Shades of prejudice:
An investigation into the South African media's coverage of racial violence and xenophobia

Conducted by the Media Monitoring Project

On behalf of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Written by Jack Fine and William Bird
Edited by Nikki Spur

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Executive Summary

This report appears as part of the broader Race in Transition Series of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR). The report reveals the results of an extensive and coherent monitoring project of 4500 newspaper articles relating to racial incidents in South Africa. These items have been sourced from the English and Afrikaans language print media in South Africa, and cover an eight-year period, starting with the advent of democracy in 1994.

The research undertaken by the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) has revealed that media interest in issues of race and racism did not end with the dismantling of formal

institutional apartheid. However, the focus of media discourse on race and racism has shifted to new manifestations of racism, such as racism within political discourse and xenophobia.

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

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

The quantity and quality of such coverage has also tended to replicate societal developments over the eight-year period, with vacillations in the nature and extent of such coverage evident over the period under review.

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

Overall, the report reveals a predominant black victim/white perpetrator breakdown. Blacks consistently appear in the role of victim, whether they are identified as South Africans or as coming from the rest of Africa.

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

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

1. Introduction

In 2002, the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) was approached by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) to conduct research into the ways in which the South African media reports on and captures issues around race and racial violence. These questions remain prominent in South Africa's transition from apartheid, with race and racism still featuring highly in the experiences of ordinary citizens, public officials and the press.

MMP, which has an established track record in independent monitoring and analysis of the print and broadcast media in South Africa, conducted a retrospective analysis of print media reports over the eight years between 1994 and 2002. This attempts to investigate almost two terms of a post-apartheid, democratic government and assess whether prevailing attitudes to race and citizenship have changed or remained constant.

There is no doubt that the formal abandonment of racially-based laws and policies after the end of apartheid have gone a long way towards achieving the vision of non-racialism and equality espoused in the country's democratic Constitution. However South African society remains divided and separated by race, in both subtle and

obvious ways. In a country already experiencing high rates of crime and violence, a high proportion of these criminal and violent events are racially motivated.

The broader context of this research provides an interesting backdrop to the analytical process. In the last eight years, South Africa has been governed by the ruling African National Congress, the former liberation movement now democratically elected to power. President Nelson Mandela's regime from 1994-99 was predominantly characterised by an air of nation-building, reconciliation and political appeasement. This, many have argued, was appropriate and necessary after the ethnic and political violence of the transition after 1990 and the preceding states of emergency and government repression.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which began its work in 1996, contributed to the context of peace-building during the Mandela era. MMP looked at coverage of the TRC, with its focus on race and racially-based oppression, with some unexpected findings.

There is anecdotal evidence that issues of race have been brought to the fore under the governance of President Thabo Mbeki since 1999. Mbeki's State of the Nation address to Parliament in 2002 [1] famously referred to South Africa's "two nations", thereby explicitly asserting that the social, political and economic spheres are still delineated along racial lines.

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

Another issue that this research investigates is xenophobia and the prejudicial discourse against purported "illegal immigrants", particularly those from other African countries. Xenophobia has gained prominence in the post-apartheid period and the issue receives a lot of coverage in the press. This report analyses this reporting to assess whether prejudiced discourses prevail or not.

The research endeavours to examine whether media coverage and representation of race, racism and xenophobia reflect actual societal attitudes. MMP employed its conventional approach to media analysis, using a human rights lens and assessing the role of the media both in responding to, and shaping, events and public opinion.

The report begins with an overview of some of the current literature and looks at the theoretical underpinnings of race, xenophobia, the media and human rights. This is followed by an outline of the research methodology employed by MMP.

The bulk of the report is devoted to the research findings generated by the monitoring, in close consultation with the CSVR. Articles and reports featuring race and xenophobia are analysed according to date and timelines, prominence of racial violence, most frequent topic areas, sources, victims and perpetrators, and patterns of fairness. The final part of the document provides a summary of the findings as they relate to xenophobia, political racism and racially-based incidents.

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[1] The State of the Nation Address was given by president Mbeki to a joint sitting of both houses of Parliament on the 08/02/2002

2. Research methodology

In line with CSVR's brief for this project, MMP monitored the English and Afrikaans language print media (see appendix A for full list of publications monitored) in South Africa for the eight-year period from 1994 to June 2002, to ascertain specifically:

- How the media represents racially violent incidents, including xenophobic incidents;
- How the media deals with undocumented migrants;
- The extent and nature of human rights discourse in these items;
- The manner in which white and black people are referred to;
- Whether issues of race are discussed and debated in detail, and in their full complexity; and
- How racial violence is reported, including representations of perpetrators and victims, and the locations where such incidents occurred.

In the first step of the research process, CSVR and MMP jointly selected a number of keywords, based on perceptions of their currency in the media and broader society. A subsequent keyword search, using a slightly expanded list, by the Institute for Contemporary History at the University of the Free State identified approximately 4 500 items. This task verified that the list compiled by MMP and CSVR was comprehensive and these items then formed the basis of the monitoring and analysis.

This table shows the prominence of various keywords out of the total number of media items searched:

Keyword	Percentage of total items
Racial violence	7,5%
Racial tension	5,4%
Racist crimes	2,9%
Racial hatred	3,6%
Racially-motivated incidents	4,4%
Race conflict	6,2%
Racial attacks	7,2%
Racism + population	2,3%
Racism + deaths /murders	8,9%
Racism + influences	3,9%
Racial interaction	1,7%
Racial friction	3,1%
TOTAL RACE SEARCH	**57,5%**
Xenophobia	10,5%
Illegal immigrants	13,6%
Unwanted persons	17,1%
Foreigners	1,3%
TOTAL XENOPHOBIA SEARCH	**42,5%**

The term "hate crime" is not in common usage in South Africa, so this keyword search omitted the phrase. Instead, the keywords attempted to track racially-based events. The term "farm attacks" was featured in numerous articles, but its inclusion was considered problematic in terms of the research brief – thus stories about farm attacks in South Africa were deliberately excluded from the study.

In order to narrow down the analysis, the following items were excluded from the database:
- Letters, arts and literature reviews.

- Those items referring to the World Conference on Racism which took place in South Africa in 2001. This is because most of these items referred to the conference logistics and proceedings, not to specific incidents of racism.
- Any articles referring to racial tensions but not to actual incidents.
- Those articles not considered to be racially-based incidents, either because a specific racial angle was not identified, or no clear incident was reported

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

MMP worked with a team of nine monitors for the project, all of whom were first language English or Afrikaans speakers and trained with a customised user guide. The monitoring was analysed through the lens of previous research by MMP into race and racism in the South African media, as well as other source materials.

2.1. Propositional monitoring

A key element of this methodology is the utilisation of propositional monitoring. For MMP purposes, a proposition is something that one finds while reading between the lines in an article. Propositions are about race, gender and other social categories, generalisations and social representations, both positive and negative. They are about (often erroneous) misperceptions and ideas that people have of various groups, not about facts.

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

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

MMP drew on its own previous research using propositions, together with CSVR's content knowledge about hate crimes, to develop a series of propositions. It was deliberately decided to include both negative and positive propositions, in order to gauge the media's handling of the complex issues surrounding race and racial violence.

Propositions were grouped according to themes that dealt with generally held stereotypical views about race, racial incidents and xenophobia.

Code	Proposition
P1	Racially motivated incidents take place between strangers/are anonymous crimes
P2	Racially motivated incidents takes place in small towns and rural areas
P3	Racially motivated incidents are isolated incidents
P4	Racially motivated incidents are group crimes
P5	Racially motivated incidents are ideologically motivated (i.e. linked to right wing organisations/religious fundamentalist groups)
P6	Racially motivated incidents are message crimes. The victim is deliberately chosen to serve as an example of what might happen to similar individuals, and that in committing them some kind of message is being communicated

P7	Youths are the common perpetrators of racial incidents
P8	All (race) crimes are racially motivated. Suggests all crimes have a racial element to them
P9A	Racially Motivated incidents are violent
P9B	Racially motivated incidents result in death
P9C	Racially motivated incidents are extreme (sensational/dramatic)
P10A	Whites are racist
P10B	Africans are victims
P10C	Coloureds are racist
P10D	Indians are racist
P11	Farmers are racist
P12A	Perpetrators are working class people
P12B	Perpetrators are unemployed
P13A	Whites accused of race crimes are victims of a racist witch hunt- Suggests white people are singled out for attention for racial/political reasons by the new government
P13B	Racial explanations are an excuse for poor governance. Suggests that people in government accuse their critics of racism in order to avoid being identified as incompetent
P14A	Alcohol consumption contributes to racially motivated incidents
P14B	Substance abuse contributes to racially motivated incidents
P15	Racially motivated incidents are committed by men
P16	Women are just helpless victims
P17A	Foreigners are criminals
P17B	Nigerians are drug dealers
P17C	Zimbabweans are common criminals
P17D	South Africans are Xenophobic/racist
P17E	Undocumented migrants/"Illegal immigrants" are black
P18	Foreigners steal "our" women
P19A	Foreigners steal jobs
P19B	Foreigners are well educated
P19C	Foreigners bring disease
P19D	Foreigners are a burden to the state
P20A	Racism is a human rights violation
P20B	There is no place for racism in the new South Africa
P20C	Racially motivated incidents threaten the social order (Human Rights emphasis)
P21	Race is the primary explanation. Suggests the incident is primarily racial in nature and that it developed as a result of racial as opposed to any other form of conflict, and concomitantly that failing any other explanation of an incident –race is the cause
P22	Racially motivated incidents are not unique to South Africa
P23A	The Criminal Justice System is racist
P23B	Perpetrators of racially motivated incidents get off lightly
P24A	Conflict, disorder & chaos- the outcome of racially motivated incidents
P24B	Racism is over exaggerated
P24C	Discussing Racism is inflammatory-that bringing up the issue of racism for discussion actually leads to further racial violence, rather than contributing to solving problems of racism
P25A	Government is soft on foreigners
P25B	Department of Home Affairs (DHA) is corrupt
P25C	DHA is incompetent /inefficient

Thus, the first set of propositions deal with the location and nature of racially-motivated incidents, followed by those propositions talking about victims and perpetrators, as well as the consequences of racism and racially-based events. A

number of propositions relating to negative stereotypical views of foreigners were also included, as were propositions on racism and human rights. In addition, the legal regime surrounding racially-motivated incidents was also the subject of a set of propositions.

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

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

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

In addition to noting the propositions for every item, other pieces of information required from monitors on the project-specific monitoring form included:

- Medium – name of the newspaper in which the item appeared.
- Monitor code – a system of coding each item using a number and the monitor's initials for reference purposes.
- Not monitored – This field was used for those items that contained some of the keywords but were not monitored because they were excluded by the categories mentioned above, such as letters or arts reviews.
- Date – To record the date of publication.
- Page number – To record the page number on which the item appeared.
- Journalist or agency – Monitors noted whether the item was written by a journalist, came from an agency, or a combination of these, or if it was an editorial, comment, opinion piece or a fact box.
- Topic – Each item was allocated a topic code drawn from a list of 35 possible topics, deemed to be the most common for the subject under consideration. (See appendix B for full list of codes). Monitors were obliged to choose the most specific and most appropriate code for the item being monitored. Only one topic code for each item was permitted. After the monitoring the topic codes were then grouped.
- Summary – Monitors recorded a brief summary of the report, usually including the headline.
- Sources – To reflect the role of those persons directly or indirectly accessed or quoted in the report. Those people merely mentioned were not indicated, unless they were pertinent to the report content.. (See appendix C for source role groups).
- Type or nature – For each article, the type or nature of an incident was coded and captured. In cases where weapons were used, these were also coded. (See appendix D)
- Origin – The geographical location (provincial, national, international or Africa-wide) and the physical location (workplace, school etc) of each incident was captured. (See appendix E).
- Victims and perpetrators – Information pertaining to the race, number, sex and citizenship of perpetrators and victims were noted, with due recognition of the fact that in some instances a clear victim and/or perpetrator was not apparent.

People were identified as either perpetrators or victims, according to the manner in which they were represented in the article concerned. Thus, in incidents of

repatriation, undocumented migrants were identified as perpetrators, following the newspapers' own terms of reference.

If racial identities of sources, victims or perpetrators were mentioned in articles, these were noted by the monitors according to standard apartheid-era classifications – Asian (including Chinese, Korean and Thai etc), black, Coloured, Indian, or white. If there were victims or perpetrators of different races in one incident, it was recorded as "mixed". Because this is a problematic and sensitive issue, monitors were instructed to attribute race only when they had a high degree of certainty about the person's race. Otherwise, articles were recorded as non-specific.

The research took into account the fact that racial identifiers are a product of social construction. This has resulted in certain stereotypical attributes, characteristics and generalisations becoming normalised and internalised within public perception. While these stereotypes are often erroneous, they nonetheless still play a role in informing media discourse.

Some articles specifically identified victims or perpetrators of racial incidents by citizenship and these were duly recorded. In stories where the actors were known to be South African, but this was not explicitly mentioned, it was not recorded. Thus, any graphic representation of citizenship figures in the research only reflects those items where nationality was clearly stated.

Victims or perpetrators were also identified by their sex. This was recorded as male or female, or mixed if both men and women were involved, or unknown if this was not clearly stated.

Finally, the monitors were asked to determine how an item represented racially-motivated incidents. Positive, or progressive, reporting challenged issues of race and provided analysis on the multi-layered nature of such events. Negative reporting supported racial stereotypes, lacked balanced, in-depth analysis and skimmed over the complexities of race. Fair reporting provided balanced analysis and reflected different sides to an issue.

All of these efforts to categorise items were the result of intensive collaboration and consultation between MMP and CSVR. The monitoring framework was case-tested before being widely applied and any new themes identified by the monitors during the research were discussed and included. The research team also created a database to capture, transpose and analyse all the items monitored.

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

2.2. Research limitations

This project specifically aimed to analyse coverage of racially-based events in the South African print media. The press responds to news and reports on incidents as they occur, thereby reflecting issues pertinent to the broader societal context. But the press also shapes and influences social issues in the ways in which news is chosen, highlighted and covered. The media does not operate in isolation from the rest of society and the inter-connectedness between the two is both fluid and complex.

This research project is confined to an analysis and interpretation of how the media reports on racially-motivated incidents and does not attempt to track the larger societal influences that affect individual events.

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

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

While every effort was made at ensuring that monitoring was undertaken in uniform fashion, hundred percent standardisation could not be guaranteed. Monitoring by its very nature is a subjective exercise. The use of multiple monitors was a potential problem in this regard, in so far as eliciting sameness of result was concerned. Such problems are common to all monitoring projects and these were minimised through the development and utilisation of a standard user guide, thorough training of monitors, solid research management, regular communication with the monitors and high performance standards established for the monitors

Perhaps the greatest challenge was to ascertain and delimit a common understanding of the term "racial violence". In order not to limit and potentially exclude items, a wide operational definition of racially-motivated incidents was adopted for the monitoring as follows:

> Any incident where race plays, or is represented as having played a role either directly or indirectly in the lead-up to the incident, or in the incident itself.[2]

Acknowledging the potential pitfalls of this definition, it is hoped that, together with the keyword search and proposition monitoring, most areas have been covered.

The exact definition of an "incident" also required clarification. Monitors were instructed to record an incident if it took some kind of physical form, including the use of abusive language. In addition, examples of institutional discrimination and items relating to government policy were also monitored, as these sometimes appeared to lead to physical incidents. While the vast majority of items monitored would seem to have adhered to such a common understanding, it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that each and every item monitored complied strictly with these guidelines.

The question of racial motivation also proved somewhat difficult to pin down. Many crimes and acts of violence take place in South Africa, with victims and perpetrators of different race groups. This research sought to probe those events in which race or citizenship was a determining factor underpinning the motivation of the role players. It could be argued that this study is essentially about hate crimes but this is not a term commonly used in South Africa. The selection of a set of keywords attempted to capture the nature of hate crimes, using a different set of phrases and words.

Racially-motivated incidents may also take place between people of the same race group but these were excluded from the study by the keyword search mechanism. It is also possible that some inter-racial incidents were interpreted through a racialised

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[2] This definition was outlined in the project User Guide, and formed the basis for the monitoring exercise.

lens by the monitors but did not actually have a racial motivation. Lastly, questions of ethnicity were excluded from the research brief and could potentially provide the basis for another future research process.

It is feasible that victim and perpetrator numbers were slightly skewed by the ways in which they were reported in the media. For example, an undocumented migrant under arrest is represented as the perpetrator of a criminal act and is thus captured as a perpetrator by the monitor, even though they may have actually been victimised in a racially-motivated or xenophobic event.

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

3. Literature review

This research conducted by MMP is located within the context of established research around issues of race, xenophobia, human rights and the media. MMP has also produced a body of work in these areas and some of this previous investigation was drawn upon to support this current project.

3.1. Race and racism

There is much ongoing debate and analysis about the concept of race and racial identity and it is now generally accepted that race is not a natural occurring phenomenon, but rather a social construct. Like all such social constructs, the concept of race is not neutral, but is rather imbued with certain ideological baggage. Moreover as a social construct, race can and has been used for purposes of self-affirmation as well as for purposes of subjugation (for example, see Zegeye, 2001).

An understanding of race and racism through a human rights lens considers too the power relationships between nation states and groups or individuals. Inter-racial violence is often a consequence of uneven power relations and a broader societal disease.[3] These power relations may further lead to divisions between race groups whereby a dominant race group is viewed as the norm and minority groups are viewed as "other" (for example, see Szwarc, 2001, p.8).[4]

All of these are relevant to and evident in the South African context, where racial classification was a major hallmark of the apartheid regime.

3.2. Race and the media

Media practitioners and institutions are governed by the policy and legislative frameworks of the country in which they operate, as well as by a complex set of self-regulating ethical principles. In South Africa, the Constitution and a set of legal instruments, including the Equality Act, the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa, the Press Ombudsman, and the various acts including the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act (1993), and the Broadcasting Amendment Bill (2002), governing the role played by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASSA), guide the media in its reporting and editorial approaches.

In addition, there are various international governance institutions, including the United Nations, which have set out declarations pertaining to the media and they ways in which they may conduct themselves. Many of these deal with the principles of freedom of expression, media access and principles of fair reporting, and there is little specific attention to issues of racism and non-racial reporting.

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[3] Any discussion about Race and racism from the perspective of Human Rights would need to operate from broader constitutional and international Human Rights principles, relating specifically to issues of non-discrimination and equality, and dignity. Human Rights concerns in the field of race centre on patterns of race-based differential representation and differential treatment.
The close relationship between issues of Human Rights and power is also discussed by Stammers, Neil, 1993 in "Human Rights and Power", in *Political Studies*, Volume XLI, pg. 70-82, and by Richard Wilson, "Human Rights, Culture and Context: An introduction", in Wilson (Ed), *Human Rights, Culture and Context*, Pluto Press, Chicago. From such discussions it is apparent that ongoing practices of racism and racial violence are often the direct consequences of uneven and oppressive power dynamics within and across countries.

[4] The volume by Swarc is also useful in highlighting the human rights understanding of race and in providing further evidence of the social rather than biological nature of racial classification.

One document that does have direct relevance is the 1978 UNESCO declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding to the promotion of human rights and to combating racism, apartheid and incitement to war[5] Here, the mass media is tasked with a crucial role in promoting peace, human rights and anti-racism in both the national and international contexts. Moreover, the mass media is expected to consciously encourage diversity and freedom of expression, while also not supporting hate speech or incitement to violence. Most importantly, the media has the positive responsibility to adopt anti-racist messages and discourse in the course of their coverage, as suggested by Article 5:

> The mass media and those who control or serve them, as well as all organised groups within national communities, are urged – with due regard to the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly the principle of freedom of expression – to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among individuals and groups, and to contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination and racial prejudice, in particular by refraining from presenting a stereotyped, partial , unilateral or tendentious picture of individuals of various human groups…[6]

Such an undertaking to peaceful, anti-violent, and anti-racist coverage, received popular support amongst international journalists via the so-called Mexico Declaration of 1980[7]. Meeting under the auspices of UNESCO, the second consultative meeting of international and regional organisations of professional journalists, representing working journalists in all parts of the world, expressed its support for the Paris declaration as referred to above. This meeting also saw the adoption of the Mexico Declaration "with a set of principles which represent common groups of existing national and regional codes of journalistic ethics as well as relevant provisions contained in various international instruments of a legal nature. "

. Principle 9 of this document stated:

> The ethical commitment to the universal values of humanism calls for the journalist to abstain from any justification for, or incitement to, wars of aggression and the arms race, especially in nuclear weapons, and all other forms of violence, hatred or discrimination, especially racialism and apartheid, oppression by tyrannical regimes, colonialism and neo-colonialism, as well as other great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases. By so doing, the journalist can help eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding among peoples, make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, ensure respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, nationality, religion or philosophical conviction.[8]

Such pronouncements clearly illustrate the extent to which the international community, including journalists themselves, recognise the power of the media in informing and influencing public opinion. It is evident that the media should not just refrain from harmful, discriminatory reporting and erroneous stereotyping and racial profiling, but also has a duty to actively inform and educate the public about non-

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[5] Otherwise known as the Paris declaration, this declaration was proclaimed by the General Conference of the UNESCO at its twentieth session in Paris, on 28 November 1978

[6] Ibid, article 5.

[7] The Mexico Declaration was included amongst the documents prepared by several consultative meetings of a number of international journalist organisations, culminating in the International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism, published in Paris, 20 November, 1983

[8] 1980, *Mexico Declaration*

racialism and non-discrimination. The media has a role to support and entrench democracy, especially in times of social and political transformation.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976) [9] also condemns any incitement to war, advocacy of national, religious or racial hatred, and any form of discrimination, hostility or violence.

In a similar expression, the 1983 United Nations' Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, illustrated the value of the mass media in combating racial discrimination:

> On the negative side, it is necessary to ensure, in the campaign to combat racial discrimination, that messages transmitted by the mass media (television, radio, cinema, the press etc), and, more particularly, those addressed to children and young people, do not directly or indirectly portray stereotypes or contain clichés or slogans likely to foster racial prejudice. There is also a danger that threatens all systems disseminating news or ideas on the contemporary world, namely the self-interested tendency of those in authority to mislead the public, merely in order to please, for example by discarding foreigners as "responsible for all ills…"[10]

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

These calls for tolerance, understanding and positive reporting within media discourse should have found a ready outlet during the conciliatory and nation-building focus of the post-1994 period in South Africa. In a country traumatised by separation and racial violence in its history, the media plays a crucial part in restoring a sense of normality and respect for human dignity. It is incumbent upon the media to cover such concerns in a comprehensive, sophisticated and emphatic manner that does not reduce racism to a simplistic, homogenous phenomenon, and which does not incite violent or harmful public behaviour.

3.3. The South African media and racism

South Africa is fortunate in its well-resourced, relatively sophisticated media. Media consumers enjoy a range of products, many of which cater to different constituencies and interest groups. It is this sophistication that makes the debate about racism in the media more subtle – it is unlikely that an editor or journalist would publicly incite violence or engage in hate speech themselves, or even uncritically represent sources suggesting the same. However, racism and racial profiling takes a more guarded, less blatant character; it forms part of the underlying discourse and subtext of reporting, rather than an obvious standpoint.

MMP has previously found that:

> Historically, the media used racial identifiers to distinguish black and white people from each other. Whilst white people were not always racially marked, black people's skin colour was used as an explanation for their behaviour. This supported the apartheid propaganda *swart gevaar*; that blacks were dangerous and were a threat to the social order. Whilst South Africa is in a post-apartheid era where racial oppression has been constitutionally removed,

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[9] As set out in Article 20 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, which was adopted in 1966, and entered into force on the 3rd January, 1976

[10] As quoted in United Nations, 1983, *Systematic Use of the Mass Media to Combat Racial Discrimination*, United Nations, New York.

it was interesting to find that some of these stereotypes about black criminality still exist in the media (MMP, 1999)

Some of these issues were raised during an inquiry into racism in the media by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) in 1999. In an initial statement, the SAHRC declared that:

Racism is endemic in South African society. There is no reason to believe that the media are somehow insulated from the prevailing racism in our society. In fact, it is not surprising because South Africa has been governed on racist principles. All South Africans have experienced the negative and hurtful power of racism. What is important now is to take stock. To assess the impact of racism in public life, the language and idiom, symbols, expressions and actions that show the reality of racism, feeding on prejudices and limiting the full and equal enjoyment of all the rights and freedoms (SAHRC, 1998, p.3).

The statement also asserted:

The [Human Rights] Commission wishes to place on record that it is mindful of the implications of this exercise for press freedom. We believe, however, that the best guarantor of press freedom is a society that respects human rights. The press has the same responsibility to respect human rights as everyone else in society. A study of racism in the media, hopefully, will heighten the sensitivity of all South Africans to the issue of racism and will ensure a greater respect for freedom of expression. We believe that these matters are interrelated (SAHRC, 1998, p.3).

MMP was commissioned by the SAHRC to monitor representations of race and racism in the media as part of this process. Using discourse analysis, print and broadcast media content was analysed for the extent to which the media supports and maintains the ideology of racism. While the inquiry could not conclude that the media was actually racist, the findings focused on the continued utilisation of underlying stereotypical racist discourse and racial representation in the South African mainstream media (MMP, 1999). The patterns of coverage surrounding race noted in this 1999 report provide a useful background in contextualising and framing the research conducted for the CSVR.

In this research, MMP sought to understand whether the media was in support of racist ideologies, but also whether or not the media actively challenged those ideologies. The research report attempted to provide a constructive critique that demonstrated stereotypical and prejudiced reporting on race using measurable criteria.

Monitoring both those items where race was explicitly stated and those where race was implicit to the content of the story, a broad range of stories was examined for the manner in which race and racism were dealt with. These included news from other African countries, news about African governance and black empowerment.

The monitoring in 1999 revealed that specific issues around racism received a lot of coverage, while crime stories also reflected a particularly high focus on race. Racist attacks in rural areas featured especially prominently in this regard. MMP also found that the media often fails to actively challenge racial profiling and stereotyping, especially within the domain of crime, thereby contributing to public perceptions about criminality and related racially-based characteristics. A lack of context and deeper analysis about causes of crime may also reinforce historical perceptions that race is a determining factor in criminal motivation (MMP, 1999).

In addition, this research revealed that the media placed less value on black lives than white. In-depth background and greater provision of detail often accompanied

accounts of deaths, accidents and disasters involving whites, while those involving blacks were generally bereft of detail and explanation (MMP, 1999).

MMP found that the media tends to favour simplistic, event-based coverage and that issues around race are not presented analytically or critically. In terms of establishing a positive obligation on media institutions, MMP (1999) has recommended that the media should, both individually and through their collective bodies, actively seek ways of ridding their pages, bulletins and programmes of harmful racial stereotypes.

3.4. Politics and racial violence

Political conflict may have particular racially-based undertones and South Africa has certainly experienced its share of political and ethnic violence in its recent history. This is a distinctive manifestation of racial conflict, which may play out in physical violence or abusive language.

MMP's (1999) report on the SAHRC hearings into racism in the media does discuss the idea of race-based, party political debates within the context of racism and the government:

> Another interesting aspect of the items on government, were the often racially-polarised party political debates. While the various parties themselves are responsible for using and reinforcing racial stereotypes, the media has a responsibility to challenge these and draw them out (MMP, 1998, p.38)

The report continues to state that:

> There have been instances where the political parties circulated the stereotypes about black government, and there was much debate in the run up to the [1999] elections that election posters by various parties were encouraging stereotypes. One such example was the argument over the DP's "fight back" campaign and the subsequent response from the ANC in the Western Cape with its "Don't fight Blacks" poster (MMP, 1998, p.38).

3.5. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) took place from March 1996 to July 1998, with the formal hearings culminating in the release of the TRC report in mid 1998. Amnesty hearings and investigations did, however continue past this date, culminating in the final Report in 2002.

In terms of its mandated function, under Act 34 of 1995 [11]" the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work in South Africa (was) aimed at enabling South Africans to come to terms with their past" (Liebenberg and Zegeye, 2001, p.322).

As stated in an interview with the then Justice minister, Dullah Omar in 1994,

> Reconciliation is not simply a question of identity and letting bygones be bygones. If the wounds of the past are to be healed, if a multiplicity of legal actions are to be refrained from, if future human rights violations are to be avoided, disclosures of the truth and its acknowledgment are essential (Liebenberg and Zegeye, 2001, p. 322)

A truth commission was favoured as the mechanism through which to achieve such reconciliation, and as the vehicle for arriving at the truth of the Apartheid past in South Africa. According to Priscilla Hayner,

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[11] Also known as the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act*

> Truth commissions, as I will call them generically, are bodies set up to
> investigate a past history of violations of human rights in a particular country.
> The violations can include violations by the military or other government
> forces or by armed opposition forces (Liebenberg and Zegeye, 2001, p.321)

The TRC in South Africa was thus tasked with looking at human rights violations
committed by both the Apartheid regime and the liberation forces.

MMP undertook a monitoring exercise to analyse the media's coverage of the TRC
and its surrounding events over two separate time periods: April 1996 to February
1997, and March to September 1997. This monitoring exercise confirmed that the
media covered the TRC comprehensively, particularly with regard to specific
individual and group testimonies, issues of personal and/or political reconciliation,
views of different political groups on the TRC, and the broad effectiveness of the
Commission (MMP, 1997, 1998)

However, such stories were largely covered without any direct reference to race and
racism. While the coverage often related to individual incidents or sets of incidents,
these were very seldom described in racial terms. Instead, the media preferred to label
incidents as "human rights abuses" or "politically motivated crimes", thereby
downplaying the racial element (MMP, 1997, 1998). While there is no doubt that the
victims of repression under apartheid were indeed the victims of gross human rights
abuses, it is also clear that many such incidents were informed by societal and
institutional racism. While these acts may have been committed under the influence of
a certain political ideology and could thus be regarded as political, the media has been
complicit in denying the essential racist rationale involved. Much of the coverage
simply ignored the racially-motivated context altogether.

3.6. Xenophobia

The discussion of racism in post-1994 South Africa would not be complete without
some elaboration on the issue of xenophobia, both a particular manifestation of
racism, and as a concept in its own right. The SAHRC (1998) defines xenophobia as
the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state.

MMP points to the connection between racism and xenophobia:

> Racism and xenophobia, although independent concepts, invariably support
> each other and share discriminatory discourses. They are both anti-democratic,
> ignore human rights, and promote unfair and unjustified discrimination.
> Racism and xenophobia operate on the basis of the profiling of people and
> making negative assumptions about them. While the former profiles
> individuals in terms of their race, the latter profiles individuals in terms of
> their nationality. These profiles are often negative and lead to the creation and
> perpetuation of generalisations and stereotypes (MMP, 2003, pp. 82-83).

Xenophobia in South Africa is seen as a relatively recent phenomenon that has
attracted much attention, most notably since the end of apartheid. The SAHRC
launched a Roll Back Xenophobia campaign in 1998, stating "South Africa needs to
send out a strong message that an irrational prejudice and hostility towards non-
nationals is not acceptable under any circumstances."[12]

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[12] SAHRC, 1998, *Braamfontein Statement on Xenophobia*, released on the 15th October.

In 1996, a study by Human Rights Watch (HRW) labelled South Africa a highly xenophobic country:

South Africa has become increasingly xenophobic in recent years, with a large percentage of South Africans perceiving foreigners – especially, almost exclusively black foreigners – as a direct threat to their future economic well-being and as responsible for the troubling rise in violent crime in SA (HRW, 1998).

In 1999, the South African Migration Project (SAMP) also conducted an attitudinal survey of feelings about "foreigners" in South Africa, as well as opinions of foreign nationals about their official and everyday treatment in South Africa (SAMP, 2001). This report states that South Africa compares unfavourably to other countries in its treatment of outsiders and that anti-foreigner sentiments have hardened since the mid-nineties, a period of increased migration and contact between South Africans and new immigrants.

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

Detailing and expanding upon South Africa's treatment of migrants, the SAMP outlines a persistent pattern of verbal and physical harassment, at both the official government level and during contact with ordinary citizens.

An investigation into the Lindela Repatriation Centre by the SAHRC also found that:

> Arrested persons were deliberately prevented from providing accurate documents, valid identity documents were destroyed, bribes were taken for avoiding arrest or for release. What documentation and processes were delayed by inefficient methods and insufficient communication between the different departments…As a consequence, many persons with valid documents were arrested (quoted in Danso and McDonald, 2000, p.22)

With respect to treatment by ordinary citizens:

> It is clear that being a black foreigner… is no protection from racism, especially if you come from a country north of South Africa's neighbouring states. Instead, black foreigners from these countries can expect to experience the same levels of abuse, discrimination and stereotyping endured by black aliens in other parts of the world (quoted in Danso and MdDonald, 2000, p.22)

The SAMP argues that much anti-foreigner opinion is directed towards immigrants from other African countries and may be informed by a lack of direct contact between South African citizens and migrants:

> …many South Africans have no direct interaction and experience of foreigners, even from neighbouring states…Those who have no contact are statistically most likely to have negative opinions of foreigners. The more contact they have, the more likely they are to have tolerant opinions (SAMP, 2001, p.5)

In South Africa, most interaction between local citizens and migrants appears to take place within the impersonal terrain of the commercial arena, not socially. Thus, South Africans may work with, or compete with, migrants in the economic sector or may consume products sold by migrants.

Such relationships may instil negative perceptions of these migrants and generate various stereotypes. Mattes et al believe "South Africans not only hold negative attitudes towards foreigners, they also have a readily accessible set of stereotypes with which to justify or rationalise their negative attitudes" (SAMP, 2001, p.15).

It. is evident that much of the discrimination and violence directed against migrants to South Africa has a racial angle, as illustrated by the differential treatment accorded white and black migrants to the country:

> Not all non-citizens are perceived or treated equally. The great divide, as in many aspects of South African social life, is racial. White immigrants and migrants are not immune from the subtler forms of South African resentment, but their presence does not prompt the kind of panic and hostility that seems to attach to African migrants, immigrants and refugees (SAMP, 2001, p.28).

3.7. The media and xenophobia

There are many stereotypes of foreign migrants to South Africa that tend to be reflected in the media. The media contributes to xenophobia when it supports negative public perceptions of migrants, particularly African migrants, as illegal, criminal, threats to social and economic prosperity or carriers of diseases such as HIV/Aids. MMP has commented on these stereotypical representations in previous research:

> …there is no doubt that public attitudes have been formed by highly emotional media images that portray South Africa as "flooded" or "overrun" by undocumented migrants from the rest of Africa (MMP, 2003, p.84).

MMP found that much coverage is simplistic and the media has often failed to acknowledge the complexities inherent in discussions around xenophobia and the experiences of African migrants to South Africa.

SAMP (2000) research concurs:

> At best, the press have been presenting a very limited perspective on cross-border migration dynamics, and in the process, are leaving the South African public in the dark about the real complexities at play. At worst, the press has been contributing to public xenophobia generally through weaving myths and fabrications around foreigners and immigration (Danso and McDonald, 2000, p.2)

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

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

Danso & McDonald's SAMP (2000) study assesses the South African English-speaking media's coverage of cross-border migration in the post-apartheid period from 1994 to 1998, and reviews its affect on public opinion and on immigration legislation. Dividing the articles into pro- and anti-immigration examples, the SAMP report points to changes over time, with the number of anti-immigration items dropping significantly each year since 1994. The SAMP also maintains that the number of analytical articles have increased over this time period, partly due to increased numbers of articles written by non-governmental and research organisations, as well as a greater commitment on the part of journalists and editors to understand and present the complexities of migration.

However, they also found that:

> A large proportion of the articles also reproduce racial and national stereotypes about migrants from other African countries, depicting – for example – Mozambicans as car thieves and Nigerians as drug smugglers. This 'criminalisation' of migrants from other parts of Africa is made worse by the more subtle use of terms like 'illegal' and 'alien' despite their being roundly criticised by institutions like the United Nations for contributing to misconceptions of an otherwise law-abiding group of people (Danso and McDonald, 2000, p.1)

Xenophobic reporting thus also appears to be a manifestation of the negative, stereotypical representation of Africa in South Africa's media. These practices are not unique to South Africa. For example, see this comment on the British press:

> Africa is portrayed as a homogenous block in which violence, helplessness, human rights abuse and lack of democracy are seen to be its main characteristics (Brooke, 1995, p.8).

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

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

4. Findings

4.1. Incident – date breakdown

4.1. Dates incidents covered - Analysed by Quarters
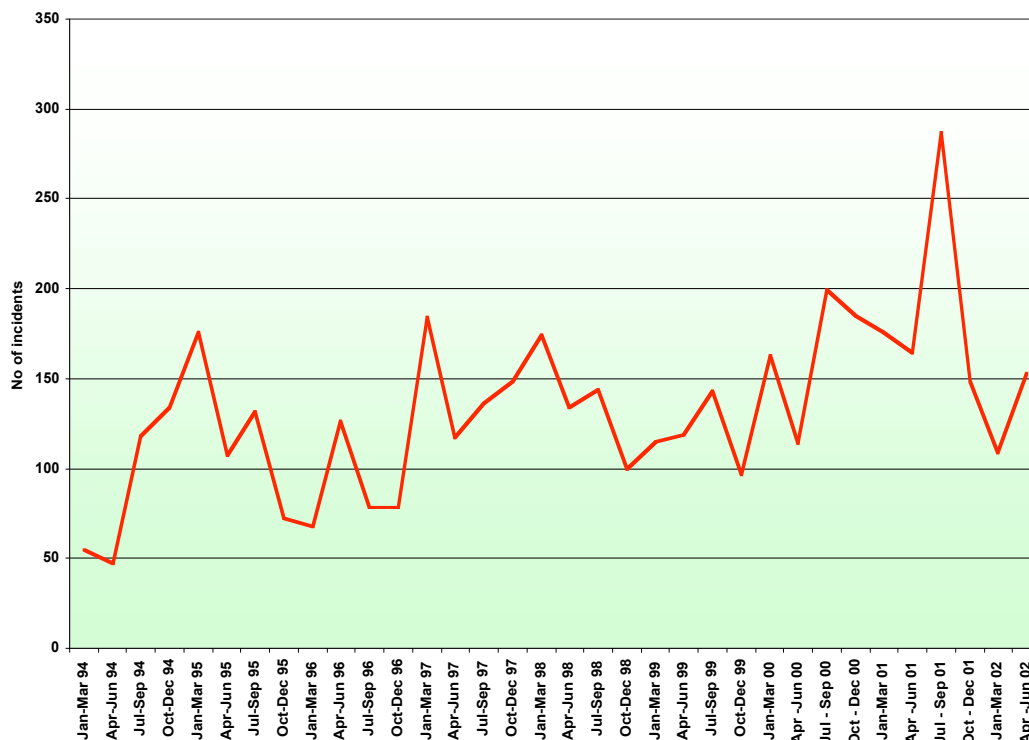
Over the eight-year monitoring period, there is an uneven pattern of media coverage of racially-based incidents. While the graph indicates peaks of attention, it also reveals a fairly consistent coverage throughout, thereby displaying the general prominence of reporting on race and violence.

An analysis of peak periods of coverage shows that these tended to relate to specific incidents, illustrated as follows:

4.1.1.   October – December 1994

Racially-based incidents

The period from October – December 1994 was dominated to a large extent by the trial of three young men charged with murdering an American exchange student, Amy Biehl, in Gugulethu, Cape Town. It was reported that the sole motive for the murder was because Biehl was white and that the killers had been incited by anti-white rhetoric at a Pan Africanist Congress rally earlier that day.

Xenophobic incidents

A number of media items were noted on events involving so-called "illegal immigrants". Many of these reports concerned perceptions about lax border controls and the costs associated with repatriating undocumented migrants, as well as issues

relating to employment of so-called "illegals" in South Africa. This coverage is noteworthy for the perpetuation of a xenophobic discourse accompanying the manner in which these stories were covered.

4.1.2.   April – June 1995

Racial incidents

This timeframe revealed a greater diversity of racially-based incidents. Noteworthy events included racial clashes at the Vaal Technicon and racial conflict between Indian, black and white members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The events at the Vaal Technicon campus in Vanderbijlpark began with protests by students during the first week of May 1995, demanding the rector's dismissal for financial mismanagement. Racial tension was reportedly heightened by students singing *Die Stem*, with visits by leading politicians, including Nelson Mandela and FW De Klerk, to restore calm.

In early June, the IFP was in the news after the party leader, Mangosutho Buthelezi, allegedly attacked "racist" white members of the party. Many media reports represented Buthelezi as racist in his actions. Later that month, there were further disputes about the reportedly poor performance of Indian members of the party and an associated racist backlash against Indians. This ultimately culminated in the resignation of Farouk Cassim, a prominent Indian member of the KwaZulu Natal legislature for the IFP.

Xenophobic incidents

An uncritical discourse around xenophobia continued to be displayed in coverage of border control and migration issues. There was also coverage of alleged racism and xenophobia against Home Affairs Minister, Mangosutho Buthelezi.

4.1.3.   April – June 1996

Racial incidents

It was the violent racial clashes that occurred at a handful of the country's tertiary institutions that received the most coverage, particularly at the Pretoria Technicon and the University of the Free State, as well as some broader reporting on racial incidents at South Africa's institutions of higher learning in general.

These events were often represented as being ignited by the protest actions of black students, amidst claims of unfair and racist treatment levelled against them, particularly within the residences. Later coverage centred on the reaction of white students to these protest actions, including reports of white students attacking their black counterparts with baseball bats, knives and other weapons. The precise perpetrator/victim breakdown was however difficult to discern in the coverage accorded these incidents, given the rapid snowballing of developments. While black students were initially represented as victims of institutional racism, they were later transformed into perpetrators during their protest actions, and still later back into victims.

In an environment represented by the media as involving incidents of provocation and counter-provocation, of aggression and defence and thrust and counter-thrust, the role of white students and white managers changed in corresponding fashion to the representation of black students. Some of the media, put the blame for the 'chaos', 'disorder' and 'criminality' at tertiary institutions directly on the perceived

"inherently dissatisfied, unruly, mob inclined and criminal shoulders of the black students", and by implication on the ANC government.

Xenophobic incidents

Mid-1996 also saw the Department of Home Affairs announcing an amnesty period for refugees (as distinct from "illegal immigrants") from Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries to apply for permanent residence status in South Africa. A handful of references to the repatriation of a number of undocumented Mozambican migrants were also noted.

4.1.4. January – March 1997

Racial incidents

Incidents of racial violence at educational institutions once again provided the single highest proportion of articles during January, February and March 1997. Here it was the incident between black and Indian pupils and parents at a high school in Phoenix, KwaZulu Natal, that received the major attention, with occurrences at Naboomspruit High School, Northern Province contributing a handful of items.

Allegedly racist remarks by Springbok rugby coach, Andre Markgraaf, were also covered in February and March, along with allegations of a racist clique among the country's rugby elite.

In this period, there were allegations of racism against the ANC by political opposition leaders, particularly relating to affirmative action.

Lastly, the press covered a supposedly racist attack by policemen and members of the public on a group of homeless people in Pretoria.

Xenophobic incidents

Reporting continued along the theme of "illegal immigrants", especially reflecting on the perceived costs of such migrants to the South African economy, issues around border control, perceptions that immigration legislation was not powerful enough, and the alleged connection between immigrants and high crime rates.

4.1.5. January –March 1998

Racial incidents

The first quarter of 1998 was almost exclusively dominated by the violent events at Vryburg High School, North West Province, where there were frequent clashes between white and black learners. Claims of unequal treatment and institutional racial discrimination against black students perpetrated by white students, teachers and school officials, sparked violent beatings.

The press reported widely on white parents whipping black learners as they entered school grounds and a black learner stabbing a white learner with a pair of scissors. These events, and broader reactions to them, rippled through the media countrywide.

At the same time, the media reported on racially-based disputes between black and Indian policemen in KwaZulu Natal, apparently because of the appointment of Indian commanding officers in the predominantly black area of Inanda.

Xenophobic incidents

This period also coincided with the release of a report by Human Rights Watch, an international non-governmental organisation and human rights watchdog, which revealed the extensive ill treatment of foreigners in South Africa. These findings were presented in number of articles.

4.1.6. January – March 2000

Racial incidents

The media devoted a lot of coverage to reported racism within the country's armed forces, following the shooting of a white administration clerk by a black soldier in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) after she allegedly racially abused him. This event led to a ministerial investigation of racism in the SANDF.

In January 2000, a white man boarded a bus and shot dead the black driver and four black passengers, an incident which received a fair amount of coverage. This incident was specifically described in racial terms, with inferences being made to the notion that the victims were specifically targeted due to their race.

Xenophobic incidents

The first quarter of 2000 revealed a marked concern for the arrest and deportation of supposed "illegal immigrants", often in alarmist form. Not only was the subject discussed in general in a large number of items, expressing beliefs that South Africa is overwhelmed by such "illegal aliens" and that tougher action is needed to curb the influx, but specific cases of arrest and deportation of prominent actual or suspected aliens were described.

4.1.7. July – September 2000

Racial incidents

The military received more coverage in this period, beginning with the Minister of Defence visiting army bases to curb racial tensions after several incidents, including shootings at 7 Infantry Battalion and the murder of a white senior officer by a black subordinate officer. In September, the media reported on a black seaman fatally shooting a white sub-lieutenant.

In August, black learners at Hoërskool Pretoria accused the school of racism when only a single black student was elected to the 32-member prefect body. Later, white learners and their parents were reportedly angered by alleged affirmative action within the prefect system and this anger boiled into disrupted classes and violent attacks with knives and baseball bats.

4.1.8. July – September 2001

Racial incidents

A racially-motivated attack on a white businesswoman in George, in which she was mutilated, received a lot of coverage in mid-2001. Her white attackers were allegedly enraged by the predominantly black clientele at her butchery.
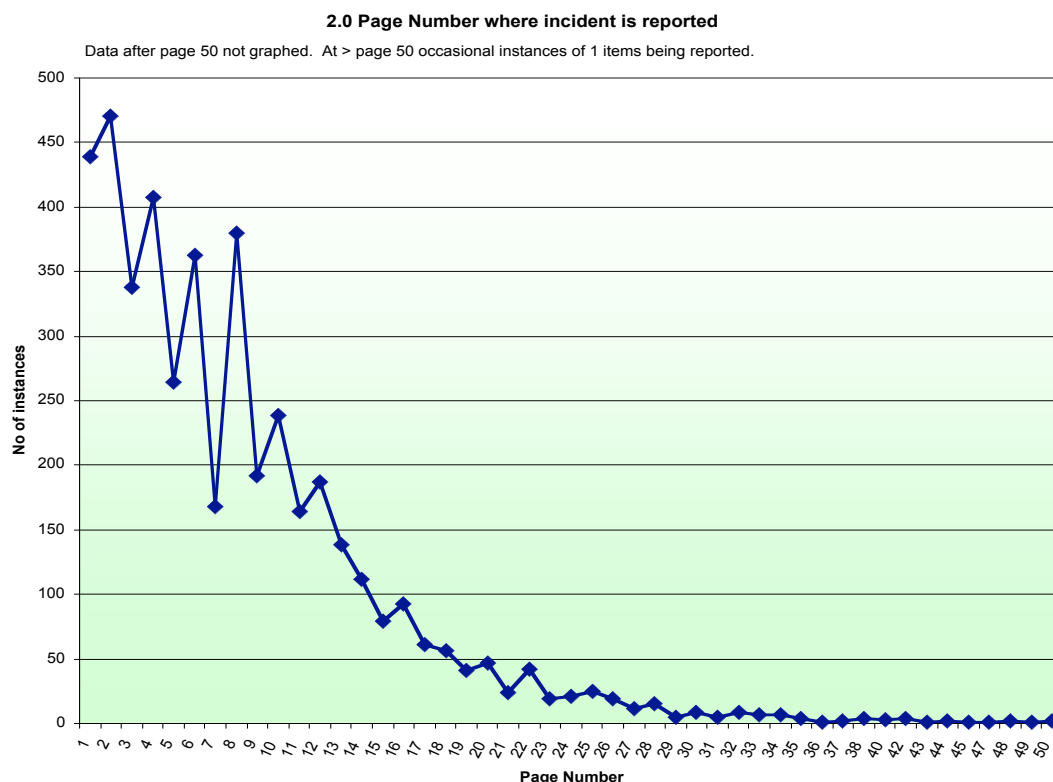
Xenophobic incidents

This period was dominated by the televised broadcast of a police dog training unit using suspected "illegal" Mozambican immigrants in a "live-bait" training exercise. Screened by the public broadcaster, SABC, the incident received much outraged

coverage, heightened by the jovial behaviour of the police officers and the obvious distress of their victims. Follow-up, background and reaction to the incident received extensive coverage within the country's print media.

What is interesting about this incident and the media's reporting is that it challenged the dominant xenophobic discourse. Instead of supporting negative presumptions about the perceived criminality of Southern African and African migrants, these men were portrayed as victims of racist violence at the hands of white South African citizens.

In keeping with patterns throughout the monitoring period, stories connected with or about "illegal immigrants" continued to be a popular topic. A number of stories about police and SANDF crime blitzes, involving detentions and arrests of immigrants received particularly prominent coverage.

4.2. Prominence

2.0 Page Number where incident is reported

Data after page 50 not graphed. At > page 50 occasional instances of 1 items being reported.

The accompanying graph reveals the total number of items per page number across the monitored mediums, in order to illustrate the prominence accorded such incidents.

The first three pages – usually the most prominent for news – accounted for most coverage. However, pages one and three, in any print medium, have greater news value than page two because the reader's eye falls more naturally onto a right-hand page (see MMP, 1999). This graph shows that the highest count of articles reporting on racism or racial violence are covered on page two, the least significant of the first three pages.

This research further indicates that front-page reporting of racially-based events tended towards the most dramatic, usually involving murder and violence. Violent incidents, by their nature, are characterised by urgency and drama, thereby guaranteeing prominent coverage by the media. And racially-motivated events continue to capture the public's imagination in South Africa.   This trend is supported

by previous monitoring by MMP (for example, MMP, 1999; MMP, 2003) with graph 3 below indicating similar results in terms of topic codes.

Coverage of non-violent items seems to decline proportionately as the page number increases. However, it is interesting that page eight reveals the fourth highest total coverage. This is because the middle pages of most publications are devoted to editorials, comment and analysis, thereby reflecting the prominence of race in the minds of South African editors and commentators.

4.3. Topics of racially-motivated incidents

4.3.1. Topic codes

4.3.1 Frequency of Topic Cod
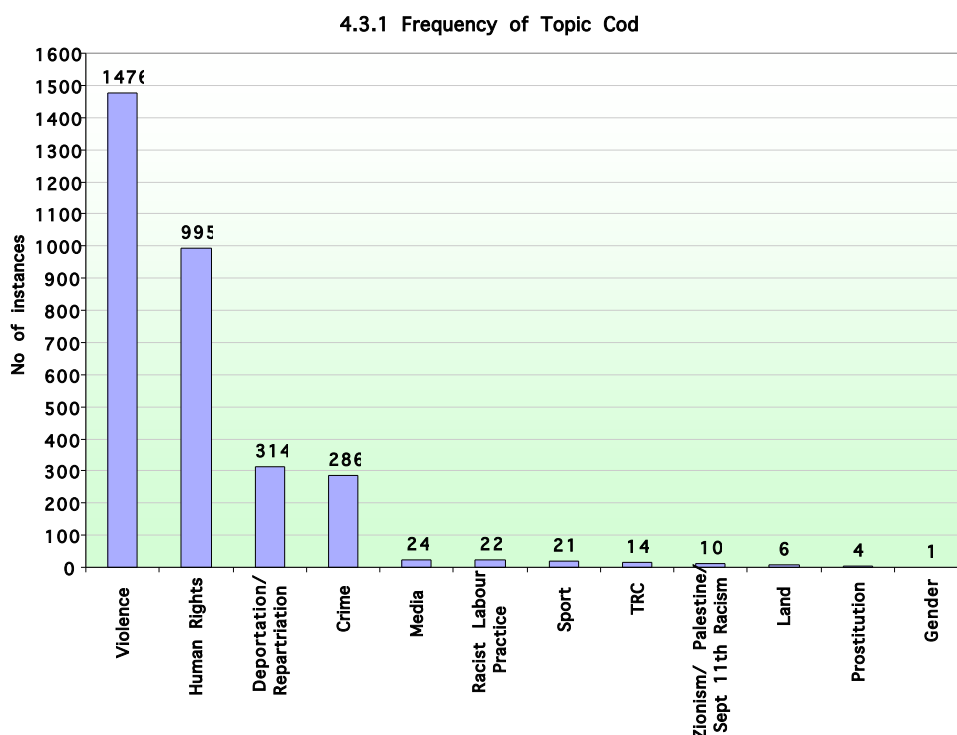
Graph 3.2 reveals that coverage is dominated by reports on violence (47%), human rights (31%), deportation and repatriation (10%), and crime (9%). There was also a lot of reporting on general concepts around racism.

The issues around xenophobia were included under a general human rights context, thus bolstering the prominent coverage of human rights-related stories. The frequency of reporting seems to indicate that there are high levels of xenophobia in South Africa and that citizens of other African countries, in particular, are victims of xenophobic actions by South Africans. In fact, "illegal immigrants" tend to be consistently portrayed as victims of racially-motivated crimes, rather than perpetrators. At the same time, however, "illegal immigrants" tend to be portrayed as perpetrators of other criminal acts, especially drug dealing, fraud and confidence scams. The crime topic code rated high in this research and the media continued to give lots of coverage to crime-related stories. There may be elements of xenophobia in such coverage, particularly because it is still common to report on race and nationality (when not South African) in crime stories.

On the topic code relating to deportation and repatriation, reporting mostly dealt with cross-border movements of undocumented migrants (especially from Zimbabwe and Mozambique), South Africa's migration policy and legislation, and deportation of undocumented migrants.

It is interesting that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) received so little coverage during this time. This is puzzling, given the specific aims of the TRC to unveil apartheid-era atrocities, with their specifically racial nature, and the crucial role the TRC played in South Africa's transition (CSVR, 2001).

Such findings are, however, consistent with previous research results. In assessing the coverage of the TRC during 1996, MMP found that, while many of the incidents brought before the Commission might well have had race as a feature, they were not reported on as such. Media discourse during this period preferred to describe the incidents as either political violence or human rights abuses, rather than utilising any of the racial keywords identified for this project (MMP, 1997, 1998).

4.3.2. Locations

The next series of graphs shows the location of incidents relating to each of the four most prominent topics: violence, human rights, deportation and repatriation, and crime.

4.3.2.1.Violence

Graph 4.3.2.1.Number of incidents of violance per Location
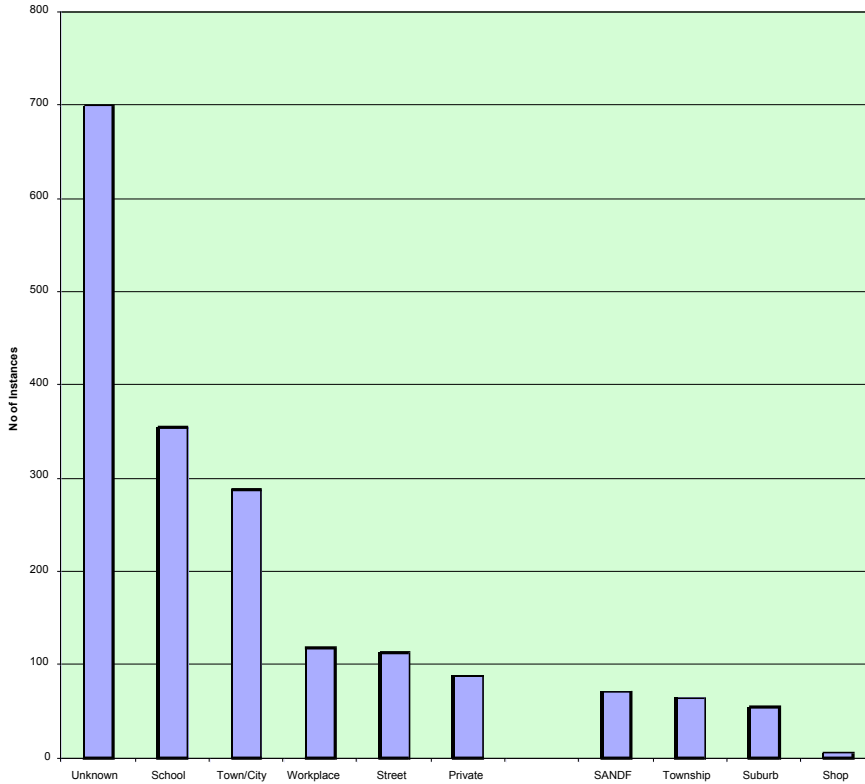
Although there was a wide diversity in the locations of racially-based violent incidents and the majority of incidents were not specifically located, in the cases where location was mentioned educational institutions come up most frequently (19,3%). This may either reflect media interest in events taking place in schools and tertiary institutions, or may reflect a higher frequency of events in these locations.

4.3.2.2.Human rights
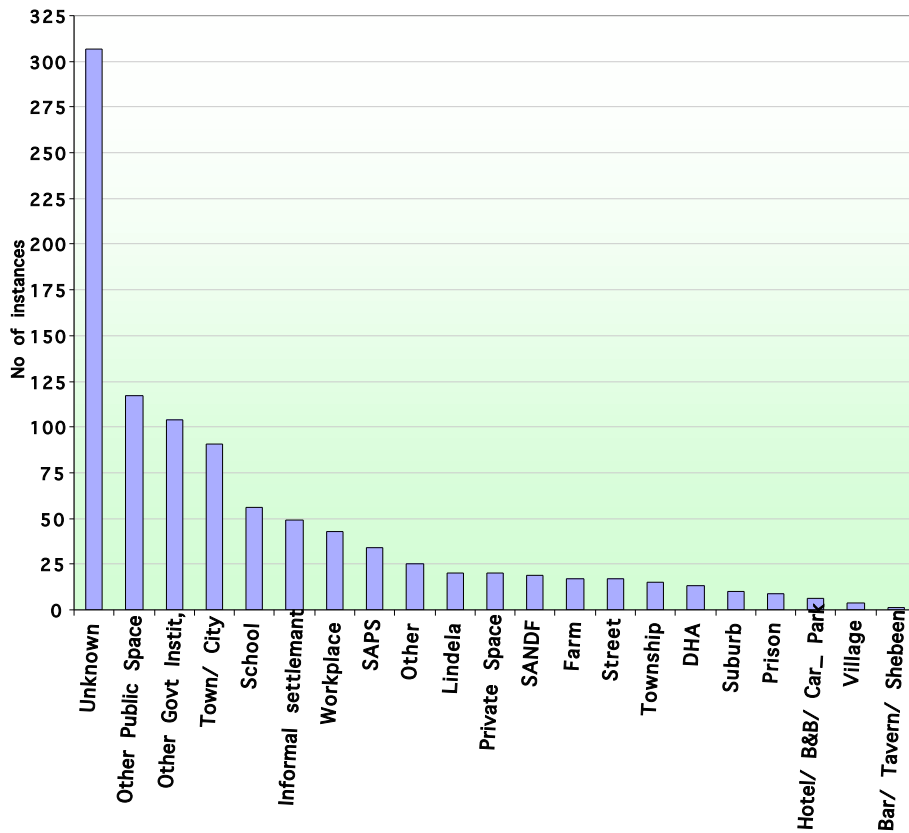
Since the human rights topic code mostly reflects events involving undocumented migrants, it is noteworthy that locations were mostly unidentified by the press (34%). This could reflect perceptions of "illegal immigrants" as vague, undefined threats with no clear location. Mostly, these events seem to occur in public spaces (12%), government institutions (11%) and other spaces, with educational institutions featuring fairly low (5%).

4.3.2.3. Deportation and repatriation
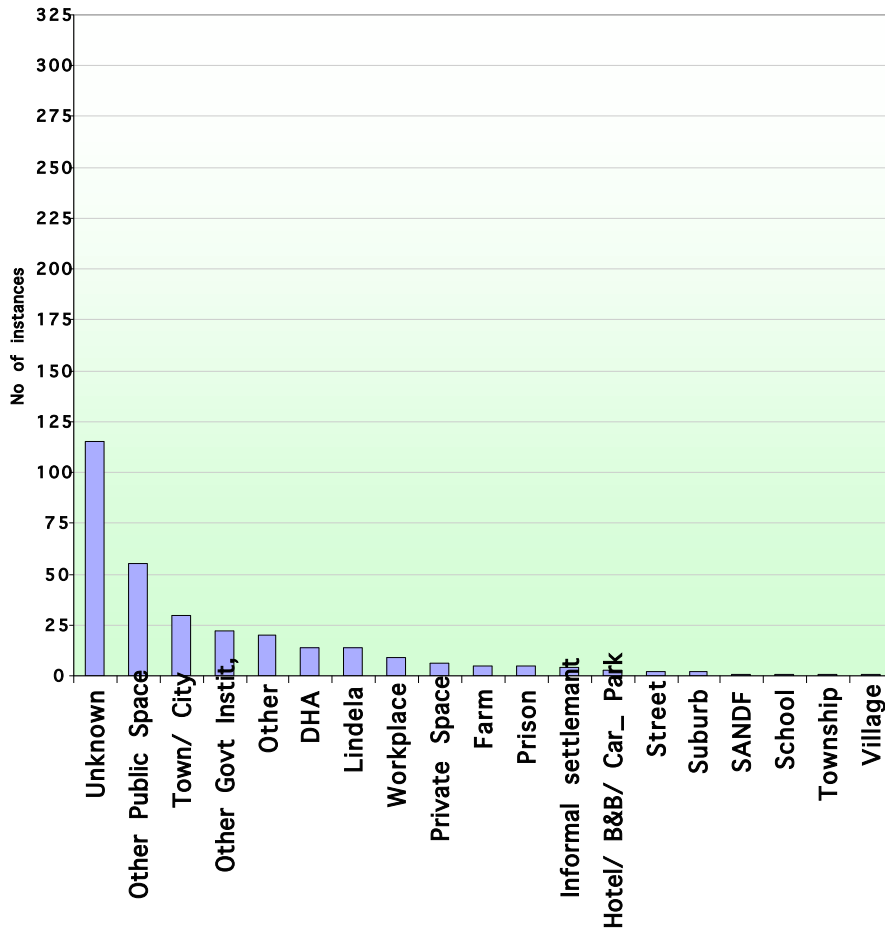
Similar patterns relate to the deportation and repatriation topic code, with most locations reported as unknown (37%). This finding reinforces public perceptions of chaos in the deportation and repatriation process, and the reality that many incidents take place in multiple locations.

Other significant places here include other public space (18%), town and city (10%), other government institutions (6%), other (6%), Department of Home Affairs (4%) and Lindela Repatriation Centre (4%).

4.3.2.4. Crime
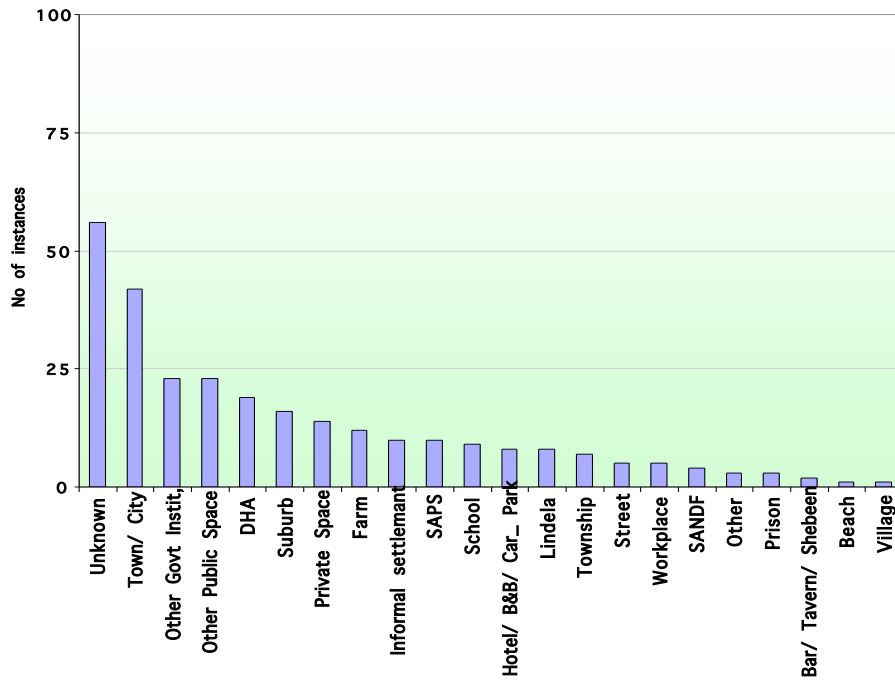
Crime reporting tends not to mention the place concerned, or merely mentions the town or city where an incident occurred, thus feeding perceptions about the widespread nature of crime.

4.4. Sources

4.4 Analysis of Sources

Graph 4.4. Illustrates the frequency of sources in stories from the monitoring period. Two categories predominate here: people in government and politics, and office workers. The justice sector also features highly, indicating correlations to high levels of violence and crime.

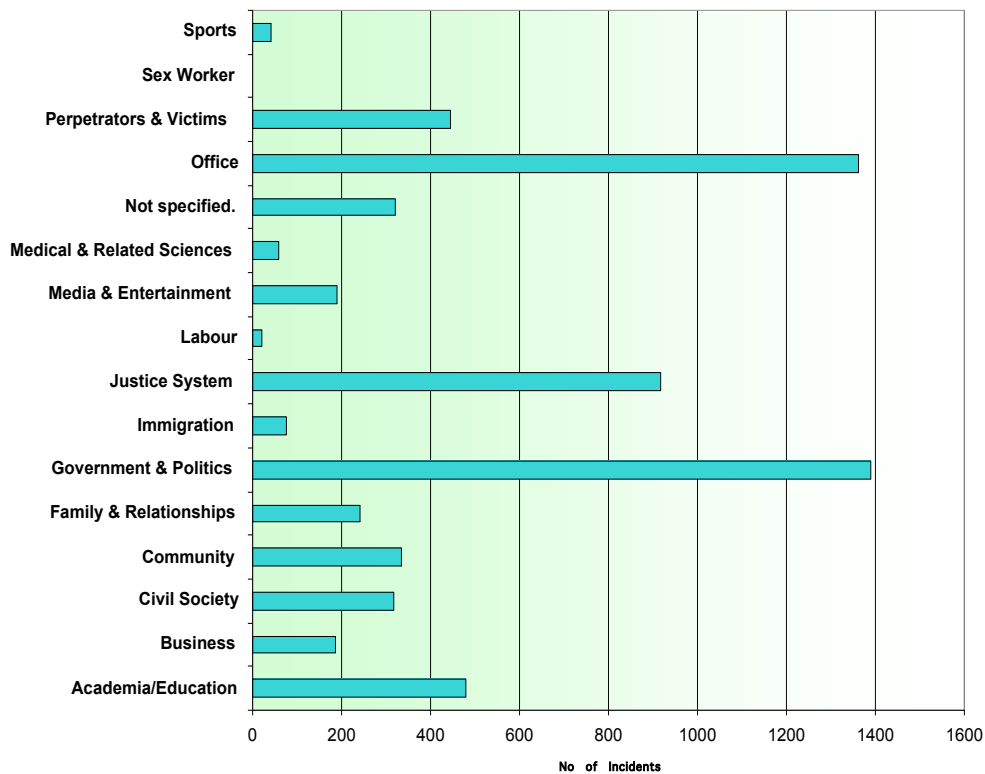The prominence of incidents at education institutions is also reflected here, with students and teachers featuring high. Commentary and analysis from academic writers also contributed to a number of sources used.

This pattern seems to support general trends in sourcing by the media – it is usually people in elite positions that are accessed for comment. While some of these sources may have been victims of crime or violence, they mostly tend to be prominent persons accessed for opinion or comment.

Community representation was surprisingly low on the list of sources. Considering that many of the incidents monitored took place in particular communities, it would have been expected that the media would have better utilised such sources, especially as a high proportion of these incidents took place in public places.

4.5. Events

4.5.1. Frequency of events
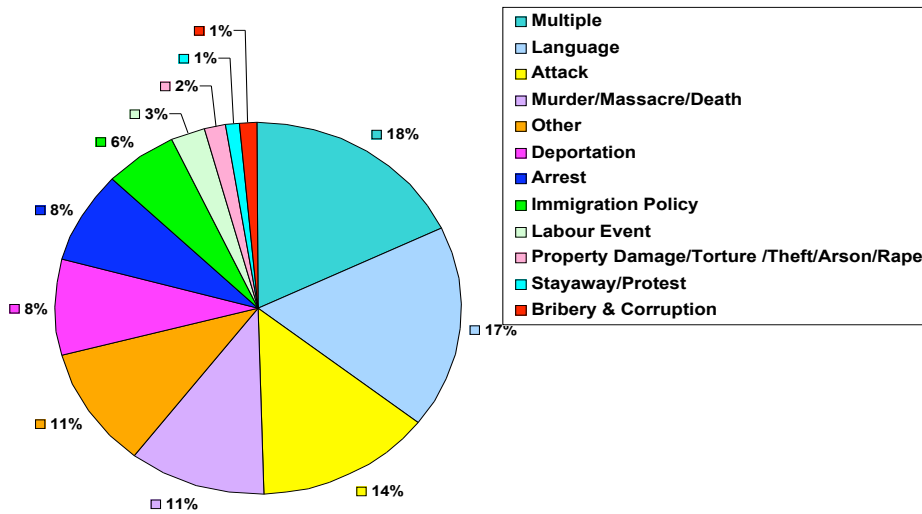
The research shows that most racially-motivated events involved multiple actions or incidents and it is possible that sets of inter-related incidents involving the same or different people occured at one location. This supports the notion that one incident tends to lead to another. On the whole, these incidents tend to be dramatic and violent, and it is often difficult to clearly differentiate between victim and perpetrator, as roles are reversed in retaliatory actions.

The use of racist language also featured highly, thereby confirming the prominence of non-physically violent racially-motivated incidents. A large proportion of incidents further captured life-threatening injuries, partly because of the media's interest in reporting dramatic events.

Events around deportation were coded both under deportation and repatriation, and under xenophobia, also featuring prominently in the coverage.

Interestingly, events such as rape, theft, arson and torture failed to receive treatment by the media as discrete categories over this time period. However, a number of events classed under the multiple event categories included evidence of theft and arson, which would seem to indicate that such incidents more often than not occur together with or preceding or post other events.

4.5.2. Events analysed according to weapons used

TABLE 4.5.2 EVENT BY WEAPON

Description	Blunt Object	Bombs – inc Petrol	Chemical Substance	Dog	Gun	Knife and sharp object	Multiple	Necklace	Not apparent	Other	Person-kicks /punches	Stick	Unknown	Vehicle	Total

34

|															
Attack	18	2	6	58	28	41	107	2	6	36	50	4	90	0	448
Death	3	0	0	1	22	4	10	1	4	27	3	1	20	3	99
Arson	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4
Murder	7	0	0	0	91	13	39	1	0	13	11	1	58	3	237
Torture	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	9
Massacre/mass murder	0	0	0	0	21	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	22
Language	0	1	1	0	0	1	3	0	422	132	6	0	4	0	570
Property Damage	1	1	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	8	2	2	7	0	29
Theft	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	1	0	7
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	119	214	0	0	11	0	348
Multiple	1	0	0	1	14	0	521	2	24	10	7	0	12	2	594
Rape	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3
Arrest	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	153	66	4	0	29	0	257
Bribery & Corruption	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	12	0	0	2	0	41
Deportation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	53	3	0	10	1	273
TOTAL	30	4	10	62	179	61	696	6	966	575	87	8	248	9	2,941

It is apparent that one or two weapon types, consistent with the nature of an event, dominate each event type to a large extent. In the category of attack, the diversity of weapons used is interesting and multiple weapons tend to be used in multiple incidents. This may indicate that racially-motivated crimes are impetuous and retaliatory, not often premeditated – people reach for weapons to attack or defend themselves in the heat of the moment.

The use of guns rated highly too. This supports the general perception that South Africa suffers high rates of gun-related crime, and that crimes may often lead to severe injuries or death.

In 20 percent of incidents analysed, no information on weapons was reported. This signifies a lack of coherent and comprehensive reporting on crimes by the media.
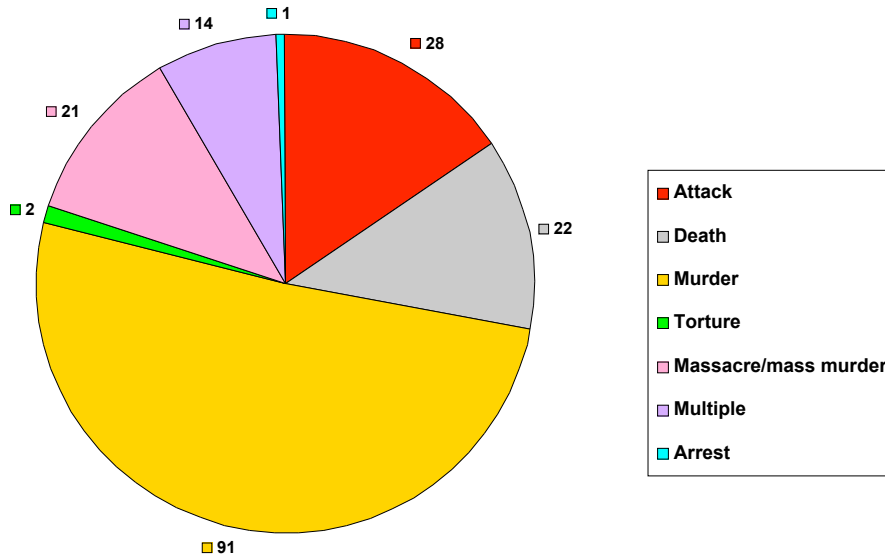
4.5.2.1. Multiple weapon events

4.5.2.1. Multiple Weapon Events
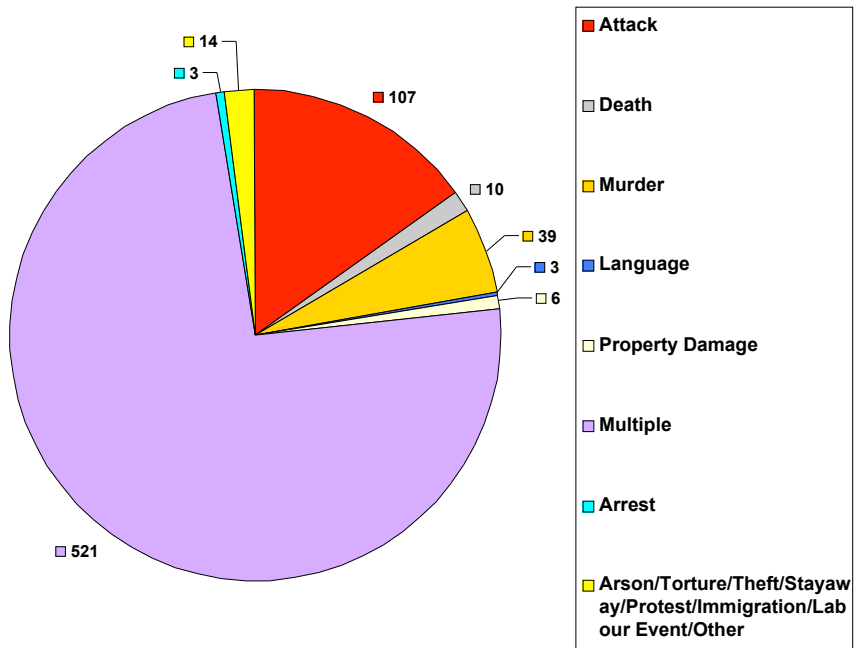
When multiple weapons are involved, it is highly likely that the incident also reflects multiple actions (74%). And when a single event occurs with multiple weapons, it usually relates to an attack (15%).

4.5.2.2. Gun-related events

When a gun has been identified as the weapon, it is much more common for the event to cause injury or death than with any other weapon. Cumulatively, such events add up to 73% of all items in which guns are involved. Generally, the results show that gun-related events are much more violent than others.

4.6. Propositions

4.6.1. Propositions by event

This next series of graphs illustrate trends relating to MMP's use of propositions in each of the event categories analysed. For analytic purposes, the most monitored propositions per event – arrest, multiple, language, attack and murder – have been unpacked in terms of the overall number of times these propositions appear, as well as the degree to which these propositions have been supported and/or challenged.

There were two propositions that appeared most – that "whites are racist" and that "Africans are victims". Each proposition cropped up over 1000 times in the articles monitored. The statement that whites are racist is inherently negative, yet this was challenged in 66% of the articles. In 50% of all items, the notion that Africans are victims was supported. This was only challenged in 25% of articles, usually where Africans were portrayed as perpetrators of crime.

4.6.1.1. Arrest
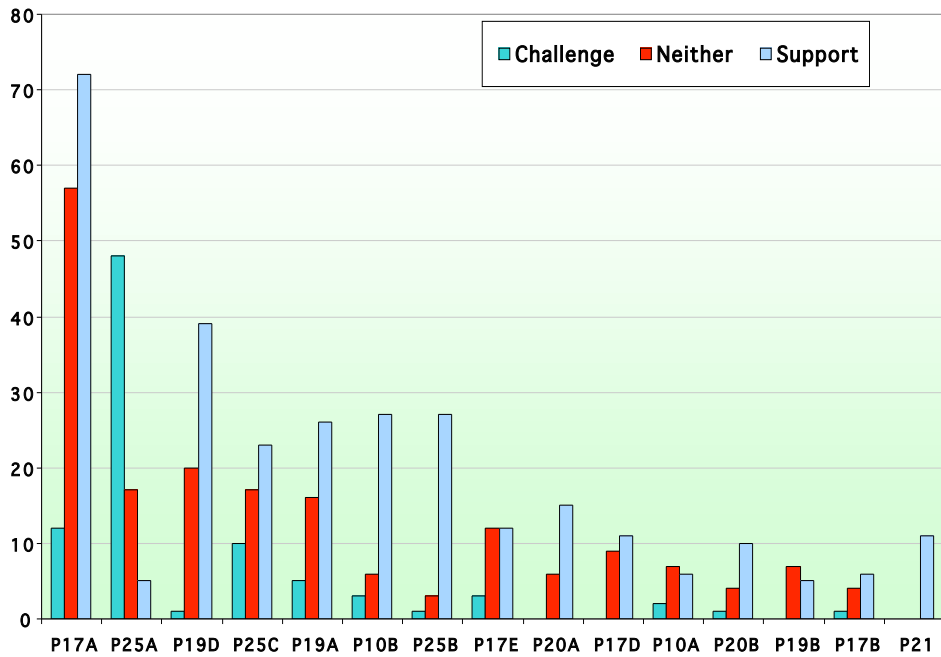
In the arrest category the top five propositions are:
- Proposition 17 A – "foreigners are criminals";
- Proposition 25A – "government is soft on foreigners";
- Proposition 19D – "foreigners are a burden to the state";
- Proposition 25C – " the Department of Home Affairs is incompetent/inefficient"; and
- Proposition 19A – "foreigners steal jobs".

The majority of these items reported on arrests of foreign migrants. In these incidents, undocumented migrants tend to be represented indirectly as suspects or perpetrators, their criminality inherent in the supposition that they lack appropriate documentation. The graph shows that there was overwhelmingly positive support for these propositions, thereby indicating a xenophobic discourse predominant in the media.

4.6.1.2. Multiple events

With multiple events, the following propositions were the most prominent:
- Proposition 10B – "Africans are victims";
- Proposition 10A – "Whites are racist";
- Proposition 9A – "racially-motivated incidents are violent";
- Proposition 20B – "there is no place for racism in the new South Africa"; and
- Proposition 24A – "conflict, disorder and chaos are the outcome of racially-motivated incidents".

With the exception of the proposition that whites are racist, the above propositions were all overwhelmingly supported. However, very few items actually challenged essentially negative stereotypes – the high prevalence of reporting showing whites as racist and Africans as victims seems to support a dominant discourse around victimhood.

The propositions also point to the violent nature of multiple events, as well as the media's tendency to represent racially-motivated incidents as leading to chaos, conflict and disorder.

On the positive side, it would appear that the media takes a stand against racism in democratic South Africa.

4.6.1.3. Events relating to language

39

4.6.1.3 Language Events : Propositions (coverage 84% of inst

Legend: Challenge, Neither, Support
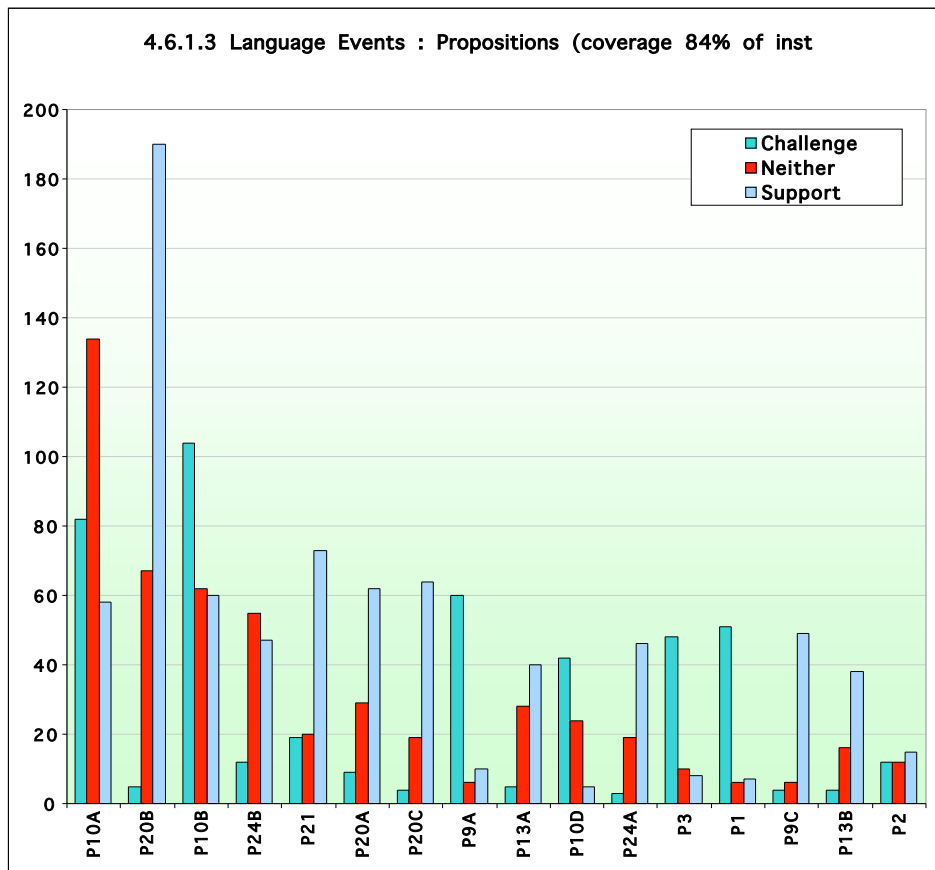
Language as an event was accompanied by:
- Proposition 10A – "whites are racist" (appearing 274 times);
- Proposition 20B – "there is no place for racism in the new South Africa" (222 times);
- Proposition 10B – "Africans are victims" (226);
- Proposition 24B – "racism is over-exaggerated" (164); and
- Proposition 21 – "race is the primary explanation" (111).

Interestingly here, the proposition that whites are racist was not actively supported. This contradicts the propositional findings of multiple event coverage, where the proposition that whites are racist was not clearly challenged. In comparison to other events, racist language incidents largely represent whites as the victims of black perpetrators. This may be because media coverage of language-related incidents often relates to the political realm, including allegedly racist slurs between political parties and party members. The media seems to favour reporting on events where language is used against "white" parties such as the Democratic Alliance by "black" parties such as the African National Congress.

Similar patterns were apparent with the proposition that Africans are victims – only 27% of items supported this proposition and a larger 46% actually challenged the notion. Such figures run counter to the overall patterns noted in which white perpetrators and black victims predominate.

The discourse surrounding this event type was largely positive in nature, with overwhelming media support for the idea that there is no place for racism in the new South Africa. It was supported in 68% of the times this proposition appeared here. However, this could partly be due to the media's support for Democratic Alliance politics and the contention that the ANC government may be racist or anti-white.

4.6.1.4. Attacks
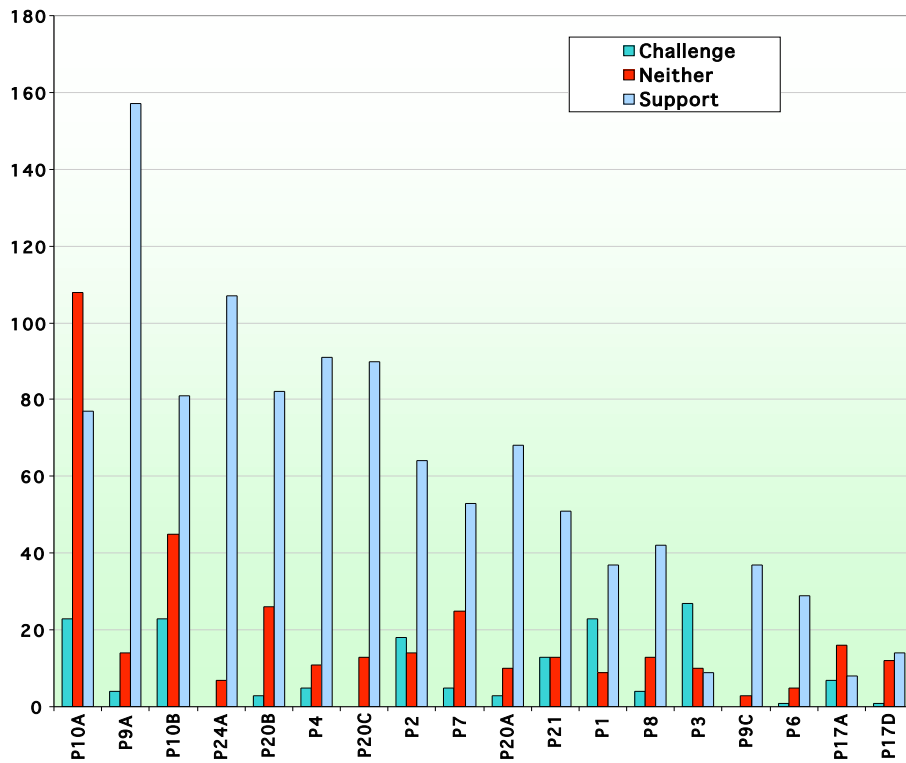
When the dominant event was an attack, the top five propositions were:
- Proposition 10A – "whites are racist" (207 mentions);
- Proposition 9A – "racially-motivated incidents are violent" (175);
- Proposition 10B – "Africans are victims" (146);
- Proposition 24A – "conflict, disorder and chaos are the outcome of racially-motivated incidents" (114); and
- Proposition 20B – "there is no place for racism in the new South Africa" (111).

It is unsurprising for the proposition concerning violent, racially-motivated incidents to have been supported in this event category. There was no overwhelming support or challenge to the proposition that whites are racist, but there was more support for the proposition that Africans are victims.

4.6.1.5. Murder
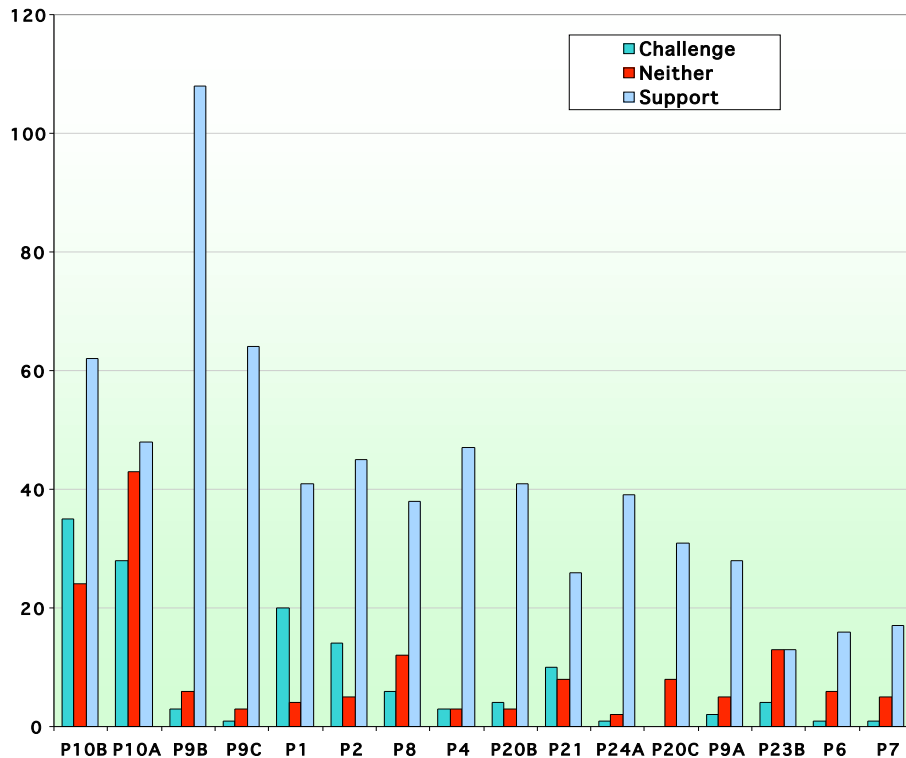
Events leading to murder were dominated by:
- Proposition 10B – "Africans are victims" (121);
- Proposition 10A – "whites are racist" (119);
- Proposition 9B – "racially-motivated incidents result in death" (117);
- Proposition 9C – "racially-motivated incidents are extreme" (78); and
- Proposition 1 – "racially-motivated incidents take place between strangers or are anonymous crimes" (65).

Again, it is unsurprising in this event category that the propositions stating that racially-motivated incidents are extreme and may lead to death would receive clear support. While the majority of items here were supportive of the notions that Africans are victims and that whites are racist, a fair number of items also challenged this.

4.7. Location of events

The findings suggest that incidents of racially-motivated violence are more likely to occur at certain places than at others. Alternatively, the research shows that the media is more likely to report on events taking place in particular locations. Although there was an extensive monitoring list of possible places of occurrence, only a few received noteworthy coverage.

It is interesting to observe that the highest number of incidents occurred in "unknown places" (15%), or those that remained unidentified by the media, revealing in large part, the incomplete nature of media coverage of incidents of racial violence. The media sometimes fails to provide sufficient information to encourage readers to come to their own, informed conclusions about events. This, therefore, plays a role in feeding perceptions of chaos surrounding racially-motivated incidents.

Where the place has been identified, it is in the arena of "other public space" where the greatest numbers of incidents have been noticed. This suggests that much reported

racial violence occurs in public open areas, rather than behind closed doors. This may reflect a reality that many South Africans and migrants to the country remain isolated from each other in private and only really interact in public spaces.

The second highest number of incidents reported by the media occurred at schools, universities and other educational institutions (8%). This may lead to an assumption that youth are common perpetrators and victims of racially-motivated incidents.

The next most frequently identified place is "other government institutions" (7%). This finding reflects political conflicts between and within parties, as well as labour-related disputes at a number of national, provincial and local government institutions.

Many racially-motivated events also took place in "town and city" spaces (6%). This indicated that racial incidents may grow beyond their original confines and draw more actors in as events spiral. For example, conflict begun in a school may soon develop into a city-wide issue, involving many more people.

Another factor to consider is the tendency of the police and justice sectors to engage in crime prevention campaigns across widespread city areas. These raids often involve multiple arrests of allegedly undocumented migrants, coverage of which impacts on the findings in this research.

4.8. Victims and perpetrators

4.8.1. Perpetrators according to race and sex

4.8.1 Perpetrator by Race & Gender - % of total population
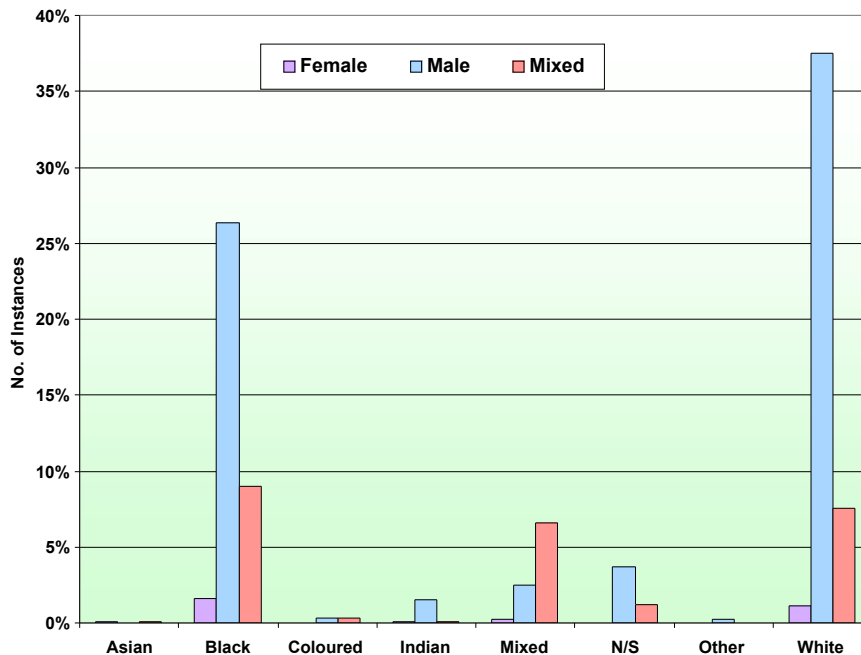
White males constituted the majority (38%) of all perpetrators in incidents reported in the media. This is not entirely unexpected, given the perception that whites remain the most racist constituency in South African society. Although 46% of all perpetrators were white, this is lower than anticipated by the research team. There may be a tendency to downplay or challenge levels of white racism in a media still dominated by white editors, sub-editors and shareholders. The proposition that whites are racist was only supported in 34% of articles monitored also reflects this finding.

It appears that the numbers of black perpetrators of racially-motivated incidents is increasing post-1994. A sizeable proportion of perpetrators were black males (26%). This rise in black perpetrator numbers may be attributed to a rise in xenophobic incidents against migrants from Africa, as well as a number of high-profile cases involving white victims and coverage of black politicians articulating their (sometimes racist) views.

The numbers of Asian, coloured and Indian perpetrators, among both males and females, was negligible (less than 5%).

While there is some mention of female perpetrators, these have tended to be in less violent incidents. On the whole, the graph illustrates males dominating as perpetrators over females to a significant extent (73%), amongst all race groups. Women are much more likely to be represented as victims by the media. Previous research by MMP also shows that women are less likely to be accessed as sources or presented as role players in most general media coverage (Media Institute of Southern Africa and Gender Links, 2003).

4.8.2. Victims according to race and gender

4.8.2.1 Victims by Race & Gender - % over Total Population
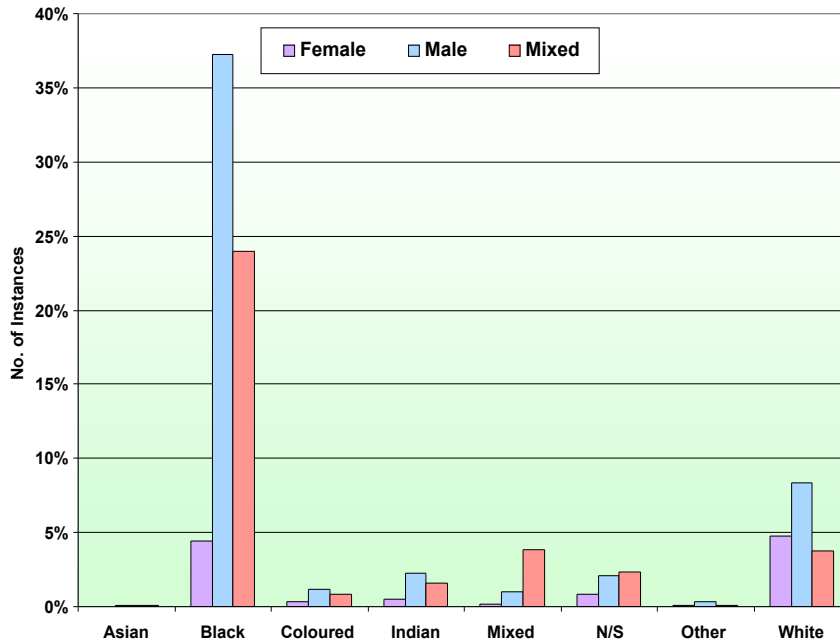
In those articles where the victims' race is identified, these tend overwhelmingly to be black, particular black males (37%) or mixed groups of males and females (24%). Coloureds, Indians and Asians are once again largely absent in the representation.

In direct contrast to the findings in which blacks provide for a sizeable proportion of perpetrators, whites were extremely underrepresented in terms of victim identity, with blacks more than four times as likely to be represented as victims of racial violence than their white counterparts. In this regard, whites present as 17 % of victims, compared to 65% of blacks. Of the 17% white victims, 8% are male, 5% female, and about 4% mixed.

Graph 4.8.2.2:Victims & Perpetrators - Prominence of Reporting of

59% of total page 1 - 4 stories on Victims relate to Black victims & 19% relate to White
43% of page 1 - 4 stories on perpetrators relate to White perpetrators, with 35% of page
stories on black perpetrators

Page Number — Black Victims, White Victims, Black Perpetrators, White Perpetrators (by page One, Two, Three, Four)
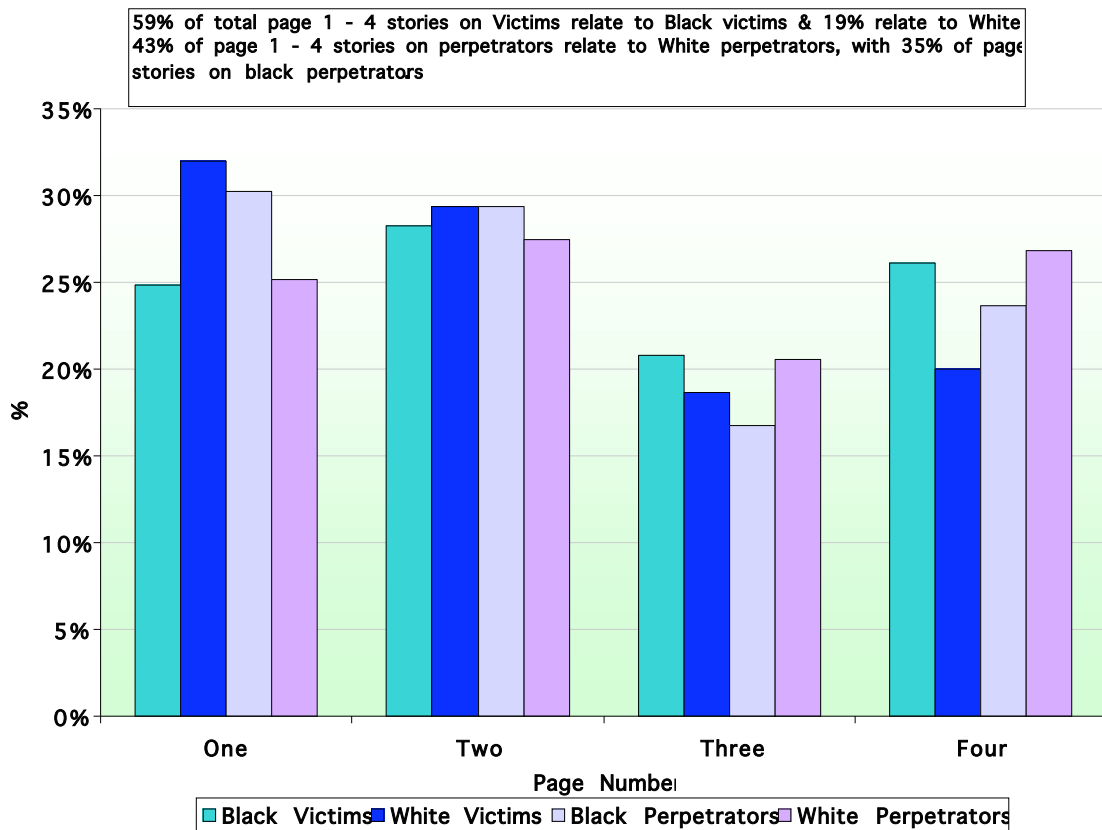
However, an analysis of the first three pages of newspapers (the most prominent news coverage pages) revealed a disproportional representation of whites as victims on these pages, in contrast to the overall situation. Whites, in addition, are more likely to appear as victims in the first two pages, than they are on page 3 and 4, where their numbers decline sharply. Black victims, by contrast, are more prominent on pages 2 and 4, although a page breakdown of black victims shows more or less consistent representation of blacks as victims. Once again, Coloureds and Indians are largely excluded.

The perpetrator breakdown of page 1 stories reveals corresponding levels of black and white perpetrators, with black perpetrators dominating over white to a similar extent as white victims predominate over black. Page 2 continues to be dominated by white victims, although the gap between black and white victims is of a much lower scale. Black perpetrators are still seen to be in the majority, although, here too the difference between black and white is far less.

The above patterns are reversed on page 3 and 4, where black victims outnumber their white counterparts, and white perpetrators appear more frequently than their black counterparts. Blacks are much more likely to appear as perpetrators in the first 2 pages. White perpetrators, in contrast, appear consistently as perpetrators across the first 4 pages.

Within the items monitored, incidents involving blacks as perpetrators and whites as victims are more likely to receive prominence in the media. This trend is particularly notable because numerically overall there are more black victims (65%) than white (17%), according to the research.

A little more than half (51%) of victims are male and there are more female victims than female perpetrators.

Among black victims it can be seen that 57% were male, 37% included both male and female sources, and 6% were identified as female only. Such figures seem to be at odds with national crime statistics which indicate that black women are the most likely victims of crime.

It is possible that incidents involving female victims tend not to be represented in the media in racial terms.

There is a similar pattern for those incidents involving Coloured or Indian victims. Coloured victims were 52% male and 13% female, with 35% from a mixed group. Among Indians, 52% were male, 11% female, and 37% mixed. With respect to white victims, just under 49% were male, 28% were female and 22% were mixed.

4.8.3. Victim and perpetrator relationships

4.8.3. Perpetrator / Victims By Race
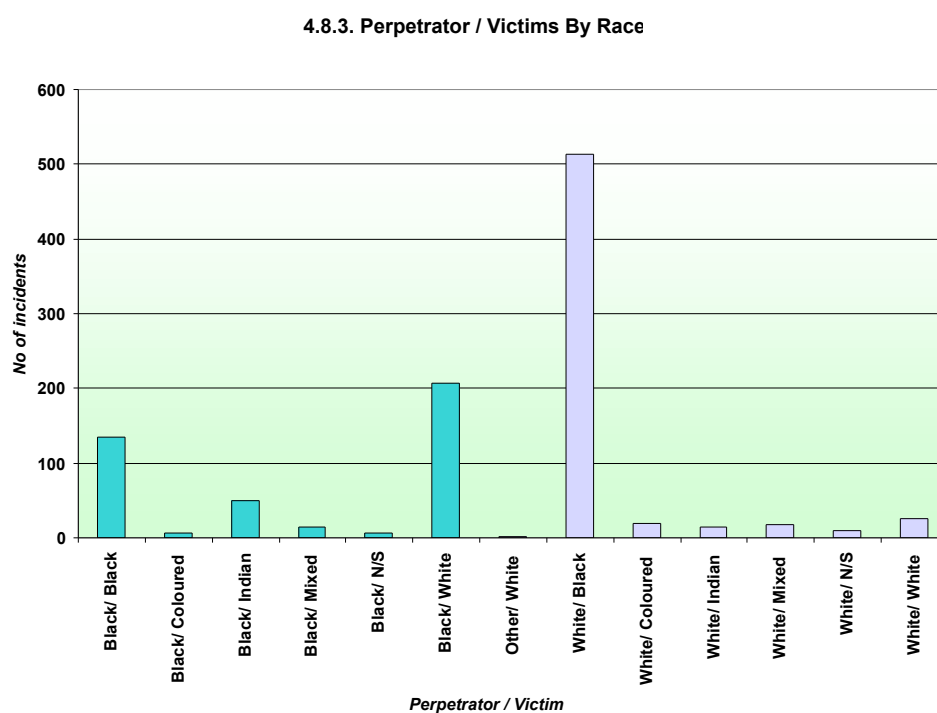
In assessing the linkage between the race of the perpetrator and that of the victim, it appears that cross-racial linkages predominate, while intra-racial racial violence is still a feature of many stories monitored.

It is clear that, when whites are identified as perpetrators, the victims are overwhelmingly black – this result appears almost twice as many times as the next category of black perpetrators and white victims. There is evidence that racial incidents between black perpetrators and victims are also prominent, possibly relating to high rates of xenophobia.

Reports of racial violence between whites were very limited. The one incident which the press covered extensively was the story of the white butcher from George attacked by other whites because of her black customer base.

Perpetrator Race	African	Asian	East African	European	Illegal Immigrant	Middle Eastern	Mixed	North African	North American	Refugees	South African	South American	Southern African	West African	TOTAL
								Nationality of Victim							
Asian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Black	31	0	0	1	14	0	0	1	23	1	22	0	45	3	141
Coloured	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Indian	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	4
Mixed	4	0	1	0	13	0	4	0	0	0	6	0	7	1	36
N/S	20	0	1	0	20	0	3	0	4	4	9	1	10	8	80
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
White	0	0	0	2	15	1	1	0	4	0	24	0	37	1	85
TOTAL	55	1	2	3	62	1	9	1	31	5	64	1	100	13	348

The above table suggests that when nationality is stated, blacks are more likely than whites to be represented as committing acts of xenophobic, racial violence against other Africans. When perpetrators are identified as black, 22% of the victims are African – 10% of these are categorised as "illegal immigrants" from other African countries and are assumed to be black and African, 32% are Southern African, 16% are South African and 16.3% are from North America. Thus, a total of 65% of victims of black perpetrators emanated from the African continent, South Africa excluded.

One possible reason for this is that black South Africans interact on a greater scale with African migrants at a local or community level, leading to antagonism. The majority of such incidents also occurred within public spaces. Such figures would tend to support the contention of the large-scale xenophobia amongst (in this case, black) South Africans against other individuals from the African continent.

Such findings run counter to the findings presented by the South African Migration Project (SAMP) in their national attitudinal survey. This report maintained that anti-migrant feeling, although prevalent amongst all South Africans, was higher amongst whites than blacks in the country. There is a possibility that white South Africans might well have higher levels of anti-foreigner sentiment, but that they tend not act upon them, as they had little interaction with the migrants concerned. Black South Africans on the other hand tended towards greater contact with migrants, providing more opportunities act on xenophobic feelings.

The numbers discredit the belief that migrants from other southern African countries are treated better than their counterparts from further north on the continent. Although there may also be many more Southern African immigrants - proportionally.

"Illegal immigrant" was the most specific category identified, even though some stories may have represented people as citizens of another country. If a victim was not primarily identified as an "illegal immigrant", they were assigned either to the Southern African or African category. Those victims whose precise nationality was not mentioned, but who were referred to in more general terms as "African" were classified as African here, even though they might well have been undocumented migrants or Southern African in origin.

The profile of victims from North America was high in this research, largely due to the extensive coverage of the murder of an American woman, Amy Biehl.

Among white perpetrators, a different picture emerges. Victims were identified as follows: 2% European; 18% "illegal (African) immigrants"; 1% Middle-Easterners; 3% North Americans; 28% South Africans; and 44 % from Southern Africa. Thus, a total of 62% revealed victims from the rest of Africa. In absolute terms, these incidents reveal a figure much lower than in cases where the perpetrators are black.

The violence against 'illegal immigrants' recorded here primarily relates to the prominent events surrounding the victimisation of allegedly illegal Mozambican migrants by members of the South African Police Services dog unit.

Interestingly, the number of South African victims at the hands of black and white perpetrators are almost identical. This raises the question as to whether there is a tacit bias in the media itself, of over-representing white victims (as in the TRC) in a fashion that is disproportionate to the bigger picture.

4.8.4. Victims and citizenship

4.8.4. Victims By Citizenship where Identified

There were an additional 1,087 victims where citizenship was not identified.
Total No of Victims Graphed = 732

The above graph shows victims' citizenship on a continental or sub-continental basis, illustrating places of origin. It excludes instances where such citizenship was either not stated or not apparent from the article.

In the case of South African citizens, nationality is often implied and not mentioned in reports. South Africans, therefore, are clearly under-represented in this graph.

Those victims most likely to be represented are those from Southern African countries, including Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This was the single highest category of victims of racial violence (26%), accounting for 26 % of the mentions. "Illegal immigrants" are the second highest representation (19%). Most people in this category were simultaneously classified as either black or African, which lends further support to the notion that most victims of racial violence in South Africa are black.

It is a common practice in the media to lump together all kinds of migrants into the negative category of "illegal immigrants". This could account for the low figures in other categories of migrants, including refugees.

4.8.5. Perpetrators and citizenship

4.8.5. Perpetrators by Citizenship where specified

There were an additional 1,095 perpetrators where citizenship was not identified. Total No of Perpetrators Graphed = 446

In this table the majority of people perpetrating racial incidents are South African. Despite the media's regular portrayal of "illegal immigrants" as an unlawful element in society, it is South Africans who are mostly responsible for racially-motivated crimes.

"Illegal immigrants" do appear in 32% of items, however, and the media does imply a degree of involvement in illegal activities. There are also a lot of stories focusing on the arrests and deportation of such individuals. In these stories, the individuals who are arrested and deported were captured in the database as 'perpetrators' (in line with the news-reporting). This does not reflect the experience that many foreigners have reported in – namely victimisation through the process of their arrest etc.

4.8.6. Perpetrators, citizenship and events

The two graphs below show the major event types in which perpetrators identified as "South African" and as "illegal immigrant" respectively were involved. The two graphs are different in pattern and quantity.

4.8.6.1.Events by Perpetrators Who Are Identified as South A
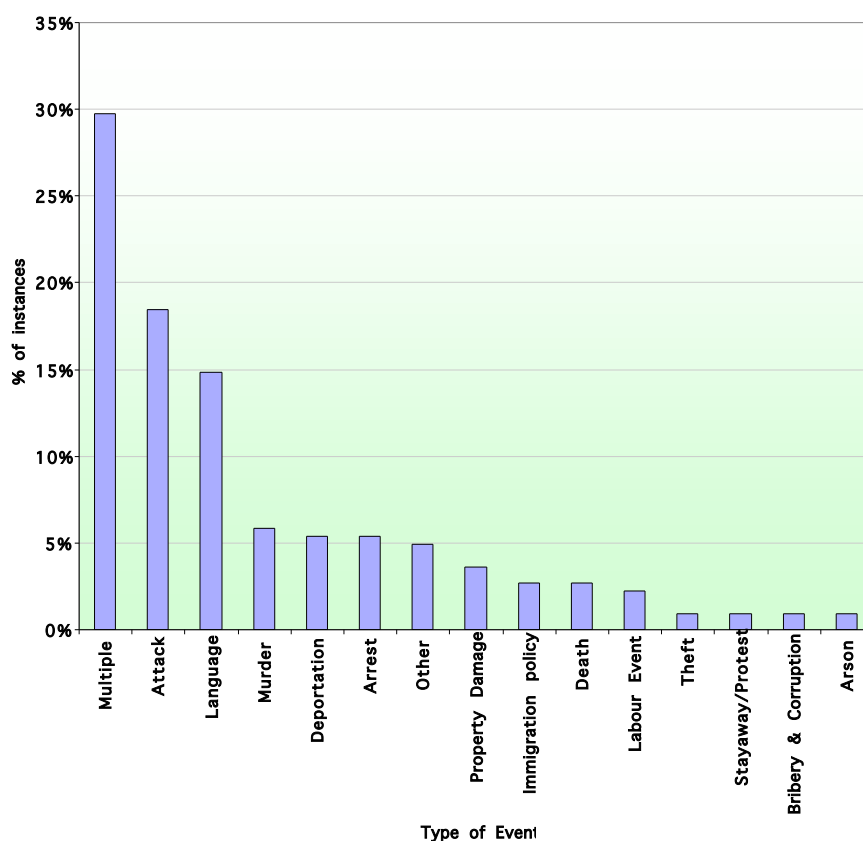
As far as South African nationals are concerned, three major event types were apparent, i.e. "multiple", "attack" and "language". Most events (30%) were multiple events, with individual events leading to further actions. 18% of incidents with South African citizens as perpetrators involved an attack as the event. Coverage of such incidents tends to be dramatic and emotional, consistent with the media's tendency to prioritise immediate, event-based stories, at the expense of the less dramatic.

The non-physical nature of a sizable proportion of racially-motivated incidents is shown by the 15 % of incidents that have language as the primary event. Events focused on language emanate particularly from the political domain, in which political figures run the gauntlet of racially abusive or derogatory language from their colleagues and from opposing parties.

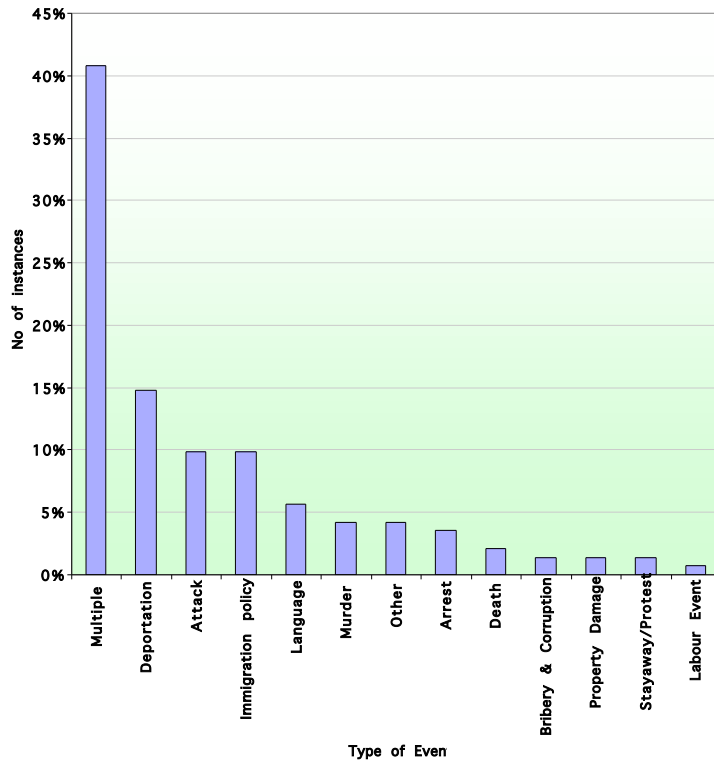## 4.8.6.2.Events by Perpetrators Who Are Identified as I Immigrant
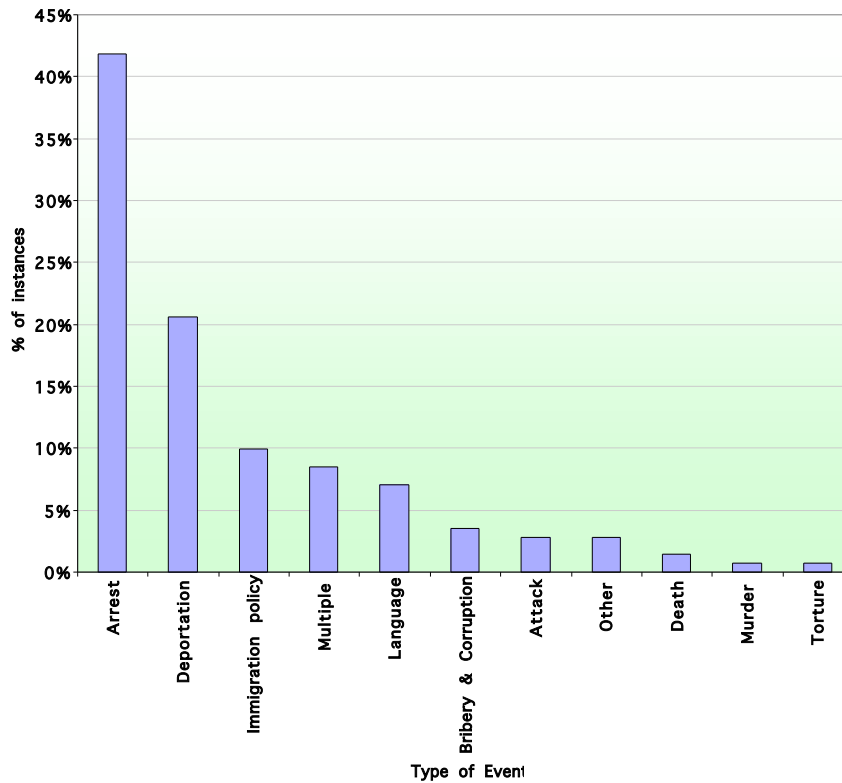
"Illegal immigrants" are overwhelmingly represented (42%) as perpetrators in cases where they have been arrested. The fact that they are being arrested implies some sort of criminal activity, which is often conflated with actions beyond illegal status. This discourse supports ideas of the inherent criminality of undocumented migrants, offering little challenge to such negative stereotypes.

The linkage between illegal immigrants and deportation, as drawn from the graph, is furthermore hardly surprising. In the monitoring, individuals were deemed to be perpetrators if they were deported – the research illustrated that this was the case in 20% of articles, thus fitting with the discourse of undocumented migrants as criminals.

4.8.7.   Victims, citizenship and events

### 4.8.7.1.African victims and events

In 40% of items, African victims were involved in multiple racist events. This illustrates the multi-dimensional nature of many incidents involving these individuals. When multiple events are involved, it is often the same victims or the same broad category of victim (eg. migrants from the African continent) who are targeted in a number of events.

It is no surprise to find deportation at 15% here, as many media reports indirectly represent such individuals as having entered the country illegally, and the need for them to be returned to their countries of origin. Attacks and immigration policy each appear at 10%. The relatively high proportion of attacks amongst the events points to the violent nature of the xenophobic treatment against foreigners from the rest of the African continent.

As citizens of neighbouring countries, many of whom are undocumented migrants, refugees or individuals seeking employment opportunities, the relevance of immigration policy is plainly apparent.

4.8.7.2. "Illegal immigrants" and events

53

4.8.7.2. Analysis of Events With Victims that were identified as I Immigrants
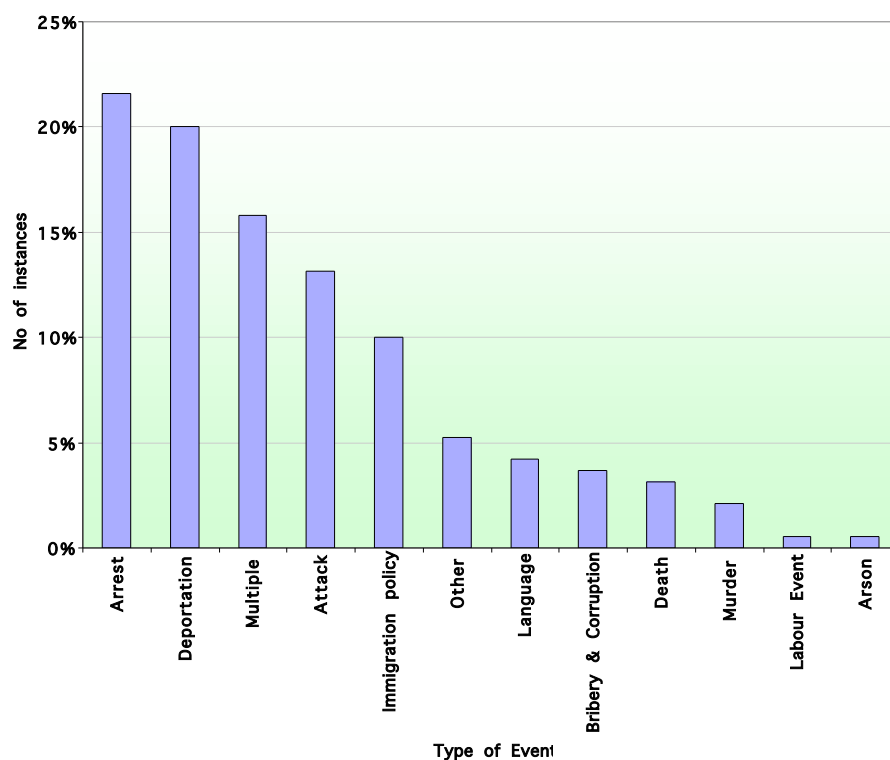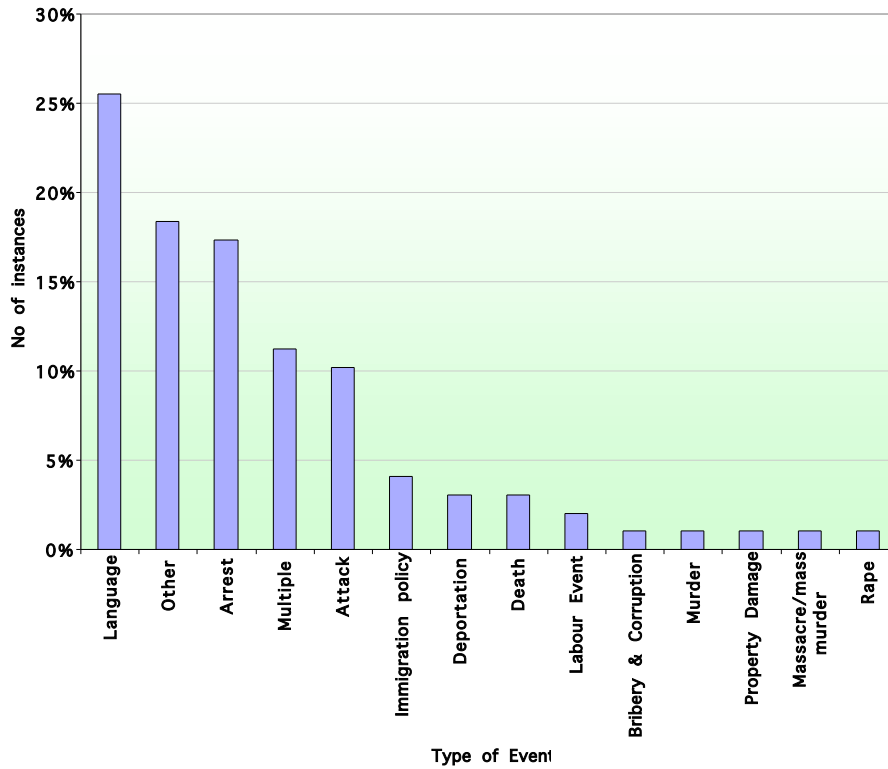

In contrast to the aforementioned pattern, the graph tracking "illegal immigrants" shows a more even spread of events, although "arrest" and "deportation" account for 42% of all items together.

These events, along with "immigration policy" (10%), show the extent to which such individuals are regarded as problematic for the South African authorities. It appears that most such people are arrested in connection with their residence status, rather than any other crimes, often in broad-based anti-crime blitzes by the police or defence force. There is, furthermore, often a link between such arrests and the deportation of such individuals.

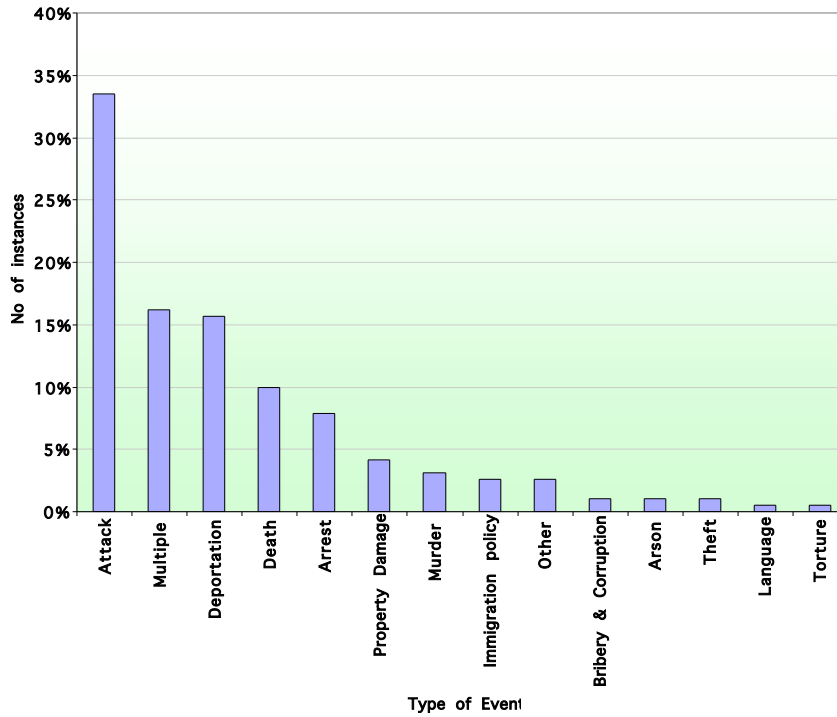**4.8.7.3. South African citizens and events**

The trends contained here, detailing the event profile for South African victims, reveal a very different picture from the last two. Here it is language that is the most prominent feature – a full quarter of all incidents in which the victim was identified as South African mentioned language as the event.

Significant figures were also noted for other (18%), arrest (17%), multiple (12%) and attack (10%). It is perhaps surprising to find such a low level of the more violent forms of events. The figures would seem to indicate that racial violence against fellow South Africans is mostly of non-physical nature. However, such indications could be misleading, as in the vast majority of instances involving South African citizens, their nationality was not clearly stated. Thus, the majority of incidents involving South Africans as victims have not been included here.

**4.8.7.4.Southern African victims and events**

This graph paints a vastly different picture. Here it is "attack" that occupies the primary position, accounting for a third (34%) of all event entries. Given the generally high levels of xenophobia and the items featuring Southern Africans, the results confirm the xenophobic violence against migrants from the region.

4.9. Authorship and fairness
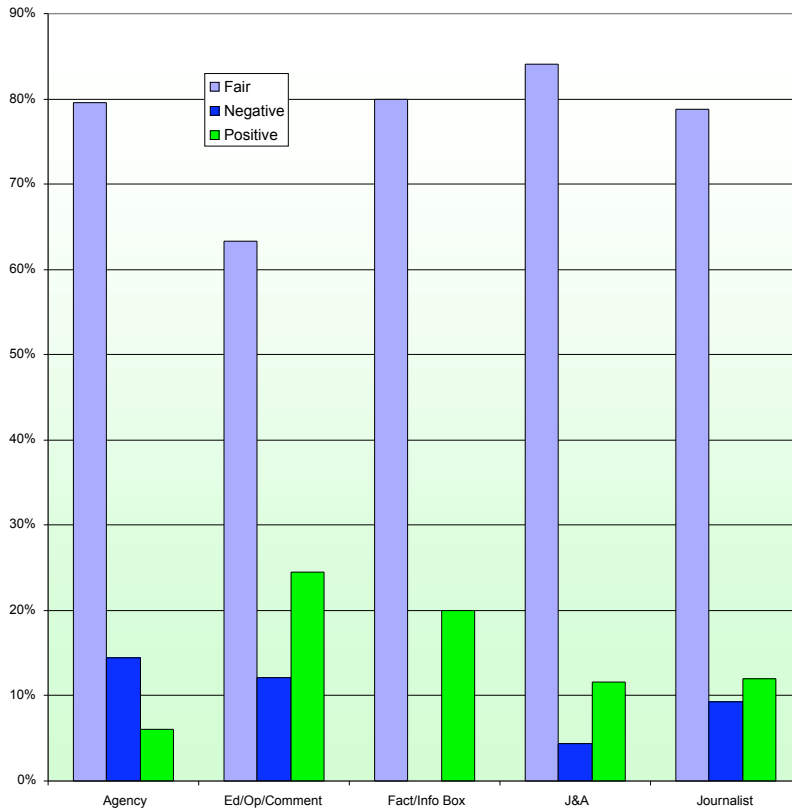
In assessing the overall representation of racially-motivated violence, across author type, the benefit of the doubt has been given to the media. It is only in cases of clear and obvious positive or negative bias, that these have been noted as such.

It is apparent that representation of racial violence exhibits no clear and obvious bias across all authorship types, although the extent of such fair coverage is slightly reduced for editorial/opinion/commentary. This is especially true for items relating to racially-motivated incidents amongst South Africans (as opposed to the treatment of migrants). That the latter should be less fair is principally the result of the essentially subjective nature of such pieces.

While the coverage tends towards the negative, as a result of the consistent negative discourses in much media reporting on undocumented migrants and on the white victim/black perpetrator breakdown, such biases are usually hidden, covert and implicit. As a result, most of these articles have been noted as being neutral in value.

It is also evident that negative items are more likely to emanate from a news agency, a finding consistent with expectations. Editorials/commentary pieces are slightly more likely to be negative than is the case with journalist written or co-written pieces, because of their subjective nature.

This is not to deny the subjective nature of all journalism. However, journalists do have to subscribe to certain modes and standards of reporting. It is expected of journalists to refrain from direct editorialising, or comment. Commentary pieces and editorials in contrast involve direct personal opinion.

On the flipside of the subjectivity coin, such pieces offer valuable opportunities for positive pronouncements against racism and violent racist incidents, a pattern clearly

applicable in this case. Agencies on the other hand have been shown here to be much less likely to give a positive spin to challenging racial violence.

5. Conclusions

The monitoring undertaken for this project illustrates that the media does indeed place prominence on incidents with a racial slant. However, media coverage tends towards providing an incomplete picture of incidents of racial violence, as well as the issues raised.

Coverage tends towards the simplistic and unanalytical, with minimal in-depth discussion of the issues raised. It is incumbent upon the media to provide educative and informative coverage that enables the reader to come to their own conclusions. Race presents as a complex phenomenon, requiring sophisticated and sympathetic coverage that engages with race and racism in all its complexity and diversity.

The findings reveal that this has not always been the case where issues of racial violence and xenophobia are involved.

The monitoring also shows that reports of verbal racism seem to have increased during the governance of President Mbeki. This may indicate an increase in actual incidents, possibly as the proverbial gloves came off after the "rainbow nation" era of President Mandela. It may also indicate an increased media concern for such issues.

5.1. Xenophobia

The most pertinent finding relating to xenophobia is the fact that the media persists in their patterns of labelling the majority of migrants from Africa as "illegal immigrants", even though their only "crime" is a lack of the appropriate documents. The media, moreover, continues to ignore the diversity apparent amongst the different categories of migrant.

From the monitoring exercise, it is apparent that stories relating incidents of xenophobia, as well as those discussing the issue of African migrants to South Africa, have been a consistent feature of media coverage over the eight-year period between 1994 and 2002. However the frequency with which these have appeared is dependent on the prevalence of high profile events.

MMP's propositional analysis has illustrated the preponderance of negative discourse relating to the manner in which migrants from the rest of the African continent are covered in the South African media. Such coverage has tended to reinforce the notion of 'inherent criminality' of these migrants.

A number of propositions relating to the negative stereotyping of foreigners have been identified. While not actively supporting blatant racist stereotyping, the media has largely failed to actively challenge these. It is more likely for such stereotyping to be covert and subtle, than an active intention of the media. Thus, while the media does indeed support racist stereotyping, this is more a consequence of a lack of understanding on the part of the media to engage in more positive, challenging discourse around "foreigners", rather than by conscious design.

The media, moreover, implies that such violence against migrants, when identified, occurs in those public spaces of personal interaction.

The research has also pointed to the media conveying the message of large-scale involvement of black South African citizens as perpetrators in acts of xenophobic violence. However, some evidence has also been found for coverage of white anti-migrant activity, albeit at a much lower scale that that for black perpetrators

MMP has, moreover, found that despite public perceptions to the contrary, migrants tend to be represented more as victims than as perpetrators. Migrants referred to as "illegal immigrants" are often represented as victims of arrest, deportation and attack. Such a finding tends to dispel public notions of the large-scale involvement of undocumented migrants in criminal activity.

However migrants, identified by a number of terms, do however still appear in the role of criminal perpetrator in a number of items, particularly in the case of arrest. The fact that they have been arrested for not being in possession of the required documentation represents them as criminals, whether they have committed a crime (beyond that of being undocumented) or not. But the levels of migrant perpetrators are still lower than South African perpetrators.

The monitoring has also indicated that it is only in the case of non-South African nationals where the media tends to identify the nationality of victims. Victims of xenophobia tend to be represented either as Southern African, "illegal immigrants" or African. The study has also pointed to the differential treatment provided to African migrants and those from Europe and North America.

5.2. Racially-based incidents

In a similar vein to the pattern observed for incidents of xenophobia, the report reveals an uneven, but consistent pattern of coverage of racially motivated incidents.

Coverage was, as in case of xenophobia, dependent on following stories on certain events.

The incidents noted in which race played a central role, tended towards the violent. Some items relating to racism in more general terms were also noted. The events in the political realm were an exception in this regard. As discussed below, these tended towards the verbal, rather than the physical

Interestingly, the project revealed minimal coverage of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). It is possible that this is primarily a result of the frame of reference for the current research. It would appear as if incidents that were the subject of the Commission were not covered in explicit racial terms, but rather in political and human rights discourse.

The violent events that were the hallmark of the incidents monitored, occurred mainly in secondary and tertiary educational institutions, and involved the youth as both perpetrators and victims of the violence.

It was also found that the multiple event category presented as the most frequent category of racial incident. This suggests a multi-dimensional nature to most racial incidents.

It can be concluded from the research that media coverage of racially-motivated incidents overwhelmingly consist of white male perpetrators and black male victims, although as the discussion on xenophobia above illustrates, there were examples of black male perpetrators committing violence against black male victims. However, prominent coverage on the first three pages of many publications revealed a white victim/ black perpetrator breakdown.

Both perpetrators and victims were represented as being predominantly male. The coverage is noteworthy for lack of attention given to female victims. In terms of victimisation generally, black women present as a vulnerable group in South African society, and their absence from the items monitored is notable.

When victims have been identified as South African, they tend to be the victims of racist language and arrest.

Patterns of propositional usage tended to conform the notion that Africans' are victims. However, media discourse was found not to actively support the corollary idea that whites are racist. Despite patterns revealing a clear white perpetrator/ black victim discourse, the media tended to challenge the perceived inherent racism of whites.

The monitoring furthermore showed a media discourse that took a clear stand in promoting non-racialism in South Africa. However, this support mainly related to incidents of perceived racism by the black politico-economic elites against whites, rather than reflecting on white perpetration of racial violence.

5.3. Racially-motivated incidents and politics

Racial incidents in the political realm present as a unique phenomenon within the lexicon of race and racism. Unlike the other manifestations of racially-motivated violence noted, violence in the political realm tends towards the verbal, rather than the physical. While political rhetoric lends itself to a certain amount of mudslinging, accusation and allegation, the nature and extent of racial discourse often accompanying inter- and intra-party conflict necessitates further investigation.

At an intra-party level, incidents with a racial feature have primarily related to accusations levelled by members of one race against another of engaging in racist speech and behaviour. Such incidents have often been represented as leading to the resignation of disaffected party members, citing such racism as the reason for their departure.

Inter-party conflict largely reflects the social and political changes that have characterised post-apartheid South Africa. It would appear as if the nature and extent of conflict in the political domain has largely followed political developments. It has become popular to divide politics in South Africa after 1994 into two separate epochs: Nelson Mandela's presidency from 1994 to 1999, and the regime of Thabo Mbeki, which began in 1999.

While some political debate might have taken on racial character during the Mandela era, the Mbeki presidency has seemingly revealed a racial discourse that has become increasingly personalised. Media coverage appears to have reflected the public perception of an increased focus on race within the "two nations" framework popularised by President Mbeki.

The post-1999 period has also seen an increase in the frequency with which racially-motivated incidents occur in the country's media. This coverage tends to be dominated in large measure by the ongoing acrimony between President Mbeki and Tony Leon, the leader of the official opposition Democratic Party. The withdrawal of the National Party from the Government of National Unity in the mid-nineties did, however, throw a racial lens onto the Mandela presidency.

The monitoring has revealed the extent to which language is utilised as a tool of racial violence. Racist verbal accusations, claims and innuendoes occur (or at least are reported on) most frequently within the sphere of political engagement, with parliament and government institutions thus presenting as the primary setting for the use of racial language to demonise, generalise and stereotype one's political opponents.

5.4. Final thoughts

The research has monitored, investigated and analysed the quality and quantity of media discourse surrounding incidents of violence in which race has played a role. Understandings of racial violence have been expanded to include the issue of Xenophobia, and acts of violence committed by and/or against non-South African citizens, resident in the country, as well as non-violent forms of racist speech.

A total of 4500 items were subject to scrutiny

This research has primarily focused not on the events themselves, but on the manner in which these have been reported upon by the media. Although removed from the incidents under consideration, the media reports have been utilised as primary sources of information, backed up by the secondary information gleaned from the academic and human rights literature.

The project revealed worthwhile and interesting findings for both MMP, in their efforts at ensuring a more rights-based media sector in South Africa, and for the CSVR, and their broader Race, Reconciliation and Citizenship project.

The results have illustrated that although there has been some improvement in the manner in which the media deals with race and racism, there is still scope for significant improvement. This report is not the end of an investigation into inter-racial violence as represented by the media, but rather, it is the point of germination from which further research into this complex phenomenon is expected to grow.

The confluence of gender, race and the media presents as a particularly significant arena requiring further elaboration. The roles of nationality and ethnicity, in relation to racialised violence, are also important areas for future analysis.

The research represented in this report must be supplemented and enhanced through follow-up and ongoing monitoring and reporting of current trends in media representation of inter-racial violence.

Such efforts it is hoped, will lead ultimately to a South African media industry cognisant of their societal obligations to represent all sectors of the diverse South African society, in a fair, balanced and accurate manner, in the field of race and beyond.

Giving the media the benefit of the doubt, MMP anticipates the day when the issue of race and racism is no longer covered in simplistic, event-based, non-analytical fashion, and when issue-based, analytical, educative and informative coverage on race and racism in all its diversity and complexity becomes the norm.

Appendix A

Publications monitored by MMP

MEDIUMS MONITORED	
AFRICA INSIGHT	MAIL AND GUARDIAN
AIDA PARKER NEWSLETTER	NATAL MERCURY
BEELD	NATAL ON SATURDAY
BURGER	NATAL WITNESS
BUSINESS DAY	NEW ERA
CAPE ARGUS	NEW NATION
CAPE TIMES	NEWSWEEK
CITIZEN	PATRIOT
CITY PRESS	PRETORIA NEWS
DAILY DESPATCH	RAPPORT
DAILY NEWS	SATURDAY ARGUS
DEMOCRACY IN ACTION	SATURDAY PAPER
DIAMOND FIELDS ADVERTISER	SATURDAY STAR
DIE AFRIKANER	SERVAMUS
	SOWETAN
EP HERALD	SUNDAY INDEPENDENT
FINANCIAL MAIL	SUNDAY NATION
FINASIES EN TEGNIEKS	SUNDAY TIMES
IMPAK	SUNDAY TRIBUNE
INDEPENDENT ON SATURDAY	SUNDAY WORLD
INSIG	THE LEADER
JOERNAL	THE TEACHER
KERKBLAD	TIME
KWANA	TRIBUTE
LEADERSHIP	VOLKSBLAD
VRYDAG	WEEKEND ARGUS
VRYE WEEKBLAD	WEEKEND STAR

Appendix B

Topic codes

CRIME
      Crime blitz

Drug bust
Confidence scam
Corruption
Justice
Crime syndicate
Non-violent crime
Violent crime

VIOLENCE
Violence against farmers
Violence against farm labourers
Violence against undocumented migrants (often referred to as "illegal

immigrants")

Violence against refugees
Non-violent racist incidents
Violent racist incident
Political violence

LAND

RACIST LABOUR PRACTICE

GENDER

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION
TRC general
TRC amnesty
TRC reparations
TRC human rights violation

HUMAN RIGHTS
Human rights general
Racism
Xenophobia

OTHER

SPORT

ZIONISM/PALESTINE /SEPTEMBER 11TH RACISM

DEPORTATION/REPATRIATION
Deportation – when committed a crime
Repatriation – when undocumented
Cross-border movement
DHA policy on international migration/immigration

PROSTITUTION/SEX WORK

MEDIA

Appendix C

Source role groups

Source roles were grouped together in broader categories.

SOURCE ROLE GROUPS

FAMILY AND RELATIONSHIPS
Family
Girlfriend/Boyfriend
Grandparent
Parent
Spouse/Partner
Daughter/Son
Child
Friend
Sibling

PERPETRATORS AND VICTIMS
Survivor
Victim

Perpetrator
Deceased

ACADEMIA/EDUCATION
Academic
Scholar
Student
Teacher/principal

IMMIGRATION
Refugee
Immigrant

JUSTICE SYSTEM
Accused
Lawyer-Legal, includes AG/Advocates/ Prosecutors
Judge
Criminal
Police Person

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
MEC /Senior Government Official/Premier
Politician/MP
President
Minister
Diplomat
Commission

OFFICE RELEASES
Official
Secretary
Spokesperson
Reports and Research Papers

MEDIA AND ENTERTAINMENT (INCLUDING ARTS)
Presenter
Artist
Entertainer-includes dancers, actors, directors, singers
Journalist
Author

LABOUR
Labourer/farm worker

Farmer

COMMUNITY
Church/Religious Official
Community Leader
Youth
Resident
Neighbour
Bystander
Witness

BUSINESS
Businessperson
Entrepreneur

Consumer
Professional

MEDICAL AND RELATED SCIENCES
Doctor
Scientist
Psychologist/Social Worker
Nurse

CIVIL SOCIETY
Activist
Mandela
NGO
Protestor/marcher
Union

NOT SPECIFIED

SEX WORKER

SPORTS

Appendix D
Type

The following set of choices was available:

CODE	FORM OF EVENT	CODE	WEAPON
A	Assault/Attack	1	Necklace
B	Death	2	Gun
C	Arson	3	Blunt object
D	Murder	4	Stick
E	Torture	5	Industrial Machinery-Welding Machine
F	Massacre/Mass murder	6	Knife and sharp objects
G	Language- racial slurs, defamation	7	Dog
H	Property Damage	8	Vehicle
I	Theft	9	Chemical Substance-pesticide, paint etc
J	Other	10	Person-i.e. Kicks, punches
K	Multiple	11	Multiple
L	Rape	12	Other
M	Arrest	13	Unknown
N	Bribery and Corruption	14	Not Apparent (non violent)
O	Deportation/Repatriation	15	Bombs-including petrol
P	Stayaway/Protest		
Q	Labour Issues		
R	Immigration Policy		

Appendix E
Origin

Geographical location – either provincial, national, international or Africa – where the event monitored occurred and the place of such occurrence, e.g. workplace were captured. The codes used were:

Geographical location
1. Gauteng
2. North West Province
3. Limpopo
4. Kwazulu Natal
5. Western Cape
6. Eastern Cape
7. Northern Cape
8. Free State
9. Mpumalanga
10. National
12. International
13. Africa
14. Not Specified

Place:
A. Workplace
B. Institution
    B1. School/Educational facility
    B2. SAPS
    B3. SANDF
    B4. DHA
    B5. Lindela
    B6. Prison
    B7. Other Govt/public institution
C. Street/Road
D. BAR/Tavern/Shebeen
E. Shop
F. Other Public Space
G. Private Space
H. Other
I. Unknown
J. Farm
K. Suburb
L. Township
M. Informal settlement
N. Town/City
O. Village
P. Nightclub/disco
Q. Beach
R. Hotel/B&B/Caravan parks/Recreational facilities

Appendix F
Overall count of propositions

Description	Number
Whites are racist	1082
Africans are victims	1030

There is no place for racism in the new South Africa	892
Racism is a human rights violation	527
Racially Motivated incidents are violent	490
Race is the primary explanation	479
Racially motivated incidents threaten the social order (Human Rights emphasis)	478
Foreigners are criminals	450
Conflict, disorder and chaos-the outcome of racially motivated incidents	437
Foreigners steal jobs	385
Racially motivated incidents take place in small towns and rural areas	385
Foreigners are a burden to the state	361
Racially motivated incidents are group crimes	352
Racially motivated incidents take place between strangers/ are anonymous	292
Racially motivated incidents are extreme (sensational/dramatic)	290
Racially motivated incidents are isolated incidents	265
Racism is over exaggerated	262
Government is soft on foreigners	262
Racially motivated incidents result in death	230
Youths are the common perpetrators of racial incidents	218
All (race) crimes are racially motivated	211
DHA is incompetent/ inefficient	189
South Africans are xenophobic/racist	187
Indians are racist	157
Racially motivated incidents are message crimes	137
"illegal immigrants"/undocumented migrants are black	131
Whites accused of race crimes are victims of racist witch hunt	122
Coloureds are racist	116
Perpetrators of racially motivated incidents get off lightly	114
Department of Home Affairs (DHA) is corrupt	107
Racial explanations are an excuse for poor governance	103
Racially motivated incidents are ideologically motivated (I.e. linked to right wing organisations/ religious fundamentalist groups)	93
Discussing Racism is inflammatory	90
The criminal Justice System is racist	89
Racially motivated incidents are not unique to South Africa	79
Foreigners are well educated	70
Perpetrators are working class people	67
Nigerians are drug dealers	63
Perpetrators are unemployed	62
Racially motivated incidents are committed by men	59
Farmers are racist	58
Zimbabweans are common criminals	47
Women are just helpless victims	43
Foreigners bring disease	37
Alcohol consumption contributed to racially motivated incidents	31
Foreigners steal "our" women	22

Appendix G
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