

themes. As a final point, the main and subordinate themes were structured thematically to build the basis of this research thesis.

Concerning the tools for the data analysis, I follow a critical discourse analysis approach to explore and examine headlines, articles and news reports in the *Daily Sun* between February 2008 and December 2008 with reference to my research questions. The analysis finds a variety of textual representations of black foreigners and classifies them thematically. Qualitative textual analysis, the method used in my research, enabled me to examine both perceptible and underlying meanings related to the depiction or representation of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* in the designated time period.

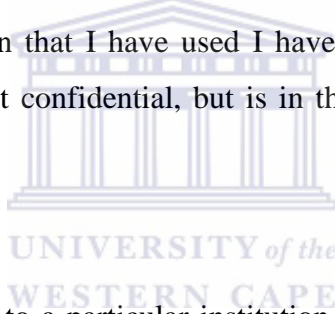
The analysis examines how black foreigners are portrayed, by taking into account how they are called or labelled and how they are referred to in the vocabulary used in the tabloid newspaper. In other words, this study is focused on the examination of the issue in question, and reveals the importance of the most significant ideas and concepts. As van Dijk (www.discourses.org) discloses, “*we do not treat news as transparent ‘messages’ whose ‘contents’ may be analysed in superficial, quantitative way. Rather, we examine the complex structures and strategies of news reports and their relations to the social context.*” A systemic analysis, in the context of my research, is fundamental to critically study the way news reports and articles in the *Daily Sun* contribute to the textual representations of black foreigners,

The focus is not only on the linguistic forms, but also on the social and historical contexts which shaped human behaviours and social interactions. With this in mind, I follow Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994: 29-30) that “*focusing on moral panics emphasizes the fact that reactions to unconventional behaviour do not arise solely as a consequence of a rational and realistic assessment of the concrete damage that the behaviour in question is likely to inflict on the society.*”

3.5. Ethical Considerations

It is important to mention the ethical aspects of this study. Since this research relies exclusively on newspaper reports and the tabloid involved is in the public domain and not a human subject, there are no confidentiality and other ethical issues that require consideration. This study is thus exempt from ethical concerns as the main purpose of research ethics is to protect the welfare of the research participants and to ensure that no harm comes to them.

For the above mentioned reason, there was no need for obtaining ethical approval or using a consent form in which it is explained to research subjects that their participation is voluntary or that they have the right to withdraw at any point of this study. Unlike studies that have human beings as research participants, there is no need to ensure that confidential information is protected, since all the information that I have used I have obtained from the editions of this given South African tabloid, is not confidential, but is in the public domain and can be freely used.



However, as a researcher attached to a particular institution and operating within the discipline sociology, I am aware of the need to be sensitive to the peculiarities of the methods of social science and to adhere to certain rules of conduct and procedure. According to Terre Blanche *et al.*, (2006: 77), *“Ethical sensitivity can enhance the value of research practice is seen as congruent with the common goal of most social scientists – the understanding and betterment of human existence.”*

3.6. Summary

This chapter discussed the research process, described the data collection process and the time period and the sample size of the data collected. This chapter also outlined the research methodology used - qualitative methods and discourse analysis, as well as the process of data analysis. Ethical considerations, although not crucial to this study as the data collected are of the

public domain, the newspaper, are nevertheless highlighted. The findings of this specific research are presented in three chapters. The following chapter presents the first part of the research findings.



CHAPTER FOUR: Research Findings – Part One

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is one of three that discusses and interprets the findings of this study. The first (Chapter Four) looks at the various and sometimes contradictory ways in which black Africans are depicted in the *Daily Sun* and the second (Chapter Five) explores ideas regarding “in” and “out groups” and the ways in which these boundaries are drawn in this particular context. It also examines the idea of moral panics and its usefulness in explaining xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment in South Africa. Chapter Six describes the diverse nationalities and the stereotypical ways in which each is portrayed.

The findings of my study are based on an analysis of the South African tabloid newspaper, the *Daily Sun* during a specified period of time, 2008. The analysis of these findings focuses essentially on the ways in which events and their participants (‘foreign’ Africans) are being depicted and represented in the text. It also examines whether the structures of the text express a largely positive or negative opinion about black foreigners in the South African context.

In my analysis, I patterned and designed pertinent terms in bold italics, so as to highpoint what type of analytical concept or notion is used in the description of the findings. Texts or segments of text in the *Daily Sun* are patterned in italics. Wherever possible I have included direct quotes from the newspaper being analysed to demonstrate arguments.

This next section examines some of the common representations of black foreigners that feature prominently in the *Daily Sun*. In particular, the stereotypical language and terminology used to describe non-nationals is discussed.

4.2. Portrayal and Depiction of Black ‘Foreigners’ in the *Daily Sun*

Black people from African countries other than South Africa are depicted in various ways. One common thread is their representation as ‘foreigners’. They are portrayed as ‘foreign residents’, ‘foreign nationals’, and ‘aliens’³ on the one hand, and more positively, as ‘African brothers’ on the other. Both these images can be found in the *Daily Sun*. All black foreigners in this context have and share as common characteristic of being ‘outsiders’, people who do ‘not belong here’. Black foreigners living or staying in South Africa for a long or short period are considered as not belonging to South Africa regardless of the notion that “*South Africa belongs to all who live in it.*” (www.sahistory.org.za)

With reference to immigration and traveling documents, there are conventionally two main categories: legal immigrants with proper and valid documents, and illegal immigrants without legal documents. Different types of black foreigners have been represented in the *Daily Sun* between February 2008 and December 2008. Some black ‘foreigners’ represented in the *Daily Sun* share or have among each other more or less pertinent and common characteristics. The subsequent features illustrate the contexts in which it occurred.

Subsequent examples clearly illustrate these widely used (essentially negative), depictions of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*, which range from viewing them as [illegal] ‘aliens’, to ‘foreigners’ and ‘refugees’, to the less common and, more positive, ‘African brothers’.

³ ‘Alien’ means a person who is not a South African citizen;
[Definition of ‘alien’ substituted by s. 5 of Act 206 of 1993 and by s. 2 (a) of Act 76 of 1995.]
(<https://www.lawsoc.co.za/upload/files/alienscontrolact.htm> , accessed 5 November 2014)

4.2.1. Constructions of Black ‘Foreigners’ as ‘aliens’ and Illegal Immigrants in the *Daily Sun*

It can be argued that, in the *Daily Sun*, black foreigners who are considered to be ‘aliens’ are a ‘minority group’ and consequently they are discriminated against and marginalised by more powerful social groups. In this situation and context, black foreigners who come from various African countries are seen to belong to those countries. Black foreigners living or staying in South Africa are outsiders living inside the borders of this country. Black foreigners are portrayed as the ‘outsiders’ inside South Africa.

The presence of ‘outsiders’ inside a place or habitation has been always a threat for those who position themselves as insiders of that specific location. Aliens as they are portrayed in the *Daily Sun*, as outsiders pose a threat for the insiders. Aliens are strangers who do not belong. The word ‘aliens’ has been frequently and largely, and continues to be used to describe black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*. These representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* have been, in numerous and various cases, negative depictions. Xenophobic portrayals of black foreigners as “aliens” are visibly demonstrated in the *Daily Sun* through the subsequent illustrations.

Of all the South African newspapers, it seems to be said that the *Daily Sun*, is the one that is most often accused of providing negative reporting with regard to African foreigners residing in South Africa. An editorial (28/05/2008) which stated that it would give it readership, “*The Truth about Aliens*” is indicative of this tendency.

Further examples of the use of the term alien include:

Aliens pose as refugees. Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 2

Alien love doctors bust! Daily Sun, 4 February 2008: 2

Aliens clutter up our pavements. Daily Sun, 8 February 2008: 39

Alien sold stolen goods from house. Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 20

Aliens helped us during our dark days. Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 47

Alien shacks burnt down. Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

*About 400 shacks belonging to **aliens** of Itereleng informal settlement outside Laudium, Tshwane, were set alight, leaving them homeless.* Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

Aliens flee in terror! Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

Aliens who live in the area were dragged out of their homes by groups of armed men. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

Aliens who live in the area were dragged out of their homes by groups of armed men. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

*SA farmers recruiting and exploiting illegal **aliens** from Zimbabwe had a surprise visit from labour inspectors in a two-day operation that ended yesterday.* Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 11

Alien killed in night attack! Daily Sun, 29 February 2008: 4

*Cops nail illegal **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 3 March 2008: 12

*Too many **aliens**. We have millions of **aliens** and our population is smaller.* Daily Sun, 6 March 2008: 39

Aliens cash in on RDP greed! Daily Sun, 7 March 2008: 9

*Klipgat goes to war with **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*Cops had to rescue three **aliens** from the angry crowd, who were armed with stones, sticks, and sjamboks. The **aliens** were beaten badly, but the crowd dispersed when police blasted them with rubber bullets.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*250 000 **aliens** go home to vote in elections.* Daily Sun, 18 March 2008: 12

*Three killed in **alien** attacks!* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Atteridgeville residents want **aliens** out of their township.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Residents vented their anger on **aliens** because councillors failed to come and address a protest march against poor service delivery.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Disgruntled squatters vented their anger and started looting shops and burning the shacks of **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Shops belonging to **aliens** in Phomolong, Brazzaville, Phalane and Saulsville were looted and burned.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Evil **alien** took all my cash!* Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 3

*I never married my **alien** lover!* Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 9

***Aliens** bust with stolen crossbars.* Daily Sun, 27 March 2008: 12

*The **aliens** were found in possession of a large number of suspected stolen railway line crossbars yesterday morning.* Daily sun, 27 March 2008: 12

***Aliens** arrested in crackdown.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*Cops have acted against illegal **aliens** in the Eastern Cape. Ten **aliens** from several African countries were deported after being found without valid residence permits.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*Some of the **aliens** were involved in criminal activities and some were running business in Mthatha and the surrounding area without licences.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*63 **aliens** bust in crime drive.* Daily Sun, 9 April 2008: 12

***Alien girl** (9) dies in attack. An innocent little nine –year- old girl was burned to death on Monday night when her shack was deliberately set on fire.* Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5

***Aliens** in court over abortions.* Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 5

***Alien** bust for fake marriage.* Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

*Cops nab three **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

Aliens are here to destroy us. Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

Aliens set cell on fire. Daily Sun, 6 May 2008: 12

*SA is hell for **alien kids**. Poor, lost children cross the border into South Africa.* Daily Sun, 8 May 2008: 10

Aliens use muthi to steal our cattle! Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 11

*It's war on **aliens**!* Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 4

*War on **aliens** turns really ugly!* Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2

*More than 1000 **aliens**, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes.* Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2

*The violence started on Sunday when a group of local people armed with sticks and guns attacked **aliens**, mostly Zimbabweans and Mozambicans. Most of the frightened **aliens** say they are now planning to go back to their countries.* Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2

*The suspects hate **aliens** enough to kill them. And they'll gladly loot **alien shops**.* Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2

*People from Alex attacked **aliens**, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. There are more than 1000 terrified men, women, and kids sleeping at Alexandra Police Station.* Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2

*Looters wage war on cops as **alien** attacks spread.* Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

*Gangs of looters ran through the dark streets bent double under the weight of goods stolen from shops owned by **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

*SA: a hell for many **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 2

*Blood and flames! **Aliens** killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred.* Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

*Hundreds of shacks and even cars belonging to **aliens** have been set on fire.* Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

***Aliens** armed with rocks fought back yesterday.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 1

*Teens assault and rob **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 2

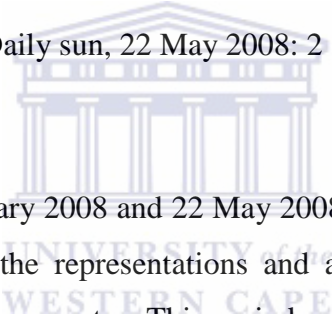
*Don't let the madness spread to Cape! **Aliens** told: Stay calm!* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

***Aliens** run for their lives!* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

*Home Affairs is arranging for the **aliens** to go home.* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

*The people are taking out their pain on **aliens**. And criminals are getting fat on loot.* Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2

*Police rob **aliens** and ask for sex.* Daily sun, 22 May 2008: 2



During the period between 1 February 2008 and 22 May 2008, the term '**alien(s)**' has been more generally and frequently used in the representations and activities concerning black foreign nationals living in the South African country. This period was identified in the discourse of the news reports as the period in which black foreign nationals represented or posed a social and national threat to local South Africans. The presence and the existence of black foreign residents were encountered and experienced as very much unfamiliar and much more disturbing in the South African nation. The following illustrations fit into this specific period.

***Aliens** pose as refugees.* Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 2

***Alien** love doctors bust!* Daily Sun, 4 February 2008: 2

***Aliens** clutter up our pavements.* Daily Sun, 8 February 2008: 39

***Alien** sold stolen goods from house.* Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 20

***Aliens** helped us during our dark days.* Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 47

Alien shacks burnt down. Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

*About 400 shacks belonging to **aliens** of Itereleng informal settlement outside Laudium, Tshwane, were set alight, leaving them homeless.* Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

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Aliens who live in the area were dragged out of their homes by groups of armed men. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

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*SA farmers recruiting and exploiting illegal **aliens** from Zimbabwe had a surprise visit from labour inspectors in a two-day operation that ended yesterday.* Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 11

Alien killed in night attack! Daily Sun, 29 February 2008: 4

*Cops nail illegal **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 3 March 2008: 12

*Too many **aliens**. We have millions of **aliens** and our population is smaller.* Daily Sun, 6 March 2008: 39

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*Klipgat goes to war with **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*Cops had to rescue three **aliens** from the angry crowd, who were armed with stones, sticks, and sjamboks. The **aliens** were beaten badly, but the crowd dispersed when police blasted them with rubber bullets.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*250 000 **aliens** go home to vote in elections.* Daily Sun, 18 March 2008: 12

*Three killed in **alien** attacks!* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Atteridgeville residents want **aliens** out of their township.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Residents vented their anger on **aliens** because councillors failed to come and address a protest march against poor service delivery.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Disgruntled squatters vented their anger and started looting shops and burning the shacks of **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Shops belonging to **aliens** in Phomolong, Brazzaville, Phalane and Saulsville were looted and burned.* Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Evil **alien** took all my cash!* Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 3

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*Cops have acted against illegal **aliens** in the Eastern Cape. Ten **aliens** from several African countries were deported after being found without valid residence permits.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*Some of the **aliens** were involved in criminal activities and some were running business in Mthatha and the surrounding area without licences.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*63 **aliens** bust in crime drive.* Daily Sun, 9 April 2008: 12

***Alien girl** (9) dies in attack. An innocent little nine –year- old girl was burned to death on Monday night when her shack was deliberately set on fire.* Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5

***Aliens** in court over abortions.* Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 5

***Alien** bust for fake marriage.* Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

*Cops nab three **aliens**.* Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

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***Aliens** set cell on fire.* Daily Sun, 6 May 2008: 12

*SA is hell for **alien kids**. Poor, lost children cross the border into South Africa. Daily Sun, 8 May 2008: 10*

***Aliens** use **muthi** to steal our cattle! Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 11*

*It's war on **aliens**! Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 4*

*War on **aliens** turns really ugly! Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2*

*More than 1000 **aliens**, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2*

*The violence started on Sunday when a group of local people armed with sticks and guns attacked **aliens**, mostly Zimbabweans and Mozambicans. Most of the frightened **aliens** say they are now planning to go back to their countries. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2*

*The suspects hate **aliens** enough to kill them. And they'll gladly loot **alien shops**. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2*

*People from Alex attacked **aliens**, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. There are more than 1000 terrified men, women, and kids sleeping at Alexandra Police Station. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2*

*Looters wage war on cops as **alien** attacks spread. Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3*

*Gangs of looters ran through the dark streets bent double under the weight of goods stolen from shops owned by **aliens**. Daily sun, 16 May 2008: 3*

*SA: a hell for many **aliens**. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 2*

*Blood and flames! **Aliens** killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3*

*Hundreds of shacks and even cars belonging to **aliens** have been set on fire. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3*

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*The people are taking out their pain on **aliens**. And criminals are getting fat on loot.* Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2

*Police rob **aliens** and ask for sex.* Daily sun, 22 May 2008: 2

The expression “*alien*” in this particular South African tabloid newspaper is generally used as noun in more cases, and as adjective in fewer cases. The term “*alien*” is a harmful, damaging and derogatory word. These are some examples of the ways in which the tabloid press uses the term: “*aliens*”, “*alien girl*”, “*alien kids*”, and “*alien shops*”. These expressions are frequently and commonly used for insults. With reference to these terms, the textual representation of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* is a textual and verbal abuse of this tabloid newspaper against foreign residents or foreign nationals staying or living in South Africa.

In some cases, many children from foreign parents are conceived and born in South Africa. They grow up in this particular country, yet they are still viewed and portrayed as ‘*alien kids*’. Many of these children have never been in the country of origin of their parents. This situation of depiction of kids in the *Daily Sun* as “*alien girl*”, “*alien kids*” damages and destroys the existence and the development of these children. This affects the children, and they feel left out or excluded by the society in which they are born. This condition of textual verbal and abuse in the *Daily Sun* creates, in the mind of these children, fear and diffidence. Consequently, fear and diffidence design and shape the human and social behaviours of these children. In a French context, Keaton (2006: xii) refers to Pierre Bourdieu (1977) who writes about “*beings perceived as foreigners, and not as French.*”

Shops owned by black foreigners are referred to as “*alien shops*” in the *Daily Sun*. Although these shops are not there to provide goods and services to foreign nationals exclusively and in many cases cater for the entire community, they are still depicted in this way. Even where the majority of beneficiaries are local South African residents or citizens, this view is perpetuated. In the *Daily Sun*, black foreign nationals and what derives from them are represented as “*alien*”. Their offspring and belongings and even their businesses, are portrayed and referred to as “*alien*”.

Along with this negative depiction as “aliens”, black “foreigners” are also frequently constructed as illegal immigrants in the *Daily Sun*. Black “foreigners” have been repeatedly and largely labelled in the *Daily Sun* as illegals or illegal people. Numerous black “foreigners” are described and exposed in the *Daily Sun* as living or staying in the South African country without appropriate and suitable official authorization from the South African government. This is often the case with Zimbabwean citizens as the following headline suggests: “*Zimbabweans are using Kenya’s tragic violence as an excuse to get into South Africa illegally*” (Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 8).



Zimbabwean citizens are depicted in the *Daily Sun* as opportunistic illegal immigrant people. Zimbabwean men, women, and children are seen to have exploited the immediate opportunities offered to them to get into the South African country through the northern border of South Africa. According to the *Daily Sun*, the tragic violence that happened in Kenya has been used by Zimbabweans as an excuse to get access into South Africa on a mass scale, even without official traveling documents in their possession.

Metaphoric representation is used by the *Daily Sun* in this setting. This figure of speech, the metaphoric mental attitude gave a picture of South Africa as a container and illegal Zimbabweans as contents. This illegal immigration and massive flood of Zimbabweans identified and described as black “foreigners” posed a threat in one form or another to the legal

workers already in the South Africa country. *“SA farmers recruiting and exploiting **illegal aliens** from Zimbabwe had a surprise visit from labour inspectors”* (Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 11).

Illegal black “foreigners” in general and Zimbabwean illegal immigrants in particular, used all means to get into this specific neighbouring country illegally. Without proper official authorization, illegal immigrants bribed South African immigration officials at the border to get into the country illegally. All the way through corruption and fabricated documents, South African borders are also open to illegal black “foreigners”. *“A top official at Home Affairs appeared in court yesterday in connection with an immigration scam. He allegedly used, or allowed others to use, an official stamp in Zimbabweans’ passports so that **they could come into South Africa illegally**”* (Daily Sun, 26 March 2008: 9).

In several circumstances, illegal immigrants escaped the police control as their drivers and mediators at the border are more experienced in illegal immigration and operation. In some cases, black illegal immigrants, during their unlawful and criminal immigration activities, are arrested by the members of the South African Services. Pickup trucks are frequently and generally used to load or transport a large number of illegal immigrants from neighbouring countries into South Africa. The subsequent examples illustrate reports in the *Daily Sun* about the issue of traveling without an official permission from the South African authorities.

*Two weeks ago the cops bust 38 **illegal immigrants** in a bakkie travelling from Beit Bridge.* Daily Sun, 26 March 2008: 9

*Cops have acted against **illegal aliens** in the Eastern Cape. Ten aliens from several African countries were deported after being **found without valid residence permits**.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

*The Erasmia cops arrested 63 **illegal immigrants** and one South African in a crime prevention operation in Diepsloot yesterday afternoon.* Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5

Illegal black “foreigners” are sometimes arrested at the borders, and those who managed to get into the South African country, without a lawful residence permits for their stay inside the country, are stopped and arrested by the members of the police. But this does not stop black illegal immigrants to flood into South Africa. Some illegal immigrants used other means to come back into South Africa as the border is always leaky, permeable, and penetrable.

Black illegal immigrants in general and those from Zimbabwean origin and nationality in particular, cross the border by foot or by transport to get access to South Africa. A very large number of Zimbabweans, most of them without official permission from the South African Home Affairs, cross or jump the border. The border crossing and or jumping become, sometimes and to certain extent, difficult to the immigration officials of South Africa to be controlled, as night time and especially weekend is the best and appropriated moment for getting into the neighbouring country illegally. *“Zims are flooding into SA. A survey between Musina and the Beit Bridge border post last weekend showed that 3800 Zimbabweans illegally crossed into SA just between Friday and Sunday”* (Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 1-2).



Black illegal immigrants crossing or passing through the northern border of South Africa are not only illegal immigrants of Zimbabwean origin. Other African illegal immigrants also used the same way or passage to get into South Africa illegally. The most important, for these other non-Zimbabwean illegal immigrants to get access to South Africa, is to enter Zimbabwe legally and once they are in Zimbabwe, and through mediators and facilitators with arrangement of some corrupted South African immigration officials, get entry to South Africa.

The journey is too long and too risky for non-Zimbabwean illegal immigrants crossing into South Africa. Leaving their country of origin is the most important. And the only dream of these black illegal immigrants is to cross the South African border at all costs. Some of these black illegal immigrants get caught inside the country by the South African police. *“Six illegal immigrants nearly set a cop station on fire when they burnt their blanket on Saturday. They were*

held for being in the country without documents and demanded to see embassy officials. Isipingo cops said the suspects were from Tanzania” (Daily Sun, 6 May 2008: 12).

Men and women are not the only people crossing the border illegally. Children in general and disadvantaged and missing children in particular cross the border illegally into South Africa. These children are lost and do not really know where they are going and do not actually see what is waiting for them on the other side of the border. These children are in most cases above suspicion and naïve. As so vulnerable they are, the journey of these children without traveling documents or national identity documents, is an adventure in the nature. *Poor, lost children cross the border into South Africa. Children without documents are open to sexual abuse and slave labour, imprisoned with adults, and then repatriated.* Daily Sun, 8 May 2008: 10

Men, women, and children come into South Africa illegally and massively. The amount of illegal immigrants in general and black illegal immigrants in particular crossing into South Africa is not precise. There are only approximations about the number of illegal immigrants in the country. These estimations come from diverse sources, some calculations on yearly basis, some on monthly basis, some on weekly basis, and some on daily basis. In all cases, it has been said that refugees are massively and illegally crossing or passing the border into South Africa, and the number is getting higher and complex. *“The flood of refugees illegally crossing the border gets higher every day. Estimates at the moment are that up to 100 000 people cross into SA illegally every month!”*(Daily Sun, 22 July 2008: 8).

From the above mentioned examples and extracts, it is apparent that in some other situations and contexts, black foreign nationals in the *Daily Sun* are described as “foreigners” or “refugees,” which seem to be a slight improvement from “illegal immigrants” or “aliens.” Some of these (slightly) more positive labels are discussed next.

4.2.2. Constructions of Black “Foreigners” as Foreigners in the *Daily Sun*

Black foreign nationals in the *Daily Sun* are considered as unfamiliar individuals or peoples. “Foreigners”, with reference to their description in the *Daily Sun*, are the unknown people in South Africa. This means that black foreign nationals do not belong to South Africa despite the fact they constitute a part of the populations and are residents in South Africa. The term “foreigner” is used to identify, classify and categorize an outsider in opposition to an insider, as stranger in opposition to a local, who is familiar or used and known to the group.

In concordance with this type of ideology and thinking, the term “refugee” is used to label or brand the black “foreigner”. “Foreigner” and “refugee” in this context, share the common characteristic of being leaving the country of origin to settle down in the host country and host society. This is a fact, through the language in use in the *Daily sun*, that black “foreigners” in South Africa are refugees in one form or another by being forced to leave their country of origin for political, economic or natural disaster reasons. The terms, “refugee” and “foreigner” are often used interchangeably. The following headlines and extracts from the *Daily Sun* illustrate the frequency and context in which these terms are used in this particular tabloid during the time period specified.

*Later in the evening, displaced **foreigners** gathered at Laudium Police Station for safety.* Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

*An estimated three million Zimbabwe citizens live in South Africa. They are **refugees** from political persecution and economic melt-down.* Daily Sun, 18 March 2008: 12

*Druggies beat up **foreigners**! Their aim was to beat and kill **foreigners**.* Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

*Many **foreigners** fled there when the attacks in Soshanguve and Atteridgeville got out of hand.* Daily Sun, 2008: 5

*Many **foreigners** were taken to Stanza Bopape Community Hall in Mamelodi East for their own safety.* Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

*No one was able to explain why they decided to attack **foreigners** and destroy their shops.* Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

***Foreigners** all over Joburg and the surrounding areas were attacked this weekend.* Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

*Fleeing the violence that has been unleashed against them, **foreigners** are starting to go home.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 3

*In Winterveldt, north of Tshwane, yesterday about 500 **foreigners**, mostly Mozambicans were scrambling aboard buses to take them back where they came from.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 3

*It's like a war. All over southern Gauteng, **foreigners** and South Africans are fighting.* Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 4

*Terrified **foreigners** huddle in churches fearing death. And crowds push to catch buses for the border.* Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 1

*In Durban, hundreds of **foreigners** have fled from their homes following attacks in Cato Manor, Isipingo and Bottlebrush squatter camp near Chatsworth.* Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 3

*There is no reason for looting – because there is nothing left to loot! And there is no reason for violent attacks because most **foreigners** have left.* Daily Sun, 26 May 2008: 2

*Most locals want to make peace with **foreigners**.* Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2

*Many people in Cape Town want to apologise to **foreigners** and invite them back into the townships.* Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2

*Young people in troubled townships have spoken out. And they hate xenophobia – they want **foreigners** to stay.* Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4

*Residents marched to show sympathy for **foreigners**.* Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4

Foreign refugees shifted to camps. Victims of violence have been moved to different temporary shelters around Joburg. Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 8

*At the Rand Airport camp **foreigners** were worried that they would never be accepted by their former neighbours in Makause squatter camp outside Primrose. Daily Sun, 1 October 2008: 5*

An analysis of the newspapers indicates that the textual representation of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* changed over time. Black “foreigners”, initially described as “refugees”, and “foreigners”, came to be referred to as “foreign residents” and “foreign nationals”.

4.2.3. Representations of Black “Foreigners” as Foreign Nationals and Foreign Residents in the *Daily Sun*

“Foreign residents” and “foreign nationals” are more neutral terms used in the *Daily Sun* in the period between February 2008 and December 2008 to refer to black people from other African countries. It is specifically important to emphasise here that, the terms “foreign residents” and “foreign nationals” are not used that often to describe black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun*. Only a few examples thereof were identified in the data gathered. These include:

*Peace finally prevails! Locals and **foreign residents** joined hands to end the unrest. Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 10*

*Shops milking locals dry. The **foreign nationals** have fled... and now the locals are crying! And residents are not the only people crying. Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7*

*Any threat against **foreign nationals** is illegal, unacceptable and will result in action by the South African Police Services. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2*

In these preceding precise illustrations, language and ideology play a particular significant role in this given tabloid newspaper. Expressions like “foreign residents” and “foreign nationals” are used to diffuse tension and create a more harmonious relationship between locals and “foreigners” in South Africa. The selections and the usages of these specific words and expressions are deliberate and serve the purpose outlined above. This is further demonstrated by the use of the term “African brothers” when referring to black people who are not born in South Africa.

4.2.4. Representations of Black “Foreigners” as African Brothers in the *Daily Sun*

Black “foreigners” are also emotionally and sentimentally represented in the *Daily Sun* as “*African brothers*”. This positive way of describing and representing black “foreigners” is indicative of the correct manner, in which black “foreigners’ coming from other African countries need to be treated. Black “foreigners” need to be treated equally as their South African counterparts as they all belong to the same continent and therefore are “brothers” no matter what their country of origin. This depiction of foreigners as African brothers is demonstrated in the subsequent illustrations.

They are our African brothers and it is our responsibility to protect them. Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

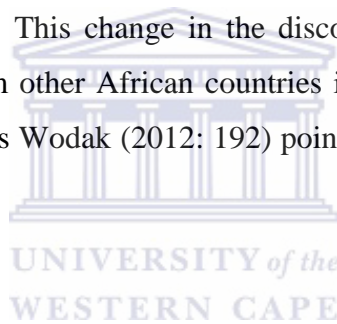
Africans, let us all unite. South Africans, let us remember that before we say that we are South Africans, we are Africans. Daily Sun, 21 July 2008: 5

4.3. Change in Representations of Black Foreigners in the *Daily Sun*

From the extracts cited it is apparent that there was a change in the way in which the *Daily Sun* portrayed and referred to black “foreigners’. Change, in this specific context, is any significant shift, adaptation or transformation over time, starting with the mental attitudes of particular individuals and landing on behavioural shapes of community or the society as a whole. The

mental attitudes of representing black foreign nationals in the *Daily Sun*, a South African tabloid newspaper, have changed and have been shaped over time in the behaviour forms or comportment arrangements, and social values identified in the reports between February 2008 and December 2008.

In the reports of the *Daily Sun*, black foreign nationals who were firstly and quickly represented by this specific tabloid newspaper as “*aliens*” (strange and estranged people whose presence are hostile to locals and/or natives who consider themselves as belonging to a specific ethnic and cultural groups somehow defined by their citizenship, membership and their historical and geographical location) and “*illegal immigrants*”, are secondly represented as “*foreigners*”, and furthermore as “*foreign residents*”, “*foreign nationals*”, are thereafter are represented, after a long wait, as “*African brothers*”. This change in the discourse within the news reports with reference to foreign nationals from other African countries in South Africa in the *Daily Sun* is very significant and ideological. As Wodak (2012: 192) pointed out “*discourse is a place where language and ideology meet.*”



During the period from 22 February to 1 October 2008, the *Daily Sun* has been using the term “*foreigners*” to represent African foreign nationals in some frequent settings and regular surroundings. After 20 May 2008, the terminology of this specific South African tabloid newspaper has changed. In the post 20 May 2008 publications of the *Daily Sun*, the term “*alien*” has disappeared completely. The withdrawal of “*alien*” terminology in the tabloid was understood by the fact that the term “*alien*” has caused more troubles in the community and society by impelling and propelling more hatred or dislike and hostility towards Africans of other African countries. The following illustrations fit for these circumstances.

Later in the evening, displaced foreigners gathered at Laudium Police Station for safety. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

*Landlords who rented RDP houses to **foreigners** have lost their tenants, and taxi bosses are suffering from fewer customers.* Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7

*Most locals want to make peace with **foreigners**.* Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2

*Many people in Cape Town want to apologise to **foreigners** and invite them back into the townships.* Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2

*Young people in troubled townships have spoken out. And they hate xenophobia – they want **foreigners** to stay.* Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4

*Residents marched to show sympathy for **foreigners**.* Daily sun, 29 May 2008: 4

*After the terror, back in business! Slowly ... slowly... **life is becoming normal again**. That's after the terrible violence which shook the country in recent weeks... driving many **foreigners** out of the townships and into emergency camps.* Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

*At the Rand Airport camp **foreigners** were worried that they would never be accepted by their former neighbours in Makause squatter camp outside Primrose.* Daily Sun, 1 October 2008: 5

During the period from 23 May to 8 September 2008, the terms “**foreign residents**” and “**foreign nationals**”, more neutral and discreet in their nature, and closely diplomatic, have been used. These terms were only used in few occasions to represent or say some political representatives' view about the violence of hatred that has happened in the country. Ideologically, these terms were used to switch off the flames of the intense dislike. The succeeding illustrations fit for this ideology and philosophy.

*Peace finally prevails! Locals and **foreign residents** joined hands to end the unrest.* Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 10

*Peace finally prevails! One township has set a great example for the country. **Locals and foreign residents joined hands** to end the unrest. And peace returns to Diepsloot on Sunday.* Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 10

*Shops milking locals dry. The **foreign nationals** have fled... and now the locals are crying! And residents are not the only people crying.* Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7

***Foreign refugees** shifted to camps. **Victims of violence** have been moved to different temporary shelters around Joburg.* Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 8

*Any threat against **foreign nationals** is illegal, unacceptable and will result in action by the South African Police Services.* Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

During the period from 2 June 2008 to 21 July 2008 the terms “**African brothers**” and obviously “**all Africans**” have been utilized in the news reports of the *Daily Sun*. “*African brothers*” in opposition to and in comparison with “*aliens*” or “*foreigners*”, seemed at that specific time of the events more fraternal and compassionately appropriate to describing and representing black foreign nationals living in the South African nation as numerous of them have been maltreated and victimized by the strong wind and the powerful storm of the violence. The subsequent illustrations revealed these feelings of sorrows for Africans from other countries.

Help aliens, don't kill or hate them!** People have been killed **only because they come from a foreign land. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 31

*There is **much wailing about the debt we owe foreigners**, the lessons we should learn from our own struggle, **the dignity of all Africans**, the evils of xenophobia – the big word for hatred of foreigners.* Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 1

*They are our **African brothers** and it is our responsibility to protect them.* Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

Africans, let us all unite. South Africans, let us remember that before we say that we are South Africans, we are Africans. Daily Sun, 21 July 2008: 5

Just limited times, in the earlier news reports of its publications, *Daily Sun*, used to call and describe Africans from other African countries by their nationalities. The description or representation of these other Africans by their respective nationality is more general and further frequent from August 2008 till 17 November 2008. This period was seen as the period of peace, reconciliation and harmony amongst foreign residents and local citizens in the country. The existing situation and atmosphere in the country explained clearly the language used and the language in use in the tabloid. The subsequent illustrations revealed the normalization of the situations and conditions.

Zimbabweans are using Kenya's strategic violence as an excuse to get into South Africa illegally. Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 2

Man killed in shop robbery. Somali shop owners came under attack by an armed gang for the second time in three days. The attack happened at Biko Village near Mdantsane on Wednesday night. Daily Sun, 29 August 2008: 2

Two Tanzanians were shot and killed with one bullet each in the RDP house they were renting at Nemato Township. Daily Sun, 1 September 2008: 2

Two Somali shopkeepers were shot dead in NU 14, Mdantsane, in East London, Eastern Cape. Two more Somalis were injured in a spate of attacks. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

A Somali mother and her three children were butchered at Thambo Location, Whittlesea, on Friday. The mother and daughter and two sons were found in a pool of blood on their shop floor on Friday morning. Daily Sun, 29 September 2008: 2

The death toll of Somali shopkeepers continues to rise. In the latest incident a Somali man was gunned down in his spaza shop at the weekend. Daily Sun, 7 October 2008: 2

Port Elizabeth cops arrested a man at his flat in Central for dealing in prostitution, drugs and human trafficking. About 2pm on Thursday, a 34-year-old Nigerian was arrested in Central for drugs and human trafficking. Daily Sun, 17 December 2008: 4

South Africans and other Africans have to form a single organised and cohesive group based on harmony and sharing common interests. These common interests can only be achieved if all unite and respect one another through the process of being human to one another. All parties, South Africans and Africans from other origins, need to show better abilities and merits of humanity or humankind. The next chapter continues to discuss the findings of this study.



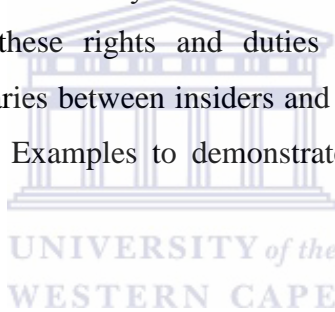
4.4. Summary

This chapter brings together the portrayal and depiction of black foreigners articulated in the tabloid. This chapter also discussed the change in representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* which has resulted in inconsistent messages and imagery. The next chapter continues to discuss the findings of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: Research Findings – Part Two

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter looked at some of the terms used to describe black ‘foreigners’ in the *Daily Sun* and how this has changed and also become less clear over time. The notion of moral panics and how this contributes towards (mostly negative) perceptions of foreigners is also explored in this section. But first, the ways in which black Africans are depicted as outsiders and referred to as “them” or “they” as opposed to “us,” which is reserved for South Africans, is discussed. This is exacerbated by government policy and service delivery which excludes the “other”, in this case, black African immigrants. Xenophobia needs to be seen in this context. Since 1994, citizenship and nation-building became a key focus in South Africa and “outsiders” like black foreigners were excluded from these rights and duties and they were denied access to government resources. The boundaries between insiders and outsiders were drawn, and in many respects, remains this way today. Examples to demonstrate this within the newspaper being analysed are provided next.



5.2. Constructions of Black “Foreigners” as Unknown People and References to Them as “They” or “Them” in the *Daily Sun*

Black “foreigners” are constructed and represented as unknown people in the *Daily Sun*. African foreign nationals living in South Africa are represented in the *Daily Sun* as unfamiliar people. This means that black “foreigners” are not known to the South African people or society in several settings. As unknown people, black foreigners are, at that moment, considered as “strange people”. The following quotations taken from in this specific tabloid newspaper illustrate these representations.

They came into the country expecting greener pastures. Daily Sun, 3 March 2008: 12

Instead they are allegedly being used in brothels as prostitutes. Daily Sun, 3 March 2008: 12

They are refugees from political persecution and economic melt-down. Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

They deprive South Africans of their belongings. Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

They said cops did nothing about the attacks and that nobody had been arrested for the killings and robberies. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

It has been observed in the preceding illustrations that the personal pronoun “**they**” is repeatedly occurring in the discourse, and this pronoun “*they*” refers to black “foreigners”, the unknown people, the unfamiliar people, the other people or the “others”. The recurrence of the pronoun “*they*” in the discourse implies “**Othering**”.

“**Othering**” is seen in this context as “*not one of us*”. This process of representation perceives or portrays black foreigners as fundamentally different from local residents or South African citizens and subsequently as alien, foreign, unknown or strange. Black “foreigners” identified and mentioned in the *Daily Sun* as “*they*” are subjects and objects of social exclusion in this relevant setting. The use of “*they*” in opposition to “*we*” and “*them*” in opposition to “*us*” and “*our*” in opposition to “*their*” is accurately repeated in the *Daily Sun*. The following illustrations need to be significantly revealed.

ANC councillor Maria Modumela supports plans to have Zimbabweans and Mozambicans thrown out of Skielik informal settlement in Soshangwe North. Community leader Mmule Ramaswe said: “**We** have limited freedom in **our** own country... that is why **we** need **them** out.” Daily Sun, 22 April 2008: 5

Aliens are here to destroy us. I hate those who come to our country to sell drugs and sex and commit criminal acts. Not all of them are criminals but the majority of them are here to rob and destroy South Africans. They deprive South Africans of their belongings. Foreigners are not here to develop or improve our country. Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

Other examples, although of a more positive nature, include:

They mean a lot to us... we will make sure they are safe. Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

We are really struggling. Everything is different without them. We miss them so much! Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7

With the illustrations of the previous examples from the *Daily Sun*, it absolutely emerges that this antagonism can be understood through the concept of a moral panic. A moral panic is a strong and deep feeling conveyed or expressed in a particular population about a collective issue that seems to threaten the societal order as a whole. This study argues that, the concept of moral panic can be used to improve understandings of xenophobic intolerance, which remains a social problem in South Africa. Black “foreigners” living in South Africa are described and depicted in the *Daily Sun* as aggressors and as dangerous, and this discourse results in a ‘moral panic.’

Several of the key characteristics of moral panics as identified by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994), are evident in the reports in the *Daily Sun*. For instance, the widely accepted belief that the group in question, viz., ‘foreigners’ originating from other African countries, have a negative effect on South African society and resultant hostility towards them. The media can perpetuate moral panics and this study argues that with regard to xenophobia, the *Daily Sun* has played an important role.

5.3. Representations of Black “Foreigners” as Criminals and Aggressors in the *Daily Sun*

Black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* are depicted to a certain extent as constituting a social threat for many South Africans. Black “foreigners” are seen as the ones causing problems and troubles and worries, damage and destruction to South Africans. The perceived aggressiveness of their actions and activities in the host country is crucial and important to mention in this concern. Black “foreigners” are portrayed as threatening people through a number of criminal acts they committed in the country. Black foreigners have been implicated in a wide variety of criminal

activities ranging from running unlicensed businesses to murder. Several reports on these activities have been pointed out in this tabloid newspaper.

From the analysis of the *Daily Sun*, it is clear that black “foreigners” are frequently depicted as people who are deeply involved in criminal activities. Black foreign nationals are accused in the *Daily Sun* of running businesses in South Africa without valid registration and trading or hawker licences. In some cases, black “foreigners” deal in second-hand goods without a legal second-hand dealer licence. This is seen to pose a threat to registered and licenced businesses and at the same time increases criminal activities in the country.

*We found that some of the **aliens** were **involved in criminal activities** and some were running businesses in Mthatha and the surrounding area without licences.* Daily Sun, 2 April 2008: 2

Some black immigrants who came from other African neighbouring countries are depicted as robbers in the country. With reference to robbery, the more vulnerable people are women. Black African immigrants are seen to target powerless women to deprive them of their belongings. Young African immigrants in general, living in the townships, are really experienced in criminal matters as the *Daily Sun* reported. “A woman was **robbed** of her personal belongings **by a young Zimbabwean thug**. He managed to escape and was never arrested.” (Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5)

Black “foreigners” do not only rob in the street. Black foreign immigrants are also wanted for housebreaking too. They are depicted in the *Daily Sun* as dangerous housebreakers. Black “foreigners” are portrayed as intruders and by the fact, are real criminals. Criminality is a threat to social order. People do not feel safe walking on the street in fears to be robbed. At home, housebreaking is taking place. In order to monitor social order, these criminals are arrested. The following quotes demonstrate this view.

*One of the arrested men was found to be **wanted for housebreaking and robbery** in Gauteng. Daily Sun, 7 March 2008: 2*

*Three **aliens** went on a housebreaking spree. But quick-thinking cops spoiled their fun on Wednesday. The Mozambicans were **caught red-handed** in a Tshwane house. Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5*

Black immigrants are also depicted in the *Daily Sun* as possessors of stolen goods. Some of the stolen goods are stolen by themselves, and in other cases, they buy stolen goods from thieves, people who steal other people's belongings or property. Stealing public property or somebody's belongings and buying stolen goods are criminal acts condemned by the South African law. Criminal activities as such among black "foreigners" are exposed in the *Daily Sun*.

*The **aliens** were found **in possession of a large number of suspected stolen railway line crossbars** yesterday morning. Daily Sun, 27 March 2008: 12*

*Two **Nigerian men** were **arrested with stolen cigarettes** worth than a million rand in Soweto-Sea in Port Elizabeth. Daily Sun, 17 November 2008: 2*

Black "foreigners" living in South Africa are also being investigated for helping South African and foreign women terminate unwanted pregnancies. The so-called foreign 'doctors', without professional training and without registration with the South African Department of Public Health, performed abortions on women. The exercise of illegal abortion is very dangerous and in this context, the pretended foreign doctors are not health specialists. Most of their customers or clients are women who run away from the registered governmental health care facilities for one reason or for another.

Some of the reports on this issue include the following extracts:

And as stunned cops and the Sun Team looked around uneasily, a foreign healer, Dr Hassan, rushed into the room, picked up the moaning head... the mysterious head was used to help women abort unwanted babies. Daily Sun, 7 March 2008: 1

Two Ugandans and a Burundian national accused of running illegal abortion clinics in Polokwane, have to appear in court again on 6 May. They were arrested on 11 March when police received a tip-off that clinics were being run in Church Street. Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

Black foreign immigrants are also depicted as killers in the *Daily Sun*. They take “the law into their own hands”. Mob justice is frequently used by black “foreigners” to deal with theft. This is a threat to the legal system and the law of the country, where physical attacks and mob justice are considered as criminal acts by the judiciary. It is very dangerous and harmful when a furious and angry person takes justice into his or her own hands. The consequences of this uncontrolled situation are disagreeable. Harm, injury, damage, and death follow. The subsequent illustrations reveal the types of (often violent) criminal acts reportedly committed by black “foreigners”.

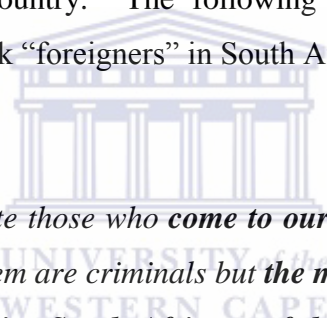
Mpethu was killed at about 5 am on Sunday, allegedly by a Zimbabwean who accused him of stealing wood. Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

In Addo, three Somali men were arrested for attempted murder. Daily sun, 8 September 2008: 2

The type and number of criminal acts committed by some foreign nationals in the country are diverse and numerous, according to the reports in the *Daily Sun*. Black “foreigners” are accused by local South African citizens and exposed in the *Daily Sun* for their crimes. In this setting, they are a threat to local residents and they also give hard time to the police who search for them. Since some of these black foreign nationals are illegal in the country, it takes time for the police to track them down should they become involved in crimes in the country.

*The Erasmia cops **arrested** 63 illegal immigrants and one South African in a crime prevention operation in Diepsloot yesterday afternoon. The residents were blaming **foreigners** in particular for these **crimes**.* Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5

As can be seen from the various extracts taken from the *Daily Sun*, black “foreigners” are portrayed as criminals who constitute a social threat in the country. They are depicted in this specific South African tabloid newspaper as destroyers, drug dealers, human traffickers and prostitutes. Not only male black “foreigners” commit crimes in South Africa, but female black “foreigners” too. As prostitutes, female black “foreigners” sell their bodies and, at the same time, smuggle and sell drugs in the country. The following illustrations reveal criminals acts committed by male and female black “foreigners” in South Africa.



*Aliens are here to **destroy us**. I hate those who come to our country to sell drugs and sex and commit **criminal acts**. Not all of them are criminals but **the majority** of them are here to **rob and destroy South Africans**. They **deprive South Africans of their belongings**. Foreigners are **not here to develop or improve our country**.* Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

*About 2pm on Thursday, a 34-year-old **Nigerian** was **arrested** in Central for **drugs and human trafficking**.* Daily sun, 17 December 2008: 4

Black “foreigners” are depicted as committing fraud in the country. Local South African people are shown, in the tabloid newspaper, as their main targets. This fraud involves defrauding and depriving South Africans from their money, and more often black “foreigners” use fake marriages to get a permanent resident status to stay in the country, and benefit from more advantages by getting a South African identification document. Fraud and counterfeit pose a major and permanent threat to local individuals and the nation as a whole. The succeeding quotes clearly illustrate this in the *Daily Sun*.

Four Somali thugs who conned a man out of R30000 were bust by cops at a carwash. Daily Sun, 15 August 2008: 2

She is married to a Nigerian. But she has no idea how this happened. She has never met the man before. Daily Sun, 20 October 2008: 10

Although black immigrants are mostly portrayed as criminals, in the same South African tabloid newspaper, they are sometimes also described as victims.

5.4. Representations of Black “Foreigners” as Victims in the *Daily Sun*

In several cases, black “foreigners” are described in the *Daily Sun* as victims. They are targets of the local residents in South Africa. Local residents take “the law into their own hands”. They murder, rob, and deprive foreign nationals staying or living in South Africa. Black “foreigners”, citizens from several other African countries are robbed at gunpoint, killed, injured and or lost their belongings as a result of deplorable xenophobic activities in the host country. This next section describes some of the ways in which black foreigners are victims of various forms of violence and criminal activities. The key patterns of violence are:

5.4.1. Black Foreigners as Victims of Robbery at Gunpoint

Black foreigners in general and Somalis in particular, are seen as easy targets for robberies and killings by some local South African residents living in the townships. This is explained by the fact that, many spaza shopkeepers or shop owners in South African townships are Somalis. As their shops are open for customers for long hours, they are exposed to robberies, which are often violent resulting in death.

Two more Somalis were injured in a spate of attacks. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

A Somali shop was robbed in Scenery Park on Friday. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

*A gang of young **thugs forced the Somali shop door open and stole everything** – clearing out the shop completely. Daily Sun, 19 September 2008: 2*

***Four thugs went on a crime spree, robbing two foreign-owned businesses.** Daily Sun, 19 September 2008: 5*

***“Somalis robbed! Then two local thugs are killed in a shoot-out.”** Daily Sun, 29 September 2008: 2*

***A Somali shop owner and his assistant were robbed at gunpoint on Monday night at Blani Street in Addo.** Daily Sun, 3 December 2008: 2*

The confrontation between shopkeepers and robbers ends up with injuries and/or killings. In most cases, shopkeepers are injured by their attackers. In other cases, foreign shopkeepers are shot and killed. Although the prevalent violence directed against Somali shopkeepers is often cited as evidence of xenophobic attitudes, Charman and Piper (2012) argue in their Delft study that such violence is not necessarily driven by anti-foreigner sentiment.



5.4.2. Black “Foreigners” as Shot and Killed

Black “foreigners” staying or living in the South African country are described in the *Daily Sun* as easy targets and victims of violent attacks propagated against them by their South African counterparts. These black foreign nationals are in many cases shot. Some are shot dead, and others who are lucky, survive from their injuries after the shootings. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* show transparently how black foreign nationals are victims of “shot and kill”.

***Somalis in Mthatha believe they are under siege after two of their country men were shot by unknown robbers. The thugs took an undisclosed amount of cash, cell phones, a car and house keys and run away.** Daily Sun, 7 February 2008: 2*

Residents vented their anger on aliens because councillors failed to come and address a protest march against poor service delivery. On Tuesday two Somalis were brutally killed as clashes erupted between the two groups. Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

It's war on aliens! Violent attacks on aliens continue! In Alexandra, north of Joburg, two men said to be aliens were shot and killed on Sunday night. The incident followed similar attacks in Atteridgeville, Mabopane and Diepsloot in which several people were killed and injured. Many shacks were also burned down. Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 4

Man killed in shop robbery. Somali shop owners came under attack by an armed gang for the second time in three days. The attack happened at Biko Village near Mdantsane on Wednesday night. Daily Sun, 29 August 2008: 2

Two Tanzanians were shot and killed with one bullet each in the RDP house they were renting at Nemato Township. Daily Sun, 1 September 2008: 2

Two Somali shopkeepers were shot dead in NU 14, Mdantsane, in East London, Eastern Cape. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

A Somali man was shot dead while visiting his brother. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

The death toll of Somali shopkeepers continues to rise. In the latest incident a Somali man was gunned down in his spaza shop at the weekend. Daily Sun, 7 October 2008: 2

A 21-year-old spaza shop owner was shot dead during an armed robbery in Masiphumelele on Friday evening. The Ethiopian owner of the shop was shot in the chest during the incident. Daily Sun, 10 November 2008: 2

5.4.3. Black “Foreigners” as Stabbed to Death

In certain circumstances, black “foreigners” are stabbed to death. Stabbing people commonly happens in everyday life in South Africa. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* specifically expose those persecutions, oppressions, and discriminations.

The three Zimbabweans were sleeping when men burst into their house and stabbed one to death. Daily Sun, 29 February 2008: 4

Black foreigners, victims of attacks and killings, are not only men. Women and children are victims too.

“A Somali mother and her three children were butchered at Thambo Location, Whittlesea, on Friday. The mother and daughter and two sons were found in a pool of blood on their shop floor on Friday morning”. Daily sun, 29 September 2008: 2

5.4.4. Black “Foreigners” as Beaten to Death

Black “foreigners”, in numerous circumstances and situations, are victims of the mob. Black foreign nationals, as minorities, are confronted by the local huge crowd and cannot counterattack. Their South African counterparts use this sad opportunity to beat them to death. The subsequent illustrations in the *Daily Sun* clearly exposed these attacks.

Cops had to rescue three aliens from the angry crowd, who were armed with stones, sticks, and sjamboks. The aliens were beaten badly, but the crowd dispersed when police blasted them with rubber bullets. Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

Show your ID ... or we will kill you! In the old days it would’ve been cops demanding to see a dompas. But this time, it was a violent gang allegedly led by three nyaope smokers who decided to target aliens. Their aim was to beat and kill foreigners. Alien-owned cars, houses, and shops were in flames. Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

On Wednesday, a large group of thugs waked from door to door demanding to see IDs. They were armed with pangas, hammers and spades. And anyone who was unable to produce a South African ID was beaten to a pulp. Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

Foreigners all over Joburg and the surrounding areas were attacked this weekend. Two of them – presumed to be aliens – were eaten by flames after their houses were set alight. The rest of the

victims were beaten to death. Hundreds of shacks and even cars belonging to aliens have been set on fire. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred. The evil flames of violence spread all around the nation's largest city yesterday. 10 people – many of them aliens – have died and more than 100 have been injured. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

Black foreigners depicted in the *Daily Sun* are not victims of physical attacks only. Black foreigners are also poisoned, their belongings looted, and their material goods, burned. These dynamics or forces at work are the outcome of jealousy.

5.4.5. Black “Foreigners” as Victims of Jealousy

Daily Sun depicted black “foreigners” in certain circumstances and surroundings as victims of jealousy. This specific South African tabloid exposed clearly that some South Africans were profoundly and extremely jealous by committing certain abuses in the country. The subsequent examples are meaningfully revealed in the tabloid.

The man and woman were naked in bed. The mystery of their death has caused much speculation among the people.... Some people are saying the couple have been poisoned because someone was jealous of them. The man is thought to be from the DRC. The woman is a South African citizen. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 1

Several businesses belonging to foreigners have been looted and their shacks destroyed by residents who accuse them of being behind crime in the area. Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 5

Residents went on the rampage yesterday morning after the death of Tshepo Mpethu. They looted Zimbabwean and Mozambican spaza shops. Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

Disgruntled squatters vented their anger and started looting shops and burning the shacks of aliens. Daily Sun, 20 March 2008: 4

*Alien girl (9) dies in attack. An innocent little nine-year-old girl was **burned to death** on Monday night when her shack was **deliberately set on fire**. Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5*

*War on aliens turns really ugly! More than 1000 aliens, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes. Some of **their belongings and money were stolen** by the crowd. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2*

*Angry crowd attacks! The crowd accused the two (suspicious strangers) of housebreaking and rape incidents in the area and started a vicious beating. Battered and bleeding, they lie on the cold, hard tar road. **Behind them roaring flames are eating their Toyota Venture**. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2*

*More trouble in Alex! The suspects hate aliens enough to kill them. And they'll **gladly loot alien shops**. People from Alex attacked aliens, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2*

*No one was able to explain why **they** decided to **attack foreigners and destroy their shops**. Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3*

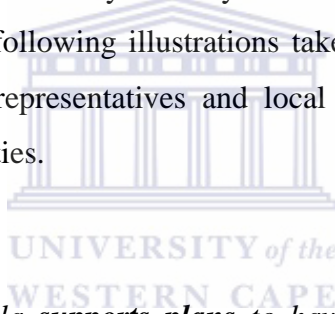
*At Secunda in Mpumalanga, **Somalian** Ahmed Ali (26) **lost his car and two shops** when a crowd **torched** them early on Wednesday. He told Daily Sun: "**I can't go back to Somalia because there is war and poverty there.**" Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2*

*At about 2.30am on Sunday the Athi-Amahlubi spaza **shop** in KwaZakhele was **burnt to ashes**. The 33 year-old **Somali owner** and his assistant were asleep at the time and were woken up by the smell of smoke. Daily Sun, 6 August 2008: 2*

5.4.6. Black “Foreigners” as Victims of Local Political Representatives and Local Business Owners

Black foreigners trading in the townships are not only victims of unknown robbers and killers. They are also victims of intimidation and threat from political representatives and local business owners in the area. Black foreign shopkeepers are accused of undercutting the prices of their South African counterparts that has led to the collapse of several locally owned spaza shops in and around the townships.

Daily Sun portrayed black foreigners as victims of local political representatives and local business owners. In this case, black foreigners knew their attackers, persecutors, and oppressors very well. This was confirmed by the study done by Charman and Piper (2012) among Somali spaza shop owners in Delft. The following illustrations taken from the *Daily Sun* disclose the damaging contributions of local representatives and local business owners in the spread of violence in the disturbed communities.



ANC councillor Maria Modumaela supports plans to have Zimbabweans and Mozambicans thrown out of Skielik informal settlement in Soshangwe North. Community leader Mmule Ramaswe said: “We have limited freedom in our own country... that is why we need them out.” Daily Sun, 22 April 2008: 5

The people say Somali shops offer good value. But rival shopkeepers tried to put them out of business. On Saturday, they attacked and looted four shops in Khayelitsha. Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 2

It is alleged that local business owners instructed the Somalis to close their shops and stop trading. When the Somalis refused, their shops were looted at gunpoint. Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 2

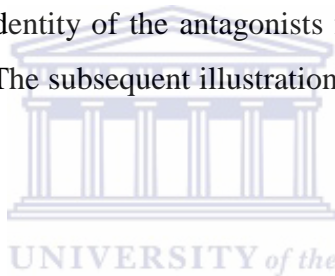
Gangs of looters ran through the dark streets bent double under the weight of goods stolen from shops owned by aliens. Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

Teens assault and rob aliens. They boys armed with traditional weapons assaulted the aliens until they handed over their bakkie keys. Cops said most of their stuff was stolen. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 2

Some local politicians and local business owners directly or indirectly contributed to the oppressions and persecutions of black “foreigners” in their communities.

5.4.7. Black “Foreigners” as Counter-attackers Who are at War with Locals

Black foreign nationals are also depicted in the *Daily Sun* as counter-attackers. The fight described and in the *Daily Sun* is called or named “afrophobia” or “negrophobia”. Foreigners and South Africans in this particular setting are enemies: Black South Africans and Black foreigners are fighting. The racial group or identity of the antagonists fighting is significantly highlighted and emphasized in the *Daily Sun*. The subsequent illustrations are painted in this specific tabloid newspaper.



*A war of stones broke out as Mozambicans and Zimbabweans near Joburg tried to **fight off a South African crowd** which was trying to chase them away. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 1*

*In an effort to make peace, a police helicopter roared only a few metres above the ground. It tried to push **the enemies** apart with the wind from its propeller blades. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 1*

*It's like **a war**. All over southern Gauteng, **foreigners and South Africans are fighting**. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 4*

*The **aliens** refused to run away and stood firing at the **locals** with guns. Other aliens went to the local police station for safety. Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 2*

*More than 200 fled to Rietgat and Phuthananong Police Stations, north of Tshwane. But armed **spaza owners fought back**. Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2*

The persistent atmosphere of dislike and detestation that happened in the townships went beyond the boundaries. Black foreigners and black South Africans with regard to *Daily Sun* are depicted as opponents and enemies. Local and foreign Africans reciprocally perceived and considered themselves as devils, demons and infernal beings. This is illustrated in the *Daily Sun* through the following transcriptions.

*Camp of fear! Go away, refugees tell SA visitors! No, no, no Xhosas ... only whites and coloureds. People were scared and angry. They said they were **angry with all Xhosas**.* Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 1-2

5.4.8. Black “Foreigners” as Victims of the South African Police

In South Africa, black foreigners are not only victims or targets of the local South African citizens in the informal settlements in which they live. Black foreigners are also victims of the police who are supposed to protect everybody or anyone living in the country. *Daily Sun* described and painted black foreigners as victims of the South African police. The following illustrations are revealed in this particular South African tabloid newspaper.

“Police rob aliens and ask for sex. Sad, scared and helpless foreigners are trying to get home with their few belongings. But their troubles are not over. Now they are at the mercy of cruel and thieving cops!” Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2

*Cops demanded R200 or they would take the family to Lindela Repatriation Centre. Several women told how **sex-hungry cops demanded favours**.* Daily Sun, 22 May 2008: 2

Black foreigners, in some situations and conditions of desperation, are victims of certain undisciplined and corrupt members of the South African Police Services (SAPS). Corruption and sex favours are revealed in the *Daily Sun*.

5.5. Summary

This chapter has dealt with the constructions of black foreigners as unknown people and the numerous references to “they” or “them” in the tabloid. This chapter also discussed the representations of black foreigners as victims on one hand, and on the other as attackers who are at war with local South Africans. The next and final chapter dealing with the findings of this study examines some of the stereotypes of black foreign nationals that feature in the *Daily Sun*.



CHAPTER SIX: Research Findings – Part Three

6.1. Introduction

Preceding chapters have shown how representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun* though mostly, negative, have changed over time. The multiple ways in which foreigners are linked to criminal activity in the country have been outlined. Additionally, ideas about ‘moral panics’ and how they can contribute towards these perceptions have also been highlighted.

Not all foreigners are depicted in the same way. This final chapter focusing on the findings of my research examines the diverse (often stereotypic) portrayals of black foreigners, who originate from different African countries in the *Daily Sun*. It also looks at this form of media’s portrayal of xenophobic violence and attacks on or by foreigners during the specified time period.

During the period February 2008 to December 2008, eleven nationalities of black African origin can be identified in the *Daily Sun*. These nationalities are Ethiopian, Somalis, Zimbabwean, Malawian, Zairian⁴, Ghanaian, Burundian, Ugandan, Cameroonian, Mozambican and Nigerian.

6.2. Nationalities and Stereotypes of Black Foreigners in the *Daily Sun*

The general view perpetuated by the *Daily Sun* is that foreign nationals, specifically, black foreigners living in informal settlements, are criminals and they are frequently accused of housebreaking and the rape of women in the area. “*Angry people in the crowd said that there were at least three housebreaking incidents in the area every week and women being raped.*” (*Daily Sun*, 15 May 2008: 2). Furthermore, all foreign nationals from other African countries living in South Africa are depicted and named “*makwerekwere*” (*Daily Sun*, 16 April 2008: 5).

⁴ ‘Zairian’: a native or inhabitant of Zaïre; of or relating to the former Zaïre (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) or its inhabitants (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/zairian>, accessed 10 November 2014)

Despite these common depictions, black foreigners from diverse nationalities are portrayed differently in the *Daily Sun*. Some of these depictions and stereotypes based on nationality are discussed next.

6.2.1. Ethiopians

Ethiopians are represented in the *Daily Sun* as hardworking and honest people from black African origin. Ethiopians are particularly dedicated in shop keeping and are stereotyped as *shopkeepers*. “*The Ethiopian owner of the shop was shot in the chest during the incident*” *Daily Sun*, 10 November 2008: 2

6.2.2. Somalis

Somalis are represented in the *Daily Sun* as *shop owners, conmen, murderers, murder victims and wanderers, vagrants or vagabonds*. In this specific South African tabloid newspaper, Somalis are at the same time positively and negatively stereotyped. Somalis have experienced the highest number of xenophobic deaths in the period 2004 - 2008 and the local media has been criticized for failing to condemn these acts (Mohamed, 2011).

The subsequent illustrations in the *Daily Sun* demonstrate the various stereotypes used for Somalis.

The people say Somali shops offer good value. *Daily Sun*, 9 May 2008: 2

Somali-owned shops were re-opened on Saturday in Mandela Park and Town Two. *Daily Sun*, 2 June 2008: 2

Somali conmen bust at car watch! Four Somali thugs who conned a man out of R30000 were bust by cops at a carwash. *Daily Sun*, 15 August 2008: 2

Three Somali men were arrested for attempted murder. *Daily Sun*, 8 September 2008: 2

More *Somalis killed*. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

6.2.3. Zimbabweans

Zimbabweans are represented in the *Daily Sun* as *bogus asylum-seekers, sellers of stolen goods, robbers, illegal farm workers*, and *killers* in South Africa. Falsification, possessing stolen goods, entering the country illegally, working illegally, and killings are among the severe criminal activities in South Africa that Zimbabweans are implicated in. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* expose these stereotypes of Zimbabweans living in South Africa.

*They pretend to be seeking asylum from the slaughter in their country – and Home affairs is falling in their scam! These **bogus asylum-seekers** are among the genuine refugees who apply at Home Affairs ...*” Daily Sun, 1 February 2008: 8

*“**Sellers of stolen goods**” Alien sold **stolen goods** from house. It was like a treasure house full of beautiful things. But they were all stolen. The man was charged with possession of stolen goods and he will be deported back to **his home in Zimbabwe** soon.* Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 20

*“**Robbers**”: A woman **robbed** of her personal belongings **by a young Zimbabwean** thug. He managed to escape and was never arrested.* Daily Sun, 21 February 2008: 5

*“**Alien farmworkers**”: SA farmers recruiting and exploiting **illegal aliens** from Zimbabwe had a surprise visit from labour inspectors.* Daily Sun, 22 February 2008: 11

*“**Killers**”: Mpethu was **killed** at about 5 am on Sunday, allegedly **by a Zimbabwean** who accused him of stealing wood.* Daily Sun, 10 March 2008: 5

*“**Thieves**”: It was established that all four illegal **immigrants from Zimbabwe** had cut the crossbars from a railway line in Pietersburg on Tuesday evening.* Daily Sun, 27 March 2008: 12

Some of the Zimbabweans are border criminals. This type of Zimbabweans implicated in border criminalities is called “*gumaguma*”. These Zimbabwean border criminals do not live in one place. They are nomads. They move from one place to another targeting and looking for vulnerable, defenceless and helpless male and female illegal immigrants. “[...] the mysterious Guma Guma tribe. The nomadic criminals prey on vulnerable migrants who cross the border illegally from Zimbabwe into South Africa”. (<http://www.enca.com>)

They are named “*gumagumas*”. *The word is a mixture of isiVenda and Karanga, a language from eastern Zimbabwe. It means “Thug”. Gumagumas – many of them carrying guns – prey on Zimbabweans who are fleeing their homeland’s collapsed economy and the harsh rule of Robert Mugabe.* Daily Sun, 22 July 2008: 8

6.2.4. Malawians

Malawians are represented in the *Daily Sun* as “*lover doctors*”, “*fake sangomas*” and “*con-artists*”. Malawians are, according to the *Daily Sun*, fraudsters. They pretended to be doctors and through that channel and network, defraud their South African victims of colossal amounts of money. Malawians in the *Daily Sun* are stereotyped as specialists of these sorts of criminal activities in the South African country.

Cops had received several reports that the suspects had defrauded Durban victims of hundreds of thousands of rands. (Daily Sun, 4 February 2008: 2)

6.2.5. Zairians

Zairians, natives of Zaire, (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) are stereotyped in the *Daily Sun* as “*dealers in fake money*”. Zairians in the *Daily Sun* are revealed as fake dollar makers in South Africa. Counterfeit money is a serious crime in South Africa. Zairians are described as claiming of making or producing currency for their South African victims. It is internationally known that producing or making counterfeit money is a criminal act, and this form of fraud is condemned by the South Africa authorities.

It is exposed in this South African tabloid newspaper that “*Zairian arrested for black dollars! A 44 -year-old man was arrested for dealing in fake money*” (Daily Sun, 15 February 2008: 4).

6.2.6. Ghanaians

Ghanaians are stereotyped in the *Daily Sun* as “*crooks*”, “*fake sangomas*”, and “*secret husbands*”. Ghanaians, according to the *Daily Sun*, are fraudsters ranging from false healers to people involved in false marriages in South Africa. Ghanaians in the *Daily Sun* reports are also depicted as criminally active in the country. Ghanaians commit crimes by marrying South African citizens only to stay permanently in the country. In some other settings they falsely get married to South African citizens to travel out of the country as their refugee status would not allow them to do so. *Daily Sun* revealed in its reports, some descriptions and depictions of Ghanaians living in South Africa.

Mlungiseleli, from Motherwell in the Eastern Cape, says he was tempted by the get-rich-quick scheme offered by the alien who pretended to be a sangoma. Now he’s sold his house for R68000 and lost it all to a crook from Ghana. Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 3

She lived happily with her Ghanaian lover for two years. But they split when she found he had married her in secret. Daily Sun, 25 March 2008: 9

6.2.7. Ugandans and Burundians

Ugandans and Burundians are stereotyped in the *Daily Sun* as “*illegal doctors*”, and “*fake sangomas*”. According to the *Daily Sun*, Ugandans and Burundians are criminally active in South Africa. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* exposed their activities in the South African country.

“Illegal doctors”: Two **Ugandans** and a **Burundian** national accused of running illegal abortion clinics in Polokwane, have to appear in court again on 6 May. They were arrested on 11 March when police received a tip-off that clinics were being run in Church Street. Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

The **Ugandan sangoma** promised to enlarge his penis and make him very rich. But instead the poor guy lost R40000 and his 4-5 is still the same unsatisfactory size. Daily sun, 23 October 2008: 5

6.2.8. Cameroonians

Cameroonians are stereotyped for their involvement in criminal activities in South Africa. In the *Daily Sun* they are portrayed as “**marriage fraudsters**”. Marriage fraudsters are also called or labelled as “**secret husbands**”. They get married to single South African women secretly with arrangement of some professionally unethical and corrupt agents or representatives of the South African Home Affairs Department. Fake marriage or false is a serious crime in South Africa. These marriage fraudsters or secret husbands are, in numerous cases, unknown to their female South African victims.

“It was so painful because I have never seen him, not even in my dreams. Worst of all they said that he is from Cameroon. I don’t know anyone from that side,” Boitumelo said. Daily Sun, 17 April 2008: 9

6.2.9. Mozambicans

Mozambicans, in the light of the *Daily Sun*, are stereotyped in place of housebreakers, possessors of stolen goods, in a word as thieves. Mozambicans, with regards to the *Daily Sun*, are criminally active in stealing goods in South Africa and taking the stolen goods from South Africa to their country, Mozambique as both countries are very close or nearby neighbours. The subsequent illustrations in the *Daily Sun* fit into their criminal acts. The following illustrations in the *Daily Sun* have been identified.

Three aliens went on a housebreaking spree. But quick-thinking cops spoiled their fun on Wednesday. The Mozambicans were caught red-handed in a Tshwane house. The thugs led cops to another house where stolen items were kept. The goods were to be taken to Tembisa and then to Mozambique. Daily Sun, 18 April 2008: 5

Mozambicans come by night to steal South African cattle. The villagers employ Mozambicans to look after their cattle. But they don't pay them. So the herd boys take the cattle and sell them. Daily Sun, 9 May 2008: 11

6.2.10. Nigerians

Nigerians, considering the *Daily Sun*, are stereotyped in support of marriage fraudsters, possessors of stolen goods, prostitute pimps, drug dealers, and human traffickers. Marriage fraud is recognized in the country as a crime in the way that South African victims, in most cases, females did not even know these immigrant foreigners. Obviously, this false marriage happened, with the arrangement of corrupt marriage officers in the South African country.

Nigerians are also revealed in the *Daily Sun* as possessors of stolen goods. Buying and selling through possessing stolen goods is a very lucrative and criminal business. This criminal business is condemned by the law of the South African country. Nigerians, in consideration of the *Daily Sun*, are more active in this law-breaking. Nigerians are also portrayed in this specific tabloid as drug dealers. Drug dealing is also another significant criminal offense.

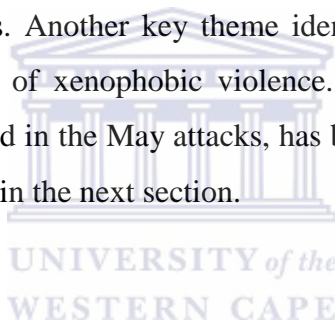
Nigerians in the *Daily Sun* are stereotyped as prostitution agents or prostitute suppliers. In order to supply prostitutes, human trafficking becomes the appropriate and common way. Nigerians in the *Daily Sun* are stereotyped as human traffickers. All these crimes, in which Nigerians are involved, as indicated in the *Daily Sun*, are very severe criminal activities. The subsequent illustrations are revealed and stereotyped Nigerians in South Africa.

She is married to a Nigerian. But she has no idea how this happened. She has never met the man before. Daily sun, 20 October 2008: 10

Two Nigerian men were arrested with stolen cigarettes worth than a million rand in Soweto-Sea in Port Elizabeth. Daily Sun, 17 November 2008: 2

Port Elizabeth cops arrested a man at his flat in Central for dealing in prostitution, drugs and human trafficking. About 2pm on Thursday, a 34-year-old Nigerian was arrested in Central for drugs and human trafficking. Daily Sun, 17 December 2008: 4

As can be seen by the above examples, although different stereotypes based on nationality can be identified in the *Daily Sun* reports, for the most all black foreigners are portrayed in a negative light – as criminals and fraudsters. Another key theme identified in the *Daily Sun* during the period under investigation is that of xenophobic violence. Violence directed against foreign nationals in 2008, which culminated in the May attacks, has been a major focus in reports in this newspaper. This topic is examined in the next section.



6.3. Coverage of the Violence Perpetuated against Black Foreigners in the *Daily Sun*

The *Daily Sun* has shown an excessive interest in the coverage of the events of xenophobic violence perpetuated against black foreigners in the South African country in 2008. Media in general have the primary roles of informing, educating, and entertaining the public in general and the community in particular. At the beginning of the xenophobic attacks in 2008, *Daily Sun* has been very active in the violence coverage.

News headlines and articles in the *Daily Sun*, with reference to the coverage of the violence perpetuated against black foreigners, need a more particular attention from the readers to understand the meaning beyond the words chosen and used. The choice and the selection of news headlines in this specific tabloid newspaper at that specific time, carry a specific ideology. The

tone of the news coverage played a very negative role in the society at that particular time of xenophobic atmosphere in the country.

Far from being a profession regulated by or with normative rules, journalism seems to be, to a certain level, a point of junction and fusion among objective, inter-subjective and subjective news reports. In some cases, journalists reveal and express their emotions, attitudes and behaviours, and therefore their goals. The *Daily Sun* in some of its news reports was more provocative in the sense that, the coverage of xenophobic violence was avoiding fair, transparent, and objective principles. News headlines and articles in the *Daily Sun* were so offensive. The ideology behind the coverage was to insult black foreigners, to stimulating local South Africans to fight against black foreign residents, to confronting both sides in war by indirectly and ideologically supporting locals through inflammatory reports.

In this context, *Daily Sun* coverage of the violence perpetuated against black foreigners has intended to stimulate angry atmosphere among local South Africans and consequently it has negatively encouraged violent feelings of local residents against black residents living in the country. The subsequent illustrations reveal the emotional and partial way in which *Daily Sun* reported the news.

ANC councillor Maria Modumaela supports plans to have Zimbabweans and Mozambicans thrown out of Skielik informal settlement in Soshangwe North. Community leader Mmule Ramaswe said: "We have limited freedom in our own country... that is why we need them out."
Daily Sun, 22 April 2008: 5

Modumaela agreed: "That's the truth – aliens must move out." Daily Sun, 22 April 2008: 5

Aliens are here to destroy us. I hate those who come to our country to sell drugs and sex and commit criminal acts. Not all of them are criminals but the majority of them are here to rob and

destroy South Africans. They deprive South Africans of their belongings. Foreigners are not here to develop or improve our country. Daily Sun, 29 April 2008: 39

It's war on aliens! Violent attacks on aliens continue! In Alexandra, north of Joburg, two men said to be aliens were shot and killed on Sunday night. The incident followed similar attacks in Atteridgeville, Mabopane and Diepsloot in which several people were killed and injured. Many shacks were also burned down. Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 4

Residents on the rampage! It happened at Orange Farm Extension 9 in the Vaal yesterday morning. Angry residents went on the rampage. They said they had been waiting 13 years for basic services such as proper toilets, water and electricity. Daily Sun, 13 May 2008: 5

War on aliens turns really ugly! More than 1000 aliens, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes. Some of their belongings and money were stolen by the crowd. Daily Sun, 14 May 2008: 2

More trouble in Alex! The suspects hate aliens enough to kill them. And they'll gladly loot alien shops. People from Alex attacked aliens, mostly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2

The way in which *Daily Sun* portrayed the xenophobic events in the country before or during the period leading to the month of May 2008, was biased, uncritical and generally irresponsible in news reports.

Not only black foreigners were perceived as foreigners. Some South African citizens were seen and perceived by the tabloid as not “real South Africans”. South African people, who were darker in skin colour, were also attacked. The following illustration associated some South Africans with black foreigners. This demonstrated that these South African citizens associated with black foreigners because of the darkness of their skin colour were insufficiently South Africans.

And now South Africans are victims too - mainly Shangaans and Vendas. They are fleeing Alex in fear of their lives. Daily Sun, 15 May 2008: 2

It is crucial and significant to mention that South African women who were married to foreign nationals, including their children were also victims of xenophobic attack in the informal settlements in which they lived. In some cases, they were attacked by their neighbours, their belongings stolen, and their shacks burned down. Being married to or connected with black foreigners, in these circumstances, meant being a double agent and this posed a threat to the community. The subsequent illustrations are of barbaric behaviours through sensationalist language in the *Daily Sun*.

*Nomoya Mabaso and the man in her life, a Mozambican immigrant, enjoyed a happy life with their neighbours. Nomoya's shack was **burned down by people from the same neighbourhood which had been so happy the week before.** Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 1*

*"Nomoya and Antonio have lost everything. The warmth and the smiles are gone – instead they are being treated as enemies, and it seems, **it's all because Antonio is and alien.**" Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 2*

*Masilela, a South African who is married to a Malawian, said "The people here call us **makwerekwere** and the police do nothing." Daily Sun, 16 April 2008: 5*

*The rampaging thugs were **roaring for foreign blood.** And a Congolese barber had to run for his life. Eric Tony (31) had to leave his barber shop in Delft – and his eight -months - pregnant South African wife." Daily Sun, 30 May 2008: 4*

*Gangs of looters ran through the dark streets bent double under the weight of goods stolen from **shops owned by aliens.** Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3*

*It was as though **Satan and his evil angels had come** to Diepsloot squatter camp, between Joburg and Tshwane on Monday night. And it happened soon after the people of Alexandra,*

north of Joburg waged on foreigners, mostly Zimbabweans and Mozambicans. Daily Sun, 16 May 2008: 3

The manner in which, the *Daily Sun* portrayed and represented the xenophobic violence and attacks can be justifiably seen as a sensationalistic method of reporting news. The following extracts from the *Daily Sun* demonstrate this sensationalistic method of reporting news.

Blood and flames! Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred. The evil flames of violence spread all around the nation's largest city yesterday. 10 people – many of them aliens – have died and more than 100 have been injured. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

Foreigners all over Joburg and the surrounding areas were attacked this weekend. Two of them – presumed to be aliens – were eaten by flames after their houses were set alight. The rest of the victims were beaten to death. Hundreds of shacks and even cars belonging to aliens have been set on fire. Daily Sun, 19 May 2008: 3

Goodbye Mzansi! Fleeing the violence that has been unleashed against them, foreigners are starting to go home. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 3

It's like a war. All over southern Gauteng, foreigners and South Africans are fighting. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 4

Aliens run for their lives! Terrified foreigners huddle in churches fearing death. And crowds push to catch buses for the border. At Park Station bus terminus in Joburg, there were scenes of desperation. Daily sun, 21 May 2008: 1

The open veld next to Ramaphosa squatter camp in Reiger Park was turned into a battlefield yesterday. Screams and gunshots filled the air as groups of locals armed with pangas, axes, sticks and stones charged at groups of aliens hiding in the veld. Daily Sun, 21 May 2008: 2

Hate begins to spread! It's been 11 days since attacks on foreigners started in Joburg's Alexandra Township. Although Gauteng was relatively quiet yesterday, attacks have now flared up in other parts of the country. Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 3

*After the terror! Now the suffering foreigners are in a cold, wet camp. “The government has put salt on our wounds, instead of helping us! They have **dumped us in the bush** at Pretoria.” These are the words of a furious foreigner at the Pretoria North refugee camp on Wednesday. Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4*

*The death toll of Somali shopkeepers **continues to rise**. In the latest incident a Somali man was **gunned down in his spaza shop at the weekend**. Daily Sun, 7 October 2008: 2*

The manner in which *Daily Sun* portrayed the happenings has shown some fluctuations and variations. The subsequent illustrations are of less ferocious behaviours through less arrogant language in the *Daily Sun*. The following illustrations are of significant importance.

*Meanwhile in Diepsloot, between Joburg and Tshwane, **good people** are trying to **repair the damage** done to their community. They conducted their own operation to fight crime. They **recovered stolen property, firearms and other weapons used to attack foreigners last weekend**. Daily Sun, 20 May 2008: 3*

*Mbeki gives army go-ahead. **President Thabo Mbeki has given the go-ahead** for the “involvement” **of the military in the violent xenophobic clashes in Gauteng**. Daily Sun, 22 May 2008; 2*

***Peace finally prevails!** One township has set a great example for the country. **Locals and foreign residents joined hands** to end the unrest. And peace returns to Diepsloot on Sunday. Daily Sun, 23 May 2008: 10*

*Looters run wild in Cape Town! There is **no reason for looting** – because there is nothing left to loot! And there is **no reason for violent attacks** because most foreigners have left. Daily Sun, 26 May 2008: 2*

***Most locals want to make peace with foreigners**. Many people in Cape Town want to **apologise to foreigners and invite them back** into the townships. Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 2*

After the fury, SA counts the cost. The flames of the hate have died down and cops are on patrol. And across the country many people are praying that the madness will not return. Daily Sun, 27 May 2008: 3

It's safe to go back. South Africans went to Zolani Centre in Nyanga to urge refugees to return to the community after the march on Tuesday. Daily Sun, 29 May 2008: 4

After the terror, back in business! Slowly ... slowly... life is becoming normal again. That's after the terrible violence which shook the country in recent weeks... driving many foreigners out of the townships and into emergency camps. Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

Four Somali - owned shops were re-opened on Saturday in Mandela Park and Town Two. Daily Sun, 2 June 2008: 2

Shops milking locals dry. The foreign nationals have fled... and now the locals are crying! And residents are not the only people crying. Landlords who rented RDP houses to foreigners have lost their tenants, and taxi bosses are suffering from fewer customers. Daily Sun, 3 June 2008: 7

Africans, let us all unite. South Africans, let us remember that before we say that we are South Africans, we are Africans. Daily Sun, 21 July 2008: 5

More than 100 accused in 15 cases of malicious damage to property, robbery and housebreaking in the recent xenophobic attacks were supposed to give their side of the story yesterday. Daily Sun, 7 August 2008: 7

After the turning point of xenophobic attacks, issues were reported in a less sensationalistic way by the *Daily Sun*. The subsequent illustrations reveal this, and the tabloid informed the public or the society about current affairs in a less biased and sensationalist manner.

Man killed in shop robbery. Somali shop owners came under attack by an armed gang for the second time in three days. The attack happened at Biko Village near Mdantsane on Wednesday night. Daily Sun, 29 August 2008: 2

Two Tanzanians were shot and killed with one bullet each in the RDP house they were renting at Nemato Township. Daily Sun, 1 September 2008: 2

Two Somali shopkeepers were shot dead in NU 14, Mdantsane, in East London, Eastern Cape.

Two more Somalis were injured in a spate of attacks. Daily Sun, 8 September 2008: 2

*The court heard that 30 September – the date for **closing the camps** – had been shifted to **4 October** to accommodate those observing Ramadan.* Daily Sun, 17 September 2008: 5

A Somali mother and her three children were butchered at Thambo Location, Whittlesea, on Friday. The mother and daughter and two sons were found in a pool of blood on their shop floor on Friday morning. Daily sun, 29 September 2008: 2

They used to be everywhere across Gauteng for the past few months. **But** yesterday the last two **refugee camps were closed** by the government. Daily sun, 1 October 2008: 5

Several crimes have been committed during the xenophobic attacks on black foreigners in the time period under investigation. Criminal activities are ranging from robbery, rape, murder, possession of stolen goods and destruction of belongings or property. Black foreigners in the South African country also committed crimes, and commonly fraud, possessions of stolen goods, drug dealing and prostitution.

6.4. Summary

The chapter analysed the various stereotypical ways in which different nationalities of black foreigners were depicted in the tabloid newspaper. The chapter also looked at the coverage of the violence perpetuated against black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*, which has been actively involved in reporting on this issue in a mostly sensationalistic way. The language used by this tabloid and ideology underlying reports and headlines, specifically those related to the violent attacks perpetuated against black foreign nationals in the year 2008 has been examined. The conclusion follows.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

The three preceding chapters have focused on the findings of my research which examined the different and frequently stereotypic representations of black foreigners in the *Daily Sun*. This final chapter concludes the study and gives recommendations. It reviews the research objectives, the research conclusions, the contributions to the field of study, and it offers suggestions for further research.

7.2. Review of Research Objectives

Taking everything into account, the present study has undertaken to address the subsequent objectives:

- a. To examine the diverse ways in which the *Daily Sun* portrayed and depicted black “foreigners”.
- b. To explore the different types of black foreign nationals who are represented in the *Daily Sun*.
- c. To investigate the various stereotypes of black “foreigners” depicted in the *Daily Sun*.
- d. To examine the change of the representations and constructions of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* in the period from February 2008 to December 2008.
- e. To investigate *Daily Sun*’s representation and interpretation of the violence perpetuated against “foreigners” in South Africa.

The next section presents the investigation conclusions, establishing the degree to which the study objectives have been achieved or accomplished.

7.3. Research Conclusions

By means of a discourse analysis framework approach, the current study started out to understand the various ways in which black “foreigners” and black foreign immigration are represented in the *Daily Sun*. Each of these ways was taken into account consecutively in the three preceding chapters. Overall, the objectives of the present research have been achieved.

This specific study has undertaken to provide an expansive examination of the textual representations of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun*. The key intention of this study was to build on previous research on xenophobia and media news in South African. A combination of a linguistic approach for discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1991, 1993, Wodak, 2012) and a sociological approach on moral panic (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994), was used to show how the *Daily Sun* reported on black “foreigners” and events involving them during the year 2008, which was a critical year in terms of xenophobic attacks and violence in South Africa.

One of the strengths of this study is that, it offered a comprehensive investigation into the ways in which black “foreigners” were represented in the *Daily Sun*. Furthermore, this study also challenges to examine the depictions and representations of the nationalities of black immigrants that produce, mostly undesirable representation. It also tried to examine that which has not been addressed by earlier studies on portrayals of black “foreigners”. A more particular strength of this analysis is the combination and the blend of a linguistic approach and a sociological framework.

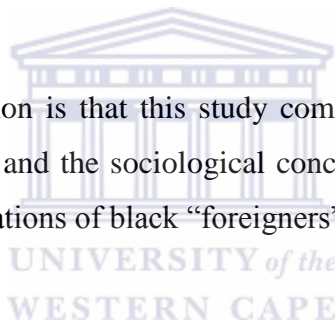
The May 2008 xenophobic attacks showed that, in South Africa today, nationality matters. So does race and class. Violent attacks were targeted towards the poorer and more vulnerable township residents who were not South African citizens. In this context, these tensions and conflicts cannot be solved without first tackling poverty and social inequality.

The next section assesses the academic contribution made by this study and suggests future research directions.

7.4. Contributions to the Field of Study

The current study offers an expansive volume of work on the investigation of the representations of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun*. It examines the implications of news headlines, articles, and texts and provides a comprehensive understanding of the way the *Daily Sun* has reported the xenophobic attacks and violence perpetuated against black “foreigners” and the ideology behind this reportage. The present study builds on former studies on this subject that generally emphasizes on the linguistic and textual representations of immigrants.

Another most important contribution is that this study combined a critical linguistic approach through critical discourse analysis and the sociological concept of moral panics to comprehend the investigation into the representations of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* as a whole.



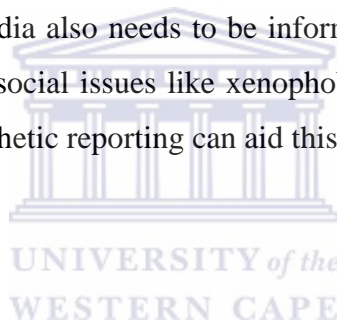
7.5. Suggestions for Future Research

Although this current study is evidently limited to a certain degree, it opens the way for future research. Taking into consideration the fact that this investigation emphasises the textual representations of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* in the period between February 2008 and December 2008, it fails to investigate the textual representations of black foreigners during other significant time periods and reports in other newspapers in the country.

To broaden the range of this study, besides the news from the newspapers, television, radio, pamphlets, weblogs, social media and film contents could have been investigated. In addition the newspaper records gathered could have been widened.

While this current investigation took into consideration the manner in which black “foreigners” are represented in the *Daily Sun*, it would be valuable broadening this study to incorporate interviews with local journalists who write the tabloid stories to get more understandings into media representation of black foreigners. It would also be appreciated widening this investigation to include interviews with foreign residents who are the focus of the stories to get more understanding about how they perceive and experience the South African society and themselves in South Africa.

Since xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment is not exclusive to South Africa and is on the increase all over the world, research findings could be used to help solve the problem elsewhere as well. Studies could also help determine who most at risk is since not all foreigners living in South Africa are targeted. The media also needs to be informed and journalists must be trained so that they become sensitised to social issues like xenophobia if it is to be overcome. A more critical approach as well as sympathetic reporting can aid this process.



7.6. Summary

The present study is an investigation into the textual representation of black “foreigners” in the *Daily Sun* between February 2008 and December 2008. The most significant finding of the current study is that negative language is mostly used to describe black foreign nationals and immigrants in the *Daily Sun*. The accompanying moral panics are a consequence thereof. The findings of this research reveal the widely held attitude that black “foreigners” are a huge social problem in South Africa. On the other hand, a few illustrations from the data demonstrate that at times black foreign immigrants are positively represented, taking into account their contribution to the host country.

Overall, this chapter has presented the review of research objectives, the research conclusions, the contributions to the field of study and the suggestions for further research.

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