Inviting xenophobia? An examination of *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe's* coverage of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

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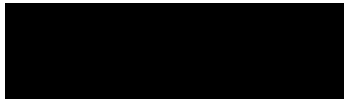
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Declaration

I, Cebisa Khwebulana (209537582), declare the following:

1. The content of this thesis, except where otherwise mentioned, is my own original work.
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3. This thesis notes not contain any other person's words, images, graphs or information, unless specifically acknowledged sources. Where other works have been used, they have been duly quoted and referenced accordingly. Where exact words have been used, they have been placed within quotation marks and referenced.
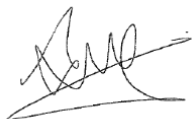
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Date: 4 February 2021

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Thulisile, Queen Khwebulana.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my family, Ziyanda Dlembula and friends for their unconditional support and love throughout this experience. None of the words are enough for me to thank you; *bethunana nindizele*!

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Last but not least, I would like to thank God for his mercies and love.

Abstract

Post-apartheid South Africa has become a prime migration destination for many foreign nationals. Previous research examines the way in which foreigners are represented in the press, particularly in the context of xenophobic attacks, but mostly with English newspapers as the case studies. This study examines the representation of foreign nationals in isiZulu vernacular tabloids, *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* during the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. This is significant, as Zulu people are the target audience of these two tabloids and they are a local community that were reported to be involved in instigating and carrying out xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Dube, 2018).

A total of 34 *Ilanga* and *Isolezw*e articles, from 1 April to 31 July 2015, were selected and examined. Content analysis is used in this study to examine the language used by these tabloid newspaper articles to determine how foreigners were represented during these 2015 attacks. The news articles about *Isilo* (King Goodwill Zwelithini) *abantu bokufika* (foreigners)*, abokufika* (foreigners)*, ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* (xenophobic attacks), *ukucwaswa kwabokufika* (xenophobia) were selected for this study. The resulting themes are interpreted through the lens of the theoretical framework of representation theory that assists in understanding how certain representations connect meaning and language to culture.

The study's findings show that negative and othering representations are present in within both *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe.* These publications highlight the difference between foreigners and South Africans. Foreigners are represented as illegal immigrants, criminals and rebels by both Isolezwe. *Ilanga had* only two negative stereotypes and they are *foreigners as illegal immigrants* and *criminals*. However, both publications included a positive theme, where foreigners are represented as desperate people who have no place to go. Then *Ilanga* represented foreigners as better business people compared to locals. Although there were not many positive themes about foreigners but this was a great start towards a balanced coverage. This is different from the previous research that focuses only on negative representations of foreigners.

Keywords: Foreigner, isiZulu tabloids, othering, representation, South Africa, xenophobic attacks.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC   African National Congress

CA   Content Analysis

IFP   Inkatha Freedom Party

KZN   Kwa-Zulu Natal

UN   United Nations

MMA   Media Monitoring Africa

SAMP   South African Migration Project

STATS SA   Statistics South Africa

NHI   National Health Insurance bill

UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

MMP   Migrant Media Project

SAHRC   South African Human Rights Commission

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

This study is situated within media studies and investigates the relationship between newspaper articles and society, and how representation produces meaning (Tomaselli, 2012). IsiZulu tabloid newspaper articles from *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe,* published from 1 April – 31 July 2015, will be studied in order to determine how foreigners were represented by these newspapers during and after the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Tabloids are proven to be appealing to the black South African community, which is the majority group in South Africa (Wasserman, 2005). The researcher selected tabloids newspapers over broadsheets because of how they are prominent in South African black communities. This was a marginalised group in South Africa during the apartheid era. Publishers of this era targeted richer minority (usually white people) groups with upmarket titles in English and Afrikaans (Wasserman, 2005).

Almost a decade into post-apartheid South Africa a range of new tabloid newspapers emerged, aimed at the poor and working class Black and Coloured communities (Wasserman, 2008). However, the previous studies conducted on tabloids and representations of foreigners were mostly English newspapers (Danso and McDonald, 2005, Pineteh, 20017 and Jani, 2018). Therefore, this study examines the representation of foreigners in isiZulu vernacular tabloids. This is significant, as Zulu people are the target audience of these two tabloids and they are a local community that were reported to be involved in instigating and carrying out 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Dube, 2018).

Problem Statement and Study Background

The moral regeneration campaign was initiated by former President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela in 1997. The aim of this campaign was to combat the national crisis of crime. Ever since its formation, it has taken on a variety of forms, and its messages have taken on political, religious and worldly and nation-building aspects (Rauch, 2005:15). Politicians, religious leaders and social commentators have all spoken about the breakdown in morality. The most commonly cited

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evidence of the crisis is crime, specifically crimes involving violence or those which involve citizens avoiding their basic duties and obligations to the state or to each other (Rauch, 2005).

The moral regeneration event of 2015 in KwaZulu-Natal was initiated for reasons that are similar to those of the conception of the campaign. "Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, in partnership with several entities, [had] thrown his weight behind a campaign for a crime-free KwaZulu-Natal and South Africa" (*IOL*, 2015:1). King Goodwill was set to launch the moral regeneration campaign in partnership with government in Pongolo, KwaZulu-Natal. This campaign was thematised as "harnessing the moral wealth of the nation" (Moral Regeneration Movement, 2015).

As per agreement the Zulu King kept his end of the bargain. He launched the Moral Regeneration at Pongolo. The date was 24 March 2015. The King made his speech in IsiZulu. A few days later, xenophobic attacks erupted in KwaZulu-Natal townships. The Zulu King was accused of stirring the attacks against foreign nationals (De Vos, 2015). This led to greater interest on the utterances made by the King at this event (De Vos, 2015). As a matter of fact, his speech was translated into English, with the help Zulu academics[1]. However, the speech was translated word for word, and Zulu idioms were allegedly not translated into their original meaning[2]. The following is the English version of the King's speech;

> The time is now for us to have a say. I would like to ask the South African government to help us. We must deal with our own lice. In our heads let`s take out the ants and leave them in the sun. We ask that immigrants must take their bags and go where they come from[3].

This speech is important to this study as it sets these particular attacks apart from subsequent attacks both in 2015 and more recently. The reason for this is that it was alleged that the King's speech was a catalyst for these 2015 attacks in Durban before moving to the other parts of the country (Dube, 2018). One of this study's objectives is to investigate if this perception of the role of the speech in spurring on attacks has any merit. This will be assessed based on if and how the news media referred to the speech in connection to reports of the attacks.

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[1] Available at www.enca.com (2015)
[2] Available at: www.enca.com (2015)
[3] Available at http://www.enca.com>south-africa>listen (15 April 2015)
7 Available at http://www.enca.com (2015)

It is alleged that this speech was a catalyst for the 2015 xenophobic attacks (Dube, 2018). During the 2015 xenophobic attacks, five people were reported dead as a result of the attacks. Two people, one from Congo and Ethiopia died after they were set alight. However, three South Africans also died[4]. Besides the casualties, foreigners from Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Burundi, Somali, Ethiopia and Pakistan were attacked in different areas of Durban, during the 2015 xenophobic attacks[5]. The researcher recognises that foreign nationals come to the host country for various reasons. Therefore, they are grouped by calling them by their reason for leaving their countries of origin. This is why it is important for this study to explain the different terms used to distinguish foreigners:

- Immigrant is someone who makes a conscious decision to leave his or her country of origin and move into a foreign country with an intention of settling in the new country (Rescue.org, 2018).
- Asylum seeker is someone who is also seeking international protection from dangers in his or her home country, but whose claim for refugee status hasn't been determined legally (Rescue.org, 2018).
- Refugee is someone who has been forced to leave his or her own country due to war, violence and persecution, and the person usually flee without a warning (Rescue.org, 2018).
- Foreigner is someone who was born in or who is coming from another country (*Oxford Dictionary*, 1992).

This study will use the word foreigner/s to describe people who are not from South Africa. This seems to be a fitting description as the researcher is not aware of why the people referred to in the newspaper articles left their countries. Furthermore, *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* used the term *abantu bokufika/abokufika*, which can be translated as foreigners, in their reports about the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

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[4] Available at www.sahistory.org.za, (2015)
[5] Available at www.sahistory.org.za (2015)

South African constitution on immigration and migration

After 1994 democratic elections, South Africa became a democratic country and post-apartheid South Africa became a prime migration destination for foreigners, especially foreigners from other African countries (Pineteh, 2017). The preamble of the constitution states that, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity" (The Constitution of the Republic South Africa, 1996). However, the issue of immigration/migration needs to be handled with the outmost care. Therefore, South Africa has two acts, which are specifically made for immigration. The first act is; Refugees Act, 1998, which states that "to give effect within the Republic of South Africa to the relevant international legal instruments, principles and standards relating to refugees; to provide for the reception into South Africa of asylum seekers; to regulate applications for and recognition of refugee status; to provide for the rights and obligations flowing from such status; and to provide for matters connected therewith" (Government Gazette, 1998:2). The second one is Immigration Act, 2002; "to provide for the regulation of admission of persons to, their residence in, and their departure from the Republic; and for matters connected therewith" (Government Gazette, 2002:2). Previous studies have used Aliens Control Act, 1995, however, act has been abolished and replaced by the Immigration Act of 2002 (Danso and McDonald, 2001). Although South African policy presents a tolerant and welcoming attitude towards asylum seekers and refugees, the reality for some of these people once they are in South Africa is very different. Xenophobia has been a primary reason for this.

Xenophobia

Xenophobia can be described as an attitudinal orientation of hostility against foreigners in a country; it is also described as an irrational dislike of strangers (Matuhnu, 2008:67). According to Smelser and Baltes (2001:76) the term originates from the Greek words (xenos), meaning "foreigner", and phobos, meaning "fear". People fear or dislike foreigners or immigrants because they feel like they are going to take over everything in the country. Matuhnu (2008) added to this notion by stating that xenophobia is a result of human nature to protect certain interests.

Due to natives protecting their country and scarce resources like healthcare, water, women and jobs, xenophobia is one of the principal causes of violence around the world (Klaude, 2001:2). It is usually characterised by a wide range of looting, killing and attacking foreign national's homes,

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shops and markets (Masenya, 2017). This is termed as lower level of xenophobia by Koenane (2013). Xenophobic attacks usually occur in poorer communities, where there is high number of unemployed people, Human Immuno Virus (HIV) and other illnesses are prevalent. Citizens in poorer communities are frustrated that they have to share the limited resources with foreigners. Due to these frustrations, South Africans blame foreigners for issues that need government intervention (Masenya, 2017).

This was the case with the 2015 attacks. Foreigners were attacked and assaulted, in some cases killed, and their shops were looted. Therefore, xenophobic attacks can be viewed as acts of criminality against the minority group (foreigners) in South Africa. It has been argued that the motive behind these attacks can be regarded as xenophobic in nature (Masenya, 2017). These acts were carried out by mostly young African black people, who reside in poor areas (Koenane, 2013). The 2015 attacks have been deemed to be motivated by xenophobia, as they were principally carried out against foreigners.

Also, there were more intrinsic motives to xenophobia and xenophobic attacks. A study by Danso and McDonald (2001), revealed that xenophobia is also a fear of loss of status and identity, a threat to what is perceived real, to citizens, a way of reassuring the national self and its boundaries in times of national crisis; a feeling of superiority; and poor intercultural information.

However, in South Africa xenophobia has been expressed towards mostly foreign nationals who are from the African continent. Foreign nationals from other continents from Europe do not suffer the rage of South Africans as the other people from Africa. Europeans are celebrated and the issue of illegal immigrants is never associated with them (Dube, 2018). Nyamnjoh (2010) argued that, foreigners from Europe are usually not affected by these attacks, because they usually reside in middle-class areas and are not seen as a direct threat to poor people living in informal dwellings. Their proximity of African immigrants to the people who commit these attacks is much closer than European immigrants. As a result, xenophobia has become a saying in discussions of the hostile attitudes and actions that have taken in South Africa towards foreigners, especially those from other African countries (Shepherd and Robins, 2008).

Afrophobia/ Negrophobia

The fact that African foreigners are implicated mostly in xenophobia and xenophobic attacks, has led to changing the face of xenophobia to a new term Afrophobia or Negrophobia. Afrophobia or Negrophobia is seen as the fear or dislike of black people and their culture (Gqola, 2009 and Mgxitama, 2009). This dislike is directed at black people from Africa, it can be from any race, the recipient of this kind of hate is a black African. Afrophobia can happen in any country where there are African descendants. It can be also described as Africa's fear of itself (Musun and Mchunu, 2018). There is a belief that Africans have a belief that anything that is from Africa is not good enough. Therefore, it becomes easier to scapegoat anything that is wrong to the people [6]of African descents. In South Africa, the belief that white people are superior to black people has been entrenched by the apartheid regime. This was done amongst other ways of stereotyping people of colour as dependent and lazy (Mamabolo, 2009). Afrophobia also incorporates the socio economic and political challenges, resulting from a social construct of what is perceived as the black race, faced by all the descendants of the African (Momodou and Pascoet, 2015).

Furthermore, Afrophobia is a means of identifying prejudice directed at a particular group (Gqola, 2009). It also denies them their humanity, dignity and personhood (Michael, 2015). It manifests itself as verbal abuse, spatial segregation and physical attacks as well as systematic racial discrimination amongst other things (Michael, 2015). Certain words are used to describe African immigrants these words are usually derogatory names, for example, *Makwerekwere and Makalanga*. The people, who use these words towards African immigrants, usually had no idea what these words mean or where they come from.

Afrophobia merges both new and old racisms bringing together racial assumptions about the natural inclinations of black people described with contemporary fears about African migrants in Europe (Michael, 2015).

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[6] Amakwerekwere- the ideology of "makwerekwere is a theoretical framework for explaining being, belonging and non-belonging in South Africa within which foreigners from African are imagined and treated as despicable others and should go home" (Isike and Isike , 2012, 95).

Racism

Racism also deals with race/racial issues. Racism is a form of oppression in which one racial group dominates others (van Dijk, 1991). This definition is inadequate as it views racism as an individual-level act and it moves away from more valid social and economic factors. Richards (1991) adds to this notion by stating that, racism refers to attitudes and practices which are explicitly hostile and derogatory towards people defined as belonging to another race. People of colour are usually denied access to better services as they are reserved for the dominant group. Their conditions are designed to limit them, making it hard to compete with the dominant group.

Racism is a complex societal system in which people of European origin governs peoples of other origins, especially in Europe, North America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand (van Dijk, 1991). The apartheid era is an example of racism. During this era, laws and constitution were designed to favour white people at all costs. This is because they were dominant group of that era in South Africa. Dominance may take many forms of "economic, social, cultural and or political hegemony legitimated in terms of usually negatively valued, different characteristics recognised by the dominated group" (van Dijk, 1991:112). Historically, one major characteristic selected as the basis for the categorization and negative evaluation of non-western people has been perceived by differences of bodily appearance, primarily skin colour (van Dijk, 1991).

Racism is a complex concept. It is more than the convictions used by an individual or a group to justify discrimination against others. It is not something outside of the individual or group, but an internalized frame of reference which directs the opinion of the individual or the group about himself or herself or themselves and others (Connolly, 1998). It has a direct influence on their deeds and behavior (Connolly, 1998 and Richards, 1997).

Xenophobia and racism often overlap, but are distinct phenomena. Racism is based on physical characteristics such as skin colour, hair type and features (Matuhnu, 2008). Yet, xenophobia is based on the idea that someone is a foreigner or that person originates from outside the nation in question (Matuhnu, 2008). Afrophobia is a term which has been recently adopted in order to distinguish racism against a particular target group (Michael, 2015). Afrophobia is another form of xenophobia. It is different from the other forms of discrimination because it is directed at black people. Black people are either oppressed by other black people who are from the host country, or

they are discriminated by other groups. In the case of KwaZulu-Natal, members from the local Zulu population have been reported to discriminate against foreigners (Bekker, 2015).

Zulu identity

One cannot dispute the involvement of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona in establishing the Zulu Kingdom which was formed by firm domination over previously independent chiefdoms, with their traditions and own identities (Buthelezi, 2008). It is believed that during King Shaka's reign, his people aligned themselves with the Zulu royal house and took an overall identity of Zulu (Buthelezi, 2008).

This overall identity was further divided by politics of cultural nationalism. According to Woods (2015), cultural nationalism refers to ideas and practices that relates to the planned resurgence of maintained national community's culture. One half of KwaZulu-Natal, which is the north of the province, is influenced by an ethnic or tribal identity (Buthelezi, 2008). Then, the southern side of KwaZulu-Natal province is identifying with both urban and tribal identity (Buthelezi, 2008). The northern KwaZulu-Natal homeland was once governed by Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe which in 1990 simplified its political title to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP); this was during the apartheid era (Buthelezi, 2008).

Over the years, the president of Inkatha Freedom Party, Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his party has been tied to the ideology of reinvention of Zulu greatness (Buthelezi, 2008). This is evident in a speech he made in January 2005, as a royal Zulu authority, He called on his audience "to preserve Zuluness to make our voice ring out across the hills and valleys of KwaZulu-Natal; to let the rest of South Africa know that we are Zulus" (Buthelezi, 2008:246).

Arguably, the KwaZulu-Natal government is aiming to keep 'Zuluness' alive in KwaZulu-Natal. This is done by renaming of the province's institutions such as the University of KwaZulu-Natal (formerly known as University of Natal), the University of Zululand, King Shaka International Airport, etc. (Ndlovu, 2011).

Thus, IsiZulu written tabloids readers choose to read these tabloids as culturally embedded people. Therefore, they are people with acquired cognitions, identity, attitudes and behaviours relating to their political and cultural environment (Atkin & Gantz, 1978: 184).

Location of the study

The study is text-based. However, the researcher resides in Durban which is the largest city in KwaZulu-Natal with a population of 3,158,313 (World Urbanization Prospects, 2020). This city is well known for its unique culture, friendly climate and the busiest port in South Africa (World Urbanization Prospects, 2020). In terms of demographics, Black Africans are a majority with over 51 percent of residents (World Urbanization Prospects, 2020). Followed by Indians or Asians, who are one-quarter of the population. Then, while 15.3 percent of the populations are White people, followed by 8.6 percent of Coloured people (World Urbanization Prospects, 2020). Almost half of the residents of Durban speak English as their first language even though Zulus are the prevalent ethnic group in Durban (World Urbanization Prospects, 2020). Other languages spoken in this city are isiZulu, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa (World Urbanization Prospects, 2020).

This study will focus only on news articles published in two KwaZulu-Natal based newspapers namely; *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe. Ilanga* is the oldest vernacular newspaper in South Africa. The newspaper was founded by 1903 by Dr John Langalibalele Dube, who was also a member of the African National Congress (Gilward and Madlala, 1988). *Ilanga* is a bi-weekly tabloid newspaper; this is because it is distributed twice a week, on Monday and Thursday (Conboy, 2006). It is one of the longstanding and prominent isiZulu newspapers in South Africa. The circulation figures are 50,966 (Breitenbach, 2019). This is one of the good performing newspapers in the country. In its first page, *Ilanga* covers over one hundred years of Zulu history and culture since its founding in 1903 (Gilward and Madlala, 1988). In April 1987, Mandla-Matla Publishing, an Inkatha Freedom Party-owned company took over ownership of *Ilanga* (Gilward and Madlala, 1988). This is the first newspaper to be owned by a political party. *Ilanga* is an affordable newspaper that costs R4.00 per tabloid.

Then, *Isolezwe* was launched in 2002 by the Independent News and Media (Ndlovu and Wasserman, 2015). This is a daily tabloid with circulation figures of 60,651 (Breitenbach, 2019). In the first five years of Isolezwe's founding, the tabloid was performing better than other newspapers under Independent Media (Ndlovu and Wasserman, 2015). *Isolezwe* is one of the affordable tabloid newspaper, as costs R4.60 per publication.

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The selection of these newspapers was inspired by the fact that they are both written in vernacular and their commercial success in the province. Their commercial success might be linked to many things; like the fact that they are written in IsiZulu. IsiZulu is widely spoken in South Africa, the language is spoken by almost a quarter of the population 23.5 percent (Kamer, 2020). With 78 percent speakers from KwaZulu Natal (Kamer, 2020). Other reasons are, cultural assertiveness of Zulus, as well as their position in respect of the power equation and resource allocation in South Africa; as well as the ability of the newspaper to pander to the taste of the youth and growing elites in terms of language use and content (Ndlovu, 2011:278 and Salawu, 2012). These reasons influenced the selection of these specific tabloids over other newspapers in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

Study objectives

The study's main objective is to examine the representation of foreign nationals in vernacular isiZulu print media during the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

1. To examine how foreign nationals were represented in the IsiZulu newspaper publications, *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* from 01 April to 31 July 2015.
2. To examine whether articles published in *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* from 01 April to 31 July 2015 construct an othering narrative in their coverage of the xenophobic attacks.

Research questions

1. How are foreign nationals represented in the isiZulu newspaper publications, *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* from 01 April 2015 to 31 July 2015?
    - What recurring themes are found in the articles?
    - How are these themes favourable in their portrayal?
    - How are these themes negative in their portrayal?
2. How do articles construct an othering narrative?
    - What evidence is there that the King's speech contributed towards the narrative of othering constructed in the articles (in what ways is the speech referred to)?
    - What evidence is there of a division between "Us /Them" between Zulu identity and foreign nationals?

Theoretical framework

The study's theoretical framework guides the data collection and analysis of the data in relation to the study objectives.

Representation

Representation has been studied over and over in different schools of thoughts, like psychology, cultural studies and linguistics. However, this study will use Stuart Hall's conceptual understanding to describe representation. Hall, Evans and Nixon (2013:4) describe representation as the "production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language".

Representation processes are both symbolic and social, expressing subjective, intersubjective and objective worlds (Hall, 1997). They constitute the architecture of all knowledge systems and in order to understand knowledge people need to understand the genesis of representation and the interrelations between self-other object that make it happen in social life (Jovchelovitch, 2007). Representation is a socio-cognitive practice which allows people to create sociality, position themselves, affirm their identities and defend themselves when attacked by others (Howarth, 2002). As such, representations are particular presentation of experiences, people, voices which are re-interpreted, and represented and constitute their realities (Howarth, 2002). It must be noted that representation is also an important part where meaning is produced and transferred to the members of the same culture (Hall *et al*, 2013). Therefore, representation includes the use of language, signs and pictures which represent things (Hall *et al,* 2013).

The problem with representation is the instability, hybridity and multiplicity of representation, which compete with each other (Howarth, 2002). The researcher takes into consideration that language gives people meaning of the world around them. This is also the biggest downfall of meaning. Meaning is not static but fluid, because it changes over time, and people interpret the world differently according to their frames of reference, thus there is a need for a common understanding in order to communicate effectively (Foucault, 1980). Traditionally, the problem with representation has been their "accuracy", the degree of fit between reality and its reproductions in the mind (Fabian, 2008).

Stereotyping

Stereotypes are a part of representation theory. They are used mainly in issues of social representation and identity construction. "Stereotyping is a socially constructed classification of particular groups and people as often highly simplified and generalized signs, which implicitly or explicitly represent a set of values, judgements and assumptions concerning their behaviour, characteristics or history" (Sullivan *et al*, 1994: 299-300). In addition, stereotypes are cognitive schemas used by people to process information about others (Hilton and von Hippel, 1996).

Furthermore, stereotypes are often described as static, limited and inert, but they often change as their content is not shared by everybody but is contextually and individually determined (Bar-Tal, 1997:76). However, if the stereotypes are communicated on a more frequent basis to the dominant group about the minority group, this changes. The images that emerge from stereotypes are often stable and decontextualized (Moore, 2003). Alternatively, stereotypes are not just reflections about attributes describing members yet additionally certain information about different characteristics, such as social roles and the level to which particular members of a group share certain qualities (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, and Esses, 2010). Stereotypes are not always about binary oppositions (good or bad). They are sometimes used to build identities and social order.

Stereotyping had been criticised because of its lack to recognise people for who they really are, instead they are reduced to simple and essential characteristics which are represented as fixed in nature (Hall, 1997). Van Dijk (1993) asserts that stereotypes get hold of those basic recognised characteristics of a person and define this person according to those traits. The little knowledge that is gathered from a group of people by stereotyping them is then used to identify the group. This is done without verifying how true the information about that group is. In fact, stereotypes are used by members of the dominant group to discriminate those who are the minority. This is because; stereotypes are not used only to promote discrimination by systematically influencing perceptions, interpretations and judgements but they also arise from and are reinforced by discrimination, justifying disparities between groups (Dovidio *et al*, 2010). It is this reported disparity or difference between local residents and foreigners in previously published research on the xenophobic attacks that led to the inclusion of othering as a core concept in this study (Pineteh, 2017).

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<u>Othering</u>

Othering is another form of representation. It can be defined as "a result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group ("us / "the self") constructs one or many dominated out-groups ("them/other") by stigmatizing a difference-real or imagined-presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination" (Staszak, 2008:1). The creation of othering consists of applying principle that allows individuals to be classified into two hierarchical groups: them and us (Staszak, 2008). The outer-group is coherent as a group as a result of its opposition to the in-group and its lack of identity. This lack is based on stereotypes that are largely stigmatized and simplistic (Staszak, 2008).

Furthermore, othering can consist of objectification of another person or group by putting aside and ignoring the complexity and subjectivity of the individual (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). Othering allows individuals to construct difference and sameness and to affirm their own identity (Jackson, 2012). Hall (1997) added to this notion by stating that otherness is key to understanding how identities are constructed, mostly political power controls the representation of different groups. Otherness is all about differentiating between us and them. Then, identity is formed as a result of comparing two groups.

Besides this, othering is the alternative to speaking racism, sexism, class, but a way of addressing an aspect hereof (Wren, 2001). Therefore, othering is concerned with the consequences of racism, sexism class or combination of the three in terms of symbolic degradation as well as the processes of identity formation related to this degradation (Jensen, 2011). Othering at the same time produces difference and problematises it, in the sense that the group which is othered is also in the process defined as morally and intellectually inferior (Schwalbe *et al*, 2000).

This theory is at the core of the current study that aims to identify if and how there is a division of "Us /Them" between Zulu identity and foreign nationals presented in *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*. More particularly, the study examines the language used by two *isiZulu* written and KwaZulu-Natal based tabloids, *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* to represent the 2015 xenophobic attacks to their target audience. The language used will be studied by identifying and analysing themes from these newspapers as representation involves the particular presentations of experiences, people and voices which are re-interpreted and represented and constitute their realities (Howarth, 2002).

Methodological Approach

Qualitative research can be defined as an interpretative research. Its common focus is to "interpret and construct the qualitative aspects of communication experiences" (du Plooy, 2009:30). According to Brennen (2013), qualitative research uses language in order to understand perceptions based on people`s experiences, and it also tries to create a sense of a larger realm of social relationships. The researcher will use this research approach because it reflects the views of representation by Stuart Hall (1997 and Hall *et al*, 2013), which is also the main theory of this study. Hall *et al* (2013) states that people use language to communicate their mental images with people of the same culture. In this study, the language used by *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga*, to represent the 2015 xenophobic attacks will be studied. This is because; qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular populations (Mack *et al*. 2005).

Data Collection

Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information on variables of interest, in an established systematic fashion that enables one to answer stated research questions, test hypotheses, and evaluate outcomes (Lapan, Quartanoli and Riemer, 2011). This research is a textual study and it will use news stories collected from *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga.*

Textual analysis consists of language, what it represents and how people use it to make sense of their lives (Brennen, 2013). Language is a basic element of our human interactions, and it is through language that the meanings of social realities are constructed (Brennen, 2013). Therefore, it is important to study newspaper language, in that it reflects the language structure of the majority of readers (Tanackovic *et al*, 2014). This study will use written material collected from *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga.* The data collected from these tabloids, will be coded and organised into themes.

Sampling

A purposive sampling strategy is used for data collection (Marshall, 1996: Latham, 2007: Babbie, 1990). This is a non-probability sampling method. When using purposive sampling, the selection is based on texts and respondents that share specific characteristics or qualities and the researcher eliminates those who do not fulfill the requirements (Fourie, 2007). It is a sampling technique whereby the researcher actively selects the most productive sample to answer the research question.

This study analyses 34 news articles from *Ilanga and Isolezwe* between 01 of April to 30 April 2015, because this is the time when the xenophobic attacks were at their peak. Then, from 01 May to 31 July 2015 is the aftermath. This is the period after the 2015 xenophobic attacks, where foreign nationals were either going back to communities in KwaZulu-Natal or leaving South Africa (Mamabolo, 2015). This is also this study's aftermath. The aftermath will also be studied, to see if there was any change in how foreigners were represented in the news articles. However, it must be noted that *Isolezwe* had more stories than *Ilanga. Isolezwe* had 26 stories about xenophobic attacks while *Ilanga* had eight stories. This is because Ilanga is a bi-weekly tabloid while Isolezwe is a daily tabloid (Conboy, 2006). The news articles selected had to have certain words like; *iSilo* (King Goodwill Zwelithini) *abantu bokufika* (foreigners)*, abokufika* (foreigners)*, ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* (xenophobic attacks), *ukucwaswa kwabokufika* (xenophobia) to be selected for this study.

Data analysis

This study will use qualitative content analysis as a data collection method. "Qualitative content analysis is a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative data" (Mayring, 2012; Schreirer, 2012:172). Qualitative content analysis is selected for this study because; the study aims to provide more knowledge about the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa. In addition, qualitative content analysis not only analyses the manifest content of the material (Mayring, 2010). Schreirer (2012) adds that it can also allocate sequential parts of the material to categories into coded themes. These themes are at the centre of the method, and it contains all the

aspects that feature in the description and interpretation of the material (Schreirer, 2012). Themes developed from qualitative content analysis will help answer the research questions.

The researcher will identify and assess patterns in the collected data through a qualitative content analysis. Then, data will be analysed by reducing the information into significant statements or quotes and combines the statements into themes (Creswell, 2007) that will then be interpreted using the lens of representation theory.

Structure of the Study

This study is divided into six different chapters. The first chapter provides the study's problem statement and the precise issue connected to this context that the study aims to investigate. This is best summarised in the objectives and key questions listed in the chapter. It also introduces the two publications, *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*. It then moves on to provide an overview of the study's theoretical and methodological approaches.

The second chapter contextualises the study by reviewing literature on representation of foreigners. This is done by reviewing the negative stereotypes in literature (Graham and Bohmke, 2013, Tafira, 2014, Kariithi *et al*, 2017 and Pineteh, 2017). Then, the positive representations of foreigners are discussed (Moiloa, 2015, Jansen, 2017 and Jani, 2018). Othering in media is also explored (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005, Smith, 2008, Allen *et al*., 2017 and Jani, 2018). This is followed by reviewing previous research on tabloid reports on xenophobic attacks (Asakititpi and Gadzikwa, 2015, Pineteh, 2017 and Jani, 2018). The final topic is the literature on isiZulu written tabloids (Ndlovu, 2011, Ngwane, 2014 and Tanackovic *et al*. 2014).

The third chapter explains the theoretical framework of the study. The principal theory that frames this research is representation theory (Hall *et al* 2013; Hall, 1997; 2016). Additionally, stereotyping (O`Sullivan *et al.* 1994; Hall, 1997 and Shaw, 2010) and othering (Fairclough, 2003: Said, 1978 and Spivak, 1988) will be discussed. These theories are explained in relation to the study's questions and objectives.

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The fourth chapter presents the methodology of the study. It starts with explaining the paradigm in which the study is embedded and then the associated qualitative approach and hermeneutic design as a textual analysis. It delineates the practical considerations on the purposive sampling and data collection.

The fifth chapter presents and analyses the data gathered from *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* about the representation of foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. Coding tables are included to demonstrate the logic and sequence of the qualitative content analysis, and how codes are built into themes. These themes are then discussed with reference to representation theory.

The sixth chapter concludes the study by summarising and synthesising the main findings in response to each of the key research question. It also proposes possible further research on the topic.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

A free press is important in any society for democracy to triumph. Such a press is referred to as a platform that gives voice to the minorities, marginalised people and the powerless, often shaping ideas and perspectives (Pineteh, 2017). Hence, it is important to study how print media represents minority groups like foreigners in South Africa. This chapter will examine previous studies conducted by different scholars, concerning the representation of foreign nationals in South African tabloid newspapers (Graham and Bohmke, 2013, Tafira, 2014, Kariithi *et al*, 2017 and Pineteh, 2017). The chapter also examines literature on positive representation of foreigners to strike balance (Moiloa, 2015, Jansen, 2017 and Jani, 2018).

In order to contextualise the above-mentioned focus, the chapter will discuss how print media covers news pertaining foreigners and how the covering leads to an othering narrative (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005, Smith, 2008, Allen *et al*, 2017 and Jani, 2018).

Furthermore, this study will discuss how tabloids newspapers portray xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Asakititpi and Gadzikwa, 2015, Pineteh, 2017 and Jani, 2018). Tabloids are discussed in this study because of their influential role in the representation of foreign nationals in South Africa. Then, IsiZulu written tabloids literature is discussed, as this study studies IsiZulu tabloid representation of foreign nationals during the 2015 xenophobic attacks (Ndlovu, 2011, Ngwane, 2014 and Tanackovic *et al*, 2014).

Negative Representation of Foreigners

The representation of foreigners especially black African foreigners in the press has been challenged over the past years. Yakushko (2009:36) conceded that print media is loaded with stories where foreigners are put down, slander and discriminated against. In addition, newspaper articles tend to focus mainly on negative connotations of foreigners, ignoring the positive coverage (Crush, 2008).

Hall (1978: 95) shares the same sentiment by stating that the media constitute a 'machinery of representation' determining what and who gets represented and what and who routinely gets left out (and) how things, people, events, relationships get represented, the structure of access to the media is systematically skewed towards certain social categories. Media is biased and at times overtly racist in its attitudes to foreigners (especially African Black foreigners) (Spears 2001). Mawadza (2012) points out that regardless of their different paths and trajectories, these migrants are regularly portrayed in an unpleasant light, denounced by locals as job-stealers, 'woman snatchers', drug dealers, con artists, and career criminals. Such stereotypes reduce and flatten the real complexities of dis-empowered and marginalised populations.

There are recurring discourses and themes that can be found within the studies presented above. As the majority of the studies use English press media as their case studies, this chapter now presents these already existing themes in order to assess how the isiZulu press compares. This identification of themes thus works towards the study's main objective to examine the representation of foreigners in the isiZulu written press, and if/how an othering narrative is constructed. These themes are; Illegal immigrants, aliens criminals, stealing local women from local men and destroying the healthcare system (Danso and McDonald, 2005; Jani, 2018; Pineteh, 2017 and Mawadza, 2012). These and other accusations are expressed during the xenophobic attacks.

Illegal immigrants
The criminalisation of foreigners from different parts of the world is compounded by the utilisation of increasingly obstructive terms like "illegal and alien". In addition, the press used illegal to stress criminality and also to highlight 'otherness' (Crush and Tevera, 2010:367-368). Such terms have been broadly criticised by foundations like the United Nations for contributing to misconceptions of an otherwise law-abiding group of people (Danso and McDonald, 2001). McDonald and Jacobs (2005) show that there are very conservative approaches or attitudes in the direction of immigration in South Africa. Their surveys found that South Africans have intensely negative views about immigrants, and predominantly black migrants from other African countries. Black migrants are marginalised and excluded by their South African counterparts. This phenomenon of

exclusion and marginalisation of black foreigners grows increasingly in a community and society where a large proportion of local citizens are fighting for survival because of the scarcity, worry, and panic of resources available for their existence. The phrase 'illegal(s)' appeared 1,162 times in 25 daily and weekly newspapers. It was the most frequently used term in South African news content about black African migrants from January 2011 to December 2015 (Kariithi *et al,* 2017:16). This discourse is connected to the idea that undocumented and illegal migrants are responsible for depressing wages, importing diseases and expanding activities of corruption within government departments (Murray, 2003).

As soon as asylum seekers are described as 'illegal immigrants', it is a small step before the debate spills over to the issue of immigrants generally (Kundnani, 2001:50). However, exceptions can be found like the changing cultural representations of ethnic minorities in British media across the years. These indicated that representations are far from historically fixed and tend to give growing expression to the surrounding cultural politics of 'new ethnicities' and 'hybridities' and multiculturalism (Hall, 1992; Ross 1996). Cottle (2000:28) noted that the term 'multicultural' and its relationship to cultural identity may be crucial in understanding the media's role in representations of minority groups like foreigners. In short, immigration and social problems were redefined as a race problem. Therefore, minority groups were not represented as being part of British society or any society, but as outsiders who preferably should be kept out.

However, Hartmann and Husband (1974) argued that the representation of foreigners as ordinary members of society has become increasingly surpassed by news agencies representing them as a problem to the entire society. This might not be the case in South Africa because foreigners reside mainly in semi-peripheral locations (Masenya, 2017). Therefore, people have the privilege of learning their culture from them as they are a part of the community in which they reside. And these are the exact same places where xenophobic attacks are prevalent (Masenya, 2017).

For instance, if race has continued to be signified as an external threat in relation to immigration scares, periodically resulting in headlines with emotional metaphors, such as swamping, tidal waves and floods, throughout the 1960s and 1970s and continuing up to the present (Gordon and Rosenberg, 1989; Searle, 1987), other studies have also noticed how the growing number of

British-born second- and third-generation minorities have been subjected to representations of the 'alien within'.

Aliens

The narrative of the image of the "alien" is associated with foreigners specifically (foreigners from African Countries), have been headline stories in popular print for many years (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Danso & McDonald, 2001). The press therefore treats foreigners like a homogenous category of "illegal aliens" (Harris, 2001). The term alien has been used by the South African state to describe immigrants since the 1930s, it has never been used as overtly and as regularly as it is today (Peberdy, 1999). This is because South Africa became a targeted destination for a number of foreigners, at the dawn of democracy. This term is problematic as it is associated with the Aliens Act of 1991 of which was used during the apartheid era (Harris, 2001). Where anyone who was black and not from South Africa was deemed an alien. These sentiments are still shared, however they are reserved for African or black foreigners. The term "alien," was used in the 1990s, it does not only imply that non-South Africans are extraterrestrial-not of this earth (let alone this country) but also implies difference, strangeness, and otherness (Peberdy, 2001). Otherness is important for this study as the researcher is examining whether articles published by *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* do construct an othering narrative.

The discourse of illegality pushes the discourse of post- apartheid South Africa of labeling foreigners from the African continent as "illegal aliens" (Morris and Bouillon, 2001). As Peberdy (1997:296) puts it "the depiction of African migrants as illegal aliens and illegal immigrants implies both criminality and difference". By reducing African migrants to criminals or aliens, South Africa is confronted with a powerful image of an illegal alien seen to pose a serious threat to the sanctity of the country. Therefore, violent attacks on Africans are justifiable mechanisms to purge criminals from their local communities (Peberdy, 2001).

Therefore, associating xenophobic attacks to apartheid-like violence immediately after 1990 brings back memories of a horrible past, and a state of panic amongst local South Africans, which in turn result in the desire to eliminate the "dangerous alien" (Pineteh, 2017:5). "The message illustrates the powerful psychological tensions emanating from xenophobia violence in post-apartheid South

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Africa and how it undermines the notion of *ubuntu*, exuded here in the "us against them" syndrome, "an inability to respect basic human rights and the repudiation of the Pan-African family" (Sandwith, 2010: 63).

In addition, these linguistic utterances emerged a form of impassioned hatred "concealing itself in the language of autochthony and alien nature" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001:651). This language alienation continues to determine the manner in which South Africans speaks against the presence of foreigners from other African countries (Gqola, 2001). These discrepant idioms provide access to local narratives which capture South African sentiments about immigrants. South Africans have a strong sense of spatial control premised on the view that "when state institutions evidently failed to deliver on their promises to protect and promote a politically entitled but materially deprived citizenry, the population (or parts of it) took on the obligation to alienate and exclude those standing in its way" (Landau, 2011:3).

Criminals

The criminalisation of foreign people is not something that is unique to South Africa, it is a global trend. It started as the 'criminalisation of black youth' (Hall, 1978). As a result, moral panic was created amongst societies, this led to race and crime news converged (Hall, 1978). Troyna (1981) noted that the media's treatment of black people was chiefly organized around the idea of the 'outsider within'. She also noted that the impression created was still basically negative and ideological: in 'the media's representation of reality, cultural differences are disparaged and the British black population seen as a problem to and essentially different from the mainstream of the society' (Troyna, 1981:183). In South Africa, most newspaper stories produce racial and national stereotypes about black African migrants portraying them in a negative light for instance Nigerians as drug lords (Danso and McDonald, 2001:1). However, Croucher (1998) explained that linking unfounded claims and beliefs that illegal black African migrants are responsible for drugs and crime in South Africa has lent legitimacy to unsubstantiated media reports. The local press has become a source of contestation and tends to cover certain migrants in a stereotypical way (Valji, 2003).

Black African foreigners are blamed for increasing the crime rate in South Africa, and the media has played a role in perpetuating the blame (Pineteh, 2017; Danso and McDonald, 2001). The media coverage of criminal activities in South Africa gives the sense that foreigners from African countries are to blame for the rising level of criminal activities (Bird, 2006). Their first crime is entering South Africa without proper documents or no documentation. Since the 1990s the media, politicians and government institutions have been reinforcing the discourse that black African migrants contribute to crime (Graham and Böhmke, 2013:23). Any individual identified as a foreigner is automatically categorised in the negative, bearing characteristics of black African migrants (Jani, 2018). The South African press tends to be hostile towards black African migrants and crime has been used as a category to describe them (Peberdy, 1997). The high statistics of crime, robbery, violence and gun running has all been associated with black African migrants by the media (Danso and McDonald, 2001:126). News stories essentially connected black African migrants to criminal exercises by making reference to them in a similar sentence "*Security force personnel arrested 931 people, including 464 illegal immigrants, during high density crime operations.*" (Danso and McDonald, 2001:126). These representations have continued to persist, despite the fact that foreigners are not always involved in criminal activities.

Taking women from local men

Some South African women in townships prefer to have romantic relationships with foreigners, than South African men (Tafira, 2014). The reasons for these preferences vary from woman to woman. However, this study will highlight the reasons given by people who participated in a study by Morris (1998) and Tafira (2014). Relationships between South African women and foreigners are discussed in this study because foreign nationals are accused of "stealing our women" by local men. This and other transgressions are expressed during xenophobic attacks.

In a study conducted by Morris (1998:1127), South African women preferred foreign men (Congolese), because they are caring, faithful and generous. And South African men were perceived as lazy, not nurturing, adulterous and abusive towards their partners. In contrast, Nigerians and Congolese portrayed themselves as hard-working and caring. So women in the study felt safer in foreigners' arms than those of South African men.

Another study conducted in Alexandra Township (South Africa) reported that they felt that South African men either do not consider looking for work or they spend their time drinking alcohol (Tafira, 2014). Then, they turn around and complain about foreigners taking their jobs as they accept any job with lesser pay (Tafira, 2014). Women and foreigners said South African men are lazy. Due to this background, women do not always want to be involved in a romantic relationship with local men. According to Tafira (2014: 220) study participants, said that unemployed men are perceived as "loafers and are thick headed men" who fail to provide.

The link between poverty, unemployment and competition for women explains how foreigners and South African men "jostle" and compete for women (Tafira, 2014). This is because poverty and other social ills somehow force to be involved in romantic relationships with men who can provide for them and their families.

According to Tafira (2014:2) cross-border love relationships provoke sexual and racial jealousies between the two sets of manhood: South Africans and black foreigners. As a result, some South African men think that foreigners from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, who are not wealth, use love charms to get the women desired by all kinds of men. The researcher believed that more research needs to be conducted around this subject. We cannot rely on one study, conducted in one township, whereby these allegations are shared in more than one township. There are other people around South Africa who share the same sentiments about foreigners "stealing" women.

Destroying healthcare system
In 2002, the World Health Organisation (WHO) reported that Southern Africa was facing serious health challenges. The country's health sector was losing clinicians to countries with a stable economy and high pay, social and economic weakening, deficient rules, deteriorating health systems and the lack of human resources and supply of medications (Zihindula, Meyer-Weitz and Akintola, 2015). This challenge persisted beyond 2012 in South Africa. As a result, "foreigners were accused of overcrowding maternity wards, in particular and of adding to the woes of the already overwhelmed public health sector" (Mkize, 2019:1). It is estimated that about 40 percent of doctors are expected to leave South Africa in 2020 and beyond. This is because of their frustration with the new National Health Insurance bill (NHI) (Writer, 2020). Additionally, South

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African Former Department of Health (DoE) Minister, Doctor Aaron Motsoaledi was quoted blaming foreigners for problems faced by the country's department of health. The department of health in South Africa needs more clinics and hospitals to accommodate foreign and local patients (Mkize, 2019). This is a problem, because South African health system cannot meet the needs of its population and yet it is expected to cater for people who are from other countries. However, Hevens and Brand (1997) and Hathaway (2001) argued that, South Africa lacked capacity to meet the needs of the entire population; therefore it has no responsibility for ensuring an acceptable level of health and health care for refugee communities.

In addition to these challenges, there is an anti-foreign attitude in Southern Africa that has resulted in a structural exclusion, the impact of which has not been analysed in healthcare system. All these situations mask the harsh reality of worsening health care facilities for refugees; yet access barriers to healthcare system continue to persist (Crisp and Kiragu, 2010; Crush and Tawodzera, 2014). The struggle for foreigners to access healthcare system in the country is caused by a number of reasons. The 2017 review by African Centre for Migration and Society at the University of Witwatersrand, indicated that access to healthcare is problematic for foreigners and internal immigrants living on the urban periphery. The access to healthcare challenges are made by documentation (or lack thereof); languages spoken; and discrimination by healthcare providers (Vearey, Modisenyane and Hunter-Adams, 2017). The above-mentioned challenges are not unique to foreigners to South Africa; they are experienced by foreigners in other host countries.

Specifically, a study conducted by South African Migration Project (SAMP) in 2011, examined the challenges faced by the country's health system due to xenophobia amongst members of the medical staff. Medical xenophobia was one of the main challenges. Medical xenophobia can be defined as negative practices faced by foreigners from South African healthcare workers, these practices include denying foreign nationals' medical access and care (Vanyoro, 2019). The study found that medical xenophobia existed and manifested itself through different ways, namely:

- The requirement that stated that refugee patients must produce identification documentation and proof of residence status before receiving treatment;
- Health professionals refusing to communicate with patients in English or allow the use of translators;

- Treatment is sometimes accompanied with xenophobic statements, insults and other verbal abuse;

- Non-South African patients are required to wait until all South African patients have received medical attention, even if they have been waiting longer for treatment; and

- Refugees and asylum seekers have such difficulty accessing ARVs for HIV in public hospitals that many are forced to rely on Non-Government Organisations (NGO) treatment programmes (Crush and Tawodzera, 2014; Odhiambo, 2012; SAMP 2011).

Due to the above-mentioned medical xenophobia challenges, foreigners are denied access to health care services.

Additionally, commission findings stated that generally foreigners are healthy but that the conditions of host nations, laws, discrimination and restrictions are blamed for exposing foreigners to ill health (The Lancet Commission on Migration and Health, 2018). Furthermore, there is evidence that proposes that most foreigners are young and come to South Africa or United States primarily for work. They are relatively healthy and often experience better health outcomes, including lower mortality, than their United States or South African counterparts (Vearey *et al*, 2017 and Derose *et al*, 2007). Particularly, foreigners that lack documentation are vulnerable to poor health. Persistent daily stressor- has a range of negative health impacts, including challenges in accessing healthcare and emotional distress (Vearey *et al*, 2017).

However, the factors that render immigrants vulnerable to poor health care can be modified in part through policies that are widely relevant to disadvantaged populations, such as policies related to living wages, access to education, decent housing and safe jobs (Vearey *et al*, 2017). Therefore, South Africa needs to re-look at immigration policies to control the number of illegal immigrants in the country (Mbhele, 2018).

Considering this, media reports frequently suggest that South Africa has an influx of foreigners. They are said to "flood" South Africa (Gordon and Rosenberg, 1989; Searle, 1987). As a result, Southern African HIV Clinicians Society and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2007) believed that the movement of people is associated with poor health, and that regional migrants place an additional burden on the public health systems of destination countries.

However, in South Africa, public healthcare users are mobile for reasons other than healthcare-seeking and there is no evidence of people moving in order to access their geographically closest to healthcare facilities (Vearey *et al*, 2017). Therefore, it would be negligent to assume that foreigners came to South Africa to access better healthcare. This is because they are usually healthier than the host nation population.

Globally, Governments often blame "foreigners" for introducing and spreading disease (Amon and Todrys, 2009; Harper and Raman, 2008). This is evident in the recent Covid-19 in South Africa. There are debates on whether Covid-19 started in China or United States before spreading to most countries around the world. But, the virus did not originate in South Africa or the African continent. However, today South Africa is amongst countries affected by this global pandemic. It is alleged that the first person who tested positive for the virus, was the South African male who went to Italy with his family (Haffajee, 2020).

More to the point, it is alleged that Covid-19 in the Free State Province was introduced by five foreign nationals who attended a church gathering there. This was after five of these foreign leaders tested positive for the virus (Ngqakamba and Mitchley, 2020). It happened that these people were from countries who were struggling to contain the virus. These leaders were from United States, Israel and France. As a result, a number of people including prominent figures have tested positive for the Covid-19, after attending that church gathering (Ngqakamba and Mitchley, 2020). This case study is trying to prove that Covid-19 in South Africa was spread by foreigners even before local transmissions began. The researcher believed that if South Africa had a better screening at the airport, these people would not have gained entry into the country in the first place. Therefore, they would not be able to spread the virus as they did. Concern over migrants has grown in the context of HIV/AIDS, with destination countries fearing that migrants bring the disease with them, potentially threatening the public health of host populations (Worth, 2006; Amon and Todrys, 2008). The South African health system is battling as things stand to provide for health workers during this pandemic.

Positive representations of foreigners in the press

Although research shows that negative stereotypes dominate in the media; there are positive stereotypes as well. According to Meintjies (1998:20), foreigners do not just take from the host nation but they contribute to the country's economy and benefit the country in general. Foreigners pay taxes as they own small to medium trading stores. They are better skilled and educated than the people in the host country and they are usually healthy (Meintjies, 1998). In addition, there are policies that exclude foreigners from receiving social services like social grants, this in turn limit the financial impact on public finances (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh, and Singh, 2005). Also, there has been a move towards more positive or neutral-coverage of migration issues across different countries (Allen *et al*, 2017).

As a result, there is a growing trend of recognising foreigners from Zimbabwe as the most educated group of people in the South African press. This is evident in an article by *Timeslive*; *"To this day, top universities send their marketing personnel to Zimbabwe to recruit talented students. Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa make a significant contribution to science and mathematics achievement in township and rural schools. Their students not only graduate from our universities; they often excel with distinction". (Jansen, 2017)* The same trend was also found in Jani (2018) study, where Black African migrants were hailed for their positive contribution in the medical and education field by *Daily News*.

Then, the success of foreign owned shops did not go unnoticed in *News24* published an article dwelling on what sets foreign owned businesses apart from the South African owned stores:

> *In essence, the foreign nationals were knowledgeable, had a better understanding of business principles and understood the dynamics of the environment within which they intended to operate, hence they were better negotiators* (Moiloa, 2015).

This article acknowledges that foreigners in South Africa have to work harder than the general population to obtain what they want to achieve. Although the conditions are rife, foreigners continue to work hard and reach their goals. This is illustrated in a 2017 *Daily News* article,

> *Foreigners are succeeding in building the economy of the host country (South Africa) despite everyday challenges. Most foreign nationals seeking a better life in South Africa make it through*

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*sheer hard work and sacrifice towards an improved life that had been denied back in their own countries (*14 March 2017)*.*

The representation of foreigners in the South African media is mainly based on stereotypes. These stereotypes can be negative or positive, but they are repeated over and over. The use of stereotypes builds a narrative that differentiates Us (South Africans) from Them (foreigners) (Pineteh, 2017).

Othering (Us vs Them) in media

"Newspapers create a sense of not belonging through stories with sources, statistics and headlines that lead to discrimination against foreigners (especially black African foreigners)" (Jani, 2018:111). Even though, newspapers hold a crucial responsibility in the way in which individuals see and comprehend migrants and minorities (Happer and Philo, 2013). Therefore, how media represents foreigners to the general public is important on how society view immigration issues. Existing literature shows that minorities are generally excluded from media coverage and when they were covered, it is usually in a negative light as they are associated with acts of being parasites and running of illegal brothels (Kariithi, *et al*, 2017). South African media is accused of generalising and publishing stories with negative portrayals of black foreigners (Crush, 2008 and Pineteh, 2017). Thus, South African press does create an othering narrative in their stories by negative coverage of foreigners. South Africans are involved in criminal activities as well but they are not always represented by the kind of crimes that are prevalent in South Africa. The researcher argues that, Us versus Them in the media is created when South Africans are covered in the media for what they did compared to what they are known for.

However, there are explanations of the negative news trend. Firstly, negativity is not unique to migration coverage only. Journalists tend to emphasize on problems across most topics (Allen, Blinder and McNeil, 2017). Secondly, bad news is prominent compared to good news. Also, there has been a move towards more positive or neutral-coverage of migration issues across different countries (Allen *et al*, 2017).

The media is accused of dramatising violence and aggressive behaviour of foreigners when reporting matters pertaining foreigners (Smith, 2008). This is contested because there is unreliable evidence that suggests a spontaneous, linear relationship between mass media non-fictional

content and violence (Smith, 2008). Few studies attempt to measure the impact that print media journalism has on aggression and violence due to the fact that proving this relationship is very difficult as there are other influencing factors, such as psychology and social conditions. Many studies have moved from arguing that the media is an accomplice in xenophobic attacks, but some studies are still trying to assess if there is really a link between the two (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005: Allen *et al*, 2017: Bird, 2006).

In addition, a report by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) and Media Monitoring Africa (MMA), stated that print media influence public perceptions and attitudes about foreign nationals. Although, results of the media influence were not immediate, these stereotypes are instilled in the minds of readers on a steady rate (Bird and Mtwana, 2006). The stereotypes lead to instances where difference is highlighted and people start to differentiate between us (South Africans) and them (foreigners).

Furthermore, a number of researchers have criticised the role of print media leading up to, and including, May 2008 has found that the evidence is convincing that the print media in South Africa has been xenophobic during this period. "When the xenophobic violence broke in 2008 the media was instantaneously accused of complicity, and labelled the "agent provocateur", which played "an unambiguously malevolent role in the exacerbation of tensions and perhaps in the resulting contagion of violence" (Hadland, 2010:136). The media was accused of inciting violence because, print media coverage of the violence in townships was interpreted by many as exaggerated and reinforcing stereotypes about foreigners and provoking more violence in the process (Pineteh, 2017).

Tabloids reports on xenophobic attacks

Although, post-apartheid South Africa has become a prime migration destination, the country's economy and psycho-social challenges have influenced the citizens to frame narratives about African migrants from other parts of the continent (Pineteh, 2017). These narratives are often fraught with photographs and metaphors that demonise and attempt to justify violence against African migrants (Pineteh, 2017). According to Crush *et al* (2008:42), the print media has been complicit in encouraging xenophobic attitudes amongst the population of its readers. This is

because, for over a decade the press media has been publishing news that is anti-immigrant and xenophobic in nature (Smith, 2009). Many stories about African migrants especially from poor South Africans, populist politicians and local newspapers, are often filled with idioms, images or metaphors that associate all post-apartheid evils to the presence of Africans in (Danso and McDonald, 2001). However, these stories lack solid analysis of the subjects discussed and they often place importance on incidents of xenophobia and racial slant (Smith, 2009).

Previous studies have accused tabloids of having a potential for inciting mass violence (Asakititpi and Gadzikwa, 2015; Hadland, 2010). Tabloids were accused because of their "careless" language use. Hadland (2010:124) elaborates further on this, by highlighting that print media which "combination of diverse components language, text and ideology and culture". Print media is the main catalyst, due to its repetition of the negative metaphors and stereotypes against foreigners. Therefore, narrative or metaphors of illegality, criminality or the image of the "alien" associated with African migrants have been headline stories in international as well as in white and black popular print and mass media for many years. These images or metaphors have been used to construct a homogenous identity for Africans from other countries living in South Africa (Adjai and Lazarus, 2013; Danso and McDonald, 2001). However, "tension still existed between photojournalistic images and the news reports which suggested an almost complete understanding of the xenophobic riots" (Ngwane, 2014:51).

Headlines like "*Illegal migrants are floating into the country to find work*", "*Illegal migrants involved in crime*" and "*National defense force had seize 228 weapons from illegals*" were printed on the front page of local newspapers like the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* with significantly large readership (Pineteh, 2017). These publications are easily accessible in places where there are poor people in South Africa. This is because their niche in the market is there (Jani, 2018). These damaging representations of migrants rapidly spread in townships with high rates of unemployment and crimes forcing locals to immediately blame their socio-economic challenges on African migrants operating businesses in these localities (Pineteh, 2017).

An examination of these previous studies has found that the othering (Us vs Them) narrative persists in xenophobic attacks reports in the press media, including tabloids. This knowledge is set up as a background against which to examine if and how isiZulu tabloids compare.

Print media coverage of the violence in townships was construed as sensationalism and condemned by many locals and foreigners for the reinforcement of stereotypes about migrants and ultimately provoking more violence (Pineteh, 2017). Therefore, this research discussed the way tabloids reported on previous xenophobic attacks. The researcher has examined that previous studies have found that the othering narrative persisted in xenophobic attacks reports. Newspapers were doing this by representing foreign nationals as others in their reportage, even though foreigners were victims of these attacks. So this will help the researcher to find out whether the IsiZulu written press has done the same or they did things different in their reporting.

IsiZulu written tabloids

IsiZulu media operate not only in the South African public sphere, but also in the distinct peculiarity of KwaZulu-Natal, where 'Zuluness', as a historical socio-cultural construction, still articulates itself in postmodern history institutions, geography, conventional politics, economy and popular and traditional culture (Ndlovu, 2011:280). The ways in which these spheres intersect in the realm of public life of the province present an aura of Zuluness (Ndlovu, 2011). Masilela (2011:22 and Peterson, 2006) added that "vernacular newspapers in their history were to be forums through which Africans could integrate modern knowledge and traditional knowledge and further form a dialectical synthesis in understanding the ever-changing present".

In addition, isiZulu media newspapers are thriving because of comparatively larger number of isiZulu speaking people in the South African linguistic market (Ndlovu, 2011). According to Stats SA (2016) isiZulu is widely spoken in South Africa, the language is spoken by almost a quarter of the population 23 percent. More than 78 percent speakers of isiZulu are from KwaZulu-Natal (Stats SA, 2016). Also, isiZulu is understood by all the Nguni groups (Xhosa, Ndebele, Zulu and Swati).

Regarding this, isiZulu is a rich language and powerful language where idioms and metaphors are used to convey messages. IsiZulu newspapers follow the same addressivity where "powerful idioms are used to convey the news in insightful ways" (Ngwane, 2014:27). This notion of isiZulu language was evident in King Goodwill Zwelithini's speech at the Moral Regeneration event in Pongolo 2015. The King's speech was full of isiZulu idioms. Ngwane (2014) argued that *Ilanga,* (9-11 June 2008) published a metaphor, "*Isihlahla asingcoliswa ngoba uyodinga ukuyofuna umthunzi ngaphansi kwaso ngelinye"*. This means "You do not dump dirt under a tree because one day you will need its shade". This idiom could be understood as if the newspaper is issuing a stern warning to its readers. The message could be that South African people must not burn bridges, or more plainly; not destroy one's path or connections.

In addition, "African languages in print media have a history of being socio-politically and culturally significant" (Ngwane, 2014:28). Vernacular media maintain this drawing knowledge and advice from historically and political events that are appearing to the target audience. Moreover, African press in "combination with other social forces in history, have created templates for the emergence of a national consciousness through both their mediation of time and the narratives they proffered" (Peterson, 2006:240).

So*, Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* both evoked the historical debt that South African is what it is today because of the neighboring states (Ngwane, 2014). These sentiments are used to remind the target audience that South Africa owed the democracy to the neighboring states or countries. Therefore, it is inhumane or against the values of *ubuntu* to attack our neighbors when they need help from us. However, Ndlovu (2011) argued that it is now irrelevant for the government and media to rely on how neighboring countries assisted freedom fighters in apartheid era.

However, sharing history is important especially for *Ilanga* coverage, as it draws from two diverse archival sources; armed struggle history and Zulu cultural history (Ngwane, 2014). *Ilanga* foregrounded the notion of "pan African identity and Zulu nationalism as a guiding myth, but at times conflated the two in attempt to mediate and foster unity and evoke solidarity" (Ngwane, 2014:51). *Isolezwe*'s initial ambivalence quickly shifted its position in its editorial. The editorial was written in a manner which assumed an understanding of the reader's sentiments and an implicit

frame of understanding the dynamics of addressivity were also at play. Then, the editorial further invoked South Africa's history of fighting against segregation arguing that the recent attacks on foreigners undermined this legacy (Ngwane, 2014).

Therefore, it is important to study the language of newspapers, as they reflect the language structure of the majority readers or audience (Tanackovic *et al*, 2014). Newspaper content is usually a reflection of what is happening in the communities. Therefore, it is important to study the language used in *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* to understand how foreign nationals are represented in isiZulu written media. The researcher argued that more research needs to be conducted on how vernacular media portray xenophobic attacks and foreign nationals to their target audience.

Conclusion

The representation of foreigners with negative stereotypes mostly perpetuated by print media was discussed. Foreigners are represented as a problem that is holding South Africa and its citizens back. As if being in a country illegally is not bad enough, they were also a root cause of social ills, like the rising crime levels in the country. Then, they are destroying local relationships as they "steal" women from local men. They were also accused of destroying the healthcare system, because they bring diseases. To the ailing healthcare system that struggles to cater for its population.

Additionally, print media in South Africa has introduced a habit of representing foreigners in a positive light. These representations involve portraying Zimbabweans as educated and best maths and science teachers. And acknowledging that their work moral is what makes them successful individuals and best shop owners in the country. Then, media is accused of forming an othering narrative while reporting news concerning foreigners. This is done by representing foreigners by using stereotypes, even though the story is not about what the stereotype said (Danso and McDonald, 2000).

However, the role of tabloids newspapers during xenophobic attacks has met criticism and accusations that they publish news in an irresponsible manner, which causes more violence. Then, the dominance of IsiZulu written tabloids and language structure was discussed.

Chapter three discusses the theoretical framework that informs this study and helps in addressing this phenomenon

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This study's main aim is to examine the representation of foreign nationals in *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* newspapers*,* during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. This will be done using the theoretical foundations of the research topic highlighting representation, stereotype and othering theories and how they relate to this study.

These theories and concepts are explained in relation to the study's questions and objectives. The principal theory that frames this research is representation theory (Hall *et al,* 2013; Hall, 1997; 2016) as it is useful in analysing the representation of foreign nationals in two isiZulu tabloids during the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

In addition, stereotyping will be discussed using the views of O`Sullivan *et al* (1994), Hall (1997) and Shaw (2010). This will be discussed in relation to the literature review findings that stated foreign nationals were hardly included in the South African press and if they were included it was because of the long-held stereotypes about them. The South African media continued to cover foreign nationals primarily based on negative stereotypes (Danso and McDonald 2001, Koenane & Maphunye 2015, Els 2013, Tshishonga 2015).

The concept of Othering is also central to the study (Staszak, 2008; Hall, 1997; Hall *et al*, 2013). The theory of othering is used in order to explain if and how the two isiZulu tabloids produced texts that include and exclude people based on their class, ethnic and social difference (Fairclough 2003, Said 1978 and Spivak 1988). This theory will help to answer the research question about whether the articles published between 01 April and 31 July 2015 constructed an othering narrative.

Representation

Representation has been studied in different schools of thoughts, such as psychology, cultural studies and linguistics. However, this study will use Hall's conceptual understanding to describe representation. Hall *et al.* (2013:4) describe representation as the "production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language". Hall *et al* (2013) argued that the word represents the concept and can be used to reference either a 'real' object in the world or indeed even some

imaginary object like dreams (Hall, 2013:5). Representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language (Hall, 1997). Representation is also a link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the actual world of objects, people or events, or anything that is imaginary (Hall *et al*, 2013).

Representation processes are both symbolic and social, expressing subjective, inter-subjective and objective worlds. They constitute the architecture of all knowledge systems and in order to understand knowledge people need to understand the genesis of representation and the interrelations between self-other object that make it happen in social life (Jovchelovitch, 2007). Representation is a socio-cognitive practice which allows people to create sociality, position themselves, affirm their identities and defend themselves when attacked by others (Howarth, 2002). For instance, foreign nationals (especially black foreigners) are considered a threat (by South Africans) to the physical and moral health of the nation and "should therefore be kept out of South Africa" (Peberdy 2002: 24). As such, representation is a particular presentation of experiences, people and voices which are re-interpreted, and represented and constitute their realities (Howarth, 2002). It must be noted that representation is also an important part where meaning is produced and transferred to members of the same culture (Hall *et al*, 2013).

Mental representation

There are two systems of representation. The first system of representation is mental representation which refers to objects, people and events are correlated with a set of concepts or mental representations which we carry around in our heads (Hall *et al*, 2013). Without systems of representation, people could not interpret the world meaningfully at all (Hall, 1997). This is because the meaning depends on the system of concepts and images formed in our thoughts which can stand for or represent the world, enabling us to refer to things both inside and outside our heads (Hall *et al*, 2013:14). Nonetheless, this definition excludes the equally important aspect where people also form concepts of rather obscure and abstract things, which cannot be seen, heard or touched (Hall *et al*, 2013). This study subscribes to the idea that mental representations are influenced by culture. The researcher studies the representation of foreigners in an imagined community built on shared history and culture (Hall, 2016).

Representation and language

The second system is language. This is because language is involved in the overall process of constructing meaning. In order for a shared conceptual map to be shared it must be translated into common language, so that we can correlate our concepts and ideas with certain written words, spoken sounds or visual images which we carry meaning is signs (Hall *et al*, 2013). Hence, language is important for this study. Because language used in the tabloids carries a reflection of the language structure of the majority readers (Tanacković, Kartal, Lacović, 2014:2). According to Hall *et al* (2013), these signs represent the concepts and the conceptual relations between them which we carry around in our heads and together they make up the meaning systems of our culture. The process which links these three elements together is what we call representation.

"Signs are organised into languages and it is the existence of common language which enables people to translate their thoughts (concepts) into words, sounds or images, and then to use, operating as a language, to express meanings and communicate thoughts to other people" (Hall *et al*, 2013:11). Therefore, representation includes the use of language, signs and pictures which represent things (Hall *et al,* 2013). The South African English tabloids (*Daily Sun and Daily News*) represented foreigners as violent people, murders and drug lords or smugglers (Jani, 2018). The relationship between things, concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language (Jovchelovitch, 2007).

Jovchelovitch (2007: 11) argued that "the reality of the human world is totally made of representation: in fact there is no sense of reality for our human world without the work of representation". For Brubaker (2006:79), representations and other phenomena such as perceptions, interpretations are "perspectives on the world not ontological but epistemological realities". This is because representations are dependent on humans. They need people, mental representation, language and culture to survive.

In addition, representations allow us to grasp sociality and the world, but they also help us to interaction with other people (Gillespie, 2006). Whatever representation is shared, is also constructed with others, it represents "what reality is inter-subjectively agreed to be" (Howarth,

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2006: 8). For instance, representations of *Makwerekwere*[7] by the print media in South Africa are largely negative and "extremely un-analytical in nature", as the majority of the press has tended to reproduce "problematic research and anti-immigrant terminology uncritically" (Kariithi *et al*, 2017:120). There seems to be no change on how media represent foreigners in South Africa. According to Pineteh (2017), the messages constructed by the press insinuate that foreigners from African need to leave the country, in order for South Africa to reach its full potential. Therefore, the target audience read about the representation of foreign nationals that has been fixed by elite groups (media houses).

This study takes into consideration that language gives people meaning of the world around them (Hall, 1997). Meaning is not static but fluid, because it changes over time, and people interpret the world differently according to their frames of reference, thus there is a need for a common understanding in order to communicate effectively (Foucault, 1980). For instance, the derogatory term used to describe foreign nationals in South Africa is *Amakwerekwere*, is understood by South Africans and foreign nationals (especially black) who have been in South Africa before (Nyamnjoh, 2010). But in another country the same word could mean something different. For example, in South Africa the word foreigner means someone who was born in or who is coming from another country (*Oxford Dictionary*, 1992). While in Britain, foreigner is an informal word for piece of work that is done for personal gain without the knowledge of the employer (*Oxford Dictionary*, 1992). Therefore, representation cannot survive without the vehicle of dialect, which imparts the meaning behind articles and mental pictures (Hall, 1997). Therefore, representations allow people to grasp sociality and the world, but help us to interact with other people (Gilllespie, 2006). Representation connects meaning and language to culture (Hall, 2013:1).

However, the problem with representation is based on questions regarding their degree of fit between reality and its reproductions in the mind (Fabian, 2008). The problem with representation is the instability, hybridity and multiplicity of representation, which compete with each other

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[7] Amakwerekwere- the ideology of "makwerekwere is a theoretical framework for explaining being, belonging and non-belonging in South Africa within which foreigners from African are imagined and treated as despicable others and should go home" (Isike and Isike, 2012: 95).

(Moscovici, 1961). Representation is not accurate when it portrays foreigners as criminals as not all foreigners are criminals (Jani, 2018).

Media representation

A media representation is a depiction, a likeness or a constructed image (Stewart and Kowaltzke, 2007). Hall (1997:19) added to this notion by stating that representation is the way in which the media plays a key function in the production of ideologies that guide the way people think. Typically, media representation is done by using individual people, social groups, ideas or events. A media representation can be a single image, a sequence of images or a whole program, written words or spoken words (Stewart and Kowaltzke, 2007). Hall (1997:19) explains that "what media representation delivers are unequivocally, portrayals of the social world, pictures, depictions, clarifications and edges for comprehension". From a critical perspective Hadland (2020:124), for example, argues that print media in South Africa tends to deviate from the basic principle of fair, accurate and objective reporting to the dissemination of political propaganda and tabloid-like news with the potential for inciting mass protest and violence (Hadland, 2010:124). The media create representations as central signifying practices for producing shared meaning (Hall, 1997). For example, previous research has identified that the representation of foreigners as problematic "aliens" who destroy everything that belong to South Africans is prominent (Nyamnjoh, 2010, Landau, 2011, Pineteh, 2017). These sentiments are echoed in the complaints from local residents involved in xenophobic attacks

In order to understand media representation, one needs to understand who is targeted by the producer of the text. The text is either directed to a minority or majority of that particular population (Dayan, 1998 and Gross, 1998: 2001). This research studies media representation that is directed to the majority (South Africans: Zulus) about the minority (foreigners). There are two different positions in media studies, but then again these positions are used simultaneously. One focuses on the identity of producers (Shaw, 2010). The other focuses on assumptions made by producers about their audience (Shaw, 2010). However, both positions are part of the study of cultural production. Now that the target audience has been established, the intended message needs to be altered in a way that passes the intended message into the audience.

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Those being the case, representations are constructed in order to invite audiences to understand them and agree with them in certain preferred ways (Stewart and Kowaltzke, 2007). However, it must be noted that different interpretations are expected from the target audience. The clarification of what is beneficial or negative depends on one's point of view and it also influenced by politics (Gross & Woods, 1999: 20). Besides this, media representation aims at communicating an intended message. Stewart and Kowaltzke (2007:39) propose that that this occurs according to the following steps:

- A representation consists of repeated elements. For example, news articles in tabloid newspapers when covering foreigners from African countries, there is always a recurring of words like alien, illegal, undocumented (Kariithi *et al* 2017, Pineteh, 2017).
- People are invited either to identify with or to recognise the representation.
- The media make categories of people, events or ideas.
- Representations contain a point of view. The print media in South Africa has decided to compare xenophobic attacks to the violence of the apartheid regime (Pineteh, 2017).
- Representations have a mode of address. Hidden behind the apparent naturalness of the representation will be some assumptions about who you are.

Representations are constructed and communicated frequently to ensure that they never lose their value. In fact, representations are embedded in the 24-hour saturated media stream and establish norms and common sense about people, groups and institutions in contemporary society (Howarth, 2002). The media language used as representation in the tabloid newspapers are words and phrases meant to say something (Wiley and Sons, 2001). Additionally, media construct their very own meanings, and qualities through connoting rehearse (Hall, 2013). Words are part of our normal and material world but their importance for language is not what they are, but what they do (Hall, 1997:5). This is because words construct meaning and transmit it; they suggest what the producer of the text is saying. This is why organizations such as Human Rights Watch accuse media of contributing to xenophobia violence. They do not have any reasonable meaning in themselves (Hall, 1997). These words and phrases are vehicles which carry meaning because they operate as symbols which" the media wish to convey (Hall, 1997; 2013). This research stresses that there are implications of representation and these implications are visible through a dichotomous

relationship between the marginal, disadvantaged group represented, and the implied majority, empowered group who is viewing (Jani, 2018). Zou (2012:465-6) conceded that representation through media language is key in understanding different cultures. The study aims to add an understanding of how tabloid newspapers represent foreigners from a South Africans tabloid perspective.

The problem with media representation is that it is selective and media representation often shapes social reality (Dyer, 2002). Shaw (2010) argued that media representations have beneficial and negative social implications for a given group for example black foreigners in South Africa. The shortcomings of media representation are discussed primarily in terms of media invisibility and stereotyping the minority groups. Dyer, (2002) argues that how we are seen determines in part how we are treated; how we treat others is based on how we see them; such seeing comes from representation.

This theory is at the core of the current study because it is about how people communicate what is in their minds to the people of the same culture through language. The study examines the language used by two isiZulu-written and Kwa-Zulu Natal based tabloids, *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* to represent the 2015 xenophobic attacks to their target audience. The language used will be studied by identifying and analysing emerging themes from these newspapers.

Representation and identity

Representation is deemed very important in building and maintaining identities (Sen, 2006). This is evident during globalization, where people move around the world rapidly. In the age of globalization, where national identity is competing with global identity, then representation leads towards some sort of pluralisation of identities (Bauman, 2004). In his essay about identity and diaspora, Hall (2016) argued that identity should be considered as a production that is never complete, always in progress, and always in process, and always constituted within representation. Therefore, identity should not be considered as fixed.

This is because identities are always constructed through and against representations (Howarth, 2002). Therefore, without relations of difference, there is no representation. But what is then

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constituted within representation could occur. Meaning some identities are represented as powerful and others are represented as inferior. The representation of each group depends on the dominant identity. But what is then constituted within representation is always open to being deferred, staggered, serialized (Hall, 2016). In South African media, foreigners are portrayed by the print media as creating social problems and a threat to the locals, first through their coming to the country and then through their illegalities (Danso and McDonald 2001; Fine and Bird 2006).

In other words, there are hegemonic representations, these types of representations that are widely circulated and that dominate sociality, while oppositional representations can be less circulated, more micro (Howarth, 2006). In the case of South Africa, the coverage of crimes by black migrants from African countries is common (Nyamnjoh, 2010). Nokwe (2018) added to this notion by stating that black foreigners are stereotyped in the media as job stealers and illegal occupants of the land. This is an example of a widely circulated representation. Nyamnjoh (2010:72) argued that "there is almost a complete blackout of references to crime and illegality on the part of Western Europeans and North Americans in South Africa, despite the fact that nationals from these regions also commit crimes and many are in the country illegally". Yet these two types of social representations can battle and influence each other. This means that representations do have an ideological component and that an exercise of power is always present in representations (especially representation of foreigner as the other) (Duncan, 2003). Representations develop from the interrelations between self, other and the object world (Jovchelovitch, 2007). They are not copies from originals but a symbolic, arbitrary means of putting meaning on people's ideas. Also, representations do not always correspond to acts/actions or behaviours of the represented in this case black foreigners (Howarth, 2006).

In addition, power is a constitutive element in our own identities (Hall, 2016). This is because hegemonic representations are constructed and maintained by the often powerful in-group (Howarth, 2006). Also, representations are closely linked to establishing and defend a view of the world and one's position within it (Hall, 2016). As a result, imaginative geography and history helps the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatising the difference between what is close to it and what is far away. It has also acquired an imaginative value we can name and feel (Hall, 2016). Due to the power held by in-group about its identity, stereotypes are formed and maintained to enable difference between the in-group and the out-group. These stereotypes often

lead to humiliating, dehumanising, stigmatising other people's identities (Bauman, 2004). These stereotypes lead to essentialised identities. Yet, when identity is reduced or essentialised in such ways, or the consequences can be quite strong. These consequences include "conflicts and barbarities" (Sen, 2006:15). For example, the ways in which black people and their experiences were positioned and subjected in the dominant regimes of representation were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalisation (Hall, 2016).

Representations are constitutive of culture, meaning and knowledge about people and the world around them. Beyond just mirroring reality, representations in the media such as in   photography and print journalism create reality and normalize specific worldviews or ideologies (Fürsich, 2010). For example, Francis' photographs of the people of the Black Triangle, taken in Africa, the Caribbean, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, attempt to reconstruct in visual terms the underlying unity of the black people whom colonization and slavery distributed across the African diaspora (Hall, 2016). However, such images offer a way of imposing an imaginary acceptance on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation, which is the history of all enforced diasporas. They do this by representing or figuring Africa as the mother of these different civilizations (Hall, 2016).

This study subscribes to Hall's (2016) articulations about cultural identity. "Cultural identity is a matter of becoming as well as being" (Hall, 2016). This is because cultural identities are unstable points of identification created by history and culture (Hall, 2016: 223). Therefore, fixed binaries which stabilises meaning and representation should be challenged should be challenged because meaning is never complete (Hall, 2016). Fixed binaries often relate to stereotypes.

Stereotyping

Stereotypes are included in representation theory in terms of social representation and identity construction. This study subscribes to O`Sullivan *et al* (1994) definition of stereotyping as a socially constructed grouping of particular groups and people as often highly simplified and generalized signs, which implicitly or explicitly represent a set of values, judgements and assumptions concerning their behaviour, characteristics or history.

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Stereotyping reduces people to a few, simple, essential characteristics which are represented as fixed by nature (Hall, 2013:5). In addition, stereotypes get hold of the few simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized characteristics about a person, reduce everything about the person to those traits, exaggerate and simplify them (Hall, 2013). Stereotypes are cognitive schemas used by people to process information about others (Hilton and von Hippel, 1996). So, the first point is stereotyping deploys strategy of "splitting" (Hall, 2013:6). Stereotypes split between us and them. Therefore, what is considered as normal to them is foreign to us. The mutual stereotyping of foreigners by South Africans and of South Africans by foreigners essentialises and exaggerates perceived cultural differences and thus gives rise to prejudice and antagonism (Harris, 2002).

Stereotyping is part of the maintenance of social and representational order. It sets up a "representational boarder between normal' and the 'pathological', the 'acceptable' and the 'unacceptable', what 'belongs' and what does not or is 'other', between insiders and 'outsiders', us and them" (Hall, 2013:246). It also enables the binding together of all those who are normal into one imagined community and it sends into symbolic exile all of them-the others-who are in some way different-beyond pale (Hall, 2013).

Stereotyping in tabloids newspapers binds together South Africans in one imagined community and put foreigners in a symbolic exile. Foreigners are only determined by fixated stereotypes shared by South Africans on the streets or media. Stereotypes are said to reduce, essentializes, naturalise and fixes difference (Hall, 2013). It further divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and unacceptable; it then excludes everything or everyone that is different (Hall, 2013). Foreigners find it hard to integrate because of different language, different dressing and culture. Those are main the sources of exclusion of foreigners (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005, Pineteh 2017).

Stereotyping brings the practice of closure and exclusion amongst people of different cultures and races (Hall, 2013). While, stereotypes are a natural phenomenon, it should not be allowed to become the default in societies where people reside (Shaw, 2010). In addition, the press and generally the media use stereotypes to maintain status-quo, to differentiate the wanted and the unwanted defining *us* (locals/ South Africans) and *them* (foreign nationals) (Hall, 2013).

Stereotypes and power dynamics

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Stereotypes are not only negative or false. Like identities, they are socially constructed but that does not mean they are fictitious. Their accuracy, however, is less important than their power (Shaw, 2010). Stereotypes are not just reflections and convictions about attributes describing group members but contain information about different characteristics, such as social roles and the level to which particular members of a group that share certain qualities (Dovidio *et al*, 2010). They are often used as disciplinary forces, which clearly draw the norm from its other (Shaw, 2010). Dyer (1999:298-299) unpacks the complexities of stereotypes and distinguishes between type which indicate those who live by the rules of society and those whom the rules are designed to exclude stereotypes.

Shaw (2010) argued that it is rather not necessary to talk about whether stereotypes are true or offensive. It is however best to ask and understand the purpose they serve in a text. Stereotypes are indeed tools of power (Shaw, 2010). In South Africa, the arrival of foreigners has been represented as a problem and most of the social ills are blamed on foreigners more especially black foreigners (Nyamnjoh, 2010). Stories about African migrants especially from poor South Africans, populist politicians and local newspapers, are often filled with idioms, images or metaphors that associate all post-apartheid evils to the presence of Africans (Danso and McDonald, 2001).

Stereotypes are powerful symbols; however, they are also highly dangerous. This is because stereotypes need to be constantly repeated, and reaffirmed, through media texts and social discourse to maintain their hold on the social imaginary (Shaw, 2010). Print media has a reputation of spreading and maintaining stereotypes, due to its repetition stereotypes against foreigners. For example, publishing stories with negative stereotypes such as foreigners steal jobs, women and so on (Muchiri, 2016). Consequently, the relative positive or negative qualities of portrayals do not exist within texts themselves, but rather the social hierarchies, disparities, and power relation to which they refer and support (Bhabha, 2005).

It is, however, important to note that stereotypes have everything to do with power. Those in power (media owners) determine which stereotypes to be perpetuated by media, as this aids in maintaining the status quo (Shaw, 2010). Stereotypes are neither inherently good or bad, judgments about what counts as a positive or negative representation are political questions, and

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must be interrogated as such (Shaw, 2010). To say that a portrayal offers a negative representation of a group implies that the group is definable, and there is a way the group exists in the world that is misrecognized. It is also worth emphasizing that it is problematic to separate our ancestry, ethnicity, race, nationality, and so on in any analysis of representation (Shaw, 2010).

Furthermore, "stereotypes are often described as static, limited and inert, but they often change as their content is not shared by everybody but is contextually and individually determined" (Bar-Tal, 1997:76). However, if the stereotypes are communicated on more frequent bases to the dominant group about the minority group, this changes. The images that emerge from stereotypes are often stable and decontextualized (Moore, 2003). Alternatively, stereotypes are not just reflections and convictions about attributes describing members but also about different characteristics, such as social roles and the level to which particular members of a group share certain qualities (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, and Esses, 2010). Stereotypes are not always about binary oppositions (good or bad). They are sometimes used to build identities and social order. They are sometimes used to construct a homogenous identity for foreigners living in South Africa for example, branding all foreign nationals as illegals or criminals (Adjai and Lazarus, 2013; Danso and McDonald, 2001).

Furthermore, stereotypes are cognitive schemas used by social perceives to process information about others (Hilton and von Hippel, 1996). Stereotypes cannot promote discrimination by systematically influencing perceptions, interpretations and judgments, but they also arise from and reinforced by discrimination and justifying disparities between groups (Dovidio *et al*, 2010). In addition, language plays an important role in transmission of stereotypes. When communicating, people focus on the traits viewed as the most informative (Dovidio *et al*, 2010). "Stereotypes represent an arrangement of characteristics viewed to mirror the substance of a group" (Dovidio *et al*, 2010: 7-8).

Nevertheless, stereotyping had been criticised because of its lack to recognise people for who they are, instead they are reduced to simple and essential characteristics which are represented as fixed in nature (Hall, 1997). van Dijk (1993) added to this notion by stating that, stereotypes get hold of those basic recognized characteristics of a person and define the person according to those traits. The little knowledge that is gathered from a group of people by stereotyping them is then used to

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identify the group for example Zimbabweans are known for being educated and best teachers in maths and science (Jansen, 2017). This is done without verifying how true the information about that group is (van Dijk, 1993). Stereotypes are used by members of the dominant group to discriminate those who are the minority (Shaw, 2010). Traditionally, the problem with representations has been its accuracy, the degree of fit between reality and its reproductions in the mind (Fabian, 2008).

Since there are problems with stereotypes, researchers like Stewart and Kowaltzke conceded that negative stereotypes needed to be fixed or replaced with more positive stereotypes. This is how counter stereotypes were created. A counter-stereotype is a portrayal that deliberately sets out to change an earlier representation or seeks to portray a group in a positive light (Stewart and Kowaltzke, 2007). There is debate about whether counter-stereotypes are a good or bad thing. Abrams (2019) argue that counter- stereotypes can empower or help minority groups. However, Stewart and Kowaltzke (2007) have argued that counter-stereotypes hinder the progress of minority groups because the positive portrayals often hide the real difficulties that these groups encounter. For example, in a study conducted by Harvard Opinion Research Program in 2018, there is a false belief that all Asian Americans are successful and well adapted to the American culture (Abrams, 2019). Counter-stereotypes can also encounter audience resistance and work to uphold the traditional portrayal (Stewart and Kowaltzke, 2007).

The theory of stereotyping was selected for this study, because there is evidence that South African print media tend to cover stories about minority groups or foreigners based on stereotypes (Danso and McDonald, 2005). For instance, previous studies show that media had been covering stories of immigrants by using negative stereotypes thus creating an othering discourse (Valji, 2003). Those negative stereotypes have been used over and over by the media, especially English-print media (Danso and McDonald, 2000). This study examines whether and how two isiZulu tabloids followed the same trend when reporting about the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

Othering

Othering can be defined as "a result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group ("us/"the self") constructs one or many dominated out-groups ("them/"other) by stigmatizing a difference-real or imagined-presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination" (Staszak, 2008:1). The creation of othering consists of applying principle that allows individuals

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to be classified into two hierarchical groups: them (foreigners) and us (citizens) (Staszak, 2008). The outer-group is coherent as a group as a result of its opposition to the in-group and its lack of identity. This lack is based on stereotypes that are largely stigmatized and simplistic (Staszak, 2008).

The study of othering is embedded in postcolonial theory (Said, 1978 and Spivak, 1988). Firstly, postcolonial theory critically examines the relationship between the colonizers and colonized, from the earliest days of exploration and colonization (Ambesange, 2016). The researcher is aware that postcolonial theory might seem like a disjuncture when probing xenophobia. For this research postcolonial theory is not about binaries of East and West, but it is about the negative attitudes of South Africans towards African foreigners (Dube 2018). Therefore, postcolonial theory is used to examine the relationship between Us (South Africans) and Them (foreigners).

In Said's work the West held more power than the East. Due to that dominance, the West held more power to *represent* the East, and they represented them based on stereotypes. The West was represented as civilized and rational, while the East was represented as illogical and superstitious (Ambesange, 2016). It examines how these texts construct the colonizers as superior and colonized as inferior (Ambesange, 2016).

According to Said, the mechanisms and the effectiveness of Orientalism need to be understood in the context of European imperialism and thus as practices of legitimisation and stabilisation of claims to power with respect to the constructed Others (Said, 1978). From this perspective, Othering can be described as a double process. The Others are constructed through certain practices of knowledge production which legitimise domination. The (cultural) hegemonic intention makes the resulting epistemological practices appear credible and beneficial (Thomas-Olalde and Velho, 2011).

Spivak reconstructs the dialectical process of Othering that produces the colonising subjects who occupy the hegemonic position as well as the colonised, marginalised Others (Thomas-Olalde and Velho, 2011). Spivak uses examples from official correspondence of the British colonial era. The power of colonialism, as differing as its appearances may be, and the knowledge about the Others, the natives and the master, produces the positions of colonial master and colonised in a dialectical process and solidifies it (Spivak, 1988).

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Furthermore, othering consist of objectification of another person or group by putting aside and ignoring the complexity and subjectivity of the individual (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). Othering allows individuals to construct difference and sameness and to affirm their own identity (Jackson, 2012). Hall (1997) added to this notion by stating that Otherness is key to understanding how identities are constructed, mostly political power controls the representation of different groups.

Otherness is all about differentiating between us and them. Then, identity is formed as a result of comparing two groups. The idea of Otherness is key in understanding how identities are constructed, because those with political power in society control the representation of different groups (Hall, 1997). Wasserman and Ndlovu (2015) argues that, what makes isiZulu written tabloids prosper is their cultural identity of the target audience as well as the rhetorical strategies and news discourses they employ to construct their ideal reader. Therefore, it would be interesting to study how isiZulu written tabloids mirrored the identity creation in their publications about 2015 xenophobic attacks. The news articles will be analysed to see how foreign nationals were represented considering that they are an outer group that was allegedly attacked during the 2015 xenophobic attacks by an in-group.

Othering is a term that not just includes the numerous articulations of preference based on combined characters (Schwalbe *et al*. 2000). The process of othering also allow individuals to construct sameness and difference and to affirm their own identity (Hall, 1997). The 2015 xenophobic attacks started in a province where identity is one of the winning factors. This is because Zuluness[8] (identification of AmaZulu) proves to set *isiZulu* tabloids apart from English press and it also gives Zulu written press a competitive advantage (Ndlovu, 2011). In addition, people who are different from 'Us' are exposed to the binary representation and they are sometimes represented as two things at the same time (Hall, 2013:229). Therefore, Otherness is due to the difference of the Other than to the point of view and the discourse of the person who perceives the Other as such. Opposing Us, the self, and them, the Other, is to choose a criterion that allows humanity to be divided into two groups: one that embodies the norm and whose identity is valued and another that is defined by its faults, devalued and susceptible to discrimination (Staszak, 2008).

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[8] Zuluness- is the product of a historical process that involved language standardization and language education. It is a modern identity that is essentially different from its pre-colonial antecedents (Arndt, 2019). Available on: https://doi.org/10.1080/21520844.2019.1652049. Accessed on : 5 November 2020.

Thus identity is not just about the Other but also about self (Staszak, 2008). The in-group constructs one or more others, setting itself apart and giving itself apart and giving itself an identity (Staszak, 2008). Otherness and identity are two inseparable sides of the same coin. The researcher argues that as a person you have to be aware of your identity before you can identify people that you consider different from yours. This is because people tend to discriminate against people whom they believe that they have a different identity.

Othering is the alternative to speaking racism, sexism, class, but a way of addressing an aspect hereof (Wren, 2001). Therefore, Othering is concerned with the consequences of racism, sexism class or combination of the three in terms of symbolic degradation as well as the processes of identity formation related to this degradation (Jensen, 2011). As a result, research has shown that the traditional and popular press indulges in sometimes blatant "attacking foreigners" and the reproduction and affirmation of racist prejudices (Mbetga, 2015). The problem with Othering, is that it produces difference and problematise it, in the sense that the group which is Othered is also in the process defined as morally and intellectually inferior (Schwalbe, Godwin, Holden, Shrock, Thompson, Wolkomir, 2000).

The unevenness in power relationships is central to the construction of otherness (Staszak, 2008). This means that only the dominant groups are in a position to enforce the value of its values of its particularity and to devalue the particularly of others while imposing corresponding discriminatory measures (Staszak, 2008). For instance, minority groups (black people) were not represented as being part of British society or any society, but as outsiders who preferably should be kept out (Mbetga, 2015). The out-groups cease to be Others when they manage to escape the oppression forced upon them by in-groups, in other words, when they succeed in conferring upon themselves a positive, autonomous identity ("Black is beautiful") and in calling for discursive legitimately and a policy to establish norms eventually constructing and devaluing their own out-groups (Staszak, 2008).

Otherness is the result of discursive process by which a dominant in-group ("Us, the Self) constructs one or many dominant out-groups ("Them," and other) by stigmatizing a difference – real or imagined–presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination

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(Staszak, 2008). The paradigm shift can move from being hated to being glorified and become part of 'us' (Hall, 2013). The theory of othering is brought forward to explain how the press produces texts that include and exclude people based on their class, ethnic and social difference and their nationalities too (Hall, 2013).

Moreover, othering theory will be studied in this research in order to determine if an othering narrative was constructed from the stories published by *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* from the 1 April to 31 July 2015. This is done because this research investigates how the out-group (foreigners) are represented in IsiZulu written press during the 2015 xenophobic attacks, after it was alleged that the *AmaZulu* King Goodwill Zwelithini was the instigator of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu-Natal (De Vos, 2015).

Conclusion

The theory of representation is the principal theory; stereotyping and Othering are branches of the theory. This means that these theories are similar in nature. Representation emerges from the interrelations between Self, Other and the object world (Jovchelovitch, 2007). Stereotyping refers to the typical picture that comes to mind when a person is thinking about a particular social group (Lippmann, 1922). This proves Hall *et al* (2014) point, of mental representations, the images we carry around in our heads. Mental representations serve as reference for the way people make sense of the world (Hall *et al*, 2013). Just like stereotypes. Stereotypes are mental representation that people carry around in their heads about other people instead. These stereotypes are created and maintained by language and images to represent the other (Hall, 1997). Therefore, language plays an important role in transmission of stereotypes. When communicating, people focus on the traits viewed as the most informative (Dovidio *et al*, 2010). These traits are viewed as informative because they are emphasized and repeated. Representations are idealized and sentimentalized rather than degraded, while remaining stereotypical (Hall, 1997). Then, Otherness is a result of representation and stereotypes.

Representation theory and the concomitant concepts of stereotyping and Othering can be linked with the study's research design is hermeneutics. Hermeneutics refers to the art of interpreting that puts culture, history and language into consideration (Smythe and Spence, 2012).Therefore, "people inherit traditions, both formally and informally, through language and the processes of

socialisation that mean we cannot stand outside the phenomenon in question because embedded in us are understandings derived from these previous experiences" (Smythe and Spence, 2012:11). This is because the phenomenon of xenophobia is studied using the isiZulu language. The theories of representation, stereotype and Othering can be linked with the study's research design as phenomenology studies that aims to understand intrinsic motivations to how people behave, in this case it's it is towards others. This is because the phenomenon of xenophobia is studied.

In this study, the representation of foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks by *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* is studied. In order to find out whether the isiZulu written press used positive and negative stereotypes to represent foreigners as it was the case with English press. Then, this study aims to find out whether *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* used an othering narrative while writing the stories to the in-group about the out-group.

This chapter has presented the theoretical framework for this study. Representation is used in this study to answer the research question about the representation of foreign nationals during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. The theory has highlighted how discourses are formed, maintained and passed on to generations, through language. Then, language is used to build and maintain stereotypes about other people who are considered different from the majority. Stereotypes are maintained and passed on from generation to generation. Therefore, stereotypes are sometimes used to describe the minority groups. The minority will then be perceived and treated different from the rest of the population. It does not matter whether the stereotypes are true are not. They are used as the form of representing the 'Other'. The concept of Othering will help in answering the research question about whether and how the othering narrative existed in articles published by *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

Methodology is defined as a strategy, plan or design linking the choice of methods to the desired outcomes (Creswell, 2003). Thus, methodology is concerned with when, how and where data is collected and analysed (Mayring, 2010). This chapter delineates the paradigmatic and methodological approach of the study as well as the qualitative content analysis adopted for its data collection (Schreier, 2012; 2014 and Mayring, 2010) in order, to examine the representation of foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks in *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*.

Research paradigm

This study is framed within an interpretative research paradigm. The central concern of this paradigm is exploring how people make sense of their social worlds and how they express understanding through language, sound, imagery, personal style and social rituals (Deacon *et al*. 2007). It is therefore a suitable paradigm to frame the investigation into how *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* represent foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. "The idea of the interpretivist approach is to understand certain problems within certain circumstances and context and not to make broad statements" (Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton and Ormston, 2013:12). Hence the study seeks to understand the problem of language used by vernacular newspapers when covering non-South Africans. Guided by thus principle this study is curated to follow a process that will address specific research questions. This assists in focusing on what is important for the study and avoid making broad assumptions that cannot be backed up by data (Ritchie *et al*, 2013).

Ontology is the study of being as it is concerned with "what kind of world we are investigating, with the nature of existence, with the structure of reality as such" (Crotty, 1998:10). The ontological grounding for interpretivism presumes that access to reality is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings and instruments (Myers, 2008). The interpretive paradigm focusing on the belief that reality is constructed through subjective perceptions and interpretations of reality. "Researchers in the interpretive paradigm study the social construction of meaning through the analysis of individualized purposes, goals and intentions in communication" (Croucher and Cronn-Mills, 2015: 51).

The interpretive paradigm is suitable to this study as it investigates the representation or social construction of xenophobia in isiZulu tabloids as a form of communication; and more particularly whether and how the socially constructed image of foreign nationals in *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* is positive or negative, through specific language use.

 "Interpretive methodology is directed at understanding phenomenon from an individual's perspective, investigating interaction among individuals as well as the historical and cultural contexts which people inhabit" (Cresswell, 2009:8). However, the same phenomenon can be decoded differently by people as they construct meaning in different ways (Crotty, 1998). Therefore, interpretive paradigm does not question philosophies, it accepts them (Gephart, 1999). This is because a researcher studies a particular phenomenon through the eyes of individuals who are closer to the subject who assign their own particular meaning to a construction, or its interpretation (Schwandt, 2007).

Epistemology is concerned with the nature and forms of knowledge (Cohen *et al*, 2007:7), or in other words "a way of understanding and explaining how people know what they know" (Crotty, 2003:3). This study is characterised by a relational epistemology as knowledge and meaningful reality are constructed in and out of interaction between humans and their world and are developed and transmitted in a social context (Crotty, 1998:42). In this study, the representation of foreigners is constructed by *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga*, then it is shared with the people who read these newspapers (target audience). Therefore, the social world can only be agreed on by the individuals who are participating in it (Cohen *et al*, 2007).

Benefits of interpretive research

Interpretive research is often helpful for investigations in areas with insufficient prior theory (Scotland, 2012). There are studies conducted with regards to the representation of foreign nationals in the South African English press (Danso & McDonald 2001, Pineteh, 2017). However, this study aims to find representation of foreign nationals in IsiZulu written tabloids during 2015 xenophobic attacks, which the Zulu King's speech was a catalyst for these 2015 attacks in Durban before moving to the other parts of the country (Dube, 2018). There has been insufficient knowledge with regards to the representation of foreigners in vernacular languages (Ngwane,

2014). Interpretative research is important to use more especially when a researcher is dealing with global issues like xenophobia (Scotland, 2012).

Ontological position of interpretivism

The ontological position of interpretivism is constructivism. Because "constructionists emphasize the pluralistic and plastic character of reality is expressible in a variety of symbol and language systems; plastic in the sense that reality is stretched and shaped to fit purposeful acts of intentional human agents"(Schwandt, 1998:223).This study uses representation theory as the main theory. Representation includes the use of language, signs and pictures which represent things (Hall *et al.,* 2013). Then, the relationship between things, concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in a language (Jovchelovitch, 2007). Therefore, the researcher is studying the language used to mirror the reality of xenophobic attacks through the eyes of AmaZulu who reside in KwaZulu-Natal where the 2015 xenophobic attacks started. And the general public that considers themselves as the target audience of *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe.* Fuss (1989) argued that what is at stake for the constructionist are systems of representations, social and material practices, laws of discourses, and ideological effects. Therefore, constructionists are concerned above all with the production and organization of differences, and they therefore reject the idea that any essential or natural truths pave the way for social determination (Fuss, 1989). This is important in this study. As this research investigates how *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* tabloids newspapers written for the Zulus (in-group) represents foreigners (out-group). Or whether, the tabloids had othering narrative in their news stories.

Epistemology position of interpretivism

The interpretive paradigm is grounded on the assumption of a relational epistemology. The world does not exist independently of people's knowledge of it (Grix, 2004:83). Meaning is not discovered; it is constructed through the interaction between consciousnesses of something (Crotty, 1998:44). Epistemology position of interpretivism works well with the theories of this study, because it highlights the involvement of people in the process of creating meaning. Meaning is constructed and shared by the people of the same culture through representation (Hall, 1997). In this study, the producer of text (*Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*) represented the 2015 xenophobic attacks using the common language which is IsiZulu in Kwa-Zulu Natal where most of IsiZulu speaking

people reside. These tabloids published stories about the minority group (foreigners), targeted at the majority group. This research aims to find out whether there was an othering narrative while writing these stories about xenophobia. People experience the world by participating in it, simultaneously molding and encouraging it (Heron and Reason, 1997). News media has a tendency of using stereotypes when they are writing stories that concern foreigners (Danso and McDonald, 2001). Therefore, writing and reading about foreigners and the negative stereotypes used to represent them may somehow encourage hostility towards foreigners (Nyamnjoh, 2010). So, the knowledge that is communicated about foreigners affects how people look at issues pertaining to foreigners.

Interpretive research is a research paradigm that is based on the assumption that social reality is not a singular or objective, but it is rather shaped by human experiences and social contexts (ontology) and is therefore best studied within its socio-historic context by reconciling the subjective interpretations of its various participants (epistemology) (Scotland, 2012).

Qualitative Research Approach

This study uses a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on methodological traditions on inquiry that explore a social or human problem (Cresswell, 2007). The researcher builds a complex picture, analyses words, reports details of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting. Qualitative research originates from the disciplines of education and social sciences with the aim of studying the complex nature of human behaviour (Taylor, 1984). Qualitative research is an interpretative research, because it focuses on interpreting and constructing the qualitative aspects of communication (du Plooy, 2009). In this study, tabloid newspapers will be used to study the representation of foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. Then, the news stories from *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* will be studied and analysed further to find out if there was an othering narrative from the stories.

Qualitative research approach is suitable for this study because this study explores the global challenge of xenophobia. This is done by studying the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Qualitative research befits this study because it enables examination and interpretation of data for purposes of discerning hidden meanings, patterns and relationships. Qualitative research is

appropriate because the data derived from newspapers was only expressed in words hence there was no data that could be quantified.

Maxwell (1998:66) enumerates research purposes for qualitative studies are particular useful in:

- Identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences, and generating new, grounded theories about them. The purpose of this study is to study newspaper articles from *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* and how they represented foreign nationals during the 2015 xenophobic attacks.
- Understanding the process by which events and actions take place. This study aims to understand the events of xenophobic attacks in South Africa.
- Developing causal explanations. Qualitative research approach is used in this study to develop explanations about whether the othering narrative was used in the news stories when referring to foreign nationals in *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*.

Therefore, qualitative research allows researchers to deeply explore behaviours, different perspectives, and life experiences to discover the complexities of the situation through a holistic framework (Holloway and Wheeler, 2002). This research approach is suited for this study, because it investigates the phenomenon of xenophobia, which has been researched in the English and Afrikaans written press (Kariithi *et al*, 2017, Pineteh, 2017 and Jani, 2018). Qualitative research is an interpretive and naturalistic approach, which is based upon the observations and interpretations of people's perceptions of different events (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Qualitative research works well with the research paradigm of this study because they both view reality as socially constructed. Burns and Grove (2009) added to this notion by stating that qualitative research is a systematic and subjective approach to highlight and explain daily life experiences and to further gives them meaning.

In qualitative research, a hypothesis is not needed to begin research. It employs inductive data analysis to provide better understanding of the interaction of "mutually shaping influences" and to explicate the interacting realities and experiences of researcher and participant (Lincoln and Guba, 1998:200). This means that qualitative research is deductive. As it allows for a design to evolve rather than having a complete design in the beginning of the study because it is difficult if not impossible to predict the outcome of interactions due to their influence on the interpretation of

reality and the outcome of the study. Qualitative research is used to explore the potential backgrounds and factors about which little has been known and explored (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

However, an inductive method can be used with deductive methods for best results. An inductive method is then used to support or challenge theoretical assumptions (Merriam, 1998). Although the research process in qualitative research is inductive, Merriam (1998:49) notes that most qualitative research inherently moulds or changes existing theory in that:

- Data is analysed and interpreted in light of the concepts of a particular theoretical orientation.
- Findings are usually discussed in relation to existing knowledge with the aim of demonstrating how the present study has contributed to expanding the knowledge base.

For these reasons, this study uses both deductive and inductive methods. This is because the researcher does not want to leave data unaccounted for.

According to Myers (2009), qualitative research is designed to help researchers understand people, and the social and cultural contexts within which they live. Such studies allow the complexes and differences of worlds-under-study to be explored and represented (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this study, qualitative research is used to understand the representation of foreigners in IsiZulu written newspapers. The way in which foreigners were represented will also determine whether the othering narrative was used while writing these stories.

Even though qualitative research is best for this study, the researcher is well aware that it has some disadvantages. Therefore, this study remains cognizant of Lincoln and Guba (1998: 290) caution that qualitative research, requires that the "biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the inquirer" are identified and made explicit throughout the study.

- Researcher bias can bias the design of the study
- Researcher can enter into data collection
- Sources or objects may not be equally credible.
- Some subjects may be previously influenced and affect the outcome of the study.
- Background information may be missing

- Study group may not be representative of the larger population
- Analysis of observations can be biased
- Any group that is studied is altered to some degree by the very presence of the researcher (Lincoln and Guba, 1998)

Research Design: Hermeneutics as textual analysis

This study's research design is hermeneutics. Hermeneutics can be described as a practice of interpretation that explores the condition under which text was produced in order to interpret the meaning of that text (Ritchie *et al*, 2013). This research design is suited for this study because it allows the researcher to study the 2015 xenophobic attacks before interpreting the language used by *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* to represent the foreigners during this period. This is done by using Max van Manen philosophy that states that language is able to reveal existence within historical and cultural contexts (Sloan and Bowe, 2014). The language used to represent foreigners is studied to determine whether they were represented in a positive or negative manner during this period, and whether or not the publications created an othering narrative since they were writing stories about the in-group (Zulus) and the out-group (foreigners).

Hermeneutics is a form of textual analysis that is undertaken in order to understand and expose hidden meanings. Textual analysis consists of language, what it represents and how people use it to make sense of their lives (Brennen, 2013). Language is a basic element of our human interactions, and it is through language that the meanings of social realities are constructed (Brennen, 2013). Therefore, it is important to study newspaper language, in that it reflects the language structure of the majority of readers (Tanackovic *et al*, 2014).

In textual analysis texts are viewed as cultural artifacts, material documentary evidence that is used to make sense out of people's lives (Brennen, 2013). Newspapers are types of texts that qualitative researchers interpret in an effort to understand some of many relationships between media, culture and society (Brennen, 2013). This study uses qualitative content analysis to aid in this process, as will be elaborated on below. The reason for this is that texts are thought to provide traces of socially constructed reality, which may be understood by considering the words, concepts, ideas, themes

and issues that reside in texts as they are considered within particular cultural context (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011).

Data collection

Data collection is a process defined by the study methodology, which researchers use to collect data, answer stated research questions, test hypotheses, and evaluate outcomes (Lapan, Quartanoli and Riemer, 2011). This study is a textual study. This study will use news stories collected from *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga.*

Purposive Sampling Procedure

Sampling is a method of deducing information about a whole population from a limited number of units (Khan, 2014). In most cases it is not necessary to survey the entire population relevant to a study (Jackson, 2008:97). Sampling of human participants is not necessary for this study, but this section explains the sampling procedure for *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* and the time period that is being studied.

Pickard (2007) asserts that the method of sampling used plays a major role in any research investigation, as very often it is the characteristics, composition and scale of the sample that gives weight to any findings that emerge from the study. Only appropriate and proper development of the sampling technique will lead to authenticity of results. The importance of sampling in any type of research is highlighted by Punch (1998:193): "We cannot study everyone, everywhere doing everything. Hence this research chose to study two newspapers and foreigners. Sampling decisions are required not only about which people to interview or which events to observe, but also about settings and processes." Sampling is closely linked to the purpose and research questions of the study. These questions lead to selection of samples from a large pool which further generalises results to the population (Neuman, 2011).

A purposive sampling strategy will be used for data collection. This is a non-probability sampling method. When using purposive sampling, the selection is based on texts and respondents that share specific characteristics or qualities and the researcher eliminates those who do not fulfill the requirements (Fourie, 2007). News stories with content about xenophobia and foreigners are

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characteristics for this study. Newspaper articles on xenophobia are used as textual data. Purposive sampling is a sampling technique whereby the researcher actively selects the most productive sample to answer the research question. This study will focus only on news articles published on two Kwa-Zulu Natal based newspapers namely; *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe.* The selection of these tabloid newspapers was inspired by the fact that they are both written in IsiZulu and their commercial success in the province. IsiZulu is a South African native language; it is also the most prominent language in the country, spoken by almost a quarter of the population 23.5 percent (Kamer, 2020). With 78 percent speakers from KwaZulu-Natal (Kamer, 2020). Also, these tabloids have the highest circulation figures compared to other newspapers that are written in the same language. The circulation figures in 2018 for *Ilanga* were 50,966 (Breitenbach, 2019) and for *Isolezwe* the circulation figures was 60,651 (Breitenbach, 2019).

Also, it was alleged that the 2015 xenophobic attacks were sparked by comments by the Zulu Monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini at a Moral Regeneration event in Pongolo, KwaZulu-Natal (Mamabolo, 2015). Moral Regeneration is an annual event held in South Africa. The event was made possible by the first black South African President, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela in 1997 (Rauch, 2005). The reason behind its inception was the rate of moral decay in South Africa (Rauch, 2005). Allegedly, the Zulu King said, "foreigners must leave". These comments were cited as the motive behind spate of violent xenophobic attacks that left 20 people dead and thousands displaced (Mamabolo, 2015). This speech is important to this study as it sets these particular attacks apart from subsequent attacks both in 2015 and more recently. The reason for this is that it was alleged that the King's speech was a catalyst for these 2015 attacks in Durban before moving to the other parts of the country (Dube, 2018). One of this study's objectives is to investigate if this perception of the role of the speech in spurring on attacks has any merit. This will be assessed based on if and how the news media referred to the speech in connection to reports of the attacks.

This study will analyse 34 news articles from *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe.* These were only stories covering the issue of xenophobia or xenophobic attacks. These publications rarely covered anything to do with xenophobia after the 2015 attacks. Even, though xenophobia is an on-going issue. *Isolezwe* had 26 stories about xenophobic attacks while *Ilanga* had only eight stories. The

reason behind the small number of news articles in *Ilanga* might be because *Ilanga* is a bi-weekly newspaper, while *Isolezwe* is a daily tabloid newspaper (Conboy, 2006). However, the researcher excluded the weekend edition of each tabloid, due to the tendency of covering mainly entertainment news on weekends (Conboy, 2006).

The content selected from this study was published from the 01 April 2015- 31 July 2015. The researcher selected 01 of April to 30 April 2015, because this is the time when the xenophobic attacks were at their peak. Then, from 01 May to 31 July 2015 is the aftermath. This is the period after the 2015 xenophobic attacks, where foreign nationals were either going back to communities in KwaZulu-Natal or leaving South Africa (Mamabolo, 2015). This is also this study's aftermath. The aftermath will also be studied, to see if there was any change in how foreigners were represented in the news articles. The news articles selected had to have certain words like: *Isilo* (King Goodwill Zwelithini), *abantu bokufika* (foreigners)*, abokufika* (foreigners)*, ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* (xenophobic attacks), *ukucwaswa kwabokufika* (xenophobia) in order to be selected for this study. The word *abokufika* or *abantu bokufika* was used by these two publications when referring to Africans and Pakistanis. Therefore, the researcher chose to use the word foreigner when referring to people who are from other countries. Purposive sample is selecting a sample "on the basis of your own knowledge of the text, its elements and the nature of your research (Babbie, 1990: 97).

In addition, this research will study the same articles to find out whether there was an othering narrative in the news stories. This will be organised through the use of both deductive (from previously published studies) and inductive themes (from the newspapers). The representation of foreigners will also determine whether or not the out-group was represented in a manner that highlights difference and / or similarities between the in-group and the out-group.

Data Analysis

This study will use qualitative content analysis as a data analysis method. Although, content analysis is employed across the social and human sciences, its natural domain is communication, media and cultural studies (Holsti, 1969). Qualitative content analysis is a method for

systematically unfolding the meaning of qualitative data (Schreier, 2012:172). This method is suitable for this research because this study is a qualitative research as it studies language to explore the representation of foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks and the aftermath (Brennen, 2013). Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts within some given qualitative data (Mayring, 2010).

Content Analysis

Using content analysis, allows researcher to quantify and analyse the presence, meanings and relationships of such certain words, themes, or concepts (Patton, 2005). The researcher will be able to examine whether the representation of foreigners were negative or positive by studying the themes. Then, the researcher would also answer one of the research questions by examining whether there was an othering narrative from the stories published by *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*. In addition, the researcher can then make interpretations about the messages within the texts (Mayring, 2010). Conclusions will be reached on the basis of evidence and reasoning. This is because the researcher is entrusted with drawing inferences from the data, based on previous research, theory and context.

Content analysis can be used to provide a great deal of research information. It can reveal patterns in communication content (Mayring, 2010). This study aims to reveal whether vernacular print media did follow the same trend of representing foreigners with negative stereotypes found in English press (Pineteh, 2017 and Jani, 2018). Identify the intentions, focus or communication trends of an individual, group, institution or media platform (Mayring, 2010). This study aims to identify how foreign nationals were represented during the 2015 xenophobic attacks in two vernacular newspapers.

For this study, the researcher undertook a manual selection of tabloid newspapers in Bessie Head Library in Pietermaritzburg in 2016. The researcher selected news articles from *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* that were published from 1 April to 31 July 2015. The coding tables presented in Chapter Five demonstrate the coding and thematic process. The coding tables for both deductive themes (terms and concepts from previous research on the representation of foreigners), as well as inductive themes that arose from the *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* articles. Then, the following table which

is table one, is based on search words which were extracted from previous studies that were conducted in English.

This study adds value to the body of knowledge as it uses vernacular language as a starting point for content analysis. Due to the fact that this study is based on isiZulu tabloid search word are in Zulu but are translated into English in the coding tables. The first two sets of coding tables demonstrate that the blunt search starts deductively by searching for words that relate to the broader conceptual objectives of the study as; representation and othering. These search words include: *abantu bokufika* (foreigners)*, abokufika* (foreigners)*, ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* (xenophobic attacks), *ukucwaswa kwabokufika* (xenophobia) and *Isilo* (King Goodwill Zwelithini). Through using these words, the researcher was able to find 34 articles that were published in this period. Of these 34, eight were from *Ilanga* and 26 were from *Isolezwe*.

However, the researcher selected only the suitable news articles for further coding and thematic analysis, as presented in the second and third set of tables. There were 18 from *Isolezwe* and seven articles from *Ilanga.* This is where the researcher is identifying codes for this study. The codes are divided into two groups. These are deductive and inductive codes. Deductive codes are codes found from the previous studies, the codes are; *illegal immigrants, aliens, criminals, taking women from local men, destroying healthcare system* (Hadland, 2010; Pineteh, 2017; Jani, 2018 and Danso and McDonald, 2001). Then, inductive themes are research-based themes. These themes are; *foreigners stealing jobs, foreigners as rebels, foreigners as helpless and desperate people, foreign thriving businesses and protecting South Africa against foreign invasion*. Then, the articles were studied and organised using five headings. The first heading is for counting how many articles are there for the second table for each publication. The second one is the article title, due to nature of this study; each article has been translated into English. Then, there are sub-themes. Deductive sub-themes are placed before the inductive themes. This is because they have been there before this study was conducted. What the researcher did was to place each article name and date, then determine which sub-theme these stories belong to. From deductive themes, illegal immigrants and criminals were the most popular themes in both publications. Then, there was a change in inductive themes" *Isolezwe* had *foreigners as rebel;, foreigners stealing jobs; protecting South Africa against foreign invasion; foreigners as helpless and desperate people and foreign thriving businesses (*in no particular order). *Ilanga* had *foreign-owned businesses are thriving; foreigners*

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as helpless and desperate people; foreigners as rebels and *protecting South Africa against foreign invasion.*

For table two on othering, the sub-themes are based on the research question that concerns the evidence that there may be of the King's speech contributing towards the narrative of othering constructed in the articles (in what ways is the speech referred to). The sub-theme two addresses the question as to whether the articles report on as a division between "Us /Them" between Zulu identity and foreign nationals. Again, the first sub-theme is the same in both newspapers. The sub-themes for the first question are: *attacks were instigated; foreigners must leave and King was misunderstood*. Then, there is a change in the second sub-theme, *Isolezwe* covered most themes, and the themes are: *highlighting the difference; locals must stick together; Durban will be divided, singing and wearing traditional attire and Zulu Kingdom under attack.* Then, *Ilanga* covered only two sub-themes; *highlighting the difference and Zulu Kingdom under attack.*

For table three, five columns are identified. With the main themes being identified in the first column, the main themes were identified with the help of sub-themes. The main themes for *Isolezw*e are, *not complying with the law of South Africa, being in South Africa without proper documentation, foreigners disobeying the rules, taking the birth-right of South Africans*, *South Africa is under attack and it needs to be protected, foreigners suffered during the 2015 xenophobic attacks and foreigners are better business people compared to locals.* The main themes for *Ilanga* are, *not complying with the law of South Africa, being in South Africa without proper documentation, foreigners are better business people compared to locals, foreigners suffered during the 2015 xenophobic attacks, foreigners going against the status quo and South Africa is under attack and it needs to be protected.* The elaboration column provides the main points about a theme, and the additional notes column presents anything else the researcher deemed important in terms of context or connection with other articles or themes.

For table three of othering, most of the steps are identical. However, the main themes are suitable for the othering narrative study. These themes were found in *Isolezwe*: *Zulu King speech as an instigator; misquoting what the King said; getting rid of foreigners in the country; foreigners are not welcomed in South Africa, there must be peace, South Africans deserve protection more, Durban for us and Durban for them; marking the territory; the attacks are to tarnish the Zulu Kingdom and the difference between us and them.* Then, *Ilanga* covered these themes only: *Zulu*

King speech as an instigator, foreigners are not welcomed in South Africa, misquoting what the King said, the difference between us and them and *the attacks are to tarnish the Zulu Kingdom.*

There are two types of content analysis; conceptual analysis and relational analysis (Patton, 2005). However, this study will use relational analysis.

<u>Relational analysis</u>

Relational content analysis is like conceptual analysis, as it starts with an act of identifying concepts present in a text (Patton, 2005). However, relational analysis seeks to go beyond presence by discovering the relationships between the concepts identified in a text (du Plooy, 2009). Then, relational analysis develops the conceptual analysis further by examining the relationships among concepts in a given text (du Plooy, 2009). In other words, the focus of relational analysis is to look for semantic and meaningful and relationships. Individual concepts, in and of themselves, are viewed as having no inherent meaning. Rather, the meaning is a product of the relationships among concepts in a text (Patton, 2005). This study will evaluate the co-occurrence of explicit concepts in the newspaper text and the result is the creation of a group of interrelated co-occurring concepts that would suggest an overall meaning of how foreigners are represented in these two vernacular newspapers.

Therefore, qualitative content analysis was selected for this study because; the study aims to provide more knowledge about the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa. Relational analysis is important to this study because the study is dealing with a large body of text that needs to be analysed and allows for more interpretation than conceptual content analysis (Patton, 2005). It goes beyond the frequency of individual concepts.

In addition, qualitative content analysis not only analyses the manifest content of the material (Mayring, 2010). Schreier (2012) adds that it can also allocate sequential parts of the material to categories into coded themes. These themes are at the centre of the method, and it contains all the aspects that feature in the description and interpretation of the material (Schreier, 2012). Themes developed from qualitative content analysis helped to answer the research questions, as will be demonstrated in Chapters Five and Six.

Ethical considerations

This is a text-based study. This project was approved as an ethical exemption by the HSSREC under this protocol reference number: 00004698.

Reliability and Validity

"Content analysis involves replicable and valid methods for making inferences from observed communications to their context" (Krippendorff, 1980:69). This study clearly details the steps of its content analysis so its approach can be replicable to another set of data. These steps were guided by inductive and deductive themes. In addition, researchers are required to compare the coding choices made by coders against some standard (Potter and Levine-Donnerstein, 1999).

According to Altheide and Johnson (1994), reliability is the stability of the study's findings, while validity is known as truthfulness of the study's findings. Validity and reliability are used in this study because of their ability to increase transparency and decrease opportunities to insert researcher bias in qualitative research (Singh, 2014). Validity and reliability are used in this study to ensure accuracy (Haradhan, 2017). Then, reliability refers to a measurement that supplies consistent results with equal values (Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler, 2005). Reliability measures precision, repeatability and trustworthiness in a research (Chakrabartty, 2013).

Limitations

Firstly, the researcher selected April 2015 as the beginning of the time frame because *Ilanga* did not cover xenophobic attacks related stories in March. Therefore, the selection of stories had to be during the same period for both publications. Secondly, it was very difficult to obtain the original King Goodwill Zwelithini's speech, some internet sources had been wiped out. The researcher also communicated with the editor of *Bayede news* with to regards the original speech but he stopped returning or responding to the researcher's calls. Lastly, the researcher could only find stories in storage in Pietermaritzburg public library. Therefore, some words could not be photocopied due to how they were stored in uMsunduzi library.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has described the methodology of this research. This was done by clarifying the qualitative study, which gathered data on the representation of foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks and the aftermath, through qualitative content analysis with purposively selected newspaper articles from *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*. The chapter outlined the process of gathering and analysing data through a relational qualitative content analysis. This data will be presented according to a series of coding sheets and then analysed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Data Presentation and Analysis

Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the research methodology employed for this study. This chapter presents and analyses the research findings. This study centered on the representation of foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu-Natal. This analysis is generated from discussions on the findings through the lens of the study's guiding theory of representation (Hall, 1997; 2013) which includes the concepts of stereotyping (Hall, 2013) and othering (Hall, 2013).

The current chapter presents and discusses the results of the study in accordance with the objectives of this study. Data obtained from 34 news articles from *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* is presented in this chapter. However, the researcher divides the presentation according two areas; representation of foreigners[9], and othering that is connected to the ways in which the articles report on King Goodwill Zwelithini's speech that he made at the Moral Regeneration event in Pongolo, KwaZulu-Natal[10]. Each tabloid is coded across different tables[11].

The first section presents the blunt search for suitable news stories. The second section presents the code identification tables. The third and last section presents the information on theme identification. Categories, sub-themes and themes identified in this research are supported by verbatim quotes from the tabloid newspaper articles examined in this study. Due to the fact that the articles are written in isiZulu, the researcher provides English translations for each quote.

The themes discussed assists in answering the research questions of this study: The themes discussed will help the researcher in answering the research questions of this study.

1. How are foreign nationals represented in the isiZulu newspaper publications, *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* from 1 April 2015 to 31 July 2015?

- What recurring themes are found in the articles?
- How are these themes favourable in their portrayal?

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[9] See tables 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b.
[10] See tables 1c, 1d, 2c, 2d, 3c, 3d.
[11] The process for *Isolezwe* is presented in tables 1a,1c,2a,2c and 3c. The process for *Ilanga* is presented in tables 1b, 1d, 2b, 2d, 3b, 3d.

- How are these themes negative in their portrayal?

2. How do articles construct an othering narrative?
   - What evidence is there that the King's speech contributed towards the narrative of othering constructed in the articles (in what ways is the speech referred to)?
   - What evidence is there of a division between "Us /Them" between Zulu identity and foreign nationals?

Content Analysis: Codes and Themes

This section presents themes and codes from the data collected. 34 news articles were selected from both publications for this study.

This first set of four tables shows the outcomes of the initial search. Table 1a presents how these news articles were selected from *Isolezwe* for codes that speak to the broader objective of the ways in which foreigners are represented. Table 1b presents the articles selected from *Ilanga* for codes that speak to the broader objective of the ways in which foreigners are represented.

Table 1a: Blunt search for representation of foreigners (*Isolezwe)*

	IsiZulu Search word and translation	Date	Headline of an article in IsiZulu	English translation of an article headline	Length in paragraphs
1	*Isilo* King Goodwill Zwelithini	02 April 2015.	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`.*	The King's speech insinuated this.	11
2	*Abokufika* Foreigners	09 April 2015.	*Balahlekelwe yikho konke behlaselwa.*	They lost everything during the attacks.	7
3	*Abokufika* Foreigners	09 April 2015.	*Kulimale abokufika kuhlakazwa imashi yabo.*	The dispersion of a foreign-organised march led to injuries.	16

4	*Abokufika* Foreigners	09 April 2015.	*Abokufika bathi abasethembi muntu kuleli.*	Foreigners do not trust anyone in South Africa anymore.	8
5	*Abokufika* Foreigners	10 April 2015.	*Uthukile umndeni wase-Oakland kushiswa isitolo sabokufika esisegcekeni.*	The Oakland family was shocked after the foreign-owned store was burned down.	8
6	*Abokufika* Foreigners	10 April 2015.	*Kungenelele uhulumeni kolwabokufika eKZN.*	The government has intervened in KZN foreign issue.	11
7	*Abantu bokufika* Foreigners	15 April 2015.	*'Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela'.*	We will protect ourselves when attacked.	11
8	Ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika. Xenophobic attacks	17 April 2015.	*Imbibizane emashini yobumbano.*	Chaos erupted in a solidarity march.	14
9	*Owokufika* Foreigner	21 April 2015.	*Kuvele abaqoshwe begwaza owokufika.*	People who stabbed a foreigner appeared in court.	4
10	Ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika. Xenophobic attacks	21 April 2015.	*Musani ukuhlasela abalingani bethu: Buthelezi.*	Do not attack our counterparts.	3
11	*Isilo* King Goodwill Zwelithini	21 April 2015.	*Bapholiswe amagama eSilo.*	King's words calm them.	9
12	*Abokufika* Foreigners	21 April 2015.	*Sebenzisani ubuningi benu ukuvikela abokufika: iSilo.*	Use your dominance to protect them: King.	7

13	*Abokufika* Foreigners	23 April 2015.	*Owokufika usinde kushiswa isitolo ebekuso.*	A foreign national escaped unharmed in the store fire.	10
14	*Abokufika* Foreigners	04 May 2015.	*Babuyele ezitolo zabo abokufika.*	Foreigners are back at their stores.	5
15	*Abokufika* Foreigners	05 May 2015.	*Banqabe ukusuka enkambini abokufika.*	Foreigners refused to leave the camp.	11
16	*Abokufika* Foreigners	07 May 2015.	*Bakhungathekile abokufika abasele enkanjini.*	Foreigners were left shocked in the camp.	8
17	*Abokufika* Foreigners	07 May 2015.	*Kuboshwe abokufika ugasela amaphoyisa.*	Foreigners were arrested in a police raid.	3
18	*Isilo* King Goodwill Zwelithini	08 May 2015.	*ISilo sicasulwa ngabakhangisa ngaso.*	Zulu King is livid after advertisement.	3
19	*Abokufika* Foreigners	08 May 2015.	*Bathuthelwe eChatsworth abokufika.*	Foreigners were moved to Chatsworth.	7
20	*Abokufika* Foreigners	22 June 2015.	*Abokufika bakhala ngokunganakwa.*	Foreigners are complaining about ill-treatment.	5
21	*Abokufika* Foreigners	23 June 2015.	*Kuboshwe abokufika eChatsworth.*	Foreigners were arrested at Chatsworth.	4
22	*Abokufika* Foreigners	01 July 2015.	*Abokufika abayingeni eyokusuka eChatsworth.*	Foreigners are refusing to leave Chatsworth.	5
23	*Abokufika* Foreigners	02 July 2015.	*Ubagojele umasipala uvala inkambu.*	Foreigners were left stranded when the camp was closing down.	5

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24	*Abokufika* Foreigners	03July 2015.	*Balale ze akade behlale enkanjani.*	People who were camp dwellers slept in the open.	7
25	*Abokufika* Foreigners	07 July 2015.	*Usole isitole saseMlazi ngodlame kwabokufika.*	An Umlazi store was blamed for xenophobic attacks.	9
26	*Ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* Xenophobic attacks	14 July 2015.	*Kasikaxoli ngokwenzeka kwabakithi.*	We have not healed from what happened to our brothers and sisters.	5

The purpose of this study is to examine the representation of foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks in isiZulu publications. Table 1(a) shows that there were 26 news articles found in *Isolezwe*. News articles that portrayed foreign nationals in a good or bad way. The articles found were published from 2 April-14 July 2015. These articles were selected using isiZulu search words such as; *iSilo* (King Goodwill Zwelithini) *abantu bokufika* (foreigners)*, abokufika* (foreigners)*, ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* (xenophobic attacks), *ukucwaswa kwabokufika* (xenophobia). Table 1a also illustrates that news articles from *Isolezwe* are written in isiZulu then they are translated into English. The paragraphs for the selected stories ranged from 3 to 16 paragraphs.

Table 1b: Blunt search for representation of foreigners (*Ilanga*)

	IsiZulu Search word and translation	Date	Headline of an article in IsiZulu	English translation of an article headline	Length in paragraphs
1	*Isilo* King Goodwill Zwelithini	02 – 04 April 2015.	*Basola eyeSilo.*	They are blaming the King.	5
2	*Abokufika* Foreigners	09 – 11 April 2015.	*Kulamule uMchunu kwelabokufika.*	Mchunu put halt on xenophobic attacks.	8
3	*Abokufika* Foreigners	13 – 15 April 2015.	*Basahlaselwa abokufika.*	Xenophobic attacks are	3

				still happening.	
4	*Abokufika* Foreigners	16 – 18 April 2015.	*Selusemadolobh-eni olwabokufika.*	Xenophobic attacks have moved to towns.	9
5	*Abokufika* Foreigners	20 – 22 April 2015.	*Kunzima ukulawula olwabokufika.*	It is becoming impossible to control the xenophobic attacks.	7
6	*Isilo* King Goodwill Zwelithini	30 – 02 May 2015	*Abase-Nigeria babopha iSilo samaZulu.*	Nigerians are opening a case against the Zulu King.	12
7	*Abokufika* Foreigners	07 – 09 May 2015.	*Bagoloze ukuhamba befuna umholi wabo.*	They refused to leave without their leader.	10
8	*Udlame kwelabokufik -a* Violence associated with xenophobic attacks	28 -30 May 2015.	*Kuqokwe ithimba kuphenywa ngodlame.*	A commission of inquiry is underway for crime.	6

Table 1b, illustrates that there are eight news articles found in *Ilanga*. There are eight news articles found in *Ilanga* that covered stories about the 2015 xenophobic attacks. The articles found were published from 2 April - 30 May 2015. These articles were selected using isiZulu search words such as; *iSilo* (King Goodwill Zwelithini) *abantu bokufika* (foreigners)*, abokufika* (foreigners)*, ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* (xenophobic attacks), *ukucwaswa kwabokufika* (xenophobia). Entries into Table 1b are also translated into English in order for non-isiZulu speakers to understand. The paragraphs for the selected stories ranged from 3 to 12 paragraphs.

Table 1c: Blunt search for othering and reference to King Zwelithini's speech (Isolezwe)

This section of the chapter is almost identical to the first one, meaning that the same number of articles are selected using the same search words. What is different about this section is the themes

found in this section will be used to analyse whether or not there was an othering narrative in the stories published by *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe*.

	IsiZulu Search word and translation	**Date**	**Headline of an article in IsiZulu**	**English translation of an article headline**	**Length in paragraphs**
1	*Isilo* King Goodwill Zwelithini	02 April 2015	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`*	The King's speech insinuated this.	11
2	*Abokufika* Foreigners	09 April 2015	*Balahlekelwe yikho konke behlaselwa*	They lost everything during the attacks.	7
3	*Abokufika* Foreigners	09 April 2015	*Kulimale abokufika kuhlakazwa imashi yabo*	The dispersion of a foreign-organised march led to injuries.	16
4	*Abokufika* Foreigners	09 April 2015	*Abokufika bathi abasethembi muntu kuleli*	Foreigners do not trust anyone in South Africa anymore.	8
5	*Abokufika* Foreigners	10 April 2015	*Uthukile umndeni wase-Oakland kushiswa isitolo sabokufika esisegcekeni*	The Oakland family was shocked after the foreign-owned store was burned down.	8
6	*Abokufika* Foreigners	10 April 2015	*Kungenelele uhulumeni kolwabokufika eKZN*	The government has intervened in KZN foreign issue.	11
7	*Abantu bokufika* Foreigners	15 April 2015	*"Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela"*	We will protect ourselves when attacked.	11

8	Ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika. Xenophobic attacks	17 April 2015	*Imbibizane emashini yobumbano*	Chaos erupted in a solidarity march.	14
9	*Owokufika* Foreigner	21 April 2015	*Kuvele abaqoshwe begwaza owokufika*	People who stabbed a foreigner appeared in court.	4
10	Ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika. Xenophobic attacks	21 April 2015	*Musani ukuhlasela abalingani bethu: Buthelezi*	Do not attack our counter-parts	3
11	*Isilo* King Goodwill Zwelithini	21 April 2015	*Bapholiswe amagama eSilo*	King's words calm them	9
12	*Abokufika* Foreigners	21 April 2015	*Sebenzisani ubuningi benu ukuvikela abokufika: iSilo*	Use your dominance to protect them: King.	7
13	*Abokufika* Foreigners	23 April 2015	*Owokufika usinde kushiswa isitolo ebekuso*	A foreign national escaped unharmed in the store fire.	10
14.	*Abokufika* Foreigners	04 May 2015	*Babuyele ezitolo zabo abokufika*	Foreigners are back at their stores.	5
15	*Abokufika* Foreigners	05 May 2015	*Banqabe ukusuka enkambini abokufika*	Foreigners refused to leave the camp.	11
16	*Abokufika* Foreigners	07 May 2015	*Bakhungathekile abokufika abasele enkanjini.*	Foreigners were left shocked in the camp.	8
17	*Abokufika* Foreigners	07 May 2015	*Kuboshwe abokufika ugasela amaphoyisa*	Foreigners were arrested in a police raid.	3
18	*Isilo*	08 May 2015	*ISilo sicasulwa ngabakhangisa ngaso*	Zulu King is livid after advertisement	3

	King Goodwill Zwelithini				
19	*Abokufika* Foreigners	08 May 2015	*Bathuthelwe eChatsworth abokufika.*	Foreigners were moved to Chatsworth.	7
20	*Abokufika* Foreigners	22 June 2015	*Abokufika bakhala ngokunganakwa*	Foreigners are complaining about ill-treatment.	5
21	*Abokufika* Foreigners	23 June 2015	*Kuboshwe abokufika eChatsworth*	Foreigners were arrested at Chatsworth.	4
22	*Abokufika* Foreigners	01 July 2015	*Abokufika abayingeni eyokusuka eChatsworth*	Foreigners are refusing to leave Chatsworth.	5
23	*Abokufika* Foreigners	02 July 2015	*Ubagojele umasipala uvala inkambu*	Foreigners were left stranded when the camp was closing down.	5
24	*Abokufika* Foreigners	03 July 2015	*Balale ze akade behlale enkanjani*	People who were camp dwellers slept in the open.	7
25	*Abokufika* Foreigners	07 July 2015	*Usole isitole saseMlazi ngodlame kwabokufika*	An Umlazi store was blamed for xenophobic attacks.	9
26	*Ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* Xenophobic attacks	14 July 2015	*Kasikaxoli ngokwenzeka kwabakithi*	We have not healed from what happened to our brothers and sisters.	5

Table 1c demonstrates that there are 26 news articles found in *Isolezwe* that deals with foreigners. These articles were selected using isiZulu search words such as; *iSilo* (King Goodwill Zwelithini) *abantu bokufika* (foreigners)*, abokufika* (foreigners)*, ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* (xenophobic attacks), *ukucwaswa kwabokufika* (xenophobia). The articles found were published from 2 April – 14 July 2015. The paragraphs for the selected stories ranged from 3 to 16 paragraphs.

Table 1d: Blunt search for othering and reference to King Zwelithini's speech (*Ilanga*)

	IsiZulu Search word and translation	Date	Headline of an article in IsiZulu	English translation of an article headline	Length in paragraphs
1	*Isilo* King Goodwill Zwelithini	02-04 April 2015	*Basola eyeSilo*	They are blaming the King.	5
2	*Abokufika* Foreigners	09-11 April 2015	*Kulamule uMchunu kwelabokufika*	Mchunu put halt on xenophobic attacks.	8
3	*Abokufika* Foreigners	13-15 April 2015	*Basahlaselwa abokufika*	Xenophobic attacks are still happening.	3
4	*Abokufika* Foreigners	16-18 April 2015	*Selusemadolobheni olwabokufika.*	Xenophobic attacks have moved to towns.	9
5	*Abokufika* Foreigners	20-22 April 2015	*Kunzima ukulawula olwabokufika*	It is becoming impossible to control the xenophobic attacks.	7
6	*iSilo* King Goodwill Zwelithini	30-02 May 2015	*Abase-Nigeria babopha iSilo samaZulu.*	Nigerians are opening a case against the Zulu King.	12
7	*Abokufika* Foreigners	07-09 May 2015	*Bagoloze ukuhamba befuna umholi wabo*	They refused to leave without their leader	10
8	*Udlame kwelabokufika* Violence associated with xenophobic attacks	28-30 May 2015	*Kuqokwe ithimba kuphenywa ngodlame.*	A commission of inquiry is underway for crime.	6

Table 1d, demonstrates that there are eight news articles found in *Ilanga* that portrayed foreigners through the lens of King Zwelithini speech. These articles were selected using isiZulu search words such as; *iSilo* (King Goodwill Zwelithini) *abantu bokufika* (foreigners)*, abokufika* (foreigners)*, ukuhlaselwa kwabokufika* (xenophobic attacks), *ukucwaswa kwabokufika* (xenophobia). The articles found were published from 2 April – 30 May 2015. The paragraphs for the selected stories were ranged from 3 to 12 paragraphs.

Identification of codes

The next set of four tables (2a-d) presents the 25 articles that have been selected from the original 34. They also demonstrate how codes were identified in the articles published by *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga*.

Table 2a: Identifying codes for representation of foreigners *(Isolezwe)*

	Article headline	Date	Deductive sub-themes from previous studies	Inductive sub-themes from articles
1	*Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu.* The King's speech insinuated this.	02 April 2015	Criminals Illegal Immigrants. Stealing jobs.	
2	*Kulimale abokufika kuhlakazwa imashi yabo.* The dispersion of a foreign-organised march led to injuries.	09 April 2015	Criminals.	
3	*Abokufika bathi abasethembi muntu kuleli.* Foreigners do not trust anyone in South Africa anymore.	09 April 2015	Criminals Illegal immigrants. Stealing jobs	

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4	*Uthukile umndeni wase-Oakland kushiswa isitolo sabokufika esisegcekeni.* The Oakland family was shocked after the foreign-owned store was burned down.	10 April 2015	Illegal immigrants.	Foreigners as rebels.
5	*Kungenelele uhulumeni kolwabokufika eKZN.* The government has intervened in KZN foreign issue.	10 April 2015	Criminals.	
6	'*Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela.*' We will protect ourselves when attacked.	15 April 2015	Taking women from local men. Foreigners stealing jobs.	Foreigners as rebels.
7	*Imbibizane emashini yobumbano.* Chaos erupted in a solidarity march.	17 April 2015	Criminals. Foreigners stealing jobs.	Foreigners as rebels.
8	*Bapholiswe amagama eSilo.* King's words calm them.	21 April 2015	Criminals. Foreigners stealing jobs.	Protecting SA against foreign invasion.
9	*Sebenzisani ubuningi benu ukuvikela abokufika: iSilo.* Use your dominance to protect them: King.	21 April 2015		Protecting SA against foreign invasion.

10	*Owokufika usinde kushiswa isitolo ebekuso.* A foreign national escaped unharmed in the store fire.	23 April 2015		Foreigners as rebels. Foreign owned businesses are thriving.
11	*Banqabe ukusuka enkambini abokufika.* Foreigners refused to leave the camp.	06 May 2015		Foreigners as helpless and desperate.
12	*Bakhungathekile abokufika abasele enkanjini.* Foreigners were left shocked in the camp.	07 May 2015		Foreigners as helpless and desperate.
13	*Kuboshwe abokufika ugasela amaphoyisa.* Foreigners were arrested in a police raid.	07 May 2015	Criminals. Illegal immigrants.	Foreigners as helpless and desperate.
14	*Abokufika bakhala ngokunganakwa.* Foreigners are complaining about ill-treatment.	22 June 2015		Foreigners as helpless and desperate.
15	*Kuboshwe abokufika eChatsworth.* Foreigners were arrested at Chatsworth.	23 June 2015		Foreigners as rebels.
16	*Abokufika abayingeni eyokusuka eChatsworth.*	01 July 2015		Helpless and desperate Foreigners as rebels

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	Foreigners are refusing to leave Chatsworth.			
17	*Ubagojele umasipala uvala inkambu.* Foreigners were left stranded when the camp was closing down.	02 July 2015		Helpless and desperate. Foreigners as rebels.
18	*Balale ze akade behlale enkanjani.* People who were camp dwellers slept in the open.	03 July 2015		Foreigners as rebels. Helpless and desperate.

Table 2a presents the 18 stories selected from the 26 stories found in the first table in *Isolezwe* dealing in representing foreigners as desperate people and villains. The Zulu news headlines for the stories selected are grouped with the translated English version. The stories selected were published from the 2 April – 3 July 2015. Table 2a illustrates that codes used in this study are divided into two sub-themes. The first sub-theme is made out of deductive themes (themes from previous studies). From the deductive sub-themes, four codes were found: *criminals, job stealers, illegal immigrants and taking women from local men*. The second sub-theme is inductive themes (themes found in the articles). From the inductive sub-themes, four codes were found: *foreigners as desperate and scared, foreigners as rebels, protecting SA against foreign invasion and foreign-owned businesses are thriving*.

Table 2b: Identifying codes for representation of foreigners (*Ilanga*)

	Article headline	Date	Deductive sub-themes from previous studies	Inductive sub-themes from articles
1.	*Basola eyeSilo.* They are blaming the Zulu King.	02 – 04 April 2015.	Illegal immigrants.	Foreigners as desperate and scared.

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2.	*Kulamule uMchunu kwelabokufika.* Mchunu put halt on xenophobic attacks.	09 – 11 April 2015		Foreigners businesses are thriving.
3.	*Basahlaselwa abokufika* Xenophobic attacks are still happening.	13 – 15 April 2015	Illegal immigrants.	Foreigners as desperate and scared. Foreigners businesses are thriving
4	*Selusemadolobheni olwabokufika.* Xenophobic attacks have moved to towns.	16 – 18 April 2015	Criminals	Foreigners businesses are thriving. Foreigners as rebels. Protecting SA from foreign invasion. (this code is repeated many times in the story).
5	*Kunzima ukulawula olwabokufika* It is becoming impossible to control the xenophobic attacks.	20-22 April 2015	Criminals.	
6	*Abase-Nigeria babopha iSilo samaZulu.* Nigerians are opening a case against the Zulu King.	30-02 May 2015	Illegal immigrants.	
7	*Bagoloze ukuhamba befuna umholi wabo* They refused to leave without their leader.	07-09 May 2015.	Criminals.	

Table 2b illustrates that only one story from the eight stories of *Ilanga* was not selected for this section of coding from the blunt search. It did not have anything that can be regarded as representation of foreigners or 2015 xenophobic attacks. This means that 7 articles were included. The stories selected were published from the 2 April – 9 May 2015. Table 2b shows that codes used in this study are divided into two sub-themes. The first sub-theme is made out of deductive themes (themes from previous studies). From the deductive sub-themes, four codes were found; *criminals* and *illegal immigrants*. The second sub-theme is inductive themes (themes found in the articles). From the inductive sub-themes, four codes were found; *foreign-owned businesses are thriving, foreigners as desperate and scared, foreigners as rebels* and *protecting SA against foreign invasion*.

Table 2c: Identifying codes for othering and reference to King Zwelithini's speech (*Isolezwe*)

	Article headline	Date	King Speech	Us versus Them
1	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`.* The King's speech insinuated this.	02 April 2015	Attacks were instigated. King was misunderstood. Foreigners must leave.	Highlighting the difference between us and them.
2	*Abokufika bathi abasethembi muntu kuleli.* Foreigners do not trust anyone in South Africa anymore.	09 April 2015	Foreigners must leave.	Highlighting the difference between us and them.
3	*"Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela"*. We will protect ourselves when attacked.	15 April 2015	King must take us home	Locals must stick together. Durban will be divided.
4	*Bapholiswe amagama eSilo.*	21 April 2015	King was misunderstood.	Singing and wearing

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	King's words calm them		Attacks on foreigners must end.	traditional clothing.
5	*Sebenzisani ubuningi benu ukuvikela abokufika: iSilo.* Use your dominance to protect them: King.	21 April 2015		Zulu kingdom is under attack.
6	*Owokufika usinde kushiswa isitolo ebekuso.* A foreign national escaped unharmed in the store fire.	23 April 2015	Attacks on foreign nationals must end.	

Table 2c illustrates that there are six stories selected from the 26 stories found in the first table in *Isolezwe*. These stories had stories with the King speech and how othering narrative was used by both publications. The Zulu news headlines for the stories selected are grouped with the translated English version. The stories selected were published from the 2 April - 23 April 2015. Table 2c illustrates that codes used in this study are divided into two sub-themes. Both sub-themes are inductive as no previous studies have focused on King Zwelithni's speech and as such no predetermined words from existing studies were used. The researcher organised them by putting the King speech and related content in the first column of sub-theme. Then the second column is made up of content that includes the King speech and Zulu identity and foreigners.

Table 2d: Identifying codes for othering and reference to King Zwelithini's speech (*Ilanga*)

	Article headline	**Date**	**King Speech**	**Us versus Them**
1	*Basola eyeSilo.* They are blaming the King.	02-04 April 2015	Attacks were instigated. Foreigners must leave.	Highlighting the difference between us and them.

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2	*KulamuleuMchunu kwelabokufika.* Mchunu put halt on xenophobic attacks.	09-11 April 2015	Foreigners must leave.	
3	*Basahlaselwa abokufika.* Xenophobic attacks are still happening.	13-15 April 2015	Attacks were instigated. King was misunderstood.	
4	*Kunzima ukulawula olwabokufika.* It is becoming impossible to control the xenophobic attacks.	20-22 April 2015		Highlighting the difference between us and them.
5	*Abase-Nigeria babopha iSilo samaZulu.* Nigerians are opening a case against the Zulu King.	30-02 May 2015		Zulu Kingdom under attack

Table 2d illustrates that there are five stories selected from the eight stories found in the first table in *Ilanga*. This is because only five articles addressed the King speech alleged involvement in the 2015 xenophobic attacks. The stories selected were published from the 2 April – 2 May 2015. Table 2 d illustrates that codes used in this study are divided into two sub-themes. Both sub-themes are inductive as no previous studies have focused on King Zwelithni's speech and as such no predetermined words from existing studies were used. The researcher organised them by putting the King speech and related content in the first column of sub-theme. Then the second column is made up of content that includes the King speech and Zulu identity and foreigners.

Identification of themes

The next set of four tables shows the themes that are an outcome of the coding. The first column presents the main theme that captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun & Clark 2006). The second column notes the sub-themes as a ramification of the main theme. The elaboration column presents a brief note on the terms in which the subthemes are discussed or raised (in other words, the context or perspective). The next column provides the article headline that can be referenced for each theme found. The last column reflects the researcher's 'notes to self' while reading the stories, for the purpose of later discussion of findings.

Table 3a: Identifying themes for representation of foreigners (*Isolezwe*)

Main theme	Sub-themes	Elaborations	References to article	Additional notes
Non-compliance with South African law	Criminals	Foreigners are accused of selling drugs, murder, assault and forced prostitution.	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`.* The King's speech insinuated this. *Kulimale abokufika kuhlakazwa imashi yabo.* The dispersion of a foreign-organised march led to injuries. *Abokufika bathi abasethembi muntu kuleli.* Foreigners do not trust anyone in South Africa anymore. *Kungenelele uhulumeni kolwabokufika eKZN.*	Most of these crimes committed by foreigners are not backed up by convictions. They are based on street-level narratives.

			The government has intervened in KZN foreign issue.	
			'Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela'.	
			We will protect ourselves when attacked.	
			Imbibizane emashini yobumbano. Chaos erupted in a solidarity march.	
			Bapholiswe amagama eSilo. King's word calms them.	
			Kuboshwe abokufika ugasela amaphoyisa. Foreigners were arrested in a police raid.	
Being in South Africa without proper documentation.	Illegal immigrants	Foreigners are accused of crossing South African borders without the proper documentation. Or they stay in the country with expired documents.	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`.* The King's speech insinuated this. *Abokufika bathi abasethembi muntu kuleli* Foreigners do not trust anyone in South Africa anymore.	This is a street-level narrative in some of the articles. In other articles, there is evidence of Police arresting the perpetrators.

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			Kuboshwe abokufika ugasela amaphoyisa.	
			Foreigners were arrested in a police raid.	
Foreigners disobeying the rules.	Foreigners as rebels.	They are expected to comply with the government or municipal authorities.	*Uthukile umndeni wase-Oakland kushiswa isitolo sabokufika esisegcekeni.*	They did not comply with the authorities of they had impossible demands.
			The Oakland family was shocked after the foreign-owned store was burned down.	
			"Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela".	
			We will protect ourselves when attacked.	
			"Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela".	
			We will protect ourselves when attacked.	
			Owokufika usinde kushiswa isitolo ebekuso.	
			A foreign national escaped unharmed in the store fire.	
			Abokufika abayingeni	

			eyokusuka eChatsworth.	
			Foreigners are refusing to leave Chatsworth.	
			Ubagojele umasipala uvala inkambu.	
			Foreigners were left stranded when the camp was closing down.	
			Balale ze akade behlale enkanjani. People who were camp dwellers slept in the open.	
Taking the birth-right of South Africans.	Foreigners stealing jobs.	They are accused of accepting pay that is below the minimum wage. Therefore, employers prefer them over SANs.	Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`. The King's speech insinuated this. Abokufika bathi abasethembi muntu kuleli Foreigners do not trust anyone in South Africa anymore. "Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela". We will protect ourselves when attacked.	

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			Imbibizane emashini yobumbano.	
			Chaos erupted in a solidarity march.	
			Bapholiswe amagama eSilo.	
			King's words calm them.	
South Africa is under attack and needs to be protected.	Protecting South Africa against foreign invasion.	There is a panic that foreigners are taking over South Africa. It is believed that South Africans must fight back to save their country.	*Bapholiswe amagama eSilo.* King's words calm them.	This was the fear amongst people from the Zulu nation.

Foreigners suffered during the 2015 xenophobic attacks.	Foreigners are helpless and desperate.	Foreigners lives changed due to the attacks, they had to live in fear. Their human rights were violated on continuous bases.	*Banqabe ukusuka enkambini abokufika.* Foreigners refused to leave the camp. *Bakhungathekile abokufika abasele enkanjini.* Foreigners were left shocked in the camp. *Kuboshwe abokufika ugasela amaphoyisa.* Foreigners were arrested in a police raid. *Abokufika bakhala ngokunganakwa.* Foreigners are complaining about ill-treatment. *Abokufika abayingeni eyokusuka eChatsworth.* Foreigners are refusing to leave Chatsworth. *Ubagojele umasipala uvala inkambu.* Foreigners were left stranded	Journalists who were writing these stories were writing them from the point of view of foreigners or from their own observation of the campsite. However, these reports started in May 2015.

			when the camp was closing down. *Balale ze akade behlale enkanjani.* People who were camp dwellers slept in the open.	
Foreigners are better business people compared to locals.	Foreign-owned business are thriving.	They have adapted better to the environment they are working in.	*Owokufika usinde kushiswa isitolo ebekuso.* A foreign national escaped unharmed in the store fire.	*Isolezwe* did only one story for this theme.

Table 3a illustrates the seven themes on representation that have been generated from *Isolezwe*. These themes are: *non-compliance with South African law, foreigners disobeying the rules, foreigners suffered during the 2015 xenophobic attacks, taking the birthright of South Africans, being in South Africa without proper documentation, South Africa is under attack and it needs protection and foreigners are better business people compared to locals*.

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Table 3b: Identifying themes for representation of foreigners (*Ilanga*)

Non-compliance with the law of South Africa.	Criminals	There is an-ongoing case of intimidation and sexual assault against a foreigner.	*Selusemadolobheni olwabokufika.* Xenophobic attacks have moved to towns. *Bagoloze ukuhamba befuna umholi wabo* They refused to leave without their leader. *Kunzima ukulawula olwabokufika* It is becoming impossible to control the xenophobic attacks.	One of the foreigners accused of crime, was convicted and he is attending trial.
Being in South Africa without proper documentation.	Illegal immigrants	Foreigners are accusing of being in this country illegally.	*Basola eyeSilo* They are blaming the Zulu King. *Basahlaselwa abokufika* Xenophobic attacks are still happening. *Abase-Nigeria babopha iSilo samaZulu.* Nigerians are opening a case against the Zulu King.	This code was mostly referred to when the publication was correcting people on what King said at the Moral Regeneration event.
Foreigners are better business-people compared to locals.	Foreign- owned businesses are thriving	Foreigners having stores in the articles and not incorporating their businesses	*Kulamule uMchunu kwelabokufika* Mchunu put halt on xenophobic attacks.	This notion is highlighted by always writing about foreigners and their businesses.

		with crime (hidden business agendas).	*Basahlaselwa abokufika* Xenophobic attacks are still happening. *Selusemadolobheni olwabokufika.* Xenophobic attacks have moved to towns.	
Foreigners suffered during the 2015 xenophobic attacks.	Foreigners as desperate and scared	Foreigners lives changed due to the attacks, they had to live in fear. Their human rights were violated on continuous bases.	*Basola eyeSilo* They are blaming the Zulu King. *Basahlaselwa abokufika* Xenophobic attacks are still happening.	
Foreigners disobeying the rules.	Foreigners as rebels.	Foreigners are prepared to fight back.	*Kulamule uMchunu kwelabokufika* Mchunu put halt on xenophobic attacks.	Their biggest crime is speaking to the media and telling South Africans that they will fight back.
South Africa is under attack and needs to be protected.	Protecting SA from foreign invasion.	Since foreigners are fighting back, South Africans are prepared to come back from Gauteng and fight for their country.	*Selusemadolobheni olwabokufika.* Xenophobic attacks have moved to towns.	There is only one article with this code. What attracted the reader to this code is how this whole article is dedicated to this code by quoting different traditional leaders who are sharing the same sentiments.

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Table 3b illustrates the six themes on representation that have been generated from *Ilanga*. These themes are: *non-compliance with South African law, being in South Africa without proper documentation, foreigners are better business people compared to locals, foreigners disobeying the rules, foreigners suffered during the 2015 xenophobic attacks* and *South Africa is under attack and it needs protection.*

Table 3c: Identifying themes for othering and King Zwelithini's speech (*Isolezwe*)

Main theme	Sub-themes	Elaborations	References to articles	Additional notes
Zulu King speech as an instigator.	Attacks were instigated.	Foreigners were quoted saying that King Zwelithini is responsible for 2015 xenophobic attacks.	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`.* The King's speech insinuated this**.**	The publication quotes people regarding the alleged King's involvement in inciting the attacks.
Misquoting what the King said.	King was misunderstood.	There are reports stating that King Zwelithini was only referring to illegal immigrants.	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`.* The King's speech insinuated this. *Bapholiswe amagama eSilo.* King's words calm them.	This refutes King Goodwill allegedly involvement in inciting 2015 xenophobic attacks.
Getting rid of foreigners in the country.	King must take us home.	Foreigners are asking the Zulu King to organise a ship or boat for their transportation back home.	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`.* The King's speech insinuated this.	Foreigners are offering a solution to the problem.

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Foreigners are not welcomed in South Africa.	Foreigners must leave.	The media reports stating that King Zwelithini said foreigners must leave.	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`.* The King's speech insinuated this. *Abokufika bathi abasethembi muntu kuleli.* Foreigners do not trust anyone in South Africa anymore.	People often cite this when attacking foreigners. They sometimes say the Zulu King gave them a go-ahead.
There must be peace.	Attacks on foreigners must end.	The Zulu King is talking to the Zulu nation about putting halt into the attacks.	*Sebenzisani ubuningi benu ukuvikela abokufika: iSilo.* Use your dominance to protect them: King. *Bapholiswe amagama eSilo.* King's words calms them	The King is clearing his name and making a way for possible peace talks between the two groups.
South Africans deserve protection more.	Locals must stick together.	South African were telling the Police to stop protecting foreigners, as they are outsiders. They must only protect them South Africans.	*"Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela".* We will protect ourselves when attacked.	
Durban for us and Durban for them.	Durban will be divided.	This means that foreigners are taking over Point Road,	*"Sizozivikela uma abantu besihlasela".* We will protect	This statement angered a lot of South Africans.

		therefore no South African will be permitted to leave there.	ourselves when attacked.	
Marking the territory	Singing and wearing traditional attire.	These people were singing war cry's and prepared for war.	*Bapholiswe amagama eSilo.* King's words calm them.	Their first stop was Point Road. Before they were condemned by the Zulu King.
The attacks are to tarnish the Zulu Kingdom.	Zulu Kingdom under attack.	The Zulu King said he did not start the attacks. However, people said that he did because they have an agenda of vilifying the Zulu Kingdom.	*Sebenzisani ubuningi benu ukuvikela abokufika: iSilo.* Use your dominance to protect them: King.	Citing African history of mass murders happening in March.
The difference between us and them.	Highlighting the difference between us and them.	This is done by calling them abantu bokufika and their nationalities are mentioned.	*'Yinkulumo yeSilo edale lokhu`.* The King's speech insinuated this. *Abokufika bathi abasethembi muntu kuleli.* Foreigners do not trust anyone in South Africa anymore.	The derogatory term was used by South Africans while attacking foreigners.

Table 3c illustrates the themes related to the ways in which the Kings' Speech was reported in *Isolezwe*, and its possible associated link with an othering narrative. These themes are: *Zulu King Speech as an instigator, misquoting what the King said, getting rid of foreigners in the country, foreigners are not welcomed in South Africa, there must be peace, South Africans deserve protection more, Durban for us and Durban for them, marking the territory and the attacks are to tarnish the Zulu Kingdom.*

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**Table 3d: Identifying themes for othering and King Zwelithini's speech (*Ilanga)*

Main theme	Sub-themes	Elaborations	References to articles	Additional notes
Zulu King speech as an instigator.	Attacks were instigated.	Foreigners were quoted saying that King Zwelithini is responsible for 2015 xenophobic attacks.	*Basola eyeSilo.* They are blaming the King. *Basahlaselwa abokufika.* Xenophobic attacks are still happening.	The *Ilanga* is doing the same thing with *Isolezwe*.
Foreigners are not welcomed in South Africa.	Foreigners must leave.	But there are people cited saying that the King was right indeed foreigners must leave.	*Basola eyeSilo.* They are blaming the King. *Kulamule uMchunu kwelabokufika.* Mchunu put halt on xenophobic attacks.	They have an organization saying that they want foreigners to leave. But they do not promote violence.
Misquoting what the King said.	King was misunderstood.	People's interpretation of the Zulu King speech was flawed. This is due to some stereotypes about foreigners in South Africa.	*Basahlaselwa abokufika.* Xenophobic attacks are still happening.	Zulu King is cleared from the allegation of being the 2015 xenophobic attacks instigator.

The difference between us and them.	Highlighting the difference between us and them.	The King was addressing his nation about the nation's problems. Now there is an organization that opened a case against him, and the nation involved was not that affected by the attacks.	*Basola eyeSilo.* They are blaming the King. *Kunzima ukulawula olwabokufika.* It is becoming impossible to control the xenophobic attacks.	Supporting their King and clearing him from the news articles that suggest that he is an alleged instigator of 2015 xenophobic attacks.
The attacks are to tarnish the Zulu Kingdom.	Zulu Kingdom under attack.	The xenophobic attacks are viewed as a plan to tarnish the good name of the Zulu Kingdom. These views were shared by the Zulu King.	*Abase-Nigeria babopha iSilo samaZulu.* Nigerians are opening a case against the Zulu King.	The media made the Zulu King a scapegoat for the attacks. He said that if he wanted war this country would be reduced into ashes.

Table 3d illustrates the themes related to the ways in which the Kings' Speech was reported in *Ilanga*, and its possible associated link with an othering narrative. These themes are: *Zulu King Speech as an instigator, foreigners are not welcomed in South Africa, misquoting what the King said, the difference between us and them* and *the attacks are to tarnish the Zulu kingdom.*

Representation of Foreigners: Discussion of themes

In this section the researcher will interpret the final themes (shown above on table 3a-3d according to the theoretical framework of the study (representation, stereotyping and othering) in response to the objectives of the study. The researcher will not interpret themes that were only covered by one article, unless that article has a number of quotes about the same theme.

Non-compliance with the South African law

The majority of the news articles in *Isolezwe* reported foreigner's non-compliance to South African law. The articles stated that the foreigners were criminals because they were selling drugs, turning innocent girls into prostitutes, murdering South Africans and assaulting minors. However, the study findings further revealed that the crimes committed by foreigners were all based on allegations as there were no statements from the police or statistics to prove this point. *Isolezwe* cited ordinary South Africans saying that they do not want foreigners in South Africa because they commit crime. According to Pineteh (2017), foreigners as 'criminals' is one of the street narratives. Therefore, street narratives act as instigators of the xenophobic attacks. Eight articles from 26 articles that were selected in *Isolezwe* covered this theme. However, the researcher will extract a few of these quotes and place them below to strengthen the argument:

Bebuzwa ukuthi kungani bethi abahambe abokufika bathe babulala izingane zase Ningizimu Afrika, bayaziqwayizisa futhi emaflethini sekugcwele bona (9 April 2015). They were asked why they wanted foreigners to leave, foreigners were accused of murdering South African children, they make them prostitutes and they occupy most flats in Durban CBD.

Sizwe sekuthiwa kukhona umfowethu obulale umuntu wase Ningizimu Afrika base basihlasela (9 April 2015). We heard that a foreigner has murdered a South African national, then that is when they started attacking us.

Laba bantu bebethi abokufika baletha izidakamizwa kuleli futhi bathatha imisebenzi yabo (17 April 2015). These people were saying that foreigners are bringing drugs into the country and they are stealing jobs meant for South Africans.

In *Ilanga*:

Ilanga lithole ukuthi indaba isuswe wukushaywa komfanyana oneminyaka ewu 13 ekuthiwa ushaywe ngumlisa wokufika kuleli (16 – 18 April 2015). *Ilanga* found that the cause of the attacks was an alleged assault of a 13-year old boy by a foreigner.

Uthi abantu babatshela ukuthi abokufika badayisa izidakamizwa, baphendula izingane omahosha nokunye. (20-22 April 2015). People told them that foreigners are trading in drugs and they are responsible for brothels where young girls are turned into prostitutes.

Umholi wabo uMnu Dunai oboshelwe amacala ekuthiwa ngelokusabisa nelokupotoza iphoyisa lesifazane esithweni sangasese (07 – 09 May 2015). Foreigner's leader, Mr Dunai was arrested for intimidation and sexual assaulting a female police officer.

Being in South Africa without proper documentation

This theme stated that foreigners were covered as illegal immigrants in *Isolezwe* during the period of 2015 xenophobic attacks. This theme is usually used in this newspaper where certain individuals state that the King speech was only directed to illegal immigrants and he did not say people must punish them. He was only asking the South African government to intervene in the matter. However, there were stories with actual convictions of illegal immigrants in tents made for foreigners by Police and South African National Defense Force (SANDF) during the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

Uma behlasela abokufika abantu bathi yiSilo esithi mabahambe kodwa uMchunu uthe iSilo asikaze sithi abantu mabazijezisele bona kodwa sathi uhulumeni kumele alungise udaba lwabantu bokufika abakuleli ngokungemthetho. (09 April 2015). When South Africans attack foreigners, they claim that King Goodwill Zwelithini instructed illegal foreigners to leave. Mchunu said King Goodwill Zwelithini did not say people must punish illegal immigrants, but he asked assistance about the issue of illegal immigrants from the government.

Kuboshwe inqwaba yabantu bokufika abakukeli ngokungemthetho emkhankasweni kahulumeni. (07 May 2015). A lot of illegal immigrants were arrested in a Police raid.

In *Ilanga*:

Umnu Byamungu Antwani, odabuka e-DRC, uthi kabahambisani nabantu bokufika abakuleli ngokungemthetho. (02 ‑ 04 April 2015). Mr Byamungu Antwani, who is from DRC said he is against foreigners who are in South Africa illegally.

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Siyazinduna asihambisani nalokhu okwenzekayo futhi siyaziqhelelanisa nakho ngoba ingonyama yamaZulu yakubeka kwacaca ukuthi ibikhuluma ngabantu abangenamvume, futhi nakhona lapho kayizange ithi mabashaywe. (20 – 22 April 2015). As herdmen we are against xenophobic attacks and we are distancing ourselves from the attacks, this is because King Goodwill was only referring to illegal immigrants. He did not say that foreigners must be attacked.

Isilo besikhuluma ngento eyaziwa wuyena wonke umuntu futhi eliqiniso ukuthi abangenemvume mabaphindele emakubo, kusho umnu Mhlongo (from 30 April- 02 May 2015). King Goodwill Zwelithini was talking about something that is known by everyone and it is the truth. Illegal foreigners must be repatriated, Mr Mhlongo observed.

Taking the birthright of South Africans

Foreigners are accused by many South Africans cited in these stories that they steal jobs meant for South Africans. The former Premier of KwaZulu Natal, Senzo Mchunu said that King Goodwill did not incite xenophobic attacks in 2015. It is said that the attacks were incited by uMlazi business owners that decided to dismiss all striking South African employees and replace them with foreigners. People became angry and they started attacking foreigners as they were accusing them of stealing their jobs. This theme was only covered by *Isolezwe*.

Omunye wabebehambele le mbizo ubuphethe ibhodi elinombhalo othi sekuphele iminyaka eyisishigalombili engasebenzi ekhala ngokuthi umsebenzi uthathwa ngabantu abokufika. (*Isolezwe*, 21 April 2015). Another person who was attending the meeting was carrying a board with the words: It's been eight years since he was last employed and he is blaming foreigners for stealing jobs.

Abanikazi besitolo sakwa Jeena esiseMlazi saxosha abakuleli ababetelekile kwaqashwa abokufika abasuka kwamanye amazwe. (*Isolezwe*, 07 July 2015). Jeena business owners, which are situated in Umlazi, dismissed a number of South Africans due to striking and hired foreigners.

Foreigners disobeying the rules

This theme covers occasions where it is reported that foreign nationals did not want to follow rules presented by the municipality and other stakeholders and they had impossible demands towards the South African government. Foreigners are sometimes rude towards the community members. This theme is only covered by *Isolezwe*.

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Kukhona owafundisa lo mfana inhlamba manje uvele ahilizisane kancane nekhasimende bese uyalithuka lokhu abanye abantu bebengakuthandi kusho ilungu lomphakathi (*Isolezwe*, 23 April 2015). There is someone who taught this boy how to use vulgar language. If it happens that he has a misunderstanding with a customer, he will make sure that he uses vulgar language and most people are not happy about that.

Sebelala esigangeni abokufika enkambini eseSiphingo emuva kokuba uMasipala weTheku uqoqe zonke izinsiza uzama ukubathuthela enkanjini eChatsworth ngempelasonto kodwa bashaya phansi ngonyawo bathi abalubhadi lapho. (*Isolezwe*, 5 May 2015). Foreigners are sleeping in the open where it used to be ISiphingo camp. This is after EThekwini Municipality collected all the essentials/essential services in preparation to send all the foreigners there to a camp in Chatsworth. This was done during the weekend, but foreigners in this camp refused to leave.

Sifuna uhulumeni wakuleli asitholele amakhaya kwamanye amazwe esizophepha kuwo, kusho uNkk Nyandui. (*Isolezwe*, 03 July 2015). We want the South African government to find us homes in countries where they will be safer.

South Africa under attack and needs protection

This theme is only covered by *Ilanga.* This is one of the new themes and covers fear amongst the Zulu traditional leaders in Gauteng. These traditional leaders fear that foreigners are refusing to leave Durban because they want to fight back and take over their province. They are willing to go down to Durban and fight for their country or province. There is only one story covering this theme, however, there were many people cited in the article who shared the same sentiments.

Lezi zinduna zithi zicasulwa yizinkulumo zabokufika ezilokhu zivela kwabe zindaba zokuthi bazozivikela uma behlaselwa nokuthi kabayi ndawo (*Ilanga*, 16 – 18 April 2015). The headmen said what infuriates them are the news report that say foreigners will fight back if they are attacked and they are not prepared to leave South Africa.

Uma kuwukuthi basaqhubeka nalokhu abakushoyo, ngeke kusisinde ukuba sinikele khona lapho eThekwini ukuzolwela izwe lethu (*Ilanga*, 16 – 18 April 2015).If they continue with what they are saying, it will not be difficult to go down to Durban and fight for our land/country.

<u>Linking negative themes with the literature and theory</u>

This section analyses the three above-presented negative themes together. This is because the theme of *non-compliance with the South African law, being in South Africa without proper documentation* and *taking the birthright of South Africans* are interconnected. These themes define that foreigners in *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga* were represented with negative stereotypes during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. Using negative stereotypes to represent foreigners in a country like South Africa has been discouraged because it is believed that perpetuating these negative stereotypes do contribute in creating xenophobic attitudes (Reitzes and Dolan 1996).

This study has found that isiZulu written press followed the same trend of English print media, in representing foreigners using three particularly common stereotypes which are foreigners as job-stealers, foreigners as criminals and foreigners as illegal (Danso and McDonald, 2001; Pineteh, 2017; Jani, 2018). These are the same stereotypes used by *Isolezwe* to represent foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. It must be noted that *Ilanga* used two of these negative stereotypes instead of three, the publication covered *non-compliance with the South African law* and *being in South Africa without proper documentation*. According to Lakoff and Ferguson (2006), the term illegal immigrants define foreigners as criminals, therefore, they are characteristically bad people. Therefore, the word illegal does not highlight criminality, but highlights otherness (Kariithi *et al*. 2017).

Another theme which is new is covered in this study is foreigners disobeying the rules. This is another negative theme which stereotypes foreigners as unruly and rude people. The theme is only covered by *Isolezwe*. Mawadza (2012) points out that regardless of their different paths and trajectories, foreigners are regularly portrayed in an unpleasant light; this causes locals to be weary of them. The local people and print media reduce and flatten the real complexities of dis-empowered and marginalized populations by stereotyping them.

This last negative theme is only covered by *Ilanga* with this headline*; Selusemadolobheni olwabokufika* (16-18 April 2015). This theme is *South Africa under attack and it needs protection.* Foreigners are represented in a negative stereotype of being parasites (Kariithi *et al*. 2017). This is done by insinuating that they are taking over South Africa, giving over to instances where more people will want to attack foreigners because they feel threatened and they also want to protect

their land. Even in 2008, the media was accused of inciting violence because of exaggerating and reinforcing stereotypes about foreigners and provoking more violence in the process (Pineteh, 2017).

Therefore, representation of foreigners by both publications is mainly negative. The researcher discusses this because representation is a socio-cognitive practice which allows people to create sociality, position themselves and affirm their identities (Howarth, 2002). For instance, foreign nationals in these publications are considered a threat to the lives of people who reside in KwaZulu-Natal, as they do contribute negatively to their communities or livelihoods. Then, stereotyping foreigners brings the practice of closure and exclusion of foreigners as they are considered different from the Zulus (Mbetga, 2015). However, Shaw (2010) discouraged examining whether stereotypes are accurate or offensive, saying that the purpose of stereotypes in a text is power. Due to the power found in stereotypes, the Zulus are able to represent foreigners as unimportant in order to maintain and build their own identity as strong and important through othering narrative (Staszak, 2008).

Linking positive themes with literature and theory

There have been studies claiming that print media is loaded with stories where foreigners are slandered and discriminated against (Yakushko, 2009) In addition, newspaper articles tend to focus mainly on negative connotations of foreigners, ignoring the positive coverage (Crush, 2008). However, Allen *et al.* (2017) argued that there has been a move towards more positive coverage of migration issues across different countries. The new move is what this section is discussing.

Foreigners are better business-people compared to locals:

Mina ngiqashe abantu abayisi-8 abakuleli abasebenza esitolo sami. Basizondela ukuthi sihlakaniphile, siyakwazi ukwenza imali bona abahlulekayo wukuyenza (09 -11 April 2015). I hired eight people from South Africa in my store. They hate us because we are clever and know how to make money, unlike them.

Kazigcinanga lapho izidubedube njengoba eWaterloo naseVerulam kuhlaselwe abokufika abangabasePakistan abanezitolo kwaphoqa ukuthi bazivale izitolo zabongoba isimo besisibi kakhulu (16 -

18 April 2015). Foreigners who have stores in Verulam and Waterloo were attacked to a point where they had to close down their stores.

This theme highlights the exceptional entrepreneurial abilities of foreigners in South Africa. Moiloa (2015) argues that foreigners have taken over many businesses in South Africa because they have managed to study the environment better and they succeeded. This is one of the positive stereotypes about foreigners. Only, *Ilanga* covered this theme.

Foreigners suffered during the attacks

The second theme is less a positive representation and more so related to sympathetic reporting. As such it may still be deemed favourable. The articles in both publications reported on how foreigners suffered through tough living conditions and during the attacks. During the 2015 xenophobic attacks foreigners were living in tents and were staying in unfavorable conditions. Some had nowhere to go to and they were uncertain about what the future holds for them in South Africa. The reports included the foreigners' point of view. Most of these stories were published during the aftermath of the 2015 (May to July 2015) xenophobic attacks. The following excerpts are from *Isolezwe*:

Sasuka emakhaya aseDRC e-Uvira ngaseLake Tanganyika emuva kokuthi abazali bethu umama uTeresa nobaba uMkayu begencwe ngamasosha". (09 April 2015). We came from rural areas in DRC, Uvira next to Lake Tanganyika, after our mother Teressa, and father Mkayu were beheaded by soldiers.

Bakhala ngokubhuqwa yindlala nokungabikho kwentlanzeko abokufika kuleli abahleli enkanjini yaseChatsworth. (22 June 2015). Foreigners who reside at the Chatsworth camp are starving and the conditions that they live under are not suitable for humans.

Baningi abafana nalomnumzane onezingane ezintathu, bebengazi ukuthi badleni noma bazolala kuphi njengoba bengasenazo izindawo ebehlala kuzo ngaphambilini. (02 July 2015). Many are alike to the man who has three kids, who do not know where their next meal will come from; they did not have a place to sleep in, because the places they used to stay in before were destroyed.

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In *Ilanga*:

Uthi kubuhlungu ukubona izingane nabesifazane belele esiteshini samaphoyisa besaba ukuyolala ezindlini zabo. (02‑04 April 2015). He said it pains him to see children and women sleeping in Police Station instead of their homes as they are fearing for their lives.

Uthi iningi lisuke emakhaya lixoshwa yizimpi, kalizazi lizoshonangaphi uma nalapha lixoshwa. (02‑04 April 2015). She said that most of them are from the rural areas, if they are not welcomed here they do not know where they will go.

It appears that within *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* negative stereotypes are slowly balanced with positive stereotypes. This is called a counter-stereotype. A counter-stereotype is a portrayal that deliberately sets out to change an earlier representation or seeks to portray a group in a positive light (Stewart and Kowaltzke, 2007). The positive stereotypes about foreigners are trying to change the dominant and negative stereotypes. However, this is proving to be very difficult positive stereotypes are slow to circulate. Therefore, positive stereotypes are oppositional representations due to how slow they are circulated (Howarth, 2006).

Othering and Reference to the King's Speech: Discussion of themes

In this section the researcher interprets final themes that relate to othering and reference to the King's speech in relation to the theoretical framework of the study (representation, stereotyping and othering) in response to the objectives of the study. The researcher will not interpret themes that were only covered by one article, unless that article has a number of quotes about the same theme.

Misquoting what the King said

This theme is covered only by *Isolezwe*. The idea in this theme is that the 2015 xenophobic attacks happened because people misunderstood what the Zulu King was saying in his Moral Regeneration Event Speech. *Isolezwe* quotes prominent people like the former Premier of KwaZulu Natal, Senzo Mchunu saying that the Zulu King was largely misunderstood and he did not incite the violence against foreigners in 2015.

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UDube uthe okwasusa impi ebikhona akusiyo inkulumo eyakhulunywa iSilo kodwa ukudideka emalungwini omphakathi okudalwa izizathu eziningi ekubalwa kuzona ukungasebenzi, ububha nokungalawula kwabokufika (21 April 2015). Dube said the attacks were not sparked by the King's speech, they were caused by confusion resulted from unemployment, being poor and poor management of foreigners.

"Uma behlasela abokufika abantu bathi yiSilo esithi mabahambe kodwa uMchunu uthe iSilo asikaze sithi abantu mabazijezisele bona kodwa sathi uhulumeni kumele alungise udaba lwabantu bokufika abakuleli ngokungemthetho" (9 April 2015). When they attack foreigners they say it's the Zulu King who instructed them to do so, but Mchunu said the Zulu King never instructed anyone to punish them. But he asked the government to manage immigration/migration issues better.

Foreigners are not welcomed in South Africa

This theme comprises of statements made by King Goodwill Zwelithini, saying that foreigners must leave. It is said that the statement was misunderstood by many. Also, ordinary people did not want foreigners in their society and they started attacking them. These are some of the quotes found on *Isolezwe;*

Isilo sithe mabahambe abokufika (2 April 2015). The Zulu King said foreigners must leave.

Bavele bavuka ubhejazane bathi abawafuni Amakwerekwere, sagcina sesithuthwa ngamaphoyisa azosibeka kulenkundla (9 April 2015). They became angry and said they do not want foreigners here but they were using a derogatory term to describe them. Then Police took us to this stadium.

Ilanga covered this theme by quoting people who said that foreigners must return to their countries. Local people were not only saying these things they were also acting upon them by attacking them (foreigners) with an intention of sending them home. These were some of the quotes found under these themes;

Bebecula la maculo nje, abakuleli bengazibekile phansi, bemele kude kunabo belokhu bememezile nabo ukuthi abahambe abokufika kuleli, kabasabadingi (9-11 April 2015). Foreigners were singing their songs while South Africans were shouting at the other end saying that foreigners must leave because they do not need them.

NgoMsombuluko kusuke isididi kwa Jeena abantu abangaziwa bengenela ngenduku abokufika kulendawo ngenhlosoyokubaphindisa emazweni abadabuka kuwona (2-4 April 2015). On Monday chaos erupted in

Jeena after unknown men started attacking foreigners with the aim of sending them back to their countries of origin.

There must be peace

This theme covers statements from the Zulu King saying that the xenophobic attacks must come to an end. These quotes are from *Isolezwe* as it is the only tabloid that covered this theme. He said that people have died during these attacks therefore they must stop. He is the only person cited making these utterances in the following quotes:

NjengeNkosi yenu ngithi lalani ngenxeba Zulu omuhle ngoba sekuze kwaphuma izidumbu (21 April 2015). As your King, I'm saying that the xenophobic attacks must end.

Abuye edangele amabutho ebephume ngobuningi bawo ezothamela imbizo ebibizwe yiMbube enkundlelni yezemidlalo eMoses Mabhida eThekwini izolo ngemuva kokuthi iSilo samabandla uGoodwill Zwelithinisifike sawapholosa sathi ayiphele nya indaba yokuhlaselwa kwabokufika kuleli (21 April 2015). Traditional soldiers were not happy to hear the Zulu King saying that attacks on foreign nationals must stop. This was said in a meeting requested by Zulu King in Durban at Moses Mabhida Stadium.

The difference between us and them

This theme covers how *Isolezwe* manages to highlight the difference between us (Zulus) and foreigners (them). The foreigners are covered as *abantu bokufika* and their countries of origin are mentioned. Also, the South African derogatory word to describe foreigners also used as the publication was quoting someone else who said that statement.

Abantu bokufika base Democratic of Congo, Burundi, Malawi nase Tanzania abaqube esiteshini samaphoyisa eSiphingo lapho bacashe khona ngenxa yokuhlaselwa bakhala ngenkulumo yeSilo abathi yiyona egovuze abantu *bakuleli ukuthi babahlasele* (2 April 2015). Foreigners from Democratic of Congo, Burundi, Malawi and Tanzania, who were seeking refuge at iSiphingo Police Station.

Bavele bavuka ubhejazane bathi abawafuni Amakwerekwere, sagcina sesithuthwa ngamaphoyisa azosibeka kulenkundla (9 April 2015). They became angry and said they do not foreigners here but they were using a derogatory term to describe them. Then Police took us to this stadium.

Ilanga covered this theme by citing people who are in support of deporting illegal immigrants although they are against the attacks on them. Some supporting quotes found in these newspaper articles are:

Inhlangano emele amalungelo abesilisa, ISikhalo saMadoda, ithumele isitatimende ngaloludaba ithi siyihlabe esikhonkosini iSilo. Ithi kodwa kayihambisani nokushaywa kwabokufika ngoba neSilo kasishongo ukuthi mabashaywe (2– 4 April 2015). An organisation called, *ISikhalo saMadoda,* sent a statement regarding the issue of immigration, saying that King Goodwill uttered nothing but the truth.

Umnu Mhlongo uthi iSilo bazoseseka kuze bube sekugcineni ngoba asikaze siyiphake impi, kodwa besikhuluma into ehlezi yenziwa nguhulumeni (30 April- 2 May 2015). Mr Mhlongo said that they will support the Zulu King till the end. This is because the King did not perpetuate the attacks, but he was doing what the government does.

Zulu King Speech as an instigator

This theme is covered by *Ilanga* only. The articles selected for this theme were carefully written by quoting people saying that the King speech is indeed an instigator in the 2015 xenophobic attacks. Most of the people cited in the articles were foreigners. They were quoted implying that the King indeed had something to do with the eruption of gruesome attacks; *Bagxeka inkulumo yeSilo samaZulu abantu bokufika kuleli abahlaselwe ngoMsombuluko kwa Jeena, eMlazi, eNingizimu yeTheku, wumphakathi wakulendawo* (2– 4 April 2015). Foreigners are blaming the Zulu King's speech for xenophobic attacks in Jeena, Umlazi in Durban. *Kwenzeke lokhu nje, ngeledlule kuphume imibiko kwabezindaba ngenkulumo ye Silo uGoodwill Zwelithini kaBhekezulu nalapho kuthiwa sithe abokufika kuleli kumele bathathe amasaka abo baphindele emazweni abo.* The xenophobic attacks came after news reports stating that the King said in his speech, "foreigners must go back where they came from".

Linking themes with the literature and theory

The researcher maintains that the themes analysed in the subject of othering were based on inductive sub-themes only. Therefore, the researcher will divide the analysis by linking the King alleged involvement in the formation of the 2015 xenophobic attacks first with literature and theory. Then it will be follow by Zulu identity and foreigners.

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The themes found in *Ilanga*, examined and analysed the speech made by King Goodwill Zwelithini as an instigator of the attacks. While *Isolezwe*, found that the King's speech was misunderstood by the media and the public in general. However, Pineteh (2017), argued that King speech like other street narratives represented foreigners in a parasitic image. Therefore, their presence in the country is affecting the quality of South African lives. The King speech might have invoked xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners.

King Goodwill Zwelithini called a meeting where he made another speech but this time around he was telling his nation to stop attacking foreigners. The King was using *Zuluness* to unite Zulus and make them stop attacking foreigners. The concept of *Zuluness* worked as there are strides in KwaZulu-Natal to preserve *Zuluness* as some sort of identity in the province (Buthelezi, 2008).

Both publications found that foreigners were not welcomed in South Africa. This was done by quoting people saying that they want them out of the country. They further elaborated on differences between South Africans and foreigners. This one was one of the ways newspapers create a sense of not belonging through stories with sources and headlines that lead to discrimination against foreigners (Jani, 2018:111). This is done by newspapers even though, they hold a crucial responsibility in the way in which individuals see and comprehend migrants and minorities (Happer and Philo, 2013). Therefore, how media represents foreigners to the general public is important on how society view immigration issues. The way media represent foreigners in South Africa builds a narrative that differentiates Us (South Africans) from Them (foreigners) (Pineteh, 2017).

Identity is formed as a result of comparing two groups. The idea of Otherness is key in understanding how identities are constructed, because those with power in society control the representation of different groups (Hall, 1997). The way isiZulu media represented foreigners based on mainly negative stereotypes that lead to differentiating between South Africans and foreigners. Otherness is all about differentiating between us and them (Hall, 1997). Therefore, Otherness is due to the difference of the Other than to the point of view and the discourse of the person who perceives the Other as such. Opposing Us, the self, and them, the Other, is to choose a criterion that allows humanity to be divided into two groups: one that embodies the norm (South

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Africans) and whose identity is valued and another that is defined by its faults, devalued and susceptible to discrimination (foreigners) (Staszak, 2008).

Conclusion

This chapter illustrates that *Isolezwe* has a mostly negative representation of foreigners, while *Ilanga* strikes a balance. Both publications use negative stereotypes that were also found in the English press to represent foreigners. This chapter also revealed how the press report on foreigners and how stories are published with no supporting evidence to some claims. These claims are foreigners are *criminals* and *illegal immigrants* and these reports contribute on how South Africans treat matters of immigration (Jani, 2018:133).

The manner in which both publications report on the 2015xenophobic attacks also exposes how press represents foreigners as the Other. This is done by highlighting the difference between South Africans and foreigners and goes further by citing people who refer to foreigners with derogatory names insisting that foreigners must leave the country.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Introduction

The study examined the representation of foreigners in *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* during and immediately after the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The study engaged qualitative data from the tabloid newspaper news articles collected manually at Bessie Head library in Pietermaritzburg. The study's main objective was to discover the ways in which the representation of foreigners in the two isiZulu written print media from 1 April 31 July 2015 were either positive or negative or both. In addition, King Goodwill Zwelithini's speech was important to this study as it sets these particular attacks apart from subsequent attacks both in 2015 and more recently. The reason for this was that it was alleged that the King's speech was a catalyst for the 2015 attacks in Durban before moving to the other parts of the country (Dube, 2018). So, another objective of this study was to investigate if this perception of the role of the speech in spurring on attacks has any merit. This was assessed on if and how the news media referred to the speech in connection to reports of the attacks. This was done to establish print media discourses that describe the representation of foreigners in *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* and to reveal the image that is created of foreigners created by vernacular media.

The researcher considers that language used by tabloid newspapers is important to study because it reflects the language structure of a certain society (Ndlovu, 2011). Qualitative content analysis was used in order to investigate this language use. The following theoretical approaches guided its analysis; Representation theory (Hall *et al,* 2013; Hall, 1997; 2016), Stereotyping theory (O`Sullivan *et al*, 1994, Hall, 1997 and Shaw, 2010) and Othering (Hall, 1997; 2013, Said, 1978; Spivak 1988). This study is unique because, although there has been research on the representation of foreigners in print media, the media in those studies have been English (Mtwana and Bird, 2006; Jani, 2018). This dissertation provided an in-depth analysis of representation of foreigners in IsiZulu vernacular print media. This chapter will present the study's conclusion, contribution to the study and recommendations.

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Summary and Synthesis of Findings

The study's findings on representation of foreigners were organised under these themes: *non-compliance with South African law, being in South Africa without proper documents, foreigners disobeying the rules, taking the birthright of South Africans, foreigners suffered during the 2015 xenophobic attacks and foreigners are better business people compared to South Africans*. Many of these themes highlight the binary between 'us' as Zulus/South African and 'them' as foreigners. Eleven articles from 36 found in *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* represented foreigners as criminals. Based on this, it is clear that biased reporting towards foreigners still dominates even in vernacular media through the use of negative stereotypes and prejudice.

The foreigners were represented in *Isolezwe* using the known stereotypes of foreigners *as illegal immigrants, criminals, job stealers* and a new negative theme emerged, representing foreigners as *disobeying the rules* However, *Ilanga had* only two negative stereotypes and they are *foreigners as illegal immigrants* and *criminals*. These themes represent foreigners as a problem to South Africa and it is believed that if they could return to their countries, things would go back to normal. These themes are representing foreigners in a negative light as it was done in the English press. However, there is a change of representation as two new themes emerged. *Ilanga* represented foreigners as *exceptional entrepreneurs* and that they suffered during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. Some might argue that foreigners as *exceptional entrepreneurs* are not new and positive theme in the print media. This is because this theme is aligned with criminality where foreigners are accused of using their businesses as fronting for their illegal drug trade (Karrithi *et al*, 2017). However, *Ilanga* did not mention *criminality* as a contributing factor to their success. The theme about foreigners suffering during the 2015 xenophobic attacks was found in both publications. The researcher does not imply that a struggle faced by people is something to celebrate. But in this theme articles selected were appealing to the reader to have sympathy and empathy with foreigners who are living in poor (and often violent) conditions and have nowhere to go. They were represented for who they really are, not what they are stereotypically known for.

The vernacular press did construct news articles that represented foreigners as the 'other". This was done by including the King's speech in their news articles. *Ilanga* represented the King speech as an instigator, while *Isolezwe* reported that the King was misquoted. Only foreigners were cited accusing the King of stirring violence against them. Then, *Isolezwe* quoted South Africans saying

that the King was misquoted. What this means is that the King's speech may be said to divide people based on where they come from. For Us (South Africans), the King speech was misquoted and for Them (foreigners), the King speech is indeed an instigator.

The articles constructed an othering narrative by including the Zulu King Speech as an alleged instigator of the 2015 xenophobic attacks. This speech stated that foreigners are problematic to South Africa, if they could deport the ones breaking the South African law, everything will be better. Whether the speech was misunderstood or not by the masses and media, foreigners were still represented as a problem that needs government intervention in the speech. Lastly, the articles constructed an othering narrative highlighting the difference between South Africans and foreigners, like telling the reader where that foreigner is from and quoting South Africans who are calling foreigners as *Amakwerekwere*. The othering narrative persists as themes where it is stated that foreigners are not welcome in South Africa. This highlights that the country belongs to South Africans; therefore foreigners are not welcome because they are a different group of people than South Africans/Zulus.

This confirms what previous research conducted on English print media has found. That, indeed newspapers in South Africa tend to represent migration stories and foreigners in a negative way (Danso and McDonald, 2001, Pineteh, 2017 and Jani, 2018). A lot of negative themes emerged from previous studies where foreigners were represented by these stereotypes; drug lords, job stealers, illegal immigrants, women snatchers and so on (Nyamnjoh, 2010 and Karitthi *et al,* 2017). The isiZulu written tabloids only covered three of the popular stereotypes which are criminals, illegal immigrants then job stealers (covered by *Isolezwe* only).

Nonetheless, positive representations are included in the news reports. The two tabloids highlight that foreigners are people too and they do have a positive contribution in our communities. There is some sort of positivity where foreigners are represented for who they are really are not based on stereotypes and biases. Positive representations of foreigners in the media are still very few, but it is a good start. The positive representation of foreigners uses positive stereotypes, these stereotypes are called counter-stereotypes. A counter-stereotype is a portrayal that deliberately sets out to change an earlier representation or seeks to portray a group in a positive light (Stewart and Kowaltzke, 2007). The positive stereotypes about foreigners are trying to change the dominant and negative stereotypes. However, this is proving to be very difficult positive stereotypes are slow to

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circulate. Therefore, positive stereotypes are oppositional representations due to how slow they are circulated (Howarth, 2006).

Contributions to the field of the study

This research has contributed to the studies of print media and xenophobia discourses. It must be noted that this study advances from studies focusing on media representation of foreigners during the xenophobic attacks, as it uses isiZulu written publications. This was done by analysing language used by *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* to represent foreigners during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. The study highlighted that in isiZulu written media there are positive and negative representation of foreigners.

This study has highlighted that the representation of foreigners is examined using English print media, vernacular media is hardly examined. The majority of people in South Africa are black and they understand English as a second or third language. Therefore, there is a need to examine press media that is aimed at the majority of South Africans by studying English as well as vernacular media. It is argued that isiZulu tabloids are doing well irrespective of the national drop in newspaper sales country-wide (Ndlovu, 2011). This also proves that there is a high demand for these newspapers.

Suggestions for Further Research

This is a crucial area of research as foreigners continue to be attacked by South Africans over one and the same reason every year. This study recommends more research to be conducted on vernacular media because majority of people in South Africa are black, therefore it would be crucial to study media that is consumed by the majority of people and by people who are likely to reside in areas where xenophobic attacks occur. The research should not be limited only on print media; broadcast media and social media should also be included. The researcher maintains that broadcast media needs to be included as most people in South Africa still listen to radios and to them they are the only way to access information about what is happening around the world. The researcher argues that broadcast media should be included as is it accessible to everyone, including the people who cannot read and write. In addition, a more focused study on the ways in which representations of foreigners in the media contributes to intensifying xenophobic attacks could be

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studied further, therefore extending the line of enquiry into the media versus society discourses (Danso and McDonald, 2001, Pineteh, 2017).

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