount of text to analyse was significantly large and this question, which focuses on the Systemic Functional Grammar method, would result in the research being extended even further. I do however take into account the processes (verbs) that occurred in the word frequency, concordance and collocation lists and a consideration of these are included in the discussion in Chapter 4. The second question relates to the use of nominalisations in the texts and although this was considered when looking at agency, they tended not to be ideologically significant, thus my decision to leave them out in the analysis. The next two questions relate to how sentences are connected, and again, while interesting, they were not particularly relevant in the context of my research goals. Lastly, as my data comes from newspapers and this is a one-way mode in terms of interaction, the final question on interactional structure is not relevant.

b) Interpretation

This stage in a CDA analysis requires the researcher to interpret or make sense of the formal features of the text as demonstrated in Section 3.3.2 a). The main focus of this stage is to uncover the discourse in which the text is embedded as well as the common sense assumptions which are inherent in the text production and interpretation (Fairclough 1989). These assumptions make up one‟s Members‟ Resources and are sets of ideas and ideologies about the world which are made up by our individual values, beliefs and assumptions such as our individual views on migrants and the migration process. As a result of Members‟ Resources, the interpreter is able to make sense of a text based on their frames of reference and previous experiences. Fairclough (1989: 24) points out that Members‟ Resources are both cognitive and social phenomena in that they are in peoples‟ heads but at the same time have social origins and are "socially transmitted and, in our society, unequally distributed" making them powerful tools with regard to forming opinions and views on migration.

Another important consideration at the level of Interpretation is that of discourse type(s) in a text. A discourse type refers to the "conventions, norms [and] codes of practice" (Fairclough 1989: 90) that underlie actual discourse. This stage of the analysis entails identifying the type(s) of discourse that are drawn on in the texts and deciding whether these texts are typical examples of their discourse

type or whether they are atypical types which provide alternative or oppositional stances. In order to explore this fully, I considered four interrelated areas of the discourse type, namely its:

- contents
  The subject matter in the articles – are they reports on crime statistics or migrant plights etc.
- what subject positions are established:
  the local citizen versus the foreign migrant
- the dynamics of these positions relating to social control and power:
  who has social/economic control versus who is disempowered with regard to resources
- the overall role that language plays in this regard
  the „us" versus „them" dichotomy (cf. 2.3.1)

During this stage it is important for the researcher to recognise that the texts are not read homogenously by all people (Fairclough 1989). Readers of the newspaper articles that make up my corpora may all be within similar cultural settings but may draw on different interpretative frames and have different Members' Resources determining the way they will interpret the text based on their gender, age, race, ethnicity and socio-economic position in society. It is also possible (and in fact probable) that the author of the text will impose their views on a particular subject/topic onto their readers. It is also necessary to analyse who the ideal reader of the text is, as this cues us to the various ideologies that the text producer (article authors and newspaper editors) have used in the construction of the text. The ideal readers for the majority of the articles in this research can be categorised as local South African citizens who are aware, in some way, of migration into the country. Thus, the Interpretation stage uncovers the ways in which discourse is constructed through the naturalised ideologies and presuppositions of the readers with these often centring on a negative view of migration (Palmary 2004 and Fine and Bird 2002).

Overall, Legge (2006: 75) states that the Interpretation stage helps the researcher to "unearth the ideologies in the texts" and thus make overt what is usually seen as implicit. All these processes are social and require reference to the particular economic, political and institutional settings within which discourse is generated (Van Dijk 1988). For this reason, my study locates itself in this way within a South African setting.

c) Explanation

The final stage in a CDA analysis is the Explanation stage. This aims to contextualise the text by placing it in its larger social context in order to see if the text perpetuates or opposes certain existing social structures (Fairclough 1989), in the case of this research, whether a text perpetuates or opposes negative representations of migrants. In other words, this stage considers the social effects of the processes of producing and interpreting the text and focuses specifically on whether texts sustain certain social relations of power.

This stage is important in my research as it involves a discussion of the significance of discourse in the process of social struggle (Fairclough 1989). This struggle refers to how asymmetrical power relations are produced in day-to-day discourse and the extent to which readers are aware of these uneven power relations- if at all. At this stage, a researcher considers whether the discourse in a text reproduces or contests the Members‟ Resources on which it draws, resulting either in the transformation of the Members‟ Resources (and later perhaps even broader social transformation) or merely an acceptance of the Members‟ Resources and thus perpetuation of the assumptions inherent within it (Fairclough 1989). The assumption of this study is that the loyal readers of the three newspapers have in some way aligned their Members‟ Resources to the type and style of the reporting which often make them ideal readers rather than resistant ones.

Fairclough (1989: 166) provides a researcher with a summary of the emphases of this stage in the form of three questions:

1. Social determinants: what power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?

   Who is being reported on in the newspaper articles and whose voice is being heard? How does this relate to struggles of power in migrant discourse?

2. Ideologies: what elements of the Members‟ Resources which are drawn upon are ideological in nature?

   To what extent do the newspaper articles encode naturalised ideologies and what worldviews or belief systems are drawn on?

3. Effects: how is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles explicit or implicit? Does the discourse sustain existing power relations or work towards transforming them?

   Is dominant discourse on migration, which is inherently negative (McDonald and Jacobs 2005), contested and opposed or are the status quo power relations sustained?

These three questions again required that this study take into account the wider historical, political, social and economic contexts within which the newspaper texts are embedded. Thus, this dimension enabled me to avoid viewing a text in isolation and instead understand the ideological forces that underpin the construction of the newspaper articles.

In the analysis, the Interpretation stage and the Explanation stage are reported on concurrently. Both stages draw on themes and patterns that were revealed from running the initial corpus analyses on the data. This decision to do a comparative, theme-based investigation (cf. 4.1) was made in order to provide a more economical means of data presentation and analysis as well as reveal various trends and patterns with regard to discourse on this topic.

3.3.3 Challenges and research prospects

As a methodological tool to examine linguistic data, CDA was extremely useful and revealing in my study. However, it is necessary to remain as objective as possible when undertaking research such as this and it is important to acknowledge that CDA entails drawing on my own Members‟ Resources and interpretative frameworks which undoubtedly constrain and influence the research results. For the purposes of my study I used the CDA method to present a fine-grained analysis of newspaper articles once a wider net for data was initially cast in the corpus analyses preceding the CDA stages. This helped to offset the influence of my own subjectivity. The aim was thus to continue on from work previously conducted by McDonald and Jacobs (2005) as well as to provide a foundation for other research in this field.

Critics of CDA argue that it is too selective, partial and qualitative in nature; that is, the analyst selects a text or type of discourse that is considered in advance to be controversial and they confirm this “through an analysis that in essence only partially addresses certain patterns of language in the

text. The linguistic analysis becomes no more than a supplement to what the analyst has decided *a priori* about the text" (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 2). Another critical voice here, and a resonant one, is that of Widdowson (1998) who offers an unrelenting argument against critical approaches to discourse analysis, particularly „Faircloughian" CDA. He argues that CDA alone is merely an interpretation in support of researcher „belief" which is, in turn, ideologically biased with analysts "reading meaning into, rather than out of, texts" (1998: 140). Widdowson"s main dispute with CDA is that the analyst is able to select only those texts which will confirm their beliefs. Stubbs (1996), who precedes Widdowson"s (1998) view, criticises CDA researchers for making generalisations about social representations and social changes when there is often a lack of linguistic evidence to support these claims. Regarding these points, I agree with Stubb and Widdowson that CDA research runs the risk of not validating the representativeness of its data sample appropriately. However, these criticisms against the methodology can largely be addressed by incorporating additional methodologies with CDA in order to combine in-depth analysis with that comprising representative data. As a corpus linguist, Stubbs emphasises a combination of CDA and CL methods to address the abovementioned issues as outlined in this chapter.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed and accounted for the methodological decisions that formed the basis of my research. I have emphasised the goals of this study and highlighted the rationale and advantages of combining two linguistic approaches: Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, for the collection and analysis of my data. Additionally, this chapter signals the step-by-step course that this study took with regard to the construction of my newspaper article corpora and the computational processes used to guide the analyses. These processes included generating word frequency lists as well as running concordances and collocations on the full set of data. Through results obtained in these ways, I was then able to fine-tune my analysis using Critical Discourse Analysis methods. These are shaped by Fairclough"s (1989, 2001) contributions to this framework with a focus on the Description, Interpretation and Explanation stages of an analysis.

Thus, the analysis of linguistic data using corpus methods adds a quantitative dimension to my study. Textual analyses by themselves are only able to focus on a few selected features of elements

of a text and so the addition of corpus methods of analysis encourages a more holistic study of many features of many texts. Consequently, the results and conclusions found are based on a wider range of data and thus more accurate generalisations can be offered (Fairclough 2003). According to corpus linguistic theorists De Beaugrande (1997) and Stubbs (1996), these quantitative findings are of value in themselves but need to be combined with detailed and intensive methods of qualitative textual analysis through complementary frameworks such as CDA.

As has been foregrounded in this chapter, the combination of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis is therefore necessary for a well-balanced analysis of newspaper articles that enables a researcher to have both a sizeable quantity of data as well as an in-depth understanding and quality of analysis and results. Both methods of analysis have their shortcomings and by combining the two methods, these shortcomings can be largely offset. Corpus Linguistics is useful as it provides substantial evidence in the research of linguistic features that are not subjectively selected by the researcher but rather quantitatively justifiable. At the same time, the researcher is able to then delve into a more intricate analysis of key areas that the CL analysis highlights. Corpus Linguistics goes some way in alleviating the criticisms levelled against CDA in helping it become more objective and verifiable and at the same time CDA helps researchers to avoid purely empirical Corpus Linguistic studies.

Thus, I subscribe to Garzone and Santulli"s (2004) insistence that the combination of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis is invaluable. These authors (2004: 353) emphasise that "Corpus Linguistic tools in a CDA framework have an important potential in helping overcome some of the questions that have afflicted the discipline and, in particular, the problem of the representativeness of the samples of language analysed". They stress that it is crucial for a language researcher to check the hypotheses developed in qualitative analysis against empirically verifiable data, "chosen on the basis of explicit and objective criteria and collected using rigorous scientific and statistical procedures" (Garzone and Santulli 2004: 353). My research methodology answers this qualitative and quantitative call, as is evident in the discussion of results in Chapter 4 that follows.

4. DATA, INTERPRETATION AND EXPLANATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Drawing on the relevant literature discussed in Chapter 2 and the research methodology of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis presented in Chapter 3, I now present my interpretation of the data and explanation of how migrants are portrayed by *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times*. CDA analyses of newspaper article extracts complement revelations made through Corpus Linguistics and this section highlights how migrant representations have either changed or have remained static over the five year period that my data covers and the potential implications of these representations. Furthermore, in this section I provide details of the formal features of the data using CDA‟s Description stage whilst at the same time reporting on the Interpretation and Explanation stages concurrently. These consider the broader macro-level of social contexts with reference to processes of struggle and to power relations (cf. 3.3.2).

This account is structured in terms of several key themes and patterns in order to reveal the underlying ideologies in each of the three newspapers. My decision to structure the discussion thematically was made in order to summarise key features of the large body of data in this study and thus highlight similarities and differences across the data set. Additionally, my aim was to generate unanticipated insights in relation to my research questions by focusing on identifying, grouping and summarising findings. The five key themes I discuss include:

Theme 1: The classification and status of migrants;

Theme 2: Migration as an unstoppable and uncontrollable process;

Theme 3: The „victim‟ versus the „criminal‟;

Theme 4: Migrants as deviant, brutal and contaminated versus xenophobia as deviant, brutal and contaminated;

Theme 5: Stakeholder[5] and societal involvement in discourse on migrants and migration.

[5] I use the term stakeholder to refer to all individuals and groups that are quoted in the three newspapers when discussing migrants and/or migration processes. These include the South African Police Service, Government officials, Church organisations etc. and will be more fully outlined in the discussion in Section 4.6.

4.2 THEME 1: THE CLASSIFICATION AND STATUS OF MIGRANTS

The first theme reported on in this chapter considers the various means of categorising and classifying migrants as used by the *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* newspapers. The results that follow have been normalised so a direct comparison between the newspapers is appropriate (cf. 3.2.2 a). To begin with, it is necessary to outline the top three terms of reference that each newspaper used in their reporting overall. This determines the preferred terms of address for migrants by each publication. This is illustrated in Table 7.

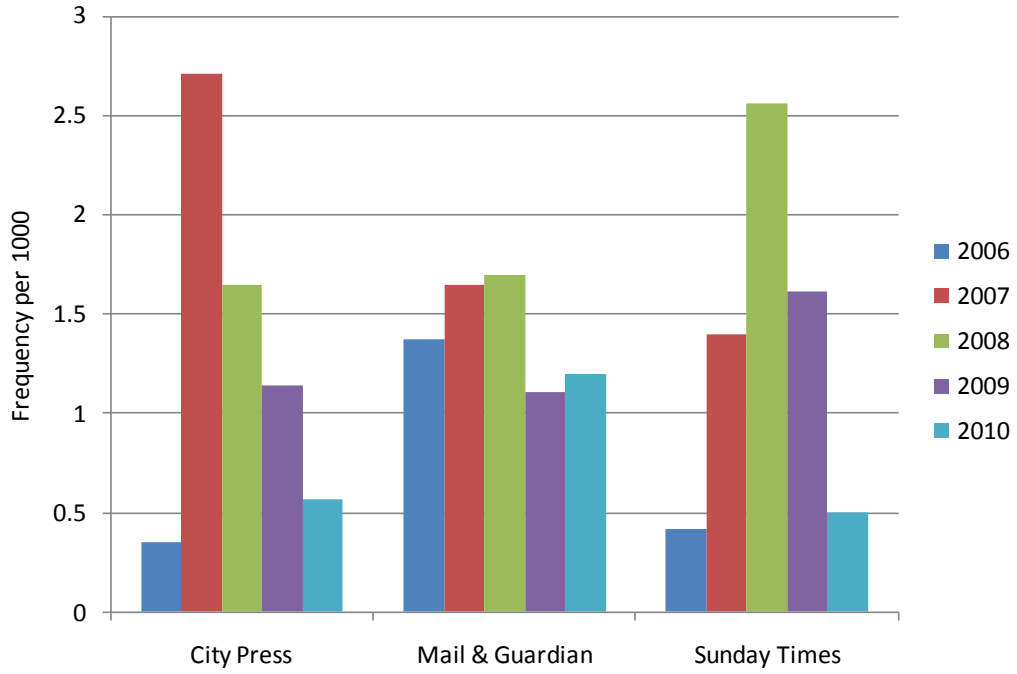
Newspaper	**Top 3 terms of reference (whole corpus)**	**Frequency of term / 1000**
CITY PRESS	1. Immigrant and Refugee	1.46
	2. Foreigner	1.38
	3. Illegal	1.09
MAIL & GUARDIAN	1. Refugee	5.04
	2. Foreigner	2.62
	3. Immigrant	1.52
SUNDAY TIMES	1. Refugee	3.06
	2. Foreigner	2.47
	3. Immigrant	1.44

Table 7: Top three terms of reference in the three newspaper corpora

All three newspapers favoured the terms „immigrant", „refugee" and „foreigner" with *City Press* using the additional term „illegal" in the context of migrant discourse. The importance of these terms is that the three newspapers choose one term over another and based on societal and legal understandings of the various classifications for migrants, there are various implications linked to these categories (cf. 2.3.3). However, it was not sufficient to analyse the use of terminology by only looking at the corpora as a whole and thus I considered the use of each term over the 2006 – 2010 time period cross-newspaper as reflected in the graphs that follow.

4.2.1 Classification graphs

a) 'Immigrant'

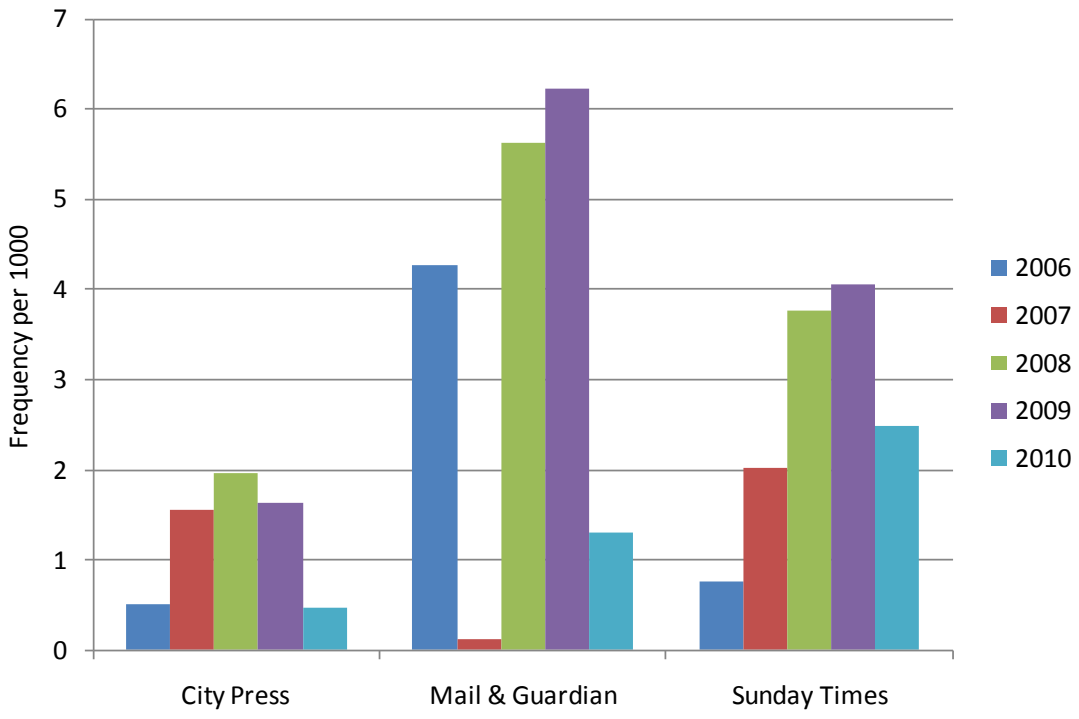


Graph 1: „Immigrant" classification

The first key term to report on is the derivation of a term I have tended to use throughout this thesis when referring to individuals who migrate to another country, namely: „migrants" or „immigrants". On reflection, it is one of the terms that I considered to be most neutral prior to this study and with fewer negative connotations than other alternatives. This is discussed further when I report on this term"s semantic preference and discourse prosody (cf. 3.2.2 b) in Sections 4.2.2 and 4.3.2. The clustered bar graph above (data tabulated in Appendices 3A, 3B and 3C) demonstrates the popularity of the term „immigrant" cross-newspaper and over the five year time period. The graph reveals that this classification was well-used, well-known and widespread over the course of the five years in question. It is significant to note that the trend here is similar for all three newspapers, that is, the term peaks over the period of 2007 and 2008 which, in terms of a link to social events, corresponded with the rising xenophobic interest in the media at the time. This graph also shows that the term „immigrant" was used more by *Sunday Times* than by *Mail & Guardian* and *City Press* respectively, and perhaps this fits in with the political persuasions of each newspaper with *Sunday*

Times favouring a more „conservative" term of reference than the other publications. Overall, *Mail & Guardian* remains the most constant with its use of this term with frequencies per 1000 fluctuating between 1.1 (2009) and 1.7 (2008). The other two newspapers, however, have a more tiered usage pattern with *City Press* changing drastically from 0.35 (2006) to 2.71 (2007) before beginning a gradual descent through to 2010 and *Sunday Times* showing a similar pattern with its less frequent usage of 0.42 (2006) and its highest frequency peaking with 2.56 (2008). This shows that the use of the term augmented in the corresponding years when migrant discourse was at an all-time high in South African media (Everatt 2010). Furthermore, an additional trend with this term is that after 2008, this particular term of reference decreases fairly rapidly among all three newspapers. Rather than this signalling a reduction in the reporting on migrants and migration, the opposite is in fact true; that there was an increase in the number of articles on this topic. What this means is that all three newspapers shifted their ideological focus by moving away from the term „immigrant" and instead favoured other terms which are discussed next.

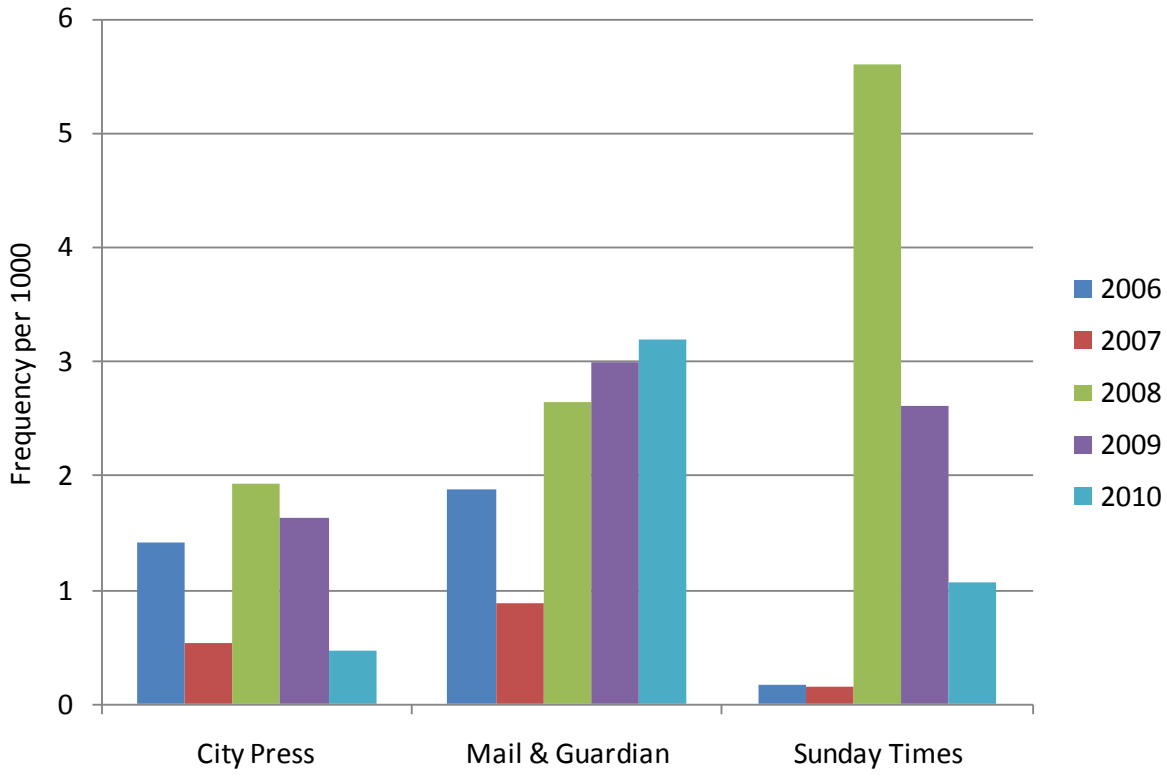
b) 'Refugee'



Graph 2: „Refugee" classification

Looking now at the term „refugee", both the *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* make the majority of their reference to this grouping with frequencies of this categorisation booming in 2008 and 2009. *Mail & Guardian*'s 2008 and 2009 frequencies are 5.63 and 6.23 respectively while *Sunday Times* shows a 3.76 frequency in 2008 and a 4.05 frequency in 2009. Graph 2 (data tabulated in Appendices 3A, 3B and 3C) demonstrates the popularity of this term cross-newspaper and over the five year period and what is noteworthy here is that *City Press*, who refer to „refugee" the least, have a stable and static use of the term over the years whereas *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian* have a peak in the usage of the term at a similar time between 2008 and 2009. Again this is significant from a social context point of view due to the increasing xenophobic events in South Africa at the time which were then being increasingly reported on. In 2007, *Mail & Guardian* uses this term very sparingly and instead favours the term „immigrant" followed by the term „foreigner" but the following year this increases drastically well above its newspaper counterparts. The connotations associated with „refugee" differ greatly from the other terms of reference and this is an important consideration in Section 4.2.2.

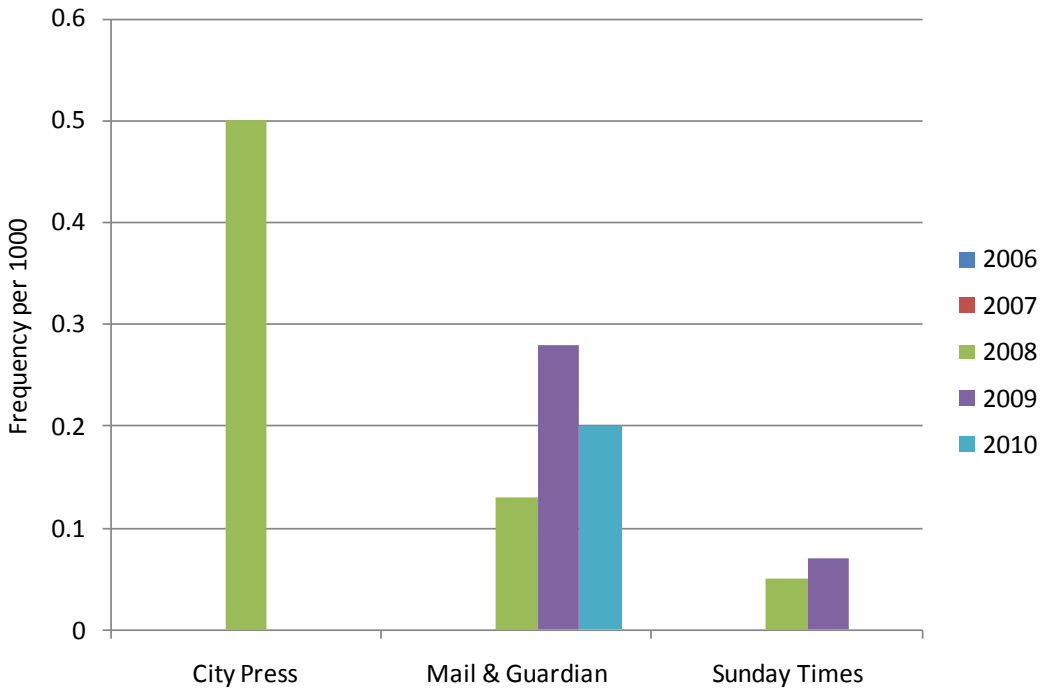
c) 'Foreigner'



Graph 3: „Foreigner" classification

As is illustrated in Graph 3, *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* have a relatively stable use of the term „foreigner" particularly during the 2008 – 2009 time frame with frequencies in 2008 for C*ity Press* peaking at 1.93 and decreasing only slightly in 2009 to 1.63. *Mail & Guardian* shows similar patterns reaching 2.65 in 2008 and, 2.99 in 2009 and reaching its highest frequency of 3.2 in 2010. *Sunday Times*, on the other hand, peaks in its reference to „foreigners" in 2008 with a frequency of 5.61 which is significant following its two previous years of negligible reference to this category – 0.17 in 2006 and 0.16 in 2007.

What is noteworthy with the term „foreigner" is that post-2007, the media started reporting on local words to refer to these individuals with certain interlinguistic slang terms. An example of this is the term „makwerekwere". The use of this local term is shown in Graph 4.



Graph 4: „*Kwerekwere" classification

Based on the data from all three newspapers, this term tends to be modified according to the language of the speaker. A Zulu-speaker might say „amakwerekwere", a Sotho-speaker might say „makwerekwere" and an English-speaker might drop the prefix altogether and say „kwerekwere". Someone is classified in this way mainly if they are unable to speak the language of the local people.

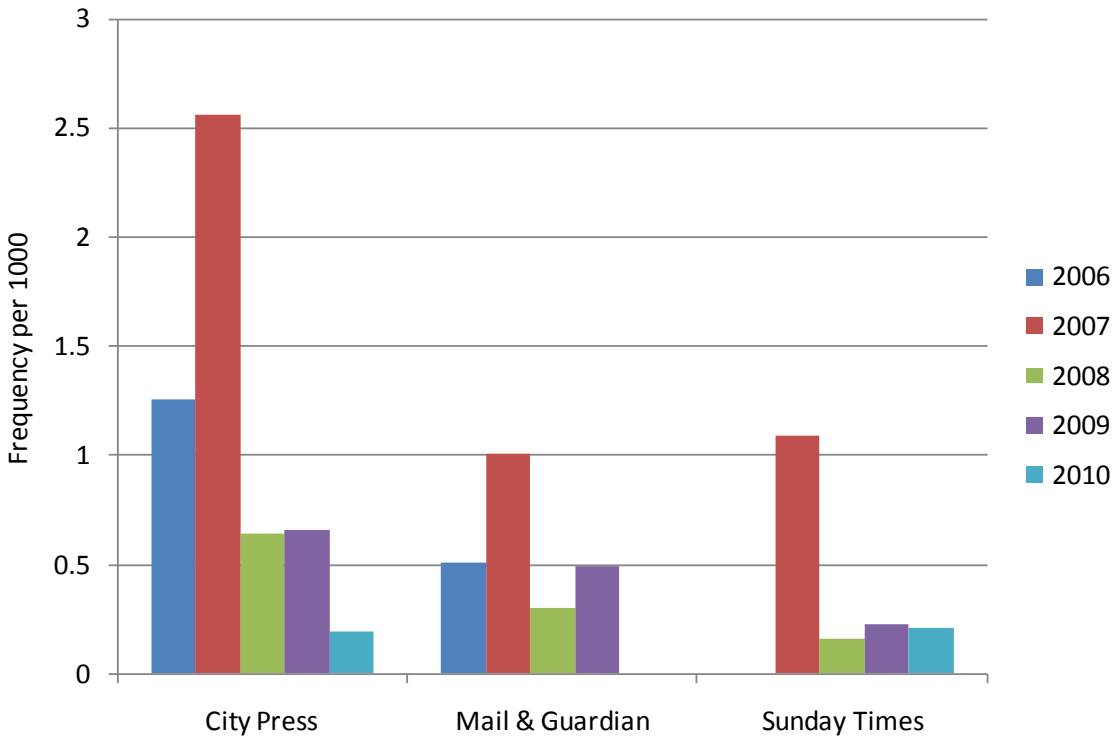
Seemingly unaware of the origins and highly insulting nature of this term, President Mbeki argued in the South African Parliament that there was "nothing offensive or xenophobic about it" (Hassim, Kupe and Worby 2008: 15). Following the May 2008 violence, the Black Lawyers Association proposed that the offensive term „makwerekwere" be declared part of the lexicon of hate speech in the statute books (Fine and Bird 2002). As soon as a language or language community have their own terms of reference to represent something in the world, it signals a preoccupation with this and is of great relevance to the significance of seeing language as a social phenomenon. What it shows in the corpora is that these texts are giving a voice to the local community members who use this term of reference as well as a voice to migrants and other stakeholders who report on this use of terminology. Thus, there is a significant metalingual textual function in this corpus by drawing on terminology from other languages to incorporate within discourse on migrants.

Although used less frequently by the three newspapers over the time period, *Mail & Guardian* has the most reference to this term over the three year period followed by *Sunday Times* and then *City Press* who only refers to this term, makwerekwere/amakwerekwere/kwerekwere, in one year; 2008.

d) 'Illegal[6]'

Of all terms of reference to migrants, the term „illegal" is arguably the most worrying with regard to the negative associations with the term – particularly the link to criminal activity and thus the ideological link between migrants and danger (Fine and Bird 2002 and McDonald and Jacobs 2005). As can be seen in Graph 5, in terms of the whole corpus of each newspaper, *City Press* used this reference the most followed (not very closely) by *Mail & Guardian* and finally *Sunday Times*. It is important to note that it is not necessarily the newspapers themselves who are using this terminology, as often they use the term in reported or direct speech to show other stakeholders' use of the term. However, the significance here is that newspapers still have the choice to include reference to these terms or not, and by choosing to include it in their reporting, in whatever means, there is still an underlying ideology at work.

[6] Because terms „illegal" and „makwerekwere/amakwerekwere/kwerekwere" are fairly negligible with regard to trends across the three newspapers over the 2006–2010 time period, they will not be considered in the rest of the results discussion.



Graph 5: „Illegal" classification

4.2.2 Collocations of terms

As indicated in Section 3.2.2 c), collocations are a significant way of demonstrating the relations between words using the *AntConc* software. More specifically, collocations show the type of „company that words keep" which contribute to their association and connotation when used both in isolation and in context.

Tables 8, 9 and 10 represent the collocation results generated by *AntConc* for the three favoured terms in each newspaper corpus.

CITY PRESS			
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Mutual Information (MI):**	**Collocates:**
1	93	8.9	illegal
2	7	8	influx
3	5	7.75	deported
4	16	6.85	Zimbabwean
5	4	6.02	Mozambican
MAIL & GUARDIAN			
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Mutual Information (MI):**	**Collocates:**
1	30	8.95	illegal
2	6	8.22	undocumented
3	4	7.63	resident
4	29	6.1	African
5	10	6.09	Zimbabwean
SUNDAY TIMES			
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Mutual Information (MI):**	**Collocates:**
1	27	8.89	illegal
2	3	7.96	increasing
3	3	7.72	influx
4	3	7.61	deported
5	9	6.98	Zimbabwean

Table 8: „Immigrant" collocations from all three newspaper corpora

CITY PRESS			
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Mutual Information (MI):**	**Collocates:**
1	14	9.5	High Commission Commission (commission for refugees)
2	17	9.33	status
3	21	9.22	camp
4	3	8.56	resident
5	13	8.12	asylum seekers
MAIL & GUARDIAN			
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Mutual Information (MI):**	**Collocates:**
1	17	7.97	status
2	36	7.52	United Nations
3	3	7.42	documented
4	28	7.24	High Commission Commission (commission for refugees)
5	5	7.16	refuse
SUNDAY TIMES			
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Mutual Information (MI):**	**Collocates:**
1	5	8.91	qualify
2	16	8.59	status
3	3	8.44	flood
4	5	8.33	evicted
5	17	8.09	desperate

Table 9: „Refugee" collocations from all three newspaper corpora

CITY PRESS			
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Mutual Information (MI):**	**Collocates:**
1	5	8.48	rid
2	3	8.4	treat
3	4	8.16	bribed
4	7	8.1	issued
5	3	7.74	centres
MAIL & GUARDIAN			
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Mutual Information (MI):**	**Collocates:**
1	3	8.26	detains
2	4	8.09	makwerekwere
3	3	7.94	prevented
4	3	7.67	targets
5	3	7.67	stereotypes
SUNDAY TIMES			
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Mutual Information (MI):**	**Collocates:**
1	6	7.92	housed
2	3	7.7	alight
3	8	7.67	deportation
4	5	7.54	anti
5	24	7.53	displaced

Table 10: „Foreigner" collocations from all three newspaper corpora

As part of this theme which looks at the classification and status of migrants, all three newspaper corpora reveal significant trends with regard to their use of the term „refugee". For ease of reference, these are discussed individually and for this reason have been placed in individual tables.

a) *City Press* Corpus – 'refugee' collocation

Rank:	Frequency:	Mutual Information (MI):	Collocates:
1	14	9.5	High Commission
2	17	9.33	***status***
3	21	9.22	camp
4	3	8.56	***resident***
5	13	8.12	***asylum seekers***

Table 11: „Refugee" collocations from *City Press*

Table 11 illustrates the top five collocates of the node „refugee" from the *City Press* corpus. What this shows is that in this corpus, the most frequent lexical combinations with the word „refugee" include: „High Commission", „status", „camp", „resident" and „asylum seekers".

This signals that within the migrant categorisation and status theme there is a preoccupation with migrant status as is reflected by the collocates „status", „resident" and „asylum seekers". This theme of migrant status is an important consideration in the life of a migrant as different categorisations of „migrant" result in the individual receiving various rights. Someone with refugee status, for example, has the right not to be deported, the right to acquire possessions and earn wages, the right to education and health care and the right to an identity card for travel purposes (UNHCR 1998). This links to another collocate of the node „refugee" – that of „asylum seekers". Asylum seekers in South Africa are also granted certain rights as they await a decision on their status which entitles them to the same basic human rights as listed above and thus there is a strong correlation between „asylum seeker" and „refugee".

Examples in this corpus where these two terms are used together include:

- "The vast majority have ***refugee or asylum-seeker*** status, which has to be renewed every few months" (*City Press* 2008 10 27.txt)
- "Most ***refugees and asylum seekers*** have been exploited by employers knowing they were always on the run from the police" (*City Press* 2009 04 06 (2).txt)
- "South Africa itself has about 200 000 foreign ***refugees and asylum-seekers***" (*City Press* 2009 11 05.txt)

As can be seen from these extracts, the two terms are often conflated and used as direct synonyms for one another. This is problematic in light of the subtle differences between the classifications and it is revealing that *City Press*, in particular, uses these terms of reference interchangeably throughout the data.

b) *Mail & Guardian* Corpus – 'refugee' collocation

Rank:	Frequency:	Mutual Information (MI):	Collocates:
1	17	7.97	***status***
2	36	7.52	United Nations
3	3	7.42	***documented***
4	28	7.24	High Commission
5	5	7.16	***refuse***

Table 12: „Refugee" collocations from *Mail & Guardian*

Looking now at *Mail & Guardian*, the table above illustrates the top five collocates of the node „refugee" from this corpus: „status", „United Nations", „documented", „High Commission", and „refuse".

The highlighted words „status" and „documented" both contribute to the theme of migrant classification and status. The collocate „status" refers to one"s position relative to that of others and in this context, refers to a hierarchy of rank in the eyes of the law. In migrant discourse, those who are „documented" are seen as having a higher status and value than those who are undocumented who are instead associated with entering South Africa clandestinely and illegally. Examples in this corpus where these two words are used in context include:

- "Oslan said it took him three months to get his ***asylum-seeker permit***, and he is still awaiting official refugee ***status***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2006-10-03-somalis-live-in-fear-south-africa.txt)

- "He said the lives of everyone in the country, including ***documented and undocumented persons***, have to be protected" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-08-18-govt-did-nothing-to-reintegrate-refugees-court-hears.txt)

- "Those who do have ***asylum-seeking and refugee status*** will also have to respect this administrational step because if they don"t their ***refugee status*** can be taken away" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-07-21-xenophobia-refugees-risk-deportation-over-id-cards.txt)

- "All of them had been ***granted refugee status*** or were ***documented asylum seekers***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-08-15-reprieve-for-xenophobia-refugees.txt)

The last example introduces a parallel between antonyms „granted" and the collocate „refuse". These are ideologically charged verbs which signal substantial power relations in that someone is in a position of authority to do the „granting" and „refusing" and those who are not in this position are thus disenfranchised in some way.

- "Foreigners have been ***refused*** access to emergency shelters in Johannesburg" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-23-where-to-from-here.txt)

- "A man ... was ***refused*** a renewal at the home affairs refugee office in Nyanga, Cape Town" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-10-08-furore-over-asylumseeker-permits.txt)

- "The Hillbrow nurse was disobeying a government directive when she ***refused*** to treat him" (*Mail & Guardian* 2009-12-01-foreigners-go-seek-help-elsewhere.txt)

- "The displaced Somalis are now housed in a municipal shed and the locals have ***refused*** to allow them to be reintegrated" (*Mail & Guardian* 2010-01-22-xenophobia-what.txt)

These quotations show that migrants are often disempowered in terms of having shelter, permit renewal, medical treatment and integration into a community refused to them. This links to the unequal power relations in this context with the exploitation and domination of migrants by local communities and state authorities.

c) *Sunday Times* Corpus – 'refugee' collocation

Rank:	Frequency:	Mutual Information (MI):	Collocates:
1	5	8.91	***qualify***
2	16	8.59	***status***
3	3	8.44	***flood***
4	5	8.33	evicted
5	17	8.09	***desperate***

Table 13: „Refugee" collocations from *Sunday Times*

Moving now to the *Sunday Times*, Table 13 illustrates that what is noteworthy here is the strong correlation between „refugee" and „flood" linking to the metaphorical language inherent in dominant

discourse surrounding the process of migration (cf. 2.3.4). Metaphors from the natural world are particularly common in describing the movement of migrants into South Africa. It is significant to note that migration is not, however, considered to be a natural process but is instead considered a threat to local South Africans and thus encoded as a „natural disaster". These „natural disaster" metaphors are regularly used and suggest a destructive nature in the process of migration. Aquatic metaphors suggest large-scale, excessive, uncontrollable and dangerous inflows of water (Santa Ana 2004) which exaggerate the prevalence the migration into South Africa. This particular metaphor that links migration with aquatic processes is reported on more fully in Section 4.3.

The collocates „qualify" and „status" further contribute to the overall theme in this section of migrant categories and status.

- "The department of home affairs has found that most foreigners at Cape Town's refugee camps do not ***qualify*** for ***refugee status***" (*Sunday Times* 29 sep 2008.txt)

- "Last week the department started interviewing foreigners to assess whether they ***qualify*** for ***refugee status*** - most did not" (*Sunday Times* 3 oct 2008.txt)

- "Currently only recognised refugees and asylum seekers ***qualify*** for humanitarian assistance and legal protection from a host state" (*Sunday Times* 30 nov 2009.2.txt)

On a societal level there is again an inherent link to power with „qualify" being defined as meeting the required standard and acquiring legal capacity from an authority in some form (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary 2010). The migrant is thus most often positioned as powerless in this power struggle for status and thus residency in South Africa.

4.2.3 Summary of Theme 1 ideology

This theme reflects the prevalence of migrant categorisation, classification and status in the three newspapers and shows that the three favoured terms of reference to refer to migrants over the period of 2006–2010 include the terms „immigrant", „refugee" and „foreigner". All three terms have varying psychological and social meaning and a way of ascertaining these associations and connotations was

to consider word collocations which show the type of „company that words keep" when used in context.

This theme highlights collocates associated with the term „refugee": „qualify", „status", „documented", „refuse", „resident" and „asylum seekers" and suggests that cross-newspaper there is a preoccupation with the legality of migrants as determined by their documentation. Thus, the main ideology that emerges from this theme is one of citizenship and residency. All three newspapers front the importance of migrant status within migrant discourse and through qualifying for legal migrant status; an individual is legally recognised as being a member of a collective and thus allocated certain rights and responsibilities. Stasiulis and Bakan (2005: 2) suggest that in migrant discourse, the concept of citizenship is "increasingly subject to social and legal differentiation" which results in gradational or hierarchical levels within citizenship.

This means that while citizenship appears to be an inclusive and equal concept, in reality this is not the case, nor is the process of gaining citizenship always allocated in equivalent ways. This is revealed in my data with a consideration of the parallels between the antonyms „grant" and „refuse". There is therefore active and ongoing negotiation between migrants and the „gatekeepers" of citizenship and residency – the local authorities and those in a position to make policy decisions on immigration laws and procedures.

4.3 THEME 2: MIGRATION AS AN UNSTOPPABLE AND UNCONTROLLABLE PROCESS

The second trend that emerged as a result of the data in this study cross-newspaper was the metaphorical representation of migration as an increasingly unabated, uncontrolled and unstoppable process. According to Mawadza and Crush (2010), dominant negative metaphors used by the media to describe migrant communities and the process of migration are surprisingly uniform around the world. As outlined in Section 3.3.2 a), metaphors are a means of constructing a reality rather than simply describing it and are regarded as cognitive mechanisms of ideology, which will produce various ideological effects (Balkin, 1998).

4.3.1 Use of metaphorical language

Using a metaphor classification scheme suggested by Mawadza and Crush (2010), I investigated the extent to which the three newspapers incorporated metaphorical language in their representations of migrants and the migration process. The „*" in Table 14 highlights additional metaphors which I have added to Mawadza and Crush"s classification scheme based on the data in this particular study. The ✓ and ✖ in the table below reflect the use of the various metaphors in each of the three newspaper corpora with ✓signalling that the metaphor is present in the corpus and ✖ indicating that the metaphor was not present.

Types of metaphors:	***CP***	***MG***	***ST***
Migration as a natural disaster - avalanche (descend, slide, roll)	✓	✓	✓
Migration as a natural disaster - aquatic process (flooding)	✓	✓	✓
Migration as an aquatic process - flowing	✓	✓	✓
Migration as an aquatic process - pouring	✓	✖	✓
*** Migration as an aquatic process - swamping**	✖	✖	✓
*** Migration as an aquatic process - tide**	✓	✓	✓
*** Migration as an en masse movement - flocking**	✓	✓	✓
*** Migration as an en masse movement - influx**	✓	✓	✓
*** Migration as an en masse movement - hordes**	✖	✖	✖

Table 14: Metaphors depicting migrants and migration

In this section I focus on metaphors drawn on to represent migrants and migrant communities as revealed by all three newspaper corpora with a discussion that includes metaphors related to aquatic processes of *flow, flood, pour, swamp* and *tide*, avalanche processes of *descend, slide* and *roll* and processes of *en masse* movement with *flocking* and *influx*.

a) Aquatic and avalanche metaphors of migrants and migration

Mawadza and Crush (2010) make a connection between the process of migration and that of metaphors relating to „dangerous waters" and „natural hazards". Metaphors from the natural world are particularly common in describing the movement of migrants into South Africa. It is significant to note that migration is not, however, considered to be a natural process but is instead considered a threat to local South Africans and thus encoded as a „natural disaster". There is a stereotyped perception that migrants are not individuals or small groups but are rather „mob-type" groups that arrive en masse. This perception is strengthened through the use of metaphorical language that links migration with aquatic processes of „flows", „waves", „floods" and „tides"and avalanche processes of „descend", „slide"and „roll". Some examples of aquatic metaphors from each of the corpora can be seen below.

CITY PRESS

- "Zimbabweans will continue to ***flow*** into South Africa" (*City Press* 2009 04 06 (2).txt)
- "Economic prosperity creates shifts in immigration and ***waves*** of people ***flooding*** from areas of limited opportunity to areas of more opportunity" (*City Press* 2009 11 21.txt)
- "... to quell the ***tide*** of illegal immigration from Africa" (*City Press* 2008 08 30.txt)

MAIL & GUARDIAN

- "... the ***consistent flow*** of immigrants turns into a trickle" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-07-27-more-people-returning-to-sa-than-leaving.txt)
- "Ordinary South Africans had grown hostile to African immigrants as Zimbabweans ***flooded*** into the country" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-24-hunted-by-gangs-migrants-flee-flames.txt)
- "It [the ANC] cannot face the fact that the state"s failure to stem the ***tide*** of illegal immigration and the almost total incapacity to process the ***wave*** of refugee applications was the short-term catalyst for the violence" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-24-sa-knew-of-xenophobia-threat-says-kasrils.txt)

SUNDAY TIMES

- "If we don't help Zimbabwe, refugee ***flow*** will increase" (*Sunday Times* 3 aug 2007.txt)

- "They did not count on the ***flood*** of people who would descend on the country in search of that same better life" (*Sunday Times* 18 may 2008.txt)

- "A ***human tide*** is ***engulfing*** the northern reaches of South Africa as thousands face death from cholera" (*Sunday Times* 1 sep 2007.txt)

Additionally, migrants are often represented as „pouring" and „swamping" into the country:

- "Experts warn of a growing refugee crisis with thousands of Zimbabweans ***pouring*** into South Africa" (*Sunday Times* 1 april 2007.txt)

- "Foreigners might ***swamp*** SA in 45 years" (*Sunday Times* 2 jun 2008.txt)

Only *Sunday Times* makes reference to the term „swamp" and in an article just two months after when reference was first made to this term, a reporter states:

- "It turns out tabloid newspapers" panic stories about „criminal aliens" „***swamping***" South Africa could not be bigger codswallop if they involved flying saucers and little green men" (*Sunday Times* 27 aug 2008.txt)

It seems here that there is some sort of ideological contestation about the term „swamp" with this text producer challenging traditional and dominant discourse on migration by critically opposing the use of such metaphorical language when referring to migrants and the process of migration in newspaper articles.

Looking now at metaphors relating to avalanches within the theme of natural disasters, the following extracts are some examples of such metaphors from each of the corpora:

- "But as Zimbabwe, once one of Africa"s most prosperous countries, ***slides*** deeper into economic meltdown, most of the shop floor is now packed with two items -- soap and cooking oil" (*Mail & Guardian* 2007-03-26-zimbabwes-hungry-head-for-south-africa.txt)

- "They did not count on the flood of people who would ***descend*** on the country in search of that same better life" (*Sunday Times* 18 may 2008.txt)

Overall, these „natural disaster" metaphors are used to not only suggest a destructive nature in the process of migration (as seen in the second example) but are also used to depict migrants" countries of origin in a negative light (as seen in the first example). Aquatic metaphors suggest large-scale, excessive, uncontrollable and dangerous inflows of water (Santa Ana 2004), which exaggerates the prevalence of the migration into South Africa. As demonstrated in these corpora, migrants „pour", they do not „trickle" and they arrive in „waves" and „floods". While some suggest that the „disastrous tide" of migrants into South Africa is „unstoppable" and unabated by the state, others argue that it should and must be stopped through more serious measures (Mawadza and Crush 2010).

A significant additional point worth noting is that the following avalanche metaphor is used when describing measures to combat xenophobia in South Africa as part of the *City Press* corpus:

- "Responding to the rise of violent incidents resulting from xenophobia, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) launched a ***Roll Back Xenophobia*** Campaign in 1998 and says this was done because South Africa had one of the highest levels of xenophobia in the world" (*City Press* 2008 04 07.2.txt)

Here, instead of migrants and migration being depicted negatively in terms of this metaphor, xenophobic prejudice is instead portrayed as something that will be fought against with "Roll Back Xenophobia" suggesting that concerted and forceful efforts will be made in this regard. The dichotomy between the negative representation of migrants and migration contrasted with the negative representation of xenophobia is the focus of the themed discussion in Section 4.5.

b) En masse metaphors of migrants and migration

Two metaphors that reveal themselves in all three newspapers represent migrants as large groups who move „en masse" into an area; by „flocking" and as an „influx". These schemes again present a view of migration as an uncontrollable and unrestricted process, and a viewpoint that migration is an undesirable, yet drastically increasing phenomenon.

A metaphor which encodes this sense of en masse movement is the use of the term „flock/flocking" into the country. All three newspapers use this metaphor and it is never problemitised by the reporters and instead is used uncritically in newspaper articles.

The majority of reference to „flocking" is made by the *Sunday Times* and several examples include:

- "... it was expected that illegal immigrants would increasingly ***flock*** to the country as the 2010 World Cup approached" (*Sunday Times* 1 sep 2009.6.txt)

- "Migrant labourers ***flocking*** to Johannesburg from their post-colonial fallout" (*Sunday Times* 2 jul 2006.txt)

- "Thousands of foreigners have ***flocked*** to seek safety" (*Sunday Times* 22 may 2008.txt)

- "More Zimbabweans were ***flocking*** to South Africa than those being deported" (*Sunday Times* 23 jul 2008.2.txt)

Flocking is the behaviour exhibited when a group of birds are in flight. There are also parallels with the shoaling behaviour of fish, the swarming behaviour of insects, and herd behaviour of land animals such as sheep (Online Oxford English Dictionary 2010). However, from the results in the *Sunday Times* corpus in particular, I found that this metaphor has a dual purpose. This is because while it is certainly a means of dehumanising migrants and migrant communities by associating them with the non-human world, it also serves to encode a positive sense of community in that flocks tend to stay together for safety.

The *City Press* corpus incorporates the most use of the en masse metaphor with regard to the word „influx". This word is defined as an "uninterrupted mass arrival or incoming" (Online Oxford English Dictionary 2010) and gives the connotation of something which is unmanageable and possibly frightening. Several of these examples are illustrated below:

- "Maclean says the ***influx*** of illegal immigrants is not making things any better" (*City Press* 2007 05 26.txt)

- "President Thabo Mbeki recently said that the ***influx*** of illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe was something South Africa was going to have to live with" (*City Press* 2007 06 09.txt)

- "By doing this, we will control the ***influx*** of illegal immigrants and catch the criminals" (*City Press* 2008 05 17.4.txt)

In all three of the examples above there is a link between „influx" and criminality in the words „illegal" and „criminal" and this adds to the negative characteristics associated with migrant groups. What is ideologically implicit is that the very act of being in South Africa is criminalised by the South African media (Mawadza and Crush 2010) and there is very rare reference to the legitimate migrants who work and live in South Africa. Attention is instead focused on criminalising the presence of all migrants - making them appear illegitimate and dangerous and suggesting that migrant communities are „taking over". The texts thus covertly encode a threatening message which again, ideologically, would encourage a negative viewpoint on the migration process as a whole. The consideration of this term „influx" is further reported on in the next section which focuses on the link between this term and the category „immigrant" in the *City Press* corpus.

4.3.2 *City Press* collocates with the term 'immigrant'

Building on the discussion of „influx" from the previous section, data from the *City Press* corpus revealed additional connotations of this term which link it to the overall theme of this section which sees migration as an uncontrolled and an increasingly ominous and unstoppable process.

Table 15 illustrates the top five collocates of the node „immigrant" from the *City Press* corpus. What this shows is that in this corpus, the most frequent lexical combinations with the word „immigrant" include: „illegal", „influx", and „deported". From a semantic prosody perspective, the terms „illegal" and „deported" which are linked to „influx" encode substantial negative expressive value adding to the stereotyped view of the connection between migrants and criminality. Fairclough (1989: 20) describes expressive values as "ideologically contrastive classification schemes" and by association with these words, a varying degree of negative expressive value is thus encoded in the term „immigrant" itself. There is also a clear link between the term „immigrant" and the term „influx". As abovementioned, „influx" in this context refers to the mass incoming of migrants into South Africa

and is re-worded throughout the corpora with metaphors of natural disasters such as the flow and flood of migrants.

Rank:	Frequency:	Mutual Information (MI):	Collocates:
1	93	8.9	***illegal***
2	7	8	***influx***
3	5	7.75	***deported***
4	16	6.85	Zimbabwean
5	4	6.02	Mozambican

Table 15: „Immigrant" collocations from *City Press*

Some examples of the use of this term „influx" taken from the *City Press* corpus are as follows:

- "Although there are no formal statistics, there is an increasing ***influx*** of families who have fled poverty in Zimbabwe and Mozambique" (*City Press* 2006 03 26.txt)

- "The ***influx*** of illegal immigrants is not making things any better" (*City Press* 2007 05 26.txt)

As reflected on in Chapter 2, xenophobic rhetoric is characterised by the use of this "language of contamination" (Harris 2002: 175) and these metaphors encode a negative expressive value because of the representation of migrants and the process of migration as increasing drastically and „out of control"; unabated and unrestricted by the government. As a result of the negative expressive value in the collocates „illegal", „influx" and „deported", a discourse prosody of tension and a negative view on migration is subsequently encoded.

4.3.3 Summary of Theme 2 ideology

The overall ideology uncovered as a result of grouping the relevant data into this theme implies that migration is an unwelcome and ominous process from the perspective of local South African citizens. This emerges through the reported and direct speech incorporated in the articles cross-newspaper with the majority of metaphorical language linked to metaphors of natural disaster

(including flooding and avalanches) and metaphors of destructive and en masse movement negatively depicting migrants as a sinister and an increasing threat. These metaphors additionally represent the process of migration as augmenting and out of control with the underlying assumption that this is potentially harmful to local citizens of South Africa and thus a considerable cause of worry for them. Although all three newspapers make similar use of these metaphors of migrants and migration, *City Press* arguably makes the most use of this linguistic phenomenon. As outlined in Section 2.3.6, metaphors are pervasive in our everyday lives and exist and function not only in language, but in our thoughts and subsequent actions. As a result, it is appropriate to conclude that the abovementioned metaphors play an important role in influencing what we perceive and how we relate to other people.

Overall, the use of different metaphors to describe migration involves mainly negative perceptions pitting local and migrant communities against each other and depicting migrants as violent criminals who take scarce resources that they do not have rights to. Clearly, newspaper editors who control the mass media and report on migration issues in their publications would condemn violence against migrants and would reject the most prejudiced language against processes of migration. Yet, the overriding results from this study demonstrate that those in a position of power in the media sometimes collude in attacks on migrants by using metaphorical language which encodes some sort of stereotyped prejudice. The impact of this metaphorical language results in the negative public perception of migrants and it reinforces the dehumanising effect on migrants by removing their individuality and representing them en masse. The negative language and metaphors targeting African migrants have serious social implications. Once a group of people is dehumanised, through representations of disease, threat or burden, then it is easier to treat such individuals like second class citizens. This is not just a theoretical proposition and Santa Ana (2004) stresses that there are thus strong connections between anti-immigrant violence and overt discrimination through the medium of language.

4.4 THEME 3: THE 'VICTIM' VERSUS THE 'CRIMINAL'

A significant pattern which influenced the construction of this particular theme is the opposing grouping of migrants either sympathetically as „victims" or negatively as „criminals" in the

newspaper corpora. It was immediately evident from the data that these opposing and polarised identities differed based on two main factors, firstly, the term of reference used to classify migrants (immigrant, refugee and foreigner) and secondly these identities differed based on the gender representation in the corpus, that is, whether the migrants being referred to were male or female.

4.4.1 *Sunday Times* collocates with the term 'refugee'

The *Sunday Times* corpus is particularly revealing in terms of this polarisation with regard to positioning migrants, or rather „refugees" as victims. Here, a collocation analysis showed that the term of reference „refugee" collocated strongly with the word „desperate". This portrays the migrant"s perspective in a sympathetic manner by highlighting their plight and several examples below illustrate this.

- "The image of the emaciated hands of 3-million ***desperate*** Zimbabweans, clawing at the meagre resources in the townships is the stuff of demagogic urban legend" (*Sunday Times* 1 sep 2009.txt)

- "The fate of Somali refugees ***desperate*** to leave South Africa hangs in the balance after they were arrested trying to enter Botswana illegally" (*Sunday Times* 2 april 2009.tx)

- "Primarily, it is a foreign policy problem concerning internal conditions in Zimbabwe that has led to ***desperate*** people seeking shelter at this church" (*Sunday Times* 30 oct 2009.txt)

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary of Synonyms (1984), the word „desperate" is closely linked to words such as „hopeless" and „despairing" and these associations with the term will serve to create a sympathetic rapport between migrants and the text receiver. It may also encode a sense of rashness and foolhardiness that will ring warning bells in the mind of the reader so this is a significant contradiction – feeling empathy towards migrants but at the same time worrying about what these individuals or groups may resort to due to their desperation.

Overall, however, this study"s definition of a refugee sees these individuals as people fleeing from persecution and for this reason the collocation with „desperate" may increase a text receiver"s

sympathetic communion with migrant participants in the text with an attitude towards them more likely to be aligned with that of compassion and kindness than of aggression and hostility.

As was stated in the opening paragraph of the discussion of this theme, the polarised identities „victim" and „criminal" differed based on the gender representation in the corpus, that is, whether the migrants being referred to were male or female.

4.4.2 Contrasting lexical sets – the 'victim' versus the 'criminal'

The 'criminal'	**The 'victim'**
Crime/corruption	*Suffer*
Violence	*Children*
Theft/thief	*Desperate*
Illegal	*Helpless*
Arrest	*Fear*
Steal	*Innocent*
Murderer	*Powerless*

Table 16: Contrasting lexical sets – the „victim" versus the „criminal"

The table above reflects two opposing lexical sets that revealed themselves in the data cross-corpora – a lexical set related to the „criminal" and a contrasting set related to the „victim" with regard to the portrayal of migrants and migrant communities. Thus, a vital consideration in this study was the differences in representation between male and female migrants. On the whole, this was mostly difficult to ascertain as the majority of reference made to migrants groups them collectively rather than isolating individuals and thus gender details were often omitted. Again, this contributes to the portrayal of migrants as large groups rather than individuals that readers could perhaps relate better to through the texts.

Gender norms of a society affect integration of women and men differently and Crush (2003) suggests that men may be perceived as more threatening and be more likely to be harassed by police

whereas women may suffer more discrimination in the labour force. Overall, within the corpora the majority of reference to female migrants depicted them as the „victim" whilst male migrants were portrayed negatively as the „criminal" with pronouns *she* and *her* collocating with the former lexical set and pronouns *he* and *him* collocating with the latter. There is overt reference to female migrants experiencing „fear" and „being afraid" and this contributes to the disempowered position of migrants, particularly the women, in the corpora.

Some examples of this include:

- "Ndlovu, who has been living in Alexandra since 1994, said ***she feared*** for ***her*** life but could not go back to Zimbabwe as ***she could not afford*** to lose ***her*** job" (*City Press* 2008 05 19.2 (2).txt)

- "I had no idea where ***my husband*** was but they did not believe me. I ***feared*** for my life" (*Mail & Guardian* 2009-11-27-rape-a-weapon-of-war.txt)

- "... because we are ***afraid*** we are going to be killed - they are going to take away our children" (*Sunday Times* 20 april 2010.2.txt)

The fear that accompanies a position of powerlessness can "strip a woman of her agency and perpetuate her status as a helpless victim" (Sigsworth 2010: 1) and this powerlessness is highlighted in various texts in the print media in this study. An additional point made by Sigsworth (2010) is that the category „women" (and the associated categories of wife, mother and daughter) is a social position that comes with a range of traditional expectations which have become the norm in a South African society. Thus, in a traditional South Africa context, womanhood is seen as "inseparable from motherhood, and motherhood becomes a central part of a woman"s identity" (Sigsworth 2010: 1). The significance of this is that we are more likely to feel sympathy for a mother who is caring for her children than for an isolated male migrant so immediately female migrants tend to be given more sympathy (Fine and Bird 2002).

According to research done by Boyd and Grieco (2003), men and women may be treated differently and experience resettlement differently once in a receiving country. Migrant women are often viewed by the state as „dependents" and thus their rights are often legally dependent on the migration and residency status of other family members. This may affect the ability of migrant

women to obtain certain entitlements in their own right. Additionally, women may have different experiences than men because they are frequently segregated into traditional „female" occupations which include domestic work and childcare. Thus, these gender hierarchies handicap immigrant women with regard to job opportunities, work environment and wages. This potentially accounts for less antagonism directed towards women migrants because they are seen as less of a threat compared to their male counterparts.

Crush suggests that globally, there is evidence of the "feminisation of migrant flows" (2008: 1), with female migrants maintaining strong ties to family members in their home countries. Piper adds that women tend to participate in larger numbers in the temporary and un- or semi-skilled migration flows and in this capacity, also tend to earn less than the average male migrant. Furthermore, one can perhaps account for the discrepancy in the polarised representations of male and female migrants by considering the ratio of male to female migration into South Africa. The Southern African Migration project devised the Migration and Remittances Surveys (MARS) to provide nationally-representative data on migration flows for several Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. From this survey researchers found that in 2008, cross-border migration into the region was dominated by men with only 15% of migrants identified in the MARS sample being women. This could potentially account for the reduced antipathy directed at the female migrant as she is seen as a fairly insignificant temporary fixture rather than someone threatening a community in terms of job opportunities and resources long-term (Crush 2008).

A significant trend cross-newspaper is one of the justifications provided for the xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa made by black South African male citizens who accuse migrants of *„stealing our women"*. This speaks directly to the pervasive ideology of patriarchy in South Africa, which is so entrenched that women are considered material possessions that can be „owned" by different groups of men.

Examples of such justifications taken from all three newspapers include the following:

- "We no longer want foreigners here, they are taking ***our women***, ***our jobs*** and our lives" (*City Press* 2006 01 08.2.txt)

As an aside, migrants are stereotyped as „job stealers" with a detrimental effect on the employment situation and are seen as depriving South Africans of employment opportunities. This is a dominant theme in discourse on migration and this view fails to recognise the role of migrants in generating job opportunities for South Africans and contributing to the country"s skills base and social and cultural diversity. It is noteworthy that there is no ideological contestation of this view by the reporters themselves and thus the naturalised belief is that migrants are disadvantageous to the South African economy and workforce.

- "Foreigners are taking our jobs and ***our wives***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-19-gauteng-reels-under-xenophobic-attacks.txt)

- "First you took our jobs, then you took ***our women***, now you are also taking our phones" (*Sunday Times* 18 may 2008.txt)

Patriarchy in South Africa is regarded as a fully-fledged ideology as indicated by the Commission on Gender Equality (1998: 10):

> "It is a sad fact that one of the few profoundly non-racial institutions in South Africa is patriarchy ... indeed, it is so firmly rooted that it is given a cultural halo and identified with customs and personalities of different communities. Thus to challenge patriarchy, to dispute the idea that it is men who should be dominant figures in the family and society, is to be seen not as fighting against the male privilege, but as attempting to destroy African tradition, or to subvert Afrikaner ideals or undermine civilised and deemed British values ... Patriarchy brutalises men and neutralises women across the colour line"

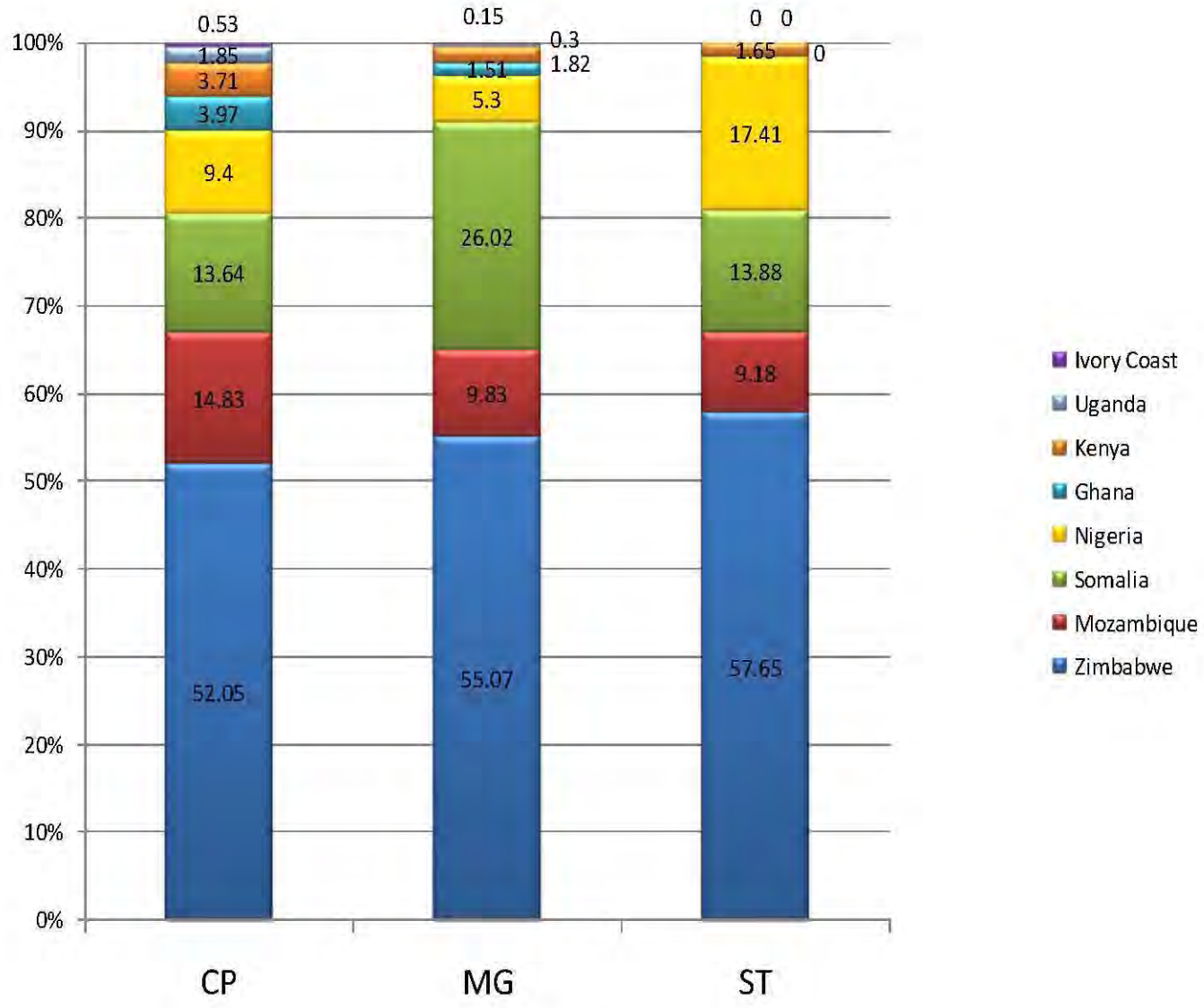
The extracts above show an overwhelming source of resentment by South African men towards non-South African men which can be explained in the theoretical context of social formation of patriarchy in the South African context. The claim that migrants are taking „our women" implies that the women are unwilling partners in the relationships and Nkealah (2008) points out that the manner in which language is used in this expression conveys an underlying current of male aggressiveness towards other males on the basis of „who owns the women".

Harris refers to Tshitereke"s psychological interpretation of scapegoating (cf. 2.3.5) in contemporary South Africa as one framework through which to understand the current antagonism directed at migrant communities. She suggests that the psychological process of "relative deprivation rests on

social comparison" (Harris 2002: 172). This occurs at the level of jobs, houses, education and women, with blame directed at migrants for 'stealing' these 'resources'.

4.4.3 Reference to African countries and demonyms

An additional consideration in the polarised representation of migrants either as 'victims' or as 'criminals' links to the country of origin and nationalities (known as demonyms) of the migrants themselves (cf. 3.2.2 b).



Graph 6: Newspaper reference to African countries and demonyms

Graph 6 illustrates the references made to various African countries and demonyms in each newspaper corpus. As is evident, the top four countries that are referred to across all three newspapers include: *Zimbabwe*, *Somalia*, *Mozambique* and *Nigeria*. By searching for collocations of these countries and demonyms the results in Table 17 were obtained. The „*" signal that collocation analyses were conducted using both the country, „Zimbabwe" and the demonym „Zimbabwean" with the search term.

	Country/Demonym:	**Highest ranked collocate to lowest ranked based on MI measure:**				
		→				
CP	Zimbabwe*	starving	Zambia	Malawians	smuggling	persecution
	Somali*	killed	shops	warned	attack	townships
	Mozambique*	returning	homes	deported	poverty	Zimbabwe
	Nigeria*	Malawians	businesses	Apartheid	Africa	arrested
MG	Zimbabwe*	deteriorate	Malawians	Angola	Zambia	Beit Bridge
	Somali*	businessman	shopkeepers	association	Gugulethu	traders
	Mozambique*	Zambia	Nigerians	Botswana	fled	Zimbabwe
	Nigeria*	Ghana	many	dozens	Mozambicans	Africa
ST	Zimbabwe*	worsened	target	Zambia	evacuated	Mozambicans
	Somali*	killed	fled	refugees	life	more
	Mozambique*	Zambia	Malawi	Botswana	refused	Zimbabweans
	Nigeria*	Sandton	Cele	sell	business	African

Table 17: Collocations of African countries and demonyms

Some tends cross-newspaper relate to the differences in representation between foreign nationals from these various countries. Zimbabweans are depicted as „*starving*" and linked to „*persecution*" by *City Press*, with „*deteriorating*" lifestyles and conditions by *Mail & Guardian* and classified as „*targets*" in a „*worsened*" socio-economic position by *Sunday Times*. It is important to contextualise the collocate „*smuggling*" in this corpus as this does not refer to Zimbabweans smuggling goods in

or out of South Africa but rather to syndicates operating within South Africa who exploit Zimbabweans by smuggling them into the country for a fee. Thus, it is the smuggling of people, not goods that is being referred to and this, in essence, objectifies Zimbabwean migrants further by reducing them to a commodity.

With regard to Somalis, there is a substantial threat attached to this nationality with these individuals represented as victims of violence through words such as „*killed*" and „*attacks*" from *City Press* and „*killed*" and „*fled*" by *Sunday Times*. An additional portrayal of this nationality links them to their occupations as „*traders*" and „*shopkeepers*" so a reader will tend to associate these groups with economic intentions. Mozambicans are also represented in a fairly sympathetic manner cross-corpora with this nationality collocating with words such as „*poverty*" (*City Press*), „*fled*" (*Mail & Guardian*) and „*refused*" (*Sunday Times*). The latter example refers to this group being refused amnesty and refugee status by various authorities and contributes to the positioning of Mozambican migrants as disempowered.

The portrayal of Nigerian migrants, however, contrasts starkly to that of the other nationalities which is particularly noteworthy. Nigerians are associated with transgressions and crime and this is illustrated with the collocations in *City Press* which link this group to the word „*arrested*". The *Sunday Times* corpus also depicts Nigerians in a similarly criminalised way with two of the collocates „*Sandton*" and „*Cele*". In isolation, these words are ambiguous but in context they refer to National Police Commissioner Bheki Cele who blames Nigerians in various reports for being behind drug syndicates that have infiltrated South Africa. Cele is quoted as saying "*We are being targeted by **international criminals**, who are [making] factories of **drugs** in South Africa. They all come from **Nigeria** and live in Sandton*" (*Sunday Times* 7 dec 2009.2.txt). The high expressive modality in this statement is emphasised by the use of the simple present tense and there is an underlying generalisation about this nationality which can have far-reaching implications with regard to local South Africans" attitudes towards this group. It is noteworthy that this particular article goes on to quote a representative of the Centre for the Study of Violence & Reconciliation as saying there is no research that backs Cele"s statements about Nigerians. It is significant that statements such as these are reproduced critically and with social commentary and analysis by journalists in order to counter potentially harmful stereotypes and generalisations.

The Venn diagram below symbolises the relationship between the three main terms of reference and nationalities as generated from all three corpora.

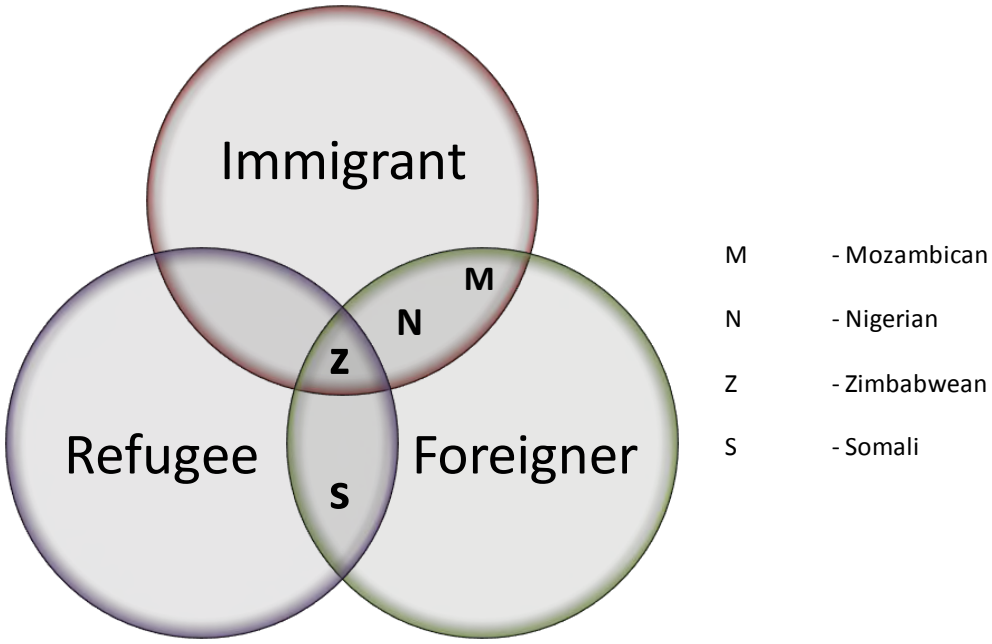


Figure 5: Relationship between terms of reference and demonyms

This illustrates that Mozambicans and Nigerians are referred to in the corpora as „immigrants" and „foreigners" whilst Somalis are referred to jointly as „refugees" and „foreigners". Only Zimbabweans are classified using all three terms which is telling in that it points to the prevalence of this nationality in the press. In each of the three newspapers, over half of their reference to African demonyms or countries is to Zimbabweans and Zimbabwe. The post-2006 emigration from Zimbabwe into South Africa and neighbouring countries due to its political situation accounts for the preoccupation with this country across all three newspapers.

4.4.4 *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* collocates with the term 'immigrant'

The table below shows the „immigrant" collocations generated from the *Mail & Guardian* corpus and reflects similar patterns to the *City Press* collocate results (cf. 4.3.2). Again, „illegal" and „undocumented" are statistically highly probable in an environment with the node term „immigrant" and in this corpus, the re-wording of the term „illegal" with the use of the term „undocumented"

further encodes a negative expressive value of criminality and makes it difficult for a migrant to be considered part of a local community as a valid „resident".

Rank:	Frequency:	Mutual Information (MI):	Collocates:
1	30	8.95	***illegal***
2	6	8.22	***undocumented***
3	4	7.63	resident
4	29	6.1	***African***
5	10	6.09	***Zimbabwean***

Table 18: „Immigrant" collocations from *Mail & Guardian*

The association between the term „immigrant" and the connotations it evokes is a powerful vehicle of ideology and contributes to the non-neutrality of the term itself. All three newspapers have their highest collocate result as „illegal" when combined with the node „immigrant" with their MI measures at 8.9. This is noteworthy because the combination of „illegal" and „immigrant" encodes a negative expressive value. Thus, „immigrant", which formerly was considered the more neutral term of reference, starts to change in connotation as a direct result of the company it keeps in the corpora. A significant trend with all three newspapers is the reference made to African migrants and more specifically to „Zimbabweans" as collocates of the term „immigrant". It is thus pertinent that there is a clear link between the term „immigrant" and the nationality „Zimbabwean" whereas the nodes „refugee" and „foreigner" make reference to „Africans" in general (cf. 4.4.3).

Rank:	Frequency:	Mutual Information (MI):	Collocates:
1	27	8.89	***illegal***
2	3	7.96	increasing
3	3	7.72	influx
4	3	7.61	deported
5	9	6.98	Zimbabwean

Table 19: „Immigrant" collocations from *Sunday Times*

It is important to note that the collocates with the term „immigrant" from all three newspapers reveal a link between migrants and their „status" in the country in terms of being „illegal" or „undocumented" (cf. 4.2) and the additional link in the *Sunday Times* corpus to being „deported" following these conditions. The legality of migrant communities is fronted here as one of the text producers" preoccupations and by classifying migrants as „illegal", they are polarised as „wrong" and thus a text receiver"s attitude towards them becomes inherently negative and hostile.

4.4.5 *Mail & Guardian* collocates with the term 'foreigner'

Rank:	Frequency:	Mutual Information (MI):	Collocates:
1	3	8.26	detains
2	4	8.09	makwerekwe
3	3	7.94	prevented
4	3	7.67	***targets***
5	3	7.67	***stereotypes***

Table 20: „Foreigner" collocations from *Mail & Guardian*

An additional point of interest is the collocation in *Mail & Guardian* between „foreigners", „targets" and „stereotypes" and these collocates align themselves well to what Harris (2002) terms the scapegoating hypothesis. As emphasised earlier, (cf. 2.3.5 and 4.4.2) this theory links antagonism towards foreigners directly to scarcity of resources. In this context it is common for people to create a frustration-scapegoat to blame for their poverty and because foreigners can be seen as threats to these limited resources, they become these scapegoats. The following examples illustrate the link between stereotypes of migrant communities and the resultant targeting of these groups:

- "... the ***stereotypes*** of foreigners being corrupt and dangerous add to them being mistrusted and persecuted" (*Mail & Guardian* 2006-10-03-somalis-live-in-fear-south-africa.txt)

- "Masebe also played into ***stereotypes*** about foreigners as a source of crime, hinting that those who didn"t want to register were reluctant to do so because there were „other things" which made them reluctant to have their fingerprints taken" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-07-28-out-in-the-cold-once-again.txt)

- "Of late, hate attacks have tended to ***target*** Zimbabweans and Somalis" (*Mail & Guardian* 2007-01-28-rise-in-xenophobia-tarnishes-sas-image.txt)

- "Many foreigners were ***targeted*** in mob attacks" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-19-gauteng-reels-under-xenophobic-attacks.txt)

A final point to be made here is the inherent nature of violence and aggression that is encoded in the collocate „target". The Oxford English Dictionary defines a „target" as "a person who is the object of a security or espionage operation... one kept under surveillance" (2010) and it is associated with calculated attacks, crime and hostility thus positioning migrants as victimised. This is reported on in the next theme, Section 4.5, which considers the intrinsic link between xenophobia and physical violence.

4.4.6 Summary of Theme 3 ideology

Overall, it is evident that the loss of both a means of income (taking jobs) and partners (taking women) is a threat to naturalised patriarchal and heteronormative masculinities in the South African context and these ideologies are encoded in all three newspaper corpora. The link between sex and violence has been acknowledged in the body of literature on masculinities in South Africa (Crous 2007 and Gear 2007) and in this competitive space, "the female body becomes simply a commodity to be secured by the highest bidder" (Nkealah 2008: 10). Although it is not always clear which gender is being represented in the newspaper articles, when female migrants are referred to this is often accompanied with sympathetic commentary- both from the stakeholders in reported or direct speech and from the newspaper journalists themselves. This contrasts greatly with the majority of the portrayals of the male migrant who is instead seen as more of a threat to South Africa's resources and depicted as violent and criminal.

It is also noteworthy that within the superordinate category „migrant" there are further distinctions and hyponyms linked to the „criminal" or the „victim". These are based on the various terminologies used to refer to migrants as well as their nationalities and countries of origin. For this reason, the different countries themselves start to take on various associations with sympathetic connotations linked to Zimbabweans and Mozambicans, connotations of „victimised" and entrepreneurial Somalis and negative associations towards Nigerians with representations of this group linked to criminality;

specifically drug-related crimes. These portrayals undoubtedly shape individuals‟ attitudes towards the various nationalities in sympathetic, tolerant and thus positive ways or alternatively in suspicious, prejudiced and thus negative ways.

4.5 THEME 4: MIGRANTS AS DEVIANT, BRUTAL AND CONTAMINATED VERSUS XENOPHOBIA AS DEVIANT, BRUTAL AND CONTAMINATED

This theme considers two opposing ideologies underlying migrant discourse – the first ideology viewing migrants as abnormal, violent and contaminated and an opposing ideology instead viewing xenophobia as abnormal, violent and metaphorically contaminated. I discuss each of these ideologies in turn.

Migrants as deviant, brutal and contaminated

To begin with, research in a South African context (McDonald and Jacobs 2005; Harris 2001, 2002 and Crush 2001, 2003) has emphasised that traditional and dominant discourse on migrants and migration positions migrants as deviant and „others‟ migrants in various ways with an „us‟ versus „them‟ separation.

4.5.1 Corpora word frequencies

The most common means of othering individuals in the texts was through the use of the personal pronouns; „us‟, „we‟, „them‟ and „you‟. Full lists of these word frequencies are included in Appendices 4A, 4B and 4C. Selected extracts from the five highest ranked word frequencies are reflected in the table that follows and these lists are highlighted in this section for ease of reference. It is important to note that because I do not compare frequency figures directly between the three newspapers for a word frequency consideration, these results do not need to be normalised. Rather, my focus was on the extent to which the newspapers incorporated methods of „othering‟ language within their own publication.

CP		
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Content word:**
1	*844*	***they***
2	*691*	***we***
3	*602*	***their***
4	*485*	people
5	*351*	home
MG		
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Content word:**
1	*924*	***they***
2	*765*	people
3	*655*	***we***
4	*619*	***their***
5	*498*	government
ST		
Rank:	**Frequency:**	**Content word:**
1	*444*	***they***
2	*430*	***we***
3	*306*	***their***
4	218	government
5	*180*	police

Table 21: Word frequencies from the three newspaper corpora

The data that emerged as a result of building the word frequency tables show that all three newspapers have the pronouns „they", „we" and „their" in similar ranks in their corpora. Thus, three of the top five words are personal pronouns. It is widely accepted that discourse on migrants and on migration encodes various means of inclusivity and exclusivity and this is best exemplified with the use of personal pronouns. In this study I focused on the pronouns *we/us* and *they/them* as my main schema for social categorisation based on the context surrounding their use. These pronouns are generally associated with issues of inclusion and exclusion as well as in-group and out-group dynamics (Oktar 2001). Some examples of these from the *City Press* corpus include:

- "These foreigners, if ***we*** should call ***them*** that, are here in search of a better life" (*City Press* 2006 01 08.txt)

- "***We*** no longer want foreigners here, ***they*** are taking ***our*** women, ***our*** jobs and ***our*** lives" (*City Press* 2006 01 08.2.txt)

Here, the „we" is inclusive for the ideal reader (a South African citizen) as it conveys solidarity with the general South African public. The use of this pronoun creates synthetic personalisation between the text producer and the text receiver. Fairclough (2001: 52) defines this as "a compensatory tendency to give the impression of treating each of the people „handled" en masse as an individual" and thus constructs an assimilated friendship between the reader and producer. This often has ideological implications with a text receiver being more likely to align themselves to ideologies encoded in a text as „ideal readers" when a rapport has been established between them and the text producer.

The „they" reference in the example above is clearly to an „outsider" or „out-group member". This *us* versus *them* polarisation regulates the in-group as well as the out-group. Thus, the use of reported, as well as direct, pronouns within a text is central in the process of ascertaining what a journalist is trying to convey as well as what their intentions are with regard to their positioning of migrants and local citizens. Examples of the pronouns *we* and *they* given above are necessary in the understanding of power relations in a text and the ideological influence linked to these relations. This emphasises the idea that language is an instrument of control as well as of communication.

- "There is nothing at home, so ***we*** have to come here. The conditions are bad but this is where ***we*** get everything" (*City Press* 2006 06 11.2.txt)

This example shows the use of the pronoun „we" again in an exclusive manner but this time, as part of the migrant „voice". This use of pronouns, therefore, also serves to bring other „voices" into a text and thus offer alternative perspectives contributing the a text"s intertextuality. It is thus important to question whether other voices are in fact being taken into account in texts, or if they are they simply referred to. This forms the basis of my discussion as part of Section 4.6.

The word „people" is a significant one to analyse in light of the ethos of the *City Press* newspaper. *City Press* maintains that it is the *„people's paper"* and as such, it is appropriate that a substantial amount of the reporting focuses on the community. This term again has dual reference – both to

local South African citizens and migrant communities as can be seen in the two examples that follow:

- "***Our people*** still have to wait for years to get those incorrect IDs fixed. It has now become clear to all that (fake) IDs can be bought in a short space of time and illegal immigrants can get them easily" (*City Press* 2006 11 25.txt)

- "It‟s important that we go back there and explain to ***those people*** why we behaved that way because we were helped by other Africans to destroy Apartheid" (*City Press* 2008 06 23.2.txt)

What is noteworthy here is that in both examples, „people‟ is accompanied by inclusive and exclusive pronouns "our" and "those". This again signals the *us* and *them* polarisation which aligns itself with dominant discourse on migrants and migration and signals an underlying ideology of nationalism with „our people‟ referring to local South Africans.

Xenophobia and the xenophobic as deviant, brutal and contaminated

Despite the overt othering of migrants throughout the newspaper corpora, the data in this study reveals that migrants are not always depicted as deviant and it is often the xenophobic individuals as well as xenophobic attitudes and behaviours that are instead fronted as inappropriate.

4.5.2 *City Press* and *Sunday Times collocates with the term* 'foreigner'

Rank:	Frequency:	Mutual Information (MI):	Collocates:
1	5	8.48	***rid***
2	3	8.40	***treat***
3	4	8.16	bribed
4	7	8.10	issued
5	3	7.74	centres

Table 22: „Foreigner‟ collocations from *City Press*

Table 22 illustrates the top five collocates of the node „foreigner" from the *City Press* corpus. This shows that two of the most frequent lexical combinations with the word „foreigner" include „rid", and „treat". In context, the following examples will be discussed:

- "They would stop at nothing ***to get rid of*** foreigners in their area" (*City Press* 2006 01 08.2.txt)

- "The Mozambican national was attacked by a group of angry community members who were on a mission ***to get rid of*** foreigners" (*City Press* 2008 05 19 (2).txt)

- "... moves were afoot ***to get rid of*** illegal foreigners" (*City Press* 2008 05 19.2 (2).txt)

- "One of the marchers, Godisa Maleka, said that while he understood the motivation to ***rid*** the country of foreigners, he was against the brutal methods that had marked the attacks" (*City Press* 2008 06 02.4.txt)

This expression „to get rid of" dominates these extracts and again links to the asymmetrical power relations in this context with the powerful in a position to „rid" themselves and their communities of migrants. There is underlying aggression in this term as again it depicts migrants as a nuisance and a burden. There is thus an indirect link between the underlying ideology encoded in these examples with that of the realised treatment of migrants. This is illustrated as follows:

- "SA ***treats*** illegal migrants badly" (*City Press* 2007 03 04.2.txt)

- "Don't let your immigration officials ***treat*** us brutally when we try to cross your borders" (*City Press* 2007 07 19.txt)

- "This country will someday pay for the ***inhumane treatment*** it has shown towards African foreigners unless something is done about it" (*City Press* 2009 06 13.txt)

These examples take agency away from migrants because they are being *treated* rather than enacting the *treating* themselves. This is subtly showing the powerlessness that these individuals have in certain communities in South Africa and contributes to their representations as disenfranchised and disempowered.

Rank:	Frequency:	Mutual Information (MI):	Collocates:
1	6	7.92	housed
2	3	7.70	***alight***
3	8	7.67	deportation
4	5	7.54	anti
5	24	7.53	displaced

Table 23: „Foreigner" collocations from *Sunday Times*

A final consideration of collocates and collocate patterning in this theme regards the *Sunday Times* corpus as reflected in Table 23 which shows the link between „foreigner" and „alight". In context it is clear that this refers to the brutal violence inflicted by the local community on the migrant community as can be seen in the examples that follow:

- "Members of the SAPS attempted to extinguish a man that was set ***alight*** during xenophobic attacks" (*Sunday Times* 1 sep 2009.11.txt)

- "... three shops belonging to foreigners were set ***alight***" (*Sunday Times* 8 feb 2010.txt)

The prevalence of this collocation suggests the extent to which xenophobic violence has become part of the South African landscape („culture of violence" cf. 2.2) and all current bodies of literature detailing xenophobia in South Africa conclude that violence against African migrants will continue to increase unless some profound changes in attitude and socio-economic climate occur (Everatt 2010).

4.5.3 The use of metaphorical language

In this section I return to a focus on metaphors as outlined in Section 4.3.1 with Mawadza and Crush's (2010) metaphor classification scheme. Again, my additions to this scheme, based on revelations from the data in this study, are indicated with „*". What is significant about these metaphors is that they all attribute negative expressive value to xenophobia as a phenomenon rather than to migrant individuals and communities. The metaphors drawn on in this discussion include metaphors related to the military with processes of *battle* and *fighting*, metaphors which depict

xenophobia as a *sickness* or *outbreak* which needs to be *uprooted* and link xenophobia to the scatological and taboo through metaphors of sexual deviance and self-indulgence.

TYPES OF METAPHORS:	***CP***	***MG***	***ST***
Military metaphors – battling	✓	✓	✓
Military metaphors – fighting	✓	✓	✓
Military metaphors – foreign invasion	×	×	×
*** The link between migration and contamination/disease/illness/outbreak**	✓	✓	✓
*** The link between migration and the process of uprooting**	✓	×	✓
*** The link between migration and the sexually deviant**	✓	✓	✓

Table 24: Metaphors depicting xenophobic attitudes and actions

a) Military metaphors to 'fight' xenophobia

Military metaphors in South African reporting on migration incorporate three basic elements. Mawadza and Crush (2010) outline these as follows:

1. The country is experiencing an unwanted „invasion" by hostile forces
2. The country is engaged in a fight and a battle against migration
3. The invaders consume resources and deprive citizens of what is rightfully theirs

Language and imagery of the military is common in dominant discourse on migration, particularly in light of the xenophobic violence in 2008. South African press coverage of migration contains a large amount of images and claims about the burden that the „invasion" of migrants places on local South Africans (Danso and McDonald 2001) with both figurative and literal battles between the state and migrants as well as between migrants and local communities. What is significant is that exact statistics about the numbers of migrants currently in the country are hard to establish and thus in the absence of these numbers, the media tends to provide their own statistics which are often highly inflated and exaggerated.

Examples of where the corpora draw on militaristic language and metaphors include the following:

- "A ***battle*** between South Africans and immigrants over who gets the houses will only prolong the crisis" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-17-xenophobic-attacks-spread-in-gauteng.txt)

- "... soldiers had been placed on stand-by to support the police in its ***battle*** to curb the violence" (*City Press* 2008 05 26.3.txt)

- "South Africa‟s government acknowledged an urgent need to step up the ***fight*** against poverty and unemployment in the wake of the mob violence" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-31-toll-from-xenophobic-attacks-rises.txt)

The first example above shows migration as an invasion with local members of the community needing to compete with migrants for various resources. This is a dominant theme in discourse on migration and enforces negative public views of the migration process as a result. The next two examples are disconfirming evidence to the assumption that all military metaphors encode negative attitudes towards migrants. These extracts are thus remarkable in that they are similarly part of a militaristic metaphor, but instead of encoding negative expressive value they work to counter this negativity with an ideology of *fighting* the prejudice and *fighting* circumstances that encourage anti-migrant sentiment. This is noteworthy because in the same way that „invasion‟ metaphors influence a text receiver, these metaphors will also serve to influence a receiver‟s perceptions of issues relating to migration.

However, despite this small amount of ideological contestation, the majority of these metaphors do in fact position migrants as heavy burdens on South Africa‟s housing, welfare, education and health services.

b) Xenophobia as sickness and disease

In dominant discourse on migration, migrants are positioned as threats to the viability and stability of „the nation‟ by endangering its physical and moral health and its provision of services and employment (Mawadza and Crush 2010). Thus, metaphors linked to contamination and disease may evoke feelings of being threatened in local South African readers. However, what I found in all three newspapers was that it was not the migrants or migrant communities who were being associated

with this contamination but rather the negative attitudes towards them and thus xenophobia was being represented in terms of „illness" and „outbreak". Some examples of this include:

- "It's an African ***sickness***, a greater African ***disease***. The attacks on our foreign brothers should be read as a serious indictment on not only the South African government but Zimbabwe and the whole of Africa" (*City Press* 2008 06 16.2.txt)

- "The recent ***outbreak*** of xenophobia-related violence follows numerous such attacks" (*City Press* 2008 05 26 (2).txt)

- "Housing policy was identified as an important trigger for the ***outbreak*** of xenophobic attacks" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-10-22-housing-a-factor-in-xenophobic-attacks-says-report.txt)

- "The false belief that foreigners were responsible for this week's brutal murder of three-year-old Ayola Adonis has led to a fresh ***outbreak*** of xenophobic violence in Western Cape" (*Sunday Times* 1 sep 2009.7.txt)

This finding goes against the mainstream discourse on migrants and challenges this discourse with negative representations of anti-migrant feelings, therefore ideologically contesting dominant discourse. Human thought is constructed with images that represent reality and these images are most effectively represented through the use of metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). For this reason, our attitudes and values are inherently linked to the ideologies we absorb in our day-to-day lives. Linked to this „outbreak" then, is the additional metaphor of „uprooting" and this is best exemplified in the following extract:

- "Xenophobia, just like tribalism, is a dangerous sickness that we need to ***uproot*** and speak out against" (*City Press* 2008 02 11.2.txt)

In traditional discourse on migration, a metaphor of „alien" vegetation is drawn on which is depicted as a threat to the viability of indigenous plants. Thus, campaigns to root out and destroy „alien" species have been a constant, high-profile feature of post-Apartheid South African media with similar language of threat and contamination used to describe migrants as „alien". What is significant here is that in these corpora, there are no references to this *uprooting* process of migrants, but rather

to *uprooting* prejudiced ideologies in the form of xenophobia, demonstrating that there has been a shift in ideological focus of these newspapers with regard to their reporting on these issues.

c) Xenophobia as sexually deviant

A final metaphor to report on is one that has not previously been noted in existing research on metaphorical language in migrant discourse. This is the use of what I term „scatological metaphors" which signal a preoccupation with self-indulgence and sexual deviance in all three corpora. Because of the significance of this finding, I include substantial evidence of this metaphor from each of the three newspapers as illustrated below.

- "Local residents believe that ***the orgy of violence*** that saw several shacks belonging to Zimbabwean immigrants set alight was triggered by the fatal stabbing of a local hair salon owner" (*City Press* 2006 01 08.2.txt)

- "***The orgy of violence*** in Alexandra must force all right-thinking South Africans to bury their heads in shame because we, more than many other nations, should know better" (*City Press* 2008 05 17.2.txt)

- "Mobs armed with knives, stones and in some cases guns, set upon mostly African immigrants in a two-week ***orgy of violence***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-06-04-sa-unemployment-seen-keeping-tensions-high.txt)

- "Many were targeted in ***the orgy of xenophobic violence*** that swept across four South African cities" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-06-15-a-view-from-nigeria.txt)

- "Two people were killed and more than 40 injured as Johannesburg's Alexandra township exploded in ***an orgy of xenophobic violence*** in the past two days" (*Sunday Times* 1 sep 2009.9.txt)

In modern usage, an orgy is defined in terms of promiscuity as an assorted sexual activity or "excessive indulgence in something especially to satisfy an inordinate appetite or craving" (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary 2010) with a common expression being „an *orgy* of destruction". The concept of an orgy in Western culture also carries an association of unrestrained and outlandish behaviour and is deeply rooted in negative and deviant connotations. In this context, the term is referring to the xenophobic violence that is linked to migrant communities and thus there

is a link between this violence and deviant behaviour. This conveys an important message to readers that xenophobia is a dispreferred and non status-quo ideology. The element of meaning suggested by this metaphor is one of excess and self-indulgence with an underlying assumption that those responsible for xenophobic violence actually luxuriate in it and enjoy an extended period of violence involving multiple people. Resolving conflict and problems through violence has long been a major part of South African culture. This relates to the notion of „a culture of violence" (cf. 2.2) in the country and is often drawn on to locate aggressive behaviour at both individual and societal levels.

4.5.4 Summary of Theme 4 ideology

There are two contrasting ideologies that emerge from this theme. The first ideology „others" migrants and there is an underlying assumption that these groups are abnormal, deviant and contaminated. The discussion in Section 4.3 which reports on migration as an uncontrolled and unstoppable process contributes to this ideology overall. Additionally, through this ideology migrants are presented as unwelcome and hostile. The opposing ideology in this theme, however, sees xenophobia as a dispreferred attitude and behaviour and positions a reader (with regard to their normality framework) as seeing xenophobia metaphorically as deviant, violent and an "African sickness". All three newspapers draw on both sets of metaphors in their reporting and it is significant to note that the ideology of xenophobia as negative and abnormal contests dominant and traditional discourse on migrants and migration and is seen to be more prevalent following the 2008 xenophobic violence. Initiatives such as "Roll Back Xenophobia" use these means of metaphorical language in order to encode a forceful viewpoint that such prejudice needs to be eradicated from the South African landscape. These ideologies are thus able to position readers – either as resistant to xenophobic discourse, or as ideal readers who align themselves with the xenophobic rhetoric encoded in these negative metaphors.

4.6 THEME 5: STAKEHOLDER AND SOCIETAL INVOLVEMENT IN DISCOURSE ON MIGRANTS AND MIGRATION

In light of the theme in Section 4.2, which considers the predominant use of terminology to refer to migrants, it became necessary to look deeper at these statistics with regard to exactly who was using

the various terms to refer to migrants and migrant communities with a consideration of their potential vested interests and intentions. It was therefore not sufficient to merely state that the whole *City Press* corpus makes use of the term „refugee" 1.46 times (per thousand words) compared to 5.04 in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus and 3.06 in the *Sunday Times* corpus. Instead, a closer inspection of the stakeholders being quoted was needed and for this reason I looked at each instance of the term (immigrant, refugee and foreigner) to determine who was quoted directly as using these categories. In order to classify the various stakeholders involved in the newspaper articles, I used a classification scheme outlined by The Media Monitoring Africa Organisation (2010). This was formerly known as the Media Monitoring Project and is an organisation that was established in 1993 to promote democracy and human rights through the media. According to its website, it "acts in a watchdog role to promote ethical and fair journalism that supports human rights" (Media Monitoring Africa 2010: 1). Table 25 below shows the list of classifications that were used in my research which highlights sectors of the government, political parties and civil society.

1	National Government
2	Provincial Government
3	Political Parties
4	Commissions/Funders
5	Academic/Research organisations
6	Non-Government Organisation (NGO) / Community-Based Organisation (CBO)
7	Unions
8	Justice System (including lawyers, law firms, mediators, court system)
9	Media
10	Corporations
11	International representatives/groups/organisations
12*[7]	**South African Police**
13*	**Private Security companies**
14*	**Church/religious groups**
15*	**Volunteers**
16*	**Local members of community**
17*	**Migrants/migrant communities**
18*	**Well-known personalities/celebrities**

Table 25: Classification of stakeholders in my study

[7] Classifications 12* to 18* are my additional classifications that have been added to the original list

4.6.1 Stakeholders – direct quotations in *City Press*

Stakeholders:	*Immigrant*	*Freq.*	*Refugee*	*Freq.*	*Foreigner*	*Freq.*
National Government	**2**	**1.47**	**4**	**2.95**	**7**	**5.16**
Provincial Government			**1**	**0.74**	**1**	**0.74**
Political Parties (leftist)					**1**	**0.74**
Political Parties (rightist)						
Commissions/Funders						
Academic/Research org.					**2**	**1.47**
NGO and CBO	**2**	**1.47**	**7**	**5.16**	**2**	**1.47**
Unions					**3**	**2.21**
Justice/legal system					**3**	**2.21**
Media						
Corporations						
International reps.						
SA Police	**1**	**0.74**			**2**	**1.47**
Private Security Companies					**1**	**0.74**
Church/Religious org			**5**	**3.69**	**1**	**0.74**
Volunteers						
Local members of community	**2**	**1.47**			**7**	**5.16**
Migrants			**1**	**0.74**	**2**	**1.47**
Well-known personalities			**1**	**0.74**	**4**	**2.95**
TOTAL:	**7**		**19**		**36**	

Table 26: Stakeholders" direct quotes in *City Press*[8]

The information in Table 26 reflects *City Press"* use of the terms „immigrant", „refugee" and „foreigner" as direct quotations by the various stakeholders outlined in Table 25 (cf. 4.6). What is illustrated here is that in this corpus, the majority of direct quotations refer to the term „foreigner" over that of „refugee" and „immigrant" with a ratio of 36 occurrences (foreigner) to 19 occurrences (refugee) to 7 occurrences (immigrant) across relevant stakeholders.

[8] These results have been generated from Appendices 5 (A, B, C) and 6 (A, B, C) which provide all direct quotations from the corpora.

Out of the three newspapers, *City Press* makes the most reference to well-known personalities"/œlebrities" direct quotes, with a local fashion designer stating *"With the influx of **foreigners**, **refugees** and **asylum seekers** the church was always dirty and it was hard to worship there"* (*City Press* 2009 2 23.txt). The negative expressive value encoded in this sentence is offset with additional examples from a member of a popular Kwaito Afro-pop group called *Bongo Maffin* who states: *"The killings ... were part of a greater violence, one that targets women and children, **foreigners**, pensioners and the sick, the disadvantaged and the disable"* and *"**Foreigners** contribute to our economy just as locals do and they make the country better"* (*City Press* 2008 06 16.2.txt). The significance of these references is that *City Press* is considered to be the *peoples" paper* and is aimed at a young, urban black readership. Thus, the ideal readers for this publication are individuals who are up-to-date with fashion and music trends and thus interested in the associations with local fashion designers and singers. The inclusion of a well-known personality"s views and values is a significant tool in shaping readers" own world views and ideologies and persuades an ideal reader to align themselves with whatever message is being conveyed. In these examples, there is a dichotomy of attitude with both positive and negative views being revealed in the corpus. A possible explanation for this would be to consider the year that the extracts are taken from. The positive reference is taken from an article published in August of 2008- a mere two months following the most infamous of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. For this reason, the ideological focus of the article is on re-establishing good relations between migrant and local communities, hence the positive expressive value encoded in the abovementioned examples. The negative reference, on the other hand, is taken from an article published in February of 2009. At this point in time, reports were emerging regarding increasing statistics of migration into South Africa which arguably resulted in the resurgence of xenophobic-related attitudes and activity. In light of this context, an increasing negative attitude towards migrants and the process of migration would be realised and encoded in texts with high negative expressive value embedded in some newspaper articles.

A noteworthy trend within all three newspapers is that migrant individuals and migrant communities self-identify as both „refugees" and „foreigners" and avoid the term „immigrant" as shown in the examples that follow:

- "This ticket is all I have to show that I am who I said I am -- ***refugee*** who just arrived from Zimbabwe" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-25-is-this-the-end-of-rainbow-nation.txt)

- "I feel like a double ***refugee***. First I fled from the political instability in my country and now I am fleeing from angry South Africans" (*Sunday Times* 29 nov 2009.txt)

- "Being a ***foreigner*** they just compare you unnecessarily with others" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-06-29-caught-in-platinums-gleam.txt)

- "South Africa is not receptive to ***foreigners*** from Africa. I've lived here six years and it's never felt like home" (*Mail & Guardian* 2007-05-18-keeping-cool-as-a-khat.txt)

However, in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus there is disconfirming evidence that not all migrants accept the identity associated with the term „foreigner". "*We are African. We are from this soil.* ***I am not a foreigner*** *... and this soil is Africa*" (2008-06-03-they-are-terrorised-traumatised.txt). The expressive modality here is high in terms of the speaker's certainty – he does not want to be called a foreigner and does not self-identify as a foreigner and this surety is signalled by the use of the simple present tense. However, it is clear from this extract that this speaker does not want to be associated with any migrant category as he stresses his personal ownership of the *African soil*. Thus, it is not the case that he merely rejects the reference „foreigner"; this individual rejects all classifications which remove his sense of belonging and claim to the land. I found it particularly surprising that migrants self-identified as „foreigner" rather than „immigrant" as the former term traditionally has negative expressive value encoded within it due to the presupposition that if you are „foreign", there is non-assimilation into the citizenship of the country. However, in light of the link between terminology and discourse prosody, it becomes clear that the term „immigrant" is becoming increasingly associated with the collocate „illegal" which perhaps accounts for the semantic pejoration evident in the classification „immigrant" which has formerly been considered a fairly neutral term. Thus, this would account for migrants favouring the term „foreigner" over „immigrant".

An additional trend cross-newspaper is the term of reference for migrants drawn on by South African citizens who are classified as local members of the community in Table 25. The newspapers front these individuals and community representatives as again favouring the term „foreigner" to refer to migrants. The majority of these references, however, encode negative expressive value with examples such as:

- "We no longer want ***foreigners*** here, they are taking our women, our jobs and our lives" (*City Press* 2006 01 08.2.txt)

- "I think the burning of that man sent a strong message that we do not want ***foreigners*** here" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-07-03-displaced-foreigners-still-too-scared-to-return.txt)

- "Why are ***foreigners*** the beneficiaries of houses when they don"t even belong in South Africa?" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-11-12-residents-spurn-aid.txt)

- "We"re going to burn him if he doesn"t leave. He"s a ***foreigner*** and has no rights to this shack" (*Sunday Times* 14 may 2008.txt)

For these stakeholders, there appears to be a direct link between the term „foreigner" and the association of „outsider" and the ideological assumption encoded in this reference when used by local citizens is that „outsiders" have no right or claim to employment, shelter or inter-ethnic relationships. Furthermore, a trend with the *City Press* corpus is that this term of reference is associated with church groups and religious organisations. This corpus uses direct quotations from church pastors and religious spokespeople that use „refugee" as the term of reference. The two examples that follow are taken from Bishop Verryn of the Ray of Hope Church in Gauteng.

- "For long most ***refugees*** and asylum seekers have been exploited by employers knowing they were always on the run from the police." (*City Press* 2009 04 06 (2).txt)

- "I didn"t foresee the ***refugee*** situation when we first opened the church"s door" (*City Press* 2009 12 14 (2).txt)

According to the 2001 census, the overwhelming majority of South Africans, that is, 79.8%, are Christian. The independent African Zion Christian churches predominate, being the faith of 15.3% of the total population and 19.2% of all Christians (MediaClub 2009). What this means is that in all likelihood the ideal readers of the *City Press* newspaper subscribe to Christian ideologies which would account for the exclusive reference to Christian organisations who are given a „voice" in this corpus. It is important to emphasise at this point that these results do not suggest that the stakeholders themselves exclusively prefer these terms of reference but that it is the newspapers who are consciously selecting these particular quotations to publish. This therefore signals the newspaper journalists" and editors" preoccupations and underlying ideological assumptions through the linguistic choices they are making. These assumptions are both about migrant communities as well as about the relevant stakeholder involvement in discourse about migration.

4.6.2 Stakeholders – direct quotations in *Mail & Guardian*

Stakeholders:	*Immigrant*	*Freq.*	*Refugee*	*Freq.*	*Foreigner*	*Freq.*
National Government	**2**	**1.52**	**4**	**3.03**	**11**	**8.34**
Provincial Government			**9**	**6.83**	**11**	**8.34**
Political Parties (leftist)			**4**	**3.03**	**4**	**3.03**
Political Parties (rightist)						
Commissions/Funders						
Academic/Research org.	**3**	**2.28**	**3**	**2.28**	**10**	**7.58**
NGO and CBO	**1**	**0.76**	**10**	**7.58**	**12**	**9.1**
Unions	**4**	**3.03**				
Justice/legal system	**1**	**0.76**	**6**	**4.55**	**7**	**5.31**
Media						
Corporations						
International reps.	**1**	**0.76**	**1**	**0.76**	**5**	**3.79**
SA Police	**1**	**0.76**			**8**	**6.07**
Private Security Companies						
Church/Religious org			**2**	**1.52**		
Volunteers			**1**	**0.76**		
Local members of community			**1**	**0.76**	**16**	**12.14**
Migrants			**4**	**3.03**	**11**	**8.34**
Well-known personalities	**1**	**0.76**			**1**	**0.76**
TOTAL:	**14**		**45**		**96**	

Table 27: Stakeholders‟ direct quotes in *Mail & Guardian*[9]

The information in Table 27 reflects the *Mail & Guardian* corpus‟ use of the terms „immigrant‟, „refugee‟ and „foreigner‟ as direct quotations by the various stakeholders outlined in Table 25 (cf. 4.6). What is significant from the outset, is that this newspaper makes the most use of direct quotations with 14 direct quotations linked to the term „immigrant‟, 45 to the term „refugee‟ and a staggering 96 to the term „foreigner‟. This makes a total of 155 direct quotations in the corpus which

[9] These results have been generated from Appendices 5 (A, B, C) and 6 (A, B, C) which provide all direct quotations from the corpora.

doubles both other corpora with the *Sunday Times* incorporating 69 direct quotations followed closely by *City Press* with 62 direct quotations. This is noteworthy because it reflects the intertextuality of the texts which is the shaping of their meanings through the use of other frames of reference. Fairclough (2003: 39) suggests that "in its most obvious sense, intertextuality is the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text – quotations" and these serve to bring other „voices" into a text and thus offer alternative perspectives. Under the guise of offering these alternative perspectives, text producers are often subjective about the types of „voice" they include. It is therefore important to question whether other voices are in fact being taken into account, or if they are they simply referred to. Very simply, the number of direct quotations used in a text can cue a critical reader to this. In the context of media discourse, discourse representation accounts for a major part of what news is: representations of what newsworthy people have said. As a more „liberal" publication, the *Mail & Guardian* self-professes to provide analytical, in-depth feature articles which critique social and political structures in South Africa "without deviating from [their] former humanist philosophy" (*Mail & Guardian* Online 2010). In light of this, it is appropriate that this newspaper emphasises explicit means of intertextuality giving voice to the majority of the stakeholders listed in Table 25 (cf. 4.6) as can be seen in the examples below:

- "We further believe that ***foreigners*** should not be viewed and treated as inferior beings" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-13-xenophobic-attacks-an-assault-on-democr.txt)
  The Young Communist League (YCL)

- "The solution is not convoluted ... people simply need to understand that ***foreigners*** are an asset and this needs political leadership" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-21-xenophobia-mbeki-gives-nod-to-army.txt)
  Institute for Democracy in South Africa

- "We are providing aid in the form of food parcels, blankets, sanitary packs and clothing to ***refugees***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-19-gauteng-reels-under-xenophobic-attacks.txt)
  Red Cross Organisation

- "People"s frustration is understandable, but there can be no excuse for placing the blame for these problems on ***immigrants***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-13-xenophobic-attacks-an-assault-on-democracy.txt)
  Congress of South African Trade Unions

According to its website, part of The *Mail & Guardian"s* mandate is to provide political and government analysis by means of investigative reporting (*Mail & Guardian* Online 2010). For this reason it is appropriate that a substantial amount of direct quotations are taken from National and Provincial Government representatives as well as Political Party representatives. A few of these are illustrated below:

- "Most policies involving ***foreigners*** are created at a national level but implemented at a local level. This necessitates communication throughout all three tiers of government" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-02-07-lack-of-understanding-cited-in-discussion-on-refugees.txt)
  Johannesburg City Council

- "It is not the first time we have suspended the deportation of ***undocumented immigrants***. We feel as the government [that] we can"t take advantage of people who have been displaced" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-26-minister-xenophobic-violence-under-control.txt)
  Department of Home Affairs

- "The killings in Atteridgeville earlier this year and recent attacks on Somalis and others are an attack not only on ***foreigners***, but are an assault on the values of our democratic society" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-13-xenophobic-attacks-an-assault-on-democracy.txt)
  African National Congress (ANC)

- "It [the ANC] cannot face the fact that the state"s failure to stem the tide of illegal immigration and the almost total incapacity to process the wave of ***refugee*** applications was the short-term catalyst for the violence" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-24-sa-knew-of-xenophobia-threat-says-kasrils.txt)
  Democratic Alliance

Furthermore, it is significant to note that the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper gives the most substantial „voice" to migrant individuals and migrant communities as compared to *City Press* and *Sunday Times.* Again, this reflects the „liberal" mandate of the newspaper. In addition to a migrant individual and community „voice" in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus, there is also considerable reference to international representatives, groups and organisations directly involved in migrant affairs. Some examples of direct quotations taken from these groups are as follows:

- "Generally, the atmosphere among South Africans is that they are sceptical of ***foreigners***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2006-10-03-somalis-live-in-fear-south-africa.txt)
  Somali Association of South Africa

- "Two months is too short for any of the ***refugees*** to find their own housing" (*Mail & Guardian* 2009-03-04-somali-refugees-fear-further-xenophobic-attacks.txt)
  International Immigration Services

- "The ***refugees*** have no resources. We help each other out at times" (*Mail & Guardian* 2009-06-19-sa-officials-assaulted-zim-refugees-claims-mdc.txt)
  Zimbabwean Movement for Democratic Change

- "We are trying our best to see to it there are no more attacks on ***foreigners***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2009-07-25-sa-on-alert-for-xenophobic-violence.txt)
  Somali Association of South Africa

Again, by including these perspectives, the texts are acknowledging the contributions of migrant organisations and this is ideologically significant because it opens up difference by bringing various other viewpoints into a text. It is therefore necessary to consider what texts and voices are included, which are excluded, and what significant absences there are. On this note and with regard to the *City Press* corpus, there is limited inclusion of a migrant „voice" and no reference to migrant organisations or international migrant representatives. This suggests that the attitudes represented in this corpus are generalised in-group ones rather than more inclusive perspectives. The effect of this way of reporting gives an impression of consensus amongst the various groups, even though it is unlikely that such a consensus really exists. It does not allow a reader to challenge the inherent ideologies from the quoted stakeholders but rather perpetuates the negative dominant discourses of migration.

A final consideration in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus is the reference made to Non-Government Organisations and Community-Based Organisations. These operate independently from the government and tend to pursue some wider social orientation that has political implications. Some of these include charitable orientation, service orientation, participatory orientation and empowering orientation (Non Profit Expert website 2010).

As part of the *Mail & Guardian* refugee collocation in Section 4.2.2, there is a link between this term and Non-Government Organisations such as the United Nations and the High Commission for Refugees. *Mail & Guardian* makes the most reference to these stakeholders which is significant because these groups not only contribute to general welfare and provide an array of social services,

but also try to influence the dissymmetrical power structures in society. The example quotations below illustrate the role that both NGOs and CBOs play in a societal context.

- "I have been to many ***refugee*** camps and situations and this definitely is along those lines... this reminds me of a ***refugee*** situation" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-19-mob-violence-sweeps-gauteng.txt)
  Medicine Sans Frontiers

- "The UNHCR defines a ***refugee*** as someone who is outside his or her native country and has a well-founded fear of racial, religious, national, political or other persecution if he or she returns. (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-06-16-we-dont-trust-the-south-african-government.txt)
  United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)

- "The department must verify who they have detained as some of the people are recognised ***refugees*** and ***asylum-seekers***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-07-23-leniency-urged-for-lindela-detainees.txt)
  South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC)

- "New forms of xenophobia are on the rise, particularly against ***refugees*** and ***migrants***. Attacks against ***non-nationals*** in South Africa and elsewhere are gravely alarming" (*Mail & Guardian* 2009-12-10-un-alarmed-by-xenophobic-attacks-in-sa.txt)
  United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights

In all four of these examples, migrants are classified as „refugees" which is a term that is synonymous with assistance, aid, help and support. The connotations linked to this term align themselves well with the structure and goals of NGOs and CBOs and thus it is fitting that these organisations draw on this means of representing migrants. Within a South African context, these groups are a major force in providing and promoting social support that often the government is unable or unwilling to provide, particularly in terms of critical humanitarian relief during violent xenophobic outbursts. This creates an opposition in ideology between the government and NGO and CBO groups which pits the terms „foreigner" and „refugee" against each other. „Foreigner" in this context others migrant communities and promotes a negative attitude towards these groups whereas „refugee" encodes more of a positive expressive value which encodes an attitude of sympathy and potentially of tolerance.

4.6.3 Stakeholders – direct quotations in *Sunday Times*

Stakeholders:	*Immigrant*	*Freq.*	*Refugee*	*Freq.*	*Foreigner*	*Freq.*
National Government	**3**	**3.72**	**7**	**8.68**	**9**	**11.16**
Provincial Government						
Political Parties (leftist)			**3**	**3.72**	**1**	**1.24**
Political Parties (rightist)						
Commissions/Funders						
Academic/Research org.	**2**	**2.48**	**3**	**3.72**	**9**	**11.16**
NGO and CBO	**1**	**1.24**	**4**	**4.96**	**6**	**7.44**
Unions	**2**	**2.48**				
Justice/legal system						
Media						
Corporations						
International reps.	**1**	**1.24**				
SA Police					**2**	**2.48**
Private Security Companies	**1**	**1.24**				
Church/Religious org					**1**	**1.24**
Volunteers						
Local members of community	**1**	**1.24**			**6**	**7.44**
Migrants			**4**	**4.36**	**2**	**2.48**
Well-known personalities			**1**	**1.24**		
TOTAL:	**11**		**22**		**36**	

Table 28: Stakeholders‟ direct quotes in *Sunday Times*[10]

Table 28 shows the *Sunday Times* corpus‟ use of the terms „immigrant‟, „refugee‟ and „foreigner‟ as direct quotations by the various stakeholders outlined in Table 25 (cf. 4.6). All three newspapers reveal that migrants self-identify as „foreigner‟ and „refugee‟ rather than „immigrant‟. In both *Mail & Guardian* and *City Press*, the majority of these references were to „foreigner‟ but this differs in the *Sunday Times* corpus where the preferred classification is „refugee‟. Again, the reasoning behind

[10] These results have been generated from Appendices 5 (A, B, C) and 6 (A, B, C) which provide all direct quotations from the corpora.

this choice of terminology can be directly linked to the resultant representation of migrants. Our understanding of the term „refugee" is one which depicts migrants as passive victims due to certain circumstances. Traditionally, a „refugee" has been forced into "fleeing from individual persecution, generalised human rights violations or armed conflict in their country of origin"' (UNHCR 1998: 2). Based on these preconceived ideas of what it means to be a refugee, a certain degree of sympathy is evoked when individuals are classified in this way. The following quotations illustrate the self-identification of migrants as „refugees" in the *Sunday Times* corpus:

- "I heard that some ***refugees*** at ***refugee*** camps were given money but we did not get anything" (*Sunday Times* 1 sep 2008.txt)

- "I feel like a double ***refugee***. First I fled from the political instability in my country and now I am fleeing from angry South Africans" (*Sunday Times* 29 nov 2009.txt)

- "The only life for a Somali ***refugee*** is self-employment" (*Sunday Times* 29 april 2010.4.txt)

- "The government gives you an A4 piece of paper which declares your ***refugee*** status, but it is not considered proper identification. You have rights but only on paper" (*Sunday Times* 29 april 2010.4.txt)

The *Sunday Times* newspaper has traditionally been considered a „conservative" publication as outlined in Section 2.5.4. This would mean that it subscribes to rightist politics which is a term generally used to describe support for preserving traditional social orders and hierarchies. However, when analysing the direct quotations from political parties, it became clear that all references made in this regard were to political parties that are in fact „leftist" in terms of their political persuasion. Examples of these quotations include the following:

- "For the ANC to actually admit that there is a ***refugee*** problem is to admit that its, and President Thabo Mbeki"s, „silent diplomacy" policy on Zimbabwe has been a failure" (*Sunday Times* 13 aug 2007.txt)

- "Verryn"s superiors in the Methodist Church need to seriously investigate whether he has built up a cult following at the church and how this affects attempts to relocate the ***refugees***" (*Sunday Times*13 nov 2009.txt)

- "The option of a properly-run ***refugee*** camp for Zimbabweans should be considered seriously" (*Sunday Times* 30 oct 2009.txt)

- "Our borders are porous and this is due to corrupt immigration officials who accept money at border posts from taxis and buses bringing in ***foreigners***" (*Sunday Times* 1 sep 2009.6.txt)

These examples are all quotations taken from various Democratic Alliance (DA) representatives. This political party is the official opposition to the ruling African National Congress and according to its Manifesto, it aims to "expand and promote equal opportunities for all" (DA Manifesto 2009: 2) which aligns itself with a more „leftist" position with regard to creating support for social change and creating a more egalitarian society. It is therefore worth noting that direct reference is made by the *Sunday Times* exclusively to this particular stakeholder. This is not to say that other political parties are not referred to in the corpus, because they are referred to indirectly in terms of the use of reported speech. However, whilst this does introduce their „voice" into the text, it can be argued that this is done more effectively using direct quotations and for this reason, the views and standpoints of the DA are more explicitly encoded in the texts.

A final consideration in the *Sunday Times* corpus is the involvement of the academic and research community in discourse on migrants and the process of migration. Whilst *City Press* has a negligible amount of reference to these stakeholders, both the *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* place great ideological significance on the role that academia and research play in the representation of migrants. Some examples of direct quotations from these groups include:

- "In the wake of the attacks, 42 percent of ***foreigners*** said they wanted to leave in the next year. Not all wanted to go back to their country, while 6 percent wanted to go to another country" (*Sunday Times* 2 jun 2008.txt)
  Plus 94 – Marketing Research Company in South Africa

- "One-third of South Africans [would] support the government deporting all ***foreigners*** living in South Africa, even if they are there legally" (*Sunday Times* 25 may 2008.txt)
  [Unpublished] Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) Survey

- "South Africans were promised some sort of rebirth after 1994 and they are still waiting for the benefits. They now blame ***foreigners*** for their frustrated dreams" (*Sunday Times*1 sep 2009.9.txt)
  Forced Migration Studies Programme at Wits University in South Africa

These direct quotations represent the „voice of the expert" and contribute significantly to the directive textual function in the articles. This function is one that aims to persuade the text receiver to subscribe to certain ideologies and viewpoints that are encoded in the text and as text receivers we tend to avoid challenging information from specialist sources. The authority invested in these stakeholders increases the expressive modality of the text as we have higher conviction in those positioned as „experts". Thus, texts that draw on academic or research discourse are perhaps the most problematic with regard to deconstructing them because their ideologies are encoded as „common-sense assumptions" which are very often naturalised and thus not challenged. Fortunately, it is more often the case that text producers who are in this position of „expert" are themselves well-versed in challenging status quo ideologies and are thus sensitive to reporting on migrant issues.

4.6.4 Stakeholders – concluding trend

As a conclusion to this section I reflect briefly on a final significant trend with regard to direct quotations that signal certain ideologies in the three newspapers. As can be seen in the pie chart representations that follow, two stakeholders caught my attention during the data analysis stage. These two stakeholders are the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the Non-Government and Community-Based Organisations.

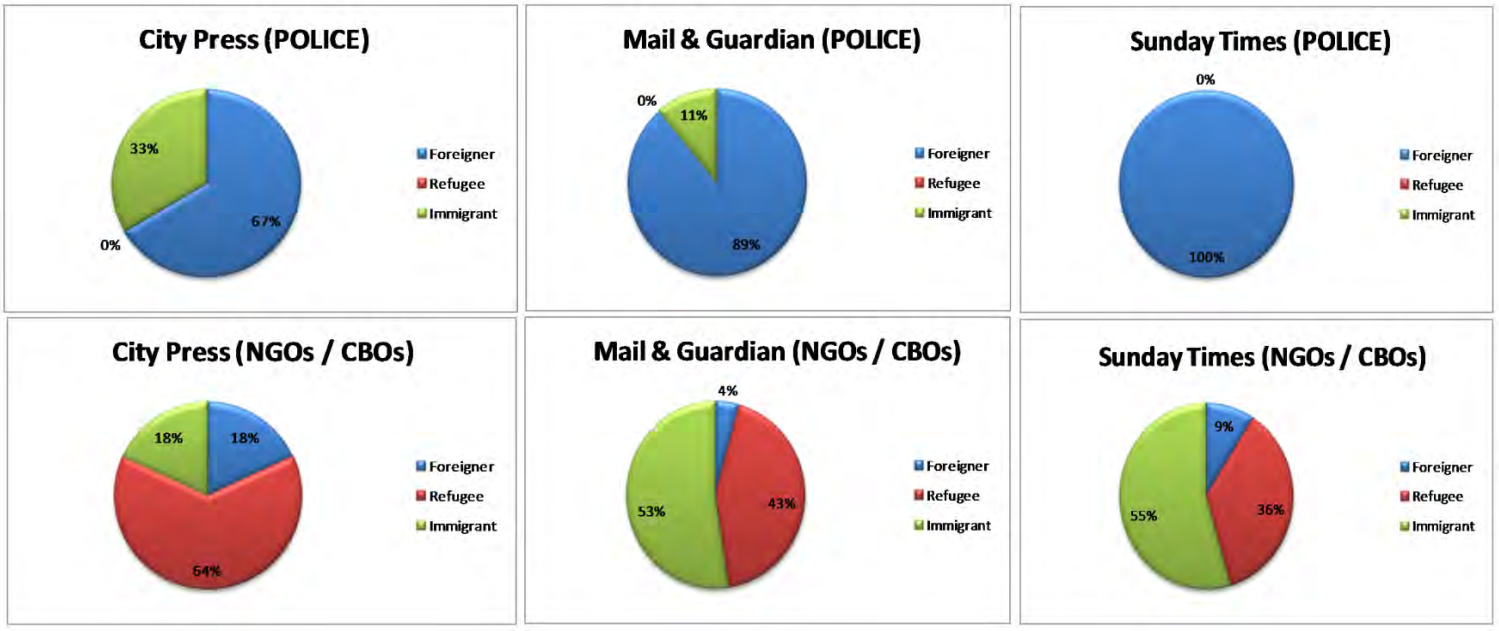


Figure 6: NGO/police direct quotations from all newspaper corpora

The reason why I selected these two stakeholders to compare and contrast cross-newspaper is because of the vastly different structures, aims and intentions of these diverse groups. Thus, it was telling to analyse the ways in which these two significant stakeholders represented migrants and migrant communities in the direct quotations used in the newspaper corpora.

To begin with, Figure 6 illustrates the direct quotations taken from the police and NGO/CBO groups in the *City Press, Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* corpora. It is clear from these pie charts that these two stakeholders classify migrants differently cross-newspaper and there are important ideological assumptions underlying these differences. With regard to the *City Press* corpus, in quotations made by the South African Police Services, the term „foreigner" is favoured and used twice as much as the term „immigrant". The *Mail & Guardian* corpus displays even more pronounced results with 89% of its direct quotations made by the police referring to „foreigner". Most conclusive is the *Sunday Times* corpus which shows every direct quotation made by the police as referring to „foreigner".

I now briefly consider each newspaper in turn. The following examples are taken from the *City Press* corpus and are statements made by either police officers or police spokespersons:

- "A Mozambican national was attacked by a group of angry community members who were on a mission to get rid of ***foreigners***" (*City Press* 2008 05 19 (2).txt)

- "The person who was attacked was not a ***foreigner*** because she spoke Sotho" (*City Press* 2008 05 19 (2).txt)

The second example reveals a type of signifier which categorises an individual as an „insider" or alternatively as an „outsider" (in this case the individual is „safe" because by speaking Sotho, she is not categorised as a foreigner). This signifier is the use of language and links to what Harris (2002: 5) terms the "biocultural hypothesis of xenophobia" (cf. 2.3.5) which attempts to explain the targeting of African foreigners by South Africans. This hypothesis positions xenophobia at the level of „otherness" and signals this „otherness" through various cultural differences between local South Africans and migrants. Due to an individual's inability to speak a particular indigenous language on command, they would be easily identifiable as the „Other" and marginalised as a result (Morris 1998). Here, cultural differences are used as „identificatory" methods and it is well-known that the

SAPS itself allegedly makes use of this „method" in their profiling of migrants (McDonald and Jacobs 2005). As signifiers, these features do play a common role in prompting xenophobic actions and are thus important considerations in this study.

Looking now at the *Mail & Guardian* corpus the following examples illustrate how the police refer to migrants and various underlying assumptions are illuminated in these references:

- "It started yesterday... there were so many people involved. People were burning shacks of ***foreigners*** and looting their businesses" (*Mail & Guardian* 2008-05-21-xenophobia-mbeki-gives-nod-to-army.txt)

- "They started last night and they burnt the shops of ***foreigners***" (*Mail & Guardian* 2010-02-08-violence-flares-up-in-balfour.txt)

- "Although the people who have been attacked are ***foreigners***, we do not know whether the attacks were xenophobic" (*Mail & Guardian* 2009-01-06-meeting-planned-in-durban-to-discuss-xenophobic-attacks.txt)

The above three examples demonstrate the experiential value encoded in these texts as a result of certain grammatical features. These extracts highlight agency and sentence structure and consider whether agency is clear or not and whether the sentences are active or passive. Through the experiential value, important information about power relations can be conveyed as agency questions who is depicted as in power and over whom and who is exerting power and why. In all three examples, migrants are positioned as passive and powerless with them being „affected" rather than doing any „affecting" themselves. They are therefore positioned as „victims" with the local South African citizen bring portrayed as having power over migrants due to physical violence. Agency highlights issues of power and interaction which often remain at the subconscious level unless made visible by the analyst or critical reader and these quotes would influence a reader's perception of migrants, making it more sympathetic and concerned.

- "They believe that a ***foreigner*** [killed] the three-year-old girl" (*Sunday Times* 1 sep 2009.7.txt)

This quotation is taken from the *Sunday Times* corpus and illustrates the problematic assumption that foreigners are prone to crime and likely to act violently. This myth of migrant criminality has permeated dominant discourse on migrants and the process of migration and subsequently has become naturalised as common-sense and rarely challenged by the ideal readers of this traditional discourse. Importantly, the greater the tendency to stereotype negatively, the greater the inclination is to be prejudicial. In this context, the term „foreigner" automatically implies that an individual migrant is linked to negative characteristics of the stereotyped migrant – as aggressive and violent criminals. Feelings of realistic threat increase one's prejudice and thus negative expressive value is encoded in this term due to the connotations of crime and violence.

Looking now at the terms of reference favoured by NGOs and CBOs in the newspaper corpora, it is evident that there is a shift in classification with focus now on the term „refugee". The *City Press* corpus is the most significant in this regard with 64% of reference made by NGOs and CBOs to „refugee" followed by *Mail & Guardian* with 43% and *Sunday Times* with 36% - all significant figures in the context of this study. Some examples from the three newspapers include:

- "The ***refugees*** suffer greatly at the hands of immigration authorities. They are failed by the authorities and this attitude is reflected on the ground" (*City Press* 2008 03 24.txt)
  People Against Suffering, Suppression, Oppression and Poverty Advocacy Group

- "It's estimated that 350 people try to get asylum documents at the ***refugee*** office in Musina every day" (*Mail & Guardian* 2010-03-10-call-for-health-passport.txt)
  Medicine Sans Frontiers (MSF)

- "Only if you have ***refugee*** status in South Africa and it is safe to go to your country of origin. We cannot help those who are tourists" (*Sunday Times* 22 april 2010.txt)
  United Nations High Commission for Refugees

What is evident in all three of these examples is that the texts signal an underlying ideology that refugees are victims who *suffer at the hands of* and are *failed by* immigration procedures and authorities. This re-emphasises the opening theme in this chapter – the „status" of migrants in the country. What this means is that there is a direct link between language and society with regard to the classification of migrants. It is significant to recognise the inherent power in migrant classifications. Just by terming a migrant „refugee" rather than an alternative term, they are placed in

less of a disenfranchised position. A migrant‟s categorisation has a direct bearing on their position in society and the rights that they are accorded; hence the negotiation between migrants and authorities for this desirable, and certainly most advantageous, „identity‟ is one fraught with tension.

A final consideration across the three newspaper corpora is the relationship between NGOs and CBOs with the government. Throughout the corpora there appears to be a strained relationship between these two stakeholders as exemplified in the extract below:

- "All we are asking is for the government to allow us to help the ***refugees*** and provide them with healthcare and other assistance. Kicking ***refugees*** out of the showground with no alternative assistance does not resolve the problem, but simply relocates it" (*Mail & Guardian* 2009-03-13-evicting-refugees-spreads-epidemic.txt)
  Medicine Sans Frontiers (MSF)

According to MacKenzie (2003), Non-Government Organisations tend to identify with those who are neglected and disadvantaged and they feel an obligation to underserved communities in situations where government policy and practice has failed. As a result, they see themselves as filling the gaps where the government has difficulty in provision and they often view the government as incompetent and "lacking the capacity to provide adequate services" (MacKenzie 2003: 3). For this reason, migrant discourse which draws on both these stakeholders depicts the groups as alternately vying for authority. At the time of the May 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa, NGOs and CBOs were at the heart of "responding to the humanitarian crisis, while the state seemed torn by contradictory responses from different spheres and leaders" (Everatt 2010: 11). Another example of the tension between these two stakeholders is evident in the article entitled "*NGO slams SA government*" from the *City Press* corpus. This article details a report published by the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa claiming that the South African government "failed, neglected and often acted illegally against thousands of illegal immigrants" (*City Press* 2009 04 06.txt). What is significant in this article is the dialogue between this NGO and the government with a spokesperson for the Department of Health and Social Development dismissing the report as "shebeen gossip" exposing more ignorance "on the part of the researchers than the allegations they are making" (*City Press* 2009 04 06.txt). The interaction between both groups gives a reader the opportunity to assimilate perspectives from the opposing positions and these texts signal the delicate relationship between local and international NGOs and local and national government agencies.

4.7 CONCLUSION

The overall purpose of this chapter was to present a thematic discussion detailing the results of my study. As outlined in Section 4.1, I chose to illustrate these results as five key themes based on the repeated occurrences of various patterns and trends in the data.

Through ***Theme 1*** in this study, I explored the ways in which migrants were categorised in the newspaper articles. Cross-newspaper, the three main terms of reference for these individuals included the classifications „immigrant", „refugee", and „foreigner". All three of these terms were used throughout the 2006-2010 time span. The wide-spread xenophobic violence in 2008 correlated directly to significant rises in the frequency of these terminologies. This signalled the close relationship between language and society, with the print media's increased preoccupation with reporting on migrants at this time. This theme also highlighted the varying connotations associated with the three terms of reference. Using the collocation process, the data that was elicited revealed that the categories „immigrant" and „foreigner" conveyed considerably more negative expressive value than the related category „refugee" which tended to encode a sympathetic representation of migrants.

Theme 2 in this chapter illustrated the prevalence of metaphorical language in discourse on migration and showed that cross-newspaper, the process of migration is often represented negatively as something which is out of control and unchecked by the state. Aquatic and avalanche metaphors related to natural disaster processes of flowing, flooding, pouring, descending and sliding dominated the discourse with additional metaphors related to en masse movement depicting migrants as an uncontrolled „mob".

Theme 3 juxtaposed the portrayal of migrants as victims against their portrayal as criminals. This theme showed that „refugees" tended to be considered victims whereas the negative expressive value attached to „foreigners", in particular, resulted in the depiction of these individuals as criminals. Gender played an important role in this theme with the majority of criminal and „foreigner" reference made to male migrants which contrasted with the victim and „refugee" association linked to female migrants. An additional consideration in this theme was the specific representations of

certain African nationalities with Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and Somalis represented more sympathetically on the whole than their Nigerian neighbours.

Within ***Theme 4*** I contrasted the view of migrants as deviant, brutal and contaminated against the view that it is those who are xenophobic who are instead deviant, brutal and contaminated. Word frequencies signalled „othering" language through the use of inclusive „us" versus exclusive „them" pronouns and this indicated migrant/local citizen distancing in the majority of newspaper articles. However, the data in this study revealed an opposing ideology (contesting the previous dominant ideology) whereby xenophobia was portrayed negatively. Through the use of metaphorical language in all three newspapers, xenophobia was depicted as a „sickness" which needed to be „fought" against and „uprooted". Moreover, in this study I identified a new metaphor within discourse on migrants which links xenophobia to sexual deviance and self-indulgence with the term "orgy". This metaphor encodes excessive indulgence with the implicit assumption that those who perpetuate xenophobic violence have an inordinate craving for this aggressive behaviour. Thus, an analogy between the xenophobic and the abnormal was exposed.

Lastly, in ***Theme 5*** I reported on the roles that various stakeholders played within discourse on migrants and migration. These stakeholders ranged from national and local government representatives, political parties and unions to non-government organisations, church groups and local members of the community. This theme showed that the three newspapers differed in the ways in which they reported on stakeholder and societal involvement in discourse on migration. *City Press* had an overall preoccupation with the local „people" in their reporting and this was in line with their political persuasions as a „populist" publication. *Mail & Guardian* gave considerable „voice" to migrants and migrant organisations, again signalling the influence of political persuasion as this aligns with a more „liberal" agenda. The *Sunday Times* data, on the other hand, showed a preoccupation with input at a government level which relates to conservative aims to foreground traditional social orders and hierarchies.

Overall, through my discussion in Chapter 4, I answered the research questions that I set out to investigate in this study. These questions and research goals are revisited and concluded in the final chapter that follows.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present a summary of the main findings of the research from Chapter 4. In order to do this, I return to the research questions presented in the Introduction (cf. 1.3) to report on how my research has answered these questions. I then conclude by presenting suggestions for further research in this field based on the limitations and problems experienced in my own research as well as areas of interest that were highlighted during this study.

5.2 SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

The aim of my research was to answer the three questions presented in Section 1.3 by analysing a wide range of newspaper articles taken from three newspapers; *City Press, Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times.*

My first research question was the following:

How are migrants and the process of migration into South Africa represented in *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* between 2006 and 2010?

Five key themes were identified cross-newspaper in this study which shaped the discussion of my data. These included:

Theme 1: The classification and status of migrants

Theme 2: Migration as an unstoppable and uncontrollable process

Theme 3: The „victim" versus the „criminal"

Theme 4: Migrants as deviant, brutal and contaminated versus xenophobia as deviant, brutal and contaminated

Theme 5: Stakeholder and societal involvement in discourse on migrants and migration

From an analysis of the themes above, it is evident that there are multiple ways in which migrants and the process of migration into South Africa is represented and these representations differ based on the classification of the migrant – whether they are termed „immigrant", „refugee" or „foreigner" constrains the manner in which these individuals are portrayed. What was found in this regard is that the term „refugee" allows for more sympathetic reporting, with „foreigner" and „immigrant" encoding more negative expressive value and collocating with terms that shed a predominantly negative view on migrants and migration processes.

Additionally, migrants are depicted through the use of metaphorical language. As outlined in Section 3.3.2 a), metaphors are a means of constructing a reality rather than simply describing it and are regarded as a cognitive mechanism of ideology, which will produce various ideological effects (Balkin 1998). Mawadza and Crush (2010) make a connection between the process of migration and metaphors relating to „dangerous waters" and „natural hazards". Metaphors from the natural world are particularly common in describing the movement of migrants into South Africa. Migration is not, however, considered to be a natural process but is instead considered a threat to local South Africans and thus encoded as a „natural disaster". There is a stereotyped perception that migrants are not individuals or small groups but are rather „mob-type" groups that arrive en masse. This perception is strengthened through the use of metaphorical language that links migration with aquatic processes of „flows", „waves", „floods" and „tides" and avalanche processes of „descend", „slide" and „roll". Overall, these „natural disaster" metaphors are regularly used and suggest a destructive nature in the process of migration. As demonstrated in these corpora, migrants „pour", they do not „trickle" and they arrive in „waves" and „floods". While some suggest that the disastrous tide is „unstoppable" and unabated by the state, others argue that it should and must be stopped through more serious measures (Mawadza and Crush 2010).

In all three newspapers, the use of different metaphors to describe migration involves mainly negative perceptions pitting local and migrant communities against each other and depicting migrants as violent criminals who take scarce resources that they do not have rights to. As stated previously, newspaper editors who control the mass media and report on migration issues in their publications would condemn violence against migrants and would reject the most prejudiced language against processes of migration. Yet, the overriding results from this study demonstrate that

those in a position of power in the media sometimes collude in attacks on migrants by using metaphorical language which encodes some sort of stereotypes prejudice. The impact of this metaphorical language results in negative public perception of migrants and it reinforces the dehumanising effect on migrants by removing their individuality and representing them en masse. Thus, the negative language and metaphors targeting African migrants have serious social implications. Once a group of people is dehumanised, either through representations of disease, threat or burden, it is easier to treat them with hostility. This is not just a theoretical proposition and Santa Ana (2004) stresses that there are thus strong connections between anti-immigrant violence and overt discrimination through the medium of language.

My second research question:

What are the differences and similarities between the representations in the three newspapers?

A difference between the newspapers relates to the various stakeholders which are fronted as significant contributors to migrant discourse. The *Sunday Times* corpus fronts the influence of the South African Police Services by including their voice in the text as well as other stakeholders‟ perspectives on the involvement of the police with regard to potential xenophobic violence directed against migrant communities. The local community too, voice their concerns that the police are not helping them but are instead protecting and giving rights to „illegal immigrants‟. The *Sunday Times* is a newspaper that adheres to conservative political values and for this reason would perhaps support traditional social orders and hierarchies which is reflected in the frequency of reference to the police. As more of a „liberal‟ publication, it is appropriate that *Mail & Guardian* emphasises explicit means of intertextuality, giving voice to the majority of the stakeholders listed in this study.

This intertextuality is the shaping of texts‟ meanings through the use of other frames of reference and these serve to bring other „voices‟ into a text and thus offer alternative perspectives. The prevalence of direct quotations used in the *Mail & Guardian* texts cues a critical reader to this intertextuality. Furthermore, the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper gives the most substantial „voice‟ to migrant individuals and migrant communities as compared to *City Press* and *Sunday Times.* Again, this reflects the more „liberal‟ mandate of the newspaper which could account for the sensitive and

sympathetic reporting on migrants and migration in general, as well as the substantial inclusion of a migrant „voice" in the reporting overall.

On this note and with regard to the *City Press* corpus, there is limited inclusion of a migrant „voice" and no reference to migrant organisations or international migrant representatives. This suggests that the attitudes represented in this corpus are generalised in-group ones. The effect of this way of reporting gives an impression of consensus amongst the various groups, even though it is unlikely that such a consensus really exists. It does not allow a reader to challenge the inherent ideologies from the quoted stakeholders but rather perpetuates dominant discourses of migration which are traditionally negative in nature.

Another consideration of difference between the corpora concerns the reference to the academic world or research community. The *Sunday Times* corpus invests substantial involvement of the academic and research community in discourse on migrants and the process of migration. Whilst *City Press* has a negligible amount of reference to these stakeholders, both the *Mail & Guardian* and *Sunday Times* place great ideological significance on the role that academia and research play in the representation of migrants. These direct quotations represent the „voice of the expert" and contribute significantly to the directive textual function in the articles. This function is one that aims to persuade the text receiver to subscribe to certain ideologies and viewpoints which are encoded in the texts and as text receivers we tend to avoid challenging information from these specialist sources. The authority invested in these stakeholders increases the expressive modality of the text as we have higher conviction in those positioned as „experts". Thus, texts that draw on academic or research discourse are perhaps the most problematic with regard to deconstructing them because their ideologies are encoded as „common-sense assumptions" which are very often naturalised and thus not challenged. As stated, it is fortunate that it is more often the case that text producers who are in this position of „expert" are themselves well-versed in challenging status quo ideologies and are thus sensitive to reporting on migrant issues.

Some tends cross-newspaper relate to the differences in representation between foreign nationals from these various countries. Zimbabweans are depicted as „*starving*" and linked to „*persecution*" by *City Press*, with „*deteriorating*" lifestyles and conditions by *Mail & Guardian* and classified as

„*targets*" in a „*worsened*" socio-economic position by *Sunday Times*. With regard to Somalis, there is a substantial threat attached to this nationality with these individuals represented as victims of violence through words such as „*killed*" and „*attacks*" from *City Press* and „*killed*" and „*fled*" by *Sunday Times*. An additional portrayal of this nationality links them to their occupations as „*traders*" and „*shopkeepers*" so a reader will tend to associate these groups with economy. Mozambicans are also represented in a fairly sympathetically manner cross-corpora with this nationality collocating with words such as „*poverty*" (*City Press*), „*fled*" (*Mail & Guardian*) and „*refused*" (*Sunday Times*). The portrayal of Nigerian migrants, however, contrasts starkly to that of the other nationalities. Nigerians are associated with transgressions and crime and this is illustrated with the collocation in *City Press* which links this group to the word „*arrested*". The *Sunday Times* corpus also depicts Nigerians in a similarly criminalised way.

My third research question:

What ideologies regarding migrants, migrant communities and processes of migration underlie these representations?

In response to this question I show how newspaper journalists or editors present their view of reality and in doing so automatically and often sub-consciously present their ideologies through the linguistic choices they make. The following ideologies were revealed in this study:

Ideology of patriarchy

A trend cross-newspaper is one of the justifications provided for the xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa made by black South African male citizens who accuse migrants of „stealing their women". This speaks directly to the pervasive ideology of patriarchy in South Africa, which is so entrenched that women are considered material possessions that can be „owned" by different groups of men. The extracts analysed from all three newspapers showed an overwhelming source of resentment by South African men towards non-South African men which can be explained in the theoretical context of patriarchy in a South African setting. The claim that migrants are taking „our women" implies that the women are unwilling partners in the relationships and Nkealah (2008) points out that the manner in which language is used in this expression conveys an underlying

current of male aggressiveness towards other males on the basis of „who owns the women". It was evident that the loss of both a means of income (taking our jobs) and partners (taking our women) is a threat to naturalised patriarchal and heteronormative masculinities in the South African context and the suggestion is that this can reach the point where it is realised as overt displays of xenophobic behaviour.

Ideology of nationalism – us versus them

A noteworthy similarity between all three newspapers was the use of personal pronouns „they", „their", „we", „us" and „our". It is widely accepted that dominant and traditional discourse on migrants and on migration encodes various means of inclusivity and exclusivity and this is best exemplified with the use of personal pronouns. In this study I focused on the pronouns *we/us* and *they/them* as my main schema for social categorisation based on the context surrounding their use. These pronouns are generally associated with issues of inclusion and exclusion as well as in-group and out-group dynamics. This *us* versus *them* polarisation regulated the in-group (local South African citizens) as well as the out-group (migrant communities) in the texts. Pronouns were important indicators of power relations in the texts cross-newspaper and through the use of these features, an ideology of nationalism and national identity (at the expense of the „Other) was revealed.

Ideology of migration as negative; migrants as unwelcome

This ideology implies that migration is an unwelcome and ominous process from the perspective of local South African citizens. This emerged through the reported and direct speech incorporated in the reports cross-newspaper with the majority of the metaphorical language incorporating a theme of natural disaster (including flooding and avalanches) and of destructive and en masse movement. This resulted in the negative depiction of migrants as sinister and an increasing threat. These metaphors additionally represented the process of migration as augmenting and out of control with the underlying assumption that this is potentially harmful to local citizens of South Africa and thus a cause of worry (and even fear) for them. It was also significant that within the superordinate category „migrant" there were further distinctions and hyponyms based on the various terminologies used to refer to these individuals as well as their nationalities and countries of origin. For this reason, the different countries themselves started to take on various associations with sympathetic

connotations linked to Zimbabweans and Mozambicans, connotations of „victimised" and entrepreneurial Somalis and negative associations towards Nigerians with representations of this group linked to criminality. Overall, these portrayals shape individuals" attitudes towards the various nationalities in either sympathetic and thus positive ways or alternatively in suspicious and thus negative ways.

Ideology of xenophobia as deviant

However, this study also revealed several additional metaphors linked to war and battle which depict xenophobia with militaristic metaphors and portray it as a contamination, outbreak and sickness. Instead of military metaphors encoding negative expressive value of migrants, it functioned to counter this negativity with an ideology of *fighting* the prejudice and *fighting* circumstances that encourage anti-migrant sentiment. In the same way that „invasion" metaphors influence a text receiver, these metaphors will also serve to influence a receiver"s perceptions of issues relating to migration. Furthermore, metaphors of contamination, outbreak, disease as well as metaphors linked to sexual deviance functioned similarly in the texts. Again, what I found was that it was not migrants or migrant communities who were being associated with these negative indexes but rather xenophobia which was represented as dispreferred, deviant and abnormal. This ideologically contests dominant views on migration offering an alternative standpoint through the negative representation of those who are xenophobic.

5.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Research is often limited in one way or another due to time constraints, length constraints and scope of the research (Gliner and Morgan, 2000). Although this study reveals some significant insights into contemporary ideologies of discourse describing migrants, it is nonetheless limited and there is considerable scope for future research on the topic. In the following section I briefly outline several avenues for future study.

1. A study that compared different cultural interpretations of the same newspaper articles could offer differing ideologies and relations of migration in diverse communities in South Africa. It would also be revealing to draw more on migrants" voices and get a migrant perspective

on newspaper articles in South African media to ascertain their reaction on, and interpretation of, them. Additionally, this research could be extended to include analyses of media in other African countries such as in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Somali where emigration is a wide-spread reality of life.

2. Gender relations were briefly touched on in this research but could be extended and explored in much more detail. A consideration of the various masculinities underlying xenophobic discourse and discourse on migration could be particularly revealing in terms of locating xenophobic prejudice in the social South African context of patriarchy. In my study I was struck by the „maleness" of violence being reported on and this warrants further research in a South African context.

3. At an ethnography level, this research could be expanded by including additional methods of data collection including focus group interviews with the stakeholders reported on in the articles, as well as the newspaper journalists and editors themselves. This could reveal an alternative, triangulated interpretation of the texts as it would take the research to those involved in discourse on migration and see how these articles are meant to be interpreted as well as how they affect their readers.

4. While this research is fairly generalisable, my study focused on three South African newspapers which arguably is a small reflection of South African media. I chose to focus on fewer newspapers in order to give more of an in-depth analysis of each, rather than a superficial analysis of many and the strength and consistency of discourses which emerged from all three publications certainly give this study legitimacy. Future research, however, could look to incorporate a wider selection of South African media, perhaps even cross-linguistically.

In sum, there is a crucial need for ongoing research on migrants and migrant communities in a South African context due to the levels of ignorance and misinformation that are prevalent in the country. However, this research should also highlight the attitudes, views and relationships between local

citizens and migrants and thus not only be limited to questions about the extent and impact of migration. This will help make anti-xenophobia programmes sustainable and successful.

5.4 CONCLUSION

An important aspect of the print media is the extent of its power and how this is wielded through language (Fairclough 1995). Through this power, the print media is able to affect governments, political parties, knowledge, societal values and beliefs and consequently create the social identities of the various stakeholders invested in the migration process. Within this setting, some stakeholders are positioned as powerful whilst others are left powerless in the context of discourse on migration. This research reveals the extent to which three influential newspapers in South Africa position their readers to conform to stereotypical representations of migrants and migrant communities. Additionally, my study helps make clear the connections between the use of language and the exercise of power and thus my discussion shows how ideologies may be expressed or concealed in discourse and thus reproduced or challenged in society. As a result, the analysis of xenophobic rhetoric is intrinsically connected to hegemony with a power asymmetry which generally prevents the less powerful from successfully opposing the more powerful (Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

In this study I have argued that xenophobia is not a single phenomenon but is multi-dimensional and has multiple causes and determinants. What I suggest, based on this research, is that not all reporting between 2006 and 2010 was negative cross-newspaper, and I would hazard to suggest that newspaper coverage appears to be improving over time. However, reporting that occurred at similar times to the social realisation of xenophobia in communities tended to be the most negative with othering language, metaphorical allusions to migrants and underlying assumptions about these communities. This emphasises the dialectic relationship between language and society and as xenophobic tensions mounted in social contexts, so too did the xenophobic rhetoric in newspaper articles.

Significantly, it is now fairly well-known that many of the beliefs about foreigners are based on ignorance and sensationalism. In the past, sweeping generalisations were made about foreigners without any apparent evidence or knowledge and newspapers were blamed for uncritically and un-

problematically reproducing these generalisations. In 2000 and again in 2004, SAMP analyses of print media coverage of migration in South Africa found that the South African press has been largely anti-immigrant and un-analytical over an extended period of time (Williams 2008). Mawadza and Crush (2010: 1) state that the media‟s often inherent „xenophobia‟ in migration reporting was identified as a serious problem in the 1990s yet the evidence was ignored and little was done to challenge this. As a result, negative discourses about migrants "continued to exercise their pernicious effects through to the present". Although overt xenophobic language is not in the newspapers of this study, it is evident that subtle covert xenophobic rhetoric still rears its head from time to time. One such example are metaphors which depict migration as an uncontrolled, unabated and negative process. This highly provocative language contributes to the alienation and dehumanisation of the migrant community. This being said, in this study I also examine the role of metaphorical language to combat xenophobic ideologies with metaphors associated with „fighting‟ and „uprooting‟ the abnormal and deviant xenophobic ideologies.

Mawadza and Crush (2010) make the ominous point that the media may not have directly incited the violence of May 2008, but it certainly prepared the way. However, it is important to not blame the media for being the cause of xenophobia but to recognise the ease with which some newspapers contribute to prejudiced sentiments by "weaving myths and fabrications around foreigners and immigration" (Williams 2008: 5). A final point to be made by this study is that there have been vast improvements made in newspaper reporting to at least begin changing the ways in which migration and migrants are portrayed. The use of the term „illegal alien‟, for example, is now largely omitted by the media which already is an achievement in challenging the traditional and dominant discourses centred on this topic. Overall, there is still some way to go for newspaper journalists and stakeholders invested in discourse on migrants and migration with the need to challenge the dominant belief that migrants are responsible for the hardships suffered by South African citizens.

REFERENCES

Anthony L. 2004. AntConc: A Learner and Classroom Friendly, Multi-Platform Corpus Analysis Toolkit. *Proceedings of IWLeL 2004: An Interactive Workshop on Language e-Learning*. Available at: http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/index.html [accessed on 23 February 2010].

Ashcroft B. 2001. Language and Race. *Social Identities.* 7(3): 311-328.

Baker M. 1992. *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation.* London: Routledge.

Baker P. 2006. *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum.

Baker P and McEnery A. 2005. A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN and newspaper texts. *Language and Politics.* 4(2): 197-226.

Baker P, Gabrielatos C, Khosravinik M, Krzyzanowski M, McEnery T and Wodak, R. 2008. A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK Press. *Discourse and Society.* 19(3): 273-306.

Balkin JM. 1998. *A Theory of Ideology. Connecticut:* Yale University Press.

Bekker S, Eigelaar-Meets I, Eva G and Poole C. 2008. *Xenophobia and Violence in South Africa: a desktop study of the trends and a scan of explanations offered.* Unpublished paper. Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg.

Benwell B and Stokoe E. 2006 *Discourse and Identity.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bhabha HK. 1994. *Frontlines / Borderposts. Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question.* Bloomington, Indiana University Press. 15: 269-272.

Billiet J, Maddens B and Beerten R. 2003. National identity and attitude toward foreigners in a multinational state: A replication. *Political Psychology.* 24(2): 241-257.

Billig M. 2006. The political rhetorics of discrimination. In Brown K (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics.* Oxford: Elsevier.

Boyd M and Grieco E. 2003. *Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory.* Washington: Migration Policy Institute. Available at: http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/print.cfm?ID=106 [accessed 22 November 2010].

Caldas-Coulthard CR and Coulthard M. 1996. *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis.* London: Routledge.

Caldas-Coulthard CR. 2003. Cross-Cultural Representation of „Otherness‟ in Media Discourse. In Weiss G and Wodak R (eds), *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Palgrave.

Centre for Development & Enterprise. 2008. *Immigrants in Johannesburg: Estimating Numbers and Assessing Impacts.* Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise.

Commission on Gender Equality. 1998. *Annual Report of the Commission on Gender Equality.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

Coniam, D. 2004. Concordancing oneself: Constructing individual textual profiles. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics.* 9(2): 271-298.

Cozic CP. 1994. *Nationalism and ethnic conflict.* California: Greenhaven Press.

Crawley H and Sriskandarajah D. 2005. *In Seeking Scapegoats: The Coverage of Asylum in the UK Press.* London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Croally NT. 2007. *Euripidean Polemic: The Trojan Women and the Function of Tragedy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Croucher S. 1998. South Africa‟s Illegal Aliens: Constructing National Boundaries in a Post-Apartheid State. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(4): 639-660.

Crous M. 2007. On Men and Masculinity in Phaswane Mpe‟s Welcome to our Hillbrow and K. Sello Duiker‟s The Quiet Violence of Dreams. *Journal of Literary Studies*. 23(1): 16-40.

Crush J. 2001. *Immigration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa.* Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project / South African Human Rights Commission.

Crush J and Williams V. 2003. Criminal Tendencies: Immigrants and Illegality in South Africa. *Migration Policy Brief No. 10.* Cape Town: Southern Africa Migration Project.

Crush J. 2003. Migration and Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa. In Sakia A (ed), *Population, Environment and the Challenge of Development.* New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, pp 201-226.

Crush J. 2008. *South Africa: Migration Policy in the Face of Xenophobia.* Johannesburg: *Migration Information Source.*

DA Manifesto Election. 2009. Available at: http://www.da.org.za/docs/6674/21941%20DA %20Manifesto%20Eng.pdf [accessed on 22 June 2010].

Danso R and McDonald DA. 2001. Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Print Media in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Africa Today* 48(3): 114-37.

De Beaugrande R. 1997. *New Foundations for a Science of Text and Discourse.* Stamford: Ablex.

De Wever B. 2010. Benefits of National Identity. De Standaard – Belgium Online. Available at: http://www.eurotopics.net/en/dienste/autorenindex/autor_wever_bart_de/ [accessed on 9 March 2010].

Dixon JA, Foster D, Durrheim K and Wilbraham L. 1994. Discourse and the politics of space in South Africa: The "squatter crisis". *Discourse and Society*. 5: 277–296.

Draft Refugee White Paper. 1998. Pretoria: Government Gazette Volume 396: 18988

Duffield VC. 2008. *Exploring the Discursive Nuances of the South African Xenophobic Experience: Exclusionary Tactics and Tensions.* Unpublished thesis. Cape Town: University of Cape Town. Available at: http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/psychology/postgraduate/ [accessed on 4 March 2010].

Eagleton T. 1991. *Ideology: An Introduction.* London: Verso.

Engels F. 1893. Marx-Engels Correspondence Online. Available at: http://www.marxists.org/archive/ marx/works/1893/letters/93_07_14.htm [accessed on 12 April 2009].

Everatt D. 2010. *South African Civil Society and Xenophobia (Synthesis).* Johannesburg: The Atlantic Philanthropies.

Fairclough N. 1989. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough N. 1995. *Media Discourse.* London: Edward Arnold.

Fairclough N and Wodak R. 1997. Critical discourse analysis, In Van Dijk TA (ed), *Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: Sage.

Fairclough N. 2001. *Language and Power (Second Edition).* London: Longman.

Fairclough N. 2003. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research.* London: Routledge.

Fine J and Bird W. 2002. *Shades of Prejudice: An Investigation into South African media''s coverage of racial violence and xenophobia.* Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project.

Flückiger KM. 2006. Xenophobia, Media Stereotyping, and Their Role in Global Insecurity. *Program on the Geopolitical Implications of Globalization and Transnational Security.* Available at: www.gcsp.ch/content/download/.../GCSP%20Policy%20Brief%2021.pdf [accessed on 17 October 2010].

Foucault M. 1991. *Remarks on Marx.* New York: Semiotext.

Fredrickson GM. 2002. *Racism: a Short History.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Gabrielatos C and Baker P. 2008. Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: A corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK Press 1996-2005. *Journal of English Linguistics.* 36(1): 5-38.

Garzone G and Santulli F. (2004) What can Corpus Linguistics do for Critical Discourse Analysis? In Partington A Morley J and Haarman L (eds), *Corpora and Discourse*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp 351 -368

Gear, S. 2007. Behind the Bars of Masculinity: Male Rape and Homophobia in and about South African Men‟s Prisons. *Sexualities*. 10(2): 209-227. Available at: http://sexualities.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/10/2/209 [accessed 22 November 2010].

Geldenhuys J and de Wet LS. 2008. *Exploring Xenophobia in South Africa: The Cause, Coverage and Controversy.* Unpublished thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Geuss R. 1982. *The idea of a critical theory*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Gilquin G. and Gries ST. 2009. Corpora and experimental methods: A state-of-the-art review. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory.* 5(1): 1-26.

Gliner JA and Morgan, GA. 2000. *Research Methods in Applied Settings: An Integrated Approach to Design and Analysis.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Goatly A. 2007. *Washing the brain: metaphor and hidden ideology.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Goodman S and Burke S. 2010. „Oh you don‟t want asylum seekers, oh you‟re just racist‟: A discursive analysis of discussions about whether it‟s racist to oppose asylum seeking. *Discourse & Society* 21(3): 325-340.

Hadland A. 2008. *Citizenship, violence and xenophobia in South Africa: perceptions from South African communities.* Unpublished paper. Pretoria: Department of Home Affairs. Available at: http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Research_Publication-20862.phtml [accessed on 8 August 2010].

Hafez O. 2000. Book review of S.H. Riggins (1997). *Journal of Pragmatics.* 32: 505-511.

Hall S. 1994. Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In Williams P and Chrisman L (eds.), *Colonial discourse and postcolonial theory: A reader.* New York: Columbia University Press, pp 392-402.

Hall S. 1985. Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication.* 2(2): 91-114.

Halliday MAK. 1975. *Learning how to mean*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday MAK. 1978. *Language as social semiotic.* Edward Arnold, London.

Hardt-Mautner G. 1995. "Only Connect." Critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics. Lancaster: University of Lancaster. Available at: http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/papers /techpaper/vol6.pdf [accessed 4 March 2010].

Harris B. 2001. *A Foreign Experience: Violence, Crime and Xenophobia during South Africa's transition.* Braamfontein: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Harris B. 2002. Xenophobia: A new pathology for a new South Africa? Psychopathology and Social Prejudice. In Hook D and Eagle G (eds), *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice***.** Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, pp 169-184.

Hassim S, Kupe T and Worby E. 2008. *Go Home or Die Here: Violence, Xenophobia and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa.* Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press.

Henry F and Tator C. 2002. *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hook D. 2001. Discourse, knowledge and materiality: Foucault and discourse analysis. *Theory & Psychology*. 11: 521-547.

Hook D and Eagle G. 2002. *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Hunston S. 2002. *Corpora in Applied Linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Iglicka K. 2008. *Poland: waiting for immigrants. But do we really want them?* Centre for International Relations. Available at: http://www.cespi.it/WPMIG/Country%20mig-POLAND.pdf [accessed on 13 August 2009].

Janks H. 1998. Reading Womanpower. *Pretexts: Studies in Writing and Culture* 7 (2): 195-211.

Kennedy G. 1998. *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics.* London: Longman.

Kersting N. 2009. New Nationalism and Xenophobia in Africa – A New Inclination? *Africa Spectrum.* 44(1): 7-18.

Kress G and Hodge R. 1979. *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge.

Lakoff G and Johnson M. 1980. *Metaphors we live by.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Larrain J. 1979. *The Concept of Ideology.* London: Hutchinson.

Legge JH. 2006. *Post-Feminism in Cosmopolitan and For Him Magazine (FHM): A Critical Analysis.* Unpublished thesis. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Louw B. 1993. Irony in the text or insincerity in the writer? The diagnostic potential of semantic prosodies. In Baker M, Francis G and Tognini-Bonelli E. (eds), *Text and technology: In honour of John Sinclair*. Philadelphia and Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp 157-176.

MacKenzie P. 2003. *Relationships between government and NGOs in a multilingual education project.* International Network for Development. Available at: http://www.sil.org/asia/ldc/parallel_papers/pam_mackenzie.pdf [accessed on 26 July 2010].

Magubane K. 2008. *Academics Unpack Xenophobia.* Available at: http://www.mediaclub southafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=462:academics-unpack-xenophobia&catid=44:developmentnews&Itemid=111 [accessed on 20 November 2010].

Mahlberg M. 2003. The textlinguistic dimension of corpus linguistics: The support function of English general nouns and its theoretical implications. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*. 8(1): 97-108

Mail & Guardian Online. 2009. Available at: http://www.mg.co.za/page/history [accessed on 12 February 2009].

Martin JR. 1995. Reading Positions / Positioning Readers: JUDGEMENT in English. *Prospect: a Journal of Australian TESOL.* 10(2): 27-37.

Mawadza A and Crush J. 2010. Metaphors of Migration: Zimbabwean Migrants in the South African Media. In Crush J and Tevera D (eds), *Zimbabwe"s Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival.* Cape Town, Ottawa: SAMP, IDRC.

McDonald DA, Gay J, Zinyama L, Mattes R and de Vletter F. 1998. *Challenging Xenophobia: Myths and Realities.* Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project.

McDonald DA and Jacobs S. 2005. (Re)writing xenophobia: Understanding press coverage of cross-border migration in Southern Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies.* 23(3): 295-324.

McKinley DT. 2008. *The state, xenophobia and nationalism.* Alternatives International Online. Available at: http://www.alterinter.org/article2477.html?lang=fr [accessed on 14th April 2009].

MediaClub South Africa. 2009. Available at: http://www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com [accessed on 29 February 2009].

Media Monitoring Africa Online. 2010. Available at: http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/ [accessed on 15 October 2010].

Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. 2010. Available at: http://www.merriam-webster.com/ [accessed on 22 September 2010].

Merriam-Webster Dictionary of Synonyms. 1984. Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam Webster Incorporated.

Messerli J. 2008. *Balanced Politics Organisation*. Available at: http://www.balanced politics.org/ [accessed on 14 July 2010].

Morris A. 1998. „Our fellow Africans make our lives hell": the lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg. *Ethnic and racial studies.* 21 (6): 1116-1136.

Neocosmos M. 2006. *From „Foreign Natives" to„Native Foreigners"Explaining xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* Dakar: Council for the development of Social Science research in Africa. Available at: http//www.codesria.org/Links/Publications/monograp s/neocosmos.pdf [accessed on 8 March 2009].

Neocosmos M. 2008. The Politics of Fear and the Fear of Politics: Reflections on Xenophobic Violence in South Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies.* 43(6): 586-594.

Nkealah N. 2008. *Commodifying the Female Body: Xenophobic Violence in South Africa.* Unpublished thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Non Profit Expert Website. 2010. Available at: http://www.nonprofitexpert.com [accessed on 3 October 2010].

Ober J. 1989. *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Oktar L. 2001. The ideological organisation of representational processes in the presentation of us and them. *Discourse and Society*. 12(3): 313-346.

Online Oxford English Dictionary. 2010. Available at: http://www.oed.com/ [accessed on 6 November 2010].

Orpin D. 2005. Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis: Examining the ideology of sleaze. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics.* 10(1): 37-61.

Oxford English Dictionary. 2007. *Oxford English Dictionary (OED) Sixth Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Palmary I. 2002. *Refugees, safety and xenophobia in South African cities: the role of local government [case study of Cape Town]*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Available at: http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/foreigners/refugeessafteyand.pdf [accessed 12 November 2009].

Palmary I. 2004. *Refugees, Safety and Xenophobia in South African Cities: The role of local government.* Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Available at: http://www.csvr.org.za/index.htm [accessed 12 November 2009].

Partington A. 2004. Corpora and Discourse: A Most Congruous Beast. In Partington A Morley J and Haarman L (eds), *Corpora and Discourse*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp 11-20.

Pecheux M. 1975. *Language, Semantics and Ideology.* New York: St. Martin‟s Press.

Petitclerc A. 2008. *Ideology: From Destutt de Tracy to CDA.* Unpublished thesis. Lancaster: Lancaster University. Available at: http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/groups/lip/papers /Petitclerc_2008.pdf [accessed on 16 August 2009].

Pienaar K. 2006. *The body as a site of struggle: oppositional discourses of the disciplined female body.* Unpublished thesis. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Pinker S. 2002. *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature.* New York: Penguin Group Incorporated.

Piper N. 2005. *Gender and Migration.* Singapore: Asia Research Institute.

Press Reference Online. 2008. Available at: http://www.pressreference.com/Sa-Sw/South-Africa.html [accessed on 25 June 2009]

Reisigl M and Wodak R. 2001. *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Anti-Semitism.* New York: Routledge.

Rice SKJ and Bartlett JL. 2006. Legitimating organisational decisions: A study of media framing of the Australian Government‟s legitimacy strategy and public opinion on the war in Iraq. *Journal of Communication Management.* 10(3): 274-286.

Ricento T. 2003. The discursive construction of Americanism. *Discourse and Society.* 14(5): 611-637.

Riggins SH. 1997. The Rhetoric of Othering. In Riggins SH (ed), *The Language and Politics of Exclusion*. London: Sage, pp 1-30.

Roberts C, Davies E and Jupp T. 1992. *Language and discrimination: A study of communication in multi-ethnic workplaces*. London: Longman.

Rogers R, Malancharuvil-Berkes E, Mosley M, Hui D and Joseph, G. 2005. Critical discourse analysis in education: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research.* 75(3): 365-416.

SA History Online. 2010. Available at: http://www.sahistory.org.za/ [accessed on 9 May 2010].

Santa Ana *BO.* *2004. Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Seminar - Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa. 2008. *Why do we fear and hate the ‚other'? Understanding xenophobia in the South African context.* Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Available at: http://www.csvr.org.za/index.htm [accessed on 18 March 2009].

Shindondola H. 2002. *Xenophobia in South Africa: The Views, Opinions, and Experiences of International Students at the Rand Afrikaans University.* "Unpublished thesis. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

Sigsworth R, Ngwane C and Pino A. 2010. Double Jeopardy: Foreign and Female – Violence against Migrant Women in South Africa. *FMSP Migration and Society Seminar.* Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Simpson P and Mayr A. 2010. Language and Power: Extending the Analysis. In Simpson P and Mayr A (eds), *Language and Power: a resource book for students.* Oxon: Routledge.

Sinclair J. 1991. *Corpus Concordance Collocation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith AD. 1993. *National Identity*. Nevada: University of Nevada Press.

South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF). 2009. *All Media and Products Study (AMPS).* Available at: http://www.saarf.co.za/ [accessed on 16 May 2009].

Stanford University Online. 2008. *The History of Apartheid in South Africa.* Available at: http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~cale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html [accessed on 24th March 2009].

Stasiulis D and Bakan A. 2005. N*egotiating Citizenship: Migrant Women in Canada and the Global System. Toronto*: University of Toronto Press.

Stefanowitsch A and Gries ST. 2003. Collostructions: Investigating the interaction between words and constructions. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics.* 8(2): 209-243.

Steinberg J. 2008. *South Africa's Xenophobic Eruption.* Institute for Security Studies. Available at: http://www.queensu.ca/samp/migrationresources/steinberg.pdf [accessed on 16 March 2010].

Stubbs M. 1996. *Text and Corpus Analysis.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Teubert W and Cermakova A. 2007. *Corpus Linguistics: A Short Introduction.* London: Athenaeum Press.

Thomas WC. 2004. *Shaping national identity: the role of the international Olympic Movement in nation-building.* 2004 Annual Meeting, Montreal, Cana, p1-25.

Thompson JB. 1984. *Studies in the theory of ideology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tognini-Bonelli E. 2001. *Corpus linguistics at work*: *Studies in corpus linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tshitereke C. 1999. Xenophobia and relative deprivation. *Crossings*. 3 (2): 4-5.

United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organisation Workshop. 2001. *World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance.* Durban: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Available at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001238/ 123862E.pdf [accessed on 27 October 2009].

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 1998. *Information for refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa.* Pretoria: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Valji N. 2003. *Creating the nation: the rise of violent xenophobia in the New South Africa. Unpublished manuscript*. Toronto: York University. Available at: http://cormsa.org. za/wp- content/uploads/Research/Xeno/riseofviolent.pdf [accessed 26 April 2009].

Van Dijk TA. 1988. *Discourse and Discrimination*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Van Dijk TA. 1992. Discourse and the Denial of Racism. *Discourse & Society.* 3: 87-118.

Van Dijk TA. 1993. Analysing racism through discourse analysis. Some methodological reflections. In Stanfield J (ed), *Race and ethnicity in Research Methods* . Newbury Park, CA: Sage, pp 92-134

Van Dijk TA. 1995a. Discourse semantics and ideology. *Discourse & Society.* 6(2): 243-289.

Van Dijk TA. 1995b. Power and the news media. In Paletz D (ed), *Political Communication and Action.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, pp 9-36.

Van Dijk TA. 1997. Discourse as Interaction in Society. In Van Dijk TA (ed), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction.* London: Sage.

Van Dijk TA. 1998. *Ideology.* London: Sage.

Van Dijk TA. 2000. Ideologies, Racism, Discourse. Debates on Immigration and Ethnic Issues. In ter Wal J and Verkuyten M (eds), *Comparative Perspectives on Racism.* London: Sage, pp 91-116.

Volosinov V. 1973. *Marxism and the philosophy of language.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Warner C and Finchilescu G. 2003. Living with Prejudice - Xenophobia and Race. *Agenda.* 55: 36-44.

Weisser M. 2007. The Text Feature Analyser – a Flexible Tool for Comparing Different Levels of Text Complexity. In Schmied J, Haase C and Povolna R (eds), *Complexity and Coherence: Approaches to Linguistic Research and Language Teaching.* Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, pp 49-63.

White Paper on International Migration. 1999. Pretoria: Government Gazette Volume 406: 1992.

Widdowson, H.G. 1998. Review Article: *The theory and practice of Critical Discourse Analysis.* Applied Linguistics 19(1), 136-151.

Wiechmann D and Fuhs S. 2006. Concordance Software. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory.* 2(1): 109-130.

Williams V. 2008. *Xenophobia in South Africa: Overview and analysis.* Cape Town: Perspectives.

Wittgenstein L. 1953. *Philosophical Investigations.* New York: MacMillan.

Wodak R. 2007. Editorial: Language and Ideology - Language in Ideology. *Journal of Language and Politics*. 6 (1): 1-6.

Wodak R. 2009. *The Discursive Construction of National Identity (Second Edition).* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Wodak R and Krz'yzanowski M. 2007. Multiple Identities, Migration, and Belonging: Voices of Migrants. *Identity Troubles.* Palgrave MacMillan: Basingstoke, pp 95-119.

Wolff S. 2006. *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective.* New York: Oxford University Press.

World Association of Newspapers. 2007. Available at: http://www.wan-ress.org/index.php3 [accessed on 25 June 2009]

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: CD CONTAINING FULL *CITY PRESS*, *MAIL & GUARDIAN* AND *SUNDAY TIMES* CORPORA USED IN THIS STUDY

APPENDIX 2: FAIRCLOUGH'S (2001) LIST OF CDA QUESTIONS

A: VOCABULARY

1. What *experiential* values do words have? *

   What classification schemes are drawn upon? *
   Are there words which are ideologically contested? *
   Is there *rewording* or *overwording*? *
   What ideologically significant meaning relations are there between words? *
   - Synonymy *
   - Hyponymy *
   - Antonymy *

2. What *relational* values do words have? *

   Are there euphemisms/dysphemisms? *
   Are there markedly formal or informal words? *

3. What *expressive* values do words have? *
4. What metaphors are used? *

B: GRAMMAR

5. What *experiential* values do grammatical features have? *

   - What types of *process* and *participants* predominate?
   - Is agency unclear? *
   - Are processes what they seem?
   - Are *nominalizations* used?
   - Are sentences active or passive? *
   - Are sentences positive or negative? *

6. What relational values do grammatical features have? *

   - What *modes (declarative, interrogative, imperative)* are used? *
   - Are there important features of *relational modality?*
   - Are the pronouns *we* and/or *you* used, and if so, how? *

7. What expressive values do grammatical features have? *

   - Are there important features of *expressive modality?* *

8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?

   - What logical connectors are used?
   - *Subordination? Coordination?*

C: TEXTUAL STRUCTURES

9. What interactional conventions are used?
    - Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?

10. What large-scale structures does the text have? *****

These questions are summarised from Fairclough (2001: 92-93).

APPENDIX 3A: FREQUENCY OF SEARCH TERMS IN *CITY PRESS*

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2006	**34**	**19 876**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	7	**0.35**
	Foreign national	0	**0.00**
	Illegal	25	**1.26**
	Refugee	10	**0.50**
	Foreigner	28	**1.41**
	Alien	2	**0.10**
	Asylum seeker	3	**0.15**
	*Kwerekwere	0	**0.00**

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2007	**51**	**27 706**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	75	**2.71**
	Foreign national	4	**0.14**
	Illegal	71	**2.56**
	Refugee	43	**1.55**
	Foreigner	15	**0.54**
	Alien	0	**0.00**
	Asylum seeker	19	**0.69**
	*Kwerekwere	0	**0.00**

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2008	**83**	**42 393**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	70	**1.65**
	Foreign national	65	**1.53**
	Illegal	27	**0.64**
	Refugee	83	**1.96**
	Foreigner	82	**1.93**
	Alien	2	**0.05**
	Asylum seeker	5	**0.12**
	*Kwerekwere	2	**0.05**

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2009	**51**	**35 017**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	40	**1.14**
	Foreign national	16	**0.46**
	Illegal	23	**0.66**
	Refugee	57	**1.63**
	Foreigner	57	**1.63**
	Alien	1*	**0.03**
	Asylum seeker	9	**0.26**
	*Kwerekwere	0	**0.00**

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2010	**18**	**10 612**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	6	**0.57**
	Foreign national	10	**0.94**
	Illegal	2	**0.19**
	Refugee	5	**0.47**
	Foreigner	5	**0.47**
	Alien	0	**0.00**
	Asylum seeker	0	**0.00**
	*Kwerekwere	0	**0.00**

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
WHOLE	**237**	**135 604**	
CORPUS			
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	198	**1.46**
	Foreign national	95	**0.70**
	Illegal	148	**1.09**
	Refugee	198	**1.46**
	Foreigner	187	**1.38**
	Alien	5	**0.04**
	Asylum seeker	36	**0.27**
	*Kwerekwere	2	**0.01**

APPENDIX 3B: FREQUENCY OF SEARCH TERMS IN *MAIL & GUARDIAN*

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2006	**6**	**5 849**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	8	**1.37**
	Foreign national	1	**0.17**
	Illegal	3	**0.51**
	Refugee	25	**4.27**
	Foreigner	11	**1.88**
	Alien	0	**0.00**
	Asylum seeker	10	**1.71**
	*Kwerekwere	0	**0.00**

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2007	**8**	**7 886**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	13	**1.65**
	Foreign national	0	**0.00**
	Illegal	8	**1.01**
	Refugee	1	**0.13**
	Foreigner	7	**0.89**
	Alien	0	**0.00**
	Asylum seeker	2	**0.25**
	*Kwerekwere	0	**0.00**

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2008	**117**	**79 374**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	135	**1.70**
	Foreign national	66	**0.83**
	Illegal	24	**0.30**
	Refugee	447	**5.63**
	Foreigner	210	**2.65**
	Alien	1	**0.01**
	Asylum seeker	47	**0.59**
	*Kwerekwere	10	**0.13**

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2009	**55**	**28 734**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	32	**1.11**
	Foreign national	24	**0.84**
	Illegal	14	**0.49**
	Refugee	179	**6.23**
	Foreigner	86	**2.99**
	Alien	1	**0.03**
	Asylum seeker	19	**0.66**
	*Kwerekwere	8	**0.28**

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
2010	**14**	**10 004**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	12	**1.20**
	Foreign national	5	**0.50**
	Illegal	0	**0.00**
	Refugee	13	**1.30**
	Foreigner	32	**3.20**
	Alien	0	**0.00**
	Asylum seeker	2	**0.20**
	*Kwerekwere	2	**0.20**

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	***Normalised frequency:***
WHOLE	**200**	**131 847**	
CORPUS			
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	200	**1.52**
	Foreign national	96	**0.73**
	Illegal	49	**0.37**
	Refugee	665	**5.04**
	Foreigner	346	**2.62**
	Alien	2	**0.02**
	Asylum seeker	80	**0.61**
	*Kwerekwere	20	**0.15**

APPENDIX 3C: FREQUENCY OF SEARCH TERMS IN *SUNDAY TIMES*

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	**Normalised frequency:**
2006	**10**	**11 838**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	5	**0.42**
	Foreign national	0	**0.00**
	Illegal	0	**0.00**
	Refugee	9	**0.76**
	Foreigner	2	**0.17**
	Alien	0	**0.00**
	Asylum seeker	1	**0.08**
	*Kwerekwere	0	**0.00**

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	**Normalised frequency:**
2007	**10**	**6 447**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	9	**1.40**
	Foreign national	0	**0.00**
	Illegal	7	**1.09**
	Refugee	13	**2.02**
	Foreigner	1	**0.16**
	Alien	0	**0.00**
	Asylum seeker	1	**0.16**
	*Kwerekwere	0	**0.00**

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	**Normalised frequency:**
2008	**33**	**18 356**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	47	**2.56**
	Foreign national	5	**0.27**
	Illegal	3	**0.16**
	Refugee	69	**3.76**
	Foreigner	103	**5.61**
	Alien	4	**0.22**
	Asylum seeker	2	**0.11**
	*Kwerekwere	1	**0.05**

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	**Normalised frequency:**
2009	**71**	**29 855**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	48	**1.61**
	Foreign national	17	**0.57**
	Illegal	7	**0.23**
	Refugee	121	**4.05**
	Foreigner	78	**2.61**
	Alien*	4	**0.13**
	Asylum seeker	16	**0.54**
	*Kwerekwere	2	**0.07**

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	**Normalised frequency:**
2010	**28**	**14 115**	
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	7	**0.50**
	Foreign national	4	**0.28**
	Illegal	3	**0.21**
	Refugee	35	**2.48**
	Foreigner	15	**1.06**
	Alien	0	**0.00**
	Asylum seeker	2	**0.14**
	*Kwerekwere	0	**0.00**

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***	**Normalised frequency:**
WHOLE	**152**	**80 611**	
CORPUS			
	Key search term:	**Frequency:**	
	Immigrant	116	**1.44**
	Foreign national	26	**0.32**
	Illegal	20	**0.25**
	Refugee	247	**3.06**
	Foreigner	199	**2.47**
	Alien	8	**0.10**
	Asylum seeker	22	**0.27**
	*Kwerekwere	3	**0.04**

APPENDIX 4A: WORD FREQUENCIES FOR *CITY PRESS*

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2006	**34**	**19 876**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*130*	said
2	*115*	have
3	*113*	they
4	*97*	their
5	*95*	we
6	*83*	who
7	*83*	his
8	*76*	people
9	*73*	but
10	*70*	south
11	*60*	police
12	*54*	home
13	*51*	them
14	*50*	african
15	*50*	there

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2007	**51**	**27 706**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*256*	said
2	*225*	he
3	*196*	they
4	*165*	from
5	*161*	have
6	*123*	who
7	*118*	their
8	*104*	africa
9	*104*	but
10	*103*	south
11	*99*	his
12	*95*	she
13	*92*	been
14	*92*	home
15	*91*	them

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2008	**83**	**42 393**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*383*	said
2	*293*	they
3	*291*	we
4	*283*	he
5	*234*	from
6	*234*	have
7	*229*	south
8	*225*	their
9	*189*	people
10	*181*	who
11	*144*	been
12	*129*	african
13	*127*	police
14	*126*	attacks
15	*126*	our

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2009	**51**	**35 017**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*206*	have
2	*176*	south
3	*174*	he
4	*172*	they
5	*157*	said
6	*156*	from
7	*128*	african
8	*123*	we
9	*121*	african
10	*119*	his
11	*119*	who
12	*116*	their
13	*113*	but
14	*110*	people
15	*92*	home

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2010	**18**	**10 612**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*70*	they
2	*66*	he
3	*49*	said
4	*49*	who
5	*48*	have
6	*48*	south
7	*47*	I
8	*46*	their
9	*45*	from
10	*41*	we
11	*37*	but
12	*37*	his
13	*35*	foreign
14	*34*	home
15	*29*	african

CP	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
WHOLE	**237**	**135 604**
CORPUS		
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*975*	said
2	*899*	he
3	*844*	they
4	*764*	have
5	*710*	from
6	*691*	we
7	*626*	south
8	*602*	their
9	*555*	who
10	*537*	I
11	*488*	but
12	*486*	his
13	*485*	people
14	*424*	african
15	*411*	africa

APPENDIX 4B: WORD FREQUENCIES FOR *MAIL & GUARDIAN*

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2006	**6**	**5 849**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*46*	said
2	*45*	they
3	*43*	have
4	*36*	he
5	*30*	business
6	*29*	but
7	*29*	their
8	*29*	who
9	*28*	south
10	*27*	BEE
11	*26*	his
12	*25*	from
13	*25*	more
14	*21*	government
15	*21*	I

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2007	**8**	**7 886**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*86*	south
2	*61*	africa
3	*59*	said
4	*45*	he
5	*41*	skills
6	*40*	home
7	*38*	from
8	*38*	people
9	*36*	but
10	*35*	they
11	*29*	affairs
12	*24*	african
13	*23*	I
14	*22*	more
15	*22*	she

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2008	**117**	**79 374**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*1008*	said
2	*590*	they
3	*536*	have
4	*534*	people
5	*517*	south
6	*509*	he
7	*464*	we
8	*435*	from
9	*400*	their
10	*346*	police
11	*337*	government
12	*321*	who
13	*309*	africa
14	*305*	refugees
15	*289*	violence

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2009	**55**	**28 734**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*335*	said
2	*218*	they
3	*198*	he
4	*191*	south
5	*148*	I
6	*141*	but
7	*140*	have
8	*137*	from
9	*137*	refugees
10	*128*	africa
11	*127*	their
12	*125*	we
13	*124*	people
14	*115*	who
15	*94*	government

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2010	**14**	**10 004**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*72*	south
2	*57*	said
3	*54*	from
4	*54*	he
5	*52*	I
6	*50*	people
7	*48*	africa
8	*44*	have
9	*42*	their
10	*37*	but
11	*36*	they
12	*33*	we
13	*31*	she
14	*28*	foreigners
15	*28*	them

MG	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
WHOLE	**200**	**131 847**
CORPUS		
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*1505*	said
2	*924*	they
3	*894*	south
4	*842*	he
5	*793*	have
6	*765*	people
7	*689*	from
8	*655*	we
9	*619*	their
10	*566*	africa
11	*515*	but
12	*511*	I
13	*597*	who
14	*498*	government
15	*460*	police

APPENDIX 4C: WORD FREQUENCIES FOR *SUNDAY TIMES*

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2006	**10**	**11 838**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*171*	I
2	*132*	he
3	*65*	his
4	*59*	they
5	*55*	but
6	*51*	have
7	*51*	you
8	*50*	who
9	*38*	me
10	*36*	we
11	*35*	one
12	*34*	black
13	*33*	said
14	*33*	their
15	*32*	him

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2007	**10**	**6 447**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*51*	said
2	*38*	he
3	*38*	we
4	*32*	from
5	*27*	his
6	*26*	but
7	*26*	government
8	*26*	her
9	*26*	south
10	*23*	gym
11	*23*	I
12	*21*	minister
13	*20*	she
14	*20*	zimbabwe
15	*19*	have

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2008	**33**	**18 356**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*175*	said
2	*138*	south
3	*117*	have
4	*117*	they
5	*111*	from
6	*97*	we
7	*91*	foreigners
8	*91*	people
9	*84*	he
10	*83*	africa
11	*82*	but
12	*73*	government
13	*73*	I
14	*67*	who
15	*62*	police

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2009	**71**	**29 855**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*303*	said
2	*238*	he
3	*196*	we
4	*189*	they
5	*171*	south
6	*152*	from
7	*150*	have
8	*149*	their
9	*130*	our
10	*111*	africa
11	*103*	his
12	*101*	people
13	*100*	who
14	*96*	country
15	*86*	but

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
2010	**28**	**14 115**
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*122*	said
2	*109*	he
3	*82*	have
4	*79*	who
5	*75*	I
6	*74*	from
7	*68*	south
8	*63*	we
9	*61*	they
10	*57*	his
11	*53*	their
12	*48*	but
13	*45*	africa
14	*43*	you
15	*35*	country

ST	***# of articles in corpus:***	***# of words in corpus:***
WHOLE	**152**	**80 611**
CORPUS		
	Frequency:	**Content word:**
1	*684*	said
2	*601*	he
3	*444*	they
4	*431*	south
5	*430*	we
6	*424*	from
7	*422*	I
8	*419*	have
9	*315*	who
10	*307*	his
11	*306*	their
12	*297*	but
13	*272*	africa
14	*265*	people
15	*236*	our

APPENDIX 5A: STAKEHOLDERS' USE OF DIRECT QUOTE – 'IMMIGRANT'

Year	Newspaper	# of times search term appears	# of times in direct quote context	Direct quote producer
2006	*CP*	7	0	N/A
	MG	8	1	Non-government Organisation
	ST	5	0	N/A
2007	*CP*	75	4	Human Rights group
				Police
				Witness
				Human Rights group
	MG	13	2	Economist
				Farmers" Union
	ST	9	0	N/A
2008	*CP*	70	1	Government
	MG	135	11	Cosatu
				Cosatu
				Cosatu
				Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front
				Keep Left Party
				Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front
				Zimbabwe Diaspora Forum
				Home Affairs
				Social Commentator
				Int. Centre for Transitional Justice
				Human Science Research Council
	ST	47	6	State Prosecutor
				Local community
				Cosatu
				President Zuma
				Institute for Strategic Studies
				Centre for Development & Enterprise
2009	*CP*	40	1	School pupil
	MG	32	2	Health Department
				Police
	ST	48	4	Human Rights Commission
				Farmers" Union
				President Zuma

				Home Affairs
2010	*CP*	6	0	N/A
	MG	12	1	Local Artist
	ST	7	1	Private Security company - Piranha

APPENDIX 5B: STAKEHOLDERS' USE OF DIRECT QUOTE – 'REFUGEE'

Year	Newspaper	# of times search term appears	# of times in direct quote context	Direct quote producer
2006	*CP*	10	2	„Victim“
				Home Affairs
	MG	25	1	Home Affairs
	ST	9	0	N/A
2007	*CP*	43	2	United Nations High Commissioner
				Institute for Policy Interaction
	MG	1	0	N/A
	ST	13	3	DA Home Affairs
				Deputy Foreign Minister
				Deputy Foreign Minister
2008	*CP*	83	7	Bishop Paul Verryn
				People Against Suffering Advocacy
				Treatment Action Campaign
				Treatment Action Campaign
				Home Affairs
				Home Affairs
				Gauteng Education Department
	MG	447	28	Mayoral Committee
				Red Cross
				Medicine Sans Frontiers
				Forced Migration Programme (Wits)
				Bishop Paul Verryn
				DA leader
				„Victim“
				Medicine Sans Frontiers
				Home Affairs
				Medicine Sans Frontiers
				Home Affairs
				„Victim“
				Victim placard
				DA leader
				UN High Commission for Refugees
				Western Cape Premiere
				Volunteer

				Gauteng Provincial Government
				Forced Migration Programme (Wits)
				Gauteng Provincial Government
				SA Human Rights Commission
				Human Rights Lawyer
				Gauteng Provincial Government
				Human Rights Lawyer
				Human Rights Lawyer
				DA
				Provincial Mediators
				Gauteng Provincial Government
	ST	69	5	„Victim“
				Singer / well known personality
				Home Affairs
				Political Analyst
				Home Affairs
2009	*CP*	57	6	Bishop Verryn - Church
				TAC
				Head pastor at the His People
				Bishop Verryn - Church
				Bishop Verryn - Church
				Local Fashion Designer
	MG	179	15	Gauteng Immigration Services
				City of Joburg
				City of Joburg
				Musina Legal advice office
				Medicine Sans Frontiers
				City of Cape Town
				Legal Resources Centre
				MDC (Zim political party)
				South African Council of Churches
				Home Affairs Minister
				Congolese refugee
				Aids Law Project
				UN Commissioner for Human Rights
				Farm Riets Centre manager
				UNHCR
	ST	121	11	Deputy director-general- immigration
				Aids lobby group
				UN High Commissioner for Refugees

				Home Affairs department
				Democratic Alliance
				President Zuma
				Immigrant
				Forced Migration Studies - Wits
				Forced Migration Studies - Wits
				Democratic Alliance
				Human Rights Watch
2010	*CP*	5	1	UNHCR
	MG	13	2	Medicine Sans Frontiers
				Forced Migration Studies - Wits
	ST	35	3	UN High Commission for Refugees
				Somali refugee
				Somali refugee

APPENDIX 5C: STAKEHOLDERS' USE OF DIRECT QUOTE – 'FOREIGNER*'

Year	Newspaper	# of times search term appears	# of times in direct quote context	Direct quote producer
2006	*CP*	28	5	Tshwane Metro
				Local SA man
				Local SA man
				Local SA woman
				Immigration and Consulting SA
	MG	12	3	Somali Association of SA
				Somali Association of SA
				Somali Association of SA
	ST	2	0	N/A
2007	*CP*	19	4	Education director-general
				Local Businessman (Dr Motsuenyane)
				Local Businessman (Dr Motsuenyane)
				Ethiopian Refugee Community
	MG	7	3	Cote d'Ivoire national
				Cote d'Ivoire national
				Cote d'Ivoire national
	ST	1	0	N/A
2008	*CP*	147	19	The Southern African Migration Project
				Vosloorus police spokesperson
				Vosloorus police spokesperson
				Alexandra Development Forum
				DA spokesperson
				The South African Council of Churches
				President Zuma
				Deputy President
				Nigerian businessman
				Dept Local Government & Housing
				President Zuma
				Migrant
				Lawyer at the Wits Law Clinic
				Kwaito Afro-pop group member
				Kwaito Afro-pop group member
				Kwaito Afro-pop group member
				Culture, Sport & Recreation MEC

				Former Pres Mbeki
				Global Commission on Int. Migration
	MG	276	52	Johannesburg City Councillor
				National Consortium for Refugee Affairs
				Forced Migration Studies Programme
				African National Congress
				The Young Communist League (YCL)
				Mayoral Committee for Safety
				Police Station commander
				Democratic Alliance (DA)
				SA Human Rights Commission
				Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR)
				Former President Thabo Mbeki
				Constable Sibusiso Mbuli
				Institute for Democracy in SA researcher
				Lawyers for Human Rights
				Department of Home Affairs
				Forced Migration Programme
				„Victim‟
				Dept Home Affairs
				Dept Home Affairs
				Dept Home Affairs
				Lawyers for Human Rights
				Lawyers for Human Rights
				Lawyers for Human Rights
				Somali leader
				Cape Town advocate
				Burundi migrant
				Mayoral spokesperson
				UNHCR
				Government Communications
				Asylum-seeker from Zimbabwe
				Chief Operations Officer in the Presidency
				Local SA man
				Former President Thabo Mbeki
				Former President Thabo Mbeki
				SA Youths
				Congolese barber
				City‟s Disaster Management Unit

				Centre for Development and Enterprise
				Centre for Development and Enterprise
				Lawyers for Human Rights
				Somalian migrant
				ANC councillor
				Parliament‟s committee on home affairs
				Parliament‟s committee on home affairs
				National African Federation Chamber of Commerce & Industry
				Western Cape Premier
				Western Cape Premier
				Group of residents
				Group of residents
				Group of residents
				Provincial ANC chair
				Consortium for Refugees and Migrants
				Consortium for Refugees and Migrants
	ST	108	18	Local member of community
				African Christian Democratic Party
				Local SA woman
				Zimbabwean migrant
				Diepsloot Community Policing Forum
				Community leader
				Diepsloot resident
				Marketing research company Plus 94
				Marketing research company Plus 94
				Marketing research company Plus 94
				Marketing research company Plus 94
				Presidential spokesman
				SACP leader
				Superintendent
				Southern African Migration Project
				Centre for Development and Enterprise
				Centre for Development and Enterprise
				Finance MEC
2009	*CP*	73	6	SA Fashion designer
				School pupil
				Lawyers for Human Rights
				Lawyers for Human Rights
				Head of Securicon Security

				African Union (AU)
	MG	110	25	Albert Park councillor
				Albert Park councillor
				KwaZulu-Natal police
				KwaZulu-Natal Refugees Council
				KwaZulu-Natal Refugees Council
				Consortium for Refugees and Migrants
				Local SA man
				Local SA man
				Mozambican migrant
				First Apartheid Archive Conference
				Professor Abebe Zageye
				Local SA man
				Local SA man
				Forced Migration Studies Unit.
				Forced Migration Studies Unit.
				Migration Expert - Wits
				Somali Association
				A police intelligence operative
				Local SA singing
				Government Communication publication
				Superintendent
				Deputy President
				Deputy President
				Local SA health workers
				Health Campaigner for Human Rights Group
	ST	95	14	Aids lobby group
				Safety and Security Minister
				DA spokesman for Transport
				Inspector
				Forced Migration Studies Programme
				UN High Commissioner for Refugees
				Locals on placards
				Sports Ministry
				President Zuma
				Deputy President
				Deputy President
				Forced Migration Studies Programme
				Centre for the Study of Violence &

				Reconciliation
				Human Rights Watch
2010	*CP*	15	3	Small-business Analyst at Finmark Trust
				Royal Bafokeng Nation (RBN)
				Cosatu National Spokesperson
	MG	37	12	Zimbabwean political refugee
				Zimbabwean political refugee
				People Against Suffering, Suppression, Oppression and Poverty (PASSOP)
				People Against Suffering, Suppression, Oppression and Poverty (PASSOP)
				Sergeant
				Sergeant
				Sergeant
				Local SA man
				Local SA man
				Local SA man
				Medecine Sans Frontieres
				Artist Terry Kurgan
	ST	19	4	Presidency
				Immigrant
				Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
				Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa

APPENDIX 6A: DIRECT QUOTATIONS USING THE TERM 'IMMIGRANT'

City Press 2006

NONE

Mail & Guardian 2006

"The majority that leave us have friends who help them with housing, food and such like, but that‟s not work," says Ignacio Diaz de Aguilar, chairman of CEAR, a non-government organisation which helps immigrants find their feet after they leave government detention centres. 2006-09-27-europes-glitter-turns-to-dust-for-african-migrants.txt

Sunday Times 2006

NONE

City Press 2007

"Illegal immigrants have a right to life and security even when they are in South Africa,"• The Human Rights Commission‟s œo-ordinator of non-nationals, Joyce Tlou, CP 2007 05 15.txt

Lowveld police spokesperson Superintendent Mtsholi Bhemb "What happens then is that the farmer returns with police and officials from the department of home affairs, who arrest the workers and deport them as illegal immigrants". CP 2007 07 23.txt

"They lie in wait with axes and pangas and pounce on illegal immigrants." Mike, one of the men who farms on the border. CP 2007 08 25.2.txt

Human Rights Commission spokesperson Vincent Moaga condemned the Police‟s conduct. "We condemn such incidents. It‟s racist because it‟s biased towards black people, particularly those who are dark in complexion. Police should improve their methods in dealing with illegal immigrants." CP 2007 10 26.txt

Mail & Guardian 2007

"If the pie was expanding, people wouldn't care too much. The government has to educate them that immigrants are productive." Nkem-Abonta, a French-trained economist 2007-01-28-rise-in-xenophobia-tarnishes-sas-image.txt

"And the flood of immigrants has dire implications for South Africa. This is the community policing that [Safety and Security Minister] Charles Nqakula has spoken about." Gideon Meiring, the chair of the Soutpansberg District Farmers‟ Union. 2007-08-10-a-floodgate-for-illegal-immigrants.txt

Sunday Times 2007

NONE

***City Press* 2008**

“We will act without unnecessary delay to address all genuine concerns which may give birth to tensions between native and immigrant Africans” Government official. CP 2008 07 07.2.txt

***Mail & Guardian* 2008**

“We also urge the Department of Home Affairs to do more to assist immigrants,” said Cosatu Gauteng provincial secretary Siphiwe Mgcina.

“People‟s frustration is understandable, but there can be no excuse for placing the blame for these problems on immigrants who have been forced to flee from even worse conditions in other parts of Africa, especially Zimbabwe.” Cosatu Gauteng provincial secretary Siphiwe Mgcina.

“The poor working-class South African and immigrant people have a common interest in fighting to improve their conditions, and fighting each other will only make the problems even worse,” Mgcina said. Cosatu Gauteng provincial secretary Siphiwe Mgcina. 2008-05-13-xenophobic-attacks-an-assault-on-democracy.txt

The Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front (ZACF) handed out pamphlets saying a divided working class would win nothing but more than exploitation and oppression. Referring to the „crisis‟ of housing in South Africa, the ZACF said: “A battle between South Africans and immigrants over who gets the houses will only prolong the crisis.” 2008-05-17-xenophobic-attacks-spread-in-gauteng.txt

Keep Left said the government should have set an example “long ago” about treating immigrants as “brothers and sisters”, adding: “They were not loud enough condemning police attacks on immigrants in the Johannesburg Central Methodist church.” 2008-05-17-xenophobic-attacks-spread-in-gauteng.txt

The ZACF also said police are “no friends of immigrants”. The Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front. 2008-05-17-xenophobic-attacks-spread-in-gauteng.txt

“They say we take their jobs, and in a way it is true,” said Nora Tapiwa of the Zimbabwe Diaspora Forum. “South Africans remain poorly educated and prefer to speak the vernacular rather than English. Employers, especially in the service industries, prefer Zimbabweans. Higher up the ladder, in banks and insurance companies, you even find many Zimbabweans benefiting from black economic empowerment. We are smart people and we are immigrants, so we don‟t sit around waiting for the government to deliver.” 2008-05-25-is-this-the-end-of-rainbow-nation.txt

On the issue of the Department of Home affairs suspending deportations of foreign nationals, Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula said: “It is not the first time we have suspended the deportation of undocumented immigrants. We feel as the government [that] we can't take advantage of people who have been displaced.” 2008-05-26-minister-xenophobic-violence-under-control.txt

“The violence that has taken the lives of ... African immigrants here ... grows out of a desperate competition for jobs,” said social commentator Alex Boraine. 2008-06-04-sa-unemployment-seen-keeping-tensions-high.txt

“Many South Africans believe their own, limited opportunities for economic security are threatened by ... immigrants,” Boraine, chairperson of the International Centre for Transitional Justice, wrote on the centre's website. 2008-06-04-sa-unemployment-seen-keeping-tensions-high.txt

HSRC director Adrian Hadland from the Human Science Research Council says “Immigrants should be regulated. They need to be introduced to customs, practice and sensitivities of the country”. 2008-10-22-housing-a-factor-in-xenophobic-attacks-says-report.txt

***Sunday Times* 2008**

State Prosecutor Sarah Dillon said “First, it identified 89 illegal immigrants travelling under false identities, leading to a number of arrests and convictions.” 10 feb 2008.txt

Alexandra, north of Johannesburg - Some locals are still baying for the blood of “illegal immigrants”. 14 may 2008.txt

Labour federation Cosatu says “People‟s frustration is understandable, but there can be no excuse for placing the blame for these problems on immigrants who have been forced to flee from even worse conditions in other parts of Africa, especially Zimbabwe.” 14 may 2008.txt

Zuma says “Xenophobia has no place in a democratic, free country like ours. Our people should avoid taking out the frustrations they face, due to unemployment or crime, on immigrants.” 16 may 2008.txt

Professor Mike Hough, Head of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria said “An increasing number of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants are living in informal settlements and it has become easier for them to evade arrest,” 23 jul 2008.2.txt

Ann Bernstein, CDE executive director Centre for Development and Enterprise “It is also important to bear in mind - again in the aftermath of the xenophobic attacks - that the survey does not distinguish between irregular and legal immigrants.” 27 aug 2008.txt

***City Press* 2009**

“South Africa will have a good and exemplary government by 2055. It will be the future government‟s responsibility to erect strong and firm policies that will lay the foundation for peace, understanding and tolerance between local inhabitants and foreign immigrants”. Tholakele Hlwatika, (no grade) Queens High School. CP 2009 07 08.txt

***Mail & Guardian* 2009**

KwaZulu-Natal Health Department spokesperson Leon Mbangwa “I was in exile ... I don‟t know where the IFP is getting that information. This has nothing to do with me being an illegal immigrant. It‟s just not true,” 2009-02-19-kzn-health-spokesperson-accused-of-fraud.txt

The South African Police Service, in its 2008/09 annual report: “According to various estimates, the number of undocumented immigrants in South Africa may vary between three and six million people,” 2009-11-13-home-affairs-in-the-dark-about-number-of-illegal-immigrants.tx

***Sunday Times* 2009**

Jody Kollapen, head of the South African Human Rights Commission “"It is prejudicial to stop people because of their colour and search them. Not every black on the street is an illegal immigrant.” 1 sep 2009.3.txt

Lourie Bosman, spokesman for the Farmers‟ Union, AgriSA “The situation is so dire that the police cannot handle it. This is unbearable to the farmers because the immigrants cut their fences, steal crops and are a serious security threat.” 1 sep 2009.3.txt

Zuma “Legal immigrants contribute constructively to the economic and social development of our country,” 16 dec 2009.txt

Deputy Director-General Jackie Mckay Home Affairs Department: “Specific mandate to assess and assist those immigrants who lost their basic documentation during the protests this week”. 20 nov 2009.txt

***City Press* 2010**

NONE

***Mail & Guardian* 2010**

“African immigrant communities who come here are denied opportunity and are neglected by the South African community at every level.” Artist Terry Kurgan. 2010-04-23-you-can-check-out-any-time-like.txt

***Sunday Times* 2010**

“Chances are amongst the guys they pick up there is at least one illegal immigrant,” Allan Stott, Managing Director of Piranha Security, 29 april 2010.txt

APPENDIX 6B: DIRECT QUOTATIONS USING THE TERM 'REFUGEE'

City Press 2006

"He said they treated refugees much better here, unlike other African countries". Gulet Hassen (29) CP 2006 04 30.txt

Home Affairs spokesperson Nkosana Sibuyi: "We also have a standing committee on refugee affairs, which deals with these matters. We also have to observe the UN (Geneva) Convention and the internationals laws to which we are signatories, in our dealings with refugees". CP 2006 06 18.txt

Mail & Guardian 2006

"The resentment towards refugees and asylum seekers manifests itself in different negative xenophobic stereotypes" Department of Home Affairs spokesperson Nkosana Sibuyi. 2006-10-03-somalis-live-in-fear-south-africa.txt

Sunday Times 2006

NONE

City Press 2007

"Only those who have never lived in a refugee camp will advocate a refugee camp as a solution for problems of this nature. A refugee camp is an extremely hard place to live in" The United Nations High Commissioner CP 2007 08 27.txt

"The problem is that these people are not treated like refugees from the war-torn Great Lakes region. They are being absorbed into our societies" Institute for Policy Interaction (IPI) director Rafik Hajat CP 2007 11 12.txt

Mail & Guardian 2007

NONE

Sunday Times 2007

"For the ANC to actually admit that there is a refugee problem is to admit that its, and President Thabo Mbeki‟s, „silent diplomacy‟ policy on Zimbabwe has been a failure." DA home affairs spokesman, Mark Lowe, 13 aug 2007.txt

"If we don‟t help Zimbabwe, refugee flow will increase" Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad 3 aug 2007.txt

“Clearly, we must do more to see what we can do to deal with this large influx of refugees” Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad 3 aug 2007.txt

***City Press* 2008**

“Some of them are asylum-seekers and others, like Zimbabweans, should be regarded as refugees because, under the terms of the OAU Refugee Convention, they left their homes because of events that seriously disturbed public order” Bishop Paul Verryn. CP 2008 02 18.2.txt

“The refugees suffer greatly at the hands of immigration authorities. They are failed by the authorities and this attitude is reflected on the ground” Braam Hanekom of the People Against Suffering, Suppression, Oppression and Poverty advocacy group. CP 2008 03 24.txt

Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) “a mandate to assist refugees who wish to repatriate to their own country or another one”. CP 2008 06 16.txt

“Refugees are receiving two meals a day, but the organisation of food distribution and the quality of the food is unacceptable” Treatment Action Campaign (TAC). CP 2008 06 16.txt

Home Affairs Portfolio Committee Chairperson Patrick Chauke “You would find that a refugee goes to the housing department to apply for a house and would be turned away because civil servants don‟t understand that they (refugees) have the same entitlements as South Africans” CP 2008 07 07.3.txt

Home Affairs Portfolio Committee Chairperson Patrick Chauke “Everybody who is in the country illegally or has been refused refugee status will be deported”. CP 2008 07 07.3.txt

Gauteng Education Department spokesperson Nanagolo Leopeng was adamant that “transport is being offered to all those learners who are at the refugee camps, to and from school”. CP 2008 07 07.txt

***Mail & Guardian* 2008**

“The spread of attacks on refugees and foreign nationals from Alexandra through Gauteng has prompted the city ... to ensure that similar incidents are not instigated on a similar scale in our city”. Mayoral Committee Member for Safety Dumisani Ximbi. 2008-05-19-gauteng-reels-under-xenophobic-attacks.txt

“We are providing aid in the form of food parcels, blankets, sanitary packs and clothing to refugees, as well as first aid and psychological services to those in need,” David Stephens, Acting Secretary General of the Red Cross. 2008-05-19-gauteng-reels-under-xenophobic-attacks.txt

“I have been to many refugee camps and situations and this definitely is along those lines,” Medicine Sans Frontiers spokesperson Eric Goemaere said. “This reminds me of a refugee situation” 2008-05-19-mob-violence-sweeps-gauteng.txt.

Loren Landau, director of the forced migration programme at Wits University, said: “To establish refugee camps sends a message that the mob was right, that these people should be confined. Temporary shelters are fine; foreigners are part of South African society and should not be kept apart.” 2008-05-23-where-to-from-here.txt

“This is true of refugees the world over. They will do whatever work they need to survive. If they are doctors and they have to sell newspapers they will do it.” The Church Bishop, Paul Verryn, 2008-05-24-hunted-by-gangs-migrants-flee-flames.txt

“It [the ANC] cannot face the fact that the state‟s failure to stem the tide of illegal immigration and the almost total incapacity to process the wave of refugee applications was the short-term catalyst for the violence.” Democratic Alliance leader Helen Zille. 2008-05-24-sa-knew-of-xenophobia-threat-says-kasrils.txt

“This ticket is all I have to show that I am who I said I am -- refugee who just arrived from Zimbabwe.” George Nyagato. 2008-05-25-is-this-the-end-of-rainbow-nation.txt

“This is a refugee crisis and it is unattended,” said Muriel Cornelius, Medicine Sans Frontiers 2008-05-27-we-are-living-like-dogs.txt

Siobhan McCarthy, the Chief Director of Communications at the Department of Home Affairs, denied that “refugee camps would be established”, and preferred the term “temporary shelters”. 2008-05-28-shelters-not-camps-for-foreigners.txt

“The international standards of refugee camps are not met,” Rachel Cohen, the Head of Mission for Medicine Sans Frontiers. 2008-06-02-court-halts-relocation-of-foreigners.txt

“It freezes all the time and when it crashed in Johannesburg in 2006 we lost all record of refugees who had registered from 1998 to 2000.” Report by Home Affairs. 2008-06-05-refugees-in-backlog-limbo.txt

“I'm an economic refugee; if things were fine back home I wouldn't be here,” said Mangundhla, Zimbabwean. 2008-06-06-if-things-were-fine-back-home-i-wouldnt-be-here.txt

“Refugees need UNHCR, not ANC”; “We can't go home, nor stay here”; “We need UN”. These are the words on some of the cardboard posters, made from boxes, being held in the air by refugees at the Glenvista refugee camp. 2008-06-11-un-foreigners-and-south-africans-can-live-together.txt

“We don‟t have the capacity to provide all the services and additional resources required to run community halls as refugee centres; we‟re stretched to the limit.” Democratic Alliance leader Helen Zille. 2008-06-12-petty-political-squabbling.txt

“About 13 000 refugees have been successfully reintegrated. The Soetwater refugees told the premier to his face that they don‟t want to speak to him but to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – we‟ve facilitated that,” Spokesperson for the Western Cape Premier, Jeremy Michaels, 2008-07-11-no-place-called-home.txt

“What concerns the refugees most, is their future and the future of their children”. Volunteer Tracy Saunder. 2008-07-11-no-place-called-home.txt

“These IDs are helping to protect them from being deported but if they don‟t have them they will be sent back home, and those who do have asylum-seeking and refugee status will also have to respect this administrational step because if they don‟t their refugee status can be taken away.” Gauteng provincial government spokesperson Thabo Masebe. 2008-07-21-xenophobia-refugees-risk-deportation-over-id-cards.txt

“If the South African government sends these people back to their countries, it will be violating international and domestic law because they will be returning these people to a place of danger, and not even our own Refugees Act can support them [the government] on those grounds”. Loren Landau, from the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. 2008-07-21-xenophobia-refugees-risk-deportation-over-id-cards.txt

“A few of them claim they have refugee status, but nobody is able to verify that”. Gauteng Government spokesperson Thabo Masebe. 2008-07-22-glenanda-refugees-resist-removal.txt

“The department must verify who they have detained as some of the people are recognised refugees and asylum-seekers.” South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) said on Wednesday. 2008-07-23-leniency-urged-for-lindela-detainees.txt

“No reason for anyone with an asylum seeker permit or refugee status to apply to be registered to ensure they are not deported” Jacob van Garderen of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR). 2008-07-28-out-in-the-cold-once-again.txt

“We can take away their refugee status if they don‟t respect the laws of this country.” Gauteng provincial government spokesperson Thabo Masebe. 2008-07-28-out-in-the-cold-once-again.txt

“The failure to register may constitute a breach for those who do not have refugee, asylum seeker or other immigration permits.” Jacob van Garderen of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR). 2008-07-28-out-in-the-cold-once-again.txt

“Very clearly states that you cannot deport a refugee or asylum seeker if they risk persecution in their country of origin”. Jacob van Garderen of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR). 2008-07-28-out-in-the-cold-once-again.txt

“Pretending that refugees are now safe to return will not make the refugees safe,” DA‟s James Lorimer. 2008-08-01-da-gauteng-govt-in-denial-over-refugees.txt

“Those refugees killed when they went back into the communities were not killed by community members, but by criminals,” Galiep Galant, Head of the Provincial Mediators. 2008-08-05-murderous-welcome-for-refugees.txt

“Some have received money from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], but are refusing to leave Rand Airport,” said Thabo Masebe. Gauteng government spokesperson. 2008-09-09-some-refugees-refuse-to-leave-shelter-says-gauteng.txt

***Sunday Times* 2008**

“I heard that some refugees at refugee camps were given money but we did not get anything,” Zimbabwean, Ronald Makoni. 1 sep 2008.txt

“The aim of our campaign is to raise money for displaced refugees, young, disadvantaged entrepreneurs and for the education of African children.” Funk-soul maestro Sipho „Hotstix‟ Mabuse. 22 sep 2008.txt

The increase in expenditure is “largely as a result of tightening control at Lindela [detention centre], an increase in the number of deportations and refugee control”. Department of Home Affairs. 23 jul 2008.2.txt

“Failure to acknowledge the crisis in Zimbabwe, failure to control the borders, and failure to grant these people refugee status”. Political analyst Moeletsi Mbeki. 25 may 2008.txt

“The easiest way [to stay in South Africa] is to get refugee status. That‟s what they need, but they need to apply,” Richard Sikakane, manager of the home affairs centre in Cape Town 29 sep 2008.txt

***City Press* 2009**

“For long most refugees and asylum seekers have been exploited by employers knowing they were always on the run from the police. Now they can walk, live and work here freely” said Bishop Verryn. CP 2009 04 06 (2).txt

“The refugee camps are inhuman, illegal and immoral”, says TAC spokesperson Scott Dunlop. CP 2009 06 28.txt

“Church leaders have held meetings with community leaders and ward councillors, conducted street visits and held joint meetings with refugee leaders and the leaders from the communities they were displaced from,” says Gareth Stead, the Head Pastor at the His People Church. CP 2009 06 28.txt

“I didn‟t foresee the refugee situation when we first opened the church‟s door” said Bishop Verryn. CP 2009 12 14 (2).txt

“Committed to the promotion and protection of the rights of refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons through networking with organisations performing similar objects to those of the association”. Bishop Paul Verryn, the man who has run the NGO, Ray of Hope. CP 2009 2 23.txt

“With the influx of foreigners, refugees and asylum seekers the church was always dirty and it was hard to worship there. Some days we used to find used condoms inside the church building. After complaining to the bishop nothing happened so I decide to move my family away.” Fashion designer Sonwabile Ndamase. CP 2009 2 23.txt

***Mail & Guardian* 2009**

“Two months is too short for any of the refugees to find their own housing”. Acting Deputy Director of Gauteng Immigration Services Joe Swartland. 2009-03-04-somali-refugees-fear-further-xenophobic-attacks.txt

“The city has been engaging with the church and the business community since the latter part of 2008 when the number of refugees started to increase,” Spokesperson Gabu Tugwana the City of Johannesburg. 2009-03-10-special-deal-on-cards-for-zim-refugees-in-sa.txt

“The bishop requested assistance with emergency accommodation for refugees. The city indicated that it could make a building available for lease to the Methodist Church, subject to a series of conditions on the management of the building and of the existing church premises,” Spokesperson Gabu Tugwana the City of Johannesburg. 2009-03-10-special-deal-on-cards-for-zim-refugees-in-sa.txt

Jacob Matakanye, director for the Musina Legal Advice Office, said “It was easy for us to access the refugees and help them when they were at the showground; it was better because they were organised and could be controlled, unlike now when they are scattered all over and left loose.” 2009-03-13-evicting-refugees-spreads-epidemic.txt

“All we are asking is for the government to allow us to help the refugees and provide them with healthcare and other assistance. Kicking refugees out of the showground with no alternative assistants does not resolve the problem, but simply relocates it.” Medicine Sans Frontiers (MSF) field coordinator Sara Hjalmarsson. 2009-03-13-evicting-refugees-spreads-epidemic.txt

“You cannot have refugee camps in the middle of society.” Peter Cronje of the City of Cape Town.2009-03-18-eviction-threat-to-refugees.txt

“Why does the state decide that it is the responsibility of civil society to look after refugees?” Henke Smith of the Legal Resources Centre. 2009-03-18-eviction-threat-to-refugees.txt

“The refugees have no resources. We help each other out at times,” Regional MDC spokesperson Sheperd Zvavanhu. 2009-06-19-sa-officials-assaulted-zim-refugees-claims-mdc.txt

“Surely the province has known about the plight of the refugees for long -- what concrete alternatives have they put forward that justify the moral outrage and sudden feelings of care for the people living in the church.” South African Council of Churches (SACC). 2009-11-02-sacc-govt-the-villain-in-refugee-saga.txt

“What I can tell you is that [last year] there were about 110 000 applications for asylum. Only 10 000 were agreed to as genuine asylum seekers and those were then given refugee status.” Home Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. 2009-11-13-home-affairs-in-the-dark-about-number-of-illegal-immigrants.txt

“Some of my friends are refugees from Zimbabwe. Others come from Congo. But for three nights I slept outside and was rained on -- with my two children.” Maria, a Congolese refugee. 2009-12-01-foreigners-go-seek-help-elsewhere.txt

“Refugees would be dispersed and forced underground into places where they would be less accessible and in greater danger of health and human rights violations,” Aids Law Project director Mark Heywood. 2009-12-08-refugee-church-unsustainable-say-civil-society-groups.txt

“New forms of xenophobia are on the rise, particularly against refugees and migrants. Attacks against non-nationals in South Africa and elsewhere are gravely alarming,” UN Commissioner for Human Rights. 2009-12-10-un-alarmed-by-xenophobic-attacks-in-sa.txt

“I‟m a refugee in my own country” Riets Centre manager Ivan Kortje. 2009-12-24-somali-refugees-stranded-in-randfontein.txt

“UNHCR and its partner organisations do not usually provide accommodation to asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa. It is the individual‟s responsibility to find accommodation” Tina Ghelli, UNHCR spokesperson, 2009-12-24-somali-refugees-stranded-in-randfontein.txt

***Sunday Times* 2009**

“They cannot go back to Somalia because it is too dangerous. In terms of international refugee laws, it is illegal to send them back to a country where they might be killed” Deputy Director-General for Immigration, Jackie McKay. 1 sep 2009.19.txt

“The assessment will decide if the foreigners get refugee status or not.” Scott Dunlop, a spokesman for the Aids Lobby Group. 1 sep 2009.21.txt

“South African policy also has a role to play, as refugees are not isolated in refugee camps like in other countries. Here, they mix with the locals and seek work opportunities”, Jack Redden, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. 1 sep 2009.9.txt

“The ID book will also give credibility and limit corruption committed by some officials using the papers that are currently being issued to refugees”. Home Affairs Department spokesman Bayanda Mzoneli. 11 sep 2009.txt

“Verryn‟s superiors in the Methodist Church need to seriously investigate whether he has built up a cult following at the church and how this affects attempts to relocate the refugees” Democratic Alliance Spokesman Jack Bloom. 13 nov 2009.txt

“There needs to be an improved understanding of the plight of refugees in particular, and their reasons for being in our country.” President Zuma.16 dec 2009.txt

“I feel like a double refugee. First I fled from the political instability in my country and now I am fleeing from angry South Africans.” Muteti, migrant. 29 nov 2009.txt

“Currently only recognised refugees and asylum seekers qualify for humanitarian assistance and legal protection from a host state” report by the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. 30 nov 2009.2.txt

“In Malawi, Zambia and Botswana, the asylum system is open to Zimbabweans but very few have made use of it. Mozambique, however, has refused refugee status to Zimbabweans who applied for it.” Report by the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. 30 nov 2009.2.txt

“The option of a properly-run refugee camp for Zimbabweans should be considered seriously”. Democratic Alliance Gauteng spokesman on Health Jack Bloom. 30 oct 2009.txt

“To avoid deportation from South Africa, Zimbabweans currently have no option but to claim asylum, placing even greater pressure on a system already struggling to process refugee claims according to international standards,” Human Rights Watch. 9 jan 2009.2.txt

***City Press* 2010**

“Refugees have an obligation to obey the law. The competent court of SA passed judgment. We cannot say they are being victimised. The law said they could appeal, but they chose not to”. Patrick Male, the UNHCR Field Head in Cape Town. CP 2010 04 12.txt

***Mail & Guardian* 2010**

“It‟s estimated that 350 people try to get asylum documents at the refugee office in Musina every day”. Mickael Le Paih, Medicine Sans Frontiers (MSF). 2010-03-10-call-for-health-passport.txt

“Connecting with fellow refugees from the motherland” Forced Migration Studies Programme Project. 2010-04-23-you-can-check-out-any-time-like.txt

***Sunday Times* 2010**

“Some people said they wanted to go home - this can be done by our office but only under certain circumstances - only if you have refugee status in South Africa and it is safe to go to your country of origin. We cannot help those who are tourists”. Patrick Kawuma Male, of the UN High Commission for Refugees. 22 april 2010.txt

“The only life for a Somali refugee is self-employment,” Hassam is a Somali migrant. 29 april 2010.4.txt

“The government gives you an A4 piece of paper which declares your refugee status, but it is not considered proper identification. You have rights but only on paper,” Hassam is a Somali migrant. 29 april 2010.4.txt

APPENDIX 6C: DIRECT QUOTATIONS USING THE TERM 'FOREIGNER*'

City Press 2006

"We have people who confessed that they had rented the houses to foreigners". Tswane Metro spokesperson Willie Baloyi. CP 2006 01 08.2.txt

"We no longer want foreigners here, they are taking our women, our jobs and our lives," said an angry local man who declined to identify himself. CP 2006 01 08.2.txt

"Mlambo is the one who is bringing foreigners to our country," Meshack Mashalane, a local resident. CP 2006 01 08.2.txt

One local women who is involved with a Zimbabwean said: "Our South African men spend more time drinking beer while our foreign men unzip their trousers and promised to marry us." CP 2006 01 08.2.txt

"Locally based international companies need the flexibility of being able to extend a foreign specialist"s appointment when and if their operational needs require. The current immigration regime does not allow for flexibility, which frustrates companies," said Immigration and Consulting SA director Julia Willand, who is also an AIPSA Director. CP 2006 05 07.txt

Mail & Guardian 2006

"Generally, the atmosphere among South Africans is that they are sceptical of foreigners", Ahmed Dawlo, director of the Somali Association of South Africa. 2006-10-03-somalis-live-in-fear-south-africa.txt

"Asian and white foreign business people are accepted by the community, just not black foreigners". Ahmed Dawlo, Director of the Somali Association of South Africa. 2006-10-03-somalis-live-in-fear-south-africa.txt

"Most people have these ideas and stereotypes about foreigners, Zimbabweans coming to take their jobs and Nigerians being drug dealers, but European tourists bring skills ..." Ahmed Dawlo, Director of the Somali Association of South Africa. 2006-10-03-somalis-live-in-fear-south-africa.txt

Sunday Times 2006

NONE

City Press 2007

"Private schools tend to opt for foreign teachers perhaps as a way to pay lower salaries" Education Director-General Duncan Hindle. CP 2007 03 04.3.txt

“That the foreign nationals can come into our areas and do better warrants a very careful and immediate investigation. Whatever it is they are doing right we must establish and try and learn from them”. Black businessman, Dr Sam Motsuenyane. CP 2007 04 07.txt

“Malls, anchored by big retailers, are being developed in these areas and the foreigners have come into our areas in large numbers.” Black businessman, Dr Sam Motsuenyane. CP 2007 04 07.txt

“Most foreign nationals end their lives after being traumatised by the social problems they experience when they arrive in the country” the Secretary of Ethiopian Refugee Community of South Africa. CP 2007 07 25.txt

***Mail & Guardian* 2007**

“South Africans forget that it is their population of foreign descent that catapulted this country to being the continent's superpower.” Cote d‟Ivoire national Etienne Gaba. 2007-01-28-rise-in-xenophobia-tarnishes-sas-image.txt

“Foreigners bring in money and create businesses and jobs. What do we get in return? Being called /amakwerekwere/,” a pejorative word for foreigner, he said. Cote d‟Ivoire national Etienne Gaba. 2007-01-28-rise-in-xenophobia-tarnishes-sas-image.txt

“South Africa is not receptive to foreigners from Africa. I‟ve lived here six years and it‟s never felt like home” Demeke. 2007-05-18-keeping-cool-as-a-khat.txt

***Sunday Times* 2007**

NONE

***City Press* 2008**

“African foreigners are blamed for South Africa‟s persistent social and economic problems - the high crime rate, the spread of HIV/Aids and the lack of jobs. Attackers make no distinction between legal and illegal migrants”. The Southern African Migration Project. CP 2008 04 07.3.txt

“Mozambican national was attacked by a group of angry community members who were on a mission to get rid of foreigners”. Vosloorus police spokesperson Captain Ephraim Shezi. CP 2008 05 19 (2).txt

“The person who was attacked was not a foreigner because she spoke Sotho”. Vosloorus police spokesperson Captain Ephraim Shezi. CP 2008 05 19 (2).txt

“Residents claim that foreign nationals are the ones that are being allocated houses in the Far East Bank”. Local councillor and member of the Alexandra Development Forum, Sizakele Nkosi-Malobane. CP 2008 05 19.5.txt

“The DA has documentary proof that houses in Alexandra have been given to foreign nationals”. DA spokesperson on housing in Gauteng Kate Lorimer. CP 2008 05 19.5.txt

“We condemn the acts of violence targeted at foreigners” Secretary-General, Eddie Makue. The South African Council of Churches. CP 2008 05 19.5.txt

“The violence perpetrated against foreign nationals is nothing but thuggery and criminality” Jacob Zuma. CP 2008 05 26.2 (2).txt

“It is not acceptable that we say foreigners are taking our jobs.” Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka. CP 2008 05 26.txt

“People are scared to hear foreigners are beaten up”. Tony Nnachetta, a Nigerian businessman. CP 2008 05 26.txt

“We immediately sent officials to go and assess the situation and we found that 81 foreign nationals had taken refuge at Apel police station”. A spokesperson for Limpopo Department of Local Government and Housing. Clayson Monyela. CP 2008 06 02.3 (2).txt

“I think it is a very sad situation indeed. I do not think that many of us ever thought that we could have this kind of situation happening in our country, given the nature of our people who have been living with foreigners for centuries”. Zuma. CP 2008 06 02.3.txt

“A group of angry youths were shouting “Khipha amakalanga!” meaning kick out the foreigners.” Ndimbovu (39) who works a living as a domestic worker. CP 2008 06 02.5.txt

“It seems the affected foreign nationals have not initiated any legal challenges against the perpetrators of violence.” Tesneem Bhamjee, a lawyer at the Wits Law Clinic. CP 2008 06 02.5.txtMG 2008

“The killings,” Mazwai said, were part of “a greater violence, one that targets women and children, foreigners, pensioners and the sick, the disadvantaged and the disabled. It‟s just violence, violence and violence.” Thandiswa Mazwai, of kwaito Afro-pop group Bongo Maffin. CP 2008 06 16.2.txt

“It‟s an African sickness, a greater African disease. The attacks on our foreign brothers should be read as a serious indictment on not only the South African government but Zimbabwe and the whole of Africa,” Thandiswa Mazwai, of kwaito Afro-pop group Bongo Maffin, CP 2008 06 16.2.txt

“Foreigners contribute to our economy just as locals do and they make the country better. How will we welcome the world for the 2010 World Cup when we can‟t live with our neighbours” Lead singer Tshedi Mholo of kwaito Afro-pop group Bongo Maffin. CP 2008 06 16.2.txt

“The games will be utilised to broadcast the message that the province does not condone or tolerate any form of criminal behaviour against foreign nationals” Culture, Sports and Recreation MEC Dina Pule CP 2008 06 16.3.txt

“We will do everything that is necessary to assist the victims of this criminal onslaught, both the South Africans and our foreign guests, to resume their normal lives” Former President Thabo Mbeki. CP 2008 07 07.2.txt

“Little respect for the dignity of foreigners”. Former Global Commission on International Migration chair Mamphela Ramphele. CP 2008 08 30.txt

***Mail & Guardian* 2008**

“Most policies involving foreigners are created at a national level but implemented at a local level. This necessitates communication throughout all three tiers of government,” Thuli Mlangeni, a Johannesburg City Councillor 2008-02-07-lack-of-understanding-cited-in-discussion-on-refugees.txt

“The HRC has a constitutional mandate to protect the rights of all people within the borders of South Africa. There is no difference in policing foreign nationals”. Joyce Tlou, Coordinator of the National Consortium for Refugee Affairs at the HRC. 2008-02-07-lack-of-understanding-cited-in-discussion-on-refugees.txt

“They believe that non-South African children are not eligible for school fees exemption -- but that‟s not true. In fact foreign children are eligible for school fees exemptions, just like South African children.” Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) at the University of Witwatersrand, 2008-05-02-lessons-in-red-tape.txt

“The killings in Atteridgeville earlier this year and recent attacks on Somalis and others are an attack not only on foreigners, but are an assault on the values of our democratic society.” African National Congress (ANC) spokesperson, Tiyani Rikhotso. 2008-05-13-xenophobic-attacks-an-assault-on-democracy.txt

“We believe these actions have no credence and role in our society. We further believe that foreign nationals should not be viewed and treated as inferior beings, but as equal human beings that need to be treated with respect and dignity,” The Young Communist League (YCL). 2008-05-13-xenophobic-attacks-an-assault-on-democracy.txt

“Foreigners are taking our jobs and our wives.” 25-year-old man arrested for public violence 2008-05-19-gauteng-reels-under-xenophobic-attacks.txt

“The spread of attacks on refugees and foreign nationals from Alexandra through Gauteng has prompted the city ... to ensure that similar incidents are not instigated on a similar scale in our city,” Mayoral Committee Member for Safety Dumisani Ximbi. 2008-05-19-gauteng-reels-under-xenophobic-attacks.txt

“It [the violence in the area] started this morning [Sunday] when a large number of foreign nationals started coming to the police station to seek assistance. Women and children have been held in a separate shelter, but about 300 men are being kept in the back [an area behind the station.” Police Station commander Director Danie Louw. 2008-05-19-mob-violence-sweeps-gauteng.txt

“The DA is deeply concerned about the extent of the humanitarian crisis that is developing across Gauteng as a result of violent attacks on foreign nationals,” Democratic Alliance (DA) Chief Whip Ian Davidson. 2008-05-19-parties-slam-govt-over-xenophobic-attacks.txt

“The level of resentment towards foreigners is quite high”. South African Human Rights Commission Chairperson Jody Kollapen. 2008-05-20-mbeki-cops-will-root-out-joburg-anarchy.txt

“In any event, investigation of crime, public safety and the prosecution of crimes committed against foreigners require members who are trained in those areas.” Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) 2008-05-21-gauteng-says-attacks-on-the-wane.txt

“[Mbeki] has approved a request from the South African Police Service [SAPS] for the involvement of the South African National Defence Force [SANDF] in stopping ongoing attacks on foreign nationals in Gauteng province,” Former President Thabo Mbeki. 2008-05-21-xenophobia-mbeki-gives-nod-to-army.txt

“It started yesterday [Tuesday] ... there were so many people involved. People were burning shacks of foreigners and looting their businesses,” Constable Sibusiso Mbuli, 2008-05-21-xenophobia-mbeki-gives-nod-to-army.txt

“The solution is not convoluted ... people simply need to understand that foreigners are an asset and this needs political leadership,” Institute for Democracy in SA Researcher Steven Friedman. 2008-05-21-xenophobia-mbeki-gives-nod-to-army.txt

“In any event, investigation of crime, public safety and the prosecution of crimes committed against foreigners require members who are trained in those areas. The military is not equipped to bring to book perpetrators of crimes against xenophobia victims”. Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) 2008-05-21-xenophobia-mbeki-gives-nod-to-army.txt

“We need buy-in from these communities. We need to get the commitment from them that these people will be protected. Communities who are upset about service delivery must understand that targeting foreign nationals is not an answer,” George Masanabo of the Counter-Xenophobia Unit at the Department of Home Affairs. 2008-05-23-where-to-from-here.txt

“To establish refugee camps sends a message that the mob was right, that these people should be confined. Temporary shelters are fine; foreigners are part of South African society and should not be kept apart.” Loren Landau, director of the forced migration programme at Wits University, 2008-05-23-where-to-from-here.txt

“They were shouting things in Zulu. I didn‟t understand but I knew what they wanted to do, to kill the foreigners. It was very frightening. The people in the street told me to run. They said that if those boys caught me I would be dead for sure.” George Mhanda, victim 2008-05-24-hunted-by-gangs-migrants-flee-flames.txt

“To bring relief to police stations and community halls that are housing foreigners”. Siobhan McCarthy, the Chief Director of Communications at the Department of Home Affairs. 2008-05-28-shelters-not-camps-for-foreigners.txt

“By separating foreigners from the rest of society, you label them as people who do not belong here. After 1994, our country has been strongly against separating people,” Siobhan McCarthy, the Chief Director of Communications at the Department of Home Affairs. 2008-05-28-shelters-not-camps-for-foreigners.txt

“Close to the communities where the foreigners fled from” Siobhan McCarthy, the Chief Director of Communications at the Department of Home Affairs. 2008-05-28-shelters-not-camps-for-foreigners.txt

“Ensure the safety of the displaced foreigners”. Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) 2008-06-02-court-halts-relocation-of-foreigners.txt

“The media have reported that a number of the attacks on foreign nationals were perpetrated by mobs from various hostels around the city.” Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) 2008-06-02-court-halts-relocation-of-foreigners.txt

“These are Zulus and their attitude towards foreigners will never change. They should not move them to the xenophobic hot spot like [this] because blood will flow on the floor.” Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) 2008-06-02-court-halts-relocation-of-foreigners.txt

“We are African. We are from this soil. I am not a foreigner ... and this soil is Africa”. Abdul Kadir Karakoos, a Somali leader in Cape Town. 2008-06-03-they-are-terrorised-traumatised.txt

“Our problem is political. We were told before Polokwane last year that the time has come for /kwerekweres/ to go back home. Before that foreigners were killed during the security-industry strike two years ago.” Cape Town Advocate Michael Osborne. 2008-06-06-the-signs-were-there-in-2004.txt

“Even if you eventually get a South African ID book, they print in it that you‟re a foreigner” Ramazani Gihimbare from Burundi. 2008-06-06-the-signs-were-there-in-2004.txt

“We‟ve also pointed out that in some cases, accommodating foreign nationals in halls risks increasing tensions in communities.” Mayoral spokesperson Robert Macdonald. 2008-06-10-cape-town-to-oppose-refugee-interdict.txt

“I am sure foreigners and South Africans can live together.” Karl Steinacker, Head of the UNHCR‟s Field Information and Coordination Support Section. 2008-06-11-un-foreigners-and-south-africans-can-live-together.tx

“We think that, in fact, an environment will be created for communities to say we want to welcome the foreign nationals back to our communities”. Government Communications Head Themba Maseko. 2008-06-12-xenophobia-deaths-onethird-was-south-african.txt

“So far we've faced no crime, it‟s pretty peaceful,” he says. “Being a foreigner they just compare you unnecessarily with others.” James, an asylum-seeker from Zimbabwe 2008-06-29-caught-in-platinums-gleam.txt

“The president will lead the country in a national tribute in remembrance of foreign nationals and South Africans who suffered in the recent violent attacks,” Chief Operations Officer in the Presidency. Trevor Fowler. 2008-07-02-mbeki-to-commemorate-xenophobia-victims.txt

“I think the burning of that man sent a strong message that we do not want foreigners here”. Michael Mushi, SA citizen. 2008-07-03-displaced-foreigners-still-too-scared-to-return.txt

“What happened during those days was not inspired by possessed nationalism, or extreme chauvinism, resulting in our communities violently expressing the hitherto unknown sentiments of mass and mindless hatred of foreigners -- xenophobia,” Former President Thabo Mbeki. 2008-07-03-mbeki-says-attacks-on-foreigners-not-xenophobia.txt

“On behalf of our people, I humbly convey ... our apologies that we allowed criminals in our midst to inflict terrible pain and damage to many in our society, including, and particularly, our foreign guests.” Former President Thabo Mbeki. 2008-07-03-mbeki-says-attacks-on-foreigners-not-xenophobia.txt

“Go home, /makwerekwere/ [foreigners],” forced their way in and stole the family's television set and a DVD player.” SA Youths. 2008-07-10-im-tired-of-this-country.txt

“No, no, no, that place is still too dangerous for me to go back there. They see a /makwerekwere/ [foreigner] and they will try to hurt me. My friend has just been released from hospital after the operations for his stabbing in June. I don‟t want to be stabbed,” Luundo Asende, a Congolese barber. 2008-07-11-there-is-still-a-crisis.txt

“Affecting foreign nationals occurred in the middle of June in Pongola [in northern KwaZulu-Natal] There were doubts whether that matter was crime or xenophobia motivated.” Billy Keeves of the City‟s Disaster Management Unit. 2008-07-11-there-is-still-a-crisis.txt

“The May violence was almost certainly much more complicated than it initially seemed. Causes of the violence run deeper than an alleged extraordinary South African hatred of foreigners,” The Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE). 2008-07-17-call-for-commission-of-inquiry-into-xenophobia-attacks.txt

“Was violence instigated by outsiders or particular groups? How did it spread from place to place? Why did some communities participate and not others, even though they were equally poor or hosted large numbers of foreigners?” The Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE). 2008-07-17-call-for-commission-of-inquiry-into-xenophobia-attacks.txt

“The Immigration Act requires all foreign nationals in South Africa to have the requisite permit. However, no law, regulation or directive has been gazetted that requires documented asylum seekers or refugees to register.” Jacob van Garderen of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) 2008-07-28-out-in-the-cold-once-again.txt

“They said I must be kind and nice to them and then I can stay „Otherwise you must fuck off kwerekwere [foreigner],‟ they said. I pay about R250 every weekend for my safety.” Kisimba, Somalian. 2008-08-05-murderous-welcome-for-refugees.txt

“Some Nigerians who are criminals didn't have to flee when the xenophobic attacks started. Foreigners already doing business with criminals weren't touched.” Boyisile Mafilika, ANC Councillor. 2008-08-05-murderous-welcome-for-refugees.txt

“We have a responsibility to provide housing, water and sanitation to everyone; this also applies to the foreign nationals,” Patrick Chauke, Chairperson of Parliament‟s Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs, 2008-08-22-progress-on-gauteng-refugee-shelters.txt

“We are aware that people in Ramaphosa informal settlement do not want foreigners, but we have to meet with them and understand their reasons for refusing.” Patrick Chauke, Chairperson of Parliament‟s Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs, 2008-08-22-progress-on-gauteng-refugee-shelters.txt

“We can‟t even do business with these people because today he calls himself Abdul and tomorrow he is Muhamed. During the day Shoprite takes our business and during the night, it‟s the foreigners.” The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC) Western Cape Secretary, Mandise Njoli. 2008-09-05-nafcoc-calls-for-somali-purge.txt

“Since 2006 allegations have been made that Nafcoc and the business community is involved in fuelling tensions between locals and foreign nationals” Western Cape Premier Lynne Brown. 2008-09-05-nafcoc-calls-for-somali-purge.txt

“But I will not tolerate these threats made against foreign nationals. I will take a briefing from the police immediately and try to resolve this matter”. Western Cape Premier Lynne Brown. 2008-09-05-nafcoc-calls-for-somali-purge.txt

“That man is a foreigner and he‟s forcing us to move. We don‟t want to live in flats” Simon Kiti, spokesperson for the Group of Residents Opposed to the Development. 2008-11-12-residents-spurn-aid.txt

“We want houses and we don‟t want Lutz‟s money because he is a corrupt foreigner who doesn't belong in South Africa,” Simon Kiti, spokesperson for the Group of Residents Opposed to the Development. 2008-11-12-residents-spurn-aid.txt

“Why are foreigners the beneficiaries of houses when they don‟t even belong in South Africa?” Simon Kiti, spokesperson for the Group of Residents Opposed to the Development. 2008-11-12-residents-spurn-aid.txt

“We need to address this issue urgently. If these people are discriminating against other people or foreigners, they're going to be very disappointed,” Provincial ANC chair Mcebisi Skwatsha. 2008-11-12-residents-spurn-aid.txt

“As the deaths of more than 20 South Africans during the attacks indicated, not only foreigners were at risk.” The Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (Cormsa) 2008-12-22-local-leaders-spurred-xenophobic-attacks.txt

“With national elections on the horizon, there is an urgent need to ensure that political mobilisation does not result in repeated attacks on foreigners or other „outsiders‟.” The Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (Cormsa) 2008-12-22-local-leaders-spurred-xenophobic-attacks.txt

***Sunday Times* 2008**

“WE‟RE going to burn him if he doesn't go. He's a foreigner and has no rights to this shack.” Local member of community. 14 may 2008.txt

“Most of the foreigners in our country are law-abiding people” Rev Kenneth Meshoe, President of the African Christian Democratic Party, 14 may 2008.txt

“We were not told that there was a problem and that we foreigners were doing all the crime, they just came in and beat me three or four times over the head with a metal rod until I fainted.” Elmon Sibanda, from Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. 14 may 2008.txt

“[On Wednesday night] they were chasing out only Zimbabweans, but today [Thursday] it seems they are after all foreigners.” John Makola, Chairman of the Diepsloot Community Policing Forum, 16 may 2008.txt

“The situation is now ungovernable. Members of the community want foreigners out of Diepsloot; they claim they are involved in crime.” Community leader Scelo Shez. 16 may 2008.txt

“If they find foreigners, they take their belongings and assault them,” Santos Makwejane, 39, a Diepsloot resident. 16 may 2008.txt

“Of the foreigners interviewed, 19 percent had arrived in South Africa in the past 12 months, a substantial addition to an already large population.” Marketing Research Company Plus 94
2 jun 2008.txt

“In the past month alone another 2 percent had been added to the population of foreigners intending to stay in SA (projecting a possible 25 percent plus annual growth.)” Marketing Research Company Plus 94. 2 jun 2008.txt

“The glaring statistical anomaly is that while the South African population growth rate is estimated at 2.4 percent, that of foreigners can be as high as 19 percent in the past 12 months.” Marketing Research Company Plus 94. 2 jun 2008.txt

“In the wake of the attacks, 42 percent of foreigners said they wanted to leave in the next year. Not all wanted to go back to their country, while 6 percent wanted to go to another country.” Marketing Research Company Plus 94. 2 jun 2008.txt

“Mbeki has approved a request from the SAPS for the involvement of the SANDF in stopping ongoing attacks on foreign nationals in Gauteng province.” Presidential spokesman Mukoni Ratshitanga. 22 may 2008.txt

“How does it happen that none of our political or community structures knew about such serious plans to attack foreigners?” SACP leader Blade Nzimande. 22 may 2008.txt

“Arrangements were made for relatives in Swaziland to bring money to the officials to release the second foreigner” Superintendent Muzi Mngomezulu. 24 jul 2008.txt

“One-third of South Africans "(would) support the government deporting all foreigners living in South Africa, even if they are there legally” unpublished SAMP Survey Southern African Migration Project. 25 may 2008.txt

“It was this toxic chain reaction that probably contributed to the attacks on foreigners in May this year.” Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE). 27 aug 2008.txt

“This has encouraged popular assumptions that most foreigners are criminals merely by being here,” Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE). 27 aug 2008.txt

“When going around in communities, we don't have sentiments that say foreigners are taking our houses or jobs,” Finance MEC Paul Mashatile, Acting Premier. 30 may 2008.txt

***City Press* 2009**

“With the influx of foreign nationals, refugees and asylum seekers the church was always dirty and it was hard to worship there. Some days we used to find used condoms inside the church building.” SA Fashion designer Sonwabile Ndamase. CP 2009 02 14.txt

“South Africa will have a good and exemplary government by 2055. It will be the future government‟s responsibility to erect strong and firm policies that will lay the foundation for peace, understanding and tolerance between local inhabitants and foreign immigrants” Tholakele Hlwatika, (no grade) Queens High School. CP 2009 07 08.txt

“I often consult with foreigners who say that they‟re inside because they have no money while others pay officials and walk out.” Attorney at the Detainee Monitoring Project at Lawyers for Human Rights. CP 2009 10 26.2.txt

“I‟ve even heard about female foreigners who are booked out at night to perform sex work. It‟s a very dysfunctional place” Attorney at the Detainee Monitoring Project at Lawyers for Human Rights. CP 2009 10 26.2.txt

“Foreigners stream over the border” Gerhard Coetzer, a former Police Officer and Head of Securicon Security CP 2009 10 26.3.txt

“South Africa itself has about 200 000 foreign refugees and asylum-seekers.” African Union (AU) CP 2009 11 05.txt

***Mail & Guardian* 2009**

"We will have representatives from the community policing forum, the police and foreign nationals during the meeting." Albert Park Councillor Vusi Khoza. 2009-01-06-meeting-planned-in-durban-to-discuss-xenophobic-attacks.txt

"The foreigners also called me on Saturday and I tried to calm people down. When they called me again on Sunday night, the situation had got worse. One person was dead and others injured" Albert Park Councillor Vusi Khoza. 2009-01-06-meeting-planned-in-durban-to-discuss-xenophobic-attacks.txt

"Although the people who have been attacked are foreigners, we do not know whether the attacks were xenophobic". Superintendent Vincent Mdunge, KwaZulu-Natal police. 2009-01-06-meeting-planned-in-durban-to-discuss-xenophobic-attacks.txt

"Prevented foreigners from speaking about what they had experienced on that night" Baruti Amisi, Chairperson of the KwaZulu-Natal Refugees Council. 2009-01-11-tensions-surge-in-durban-cbd.txt

"No foreigners in the group searching for criminals" Baruti Amisi, Chairperson of the KwaZulu-Natal Refugees Council. 2009-01-11-tensions-surge-in-durban-cbd.txt

"There will also be less resources for government to meet expectations and foreigners will be blamed for this" Loren Landau, Chairperson of the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa‟s (Cormsa) 2009-05-12-economic-downturn-could-worsen-xenophobia-says-ngo.txt

"Foreigners said they wanted to build a small Maputo in Ramaphosa. So the community reacted by chasing them out." Prince Mofokeng (18) local SA. 2009-05-17-i-still-live-in-fear.txt

"The media reported that we are victimising foreigners because they did not know what was going on here. We were just defending ourselves" Prince Mofokeng (18) local SA. 2009-05-17-i-still-live-in-fear.txt

"What do you do if people come and tell you they have more rights than you because you are a foreigner? I choose to give them what they want to save my life." Benet Oguda (35), Mozambican national. 2009-05-17-i-still-live-in-fear.txt

"... In the studies of racism in South Africa what is often given lip service and sometimes completely left out is the racism that the black foreigners from African countries who migrated and continue to move into South Africa experience and continue to experience" The First Apartheid Archive Conference. 2009-06-18-xenophobia-excluded-from-dialogue-on-racism.txt

"Most of the black foreigners pejoratively described as /makwerekwere/, have made South Africa their home and yet they continue to experience racism," Professor Abebe Zageye. 2009-06-18-xenophobia-excluded-from-dialogue-on-racism.txt

“My worry is that my children are going to be slaves because they won‟t have anything. These foreign people come to South Africa with nothing, but tomorrow he has cash, third day he owns a shop and fourth day he has a car.” Local SA. 2009-06-19-xenophobia-still-smoulders-in-cape-townships.txt

“Where do these foreign people get this money?” Local SA. 2009-06-19-xenophobia-still-smoulders-in-cape-townships.txt

“Violence against foreigners is rapidly becoming fully integrated into the standard politics of some townships,” Loren Landau, director of the University of the Witwatersrand‟s Forced Migration Studies Unit. 2009-06-19-xenophobia-still-smoulders-in-cape-townships.txt

And Landau says that as people come to accept that it is legitimate to plot against “foreign” business people, “the violence will only spread”. Loren Landau, director of the University of the Witwatersrand‟s Forced Migration Studies unit. 2009-06-19-xenophobia-still-smoulders-in-cape-townships.txt

“In a year of economic downturn, as very wealthy people celebrate [the World Cup], there will be people being killed in townships for being foreigners.” Dr Darshan Vigneswaran, a Migration Expert at the University of Witwatersrand, 2009-07-23-sa-africas-magnet-for-migration.txt

“We are trying our best to see to it there are no more attacks on foreigners.” Hassam, Head of the Somali Association of South Africa. 2009-07-25-sa-on-alert-for-xenophobic-violence.txt

“Foreigners are managing to offer lower prices because they seem to be able to buy in bulk. It is causing extreme tension in Gugulethu.” A Police Intelligence Operative. 2009-07-26-cape-town-fears-xenophobic-flareup.txt

“We are tired of foreigners” Local SA singing. 2009-11-12-zim-man-tells-court-of-xenophobic-horror.txt

“Tracing and removing foreigners who are considered undesirable or who are in South Africa illegally” South Africa Year Book -- a Government Communication and Information System publication. 2009-11-13-home-affairs-in-the-dark-about-number-of-illegal-immigrants.txt

“They say that farm owners opt to hire foreigner because they are cheaper and South Africans demand more pay” Superintendent Desmond van der Westhuizen. 2009-11-17-foreigners-chased-from-homes-in-western-cape.txt

“Some of the most brutal farm murders are committed by foreign nationals, who were brutally exploited and made to toil without any remuneration,” Deputy President Kgalema Motlanth. 2009-12-01-agriculture-body-reports-motlanthe-for-hate-speech.txt

“This is why we need to condemn those who take advantage of foreign nationals in this fashion,” Deputy President Kgalema Motlanth. 2009-12-01-agriculture-body-reports-motlanthe-for-hate-speech.txt

“You foreigners! We don‟t have time for you. Go seek help elsewhere.” Local SA health workers. 2009-12-01-foreigners-go-seek-help-elsewhere.txt

“Discrimination against foreigners is institutionalised in South Africa‟s health care system” Rebecca Shaeffer, a Health Campaigner for Human Rights Group. 2009-12-01-foreigners-go-seek-help-elsewhere.txt

***Sunday Times* 2009**

“The assessment will decide if the foreigners get refugee status or not.” Scott Dunlop, a spokesman for the Aids Lobby Group. 1 sep 2009.21.txt

“We want foreign people to come to our country, but we need them to do so legally.” Safety and Security Minister Charles Nqakula.1 sep 2009.6.txt

“Our borders are porous and this is due to corrupt immigration officials who accept money at border posts from taxis and buses bringing in foreigners.” DA spokesman for Transport. 1 sep 2009.6.txt

“There is a misunderstanding from [the community‟s] side. They believe that a foreigner [killed] the three-year-old girl” Inspector Nkosikho Mzuku. 1 sep 2009.7.txt

“South Africans were promised some sort of rebirth after 1994 and they are still waiting for the benefits. They now blame foreigners for their frustrated dreams,” Loren Landau, Director of the Forced Migration Studies Programme at Wits University. 1 sep 2009.9.txt

“You can‟t have people going around attacking others and burning down their homes, regardless of whether they are local or foreign” Jack Redden, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. 1 sep 2009.9.txt

“We don‟t want any foreigners” Locals on placards. 1 sep 2009.9.txt

“No foreign national can play for any of our national teams, no matter how outstanding they may be”. The Sports Ministry. 12 nov 2009.2.txt

“Let us embrace especially our African brothers and sisters, who usually bear the brunt of ill-treatment more than foreigners from other continents.” President Jacob Zuma. 16 dec 2009.txt

“Some of the most brutal farm murders are committed by foreign nationals, who were brutally exploited and made to toil without any remuneration,” Deputy President Kgalema Motlanth. 29 nov 2009.2.txt

“This is why we need to condemn those who take advantage of foreign nationals in this fashion.” Deputy President Kgalema Motlanth. 29 nov 2009.2.txt

"Although all four countries criminalise unlawful entry, unlawful work and overstaying of permits by foreigners and enforce this through deportation and other means, Botswana regularly deports particularly large numbers of Zimbabweans" Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. 30 nov 2009.2.txt

"We have no research to show that foreign nationals take part in crime any more than locals do. We could not verify that." Adele Kirsten, Executive Director of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 7 dec 2009.2.txt

"Discrimination against foreigners is institutionalised in South Africa"s Health Care System," Human Rights Watch. 7 dec 2009.txt

***City Press* 2010**

"I am surprised to see that foreign entrepreneurs have even managed to penetrate the most remote parts of the rural communities" Rashid Ahmed, a small-business Analyst at Finmark Trust. CP 2010 01 23.txt

"The problem seems to lie with Bafokeng who obtain trading licences and then unlawfully sell or transfer these to foreign nationals in under-the-counter deals" Royal Bafokeng Nation (RBN) CP 2010 01 23.txt

"We hope the South African government finds a way of discouraging unnecessary employment of foreign labour" COSATU National spokesperson Patrick Craven, CP 2010 02 01.txt

***Mail & Guardian* 2010**

"The police and locals are saying this violence against foreigners is not xenophobia" Zimbabwean political refugee, 2010-01-22-xenophobia-what.txt

"Yet only foreigners are being targeted." Zimbabwean political refugee. 2010-01-22-xenophobia-what.txt

"Entire populations of foreign nationals are being victimised because of rumours of misconduct or criminal acts of a few," Refugee Rights Organisation, People Against Suffering, Suppression, Oppression and Poverty (Passop) 2010-01-22-xenophobia-what.txt

"The risk of foreigners becoming victims of a national outbreak of xenophobic violence like that seen in 2008 is extremely high." Refugee Rights Organisation, People Against Suffering, Suppression, Oppression and Poverty (Passop) 2010-01-22-xenophobia-what.txt

"They started last night [Sunday] and they burnt the shops of foreigners," Sergeant Sam Tshabalala. 2010-02-08-violence-flares-up-in-balfour.txt

"These people barricaded roads with burning tyres, and looted several shops belonging to foreigners, but no one was injured," Sergeant Sam Tshabalala. 2010-02-08-violence-flares-up-in-balfour.txt

“It is alleged that he and a group of other foreign nationals attacked members of the public, but we still have to investigate whether this could be related to the violence.” Sergeant Sam Tshabalala. 2010-02-10-cops-crack-down-on-balfour-protesters.txt

“Where do these foreign people get this money?” Local SA. 2010-02-18-putting-out-fire-next-time.txt

“Because the foreigners are taking away opportunities” Local SA. 2010-02-18-putting-out-fire-next-time.txt

“The directives are clear enough: foreigners should have access to healthcare and treatment for free.” Medicine Sans Frontiers. 2010-03-10-call-for-health-passport.txt

“I wanted the project to reflect this largely invisible community and to try to put a different conversation about foreigners into the public sphere -- one that is more ordinary and less extreme than the prevailing public discourse of xenophobia.” Artist Terry Kurgan. 2010-04-23-you-can-check-out-any-time-like.txt

***Sunday Times* 2010**

“National Orders are the highest awards that a country, through its President, awards to its citizens and eminent foreign nationals who have contributed towards the advancement of democracy and who made a significant impact on improving the lives of South Africans.” Presidency. 20 april 2010.txt

“In my blood it tells me that I should be able to help people. One day I want people to remember that I've done something, not only for foreigners but for all South Africans.” Immigrant. 29 april 2010.4.txt

“Shops owned by foreign nationals in the area were attacked and looted by a large mob, reportedly after a demonstration against the local mining industry” The Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (Cormsa) 8 feb 2010.txt

“Many of those affected by the violence last night were also victims of violence in July 2009 where the shops of foreign nationals were targeted following service delivery protests and around 100 people were displaced.” The Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (Cormsa) 8 feb 2010.txt