A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA REPORTING ON XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOURS AMONG STUDENTS IN SELECTED SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

BY

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Together in Excellence

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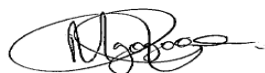
August 2019

Promoter / Supervisor: Prof O Osunkunle

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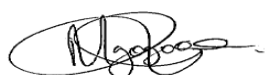
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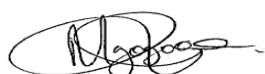
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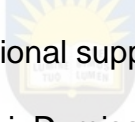
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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my family, my son Iyana and my mother Cynthia Nofuduka Mgogo and my late father.

ABSTRACT

A number of theoretical and empirically proven studies have shown that the media exert varying degree of influence on audience members. The South African media framing and coverage of foreign nationals is a good example of this. Media critics and scholars hold that the way and manner foreign nationals are represented in South African media landscape contributes to the endemic xenophobic outbreaks in the country. (Endong, 2018; George & Aidoo, 2017). This study aims to critically analyse the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students in selected South African universities. Part of its aim is to assert if there exist xenophobic behaviours among students learning in South African universities, which are influenced by the manner in which media reports have stigmatised foreign nationals. Therefore, this study looked at three South African universities, namely the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard college campus and the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus. Data for the study were collected using the qualitative methods, particularly the focus groups discussions and in-depth interviews. The findings of this study have revealed that xenophobic behaviours were evident among students, in lecture-rooms, as well as student residences. The participants also confirmed that the media's focus and reliance on negative stereotypes and generalized information when representing foreign nationals were the main contributing factors to xenophobic behaviours, including its previous adopting of the words like Amakwerekwere, Aliens and Amagrigamba. In an attempt to discourage xenophobic behaviours, this study has therefore recommended peace journalism and Ubuntu journalism as alternative models for reporting xenophobic violence and conflict.

Keywords: the media; xenophobia, South African universities

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

This study was triggered by a series of xenophobic attacks that have occurred around South Africa over the past decade including the first major outburst that happened on 11 May 2008, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, that left 60 foreign nationals dead (Landau, 2012). In 2015 another wave of xenophobic attacks erupted following a purportedly anti-foreigner speech by Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini resulting in the death of over 60 foreign nationals (Ndida and Ndlovu, 2016). Two years after, precisely on 19 February 2017, there was yet another xenophobic incident in Pretoria in which at least three houses occupied by foreign nationals were set on fire (Swanepoel, 2017).

My interest in this study intensified following personal experiences of xenophobic behaviours in my own institution and some other South African higher institutions over the years as well as my interactions with other students regarding their attitudes and behaviour to foreign nationals. I decided to narrow the focus of this study to university students given that University is a microcosm of the society. Besides, university students consist of people across the strata of society especially the youthful population who are often in the forefront of xenophobic attacks. It must, however, be noted that some South African higher institutions are also situated within these communities that are regarded as xenophobic hotspots and students come from these communities. It is therefore highly possible that students could be influenced by what they see in their communities or also inherit these xenophobic behaviours from there. This study investigated the possible influence of media reporting on xenophobic-related violence among students in selected South African universities. Part of the aim

of the study was to ascertain if there are xenophobic-related behaviours like violence, among students in South African universities, which are influenced by the way the media reports or portrays xenophobic issues across the country. Also, the study aims to critique the crucial role played by the media in societies.

In a broad sense, the study critically analysed the influence of media reporting on xenophobic-related behaviours among students in selected South African public universities which include the University of Johannesburg (UJ), located in the Gauteng Province, the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN), situated at the province of KwaZulu-Natal, as well as the University of Fort Hare (UFH), one of the oldest universities in South Africa, located in the Eastern Cape Province. Interestingly, in all these universities, there are large portions of South African students who are part of the student community and some of them come from the communities where xenophobic-related violence has been witnessed. Thus, in the wake of these xenophobic attacks, the researcher felt the need to interrogate the role of the media in reporting xenophobic-related issues and whether it influences or has the potential to influence the behaviour of higher institution students. Even though not much has been reported on xenophobic flare-ups inside university campuses, there is a need to find out if indeed there are traits or possibility of a large-scale xenophobic attack in South African higher institutions more so as many foreign students study there.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RATIONALE

Universities as the bastion of learning and orderly conduct are expected to be safer places compared to typical township communities or the streets of metropolitan cities. Over the years South African higher institutions have been relatively free of the ugly incidents of xenophobic attacks that have occurred in some regions of the country. In

recent years however, there have been media reports of xenophobic behaviours in South African higher institutions. For example, on November 8, 2016, *The Sowetan* Newspaper reported the death of the Mozambican University of Johannesburg first-year student, Kelvin Baloyi who was allegedly killed on campus in a xenophobia-related issue. International students themselves, mostly from African countries, have also reported xenophobic experiences both on-and off-campus, which emanates mostly from ethnocentrism, prejudice, negative stereotyping and social exclusion from the local students (Maverick, 2018). This is a major concern not only for the South African economy but also for the South African universities' international student intake, as universities also strengthen their profiles by enrolling international students. Xenophobic attacks have the potential to discourage foreign students from seeking further studies in South Africa and this could impact negatively on the additional revenue universities earn from foreign students and the cross-fertilisation of ideas that these foreign students engender.

According to Maverick (2018) there is already a drastic drop in international enrolment in South African universities. Students, like other citizens, are exposed to negative media reports about foreign nationals. The South African media are a source of unflattering reports about racism, stereotypes and xenophobia (George and Aidoo, 2016). Violent xenophobic outbreaks are reported on the media in which a number of foreign nationals have been killed, with thousands of others displaced and property and business belonging to foreigners destroyed. It is the objective of this study to investigate how the South African media influences xenophobic-related violence through its reporting of foreign nationals. Specifically, the study sought to ascertain whether or not media reportage and framing of foreigners trigger xenophobic tendencies among university students. This study aimed to identify the key influences

of media reportage of non-South Africans on university students. In other words, does the media representation of foreign nationals influence xenophobic-related behaviours among students in South African universities? Understanding the impact of media coverage on xenophobic behaviour is important in fashioning policies to mitigate these behaviours and also in identifying alternative media coverage and portrayal of foreign nationals that could help build rapprochement, empathy and harmony. In view of this, the study's aim, research objectives and research questions are discussed below.

1.3 RESEARCH AIM

The aim of the research was to critically analyse the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students in selected South African universities. In view of that, the study attempted to answer the following research questions.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research objectives are:

➢ To establish the extent to which media reportage on xenophobia influences xenophobic-related behaviours among students in South African universities.

➢ To critically evaluate the student's views on media reporting of xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

➢ To critique the role of the media in society towards influencing behaviour.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study is underpinned by the following research questions:

➢ To what extent has media reportage of xenophobia influenced xenophobic-related behaviours among students in South African universities?

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- What are the students' views of media coverage of xenophobic attacks in South Africa?

- How has the media influenced behaviour in South Africa?

1.6 METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS/CONCERNS

It is important that an overview is presented at this juncture, to outline the methodological foundations of the study. In this study, focus group discussions, as well as in-depth interviews, were used as the main data gathering methods to critically analyse the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students in selected South African universities. The researcher employed the qualitative non-probability sampling technique, based on the purposive sampling method. Johnson (2013: 264) argues that "in purposive sampling (sometimes called judgemental sampling), the researcher specifies the characteristics of a population of interest and then tries to locate individuals who have those characteristics". According to Shamar (2008), purposive sampling is well-known because it produces well-matched groups. Furthermore, it is important to note that, although the study was focusing on analysing the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students, the researcher deemed it necessary to also employ the content/textual analysis on selected print media reportage on xenophobic-related behaviours, which has been justified in detail on chapter four.

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study has a socio-political and economic significance, as it deals with issues that have to do with the South African economy, human rights, and Ubuntu/peace journalism. It aimed to interrogate the safety of students in the universities, more

especially the international students, in the wake of xenophobic attacks. From the sociological perspective, the study looked at the role of the media in inciting conflict and xenophobic-related violence. The study also interrogated the economic, academic and political implications of xenophobic attacks. There is very little research on xenophobic traits in South African higher institutions, yet the media have always portrayed the youth like the ones mostly involved in xenophobic incidents. Therefore, an investigation that will build its analysis from the angle of

the effects of media reporting on xenophobic traits in institutions of higher learning would largely contribute to the sphere of research, hence this study.

This study will also be very helpful in the betterment of intercultural communication and improvement of international relations in institutions of higher learning, as it will provide suggestions on how to improve intercultural communication. It is envisaged that the findings of the study might help in reducing the factors contributing to cultural conflicts and xenophobic behaviours such as ethnocentrism, stereotypes and prejudices, as these negatively affect not only students' academic life but also their social well-being. More so, the study has the potential to provide insights to the South African government and most importantly, the Department of Higher Education, with regards to the current status of South African universities.

1.8 DEFINITION OF TERMS.

Media: Media can be simply defined as channels, tools or outlets of mass communication. News reports, books, television shows, the internet, and video games, are all kinds of media (Jennings, 2017)

Xenophobia: The term 'xenophobia' originates from the Greek language. The word 'Xeno' comes from the Greek word xenos, which denotes foreigner or a stranger, and

'phobia' has been derived from the word Phobos, which means fear. When these words are combined, a proper definition of xenophobia is an irrational fear or distrust of foreigners (Munyaradzi and Ngonidzashe, 2016). In the context of this study, xenophobic behaviours include the negative perceptions, the prejudices and the negative stereotypes that the local people have against foreign nationals.

1.9   CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

Below is the breakdown of chapters for this study:

Chapter One presents the introduction and background of the study, the problem statement and rationale, the research questions, aims and objectives of the study, as well as the significance of the study.

Chapter Two discusses literature relevant for this study: The definitions and history of xenophobia in South Africa, xenophobia in South African universities, the impact of xenophobia on South African universities and xenophobia and other related factors as barriers to effective intercultural communication. Essentially, the underlying causes of xenophobia in South Africa are also described.

Chapter Three focuses on the role of media in society and the key theoretical considerations that assist in critically analysing the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students in South African universities.

Chapter Four presents the research methodology underpinning the study.

Chapter Five presents and analyses the data collected.

Chapter Six presents the study's conclusions and recommendations, based on the findings of the study.

1.10 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at the introduction and background to the study as well as the problem statement. Other issues discussed in this chapter include research questions, objectives, significance of the study and an overview of the research methods. In the next chapter, relevant literature is reviewed.

CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has discussed the introduction and background to this study, aim and objectives as well as the significance of the study. This chapter reviewed literature related to the study. First, we defined xenophobia and traced its history in South Africa spanning the post-apartheid era. The chapter provided an in-depth analysis of the underlying causes of xenophobia in the South African context distinguishing between xenophobia and racism. There is also a section that examined the emergence of xenophobic behaviours in South African universities. The section on media's representation of xenophobia focused on the victim's and the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks. Lastly, there was a robust discussion of the barriers to effective intercultural communication. To put the literature review in context, the next section provides an overview of the South African society, in terms of racial and ethnic groupings.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY IN TERMS OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPINGS

South Africa has a varied racial and ethnic makeup. For much of its history, the White race occupied the pride of place dominating the political, economic and military setup. They were followed in ranking order by Coloureds (mulattoes or those of racially mixed descent), Asians (mostly Indians, Pakistanis, and Chinese), as well as some Arabs. At the margin were the Black majority. However, in the last 25 years South Africa has undergone series of political and social reengineering leading to the ceding of political

power to the once subordinated Black population. Nevertheless, South Africa remains not only racially polarised but also one of the most unequal societies in the world with majority of the black population impoverished. Today, South Africa's population is seventy-five percent Black Africans, fourteen percent White, nine percent Coloured, and two percent Indian and other races (Stats SA 2017). English and Afrikaans were once the official languages. South Africa now has twelve official languages including include isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, Sepedi, seTsonga, seSotho, SiSwati, Setswana, English and Afrikaans and the sign language (Kroner, 2013). Most of the White population speak English or Afrikaans, while the majority of Africans speak African languages. South African media (mainly radio and television) use the eleven recognised languages to broadcast, while most newspapers publish in English and Afrikaans. Those that cater to the African majority are almost entirely in English, since many black South Africans refuse to speak Afrikaans, which they regard as the language of their former oppressors (Kumbula, 2017).

2.3 DEFINING XENOPHOBIA

The term xenophobia has become a topical issue across Africa particularly South Africa where there have been sporadic outbreaks of xenophobic attacks. Bordeau (2010: 4) explains the history of the term "xenophobia" and its meaning. He notes that "the word xenophobia comes from the Greek language consisting of 'xeno' which comes from the Greek word xenos, which means foreigner or stranger, while phobia derives from the word Phobos, which means fear". When the two words are joined together, it becomes xenophobia: which describes the unreasonable and unjustifiable anxiety or distrust of foreigners. Xenophobia is a form of affective, attitudinal and

behavioural practice towards immigrants and those perceived as alien or foreign (Yakushko, 2009). This is consistent with the view of Harris (2002) who notes, that the term xenophobia comprehensively describes negative social perceptions of refugees, immigrants and migrants, and the resultant violent actions against them. Neocosmos (2010) argues that xenophobia is mostly about the denial of social rights and entitlements to strangers, people considered to be strangers or foreign to the community, as conceived by the law. In a nutshell, xenophobia emanates from different attitudes that can include hatred, fear, distrust, negative attitudes, perceived stereotypes, ethnocentrism and prejudice, to mention a few. The violence that has come to be associated with xenophobia may have informed Harris (2002) contention that the concept of "xenophobia" should be reframed to incorporate acts, manifestation or practices such as violence or physical abuse, which normally accompany "dislike" or "fear" of foreigners. This means that these actions really need to be considered as the criminal offences as they involve killing, assaulting and so forth. Xenophobia is not unique to a specific country, but it is a global phenomenon that can also be found in almost all parts of the world (Baumgartl & Favell, 1995; cited in Mbetga, 2015). Moreover, xenophobic traits also exist among subcultures, which make others within the same culture believe that they are superior to others.

2.4 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF XENOPHOBIA

Xenophobia is a phenomenon that is as old as mankind. Some scholars like O'Brian (2015) hold that even during the time of Hitler, xenophobic behaviour was already practised by humans. Hitler never liked the Jews whom he considered as a foreign culture to Germany. It was no surprise that he ended up commanding attacks on the Jew asking them to move out of the country (O'Brien, 2015). The emergence of globalisation in the 19th century triggered some cultural resistance across the globe.

Even as countries engaged in trade and exchanged knowledge and capital, not many people have been receptive to the new world order that encouraged multiculturalism and immigration. For instance, there has been apprehension in many quarters in Europe and America that unfettered immigration from developing countries would imperil their economy and culture.

The growing incidence of xenophobia in South Africa has been linked to fears of economic encroachment by foreign nationals. Usually, when a country reaches inflation or recession stage and there are people losing their jobs, the in-group (local) usually blames the immigrants or foreigners and use them as a 'scapegoat' for the country's economic instability. For Mbetga, the xenophobic violence that is presently manifesting in South Africa is also a global phenomenon but it also needs to be considered in the historical and local contexts in which it happens. Some scholars have traced the origin of xenophobia to the apartheid era, which was based on social exclusion, racial segregation and discrimination. The local see foreign nationals as contending with them for the limited resources that they have fought over the years to access. Thus, xenophobic violence and attacks in South Africa involve the underprivileged fighting against underprivileged in the competition of resources. The fight mostly involves two main antagonists: the first being the Black South Africans and their fellow African foreigners. This type of fight, with reference to xenophobia in the South African context, can be called "Afrophobia" (Mbetga, 2015: 23) and is also known as 'horizontal violence'. According to Muchiri (2016), when contextualising xenophobia on the South African platform one can note that xenophobia emanates from negative attitudes and perceptions, together with accompanying acts of hostility.

In addition, xenophobia can also manifest from violence or discrimination of people's nationalities or foreigners. Muchiri (2016:38) also notes that "in South Africa, xenophobia presents certain distinct elements, including, a demonstrated fear or hatred of foreigners, accompanying violent actions", which often result in deaths and also affect the economy of the country. Therefore, resolving differences and conflicts radically and aggressively is not something new to the general public of South Africa. Hence, the media (television, radio and newspaper) can play a big role in influencing South Africans, more especially the youth in mitigating xenophobic violence by ensuring mutual understanding between them (as a channel of communication) and the receiver (being the general public of South Africa.

2.5 XENOPHOBIA: A NEW FORM OF RACISM

Xenophobia and racism are two words that are intricately interwoven. Xenophobia is often misinterpreted as racism. Jackson (2014), cautions not to confuse xenophobia with racism. He described racism as 'the belief that one race is superior to another, while xenophobia is the hatred of foreigners based on fear'. He further notes that xenophobia is broader than racism. Yakushko (2009: 48) suggests that "communities across the globe may define racism and xenophobia differently because of specific historical factors". In the South African context, one might differentiate the two words by associating the term xenophobia with prejudice between the in-group (local) and the out-group (foreigners), while on the other hand, racism is usually referred to as prejudice between the Black people and White people in South Africa.

Yakushko (2009: 48) notes the differences between these words and suggests that "Racism has been typically associated with prejudices against individuals founded on a socially constructed notion of groups' differentiating visible phenotypical markers,

such as skin colour". For Yakushko, xenophobia, in most cases, targets specifically the individuals who are foreign nationals in a certain community, irrespective of their physical appearance. This is similar in the context of South Africa, in terms of explaining and applying these terms. For instance, the term racism is strongly influenced by colonialism and apartheid, whereas xenophobia is influenced by the immigration of foreigners. The two words are common in a way in that discrimination lies at the heart of both the racist and xenophobe. For instance, for racism, the idea is to discriminate or prejudge a particular individual on the basis of their race and colour, which can also extend to physical fight because some individuals may not be able to tolerate it. Similarly, xenophobia involves discrimination based on fear of some foreign nationalities.

Black people in South Africa depict the high rates of xenophobia and racial prejudice against foreign nationals residing in South Africa. However, it is a different case when it comes to White foreign nationals residing in South Africa. It is the researcher's observation that Black South Africans display little xenophobic attitudes towards White foreign nationals, as compared to their Black counterparts. This was also evident in a 2006 South African Migration Project (SAMP) national xenophobia survey conducted in South Africa, which established that "foreign nationals from Europe and North America, the majority of whom are White by race, are generally regarded more favourable in South Africa, than the Black African migrants" (Muchiri, 2016:49).

In my view, although xenophobia, as defined earlier, refers to the fear of strangers by the in-group, however, in the context of South Africa, since the white settlement dating back to the 16th century, South Africans no longer regarded Whites as foreigners. Interestingly, xenophobia has been applied in situations involving black-on-black

violence (Ndlovu and Mhlanga, 2013). Thus, the discrimination, conflict and violence between Whites and Blacks in South Africa prior to 1994 has been referred to as apartheid and in democratic South Africa, such kind of violence has been referred to as 'racism' (DiAngelo, 2018). For instance, in the recent killings of White farmers and black employees, for White farmers, the conflict has been referred to as race-related violence rather than the xenophobic-related violence.

In the study conducted by SAMP, it has been established that Caucasian migrants are more favourably welcome in South Africa (Muchiri, 2016). Muchiri adds that migrants from neighbouring Southern African Development countries (SADC). for instance, Namibia, are also being received more favourably than those from countries like Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Mozambique and so forth. However, Muchiri emphasises that the study concluded that the majority of South Africans have an unfavourable impression of foreigners, in spite of where they come from. This has resulted in horizontal violence, as I argued earlier. Hence, in this regard, this study also aims to evaluate the possibility of xenophobic traits in institutions of higher learning, as there are also a number of foreigners who are studying in South African institutions.

To give one explanation for this, in their study of horizontal violence and racism, Landau et al (2005) note that the Black population in the country is more likely than their white compatriots, to communicate with Black foreign nationals on the streets, workplace or at schools. It has been argued that horizontal violence in South Africa is a result of apartheid based discrimination, political transition and contemporary governance trends in South Africa, which is characterised by successive African National Congress (ANC) governments' continuing apartheid immigration policy of discrimination against Black African migrants (Landau *et al* 2005).

2.6 DIFFERENTIATING XENOPHOBIC ACTS FROM OTHER FORMS OF CRIMINALITY

As noted by Hayem (2013), in many occasions, actions inspired by xenophobia have been confused with, shown as, or even treated in the same manner as other acts of criminal offences in South Africa. This is mainly because xenophobia often degenerates to criminal acts such as looting, discrimination, vandalism, assault, killing and burning of properties. Misango, Monson and Landau (2005) emphasised in the Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) that the incidents of xenophobic violence which is being witnessed in South Africa cannot be identified as or equated with organised crime. Although the FMSP conclusions were reached by considering factors such as the primary motivation behind the attacks, the selective nature of the targets and the victims and, the popular legitimacy of xenophobic attacks among the general population in the country (Muchiri, 2016), Xenophobic violence has grown to be treated as a normal act by the public. Polzer and Takabvirwa (2010) emphasised that the situation is noticeable that even the South African Police Service (SAPS), one of the key government institutions directly involved in law enforcement, is now treating xenophobic attacks as a normal acts of criminal offence and this has been found to hamper its prevention. Muchiri (2016) evidently provides some examples that support the trend of treating xenophobia as a common criminal act. He notes few statements by public leaders of South Africa:

"President Thabo Mbeki described the May 2008 countrywide xenophobic attacks across South Africa as 'naked criminal activity' and 'crime of opportunity'. In July 2010, the minister of Police, Nathi Mthethwa, declared that "there is no such systematic thing as xenophobia in the country" and blamed systemic attacks against foreign nationals on "criminality disguised as

*xenophobia". In June 2011, a Zimbabwean man was stoned to death by residents of Polokwane in Limpopo, who also looted foreign-owned businesses. The police spokesperson termed the attack "crime disguised under xenophobia" (*Muchiri, 2016).

Polzer and Takabvirwa (2010) argue that describing xenophobic attacks or other forms of violence against foreigners as crime is correct to some extent. They suggest that manifestations of xenophobia through murder, grievous bodily harm, arson, intimidation, incitement to commit violence, robbery and looting, are all against the law in South Africa. Therefore, one can conclude that such actions are apparently criminal. For Polzer and Takabvirwa (2010), the actual difference between general crimes and xenophobic attacks is that xenophobic attacks are influenced and motivated by the fact that the victim is a foreigner, usually from another country, and are socially disregarded in South Africa. They also emphasised that criminal behaviour such as theft is not inspired by the victim's nationality or foreign-ness, and is also socially unacceptable in the country. Xenophobia is a unique mix of criminal conduct, negative attitudes and violent behaviour which is aggravated by a myriad of factors.

Misago, *et al* (2009) note that xenophobic attacks, as with other hate crimes, should not be seen as isolated individual incidents, because they are "message crime" intended to speak to the entire "hated group". Misago *et al* (2009) state that "the xenophobic attacks are meant to communicate to foreigners that they are unwelcome in a particular neighbourhood, community, school, or workplace and serves as threatening and warning function beyond the particular incident and those directly involved. Maintaining that xenophobia and criminal activity are different does not deny that tackling crime could reduce xenophobic attacks" (cited in Muchiri, 2016:49).

Framing xenophobia as crime can also be a deterrent to potential perpetrators. Polzer and Takabvirwa (2010) cited an occasion in July 2010, when a strong statement from the SAPS, about criminality, may have contributed to the prevention of violence against foreigners; since some potential perpetrators may not have wanted to be associated with criminals. In the light of the above, I argue that xenophobic violence can be equated to organised crime, especially in situations where some people organise themselves as a mob justice or gangs to loot, attack and assault foreigners and burn their properties. Physical attacks, killings, looting, planned robberies, burning of properties, discrimination are against the extant laws of the land and should not be condoned under any guise.

2.7 HISTORY OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

Prior to 1994, immigrants were facing discrimination as well as violence in South Africa, in that risk stemmed from the institutionalised racism and apartheid of that time. After the democracy in 1994 and contrary to what was expected, the incidence of xenophobia elevated. Between 2000 and March 2008, "at about 67 people died in what were identified as xenophobic attacks. In May 2008 particularly, a series of riots left 62 people dead; although 21 of those killed were South African citizens. The attacks were apparently motivated by xenophobia" (Kenyapoa, 2015: no page-number.). According to *Radio 702's* online article (2015):

> *"In May of 2008, violence began in Alexandra Township, when locals attacked immigrants from other African countries. In weeks following this, the violence spread across the country to other settlements in Gauteng, Durban and Cape Town. Amid mass looting and destruction of foreign-owned homes, property, and businesses, at least 62 people were killed and 100 000 displaced".*

Former President Thabo Mbeki intervened in these tragic incidences or events to apologise to the victims. His direct speech was;

> *"We have gathered here today to convey to all Africans everywhere, to all African nations, severally and collectively, to our own people, and to the families of people who were murdered, our sincere condolences, and our heartfelt apologies that Africans in our country committed unpardonable crimes against other Africans."* (*Adapted from the online article: Xenophobia: how South Africa got here, 16 April 2015 2:48 PM)*

In April 2015, another wave of xenophobic attacks took place in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. Evans (2015) reviewed an online article on *Radio 702* websites and documented that:

> *"In April 2015, foreign nationals were targeted in Durban. Two Ethiopians were petrol bombed in Umlazi, which ignited violence in KwaMashu, Pinetown, and a Dalton hostel. The violence spread to parts of Johannesburg and a total of eight people were killed and over 2 000 have been displaced. Four refugee camps were set up by the provincial government in KZN to house the displaced foreigners, including at a local Chatsworth soccer stadium set up by the eThekwini Municipality. Some non-nationals still remain in the camps, whilst hundreds have been voluntarily repatriated"* (Evans, 2015).

With reference to the above reports, the then President Jacob Zuma called for peace and calm amidst the xenophobic attacks and he mentioned that "We cannot accept that when there are challenges, we use violence, particularly to our brothers and sisters from the continent" (Evans, 2015).

2.8 THE CAUSES OF XENOPHOBIA IN POST APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

Scholars like Bordeau regard xenophobia as a phenomenon caused by a wide range of factors, others like Neocosmos, Landau and McKnight attribute xenophobia to specific causes. This school of thought advocate an analysis of xenophobia that takes into cognisance the context and history of the society (Muchiri, 2016). As with instances of xenophobia in some parts of the world, xenophobia in South Africa has its foundation in the country's history and political development. During the apartheid era in South Africa, there was huge segregation between Black and White people. If xenophobia is defined as the fear and tension among foreigners, one can, therefore, argue that 'parallel xenophobia' did take place among South African citizens. The segregation meant that blacks were residing in rural areas, whereas whites were residing in urban areas, which led to the situation whereby if a Black person is seen walking around the white neighbourhood (urban), they become strangers and foreigners, and vice versa. As noted by Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh (2005) the long years of apartheid and racial segregation created not only a gulf between the black and white populations but also positioned South Africa as a country outside the African continent in a way that many south Africans do not see themselves as Africans.

Some researchers have identified "competition over scarce resources" as one of the causes of xenophobic attacks. Neocosmos (2010) notes that in the division of labour, the political economy is the main suspect in the context of imperialism and globalization of capital, including market divisions, migration and globalisation with its aspects of culture and politics which provide the conditions for social divisions and fragmentation along certain social dimensions and lines or cleavages. In this competitive market economy, foreigners, African nationals in particular are thus seen as interlopers coming to compete for the scarce resources available for black South

Africans. This attitude appears to underpin the increasing hatred and violence towards foreign nationals (Muchiri, 2016). The prevalence of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa can be the effect of the hegemony of a certain form of government politics. It is politics that reduces citizenship to indigeneity and to a politically passive conception of citizenship (Neocosmos, 2010). It is also noted that "the hegemony of this mode of politics was secured as a result of a failure to sustain an alternative popular-democratic which had stressed the centrality of a political agency and inclusiveness in the construction of South African citizenship" (Neocosmos, 2010: 17). The process of state interpellation takes place as ideology, power and institutions address people as citizens or subjects over time. Neocosmos (2010) notes that in the moment of interpellation people are interpellated state discourse as belonging to a specific group, national ethnic, tribal, gender, businessmen or otherwise, which correspond to this division of labour. In this sense, all rural migrants to cities, whether emanating from the country's territory or not, would be interpellated as strangers through means of tribal identification. However, in post-apartheid South Africa, it is only those who are coming from abroad who are interpellated as foreigners (Neocosmos, 2010).

Moreover, publicised and generalised stereotypes have also contributed in the cultivation and exhibition of xenophobic behaviours (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh & Singh 2005). For instance, there is a widespread idea that most foreign nationals are criminals. Some black South Africans believe albeit erroneously, that foreigners take local residents' jobs. There is often the scapegoating of foreigners for the failures of the political system.

2.9 OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOUR

Different propositions have been advanced by scholars in trying to understand why individuals engage in xenophobic behaviours. Some research has characterised xenophobia as outcome of political and economic transitioning. For instance, in South Africa and other African countries, the political and economic transition is playing a major role in nesting xenophobic attacks. Harris (2002) has outlined some theories associated with xenophobia into three categories namely, 'the scapegoating hypothesis', 'the isolation hypothesis', and 'the bio-cultural hypothesis'. These hypotheses are examined in the next section.

2.9.1 THE ISOLATION-HYPOTHESIS

Isolation in social terms can be defined as a state that a person or group experiences of having a strong desire or a need for involvement with others, but is unable to make that contact (Larsen & Lubkin, 2009). Harris (2002

), notes that the isolation theory perceives xenophobia to exist in South Africa as a result of the country's history of seclusion from the international community. On the other hand, Morris (1998) argues that apartheid insulated South African citizens from nationalities beyond Southern Africa. In this hypothesis, foreigners represent the unknown to South Africans. With the political change and transition, however, South Africa's borders have opened up and the country has become integrated into the international community.

Therefore, this hypothesis suggests that hostility and suspicion towards immigrants or foreigners in South Africa exist due to international isolation. The hypothesis also explains contemporary xenophobia by recourse to internal isolation, isolation between South Africans, as a consequence of apartheid (Harris, 2001). For instance, even among South Africans, there is still internal isolation, which emanates from racism,

usually between Black and White groups. There is also isolation in some South African institutions of higher learning, where you still find isolation among students. Morris (1998) argues that there is little doubt that the brutal environment created by apartheid with its enormous emphasis on boundary maintenance has also impacted on people's ability to be tolerant of differences. The strict boundaries among South Africans which were caused by apartheid left South African citizens unable to accommodate and tolerate immigrants or foreigners and this has caused isolation to exist both internally and externally. This is why it is not a surprise to notice xenophobic behaviours and tensions in South African tertiary institutions because there are many cultures from different nations from which isolation exists between foreign cultures and local. Moreover, unlike during the apartheid era, currently, there are no more Whites only and Blacks only institutions. Both races are now able to study at the same institution.

2.9.2 THE SCAPEGOATING HYPOTHESIS

The term 'scapegoating', in its original use, might mean putting a pang of guilt or blame on an innocent person, object or group. McLaughlin and Muncie (2010:397) note that:

> *"The biblical scapegoat was an animal onto which the sins of the people were transferred and erased through the expulsion of the goat. In anthropology, the role of the scapegoat has usually been analysed as the ritual of purification or a ceremonial process by which an evil is dealt with. In racial-ethnic studies, particular groups such as Blacks and Jews have commonly been seen to be scapegoated for wider social and economic problems such as unemployment" McLaughlin and Muncie (2010:397).*

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The above description resonates with the South African scenario, in which the media have shown xenophobic attacks (Alexandra in 2008 and Durban, 2015), where the perpetrators blamed the immigrants for their economic woes which include unemployment. In most cases, images were taken of the young men and women looting from the immigrants' spaza shops.

According to the scapegoating hypothesis by Harris (2002), xenophobia occurs within the context of social change and transition. Antagonism towards immigrants is explained in relation to limited resources such as education, housing, health-care, employment and, coupled with high expectations during a transition. On the other hand, Tshitereke (1999) suggests that in the post-apartheid era, as people's expectations were being aroused, it was soon realised that government service delivery was not as quick as it has been promised. People are also more conscious of their deprivation and impoverishment than ever before. This has resulted to increasing dissatisfaction and resentment towards the government. A state of bitterness and despondency is an ideal situation for a phenomenon like xenophobia to take root and flourish. Additionally, the scapegoating hypothesis suggests that South Africa's political transition to democracy has highlighted the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country (Harris, 2001). This has fuelled discontent in the land and as shown on the media (television in particular), local citizens appear to transfer their aggression and frustration over the unequal distribution of resources to the innocent immigrants.

Lastly, the scapegoating hypothesis of xenophobia explains that immigrants or foreigners represent scapegoats, which means they are often the ones blamed for the social, economic, political instabilities and personal frustrations. The weakness of the

scapegoating hypothesis lies in its ability to provide clarity as how foreigners, and other social groups or individuals, come to signify unemployment, poverty and deprivation. Again, it does not explain sufficiently why nationality is the determining feature of such scapegoating (Hook & Eagle, 2002). In contrast, the isolation hypothesis of xenophobia situates foreign-ness at the heart of hostility towards foreigners.

Hence, this study proposes that all the xenophobic behaviours displayed by citizens in the community reflect (directly or indirectly) at institutions of higher learning, more especially the ones with large numbers of international students. This is because some of the foreigners who also become victims of xenophobic attacks have their children studying at some of the institutions of higher learning in South Africa, which can then directly affect them and somehow interfere or hinder their academic progress. This also applies to the local students, when these xenophobic attacks take place in the society, with their brothers and sisters involved one way or the other, it affects them, whether they are influenced by their family members to also display the xenophobic behaviours towards foreign or international students. Some of the chants like 'they are taking our jobs' and so forth, which are made by the locals or South African citizens, have also been adopted by some of the local students in the universities. This is because students are also citizens of their respective communities before they are students at institutions of higher learning. Kessi (2011) also noted that;

> *"Every year, I get to hear a mishmash of complex views and explanations from students ranging from how Africans from other countries on the continent are much harder working and more trustworthy than black South Africans, to how they (the migrants) come here to take 'our' jobs and 'our' women. These equally disturbing, but contradictory views are expressed by South African students*

from very different racial, class and gender backgrounds, who position themselves on different sides of the xenophobia issue" (Kessi 2011).

This suggests that although there may be no xenophobic attacks happening at institutions of higher learning, students are fully aware of what is happening in their communities and the reasons for these occurrences. One can presume that this might be because of the rules, regulations and ethical standards that guide the university in which students are well informed not to participate in xenophobic attacks or explicitly display such behaviours towards international students. It is also probable that some students do not pay much attention to this xenophobic problem, or they choose to neglect it thinking that it does not affect them. Hence, Kessi (2015) also notes that most students argue that they have never experienced or witnessed xenophobia and in doing so, reveal a certain distancing from the problem as they separate themselves from the violent manifestations that happen mostly far away from their day-to-day lives.

2.9.3 FREIRE'S HORIZONTAL VIOLENCE AS A FORM OF XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOUR

One of the reasons that students tend to neglect xenophobic attacks happening in their communities might be best explained using the Freire's 'horizontal violence', which has some similarities with the scapegoating hypothesis, discussed earlier in this chapter. According to Freire (1970), cited in Kessi (2015), horizontal violence is notion that people often transfer the guilt for their own oppression onto others like themselves, or others in more vulnerable positions than themselves. This further means that students do display xenophobic traits even among their fellow South African students. For instance, Kessi brings the issue of language as a contributing factor towards horizontal xenophobic violence. It is noted that the issue is about being

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fluent when it comes to speaking English and how one's accent is. When one student has the so-called 'black accent', they are labelled by other students (mostly White) as incompetent (Kessi, 2015).

This has furthermore led to some South African citizens being mistakenly confused with foreigners by their fellow South Africans, during times of xenophobic attacks, because of different English accents. Kessi (2015) notes that most Black South African students from working-class backgrounds are often mocked for their use of the English language and looked down upon by their fellow classmates and lecturers. At times, Black students do ridicule and look down upon one another, especially when one does not have that 'rolling accent' (White English accent) when speaking English. Kessi (2015) notes that Black students described how they would identify who to sit and associate with during meal times in their residences by picking up on certain markers of language, dress code or general appearance, so as not to be seen to associate with those who are considered 'too black'. In this regard, being 'too black' is when you do not use or have a rolling accent when it comes to speaking English. This includes dress code, general appearance and the level of articulation when speaking English. Furthermore, this means that if one a student has not mastered the rolling accent, his or her level of articulating in English will be pedestrian making other students to look down upon the students who consider themselves as 'cool'.

2.9.4 ETHNOCENTRISM

Ethnocentrism is associated with Xenophobia. Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's culture or cultural group is superior to all other cultural groups. Bennett (2013) notes that the term "ethnocentrism" was coined by William Graham Sumner in reference to the perception that one's own group is the centre of everything, and others are consequently judged in terms of the familiar standards of that particular group.

Ethnocentrism hinders individuals from believing that other cultures and values are equally good or worthy or see another person's point of view. One manifestation of ethnocentrism is "xenophobia," or the anxiety over what is considered to be foreign. Ethnocentrism is directly linked to xenophobia, as the two achieve the same desired results. For instance, the fact that one has an unjustifiable fear of other cultural groups that he or she considers as foreign, is because he or she has not probably, or will never accept that there are other cultures which are also unique in their own way and deserve to be respected in the same way as anyone's culture. Ethnocentrism may "have served an evolutionary purpose in the development of homo-sapiens by allowing them to automatically reject potentially competitive groups, but it is an increasingly dysfunctional response to modern mobility and multiculturalism" (Bennett, 2013:2)).

Based on the above discussion, it is my view that any place that is constituted by a variety of cultures or nationalities like school, college or workplace, it is likely that dominant culture, usually the accommodating culture, will be ethnocentric towards other cultures. My personal experience from previous research at the University of Fort Hare has shown that most students who speak the native language of the province, which is IsiXhosa, believe that their culture should be superior and central to other cultures. For example, some Xhosa males are of the view that for one to be called a 'man' must have undergone circumcision through the Xhosa way, if not then he will be looked upon as inferior. Over the years, white-controlled media had conditioned black South Africans to see other African countries as different (Wilson, Gutierrez and Chao (2003). This has nurtured ethnocentric sentiments and may be one of the contributing factors for the rising hatred and violence against African migrants. I argue that these ethnocentric sentiments will also be at play at South

African universities where you have students from other multicultural groups interacting with local students.

2.9.5 STEREOTYPING

Stereotypes are widely held beliefs about a group of people often based on generalisations. Bennett (2013) notes stereotyping as it is used in the context of intercultural communication. Therefore, a cultural stereotype is a fixed description of a group (all people of Group Y are like this) or, alternatively stated, it is the fixed application of a generalisation to every person in the group (you are a member of Y, therefore you must fit the general qualities of Y). Stereotyping is a way of categorising and processing the information we receive about others. Usually, stereotypes have an origin, then they are generalised to the whole cultural group. For instance, in the context of South Africa, ever since there was a very violent ancient Zulu man called Shaka, every Zulu man has been painted as violent and aggressive. Another example is that ever since Osama Bin Laden attacked the United States (US) in 2000/2001, then all Muslims e are considered to be violent terrorists and are feared to be wearing suicide bombs.

Stereotypes can be positive or negative and can cause severe problems when held rigidly. A positive stereotype is a positive assumption made about someone based on their looks, race, social group, economic stability or gender and the negative stereotype is the vice versa. Examples of positive stereotypes are: All Asians are smart, all Whites are successful, and all Chinese and Japanese are hard-working, quiet, and achievement-oriented. And the examples of negative stereotypes are: All Asians are sneaky, and all Whites are racists.

People develop stereotypes when they are unwilling or unable to obtain all the information they need to make a fair judgement about new people or a situation. In tourism, stereotypes are somehow very important as they are used to describe the tourists or locals and at the same time, they can influence perceptions of tourists and hosts to hold on each other. Positive stereotypes may attract tourists, whereas negative stereotypes may discourage them (Reisinger & Dimanche, 2009). For instance, South Africa is considered to be a tourist destination with a rich heritage and beautiful countryside with lots of game reserves and that is a positive stereotype. On the other hand, the fact that South Africa is stereotyped as an angry, crime-ridden and protesting nation might dissuade tourists from visiting the country.

In relation to this study, it is my view that media has contributed adversely towards disseminating stereotypes among South Africans about immigrants who live in South Africa. For instance, the adoption of the phrase 'alien' by media to represent immigrants in South African (e.g. *Daily Sun* from 2008) has yielded and instilled the idea that immigrants particularly African immigrants, are species from other planets and quite unlike South Africans. Other examples include the stereotype that most Zimbabwean and Mozambicans are illegal immigrants while Nigerians are drug dealers and pimps. Thus, many immigrants have been attacked by some local residents during xenophobic violence on account of some of these stereotypes. Negative stereotyping of a particular ethnic group, culture or nationality has the potential to whip up contempt, hatred and discrimination, which ultimately, leads xenophobic attacks. As will be shown in subsequent sections, the South African media continuous stereotyping of certain nationalities has been effective in stoking xenophobic attacks against people of such nationalities.

2.9.6 PREJUDICE

Prejudice is a negative attitude or behaviour towards a cultural group, based on little or no experience. Reisinger and Dimanche (2009) note that prejudice is a bias-ness for or against something created or formed without sufficient basis or being aware of the relevant facts, if it is a case or event. Moreover, it is a prejudgment towards people or persons because of gender, social class, age, disability, religion, sexuality, race/ethnicity, nationality or other personal characteristics. Often, prejudice is developed before receiving information about the issue on which a judgement is being made (Reisinger & Dimanche, 2009). While stereotype inform us what a group is like, prejudice informs us how we are likely to feel about that particular cultural group. Therefore, in my view, Prejudice can also emanate from generalised stereotypes by both media and the public. For instance, from the stereotype examples made above, most immigrants have been attacked by some local residents during previous xenophobic attacks (2008 and 2015) with the assumption that they are illegal immigrants. Furthermore, some immigrants were given mob justice in Limpopo in 2015, after they were accused of witchcraft. One can note that some of these attacks are made with little information and based on generalized stereotypes. Most of the South African xenophobes are already prejudiced against people from fellow African countries. The prejudice is often borne out of insufficient or manipulated information. It is the unfounded fear of and ill-informed opinion of foreigners, contribute to xenophobic behaviours.

2.9.7 DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination can be defined as the unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people, especially on the grounds of race, age or sex. On basis of race, Blank et al (2004) note that "racial discrimination occurs when one member of a racial

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group is treated less favourable than a similarly situated member of another racial group and suffers adverse or negative consequences". Discrimination also refers to the behaviour that result from stereotyping or prejudice, overt actions to exclude, avoid or distance oneself from other groups, race or colour. Discrimination may range from very subtle nonverbal (lack of eye contact, exclusion of someone from a conversation) to verbal insults. It may also be interpersonal, collective and/or institutional. In South Africa, during the apartheid era, institutions of higher learning were often categorised along racial lines. For instance, the University of Fort Hare was the university for Black students, University of KwaZulu Natal Howard campus for Indians and Stellenbosch for only White students. Thus, in these institutions there is still a dominance of these racial lines which results to discrimination being traced among students leaning from these institutions. For instance, from the previously whites only institution, Stellenbosch, many black students have claimed to have been discriminated by the white management, lecturers and even by fellow students. In my view, this might be because of the dominance by a race which has led to some people not accepting the change that all races and cultures are allowed to enrol in any institutions. These discriminations are extended to foreign nationals. There are instances, that international students have been denied participation in some sporting activities because of their nationalities. Foreign nationals experience discrimination when accessing public health care, educational and other social services. I argue that when some south Africans say "foreigners are taking our jobs" or "seducing our girls with illicit money", the argument is not that these foreigners are not deserving of the jobs or girls based on merits or any other rational criteria, but they just can't because they are not of our nationality. This type of discriminatory tendencies helps in cultivating xenophobic behaviours.

Xenophobic behaviour as can be seen from the foregoing sections stems from attitudes towards foreign nationals. Attitude is central to behaviour (Mahrt, 2010). According to Beamer and Varner (2008) behaviour emanates from attitudes. Behaviour they argue is specific to a cultural group. If this thesis is valid that means culture plays significant role in individuals' behaviour or actions. Is there any link between the culture of black South Africans and their seeming predilection to xenophobic behaviour? In the next section we examine the role of culture in attitude formation and behaviour and how this might influence xenophobic attacks.

2.10 UNDERSTANDING OF CULTURE

It is a difficult task attempting to give a precise definition of culture, given that it is very broad and has a long history. The definition has been changing over generations. The term culture can be a very vague concept to define. In some contexts, the term is used to refer to the arts and science, then used to define the popular equivalents to the arts and sciences basing on folk music, folk medicine and so on (Burke, 2008). The term has now gained some common definitions in researchers refer to group values, norms, morals, rituals, tradition, music, dance, costume and so on. In 1966 Edward T. Hall mentioned that:

> *"Culture [is] those deep, common, unstated experiences which members of a given culture share, which they communicate without knowing, and which form the backdrop against which all other events are judged"* (Carbonell and Stephanidis (2003: 219).

Nowadays, the term culture has come to encompass many aspects and meanings. Kalman (2009: 4) notes that "culture is the way we live it. It is the clothes we wear, the

food we eat, the language we speak, the stories we tell, and the ways we celebrate. It is the way we show our imaginations through art, music, and writing". Moreover, culture is about our roots. Encompassing our beliefs and what makes our lives different from the lives of others. Beamer and Varner (2008) provide a definition with a number of characteristics. They use the term culture to refer to the coherent, learned and shared views of a group of people about life's concerns, expressed in symbols and activities, that ranks what is important, furnishes attitudes about what things are appropriate, and dictates behaviour. Some of these characteristics of a culture as identified by Beamer and Varner are examined below.

2.10.1 CULTURE IS COHERENT

Each culture, past or present, is coherent and complete within itself and the entire view of the universe (Beamer & Varner, 2008). An eloquent researcher in the study of culture, Edward Taylor (1871), cited in Beamer and Varner (2008) holds that:

> *"Culture is the outward expression of a unifying and consistent vision brought by a particular community to its confrontation with such core issues as the origins of the cosmos, the harsh unpredictability of the natural environment, the nature of society and humankind's place in the order of things"* (*Beamer and Varner, 2008).*

Culture is coherent in the sense that is based on uniform views, policies passed down by the ancestors. Some people do not see why they should understand other cultures when they understand theirs very well, which brings them to ask the question: "why do I need to know other people's cultures and ways of living?". This appears to be the sentiment of many South Africans who though they want other people to conform to their way of doing things, but seem unreceptive to other cultures. However, it is

important for people to learn and understand other cultures as many cultures are co-existing. Those who make efforts to understand other cultures gain knowledge about how to behave in those particular cultures (Beamer &Varner, 2008). Moreover, understanding other cultures is essential. For instance, if one understands the values and attitudes of certain cultures, there are limited chances that they might say or do something unintentionally that will be offensive to another culture. It is also clear that tension arises when host cultures encounter cultures which are not consistent or in tandem with the clear and logical patterns they are used to. Thus, if most South Africans could spend most of their time in understanding other cultures, mostly within the continent, instead of spending most of the time in hating and inciting xenophobic behaviours towards immigrants, perhaps there could be more interesting things to be learnt from these cultures and we could live in harmony and relate with immigrants peacefully.

2.10.2. CULTURE IS LEARNED

Culture and customs are learned through verbal and nonverbal communication from the day we are born (Covington, 2008). This means that we are not born with a culture. It is what one is taught as they grow up, depending on the environment they grow up on. Beamer and Varner (2008:7) note that "much of what is learned about people's own cultures are stored in mental categories that are recalled only when they are challenged by something different". For instance, in most African cultures, children are taught to ask for food when they are hungry and if they decide to help themselves, then a punishment will be the result. Parents make it clear that they were also taught the same thing by their parents and the same as their grandparents. However, in other cultures, children are encouraged to help themselves with food whenever they feel hungry. Whenever people enter a different culture and are challenged by different

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customs, they usually recall what they were taught by their parents, and decide whether to adapt to other cultures or not to. That is what makes everyone different from one another. In a nutshell, one is not born with a culture but rather born in a certain culture and begins to learn culture from the minute they are born. For instance, if a child born by Nigerian parents in South Africa in a Xhosa dominated area he or she is likely to learn the Xhosa ways of living, including the language even though his parents are originally from another culture. Therefore, this means that it is highly possible for South Africans to also learn how other cultures live their lives just as they were able to learn to live white peoples' way of living. On the other hand, the media could also focus on the beauty of our distinctive cultures with the aim of educating people about other cultures. There has been argument in some quarters that the failure of immigrants to adapt to the culture of the host communities could be responsible for the revulsion and towards them. This argument does not appear to reflect the reality because there are foreign nationals, who not only speak local languages but have assimilated to the point of marrying from the community, yet many fall victims to xenophobic attacks.

2.10.3 CULTURE IS THE VIEW OF A GROUP OF PEOPLE

Similarly, in the South African context, culture becomes a group experience because it is shared with people who live in and experience the same social environments. Culture is shared among the members of society. Members of the society agree about the meaning of things and about why they part. In a society, members share beliefs, rituals, ceremonies, traditions and assumptions with people who grew up or live in similar cultural backgrounds. Beamer and Waner (2008) note that along with everyone from whom members of the society learnt their culture are usually the older family members, teachers, spiritual leaders, peers and representatives of legal, political and

educational institutions. As they have learnt through these different influential bodies, life experiences are then interpreted in ways that validate their own culture's views. Culture then becomes a group experience because it is shared among people who live in and experience the same social environments. What this means is that imposing a culture on an individual from outside the social environment could trigger resistance. These cultural schisms may be an undercurrent for xenophobic behaviours. In addition to highlighting the main characteristics of culture, it is also essential to point out that there are three basic things that culture does.

2.10.4 CULTURE RANKS WHAT IS IMPORTANT

What is of prime importance to one cultural group might be nearly meaningless to another group (Beamer & Waner, 2008). For instance, in some cultures in Africa, you are not allowed to kill a crocodile because it is believed to be directly connected to the spirits (ancestors). That information is passed down by spiritual leaders of that particular society. However, in other cultures, a crocodile is considered to be a very dangerous species and even if one kills it, there is nothing wrong with that. Another example would be a mole snake. The snake is called Majola in both Zulu and Xhosa language. Majola is also a clan name for a certain Xhosa tribe. The Majola snake is highly respected by the Majola clan as they believe that it is directly connected to them and it brings them blessing whenever it comes by, hence, it is prohibited to kill it. Other cultures could just see a normal snake and kill it as usual. These two examples show that while some things are highly important to some cultures, it may mean nothing in other cultures. Moreover, culture teaches values and priorities. Values are considered to be a long-term and basic attitude that serves as guiding principles for individual behaviours and judgement (Mahrt, 2010:25).

Beamer and Warner (2008:9) note that cultures enable individuals or people to find answers to their recurring questions:

- Who are we?

- Where did we come from?

- What is the meaning of our being here, on this particular whirling planet, at this time, within this ecosystem?

- How does the meaning of life reveal itself?

- How should we organise so that we can get along?

- How can we know our spiritual dimensions?

- What does the best life include?

Therefore, from the above questions, different kinds of responses that can pop out from these questions can greatly impress and can supplement and enrich our knowledge about ourselves. Moreover, everyone can recognise and make a claim to some values in all cultures because they understand the fundamental knowledge that is behind them (Beamer & Waner, 2008).

2.10.5 CULTURE FURNISHES ATTITUDES

Many researchers have come to define the term attitude as referring to a fixed way of thinking, responding or perception about something or a situation. According to Hillson and Murray-Webster (2007), the term attitude refers to a chosen response to a situation. Moreover, attitude is learned and is a general evaluation of a situation or something. It is also a propensity to respond the same way to the same situation, idea, or object (Beamer & Waner, 2008). This is similar to the situation of university students. The level of diversity is so high that they also have different attitudes towards a certain situation.   For example, one international student might have a negative attitude

towards the local students because of xenophobic attacks that previously took place. Or it might be a different case, whereby an international student might have a positive attitude towards local students because she or he is interested in learning the local language.

Attitudes are also based on beliefs, as well as on values, beliefs are the held opinions and convictions about the existence of something as true (Akanda, 2014). For example, most African cultures have a strong conviction and belief in their ancestors to be alive as spirits. Whenever there is someone who is sick or not succeeding in life, they believe in consulting with ancestors through spiritual leaders. In a multicultural setting like a university, other students who have a contrary belief might have a negative attitude towards this belief. Beamer and Waner (2008) note that attitudes differ according to how important something is reckoned to be (value). This means that what one regards to be important in his or her culture might mean nothing and less important in another culture. For instance, in most African cultures, the death of a student's uncle is an event that other students are expected to review as of paramount importance to the family members. A lecturer is expected to have an understanding attitude towards a student who is unable to get an assignment done by the deadline or unable to write a test by the given date because of the funeral and family needs. Whereas in the United States, for instance, the attitude toward a fellow student's loss of an uncle is that this is a private affair and it would not be considered to have much effect on the student's academic work. For instance, many black South Africans hold the opinion that the high level of poverty and poor performance in education compared to other races in South Africa are functions of the economic and educational policies of the past. But many foreign nationals tend to generalise that black south African are lazy. This attitude of dismissing the historical and sociological

challenges faced by the black people is offensive and often contributes to the hatred towards foreign nationals.

2.10.6 CULTURE DICTATES HOW TO BEHAVE

One would define behaviour as actions, performance (rituals) values that are exhibited by one particular cultural group and is also learnt by other members of the same culture. Beamer and Waner (2008) argue that behaviour comes directly from attitudes about how important something is. To continue with the example in the previous discussion, a concise expression of sympathy by fellow students to a bereaved student is appropriate United States behaviour. If they have a strong bond or the relationship is long-standing with the fellow students, perhaps a card will be sent. In contrast to most African cultures, much more than an expression of sympathy is appropriate behaviour. Fellow students may attend the funeral, send flowers and even visit the family home to show respect.

2.11 TRANSACTIONAL CULTURES

These kinds of cultures are often the result of control and command practices coming down from the elders or senior leaders. In these cultures, the limited latitude is passed around instruction and limited two-way consultation takes place. The organisation is guided very strongly by those at the top. For instance, in a business meeting, when a Japanese meets a Mexican, he bows down to pass a greeting to a Mexican, while at the same time a Mexican holds out his hand to shake the Japanese. One can note that each is following a script from his cultural background. If one keeps watching, it is likely that one will see the Mexican reverse his hand and attempt to bow down to the Japanese, while at the same time the Japanese holds out his hand to shake the Mexican. Beamer and Warner (2008:4) note that "what happens onstage when

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members of different cultures interact may be different from their own cultures and impermanent compared with their enduring backstage cultures". In south Africa, there seems to be a move away from the culture of Ubuntu which is associated with most African society, to transactional culture in which relationship is based on 'what is in it for me' philosophy. This tendency may be the undercurrent for the increasing despise of African immigrants who are generally perceived as contributing nothing to the South African society. A number of traditional and political leaders have made statements that tended to construct African immigrants as a strain on the South African society. This narrative from seemingly elder statesmen who wield enormous influence on their communities and followers, have contributed in devaluing foreign nationals of African descent and play a role in the spate of xenophobic attacks in the country.

2.12. CULTURAL SHOCK

Xenophobic behaviours could be the outcome of cultural shock. Cultural shock refers to the psychological reaction that an individual experience when exposed to or entering a culture that is different from his or her own (Alusine, Alusine & Kanu, 2011). Stephan and Stephan (2000) note that individuals in the in-group (locals) experience feelings of a threat when communicating with members of the foreign group, in ways that challenge their self-image (e.g. being embarrassed when in contact with something strange). This process is also called "cultural shock". Cultural shock might impact an individual in so many ways, including loneliness, frustrations and unpleasantness which could lead that individual to develop negative attitudes towards the host culture. Marx (2011) notes, that cultural shock also impacts an individual to the extent of portraying inappropriate social behaviour. An inappropriate social behaviour might mean a lot of unwelcome behaviours in the society by that particular individual. This may explain why people end up attacking foreigners. It simply means

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that the shock emerging from encountering someone whom they perceive to have behaved or is behaving inappropriately could lead to xenophobic attacks. Marx (2011) lists the additional impact of cultural shock to include:

➢ Confusion about what to do

➢ Anxiety

➢ Frustration

➢ Exhilaration

➢ Inability to work with others (for example, students of a different cultural group)

➢ Feeling isolated

➢ Becoming depressed

All of the above effects are the possible reactions to cultural shock that is experienced by individuals when faced or confronted with a culture that is foreign or entirely unknown to them. One of the reactions of cultural shock is 'fear', which is also a reaction that is found in the definition of xenophobia. It is possible that the fear arising from the encounter of a foreign national exhibiting a seemingly inappropriate behaviour could trigger xenophobic behaviour. The frustration-aggression theory attributes xenophobia to frustrations experienced or imagined by one group, for which another group is held responsible. This means that when people are in shock, they have frustrations that will lead them to be aggressive, leading them to take all of their frustrations on others in this case, foreign culture because they do not know what to do. To manage cultural shock, Eckermann et al (2010) note that "how well we manage cultural shock will depend on a range of factors such as our personality, our motivation for being where we are, how we got there, who invited us to be there, as well as how long we are staying". This also means that managing and reducing, or rather eliminating the shock depends on the level of our willingness to overcome the shock.

If the level of willingness is very low, then it means the shock will last very long, but if it is high, then it means the shock will not last very long. The following section considers some ways of adapting to new cultures.

2.12.1 STAGES OF ADAPTATION

As mentioned before, adaptation to an unknown culture depends on the personality and willingness of the particular individual. Oberg outlined a number of stages that one goes through from cultural shock to cultural adaptation (Blake, 2012). The stages include the following;

Honeymoon stage; this is the stage where all individuals in the new place are portraying excitement, positivity and stimulation (Marx, 2011). During the honeymoon phase, the differences between the new and old culture are seen in a romantic light. At this stage, individuals are stimulated by the new culture including the food, music, traditional wear and the habits of this new culture which are also new to that person. However, this stage does not last very long, as the person will soon discover very strange things about the culture that is unknown to them.

Cultural Shock/ negotiation stage; this is the stage where cultural shock sets in. For example, in a learning environment, a lecturer or facilitator will begin to notice that students do not want to mingle with students from other cultures that are new to them. At the same time, students will find it hard to sit next to the person of a different culture, but they would rather sit next to the students of their culture. Marx (2011) notes that this stage is characterised by being uncomfortable with the new situation, but can also lead to hating everything foreign and the main reason for these symptoms is uncertainty about ourselves, surroundings and our future. Just because our cultures differ in terms of rituals performed, morals, norms, values and language at this stage,

excitement may finally give way to unpleasant feelings and emotions of anger and frustration as one proceeds to encounter unfavourable moments that may be perceived as foreign and offensive to one's cultural values. Because of these differences, one might develop anxiety, which is a xenophobic trait.

Recovery stage; this stage usually begins with accepting that we have a problem and we need to solve it. Both recovery and the final adjustment stages usually involve a compromise between the feeling and thinking of the very first stage, (the honeymoon stage) and the cultural shock stage (Marx, 2011). Moreover, at this stage, one is able to recover from the shock and gain the necessary skills to function in the new environment with the new culture. Usually, members tend to begin learning the language and tasting the food and learn new ways of doing things in the new culture.

Adjustment phase; this is the final stage, where all members have regained excitement and are able to co-exist and live in harmony. At this stage, one is grown to be accustomed to the new culture and can anticipate most situations and the host culture no longer feels all that new and strange. At this point, one has acquired problem-solving skills for dealing with new cultures and welcomes any new culture with a positive attitude. Marx (2011) notes that at this stage, members are now flexible for any new culture and some even marry and build houses in the new environment.

In the wake of xenophobic attacks, locals have always claimed that foreign nationals were bringing strange cultures and behaviour to their communities such as drug dealing and pimping of local girls and the law enforcement agencies appear helpless so they had to take actions. However, the argument of cultural shock as a factor influencing xenophobia is lame. In the first place, the victims of xenophobic attacks are mostly from the Southern African region that share similar cultural heritage with

South Africa. Secondly, the issue of crime alluded to above is not a strange phenomenon to South Africans nor is it peculiar or indigenous to foreign nationals. Other than language, speech mannerism or so called 'accent' which also exist among other foreign nationals like the Chinese and Pakistanis, there is nothing too strange or shocking about the culture of African immigrants to warrant the hatred and violence from South Africans against fellow Africans. If any group should feel shock culturally, it should be the foreign nationals who have come to a society that offers a similitude of African and western culture.

2.13 MEDIA REPORTING OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

Currently, South African universities host more than 70,000 of international students from different countries in the African continent (Swanzy and Langa, 2017). This is because, arguably, South Africa is home to some of the best universities in the continent. More so, South Africa is not only nearer to African countries, as compared to Europe, but its people also share closely similar cultural and traditional characteristics with some of the African countries (Swanzy and Langa, 2017). However, these numbers have dropped drastically due to a series of xenophobic attacks that hit South Africa, prominently, as from 2008 (in Alexandra), 2015 (mostly in KwaZulu Natal), 2017 and 2018 which mostly targeted foreign owned shops. Parents have become reluctant to send their children to South African universities because they were being protected from such behaviours ((Swanzy and Langa, 2017; Maverick, 2018.) Therefore, this has become a major challenge for South African economy as well as international enrolment profile for South African universities.

While South African university's settings are considered to be safe as compared to the streets, international students, mostly from African countries, have reported

xenophobic experiences both on-and off-campus (Maverick, 2018). For Maverick, incidents of xenophobia on South African university campuses include, ethnocentrism, prejudice, negative stereotyping from professors and social exclusion from South African students. Hence, the drastic drop in international enrolment (Maverick, 2018). However, recently, the death of Baraka Leonard Nafari who was a Tanzanian PhD student at the University of Johannesburg was reported by the media and that he was killed on account of xenophobic violence. Freeman and Lee (2018) substantiated that:

"On Friday, 23 February, Tanzanian University of Johannesburg PhD student Baraka Leonard Nafari was killed in what may be South Africa's first known violent xenophobic attack on a university campus. The attack began off campus, and CCTV footage allegedly shows Nafari and another UJ student running onto campus as they are pursued by two men in a taxi. In an interview with City Press*, a colleague and friend of Nafari explained that, "From the footage we saw it was clear that the taxi deliberately struck Baraka against the fence of the Sophiatown residence and killed him." Nafari's brother, Uwezo Gwiliye, further stated, "it seems as though he (Nafari) was the target, even though there were two of them". The attack is thought to be motivated by xenophobic, anti-foreigner sentiment, with the driver allegedly labelling Nafari "kwerekwere". According to Marc Gbaffou, chairperson of the African Diaspora Forum (ADF), Nafari may have been a "soft target" because he was wearing African attire that day and he "could be easily identified as a non-South African citizen".* (Freeman and lee, 2018 *Daily maverick* online article)

This is a major concern as it not only paints a bad picture of South African Universities but the country as a whole. This calls for the South African government to put more

protective measures against xenophobia on basis of neo-nationalism and discrimination.

Another similar incident was reported in *The Sowetan* (8 November 2016), about the death of the Mozambican University of Johannesburg first year student, Kelvin Baloyi who was allegedly killed in a xenophobia-related circumstances. Frey (2016) substantiates that:

> *"Kelvin Baloyi was killed allegedly by a security guard on Saturday morning. He was a first year computer science student. Students are walking in and out of the building on Rissik Street in the Johannesburg CBD, most shaking their heads, showing an unwillingness to speak to the media. Wits student Relebogile Phetho, who was also friends with Baloyi, says she was with him on that fateful night. She says she briefly left him and when she returned she found him lying on the floor. "They said somebody was shot and I asked who? They said Kelvin and I said 'no, I was with Kelvin just now. There's no way this person was just shot.'" Another student Eddie Majola says he was standing right next to Baloyi when he was shot. "He shot instantly, he didn't waste time and he didn't say anything." Students say building management called in extra security on Friday night because of a year-end party but things allegedly got out of hand when the guards wouldn't let students continue with their celebrations on the 14th floor. Meanwhile, in a separate incident, the university has also confirmed two of its students were killed in a river rafting accident. Gauteng police have launched a manhunt for the security guard who allegedly fatally wounded a University of Johannesburg (UJ) student in a student residence at the weekend. Provincial police spokeswoman Colonel Noxolo Kweza said the guard, who was*

believed to have shot and killed the 21-year-old, fled the scene following the incident in the early hours of Saturday morning. The matter is under police investigation and we are currently searching for the security guard," Kweza said. She added that the motive of the shooting was still unknown (Adapted from the Club Mozambique newsletter, 07 November 2016) accessed on 13 July 2017.

There has also been a recent similar incident between South African and Zimbabwean students at the University of Fort Hare with messages having xenophobic tones leaked on a WhatsApp group chat as reported by the *Daily Dispatch n*ewspaper. Although no student has died, a WhatsApp-leaked message from one of the international students, which was unflattering of South African students has caused an outburst of war of words between South African Students and international students (mostly Zimbabweans). This has led to a potential physical xenophobic-related violence as there was a series of screenshot of the messages trending on social media, and was also reported in the *Daily Dispatch* as a potential wake of xenophobic attacks on the University campus. Some of the leaked messages, as reported on the *Daily Dispatch* (27 November 2018) read as follows:

"We are here for your resources; we wipe accounts, take all the fee waiver and send to our families who are starving at home. We will use that money for masters' PHD, while you all are here as 8th year senior law students. Only in South Africa where you find a family with 7 different surnames in one shack."

"Our research in Zimbabwe shows us that the E.C [Eastern Cape] is the second poorest province in South Africa. The grave site is the richest place. So

we came to better you people. Some have been getting good marks because of playing with Zimbo's [Zimbabweans] and foreigners in general."

Based on the above, according to the *Daily Dispatch*, the University of Fort Hare management confirmed being made aware of what it termed as "inflammatory and xenophobic language". On the other hand, while universities are considered to be safer environments for enrolled international students, it seems like there is more that needs to be done by institutions to prevent such kind of behaviours among students. I also want to argue that if such behaviours are not given full attention by the concerned universities, it is possible that we might witness a wave of xenophobic attacks on university campus in Eastern Cape and across the country. As earlier mentioned, because of the power of media to influence, once xenophobic-related violence is reported in the media, it is possible that others will want to model the same behaviours in their respective locations (Nelson and Salawu, 2017), which might be university campuses in this case.
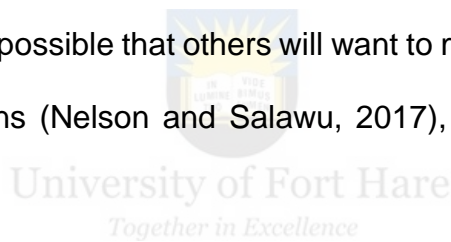
2.14 IMPACT OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES.

A survey conducted by MacGregor (2014) indicated some of the challenges experienced by international students studying in South African universities. Some of the findings included language spoken by the locals in the presence of foreign nationals; sometimes they even speak these local languages to the foreign nationals although they probably know they will not understand; lack of South African friends, as well as xenophobic attitudes. Therefore, one can argue that xenophobia is not only affecting the international students, but also the South African universities community itself. In this regard, Du Plessis (2017) noted that:

"Fewer African students are coming to universities in South Africa due to xenophobia fears and long visa delays – and it could be affecting the future rating of our universities. Professor Maxi Schoeman from the University of Pretoria said the Faculty of Humanities alone has received 200 fewer applications in 2017 for postgraduate studies. On average, the Faculty, to which she is the Deputy Dean, gets more than 1000 applications per year. Schoeman, who addressed a seminar on the future of South African foreign policy at the Institute for Security Studies on Thursday, told the gathering she had seen the impact of the xenophobic attacks and the backlash on the continent in a very practical way at the university campus".

the significant drop in students from other countries has been caused by xenophobic violence which has been causing havoc in South Africa (Du Plessis, 2017). From the above, it appears parents of the international students are becoming reluctant to send their children to South African universities due to the increase in xenophobic instances, which may have eventually raised a safety concern.

2.15 IMPACT OF XENOPHOBIA ON THE FOREIGN NATIONALS

Mabudusha (2014) refers to a foreigner as a person who has left his or her country of origin to reside in another country temporarily or permanently. Moreover, foreign nationals are observed as having a comparatively privileged position in the settlement and are expected to profit from improvement. African foreigners who are considered as outsiders are seen as direct threat or danger to the insiders (South African citizens). The concept of insiders and outsiders is relevant to be used in specific historical and local context for a better understanding of the proportions of xenophobia in the new South Africa.

Mawadza (2012) cited in Mbetga (2015) argues that.

> *"Regardless of their different paths and trajectories, these migrants are routinely portrayed in an unsavoury light, denounced by locals as job-stealers, 'woman snatchers', drug dealers, con artist, and career criminals. Such stereotypes reduce and flatten the real complexities of dis-empowered and marginalized populations."*

South Africa is called a 'rainbow nation' and the constitution stipulates that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. Therefore, Black foreigners form a diverse group of marginalised people who live in South African society. Moreover, the action of isolation, marginalisation and discrimination of foreigners can be regarded as an impediment to equal rights among foreigners and locals living in the same country (Mbetga, 2015). This is a major concern, as people are expected to co-exist and live in harmony.

As noted by Muchiri (2016:92), "experts contend that xenophobia and its manifestations through violence, looting, killings and discrimination contribute to a wide range of challenges which ultimately deprive foreign nationals of their basic human rights". For instance, one of the basic human rights is that every human has a right to live and not to be discriminated on the basis of colour or ethnic group or nationality. Thus, when xenophobic attacks occur, most of the foreign nationals' rights are violated. Muchiri adds that "due to the accompanying discrimination, foreign nationals are subjected to disproportionate difficulties in accessing employment, accommodation, banking services and healthcare Muchiri (2016:92)". Moreover, "xenophobic behaviours and acts have also legitimised corruption, extortion and a host

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of other human rights abuses, including arbitrary arrests and targeted criminal attacks and hate crimes perpetrated against foreigners" (Muchiri, 2016:92).

Landau *et al* (2005) also emphasise that foreigners affected by xenophobia also encounter systematic discrimination, political alienation; they generally feel unwelcome and vulnerable, as they are also socially excluded in South Africa. This may also result in them being denied access to healthcare and other related basic services. Crush (2008) argues about foreign nationals being denied socio-economic due to service providers' ignorance of immigrants' rights. Muchiri cites Breen and Neil's (2011) work, who pointed out that xenophobic attitudes and prejudice among service providers, criminal justice officials or health-service providers, exposes xenophobic victims to what is called secondary victimisation through discrimination, neglect and prioritisation. Breen *et al* (2011) add that:

> *"The combination of immigrant rightlessness and structural exclusion, amidst a perceived invasion of 'foreigners', has resulted in organized social activism against individuals perceived as dangerous to the socio-cultural and moral fabric, and as threatening the economic opportunities of poor South African and this happens within a system set up by wealthy South Africans to super-exploit migrant labour from both South Africa and the wider region".*

I align with Breen's position that 'cheap labour', which is caused by the super-exploitation of foreign nationals by wealthy South Africans, has been numerously used as scapegoating and as an excuse for xenophobic behaviours towards foreign nationals. This of course, is due to the high rate of unemployment in South Africa, which has added pressures to the xenophobic attacks that occur within the country. Breen's argument is consistent with Muchiri December 2009 guidance which

highlighted that "Racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related tolerance constitute a serious threat to the overall protection environment for people of concern". Xenophobia has the net impact of undermining the idea of free access to a safe asylum by causing the tightening of immigration controls and the escalating use of extortion, corruption, arbitrary arrests and detentions of refugees and asylum seekers.

The above scenario has caused so much fear for foreign nationals to walk on the streets of the societies in which they reside, which also leads them to be less participative in social and economic activities. In view of this, Muchiri (2016:94) emphasises that

> "Rampant xenophobia has hampered the integration of migrants into South African society. Xenophobia has established so much fear to the whole community of foreign nationals or other target groups who also possess similar characteristics. Xenophobic attacks, therefore, threaten the equal enjoyment of rudimental human rights and freedoms by both individuals and groups of migrants".

The result is that many assaults and other criminal offences performed by local residents against foreigners are not reported to the police, because foreign nationals fear that local residents might retaliate when they found that they had laid charges against them.

Domestic stability and national security of South Africa is another related aspect of the xenophobic attack. Polzer and Takabvirwa (2010) believe that persistent xenophobic attacks constitute a significant threat to South Africa's national security in terms of its domestic stability and international reputation. Given the fact that there is still a shortage of scarce skills (e.g. Doctors, Engineers etc.) in South Africa, the xenophobic-

related violence often leads to South Africa experiencing hardships in attracting qualified and skilled labour from abroad, especially from those countries that are mostly targeted or whose citizens experience most of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. According to Statistics South Africa (SATSA, 2011), more than five percent of immigrants from African countries are engaged in the major sectors (both in managerial and professional capacities) across South Africa (Chaskalson, 2017). This means that, continuous occurrence of xenophobic-related violence in South Africa could decrease the pool of scarce skills from foreign nationals.

2.16 XENOPHOBIA AS A BARRIER TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUICATION

Xenophobia has been identified as an important factor that could impact negatively on intercultural communication in South Africa (Dyers & Wankah 2010). In 2010, a study was conducted to uncover and negotiate barriers to intercultural communication. The study done at the Greenmarket Square, Cape Town's 'world in miniature, found that xenophobia and ethnocentrism constrained intercultural communication. Dyers and Wankah (2010:7) recounted how an innocuous question from a Nigerian woman in Cape Town resulted in xenophobic behaviour from local residents. According to Dyers and Wankah (2010: 7):

> *"This Nigerian woman wanted to know from a South African trader whether there were some Nigerian traders in the market, but was rudely told to go back to her own country. Obviously, this animosity led to a total breakdown in communication. The data from the questionnaires also suggested that xenophobia and ethnocentrism were barriers to ICC at Greenmarket Square. Twenty-two of the twenty-seven traders (80%) agreed that these were major barriers, as did most of the tourists from Africa. Participant observation tended*

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to confirm that ethnocentrism and xenophobia are a cause for concern". (Dyers and Wankah (2010:7).

The above scenario is not surprising. There are more cases like these, where you find foreign nationals struggling to make their own way in different business industries. For instance, in the retail industry, especially in rural areas, a number of shops owned by foreign nationals have grown and this has led to tension with the local residents who also own their shops. From my personal experience, I have witnessed that many foreign shop owners sell more goods and services to the local residents on credit, as compared to local shop owners. More so, many local shop owners have laid complaints, arguing that allowing local residents to buy on credit from foreign nationals' shop owners is hampering their businesses. In this view, Pattian (2008) noted that there have been numerous cases of violent incidents between the foreigners and South Africans in this kind of business.

As argued earlier, xenophobia begins with fear and often ends up in attack, thereby compromising effective communication. In fact, it is actually the fear that compromises the process of effective communication. Stephan and Stephan (2000) note that individuals in the in-group (locals) experience feelings of a threat when communicating with members of the foreign group, in ways that challenge their self-image (e.g. being embarrassed when in contact with something strange). This process is also called "cultural shock". Xenophobic behaviour is a direct barrier to effective intercultural communication. For example, if a student has an enormous fear towards conversing with another student from a totally different culture when they are in one study group or in a given a group assignment, that fear does not only block the effectiveness of intercultural communication, but it also hinders academic progress.

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2.17 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a brief overview of the South African society in terms of racial and ethnic groups. It defined xenophobia tracing is history and development in post-apartheid South Africa. The chapter distinguished between xenophobia and racism on one hand and criminality and xenophobia on the other. Subsequent sections examined the underlying causes of xenophobia in the South African context including the influence of ethnocentrism, stereotypes, prejudice, cultural shock and value system. It was highlighted that South African media has promoted the epistemological idea of 'us and them' which has perpetrated the idea that South Africans are so much different from their fellow brothers and sisters from the neighbouring countries within the African continent in general. The media and public narrative appear to have neglected the fact that beside community based transactional cultures and values, most African countries share the cultural value of Ubuntu, which essentially is the culture of caring for one another. As evinced from the literature review the sociological issues of ethnocentrism, stereotyping prejudice, discrimination not only contribute to xenophobic behaviours but stand as strong barriers to effective intercultural communication. The literature review highlighted the importance of appreciating and understanding other people's cultures. It was noted that putting emphasis on the essence of Ubuntu instead of emphasizing our differences could lead to a drastic decline in xenophobic attacks that have been witnessed. The next chapter discusses the theories associated with media reporting and xenophobia

CHAPTER THREE:

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter defined xenophobia providing a historical and social context of its development in South Africa. The chapter examined the causes of xenophobic attacks highlighting the impact on the South African economy especially the educational sector. This chapter discusses the theoretical underpinnings of this study. Theories of media and xenophobia will be discussed. Moreso, the role of media in the society and in conflict resolution will be explored as well as the influence of media in xenophobic behaviours among students.

3.2 THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN THE SOCIETY

As mentioned earlier, the media play an important role in uniting the society, as it gives a voice for the voiceless (more especially community radio). This role becomes even more significant in resolving social conflict. Social conflict can be defined as a struggle over scarce resources, power, and claims to status (Frankena, 2013). Therefore, in cases of xenophobic violence or attacks, the media can assume the role of uniting the conflicting parties by adopting peace journalism or Ubuntu journalism (these concepts are discussed in detailed later sections of this chapter), where the focus is given to the conflicting parties, investigating more on the causes of the conflict with the aim for peace rather than focusing on reporting on the status quo. Osunkunle (2013) emphasizes that it is of paramount importance to note that effective communication can be used towards managing or resolving conflicts. Therefore, this means that media can be used effectively as an important tool of communication to disseminate

messages across the public in making an effort to resolve conflict, which, according to this study, is xenophobic violence. Moreover, effective usage of media can ensure mutual understanding among conflicting parties, which in turn might lead to peace. According to Osunkunle (2013:91) "it must be pointed out that conflicts usually emanate as a result of poor communication". Therefore, one can conclude that poor communication from media, especially when the communication is not received as intended by the sender, due to either inefficient structure or poor linguistic ability, can also lead to conflict among parties. Arguably, effective communication by the media is central to resolving xenophobic violence and very essential where there are misunderstandings among conflicting parties. This is also emphasized by Sarr (2011: 105), cited in Osunkunle (2013), who notes that "for peace to evolve among conflicting parties, a variety of communication methods from the media (including community radio, television and print media) can be used to engage conflicting parties, so that communication is re-established towards ensuring mutual understanding and conflict resolution". As can be seen in the subsequent section the Media has been found wanting in the way they represent foreign nationals especially the language they frequently use in describing them.

3.3 MEDIA'S PORTRAYAL OF FOREIGN NATIONALS IN DEROGATORY TERMS

Some sections of the South African media continue to receive criticisms for their penchant in using offensive and sometimes, pejorative language to describe foreign nationals especially Africa immigrants during incidents of xenophobia., Yakushko (2009) notes that the South African press tends to cover reports on some nationalities using the generalised stereotypes. For instance,

- the portrayal of all Nigerians as drug dealers and as bank robbers, engaging in the marriage of conveniences with SA nationals in order to acquire permanent residence. For example, one newspaper headlines read: *"Pretoria Mayor singles out Nigerians as drug dealers and pimps"* (*IOL*, 26 May 2017). In this, most people don't read the whole news piece, but just the headline. Therefore, for headline readers, this could imply that all Nigerians in South Africa are drug dealers. When many people don't read the whole story but just believe what happened, taking from the headlines, this could lead to more xenophobic behaviours towards Nigerians living in South Africa, with accusations of drug-dealing. Furthermore, in my view, this means that the media wants to set the agenda and frame Nigerians as drug-dealers and pimps. As a result, there have been cases of Nigerians killed after being accused of drug-dealing, even the innocent ones. For instance, according to the article published on *News24* on 05 October 2018 by Chabalala Jeanette *"8 cops arrested, charged with torturing and killing Nigerian man".* According to Chabalala, in this news article, these officers were arrested for the October 2017 and murder of Nigerian national Ibrahim Olamilekan Badmus. This is a good example of where the media, instead of promoting peace, incite conflict and violence based on generalised information. The public often make decisions based on these sensational and gory headlines often resulting in violent tendencies.

Researchers like. Hermann and Cornelius, (2011) have always been critical of how the media reports news items and how it conceptualises its news bulletin. In this view, the media are also being blamed for perpetrating xenophobic-related attacks by the way it reports the issue. Hermann and Cornelius (2011: 52) note that "xenophobic offences can be seen as a consequence of reporting and reporting can be seen as a

reaction to offences". This means that the extent of xenophobic violence can increase significantly after the media reports, solely because of the way the media would have contextualised and conceptualised the news. A case in point is the incident in 2015, when King Goodwill Zwelihini was quoted by the media as saying "we urge all foreigners to pack their bags and leave" (Khoza, 2017). However, the King argued that he meant that "foreigners are changing the nature of the South African society. He further blamed the media for misquoting him and disseminating false information.

From these examples, one can note that, the way the media report news about foreigners often promotes xenophobic violence, or it reproduces xenophobic behaviours, whether by the way it conceptualises headlines or using cultural stereotypes. This, therefore, calls for concern, as people are expected to co-exist and live in harmony. The implication for the South African government is that it needs to tighten public security to protect and fight against the killing of each other by the issue of xenophobic-related violence.

In an attempt to bring more evidence, below is the speech of the King Goodwill Zwelithini:

King Goodwill Zwelithini a speech in which he allegedly called for foreign nationals to return to their countries of origin. (Khoza, 2017) suggested that the violence directed at non-South African nationals in Durban was related to this address. The Zulu Monarch was quoted as calling on all foreigners to leave South Africa, as they were 'causing' problems in the country. In this view, sometimes, the media use incorrect and exaggerating words, in other words, the wrong choice of words. For instance, the media chose to use the word 'causing' which is different from 'contributing' which I

think should have been used. The fact is that South Africans themselves are also committing crime and prisons are full of South African criminals instead of foreigners.

After these remarks by the King, towards the end of March, 250 people were attacked and foreign-owned shops were looted in the port city of Durban in South Africa (Khoza, 2017). Furthermore, an estimated 1000 African migrants fled their homes. Some sought refuge in police stations and others found shelter in tents which were provided by the government and well-wishers. The following were the Zulu King's direct comment:

"Most government leaders do not want to speak out on this matter because they are scared of losing votes…."

"As the king of the Zulu nation, I cannot tolerate a situation where we are being led by leaders with no views whatsoever. We are requesting those who come from outside to please go back to their countries….". "The fact that there were countries that played a role in the country's struggle for liberation should not be used as an excuse to create a situation where foreigners are allowed to inconvenience locals…."

(Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, 2015).

The media has also been accused of bias in the way it represents perpetrators of xenophobic attacks and foreign nationals who are victims of these attacks.

3.4 PORTRAYAL OF FOREIGN NATIONALS AND XENOPHOBIC PERPETRATORS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRINT MEDIA.

The South African media disseminate information about foreign nationals or immigrants to the general public; and "comment on foreigners through letters to the

editor, talk shows on television debates" (Smith, 2010:2), among other things. According to Smith (2010), contemporary research reflects that the media do not just transmit information to the public, but rather, they also reproduce certain ideologies and discourses that support specific relations of power. Therefore, one should not only look at the media as a means to measure public perceptions of foreigners, but also the way in which perceptions are created. Moreover, Smith (2010:2) further argues that "it is not simply about whom the press quotes or gets to comment on migrant issues but it is also "the way in which these comments are framed and presented that is also significant".

 The media deeply rely on society for information gathering and universities are also considered to be one of the social institutions (Ritzer, 2012). Bird and Fine (2002) cited in Smith (2010:10) observe the interdependence between the media and society. As "the press responds to the news and reports on incidents as they occur, thereby reflecting issues pertinent to the broader societal context, the press also shapes and influences social issues in the ways in which news are chosen, highlighted and covered". According to Touwen (2009), xenophobic victims are mostly represented through a dependency frame (as desperate), however not to the extreme of helplessness, which is most common in the representation of refugees in conflict or civil war areas in some parts of Africa. Moreover, in terms of economic status, the victims are usually presented as employed, while the perpetrators are usually the ones with the "unemployed" status and that aligns with representations of class struggle which is common in the dependency image. This can be directly linked to the fact that in South Africa there is a high rate of unemployed graduates, which are also part of South African youth.

Touwen (2009) notes, that most of the media tend to struggle with defining the word "foreigner". Usually, the main focus is on the nationality as the larger part of the broader spectrum of the victim's origin, whether from Zimbabwe and/or Mozambique. But in due time, it becomes clear through the media like the *Daily Sun (tabloid newspaper)* and *Daily Dispatch* which almost report news on a daily basis, that a foreigner is actually a translation of the isiXhosa word *Amakwerekwere*, meaning somebody speaking an unfamiliar or a strange language. In this view, it is important to note that tabloid newspapers, like the *Daily Sun*, have been known for exaggerating information and emphasizing more than the story truly deserves, which has been named as 'Yellow Journalism' (Biagi, 2015). Hence, its portrayal and perpetration of violent xenophobic attacks through the adoption of derogative words like Amakwerekwere. The term *'AmaKwerekwere'* has gained popularity amongst many South Africans. Evidently, in my recent research which evaluated the impact and challenges of intercultural communication at the University of Fort Hare, the findings showed that the term is also used by students, even in institutions of higher learning which implies that the media also played a role in disseminating this term.

Touwen (2009) also emphasises that it is much easier for the media to refer to foreigners using their nationality (for example, a Nigerian, Zimbabwean etc.), than saying a 'non-South African', which then create a bad image for these countries. However, a careless representation of this nature might even result in some South African minority ethnic groups being victims of xenophobic attacks. Whilst the names 'foreigners', 'strangers' and 'Amakwerekwere' are familiar in the South African media, there are other names like "Alien" which have also been used by South African media, more especially the print media. For example, Smith (2010:4) notes that:

"in conjunction with several other partners, the MMP (Magellan Midstream Partners) complained to the Press Ombudsmen that the Daily Sun, in its reporting of the events of April/ May 2008, had not only contributed to the xenophobic climate by it consistently referring to foreign nationals as "aliens", but that it also portrayed violence as an understandable and legitimate reaction to this state of affairs. However, whilst the MMP received extensive support from those across civil society and within government for pursuing this matter, the original charges against the Daily Sun were not proved and the case was dismissed" (Smith, 2010:4).

Media's reporting on xenophobic behaviours has an impact on the increasing xenophobic incidents which might, in turn, affect local university students who are unemployed and wish to offer their services abroad.

As noted by Touwen (2009:20) "the commonly used and most neutral word for the instances of xenophobia is 'violence' and xenophobia is the most commonly used indication of the violence, with racial and tribal violence coming in third". Touwen adds that xenophobic attacks "are represented within the colonial frame of tribal conflict, but at the same time the dependency image is present. Not only in the way the victims are portrayed but most of all, in the explanations for the violence" Touwen (2009:20). Hence, I have mentioned that most of these xenophobic events are framed as a class struggle between the haves and the have-nots (economic status/class) (Touwen, 2009). The main difference between perpetrators and victims is believed to be employment, as Touwen (2009) emphasises that perpetrators are presented as people without jobs, hungry and angry, while victims are people having jobs. It is noticeable that some newspaper articles commonly name the xenophobic event as

'crisis', also using words such as anarchy, chaos and even war. On the other hand, most media report just accurately paints a picture of crisis and conflict in an environment of racial or ethnic violence (Touwen, 2009).

Touwen (2009) notes, that another enthralling media representation of xenophobic events is the location and the different concepts that are used in the western media to describe the scene of xenophobic violence. Touwen also emphasises that different concepts do not only have different meanings within the African context but also in the western representation of Africa. In most of the articles, the scenes are described as squatter camps or slums. Moreover, in the West, most readers have pictures of squatter camps from aid promo's and documentaries, portraying shacks built of cardboard with no facilities and crowded by disadvantaged, poor and desperate people. In the West, they do not commonly use the South African concept 'township'. Hence, "some newspapers try to avoid stereotyping and simply call it poor neighbourhoods, but the majority use the words squatter camp or slum" (Touwen, 2009: 23). In my own view, this is an absolute misrepresentation.

Black people from African countries, besides South Africa, are portrayed in different ways. They are commonly portrayed as 'foreigners', 'foreign residents', 'foreign nationals' and 'aliens'. However, they are represented as 'African brothers' 'brothers/sisters from another mother. This language is very common in media, more especially the print media like the *Daily Sun* newspaper. In this view, Mbetga (2014) argues that most African foreigners in this context have and share a common characteristic of being 'outsiders' and alien people who do 'not belong here'. Black foreigners living or staying in South Africa for a long or short period are considered as not belonging to South Africa, regardless of the notion that "South Africa belongs to all

who live in it, Black and White" (Tafira, 2017: 296). Therefore, the principle of a rainbow nation in South Africa has not been accepted by the South Africans after all. In other words, South Africa as a nation is not 'walking the talk', which means betrayal to international relations.

As noted by Touwen (2009), the media commonly portray xenophobic victims as harmless but hard-working (mostly male) black immigrants from the bordering states, who fear for their lives due to xenophobic violence. I fully concur with this argument, the fact that in the media (mostly print) xenophobic victims are commonly portrayed as helpless and are all generalised to be illegal immigrants oftentimes without verification of each victim's documents. Nationality is often used to differentiate the victims; ethnicity seems to be side-lined. Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria are most frequently mentioned as countries of origin. Hence Touwen (2009:18) argues that "Africans are no longer represented by their ethnicity but by their nationality".

To the Afrikaans readers, for instance, these differences are hardly relevant and only make sense if the story is properly contextualised. Most newspapers in South Africa do not have space or the priority to do so. In a nutshell, most Afrikaans media (especially newspapers) use the presumed neutral word such as "Africans", which is apparently another problem, as it side-lines the differences among people. One can note that most South African journalists are not aware of how much ethnicity is important in almost all African cultures. Moreover, the portrayal of victims against perpetrators is very much directed to a frame of economy class and not of through the racial frame.

Furthermore, stereotypes are a common issue on the media's reporting of xenophobic violence. For instance, Somalians are mostly represented as shopkeepers, Nigerians as drug dealers, while Zimbabweans as cheap labour. Hence, Touwen (2009) argues

that regarding media reports on xenophobia and racism, foreigners are often criminalised because the media usually report on them when they are arrested or deported. The fact that they are arrested for illegality and not for crimes makes a huge difference. The contact with the police represents them as criminals. Below is a list of some headlines from selected newspapers from 2008 to date, highlighting the different names given to foreign nationals (a long list is attached at the end of the study as part of the appendixes):

- *"Pretoria Mayor singles out Nigerians as **drug dealers** and pimps" (IOL, 26/05/2017).*

- *"War declared against **'my friend'** spaza shops selling expired products (The citizen, 22/08/2018),*

- *"'Kill thy neighbour" (Sunday Times, 19/04/2015 p.1)*

- *"Kenyans evacuated as attacks on foreigners spread in South Africa (Business Daily, 17/04/2015 p.1)*

- *"I know that thug!" "Do not rob thy neighbour! Nine alien thugs robbed a Metrorail security man… they did not know he had recognized one of them" Daily Sun (08/04/2008 p1)*

- *"Flames of hate engulf Durban" (The Times, 15/04/2015 p.1)*

- *"Durban chaos as mobs and foreigners battle in street" (Daily Dispatch, 15/04/2015)*

- *They wait for dark before they attack! Aliens use muthi to steal our cattle!" (09/05/2008 p. 11)*

- *"Alex aliens want to go home" Daily Sun (15/05/2008 p. 2)*

As noted by Touwen (2009:19) most media represent perpetrators as people who are "angry, unemployed, poor young South African men, predominantly of Zulu origin". As noted by the researcher, the representation of the perpetrators is highly distinctive from that of the victims. Moreover, it is one-sided and ethnic. For instance, most newspapers usually generalise the perpetrators to be of the Zulu ethnic group. However, this representation is not factual, although there are many Zulu speakers in Johannesburg, there are also other ethnic groups which also partake in xenophobic activities. Sometimes the media employ a neutral representation, using words like 'inhabitants'. However, this is somehow confounding, as in some cases, the rest of the text clearly indicates that these inhabitants are groups of young violent males and sometimes they are even referred to as gangs (Touwen, 2009).

During the apartheid era, the violence was mainly about the issue of race superiority, which was 'Whites against Blacks'. However, at the present time, especially with regards to xenophobic violence, it is mainly about the issue of economic status, hence, now it is "Black-On-Black violence" (Touwen, 2009:19), what can also be called 'horizontal violence'. The contemporary presentation of perpetrators is nearly similar to the primordial image of the colonial era where perpetrators were not represented as murderers, in spite of the deaths of almost 60 people in June 2008 during xenophobic attacks (Landau, 2012), as those acts could be classified as criminal offences. I have also noted that the collection of the picture put on the newspaper headlines (mostly, *Daily Sun*) has an impact on the representation of perpetrators. For instance, in most media, it is very common to see burning houses, looting, perpetrators carrying weapons like knives and so forth. In view of this, Touwen (2009:19) notes that "the photographs of perpetrators in all newspapers show them either as a group of young

men on the warpath or indirectly represent them as savages by showing their burning victims and burned down houses".

As indicated earlier, stereotypes are a common feature in media reporting of xenophobic behaviours. In my personal experience, I have witnessed that almost every cultural group is stereotyped. For instance, the Zulus are stereotyped as a violent ethnic group, a stereotype which originated from the ancient wars of Shaka Zulu. This can be directly linked to this study. For example, media represent the perpetrators (mainly the Zulus) of xenophobic violence as a group of young men, running and dancing through the streets or township holding spears and knives, seemingly resembling the idea of a Zulu warrior. Touwen (2009) highlights that most media outlets choose pictures that show a group of young men parading through the townships, similar to the images of a Zulu film such as Shaka Zulu.

Having highlighted the media's coverage of xenophobic violence, I want to argue that the media should rather think of the overall multicultural society of South Africa, thereby being sensitive in terms of their coverage and representation of people. Moreso, there is a need for the media to desist from using generalized stereotypes to represent people. Perhaps there are more interesting and positive information about foreigners that the public is not aware of. In the context of local universities, there are international students from all over the continent; hence, the media's fair representation and reporting on xenophobic violence are very critical. To some extent, people learn about cultural stereotypes from media reports on xenophobia, for instance, media representation of Somalians as shopkeepers/spaza shop owners, Nigerians as drug dealers, as well as Zimbabweans as cheap labour (Gastrow and Amit, 2013). This becomes very important because, in situations where there is such

misrepresentation of immigrants, there is a possibility of the local citizens being influenced to show xenophobic behaviours towards the foreign nationals. This can also pose a threat to the universities which enrol large numbers of international students every year.

3.5 XENOPHOBIC LANGUAGE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRINT MEDIA

One major concern about the coverage of xenophobia by South African media is the tendency of the media to originate and perpetuate xenophobic language. Crush (2008) noted that several studies have shown how the media have severally and uncritically reproduced xenophobic language and statements. Therefore, one can argue that the media (more especially the print) have certainly been complicit in encouraging xenophobic attitudes and behaviours among the public. In this view, Smith (2010) summarises what many studies have found in this regard.

> ➢ The media are anti-immigration, or at least make negative references to migrants and immigrants;
>
> ➢ The media use more of an un-analytical/ simplistic approach, with little in-depth analysis of xenophobic violence;
>
> ➢ They persist in using certain labels when referring to migrants, such as "illegal immigrants"; and
>
> ➢ They perpetuate negative stereotypes about migrants, using such terms as "job stealers", "criminals" and "illegals".

Therefore, there is a concurrence in the literature, that the South African press paints migrants in a negative manner, even though this may not always be in a flagrant manner. Vonyoro (2015) argues that despite the existence of analysis on the representation of migration in the South African popular press, there is so much little representation of xenophobia. Authors like Monson and Arian (2011: 33) on the other

hand, explored the media reporting of xenophobia in 2008. Amongst their writing, they denounce press reporting and press coverage that is highly decontextualized and ignorant of the fact that xenophobia is a frequent practice in informal settlements. They add that media present the xenophobic violence as "an explosion of organic fury" or an "eruption".

These extensive studies of English writing press convincingly portray that for more than a decade, newspapers have been publishing stories that are anti-immigration or xenophobic and un-analytical. Smith (2010:11) provides two examples of this, emphasising that, in the first example;

> *"Fine and Bird argue that their extensive monitoring of the media has led them to conclude that the media does indeed place prominence on incidents of a racial slant. Moreover, that the media provides an incomplete picture of incidents, coverage is both simplistic with minimal in-depth discussion of the issues raised, and that the media persists in their patterns of labelling the majority of immigrants from Africa as illegal immigrants, even though their only crime is a lack of appropriate documents"* Smith (2010:11)*.*

In the second example, Smith (2010:11) argues that it "speaks to the manner in which the press routinely perpetuated certain myths with regards to migrants". In this regard, the emphasis is on the widely reported idea that South Africa is overcrowded by foreigners. For instance, to show how much the statistics have grown from ten years ago (2008), Blank (2008) illustrates below:

> *"According to estimates, a large number of the African migrants living in the country came to South Africa without valid documents. However, there is no reliable data on exactly how many such migrants there are. Nonetheless,*

officials and academics seem happy to quote statistics. For example, one study in 1994 concluded that there were about nine million foreigners in the country, the equivalent of 20% (twenty percent) of the population. Academically accurate research, however, puts the number of foreigners at closer to 6 (six) to 12% (twelve percent). Nor is there empirical support for the claim that about 3 million Zimbabweans have fled to South Africa. That would amount to one-quarter of Zimbabwe's population. Therefore, from these examples, one can conclude that it is easy for South African media to publish based on some unreliable statistics, figures or information and turn them into sensational headlines selection conceptualizing on words like "invasion, hordes, waves and floods" (Blank, 2008).

In relation to the above, it is common knowledge that the number of foreign nationals living in South African has tripled since then. Looking at more recent statistics, Bourdieu (2016: 80) argues that in 2015, there were about "3.2 million" foreign nationals living in South Africa, while in 2018, it is estimated that the number had increased to "5 million" (Nkwikha, 2018:1). Furthermore, looking at the above example, Smith (2010) emphasises that studies conducted prior to 2008 (e.g. Danso & Macdonald, 2001; Macdonald & Jacobs, 2005) do however suggest that it is possible to discern an improvement over time, in both the quality of the reporting and in the anti-immigration/ xenophobic nature of the stories. This decrease in xenophobia or what is referred to as "an increase in the polarization of coverage on migration" suggests that "there also appears to be a growing professionalism on migration issues, at least in some newspapers" (Macdonald & Jacobs, 2005: 308). Of great concern in recent days, is the increasing use of social media to spread hate and xenophobic sentiments against foreign nationals.

3.6 HOW FAKE NEWS ON SOCIAL MEDIA FUELS XENOPHOBIA

Social media is playing a big role in mass communication. It has been argued that "the introduction of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat and Instagram has single-handedly changed society and altered the way we view ourselves and other people", thus, over 2.3 billion are active on social networks (Bishop, 2017). Since the 21st century, the social media has been playing a positive role in the general society, which not only amounts to enhancing connectivity but also simplifying business and it has also become useful in the academic sphere, especially for digital learning and active learning (Carrigan, 2016).

However, apart from the positive role played by social media, the platform is becoming increasingly used for negative purposes especially the abuse of freedom of speech. The concept of freedom of speech has been misinterpreted and misused mostly by the youth who are leveraging social media to achieve negative and selfish ideas.,. In an attempt to give more insight on this, it is important to highlight the essence of the freedom of speech as emphasized by the Bill of Rights of the South African constitution which states that:

> *"Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes: freedom of the press and other media; freedom to receive or impart information or ideas; freedom of artistic creativity; and academic freedom and freedom of scientific research." This right "does not extend to propaganda for war; incitement of imminent violence; or advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm."* (Bottaro and Stanley, 2016: 284)

With reference to the above, I want to highlight the important part that emphasizes that the right to freedom of speech does not have to lead to propaganda for war, violence, hatred based on race ethnicity or gender that constitutes incitement to cause harm. The reason for highlighting this part is because of the way it has been neglected by most social network users. For instance, in South Africa, it has become very easy to mock anyone on social media, in spite of their positions, and this includes the President of the country. A typical example is the former president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma. Social media users are not giving him any respect and they can just write anything about him, negative or positive. In fact, ever since he occupied the President's chair he has becosme a mockery of his opponents and it does not matter how he feels about it. Furthermore, there have been so many racist posts on social media by the users that amount to hate speech with the idea that they are protected by the 'right to freedom of speech'. Some other celebrated people in South Africa have already lost their jobs on account of posts on the social media (e.g. Gareth Cliff, others). Hence I am of the view that the right to freedom of speech has been misinterpreted by most people (Ekung, 2015), mostly by social media users.

Moreover, the social media have opened up the democratic spaces allowing the public to engage on the issue of public concern, the proliferation of fake news and how it causes panic and conflict among the unsuspecting audiences who are hungry for information, especially in conflict times like the violent xenophobic attacks, elections and political state of the country. With regards to xenophobic-related violence, social media has also been identified for fuelling xenophobic behaviours around the country. Some social media users have posted 'fake news' that contributed to more xenophobic behaviours and caused xenophobic panic. For instance, there was a video that went viral on Facebook around October 2018. In the purported video foreign nationals of

Ethiopian descent were accused of child abduction. This video caused panic among South Africans and foreign nationals. It was later proven to be fake news by the police as published in the *Sunday Times* online newspaper of 10 September 2018. In the same year (2018) during xenophobic-related violence that targeted foreign-owned spaza shops, there was "an image on social media showing a minor who is alleged to have contracted a mouth disease after consuming "counterfeit" or illicit perishable goods procured from stores owned by foreign nationals" (SA news.gov.za). However, it was later established that the image was not recent, but an event that happened years back and cannot be attributed to South Africa. In the wake of this incident, the Deputy Minister of Communication in South Africa, Pinky Kekanav had to intervene by warning South Africans to stop sharing 'fake news' and unverified information on social media. The Deputy Minister further noted that "it appears that there is a concerted effort to spread incorrect, harmful content in order to stoke xenophobic attitudes within our communities" (SA news.gov.za 07 September 2018). Another unfounded video which was circulated on social media led to an actual wave of xenophobic attacks in Pretoria on the 24th February 2017. The then Acting Police Commissioner Khomotso Phahlane, had to quickly issue a statement to debunk the video. In the statement captured in *East Coast Radio online* article (cited in Oosthuizen, 2017) the Commissioner emphasized that:

"It is disturbing to note that fake news, false messages and hoax images and videos are being circulated in an irresponsible manner via social media. Last night a video of a crowd sharpening dangerous weapons was circulated as having taken place in Hillbrow yesterday when it had in fact been filmed in Durban in 2015. All must take responsibility for safety in South Africa and refrain

from being part of the problem by spreading false messages and promoting

panic."

With reference to the above, Oosthuizen (2017) points out that ever since xenophobic-related violence began to hit South Africa; social media has been used prolifically by many users to incite xenophobic violence in South Africa. Moreover, a research conducted by Stuart Jones, Director of the Citizen Research Centre, from 2011 to 2017, (cited in Khoza, 2017) has proven that xenophobic-related violence is also found on social media. He noted that   an average number of 760 posts per day made by social media users (Facebook) were found xenophobic. The use of social media for mischief and misinformation is a major concern especially as the social media platforms are increasingly becoming major sources of news (Bergstrom and Belfrage, 2018) and Doyle (2018).

3.7 THE VIOLENT IMAGES PORTRAYED ON TELEVISION

Before one looks at the negative impacts of television, it is important not to sideline the most important role television play in the society. Television does not only inform and educate (Gray, 2009) but it extends to give the audience what they want. It aids communication with its live reports, and most importantly, it acts as a window to the world as it shows the audience what is going on in the other parts of the world (Berger, 2017). For Berger, Television also acts as a unifying factor in today's society increasingly fragmented on the basis of class, race, religion and ethnicity (Berger, 2017). However, this is to be questioned, as sometimes, the television audience reacts negatively from what was supposed to be positive information.

Nelson and Salawu (2017) observe that television, as a form of media, remains to be the medium of mass communication and one of the most effective tools in bringing

about cultural and behavioural change in the society. They further observe that "television, as an instrument of mass communication, is the avenue through which information is communicated to the general public at the same time" (Nelson and Salawu, 2017: 108). Thus, the messages from the television become so much powerful that perceptions, thoughts and attitudes of the general public can be easily influenced. More so, value systems of the audience can be influenced both positively and negatively, and that would depend on the nature and intent of the mass communicated message (Nelson and Salawu, 2017). This is applicable to the t xenophobic outbreak that took place mostly in Durban in 2015, after the television news (SABC) reported on the Zulu King speech which is alleged to have xenophobic remarks on it. The reaction from the audience turned out to be negative and disastrous, where a number of foreign nationals were killed and some were severely injured. S

Touwen (2009) emphasizes that a large number of the media audience, use more images than text and they watch more television than reading newspapers. Meaning that the audience members rely on television images to interpret xenophobic violence. As earlier mentioned, this might be as a result of the power of television to report live incidents and reach the difference audiences at the same time. The ability of the audience to see xenophobic attacks as they unfold could trigger spontaneous reactions in other areas that are similar to what they see on television. For instance, during one of the incident of xenophobic attack, "most news television reported that properties of foreign Africans were looted in Durban and Johannesburg, and most properties looted belonged to Ethiopians and Somalis compared to other foreign Africans" (Nelson & Salawu, 2017: 112) point. Just after these messages were aired on television, a series of same activities took place across the whole country. As a result, "it was also reported that no fewer than five foreign African were killed in the

first week of the xenophobic attacks" (Nelson and Salawu, 2017: 112). This, however, gave a negative reaction to Citizens of other African countries that saw the unfortunate incidents on television and other media channels also contemplated applying the same violent behaviour to people living and working in their countries. For instance, in Nigeria, the people threatened to disturb the operations of South African based companies in response to the xenophobia attacks happening in South Africa. Hence, *news24* (23 February 2017) reported that "alleged anti-xenophobic protesters have attacked the offices of a South African company in Nigeria's capital Abuja".

Although the aim of the television is to inform and keep the audience up to date with happenings within and outside their environment (Fourie, 2007), sometimes its reports, especially about xenophobia, can cause unfavourable and negative reactions from the audience that may results in more xenophobic attacks (Nelson and Salawu, 2017). To curb this issue, scholars argue that "it would be necessary for the television news media to give equal attention to the problem of xenophobia in South Africa, and make significant effort to set agenda that makes racial intolerance more important through information dissemination and packaging of reports (Nelson and Salawu, 2017: 115). The media coverage of xenophobia and xenophobic related attacks highlight the need for adhering to ethics.

3.8 MEDIA AND ETHICS

For centuries, media ethics have been the topic of discourse. According to the Independent Institute of Education (IEE) (unknown author, 2016), the term ethic has been developed from the Greek word, originally known as 'ethos' which is relating to the underpinning character or disposition of a community or a person. Ethics are commonly about 'right and wrong' and 'good and bad' behaviours or actions.

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Furthermore, IIE notes that ethics can also involve a process of justifying the doing or not doing something when various values of our belief system clash. Thus, ethics also focus on the rightness of a given action, as well as on how one justifies an act as being 'right' (Plaisance, 2014). Moreover, Ward (2013: 8) cited in IIE (2016: 17) notes that ethics is both individualistic and social. According to Ward ethics is individualistic because "individuals are asked to make certain norms in making decisions." On the other hand, he notes that ethics are social because they include "honouring rules of fair social interaction and those are the rules that apply to humans in general or to all members of a group (Ward, 2013).

Honer (2014:5) defines media ethics as "more specifically the philosophical study of morality in the context of media institutions and professional practice, including the ethics of media content". Moreover "typically the kind of questions which media ethics tends to address include the following" (Honer, 2014: 5):

➢ Is it right or wrong to broadcast material that may offend some sections of the television audience?

➢ Is it right or wrong to make confidential documents freely available?

➢ Is it right or wrong to subordinate considerations of privacy to the public interest or the interest of the public?

➢ Is it right to lie to get a good story?

➢ Are there certain types of media content that should be highly regulated or censored?

➢ Is the value of media production to be judged by the pleasure it stimulates in an audience?

➢ Are sensetionalization and trivialisation necessarily of moral concern?

> Do the visual media have particular responsibilities for their impacts on the audience?

> Do they desensitise people to the moral implication of what they represent?

> Do the overall media have significant moral effects?

> To what extent must the media maintain balance and objectivity?

Although I agree with Ward about the individualistic and social nature of ethics, I also believe that ethics can be organisational. For instance, in South Africa, there are quite a number of media houses. Although there might be statutory ethics which are observed by all the media houses, each media organisation still imposes its own internal organisational ethics and this also applies to the south African media landscape.

3.9 ETHICAL JOURNALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

In spite of the changes in the South African media landscape, following the transition to democracy, journalism in the country is often criticised for its lack of accuracy, balance, diversity, independence and ethics (IIE, 2016). Furthermore, whilst a number of criticisms have been laid and are continuing to be laid against the media, various guidelines and structures have been put in place to ensure that such criticism is kept (IIE, 2016).

Despite the popular culture that is used by the media, it is paramount for the media professionals and journalists to take into consideration that South Africa has a multiplicity of cultures. This attitude might help the media in practising good and sound ethics. Most people would expect people who work in the media industry to know and keep ethics by heart, but as Merrill *et al* (2011) note a sense of a good conduct does not just come naturally, and it cannot happen overnight, as it needs to be natured and

well-developed. The IIE (2016:41) notes that "although everyone may have their own ideas of what ethics entail", the media needs motivation to arrive at ethical journalism. Frost (2016) insists that there are two basic incentives for a journalist to practice ethical behaviour; these include moral and practical incentives. The first one is the moral incentive and according to Frost (2016), morals are concerned with distinguishing between right and wrong. Hence, it is imperative for journalist and media professionals to be able to differentiate between good and bad, or right or wrong. There is a moral incentive for ethical behaviour, like most people, journalists to be specific, like to view themselves as being fair and honest. Thus, even though journalists are always chasing after a good story, however, they do not want to be generally known for exploiting people for stories (IIE, 2016).

The second one is the practical incentive, and IIE (2016:41) notes that ethical and responsible behaviour has a practical incentive. Moreover, "the practical incentive is based on the role that ethical and responsible journalism plays in ensuring the trustworthiness of the journalist and the news organisation that they are affiliated with" IIE (2016:41). This is because in most cases, more especially with newspapers, if they keep ethical standards intact, the public is likely to trust that particular newspaper company, which in turn is likely to gain more readerships. However, it is my observation that when it comes to media reporting of sensitive issues like xenophobia in South Africa, most journalists tend not to keep the story original as part of their ethical standard. For instance, the article on the *Sunday Times, "Kill thy neighbour"* *"'Kill thy neighbour" (19/04/2015 p.1).* The content says something else, totally different from the headline. In this view, Foreman (2011:11) points out that most information usually gets manipulated just to have a "commercial success".

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Looking at the above, the media must aim to unite society and not provide contents that will trigger crisis or instability among the citizens. Furthermore, the media must aim to produce content that does not have the potential to unintentionally trigger xenophobic violence, but the content that informs, educates and entertains, which in my view, is the media's primary function. No matter how well or bad the media message or text is packaged, the audience has the tendency to perceive and interpret these messages or contents in their own peculiar way.

3.10 AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVERS OF MEDIA MESSAGES.

Before proceeding to discuss the audience as perceivers of media information, it is important, to define 'audience' as a concept. Although it has become difficult to trace the original meaning of the concept due to the expansion of and variety of media over the years, McQuail had attempted to simplify the concept. McQuail (1997) emphasizes that "an audience could be defined as consisting of those who possessed the reception equipment". The reception equipment consists of, television, radio, newspapers and also the internet. However, it is important to note that the concept of the audience in the social sciences emerged after some important developments in the media industry, which includes the introduction of film and the cinema form of distribution (Jensen, 2012). By the twenty-first century the media audience has grown massively as more people began to have access to television networks, as well as the internet. Thus, one might argue that television and the internet have now overshadowed or eclipsed the consumption of the other reception equipment, like newspapers and radio.

Evidence from the t literature suggests that the media audience can react in two major ways to what the media offers. The first is the un-negotiated consumption of media

information. The second is the negotiated or selective consumption of media information;

In the un-negotiated consumption of media information, the audience consumes all the information received from the media without questioning or assessing its relevancy. This is best explained by the hypodermic needle theory which suggests that "information, views and attitudes towards something is somehow injected into people" (Fourie, 2008:34). It is further argued that people become passive audience towards media, who simply take everything as truth and never question the information and the effect is thought to be guaranteed (Fourie, 2008). Similarly, the magic bullet theory supports the same paradigm. The theory suggests that the media message represents a bullet fired from the 'media gun' into the audience's head (DeFleur, 2010). However, these two theories have received a lot of criticisms, more especially when it comes to the current way of understanding how media works. Many scholars have argued that it is impossible to consume and take everything as truth from the media. While DeFleur (2010) acknowledges that media can achieve powerful effects, he argues that it is impossible for these effects to apply to everyone as individuals differ in terms of how they interpret media messages. One might argue that with the increase of the reality shows on television (mostly from multichoice/ Dstv channels) and episodes that are based on true life stories it will be difficult to negotiate meaning in terms of media messages. For instance, the population of this study are the university students (mostly youth) which are, arguably, the most people who have access to almost all forms of the media, given the free access to the internet. Therefore, most of them are up to date with some of these reality shows. Also, some are able to watch unfiltered and uncensored violent videos on YouTube.

In the negotiated consumption of media information, the audience takes what they feel is relevant to them and reject the rest that they regard as irrelevant. This is also supported by the two-step-flow theory as it suggests that the media message flow first to the opinionated audience or opinion leaders. According to Fourie (2008:34) "with this theory, it is assumed that the audience do not accept media messages without questioning it and they are not passive receivers of message". This further suggests that the media messages, like news, are usually discussed among the audience. Therefore, this acts as the filter of media messages. Thus, in relations to this study, this makes a lot of sense one would expect university students to be the most critical audience since they are taught to always criticize the content constructively. Furthermore, as this study also deals with the population that is distinctive in terms of cultures and nationalities, it is likely that as media audience, they might interpret media messages according to their cultural upbringing. Also, the fact that they are informed about different forms of media and different channels within the media could acts as a filter of messages on its own. The next following section examines some theories of xenophobia

3.11 THEORIES OF XENOPHOBIA

There are a number of theories that explain xenophobia. The frustration-aggression theory and the isolation hypothesis attempt to explain how xenophobic behaviours manifest in individuals or between local citizens and foreign nationals. The two theories although tangential to this study provide supporting explanations for xenophobic behaviour.

3.11.1 FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION THEORY

Dollard's (1939) Frustration-aggression theory **"**attributes xenophobia to frustrations experienced or imagined by one group, for which another group is held responsible" (Soyombo 2008:99). According to Singh (2013: 92) "this usually happens when one group experiences problems attaining a goal, they want to take out their frustrations on another vulnerable group (usually a minority), using them as a scapegoat. This is usually when the agent of the frustration is too powerful to confront". In relation to this study, South Africans experiencing problems attaining a goal (frustrated about poverty, unemployment, health issues, poor government service delivery, etc.) take out their frustrations (because they are too powerful to confront them/ they are in their motherland) on the vulnerable (foreigners), blaming them for causing the economic predicaments which they are facing.

Furthermore, the scapegoating hypothesis has largely emerged through sociological theory and it locates xenophobia within the context of social transition and change. This theory is also applicable to this study, as it implies that hostility towards foreigners is explained in relation to limited resources, such as housing, education, health care and employment, coupled with high expectations during transition and the limitedness of these resources lead the in-group to blame the out-group and push their frustration and aggression towards the out-group (Eagle & Hook, 2002).

3.11.2 THE ISOLATION-HYPOTHESIS THEORY

Isolation in social terms can be defined as a state that a person or group experiences of having a strong desire or a need for involvement with others, but is unable to make that contact (Larsen & Lubkin, 2009). Harris (2002), notes that the isolation hypothesis perceives xenophobia to exist in South Africa as a result of the country's history of

seclusion from the international community. On the other hand, Morris (1998) argues that apartheid insulated South African citizens from nationalities beyond Southern Africa. In this hypothesis, foreigners represent the unknown to South Africans. With the political change and transition, however, South Africa's borders have opened up and the country has become integrated into the international community.

Therefore, this hypothesis suggests that hostility and suspicion towards immigrants or foreigners in South Africa exist due to international isolation. The hypothesis also explains contemporary xenophobia by recourse to internal isolation, isolation between South Africans, as a consequence of apartheid (Harris, 2002). For instance, even among South Africans, there is still internal isolation, sometimes which results or emanates from racism, usually between Black and White groups. That isolation also happens to some South African institutions of higher learning, where you still find racism among students. Morris (1998) argues that there is little doubt that the brutal environment created by apartheid with its enormous emphasis on boundary maintenance has also impacted on people's ability to be tolerant of difference. Therefore, this means that because of strict boundaries among South Africans which were caused by apartheid left South African citizens unable to accommodate and able to tolerate immigrants or foreigners and caused isolation to exist both internally and externally. This is why it is not a surprise to notice xenophobic behaviours and tensions in South African tertiary institutions because there are many cultures from different nations from which isolation exists between foreign cultures and local. Moreover, unlike during the apartheid era, currently, there are no more Whites only and Blacks only institutions. Both races are now able to study at the same institution. The next section discusses some theories that provide interpretative framework for this study.

3.12 THEORIES OF MEDIA

This study relies on Gerbner's Cultivation Theory to explain media reporting, while Dollard's (1939) frustration-aggression theory has been used to explain xenophobic behaviours. These theories were carefully selected to assist in explaining and enhancing our understanding of media reporting and xenophobia. There other related theories like the framing theory which although tangential, provides supporting explanation for media reporting of xenophobic behaviours.

3.12.1 CULTIVATION THEORY

The Cultivation Theory is one of the theories that provide interpretative framework for this study. The theory is concerned with people's views about the world based on the construction of social reality by the media (Signorielli, 2005). The cultivation theory in its simplest form, tries to comprehend if those who spend more time watching television are more probable to understand the world in ways that reflect the most common and repetitive messages and lessons of the television world. Hence, this theory assumes that heavy television viewers are more likely to reproduce the television lifestyle they are exposed to because television has so much power that it influences them to believe in what is being streamed on the screen. Furthermore, the theory suggests that television has the ability to also resonate or over-emphasise the viewer's current perception of the world. So the audience exposed to constant violence on television for instance, begin to imagine the world to be full of violence than it actually is. Gerbner (1990: 255) notes that the television's major contribution is cultivation, a cultural process relating "to coherent frameworks or knowledge and to underlying general concepts cultivated by exposure to the total and organically related world of television rather than exposure to individual programs and selections".

According to Baran and Davis (2013) cultivation happens in two ways, namely, **mainstreaming** and **resonance**;

> ***"Mainstreaming*** *is where, especially for heavier, television's symbols monopolise and dominate other sources of information and ideas about the world. Peoples' internalised social realities eventually move towards the mainstream, not a mainstream in any political sense, but a cultural dominant reality more closely aligned with television's reality than with any objective reality. Is the criminal justice system failing us? It is, if we think it is".* (Baran & Davis, 2013: 328).

> *"In the second way cultivation manifests itself through **resonance**, when viewers see things on television that are most congruent with their own everyday realities. In essence, these people get a 'double dose' of cultivation because what they see on the screen resonates with their actual lives. Some city dwellers, for example, might see the violent world of television resonated in their deteriorating neighbourhoods" (Baran & Davis, 2013: 328)*

There are television programs on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) like *Cutting Edge*) that investigates and exposes some illegal and corrupt activities of foreigners. Sometimes, the programmes are focused on showcasing foreign nationals with expired permits and these stories are streamed in a way to suggest that most of the foreigners are corrupt and are in the country illegally. Portrayal of foreign nationals who include international students, in this light might change the way television viewers perceive foreigners or international students. Hence, Baran and Davis (2013: 328) emphasise that "in cultivation analysis, especially for heavier viewers, by which television's symbols monopolise and dominate other sources of information and ideas

about the world". This further means that, the world view created by television becomes the reality because the audience believes it to be so. In other words, the more time the people spend watching television's world the more their world becomes the same.

One can thus expatiate on the resonance of cultivation theory using the same example of *Cutting Edge* television program. For instance, if a person has always stereotyped foreigners as corrupt and illegal immigrants when this person happens to watch this program that portray foreign nationals as corrupt and illegal immigrants, this has the tendency not only to resonate his or her stereotype but also likely to overemphasise or provide 'double dose' of his strongly held views. As "we see what we want to see" (Tate, 2010: 8) when this person, for instance, goes to the outside world, chances are that he or she will notice more of illegal and corrupt occupants from foreign countries, which can as well endorse xenophobic behaviours. Hence, Baran and Davis (2013) argue that in cultivation analysis; it is when viewers see things on television that are congruent with their own everyday realities they are likely to replicate the action. For instance, when citizens in Alexandra township in Johannesburg see images of their fellow South Africans beating foreigners in Chatsworth in Durban and looting shops in Durban CBD, the next day they do the same to foreigners in their neighbourhood and vice versa. Thus, it may be that repeated exposure to media reports about xenophobic attacks could be a factor for the spread of xenophobic-related violence across South Africa. According to Kamalipour (1999: 4), "a useful way to conceptualise the role of media in the formation of national impressions is through cultivation theory", which involves the idea that 'heavy media consumption' cultivates attitudes that are 'more consistent' with the content being consumed than with the mundane reality of everyday-life (Livesey, 2014). Moreover, heavy violent film and television watchers or

those who spend a lot of time playing violent games, video, immersive, tend to develop a violent mindset. These individuals see the world as a more violent place than it actually is, and this can induce violent real-world behaviour.

Television has been part of the South African medium of communication and development. Most households in South Africa have television and this generation of South Africans, it is hard to find someone who did not grow up with television. Signorielli (2013: 21) emphasises that "from the beginning, violence has been a part of television programming, as has the resultant concern about its effects". Hence, from the proposition of this theory, the researcher can then allude that the media's presentation of violence may cause viewers to be more violent. As this theory suggests that people who watch more television will express greater interpersonal mistrust, perceive the world as a 'mean' place and endorse statements that reflect alienation and gloom (Signorielli, 2013). The unit of analysis of this study are university students who are exposed to media reports about xenophobic attacks. The cultivation theory is applicable to this study, as the study seeks to examine the effect of media reporting on xenophobic behaviour among university students. Signorielli, (2005) notes that "the cultivation theory is perhaps best known for its research on violence and fear, postulating that the lessons of television violence and especially the patterns of victimisation are fear, intimidation and a sense of vulnerability. The cultivation theory will enable us understand whether constant exposure to media reports about xenophobic attacks cause students to cultivate violence behaviour or lead victims of xenophobic attacks to retaliate or respond to the violence that they see in the media. I argue that students who watch xenophobic violence on television might become even more xenophobic and violent towards people of distinctive cultures or people from

foreign countries. If they already had negative attitudes toward people from other countries, television has the power to even resonate their negative attitudes.

3.12.2 AGENDA-SETTING THEORY

The agenda-setting theory was introduced by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972 (Foss & Littlejohn, 2009). The theory espouses the idea that what the public thinks about is set by the media. Agbese (2007) points out that this theory is based on the constant covering of an issue where the media tell the public what to think about. It is the media's ability to influence the perceived salience of key political elements. The Agenda Setting theory argues that journalists, determine which issues amongst others are treated as important in the news by the way they highlight and select a few stories each day (Agbese, 2007). In other words, the amount of time spent on a topic and the information relayed in a news story or the topic being covered, determines the level at which the audience learn about that topic and the amount of importance put or placed on the topic (Orr, 2016). For instance, if the media reports heavily and regularly on xenophobic-related violence in South Africa, it has the potential to shape and determine xenophobia as an issue of importance to the public. Foss and Littlejohn (2009: 31) argue that:

> *"while agenda-setting theory started out as an explanation of media impact on political behaviour and attitudes during elections years, specifically, the ways that news media coverage can prioritize issues, or set the agenda, for the public in the decade since McCombs and Shaw's initial study was published, the theory has inspired hundreds of subsequent explorations into the ways that media and other institutions prime and frame issues and events for their*

audiences and therefore influence and shape public opinion, either intentionally
or unintentionally" (Foss and Littlejohn, 2009:31).

In South Africa, the media has been giving priority to politics and treating it as an important issue, while neglecting other social issues. However, in recent times the media shifted its focus to other critical social issues including coverage of xenophobic-related violence. Ever since the 2008 xenophobic attacks in Alexandra, Johannesburg, the media has given priority to the issue. Subsequent xenophobic incidents such as the 2015 Durban xenophobic attacks that erupted after the Zulu King's speech, the 2017 and 2018 xenophobic attacks in which foreign-owned spaza shops were targeted, received full coverage from the media. With over a decade of media reporting on xenophobia, the issue has become not only of high importance but also a topical issue in public discourses.

As noted by Agbese (2007) the media tell the public what to think about by the way it choses and emphasises certain issues. The repeated coverage of xenophobic incidents and the way the media choose to portray xenophobic-related violence have the ability to influence perceived salience of xenophobic-related violence by the public and, this may have unintentionally, given the public the wrong idea

. **3.12.3 FRAMING THEORY**

Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by the audiences. Arowolo (2017) is of the view that the framing theory is related to the Agenda- Setting, in directing importance to issues. However, while Agenda-setting focuses on drawing the audience attention to specific issues, the framing theory focuses attention on the essence of a certain event or an issue and then places it within a field of meaning.

Rill and Davis (2008: 610) points out that if one has to distinguish between the agenda-setting and framing, one has to note that the agenda setting is more focused on the "accessibility-based model", which actually means that the more frequently an issue is accessed, the more salient that issue will become. Furthermore, based on the media framing of issues, when presenting a story in a conflict, prioritization is put on the conflict itself, as opposed to the actual decision made (Arowolo, 2017). In the case of xenophobia, this means that the media does not put its focus on the nitty-gritty and crucial details of the xenophobic attacks but it rather put its focus on the xenophobic violence taking place at that moment. In this situation, the audience is left no choice but to focus on the conflict or xenophobic activity without being given a piece of well-researched information on the detailed reasons for the conflict among South Africans and foreign nationals. Furthermore, based on human interest or personalization, when media presents a story with a human face, personality is promoted over more important aspects (Arowolo, 2017). In relations to xenophobic-related violence, this means that the media focus more on the behaviour, by the participants, being displayed during the xenophobic violence. Hence, in many media reports of xenophobic-related violence, the media regularly refer to South Africans as hooligans, perpetrators and foreign nationals as victims, refugees and illegal immigrants (Touwen, 2009).

There is the tendency of the media especially the western media, to frame African countries as nations of civil war, poverty and starvation, incurable diseases and crime-infested. Although these conditions may be happening in some of the African countries the media has chosen to prioritise these frames of references neglecting other positive and good things happening in these countries. For example, Nigeria and South Africa contribute almost half of the continent's GDP, Morocco is the top intra-investor, some

countries like Botswana and Swaziland export more than they import and Africa as the continent has been recorded as having the highest proportion of entrepreneurs in the world (Douglas, 2017). The recurrent frames of foreigners in the south African media are often those of drug-dealers, illegal-aliens, poverty-stricken folks. I argue that the frames that media has chosen to represent foreign nationals has resulted to South Africans and other parts of the world to believe that these African countries and their people are good for nothing. The belief here is that these countries and their nationals are known for poverty, crime and incurable diseases. This has stigmatised the foreign nationals even those just visiting South Africa. The South African media framing of foreign nationals and the tendency to provide one-sided information might have also resulted to discrimination and hatred against them by, If the media could change its focus and prioritize on publishing positive information about other African countries, people could change the way they perceive foreign nationals, that includes South Africans. Moreso, this could discourage xenophobic-related violence against foreign nationals. This kind of journalism is the type that is focused on building peace and harmonious relations between the centripetal and centrifugal forces in society.

3.13 PEACE JOURNALISM

According to Tehranian (2009) peace journalism emerged in the 1970s and was a slogan and set of ideas pioneered by Norwegian scholar, Johan Galtung. This was for criticizing the preference given the mainstream journalism around violence and propaganda. Peace journalism focuses on the uses of the concept "of balance, fairness and accuracy in reporting. It also provides a new road map tracing the connection between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their journalism, and builds an awareness of nonviolence and

creativity into the practical job of everyday editing and reporting" (YoungBlood, 2016: 45). Peace Journalism is relevant in the South African media space. The primary function of journalists is to report the news as they are; however, this notion has been replaced by making the news (Moinuddin, 2017). There have been complaints that some of the media reports come with unbalanced and biased reports. In the case of reporting xenophobic-related violence, most journalists have now neglected one of the major principles of journalism, which is to report the news objectively. Journalists have become more artistic and subjective when reporting on such sensitive topics. This includes the use of exaggerated words which have been misinterpreted by some of the people in the audience. This is because journalists have now shifted the focus from nation building and influencing peace in their reports. Over the years South African journalism has played important role as one of the civic tools in democracy but this is however now being questioned. Objective reporting is being threatened by the content and conduct of journalism even as democracy faces the crisis of credibility over responses to conflicts and crises. This suggests that there are now gaps in the practice of journalism in the South African mainstream media highlighting the need for the concept of journalism to be revisited (Youngblood, 2016).

It is important that journalists put aside the notion of making news and adopt the notion of peace journalism, especially when dealing and reporting on on-going xenophobic attacks.

3.13.1 KEY PRINCIPLES OF PEACE JOURNALISM

According to Youngblood (2016:24) "there is a number of principles of Peace journalism, that incorporate a chart comparing peace journalism to violence journalism and a 17-point checklist of what a peace journalism would try to do". For Youngblood,

the basic principle of peace journalism is the use of language. He points out that to achieve peace journalism, journalists must avoid the language that victimizes (devastating, defenceless), that is imprecise and emotive (tragedy, massacre), that is demonizing (vicious, cruel, barbaric) and the language that imprecisely labels (terrorist, extremist). This kind of language is prevalent in the South African media and this negates the ideals of peace journalism. For instance, in most media reports about xenophobic-related violence, the language that is imprecisely labelling has always been used. Examples given include labels like the 'refugees', 'neighbours', 'foreigners', 'perpetrators', 'victims'. Therefore, this means that for peace to be achieved and xenophobic-related violence to be discouraged, journalists need to do away with imprecisely labelling language, which also includes the idea of 'us and them' being injected by the South African media (Youngblood, 2016).

3.13.2 PEACE JOURNALISM ELEMENTS

Youngblood (2016: 24) has identified a list of items that could assist journalists to achieve peace when reporting on violence-related topics. Below are some of the elements:

- Peace journalism is proactive; it examines the causes of conflict, and leads discussions to solutions.

- It looks to unite parties, rather than dividing them and do away with oversimplified 'us and them' and 'good vs bad guy reporting.

- Peace reporters reject the official propaganda and instead seek facts from all sources.

- Peace journalists consider the consequences of their reporting.

- Peace journalists offer counter-narratives that discredit media-created or perpetuated stereotypes and misperceptions.

The above principles could be adopted and applied by journalists and the media at large in the case of resolving the on-going xenophobic-related violence in South Africa. For instance, when reporting on xenophobia, the South African media has been lacking in investigating and examining the causes of violence and most importantly, taking the lead towards conflict resolution among foreign nationals and South Africans. Hence, the adoption of these elements by South African media could really assist towards nation building and peace journalism. Another kind of journalism that aims to promote peace is Ubuntu journalism and it's discussed next.

3.14 UBUNTU JOURNALISM

According to Wasserman and De Beer (2004: 92) cited in D'Haenens, *et al* (2015: 100), "the Western conception of truth is seen to hinge completely on facts, doing little to embed these facts in a network of cultural and social meanings generated within the community itself". In other words, "Western epistemological thinking about the functions of journalism in society continues from a focus on journalism primarily in terms of (1) its information, surveillance, entertainment and educational role, (2) Journalism's freedom and right to protection in order to be able to fulfil its social responsibility, and (3) the individual's right to information, protection, entertainment and education" (D'Haenens *et al* 2015: 100). However, this is contrary to the African value of Ubuntu way of doing things. In Africa, people live by the value called Ubuntu which means that you are a person by people and you cannot exist alone and it also involves respecting the elders and young. Ubuntu focuses on building one another,

unity, respect, morals and is solution oriented. More so, in the context of journalism and Ubuntu as the value, the emphasis is on the role of journalism as an agent of community-bonding and debate with the aim of reaching consensus among community members based on the social and cultural values and morals of a community (D'Haenens *et al,* 2015). As mentioned earlier, the South African media, when reporting on xenophobia has emphasized the issue of 'us and them' (e.g. perpetrators and the refugees), by adopting Ubuntu Journalism, it means that the focus could be on unity instead of division. This also means that when xenophobic-related violence is taking place, the media could also advocate for dialogues towards reaching a solution and consensus among South Africans and foreign nationals.

In an attempt to define the term Ubuntu, Fourie (2007) notes that the essence of Ubuntu lies in the unique African moral philosophy. For Fourie, the term Ubuntu is derived from the Zulu saying; umntu ngumntu ngabantu, which actually means that "a person is a person through other people". Moreso, this is a value that is shared by most African countries. Hence, the interpretation goes as far, when interpreted by other African languages, as meaning "a person is defined with reference to the community" (Fourie, 2007: 210). In relations to journalism and media reporting on issues like xenophobic-related violence, the emphasis could be on community, collectivism and unity. This further means that, journalists could focus more on building unity and focus on peacebuilding rather than adopting the 'us and them' style of reporting. This is because, Ubuntu's focus is more than just emphasizing on individual and individual rights but also the sharing of individual participation in a collective life (D'Haenens *et al,* 2015). Ubuntu journalism is ethical journalism that focuses on the good over bad and collective interest over self. Therefore, it is my view that if South

African journalists could incorporate Ubuntu more in their reporting skills, perhaps there could be more of peace journalism

3.15 CONCLUSION

Having highlighted the role of the media, the theories of the media, including the cultivation theory and the agenda-setting and framing theory, and those of xenophobia, which include the frustration-aggression theory and the isolation-hypothesis theory, were discussed. The role of the media in mitigating the negative perceptions/ influences towards foreigners was also discussed. In light of the relevant literature reviewed, indeed, the media are playing a role in influencing negative xenophobic behaviours against foreigners. Through the relevant literature, it was also found that among different kinds of media that are contributing to these behaviours, social media has also become a huge contributor with the dissemination of fake news. Hence, peace journalism and Ubuntu journalism were recommended as alternative models for reporting conflict and violence in an attempt for media to mitigate conflict and xenophobic-related violence. The following chapter describes the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the role of media in the society in conflict resolution was discussed and the relevant theories to this study were reviewed and discussed. This chapter presents the research methodology selected to critically analyse the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students in selected South African Universities. The methodological framework is in line with the aims and objectives of this study. The study made use of qualitative approaches to collect and analyse data. The Research methodology comprises the research design, target population, sample size, sampling procedures and techniques as well as the data gathering instruments used to extract information from participants. The Chapter discussed the ethical issues pertaining to the study including how the research approached the issue of obtaining informed consent from participants.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research is about putting information together in a systematic and orderly manner on a given topic (Oliver, 2010:2). According to Gardner (2012: 3), a research design is the basic method of collecting evidence and combination of research methods. Gardner (2012: 3) contends that the "design is fundamental because everything ultimately flows from the design choice, and because this choice is the one most closely tied to the investigator's research questions and theories".

White (2005) cited in Zheng (2009: 40) notes two words that are fundamental in research design: validity and reliability. He emphasises that "validity is concerned with the idea that the research design fully addresses the research questions and objectives one is trying to answer and achieve". On the other hand, "reliability is about consistency and research, and whether another researcher could use the design and obtain similar findings." (White, 2000 cited in Zheng, 2009). All the above-discussed methods of this research were therefore taken into consideration and thus influenced the research design choice of this study. This is a critical analysis of the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students in selected South African universities. Therefore, the researcher made use of the qualitative method; the accuracy of validity and reliability is carefully examined against the methods that were applied to this study.

4.3. QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

According to Kothari (2004: 8), "research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem". It may be understood as the science of studying how research is done scientifically. Therefore, qualitative research methods were used in this study. Moreover, this study employed descriptive research to critically analyse the influence of media reporting of xenophobic behaviours among students in selected South African universities.

Qualitative research is applicable in this study, as it is usually used when dealing with several types of inquiry to help in understanding and explaining the meaning of social phenomena (Waltz & Zigmont, 2016). For Waltz and Zigmont, qualitative research is useful for understanding how a sample feels, perceives, thinks and reacts to a certain phenomenon or situation. On the other hand, Lichtman (2012:7) notes that "qualitative

research is a general term. It is a way of knowing in which a researcher gathers, organizes, interprets information obtained from a human using his or her eyes and ears as filters". Qualitative method is, therefore, suitable for this research as it enabled the researcher to identify the thoughts, reactions, perceptions and attitudes of the participants pertaining to the media reporting of xenophobic-related violence. The choice of qualitative method was further influenced by the phenomena (xenophobia) being analysed and the study's objective which was to critically analyse the influence of media reporting on xenophobic-related violence among students. Thus, findings or results can be then generalized to similar samples and can be applied across a population if the significance is high enough (Waltz and Zigmont, 2016).

The qualitative method allowed the researcher to deeply review the literature of media and xenophobia. Therefore, the theories which best explain and define media and xenophobia were qualitatively discussed in this study. Denzine and Lincoln (1994:2) note that the "qualitative method is appropriate for studying phenomena that are in natural settings such as cultures". The method also allows the researcher to study diverse materials that include case-studies, personal experiences, observational interviews, focus groups that define the procedure and problematic moments and understanding in individuals' lives. This was the case in this study, as the qualitative method allowed the participants in the focus groups to share personal experiences, for instance, xenophobic experiences from both the communities and schools (university), which turned out to be useful data.

4.4 TARGET POPULATION

Cargan (2007) defines research population as a collective that a researcher uses to describe the quantity and type of cases in the study, whether they are events, objects

or people. Namey and Guest (2015) note that target population is a set of elements to which a researcher wishes to apply the findings of study on Population can be a collective term employed to describe the total quantity of units, which is the subject of the study by a researcher (Walliman, 2006).

In this study, the target population were students (both South African and international) from the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN), Howard college campus, University of Fort Hare (UFH), Alice campus, and the University of Johannesburg (UJ), Soweto Campus. The researcher decided to consider both local and international students to generate sufficient data to critically analyse the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours. It was difficult for the researcher to get the actual statistics of both international and South African students because of ethical issues. Currently, South African universities host more than 70,000 international students from different countries in the African continent (Swanzy and Langa, 2017).

4.4.1 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE SELECTED UNIVERSITIES

The University of Fort Hare was selected as one of the research domains for this study, because Alice, the main campus, is eminent and remains a melting point for international students from the continent of Africa. Hence, the researcher decided to narrow down the study to focus on the Alice campus only. As the main campus of the University Alice has a higher number of students compared to other campuses. Moreover, almost all the students live inside the campus where there are many residences which make it easy to access them. University of Fort Hare, is one of the multicultural and multiracial universities in the Eastern Cape. For the purpose of this study, the researcher deemed it necessary to draw a sample in the institution which has such characteristics and because of its diversification, the researcher assumed it

would yield a very rich data. Lastly, Eastern Cape Province is not famous for having xenophobic scandals as compared to other Provinces like Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal. Therefore, it became an interest for the researcher to investigate the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students.

The reason for selecting the University of Johannesburg (UJ) students is based on the previous xenophobic behaviours reported in the media, in which international students were murdered at the university. Other universities in Gauteng like Wits University have not experienced such incidents. Furthermore, the researcher also assumed that UJ students could provide the much needed rich data, given the fact that the university is located in close proximity to the Alex Township which is regarded as a xenophobic hot-spot.

The reason for selecting the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) is because it is also characterized by multiracial and multicultural students in all of its five campuses. The researcher decided to narrow down the study to focus the research on the Howard College Campus only mainly because it is located in central Durban, which is also considered as one of the xenophobic hot-spot. With all the mentioned reasons, the researcher deemed the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howards College Campus fit to draw a sample from.

4.5 SAMPLING METHOD AND PROCEDURE

Neelankavil, (2015:240) describes sampling as "a procedure that uses a small number of elements of a given population as a basis for drawing conclusions about the whole population". The researcher employed non-probability sampling, in particular, the purposive sampling method for this study. Johnson (2013: 264) argues that "in purposive sampling (sometimes called judgemental sampling), the researcher

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specifies the characteristics of a population of interest and then tries to locate individuals who have those characteristics". According to Shamar (2008), purposive sampling is well- known because it produces well-matched groups. Although in some cases, the reliability of the criterion in purposive sampling might happen to be questionable, it uses the best available knowledge pertaining to the sample subject. However, it provides much better control of important variables and from it, sample groups of data can be easily matched. Hence, the researcher was interested in students who possess characteristics of being South African and international students from the selected universities and thereafter, the researcher asked those who met the criteria and characteristics to partake in the research study. Gerrish (2010:148) notes that "in qualitative research, the problem of diversity or variation is addressed through the development of a sampling strategy designed to ensure that a range of data is identified and collected, as this increases the validity of the findings. Purposive sampling was used in this study to draw samples for analysis.

The purposive sampling technique was applicable and considered by the researcher when he was able to judge the units of analysis based on their characteristics for data collection. Purposive sampling was also used in the establishment of focus groups for both local and international students of the University of Fort Hare, the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the University of Johannesburg. In that view, the researcher used his judgement (to ensure that only students) were considered to participate in the study. This type of sampling technique reduces biases, as the researcher has to consider only the units of analysis that possess required characteristics for the research study. Again, purposive sampling technique is unlikely to produce errors during data collection. Hence, the researcher was able to judge units of analysis if they qualify, based on their characteristics as required by the research study. For this

research, two focus groups consisting of local and international students per each of the three selected universities were formed.

4.5.1 SAMPLE SIZE AND ITS JUSTIFICATION

Although qualitative studies commonly use a small number of participants, determining the sample size is still vital (Pitney, 2009). Considering the number of students enrolled in the three selected universities, the researcher felt that it is necessary to make one focus group for each entity (local students and international students) to collect data. Hence the total of two focus group discussions was conducted at the University of Fort Hare, the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the University of Johannesburg, for both local and international students. Additionally, five in-depth interviews in each university were also carried out.

Datallo (2008) notes, that the sample size is a significant element in determining the quality with which the population values can be determined. According to Wimmer (2009), the focus group methods invites four (4) to twelve (12) people to a research location and have a controlled discussion of one or two hours, after which a report is compiled by the researcher. Considering the number of students enrolled in the three selected Universities; University of Fort Hare, Alice campus (UFH), University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard college campus (UKZN) and University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus (UJ), the researcher conducted two focus groups per each selected university and the researcher was of the view that mixing up discussants would elicit much better information. Having the students discuss the issue from two divergent viewpoints, and seeing them argue against each other will provide a nuanced discussion of the object of inquiry. However, it would have been desirable to have more than two (2) focus groups in each university but it was thought could lead to

repetition of responses from the participants. Instead, the researcher decided to conduct five (5) in-depth interviews in each university in to complement the focus groups. This is also a way of accommodating participants who may feel uncomfortable to talk among other participants in a form of focus group discussion.

The first focus group had eight (8) participants and consisted of local students and few international students was carefully arranged and conducted at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus residence. The second focus group constituted of seven (7) participants and had more international students than local students. Thereafter, five (5) in-depth interviews comprising participants from different nationalities were conducted at the Alice campus of the University of Fort Hare. In all, 20 participants were involved in the focus groups and in-depth interviews at the University of Fort Hare.

At the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard college campus, the first focus group which had more of   international students and local students was arranged and carefully conducted in the students' centre. It constituted of six (6) participants all from different countries. On the other hand, a total of eight (8) mixed participants were also interviewed in a form of the focus group discussion. In addition, five (5) in-depth interviews on participants with different nationalities were also conducted in addition to the two focus groups. Therefore, an overall of nineteen (19) participants were interviewed at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus.

Two focus groups were conducted at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus (student centre). The first focus group of mixed participants comprised eight (8) participants. The second focus group with also mixed participants and constituted of six (6) participants was also conducted. Additionally, five (5) participants with different

nationalities as well, were also interviewed in a form of in-depth interview inside the institution. Thus making a total of nineteen participants interviewed at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus.

The researcher was careful when selecting units of analysis; hence, the purposive sampling method was employed to strike a balance in terms of sex, age and level of education. This means that both females and males were considered to participate in this study. However, the researcher felt it was necessary to consider different age groups (from eighteen to thirty-five) and different levels of education (from the first year to postgraduate). The researcher assumed that the different sexes, age groups and levels of education would produce different views that are informed by different levels of experience regarding the critical analysis of media reports on xenophobia influence, with the aim of investigating if media reporting of xenophobia also causes students to adopt these xenophobic behaviours in selected universities.

4.6 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Connaway and Powell (2010) emphasise that after identifying the characteristics of the population, it then becomes vital and significant to estimate their proportions in the population. Data collection techniques are the tools that the researcher make use to collect and gather primary data for analysis (Connaway & Powell, 2010). On the other hand, Aggarwal et al. (2002:14) emphasize that "data can be mainly sourced from two kinds of sources, namely, primary data and secondary data". Primary data are data collected by the researcher for his own study, for the first time, and from start to end, the primary data are therefore first-hand information. An example of primary data can be data collected through conducting interviews with participants or science experiments.

However, secondary data, in the words of Aggarwal (2002), are those data which are already in existence and which have been collected for some purpose other than the answering of the question in hand. Journals, dissertations, textbooks and web pages, internet are examples of secondary data. This study made use of such data to strengthen the depth of this study. Aggarwal (2002:15) differentiates between the two kinds of data sources as that primary data are original because these are collected by investigators from the source of their origin. On the other hand, secondary data are already in existence and, therefore, are not original. Regarding secondary data, the main problem constitutes the recurrent question of validity because when one researcher gathers data for a particular study, there is no guarantee that such data will be convenient to the research interest (Maxfield, 2012). This means that secondary data alone cannot help to answer the question (Zheng 2009).

Therefore, this study used mostly primary data from focus groups as this is suitable for this study and the research problem being investigated. Hence in this study, focus groups and personal interviews were used as the main data collection method, with the aim of critically analysing the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students in selected South African universities. On the other hand, Spector, Merrill and Elen (2013) note that data collection techniques are mostly categorized according to the type of analysis they support. The research instruments used in this study are discussed in detail below.

4.7 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Bryman, (2015:501) notes that "focus group method is a group interview in which there are several participants (in addition to the moderator/facilitator); there is an emphasis in the questioning on a particular fairly tightly defined topic: and the accent is upon

interaction within the group and the joint construction of meaning". Focus groups are small structured groups with selected participants normally led by a moderator, (Litosseliti, 2003:1). The focus group method is directly linked to qualitative research as it relies on words from participants (not numbers) which are called perspectives of themes (Creswell, 2014). They are set up in order to explore specific topics and individuals' views and experiences, through group interaction. According to Wimmer (2009), the focus group method invites four (4) to twelve (12) people to a research location to have a controlled discussion of one or two hours and then a report is compiled by the researcher. Furthermore, focus groups typically emphasise a specific theme or topic that is explored deeply or in-depth (Bryman, 2015).

The focus group questions were, therefore, informed by the objectives of this study, and a pilot study was conducted as well. Two focus groups each f consisting of local and international students, were conducted for the purpose of this study at the aforementioned universities. The researcher monitored the focus groups throughout the process of data gathering, which took no more than an hour each. Some focus groups were held in student-centres, others in student TV rooms. Additionally, the researcher decided to employ five in-depth interviews in each university in addition to the two focus groups. The researcher wanted to accommodate participants that do not comfortable to participate among other members. Moreso, some other participants (local) wanted to respond in IsiXhosa and IsiZulu. Thus, the researcher had to allow that opportunity with the hope that they will also be bringing new information.

4.8 DATA ANALYSIS

Auerbach (2003:3) notes that 'qualitative research involves analysing and interpreting texts and interviews in order to discover meaningful patterns descriptive of a particular

phenomenon'. On the other hand, Grbich (2013:1) emphasises that "the process of data analysis in qualitative research is complicated in that it is not simply a matter of choosing and applying an accepted process such as thematic analysis". Data collected in this study were therefore analysed qualitatively bearing in mind the key issues highlighted. The data collected from the focus group discussions and the interviews were therefore transcribed and coded. A thematic analysis was used to analyse data from focus groups discussions and the interviews by categorising audience perspectives into themes (Grbich, 2013).

Guest *et al* (2012) point out that thematic analysis is one of the grounded theories and development of cultural models, and it requires more involvement and interpretation from the researcher. Furthermore, it is noted that "thematic analysis moves beyond counting explicit phrases or words and mainly focus on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is themes" (Guest *et al* (2012:10). Hence, in this study, the researcher has extracted some of the explicit words from the participants and respondents, and they were grouped according to the majority and minority, and then analysed. Moreover, Guest *et al (2012:*10) emphasizes that in thematic analysis, "codes are then typically developed to represent the identified themes and applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis". Thus, in this study, codes were developed to represent the extracted themes.

Also, in this study, brief textual analyses of few newspaper headlines were selected as evidence in an attempt to critically analyse the influence of media on xenophobic related violence. Longhurst, Smith, Bagnan, Crawford and Ogborn (2017:55) note that textual analyses usually refer to studies of different types of written text, which is meant to deconstruct their significance. Moreover, it includes "unpacking and decoding", that

is breaking down the texts with the aim of exploring meanings, connotations and contradictions. Furthermore, this study utilised McKees's post-structuralist ideology of textual analysis. McKees's view is that it is most likely that interpretations of texts are based on educated guesses (Mckee, 2003). Furthermore, basically, the textual analysis also includes gathering and critically evaluating the media messages that differently encultured people use to make sense of the world. Therefore, the post-structuralist approach is therefore suggesting that texts can possibly have a variety of interpretations based on different cultural context, rather than focusing on interpretations as simply right or wrong (McKee, 2003).

4.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

There are variables which might contribute towards unwillingness of participants to partake in this study, such as fear, authenticity, expectations, hopes, privacy and other factors, so the researcher bore all these in mind. First of all, the researcher explained to the participants that participation was voluntary and there would be no incentives in return for their participation. Secondly, the participants were informed that their responses would be absolutely confidential, so there should be no fear of being explicit in terms of answering questions, and lastly, they were also informed that the information they provided would be used for academic purposes only. By explaining all these to the participants, they were able to freely provide all the necessary information. The researcher also abided by the University of Fort Hare, the University of KwaZulu Natal and the University of ethical policies guiding research.

Confidentiality and anonymity are terms that are often used interchangeably by researchers in carrying out studies. However, the ethical issues of each one are quite different. Confidentiality refers to the concealment of information that is discussed

between researcher and research participants during data collection (Hennink, 2014). The researcher, therefore, had to inform research participants that the research information will be collected, analysed and reported anonymously without disclosing names or particulars of participants. Furthermore, research subjects were assured and informed of their mutual obligation to one another not to disclose any personal information which emerged during focus group discussions to anyone else at any point in time after the discussion sessions. The researcher had to ensure that all the research participants from focus groups understood that all discussions pertaining to this research were electronically recorded. All recorded transcripts were kept confidential in a secure place in the researcher's place, and only the researcher and his supervisor had access to these records. The researcher also made it clear to his research subjects that their identities will be confidential.

4.10 ENVISAGED ETHICAL ISSUES

According to De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2005:54), ethics are sets "of moral principles which are suggested by an individual or group and are subsequently widely accepted and offer rules and behavioural expectation about the most acceptable conduct towards participants, employees, sponsors, other researchers, assistants and students". De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2005) also note that integrating ethics into the entire research process, from selecting the research problem to carrying out research goals, interpretation and reporting research findings, is critical to ensuring that the research process is guided by ethical principles beyond informed consent. Bless (2006:139) is of the view that "there have been many issues of abuse of people`s rights in the name of intellectual property interests". Hence, the researcher applied for an ethical clearance certificate from the University Research Ethics Committee which was granted and attached as Appendix A. Furthermore, University

of KwaZulu Natal permission letter is attached as Appendix B and the University of Johannesburg's permission letter is attached as Appendix C.

4.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It would have been interesting for the researcher to extract data from more universities across the country however, because of time constraints and limited funds it was impossible to extend the sampling to other universities. This is a major limitation for this study.

Furthermore, this study is limited to the university of Fort Hare, University of KwaZulu Natal and the University of Johannesburg students as far as the representativeness of the population is concerned. on the other hand, this study is not limited to the students of the mentioned institution in terms of generalizability as any university that is similar to these, with multicultural and international students can experience similar xenophobic behaviours found at university of Fort Hare, University of KwaZulu Natal and the University of Johannesburg.

4.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter described the methodology that was used in this study. The chapter began with a review of the research methodology. It discussed how the research was designed, highlighted in detail the qualitative approach and design adopted in this research, the purposive sampling used the population, the sampling procedures, the unit of analysis, the research tools used to collect data, the analysis of the data, the limitations of the study and the ethical considerations which were observed during the conduction of the research. An attempt was made to justify the research methodology and sampling techniques that were employed in this study. In addition, this chapter

also looked at the data collection instruments, data collection procedures and data analysis. The subsequent chapter focuses on analysing data collected through the instruments outlined above and also involves the presentation of data. It presents the results of the findings and also provides a discussion of these results in connection to the objective of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE:

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented the research methodology used in this study. It outlined the methodological framework carefully followed in line with the aims and objectives of this study. This chapter presents the data analysis including the qualitative data collected through personal interviews and focus groups. It is important to note that both the analysis of two qualitative data (Focus groups' discussion and in-depth interviews) participants' demographical information is presented concurrently. First, the focus group interview data was presented followed by data from the in-depth interviews. The discussions were anchored on the following themes: participants' most trusted source of news, media influence on students' perceptions and influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students.

5.2 TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Although the main focus of this study was on the media influence of xenophobic behaviour the researcher thought it necessary to provide a brief analysis of how some media texts are constructed and the possibility of these media constructions to incite and influence more xenophobic behaviours. Below is the ephemeral textual analysis which has also been employed in this study with the aim of making an educated guess on what other meanings the audience can possibly make out of the text from some headlines of news articles. In this analysis, the researcher made use of two categorized themes: A pejorative representation of immigrants and propounding

violence and war. Furthermore, the examples of the news headlines are given in each of the themes. Each theme is discussed separately below.

5.2.1 PEJORATIVE

5.2.1.1 THE REPRESENTATION OF BLACK AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS AS 'ALIEN' IN SOME NEWSPAPERS

Black immigrants from neighbouring countries within the African continent have been represented in many ways by both media and the general citizens of South Africa. In most cases, negative representations out-weigh the positive representations. Among negative names that have been used to represent black African immigrants include the word 'Alien'. Essentially, the term **'Alien'**, beside the way it has been defined in fictional films, carries a negative stereotype. Historically the term has always been used to represent outsiders, people who do not belong in a particular area and, who are associated with negative stigma from the in-group. For example, during the Golden Age in Greek, people who were speaking the Greek language were viewed "as 'eloquent' and cultured people, while those who did not speak the language of Greece were labelled as 'barbarikos' or 'barbarians' (i.e., those ''**Aliens**'', whose language was incomprehensibly and sounded like a repeated babbling or noise)" (Ting-Toomey, 1999: 157). From 2008, some South African media houses (mostly print) adopted the term and used it to represent black African immigrants. Since then, it has injected negative stigma on every African immigrant, whether they are legal or illegal. Furthermore, this has also strengthened the idea that all African immigrants are outsiders and do not belong in South Africa in spite of their scarce skills and economic contribution to the country. The media has been successful in perpetuating the narrative that South Africans are somehow different from their brothers and sisters from the African continent despite their blackness and sharing similar cultural values.

This, in my view, has contributed adversely to the on-going xenophobic attacks around the country. Below is a list of media headlines were immigrants were represented as 'Aliens' (appeared mostly on the *Daily Sun*):

- *"I know that thug!" "Do not rob thy neighbour! Nine alien thugs robbed a Metrorail security man… they did not know he had recognized one of them" Daily Sun (08/04/2008 p1)*

- They wait for dark before they attack! Aliens use muthi to steal our cattle!" (09/05/2008 p. 11)

- "Alex aliens want to go home" Daily Sun (15/05/2008 p. 2)

- *"63 Aliens bust in crime drive" (9/04/2008 p. 13)*

- *"Aliens: We've lost faith in cops" (15/04/2008 p. 2*

- *"Alien girl (9) dies in attack! (16/04/2008 p. 5)*

- "Alex aliens want to go home" (15/05/2008 p. 2)

- . "Rampage! 13 aliens dead as angry flames of hatred spread!" (19/05/2008p. 1)

- . "Blood and flames! Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred" *(19/05/2008 p. 3)*

- *"Destruction rages in Diepsloot! Looters wage war on cops as alien attacks spread"*

- *"Aliens who live in the area were dragged out of their homes by groups of armed men". Daily Sun, (22/02/2008: 5)*

- *"SA farmers recruiting and exploiting illegal aliens from Zimbabwe had a surprise visit from labour inspectors in a two-day operation that ended yesterday". Daily Sun, 22/02/2008: 11.*

5.2.1.2 *DAILY DISPATCH'S* REPRESENTATION OF BLACK AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS AS 'FOREIGNERS' AND SOUTH AFRICANS AS 'MOB'.

During xenophobic violence in Durban 2015, a number of newspapers reported about te violence using strong and catchy headlines. The term '**foreigners**' was used to represent black African immigrants while the term **'mob'** represented Black South African citizens. In essence, the term **'foreigner'** has been used to refer to the person who is not from that particular area or a country. However, in the South African media context, this term has been used negatively to label black immigrants as outsiders who invade the space. For instance, Mbetga (2015: 74) notes that "the term **'foreigner'** is used to identify, classify and categorize an outsider in opposition to an insider, as a stranger in opposition to a local, who is familiar or used and known to the group". Therefore, this further means that Black African immigrants do not belong to South Africa despite that some have acquired permanent citizenship, this negates the idea of the constitutional that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. In the same news article South Africans were represented as **'mob'** during xenophobic attacks in Durban. The term **'mob'** in its original use usually refers to a barbaric and uncivilized behaviour from a group of people who usually take justice into their own hands. Moreover, the word 'battle' gives an idea that it is a fight between two parties, whereas, in my view, the immigrants are caught up and attacked in a fight which they know nothing about. It appears this news headline is unintentionally inviting other members to join in a battle between the locals and foreigners or 'us' and 'them'. They could have constructed a news headline that condemns and discourages the violence. I want to also argue that the media could focus on promoting civilization, nation building and peace building in their construction of news instead of reporting only what is happening at at that moment. Thus, this could be achieved through Ubuntu Journalism (as

discussed in the later section of this chapter). Below are two extracts (news headlines) showing how these terms were used in the construction of news headlines;

- *"Durban chaos as mobs and foreigners battle in street" (Daily Dispatch, 15/04/2015)*

- *"Thousands mob KwaMashu police as xenophobic attacks continue" (Mail & Guardian, 13/04/2015).*

5.2.2 PROPOUNDING VIOLENCE AND WAR

5.2.2.1 *SUNDAY TIMES*: 'KILL THY NEIGHBOUR'

On the 19 of April 2015, the *Sunday Times* published a news article titled **'Kill thy neighbour'.** This was an imperative sentence that appeared to command people to do something sinister. The news headline received strong criticisms from the public who felt that that the way the headline was constructed was capable of inciting more xenophobic violence. There was also condemnation for the picture that was used to illustrate the story. Critics said the picture was obscene, disturbing and traumatizing for the public. The term **'neighbour'** literally means someone living next door. However, in this instance, the *Sunday Times* used the term to depict immigrants from the neighbouring countries. The *Daily Sun* also published a news article with the same term; ***"Do not rob thy neighbour!"*** (08/04/2008 p. 1) (Mbetga, 2015). *The danger of casting this kind of headlines is that they could be misconstrued by readers especially by people who may not understand the pun intended in the headlines.* South Africa has a high rate of illiteracy. There is a possibility for some illiterate readers seeing a news article with a headline "Kill thy neighbour' to mean they should kill their brothers

and sisters from the neighbouring countries. Besides, many newspaper readers only gloss through the headlines and may not have the time to go through the full content to see that the headlines do not correspond with the body of the story. Therefore, this is a concern given the fact that in most South African schools there are black international learners and students from the other countries within the African continent. Below are some news headlines from the cited newspapers;

- *'Kill thy neighbour: Alex attack brings home Sa shame"* (Sunday Times*, 19/04/2015)*

- *"Do not rob thy neighbour! Nine alien thugs robbed a Metrorail security man* Daily Sun *(08/04/2008 p1)"*

5.2.2.2 *THE CITIZEN*: 'WAR DECLARED AGAINST 'MY FRIEND'

The term **'war'** *was used by this newspaper to describe the xenophobic attacks on foreign spaza shop owners.* In the African context especially among the Nguni languages, like IsiZulu, the term **war** can be translated as 'impi' (Stuart, 2013). Therefore, the textual representation of the attacks on foreign spaza shops as ''war' is inciting and inviting more xenophobic violation. Furthermore, the term 'war' is followed by the word **'declared'** which implies that it has already been decided that the war will go on, thus, more attacks spread across the whole nation. Ordinarily, he phrases 'my friend', means someone dear or close. However, in this instance, the use of the word 'my friend' conjures the derogatory name for immigrants, particularly Somalians. In the course of this research, it was found that some participants find it offensive to be called 'my friend' as they feel the meaning in the South African context, has changed. Thus, it is a concern when it is also being adopted by the media. News headlines like these, whether intentionally or unintentionally, are used to incite more xenophobic violence

against the immigrants. Furthermore, the selection of and usage of these expressions, tend to divert the media from focusing on peace building and nation building. Thus, the researcher recommends the adoption of Ubuntu Journalism which will enforce Ubuntu among journalists and encourage peace and nation building.

- **"War declared against 'my friend' spaza shops selling expired products" (*The citizen*, 22/08/2018)**

5.3 PARTICIPANTS DEMOGRAPHICS

Before proceeding to present the data analysis it is necessary to provide an overview of the demographics of participants' that took part in the Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. It can be a big challenge trying to obtain the accurate ages of participants especially when conducting focus groups. This is because most people are not comfortable disclosing their age. In this study, the ages of participants were obtained using age brackets. Participants were grouped into five age brackets (18-20; 21-25; 25-30; 31-35 and 35-40). This enabled us to categorise the experiences of the different age groups. Both females and males were represented in this study. The researcher purposefully selected more females than males because females are more open in discussion than males.

To accommodate the different levels of study both undergraduate and post-graduate students were represented in this study. The participants for this study comprised students that speak indigenous and colonial languages. in the study. The participants' languages include IsiXhosa (South Africa), Shona (Zimbabwe) IsiZulu (South Africa), SeSotho (Lesotho), Yoruba (Nigeria), Swahili (Kenya, Tanzania and Somalia) French

(Democratic Republic of Congo), Portuguese (Mozambique), Setswana (South Africa) and Venda (South African) .

5.4 ANALYSIS OF FOCUS GROUPS DISCUSSIONS

It is important to note that two focus groups and five in-depth interviews were successfully conducted in each university. Below is the analysis of focus group discussion followed by the analysis of the in-depth interviews (list of focus groups questions attached as appendix D and in-depth interviews' questions as appendix E).

5.4.1 NEWSPAPER READERSHIP AMONGST PARTICIPANTS

From the combined responses from the two focus groups held at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, the findings show that the majority of participants at the University of Fort Hare mostly read the *Sunday Times* newspaper as their source of news. This was evident from the participants that were interviewed and mentioned that most of the times they read *Sunday Times* newspaper. Some said they read *Daily Dispatch*, and some mentioned online newspapers. Based on the view of newspaper readership, these are some of the responses that emerged from this question;

"*Sunday Times* is the most common newspaper in South Africa and you can buy it in any province in South Africa" (participant 1)

"I don't read newspapers. They are biased, the internet is better" (participant 4).

"I don't read newspapers because I don't have time; I prefer to browse the internet for news" (participant 8)

"I like the *Daily Dispatch* because it writes stories that are local and it can reach deep rural areas to cover stories and things are happening there, which cannot be covered by most urban newspapers" (participant 14)

"I read *Daily Dispatch* because it covers local news like crime and sport in the areas around our community" (participant 15).

The response of participant 8 is consistent with previous research which shows that students spend most of their time on the internet to access social networks like Facebook and Twitter, and news. Gunter (2016) emphasizes that young people (Youth) use media daily, more especially social media. Some participants mentioned that they usually read *Daily Dispatch* as the source of the news. The reason would be that the *Daily Dispatch* is published in East London in the Eastern Cape and according to ABC Analysis Qi 2018 statistics it is the best-selling daily in the Eastern Cape with 18575 average copies sold. The newspaper mostly covers areas such as local news, politics, sport, jobs and community events. On the other hand, *Sunday Times* is one the biggest South Africa's Sunday newspaper with the circulation of 262 569 (Marklive 2018 statistics) and it distributes newspapers all over the country and in neighbouring countries like Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

Participants from Howard Campus of the University of KwaZulu Natal expressed mixed opinions with regards to their newspaper preference and readership. Below are select responses from the two focus groups held at the University:

"I don't buy newspapers at the shop; I use the internet to access news" (participant 5)

"On the internet, you can also access a vast number of newspapers and decide on the one you want to read" (participant 14)

"I read *Isolozwe* newspaper because it's written in isiZulu which is my home language" (participant 2)

"I enjoy reading *Mail & Guardian*" (participant 6).

"This newspaper (referring to *Mail & Guardian*) is more politically focused and it can also be accessed online" (participant 12)

"One of the owners of this newspaper (*Mail & Guardian)* is from Zimbabwe, so I am interested to know his take on South African politics and issues like xenophobia" (participant 8)

"I do not read many newspapers but the common newspaper that I usually come across is *Isolezwe*, and I read it sometimes" (participant 11)

"Reading newspapers is time-consuming, because it takes all of your attention whereas in other forms of media you can do something else while you are listening or watching television" (participant 4)

As evinced from the above statements, some participants seem to prefer reading newspapers online. A The fact that most South African university students have access to free Wi-Fi even in their residences may be a plausible reason for the high reliance on the internet for news. The findings further show that some of the participants at the University of KwaZulu Natal read the *Mail and Guardian newspaper*. Further probe on why students prefer to read mostly the *Mail and Guardian* indicate that newspaper focuses on national news, investigative reporting, political analysis, music, local arts and popular culture.

The analysis of the two focus group discussions held at the University of Johannesburg Soweto campus indicate that most participants relied on online news

(Internet) as a source of news. Many of the participants pointed out that they did not buy newspapers, but rather read the news in online newspapers. Some mentioned that they find all the news they need on social media like Facebook. This might be because almost everyone in the youth age has a Facebook account and there are news sites that are directly linked to Facebook, which publish news faster before it is even printed.

"I spend most of my time on the internet; therefore, I mostly use *IOL* (Independent Online) as a source of news" (participant 8)

"You don't have to buy newspapers in our days, when Zuma reshuffles; you can see it on Facebook even before newspapers get printed" (participant 3)

"I prefer reading *Daily Sun* or *Sunday Times* online" (participant 6)

"I read the *Mail and Guardian* because of their presentation of politically related issues (participant 13)

Generally, the findings show that majority of the students are now relying more on the internet to access news, rather than buying physical copies of newspapers. The internet saves time is more accessible. Marcus (2013: 175), in his study on internet usage by students, confirmed that "most students use the internet 4 to 8 or more than 8 hours a day", although there was no question on the time usage of internet in this study this justifies the above view more. In my opinion, most students are still dependent on their parents as far as the source of income is concerned. Thus, the issue of affordability might be a huge factor here and some have to live a lifestyle (buying clothes and hairdo) in the same income. More so, in most universities in South Africa the internet access on campus is 'free' for students. Furthermore, some other

newspapers that were mentioned include *Sunday Times, Daily Dispatch, Mail & Guardian, Daily Sun, and Isolezwe.*

5.4.2 RADIO LISTENERSHIP AMONGST PARTICIPANTS

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Fort Hare, when asked to comment on their favourite radio station, this is what the participants had to say;

"I mostly listen to *Umhlobo Wenene* because they use the local language (IsiXhosa) that I understand" (participant 7)

"*Umhlobo Wenene* is my favourite radio station because they have a program which is especially for news that is called 'Ziyawoyika umbethe' (Early morning news) and the other one which also plays during the day" (participant 3)

"Almost every day in the morning I listen to the BEE breakfast show that plays on Umhlobo wenene FM" (participant 15)

"Although I partially listen to radio but when I do I listen it has to be *Metro FM* because many celebrities that I like are broadcasting there, the likes of Somizi, DJ Fresh and others followed by a few who said they listen to *SA FM* (participant 1)

"I do not have time to listen to the radio at school, so I hardly listen to it" (participant 11)

"I only listen to the radio when I am back in my country (Kenya) because I am not familiar with South African radio frequencies" (participant 9)

The researcher found out that the majority of the participants from the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, mostly listen to *Umhlobo Wenene FM*. This station first aired in 1960 (Pietila, 2015), meaning it is 58 years old now, and it is a national radio station that caters to the needs of the Xhosa speaking community. This might be also because the station uses the native Eastern Cape language (IsiXhosa), which is arguably is easy language to relate to, especially for local students. The researcher also noted that some of the international students who participated in this study were not interested in listening to the radio. Although there are stations that broadcast in English language (like *Algoa FM, East Coast Radio, Metro FM*) which is a common language, this might be because most of them cannot understand most South African languages used in most community radio stations. As mentioned in the responses, another issue would be unfamiliarity of frequencies to navigate from.

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus, in this view, these are the responses that emerge;

"I listen to Igagasi FM for music entertainment and *Ukhozi FM* for educational programmes and news" (participant 13)

"When I tune the radio on, I listen to *Ukhozi FM* and Igagasi for news and other educational programs" (participant 1)

"I listen to *Metro FM* because they mostly use English and I have not learned South African languages like isiZulu" (participant 6)

"I do not have time to listen to the radio because of the pressure from my studies" (participant 11)

"Well, for me, I would love to listen to some of the South African radio stations just that I don't understand most South African local languages even with the ones that broadcast in English I don't know their frequencies" (participant 14)

This study found that the majority of the local participants listened to *Ukhozi FM* and *Igagasi FM*, for entertainment and information. However, few participants said they listened to *Metro FM* radio station, and some mostly international students are struggling with locating the frequencies.

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, these are some of the views from the participants;

"Most of the times I listen to *Metro FM* because I like their programs" (participant 4)

"I like *Metro FM* because they broadcast in English, which is the only language that I understand in South Africa" (participant 7)

"Metro FM is the best" (participant 10)

"I listen to the *Metro FM*, it has some celebrities as broadcasters, I think that is why the station has grown so much, as far as listenership is concern" (participant 12)

"I mostly listen to *Lesedi FM* because it has many informative programs" (participant 9)

"I listen to *Capricorn FM* because the station is in my province (Limpopo)". (participant 3)

"The pressure from my studies is too high; I hardly find time for radio" (participant 14)

The researcher found that the majority of the participants from the University of Johannesburg listened to *Metro FM*. This may be to the fact that a number of famous broadcasters work for the station. The station is also headquartered in Johannesburg which enhances reception. The findings showed that some international students listened to the radio station. However, one participant said that he mostly listened to *Lesedi FM*. Furthermore, fewer participants confirmed that they did not listen to the radio because of the pressure of their studies. One participant said that she listens to the *Capricorn FM* radio station.

Overall, the findings showed that majority of the participants listened to *Metro FM*. This was due largely to the fact that radio station broadcasts in the English language which many participants found easy to follow. The finding is consistent with previous research which found that *Metro FM* is amongst the most popular contemporary international and local music playing radio station (Salawu, Chibita & Sarantakos, 2016). Few participants confirmed that they are non-listeners of radio, followed by those who said they listened to *Umhlobo Wenene FM*, and a few who listened to *Ukhozi FM* and Igagasi FM, as well as those who listened to *Lesedi FM*. This therefore confirms that the majority of the students in South African universities listen to *Metro FM*, the reason being that it broadcasts in English, which is the common language that most people can understand in South Africa.

This finding is in sharp contrast to the 2018 radio listenership survey which shows *Ukhozi FM* as the top radio station in South Africa with 7 504 000 listeners followed by

Umhlobo Wenene with the listenership of 5 394 000 and thereafter, *Metro FM* comes with 4 267 000 listeners (Mpofu, 2018).

5.4.3 TELEVISION VIEWERSHIP AMONGST THE PARTICIPANTS

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, participants named their favourite television channel for news, these are some of the responses that emerged;

> "I always watch *SABC 1* for news because they use local languages like IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, SiSwati etc. that I can easily follow when spoken" (participant 15)

> "I always watch morning live news that plays on *SABC 2* because it plays early in the morning before I get busy with my daily schedule" (participant 1)

> "I watch SABC channels, but mostly *SABC* 1, to follow my programmes and news" (participant 10)

> "I watch *ANN7* and *eNCA*" (participant 7)

> "eNCA is my channel for news" (participant 13)

The statements above indicate that the majority of participants from the University of Fort Hare watch mostly SABC channels (*SABC*1, *SABC2* and *SABC3 in that order)*, fornews l. Very few participants said they watched *eNCA* and *ANN7* (now defunct).

Below are some select responses from the aggregate of the two focus group discussions held at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College:

"*SABC 1* is the channel I watch for news; they have a lot of detailed news at seven o'clock when I am done for the day" (participant 1)

"You do not have to pay Dstv to access *SABC 1*" (participant 8)

"SABC is free" (participant 11)

"I watch *SABC 1*, *2* and *3*" (participant 2)

"I watch *e-tv*" (participant 5)

"I watch *ANN7* and *eNCA* because these channels are always discussing politics which is my interest and they are not afraid of criticising ideas of apartheid, racism and corruption" (participant 14)

"I watch *eNCA*, I like the way they cover news" (participant 6)

"TV is time consuming; therefore, it's hard for a first year student like me to find time for TV due to the pressure from my studies" (participant 4)

As can be seen from the above responses, many of the participants confirmed that they watched *SABC 1* as the television channel for news followed by *SABC 2* and *SABC3*. Only a few watched *ANN7* (now dysfunctional) and *eNCA* channels for news. Similarly, fewer participants said they watched e-tv for news while a few participants said they hardly watched TV as due to the pressure from their studies.

At the University of Johannesburg, Soweto Campus, the SABC channels also emerged as the students' favourite channel for news. Very few participants indicated that they watched *e-tv.* There were few participants that said they hardly watched television but sourced news stories on YouTube and social networks. Below are some of the responses extracted from the two focus groups held at the university:

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"I always wake up and watch morning Live on *SABC 2* streaming live on Youtube as I prepare for my classes" (participant 3)

"I watch e-tv for news in the evening because news play in between my favourite shows". And few participants confirmed that they watched *SABC* 3 for news" (participant 5)

"I watch *SABC 2* Morning Live because it plays in the morning before I engage in my daily schedule and they use English which is common language" (participant 9)

"I do not have time to watch television; social networks like Facebook keep us updated with everything happening around us" (participant 12)

"I do not watch television; I watch Youtube instead or online news on the internet" (participant 13)

Generally, the analysis of participants' television viewership of the indicated that the majority of the participants watched SABC channels (mostly *SABC1*). This finding is comparable to McKane (2018) findings which noted that the most watched television channel in South Africa is *SABC 1*, which carries news, entertainment and sport. Most of the participants were of the view that *SABC 1* broadcasts news in many languages, which then accommodates most people. The sister station *SABC 2,* also emerged as a popular station for most participants. Only a negligible number of participants watched *eNCA, ANN7 which has since collapsed*) as well as *e-tv* and *SABC 3.* The fact that SABC stations are are free and do not require subscription fees, may be an explanation for their popularity. Other channels like *eNCA and AAN7* require subscription fees and ownership of satellite dish to access. The other reason might be that the *SABC 1*, 2 and 3 use local languages to broadcast news, so majority of the

participants who are South Africans find it easy to understand. Furthermore, this view was supported by some participants who stated that one does not need to subscribe to DStv, which is costly, to be able to watch *SABC 1*. Furthermore, Ndlovu (2018) also adds that SABC channels are subscription free; hence, it is no surprise that they are watched most.

5.4.4 PARTICIPANTS' USE OF ONLINE SOURCES OF NEWS

Participants were asked whether they use online news sources. Participants at the two focus group discussions at the University of Fort Hare Alice Campus provided mixed reactions. Below are some of the responses selected from the two focus groups:

> "I log on to Facebook and Twitter every hour approximately, to view news feeds, to see what people are talking about and to know what is happening around us" (participant 5)

> "People on Facebook and Twitter have become journalists themselves, we get informed about cabinet reshuffles so quickly that before newspapers are printed everyone already knows" (participant 9)

> "Citizen Journalism and Facebook links do the job quick and well" (participant 3)

> "I usually read *news24* because they also have a link for job vacancies" (participant 13)

> "I mostly use the internet to watch videos on YouTube, not for news; therefore, I cannot say I know a website for news" (participant 7)

> "I hardly read news online" (participant 1)

As can be seen from the above responses, the majority of the participants at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, said that Facebook and Twitter were their reliable sources of news. Some of the participants stated that they get news online from *news24*. This might be because *news24* is from *media24,* which created a link which is called *news24* and another one which is specialised for job vacancies, which is called careers24. Therefore, it is easy to come across either of these websites when searching for the other. However, fewer participants said they browse through Youtube videos to access news. This might be because Youtube has almost everything that can be of interest to students, for example, there are thousands of educational and entertainment videos that are accessible on Youtube. Only a small number of participant stated that they hardly read news online.

At the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, it was found that majority of participants used news24 as their source of on-line news. Some participants said they use media24 to access online news. On the other hand, few participants said they read the *Mail and Guardian online* while some mentioned that they used social networks like Facebook and Twitter to access news. One participant said he read the *Sunday Times online.* There was no participant that said he or she is not interested in reading online news. Below are excerpts from the two focus group discussion at the Howard College:

"I mostly use *news24* because there is a search box to search the story that you want to read" (participant 2)

"I prefer to read *Mail and Guardian online* because it publishes fresh and most recent news than other newspapers and it has space where you can also publish your own article" (participant 5)

"I always browse through Facebook and Twitter maybe two times in one hour hence; I am always informed about what is happening around us and in our society" (participant 9)

"I read Sunday Times's online newspaper" (participant 6)

"I don't usually read online news" (participant 14)

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, these are some of the views from the question;

"I am always logged on to Facebook and Twitter to browse through newsfeed for updates" (participant 5)

"I mostly browse through *IOL* (Independent On-Line news) because they also provide links to other newspapers when you want more news" (participant 8)

"I hardly go online for news; you see everything on social networks" (participant 11)

"I always find the links on Facebook" (participant 14)

The researcher found that most participants at the University of Johannesburg used Facebook and Twitter for news updates and they follow the news links that are presented there. This might be because most newspaper companies also provide Facebook and Twitter links to news items. This enables subscribers to access information from these newspapers. However, some participants said they used *IOL* as their source of news online.

A critical look at the above analysis indicates that majority of the participants relied on social networks for online news, mainly through their Facebook and Twitter accounts. Kirkpatrick (2012) noted that Facebook is one of the most common websites that are redefining and broadcasting news for the general public. The findings showed that majority of the participants use social networks like Facebook and Twitter to access news online where local students as compared to the international students. In my view, using social networks to access news exposes students to fake news or misinformation which could cause them to engage in xenophobic behaviours towards international students. As captured in the literature review there have been many trending fake news on the social media. The findings show that some of the participants use online media not only to access news but also to explore job opportunities. This may explain why *news24* which has a link to a job vacancies website is a popular online news platform. Tripathy and Kiran (2018) point out that social network has grown in popularity from their ability to provide platform for information sharing and communication. Hence, it is also my view that social networks have grown so much that they have become a universe on their own, that almost everyone who has internet access subscribes to one or more of these social networks. The other reason might be that many news companies are also subscribed on these networks to reach millions of people who are active on these social networks. Therefore, some subscribers get excited to be the first to update others when they find news from these news companies. This argument is supported by the view from the first focus group discussion at the University of Fort Hare, where one of the participants pointed out that people on Facebook and Twitter have become journalists themselves. Apart from Facebook and Twitter, *Sunday Times online, Mail and Guardian online* were listed by participants as major online sources of news.

5.4.5 PARTICIPANTS' MOST TRUSTED SOURCE OF NEWS

Participants in the focus group discussions were asked to state their most trusted sources of news and what informed the trust in the chosen channel. Below are few responses from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus:

> "I trust television most because it can actually visualise its reports as compared to other forms of media" (participant 3)

> "I trust television most because it can report and show something as it happens in that instance" (participant 6)

> "Television cross-live their reports; they can report live on at more than one location quicker than other forms of media" (participant 12)

As can be evinced from the above responses majority of the participants seem to trust d television more than radio, newspapers or online news. This may be because television is able to provide live coverage which enables the audience to hear and see events as they unfold.

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus, these were some of the respondents' views;

> "I trust television more because they are quick to report and they can easily rectify their mistakes by reporting live" (participant 1)

> "I choose radio because at the end of news report they sometimes allow listeners to call comment on the stories reported" (participant 3)

"Television report breaking news as they happen, and they allow people to comment on their twitter page and they read your comments live which is fascinating" (participant 5)

"For me I prefer radio" (participant 10)

"Well, with television chances of a false or subjective news report are limited to almost zero percent because of the live news it broadcasts" (participant 11)

The findings indicate that most participants, trusted television more. Some of the participants said they trusted the radio more than other media. Although I also concur with the majority of participants, I also believe that radio is one of the strongest tools to report the news because it can also reach a large number of people at the same time. This view is also supported by Elliot (2010) who noted that since the 20th century, people have considered radio as their day-to-day personal item which allows them to access a number of channels and most of all, it is now available on cell phones, hence, it can reach a vast number of listeners, as compared to other tools of news reporting.

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus the following responses emerged to respond to this question;

"I trust television more because it is visual and that can solidify the debate among commentators as it brings empirical and visual evidence" (participant 4)

"Television is the best because newspapers are biased and time consuming to read" (participant 7)

"With television you see the evidence with your own eye" (participant 9)

"I would go for newspapers because they are tangible news and you can store them and continue with the news article later, unlike in the TV news report" (participant 13)

"I prefer radio or television more than newspapers" (participant 14)

In this institution, the majority of the participants confirmed that they preferred television over other forms of news sources. Whereas few participants were in favour of radio news reporting, it was revealed by the participants that radio increases the chance of participation and debates for most of the critical issues which are reported. One participant said she preferred newspapers. This view is also emphasised by Hendriks (2012), who argues that the advantage of newspaper news reports is that they have a long-life span and they can be archived and be reviewed after decades.

This research found that the majority of participants were in favour of television news reporting, with the justification that it gives live reporting or provides visualisation for the audience. The other reason was that television can solidify debate as it provides empirical visual evidence. Thus, Fitzgerald (2018) emphasizes that television emerges stronger than other forms of media because of its live reports. More so, Barnas and White (2013) note that the advantage of television is that people get to see the breaking story being reported live on the scene, which, in my view, intensifies the reliability and trustworthy of the news from the viewers. On the other hand, some of the participants said they preferred the radio news reporting, as it affords an opportunity for listeners to engage in a debate, based on a critical issue. The least of the participants preferred reading newspapers for news reporting, the reason being that newspapers have a long lifespan, as compared to other tools of news reporting.

Perhaps the fact that television is more preferred source of news best explains the spread of xenophobic behaviours across the country, because of the power of television to report live incidents. Thus, my argument here is that people who watch television reports on xenophobic attacks are more likely to model and copy these behaviours and implement them in their respective areas of location, as the cultivation theory implies.

5.4.6 MEDIA INFLUENCE ON PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS

Participants were asked the question: 'to what extent does what you hear, see or read in the media influence your opinion, attitudes and perception of things around you'? Most of the participants at the two focus group discussions at the University of Fort Hare's Alice campus attested that what they see and read from the media influence to a great extent, the way they perceive things around them. On the other hand, few participants said that the media influence them to 'some extent', meaning that they do not take everything they hear, see or read in media. A few participants indicated that the media do not influence him at all. Below are some excerpts from the two focus groups at the University of Fort Hare:

"We have become so much dependent on the media that every day, before we engage in our daily activities, we check the weather on the media" (participant 1)

"The media do influence me to some extent, because I do not believe everything from the media, because I know they also want to achieve sales" (participant 5)

"In my opinion, media influence us to a greater extent because we have lived and learnt to depend on it so much" (participant 6)

"To a greater extent, for day-today updates, media keep us informed" (participant 9)

"As for me, I am very selective when it comes to media programmes therefore I would like to believe that I do not get influence from the media" (participant 11)

"The media influence us to a greater extent, because many people have relied so much on the media for daily updates, mostly political issues" (participant 12)

At the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College, majority of the participants admitted that the media influenced to a greater extent, their opinions, attitudes and perceptions, while a few stated that the media influence them to 'some extent'.

These are some of the responses from the participants at the two Focus groups at the University:

"I would like to believe that media influence us to a larger extent because we have modelled so much on media" (participant 1)

"The media influence us to a larger extent. For example, the Hip Hop culture has been adopted in so many countries, including South Africa, and was seen learned through the media" (participant 4)

"I do not believe everything in media, because I know that they want to sell news so they can manipulate reports at some point to make them interesting" (participant 8)

"I can say the media influence us to a great extent, because most of us are dependent on the media for news and other relevant information, and we mostly believe them as they are presented" (participant 10)

"I would rather say to some extent, because I believe that everyone who is an adult is able to analyse any information they receive and analyse it, and then decide whether to believe it or not, whether it is coming from the media or other people" (participant 14)

The analysis of the responses of participants from the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, showed that most participants agreed that what they hear, see, or read from the media influence them to a large extent. Few of the participants were of the view that the media influence them only to a 'certain extent'. A small number of the participants stated that the media had less significant influence upon them.

"The media has a greater influence on us, for example, we rely on the media in order to watch the budget speech, as we cannot all fit into the Parliament" (participant 2)

"I also want to believe that media affects us all and it has a greater influence on people in general" (participant 4)

"Ever since I came to South Africa, I've seen how much people believe what is on media. For instance, the media has framed countries like Zimbabwe as

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poverty country and a rural country with no urban areas, whereas there are urban areas, a beautiful city of Harare and not every household is experiencing poverty there" (participant 5)

"Hence, South African citizens have hated foreign nationals so much; it's because of the way they are portrayed by South African media, as illegal immigrants and drug lords. This has also affected our appearance as international students in academic institutions where we enrolled for our studies, business and even in a professional work place" (participant 4)

"SA media is too biased. I have learnt not to rely on it too much, or do so with collaborated information" (participant 10)

"The media have a greater influence on us, for instance, many developing countries like SA have adopted so much of the Western culture, kids want T-shirts with wrestling athletes because they see them on television and they believe them, and they become so violent with other kids" (participant 11)

"Me, I get less influence from the media, beside, I read books more" (participant 13)

The findings from the focus group discussions in the three universities showed that majority of the participants agreed that what they see, hear and read from the media influenced them greatly. Some of the participants mostly international students, pointed out that the media has so much influence especially in the way it has presented them as bad people. They claim that most local people have come to believe these media representations. This may explain the hatred that locals display towards African

immigrants. One of the common responses from participants includes that the media influence people to such an extent that they have adopted so much of what they see on the media including Western culture. For instance, they noted that even African children have also developed so much love for Western sport like wrestling, which makes them become so violent with other children, as they imitate the wrestling stars. This view is well supported by Gerbner's Cultivation Theory, which emphasises that heavy television viewers are more likely to cultivate television lifestyle (popular culture), because television is so powerful that it influences them to believe in what is being streamed on the screen (Signorielli, 2005). This is applicable to the media (radio & print media) in general. I argue that, although cultivation theory focus on the powerful influence of television, the audience can also visualize what they read on the print media or hear from radio. Therefore, in my view, it is possible for heavy violence readers to become violent themselves. The fact that the participants of this study agreed to be influenced by the media implies that the media have greater influence among students learning in South African universities. What this means is that the media should ensure that they report news that is valid and reliable, as they reach millions of audiences.

It also emerged from the findings that not all the participants believe everything they hear, see or read from the media. This category of participants noted that their scepticism is due to the fact that the South African media are biased and sometimes manipulate stories to achieve sales. This view is supported by Fourie (2008) who noted that there have been complaints about the abuse of media usage in form of inaccurate reporting or manipulating stories to boost sales or for political purposes. It appears the South African media is shifting focus from their basic functions to pandering to commercial interests. The reason for the increasing commercialisation of

media products especially news may be due to competition. According to 2018 statistics from Media Club South Africa, there are twenty-three daily newspapers and fourteen weekly newspapers, including scores of online news media websites competing for readers. Clearly, the pressure to beat or offer something different from the competition could be responsible for the increasing manipulation of news stories.

5.4.7 PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA REPORTING OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS

Participants were asked to describe their perception of the reporting of xenophobic attacks in the South African media. Below is a selection of the responses of participants at the two focus group discussion at the University of Fort Hare Alice campus:

> "The media do not strike a balance when reporting about xenophobic attacks. Most of the times when such incidents are covered, the only thing you'll see is a mob with local citizens with spears and other weapons and the headline would be like 'they must go home'. Isn't that suggesting more violence"? (participant 1)

> "The media always represents South Africans as perpetrators. People who always want to kill every foreign national. For instance, in most of their pictures you will see a South African holding a knife or machete" (participant 6)

> "The media do not do enough research to find out about some perpetrators on the side of foreigners, like the ones that are selling drugs and pimps I think such criminality contributes to the hatred against foreign nationals by local students.

For instance, some of the female students I know, at night they are prostitutes at Quigney in East London and I know that they work for Nigerian pimps who are also residing at Quigney" (participant 12)

"South African media, in their presentation of xenophobic violence has always represented us (foreign nationals) as desperate people and who have flooded in South Africa to add to the current status of poverty. Hence, some local students have bought in to that idea and when you pass by them they sympathize with u and say all unpleasant things as you pass" (participant 15)

The above responses indicate that most participants are of the view that the media indirectly play a role in promoting xenophobic attacks because of the way they report the stories. Participants feel that the media are not doing enough research to verify their stories. Generally, participants at the university of Fort Hare believe the media reports on xenophobic attacks are not always reliable or valid as they do not provide balanced representation of the two parties (In-group and out-group) involved in the altercations.

Participants from the University of KwaZulu-Natal expressed similar opinion or sentiments like their counterparts at the University of Fort Hare when asked to comment on media reporting of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Some of the participants pointed out that the media represents local citizens as angry citizens who just want to kill. Some stated that the media often fails to research their stories before publishing and that leads to having an unbalanced presentation of news and bias. Participants noted that the trend may be as a result of competition among media houses. Moinuddin (2017) pointed out that competition among media houses has grown so much that many journalists have moved from their chief purpose of

presenting news to making news to outsmart the competition or boost sales. Below are some of the comments of participants at the University of KwaZulu-Natal:

"There is a general problem with South African media when it comes to reporting news. I think they report to sell more than to keep people updated. For instance, the way they construct their headlines when reporting on xenophobia it looks like they want to come with a different story from the other media reports" (participant 3)

"In addition to she's saying, for example, during the 2015 xenophobic attacks that took place mostly in Durban, there were different headlines for the same xenophobic attack. Hence, some of their headlines get misinterpreted by the audience" (view added to the above) (participant 4)

"Xenophobic attacks can take place and progress because of how the media has reported xenophobic violence, for example, media misquoted King Goodwill Zwelithini and that resulted from in massive xenophobic attacks around Durban and expanded to other towns of KwaZulu Natal" (participant 7)

"My opinion about this is that, when media covers xenophobic violence they present foreign nationals as criminals and trespassers. They enjoy using our countries to name us. For example, 'Nigerians killed in a drug bust'. These are some of the headlines that inject the negative stereotypes posed on foreign nationals more (participant 10)

It's as if we are all in South Africa illegally" (participant 11)

"The media still represent foreign national as alien invaders in South Africa. Even when reporting on a xenophobic issue, they ensure that foreign nationals appear like that" (participant 13)

Similar views were shared by participants at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus. Majority of the participants stated that the media reporting of xenophobic attacks appeared to have escalated tensions.

"I have a problem with media reporting of xenophobic issues. It is so biased, for example, when South Africans attack foreign nationals they don't present them as criminals but they are presented as people who are killing criminals and illegal immigrants. For instance, one Somalian has been killed by the community in Alexandra Johannesburg a few months ago, after being accused of witchcraft. The media focused more on the accused as a foreigner than a serious case of murder. There have been many of such kind of cases and not one gets charged for it" (participant 1)

"In its previous xenophobic coverage, the media have not done enough to educate our people about who they are. If you educate them as such, they will realise how we are all one people who were separated by artificial colonial borders. Instead they perpetuate the stereotype to keep the status quo as is, for their own selfish gains" (participant 4)

"In my view, what happens in xenophobic violence is no difference from what happened during the apartheid era, because white people are also not from Africa. Hence, I would like to believe that the wars and killings that were happening by then were also xenophobic. However, media doesn't cover current xenophobic related violence in the same way they were covering

apartheid. For me, it looked like media supported apartheid era, as the outside media was prohibited from showing it to the world and now it looks like they enjoy presenting the black-on-black violence to the world more. (participant 8)

"Instead of adopting the African value of Ubuntu and advocating for change and peace we see more disturbing images of people (immigrants) burnt alive with tyres on their neck" (participant 11)

"I think instead of focusing and enjoying making news on such tragic incidents media could play a catalyst role in educating us more about cultures and people from other countries, more especially African countries, and marketing our continent to the world to draw more trade from the other continents. For instance, most South Africans do not know how beautiful Harare in Zimbabwe is and how beautiful Nairobi in Kenya is but the media has focused so much on our continental struggles like crime, poverty and diseases (participant 13)

The critical and important views that emerged from above comments, is that almost all the participants believe the media could focus more on Ubuntu / peace journalism which not only advocate for peace but also educate people about other cultures instead of focusing on news about the crisis and struggles of Africa. It was also pointed out that the media has shown creativity when constructing headlines. Moreso, for instance, a single xenophobic attack or event is described in different headlines. This sometimes leads to misinterpretation of the news by local people. This highlights the need for South African media especially the print media, to revise their construction of news headlines to avoid misunderstanding. The choice of words which newspaper houses use to write their articles is also a major concern. For instance, some newspapers chose to use words like *aliens*, *Amakwerekwere* and country names to

refer to people from neighbouring countries, and words like *'looters'*, *'mob-justice'* and perpetrators to refer to South Africans who participate in xenophobic attacks. Words like these tend to promote the sense of 'us' versus 'them', which in turn promote more segregation and "Afro-phobia" (Abidde & Gill, 2018). This also undermines the idea that we are one people separated by artificial colonial borders. The media frames of foreign nationals especially the use of derogative names do not appear to promote peace, instead it fuels more xenophobic behaviours from the locals. Therefore, it is the duty of the media to educate people about our differences, which can in turn promote interest among heterogeneous cultures and reduce stereotypes and xenophobic behaviours among people of South Africa. The media can capitalise on the influence which they have on their audience, to disseminate information in ways that promote peacebuilding and 'Ubuntu', rather than disseminating information which instigates violence. In all, participants believe that instead of instigating conflict and violence through their reporting, media should rather advocate for peace journalism or Ubuntu journalism. Lynch (2014) holds that this type of journalism allows journalists to view, interpret, source and narrate conflicts in ways that seek non-violent responses in society.

5.4.8 INFLUENCE OF MEDIA REPORTING ON XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOURS AMONG STUDENTS

Two focus group discussions were conducted with participants from the three selected universities to ascertain whether media reporting influenced xenophobic behaviours. When asked to comment on the extent to which they thought media reporting influence xenophobic behaviours among students in South African universities, the majority of

the participants at the University of Fort Hare Alice campus confirmed that media reporting indeed influence xenophobic behaviours among students, to a greater extent. Some participants pointed out that the use of nationalities when reporting crime involving foreign nationals is not only harming the identity of citizens of these nations but also help to create segregation among Black Africans. These portrayals they argue tend to increase the hatred of foreigners by locals including the local students. Some participants cited some newspaper headlines which they said were pejorative of African countries. For instance, *"Pretoria mayor singles out Nigerians as **drug dealers** and pimps" (IOL, 26/05/2017), "Kenyans evacuated as attacks on foreigners spread in South Africa (Business Daily, 17/04/2015 p.1).* In the *IOL* headline above, Nigerians are framed as drug-dealers. Some participants argued that using the names of their countries when referring to foreign nationals seem to suggest that the media wants, to frame these countries as sources of criminals and drug-dealers. Some participants pointed out that the derogative names like refugee, ikwerekwere, foreigner and others have led to international students being segregated and hated by local students.

Below are some of the comments from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus:

"The way South African media represent foreigners; it injects the idea that they are so much different from us South African students. For instance, every time when I read on newspapers or online about foreign national caught drug dealing I will see a Nigerian in that headline, but we also have South African drug dealers. That stereotype has penetrated even in our institution. We give international students so much negative attitude because of these generalised stereotypes by media. For example, in classrooms, I have noted that a local

student cannot tolerate sitting next to a foreign student, and I think that happens because the media teach us to focus on the negative side of them" (participant 5)

"Although I want to believe that media has an influence on spreading these attacks across the country because of their coverage, even us as local students and South African citizens we must take the blame. We could try and explore these differences we say media are expanding. It doesn't make sense for us as young scholars to be still dependent on media for information" (participant 8)

"In as much as the media need to be commended for their contribution on matters on national importance, however, the reports sometimes do not seem to be balanced, as the news at times usually report as if entire South Africa is against and attacks foreign nationals, whereas in reality its only particular area in one province not in all our nine provinces. To give an example, a few months back, (June 2018), I read an online news article. It was titled 'xenophobic violence in democratic South Africa', whereas the article was mainly about two provinces (KZN and Gauteng) where there has been xenophobic outburst" (participant 9)

"I once read news headlines, on an online newspaper; I can't remember its name, with a headline line saying 'foreign students pouring to study in South Africa'. That gave me the idea that they coming in numbers to take our limited spaces in already populated tertiary institutions. Hence, the negative attitude I had towards international students on campus (participant 11)

"At some point it exaggerates and generalise stories, for instance, just because few Nigerians were caught by police involved in drug dealing, since then, the

media have injected the idea that all Nigerians are drug dealers, which has actually elevated this stereotype to even contribute and serve as one of the reasons for these xenophobic attacks. As a result, as one of the students coming from Nigeria and with recognisable Nigeria accent I receive so much negative attitude from local students. A painful experience, when I was a first year student, I was allocated with a local student. He literally said he can't stay with a stinky young drug dealer. Pity that some of us decide not to report these issues" (participant 13)

"Many scholars have argued that the media have done so much in the development of societies in developing countries like South Africa, however, I also think it has also done so much to promote differences among Africans, which also contributes to these attacks. For instance, we are all blacks but when media reports about us they use our countries to name us, I have seen headlines lines a Mozambican that…. A Zimbabwean that… and the focus is all about bad things done. As for me I have called with so many names on campus and in town (Alice) including a 'Zim (short for a Zimbabwean)', 'igrigamba', 'refugee', ikwerekwere, 'foreigner' and all other unpleasant derogative names (participant 15)

Participants the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College also expressed similar views.

"Media reporting do influence young people to a large extent. For instance, the same day after his speech, on pleading with political leaders to look in the issue of having so many foreign nationals with some illegal immigrants the media (*The Citizen online news* and *media24 online news*, April 2015 only reported

that Zulu King said 'foreigners much must go back home'. Of which these were not his exact words. Hence, xenophobic attacks took place around Durban" (participant 3)

"In addition, yes the media neglected the whole meaning of the speech and focused on that part on foreigners, so people got the idea that they have to attack foreign nationals as part of following King's words. Even on campus it was very tense" (participant 5)

"Although sometimes I do get negative attitudes from local students during these attacks I don't know how many times I've been told to go back where I am coming from" (participant 7)

"I got so nervous after this guy, I didn't even know his name, I was rushing to one of my classes and we bumped into each other, he then said I should be glad I'm inside the campus. He then asked me why I don't go back to study in my country" (participant 8)

"Students are also part of the society, therefore, they also get the same influence from media reporting which is received by the society, even to a greater extent, because the majority of the students have internet access, of which some of the stories are published in that space. I think local students who come with these behaviours on campus inherit them from their communities. Even the xenophobic threats that the Black international students are currently receiving from local students are inherited from the communities where they are from" (participant 10)

"I don't know how many times I've been threatened by some local students and told to go back to where I'm coming from" (participant 11)

"I have watched a video on YouTube, although I couldn't finish it was so disturbing, a Somalian stoned to death after being accused of witch-craft. I developed so much hate for South African, on top of the fact that we are told to go back home every now and then in spite of the fact that we are also contributing to the country's economy" (participant 10)

"Well, as for me, to some extent, the way media reports on xenophobic behaviours has an influence among students in South African universities but I also think at the university level, one must have been taught to evaluate information in a scholarly way to decide whether they take it as is, or not" (participant 14)

The above responses, suggest that participants think media reporting can influence xenophobic behaviours among students. Although media reports may not directly influence students' behaviour but as part of the community, students can also inherit xenophobic behaviours from their communities in the institutions of learning

Like their counterparts at the University of Fort Hare and KwaZulu-Natal, participants from the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus felt foreign nationals especially from the African continent have not had favourable coverage in the South African media and this exposes them to hate and violence. "The media should be protecting us not demoralising us" (participant 1)

"To be a Somilian the South Africans will assume that you sell carpets or you own a spaza shop, doesn't matter even if you are a student, you will be called 'my friend'. Recently, I have seen that the media has adopted the word 'my friend' which I find stereotypic" (participant 3)

"Yes, for instance, on *The Citizen* online newspaper around August 2018, the headline was about 'declaring war against 'my friend spaza shop'. I can't remember the date" (participant 4)

"I am a South African but I don't think media should be adopting such words" (participant 5)

"Yes media has the influence to some extent but I would like to believe that students are at a level where they decide what to believe or not, in the media" (participant 7)

"University students are part of the society. Therefore, they are equally affected by the problem of media reporting on xenophobic attacks in South Africa, which has a big influence on the youth, including students" (participant 8)

"The media has an influence on xenophobic behaviours among us. For instance, with headlines like *'Kill thy neighbour' in Sunday Times*, I can't remember the date. People are selective readers out there. Such kind of news reporting has surely contributed to this existing hatred among international students and local students" (participant 9)

"In spite of the fact that there have been unreported cases of some international students, who get beat-up off camp by a group of local students, I don't want to mention names, because they are foreigners and they are told to go back to their countries as internationals students, we live in fear every day. Ever since, media reported one of internationals student from Mozambique, Kelvin Baloyi gunned down by a security guard at The Yard, student residence" (participant 11)

"It was reported on *Sowetan Live online* newspaper and *Business Live* on the 7th November 2016" (participant 12)

"Although the media reported that it was a security guard we know it was not. We, as international students have endured so much hatred in South Africa because of how media has represented us. Now we are not even sure about our safety if one of us can be easily gunned down (participant 13)

"Media reporting in South Africa has so much influence on young people (which include students) as they are exposed more to media gadgets and technology than old people, which then lead them to have so much access to news reports even online" (participant 14)

Participants from this institution attested to the fact that to a 'greater extent', media reporting influence xenophobic behaviours among students in South African universities. They also shared that the continuous reports on murders of international student, given the example of kelvin Baloyi death, make their safety on campus residence uncertain. It was also pointed out by the participants that the way South African media frame stories and construct the headlines, like the *Sunday Times'* headlines 'kill thy neighbour' is a major concern as some readers might misinterpret the headlines which could lead to xenophobic behaviours. Some other participants pointed out that at the university level, students with the knowledge they have gained, are expected to be better informed and therefore able to evaluate the information they receive from the media.

. The responses from the three universities in this study confirmed that media reporting directly and sometimes indirectly influence xenophobic behaviours among students.

Scholars like Dedaic, (2015), George and Kwabsah-Aidoo (2017) agree that the way media report xenophobia has a way of triggering more xenophobic violence and behaviours among youth, who constitutes the bulk of university population. Participants hold that the practice of identifying suspected criminals who are non-South Africans with the names of their countries, does not only harm the whole country's image but brings more hatred even to the innocent people from such countries. Headlines like *"Kenyans evacuated as attacks on foreigners spread in South Africa (*IOL*, 26/05/2017), (*Business Daily*, 17/04/2015 p.1)* was cited   as examples of how media can influence people through their framing of news and construction of news headlines. Some participants pointed out that they were told by fellow students a number of times to 'go back where to they come from' after the media (e.g. *The Citizen* online newspaper, 23/03/2015) reported that the Zulu King said all foreigner should leave the country.

The participants also pointed out that the continuous media reports of   the murder of international students inside university residence like the death of. Kelvin Baloyi tends to increase fear over the safety of international students. Participants noted that there are some unreported cases of molestations and violence against foreign students who are often beaten-up by a group of local students and g told to go back to their countries. One participant suggested that students must be scholarly and employ knowledge the knowledge they have gained to evaluate the information they receive from the media. This might mean researching more about the cultures of international students than relying on generalised stereotypes from the media. One participant also pointed out that the media has adopted another derogatory name such as *'my friend'* on *The Citizen.* The researcher has found that the actual headline was *"War declared against 'my friend' spaza shops selling expired products* (The citizen, 22/08/2018). It is

important to note that, although the word 'my friend' means someone dear in English interpretation in this context, South Africans mainly use this name to denote foreigners, Somalians in particular. According to the research conducted by Maselwa (2017) on Somali village spaza shops owners, it was noted that the name 'my friend' comes from the Somalians themselves as they were trying to be nice to the villagers so that they be welcomed. However, the word gained popularity and ended up being used in reverse to refer to Somalians. In Maselwa's research, it was found that the Somalians are not happy being called 'my friend. More so, this research has also confirmed that this name is offensive to the Somalians. It is a major concern that such derogative names are still adopted by media.

I want to argue that for students who use the media to access news, it is possible that they can become victims of having their perceptions "cultivated by media" (Rossler, 2017:144) and pass on these behaviours to others. For instance, the names that have been given to foreign nationals which were propelled by the South African media, *like refugees, aliens, amagrigamba, amakwerekwere*, etc., have become a part of the South African language and dictionary.

5.4.9 LOCAL STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

To assess the attitudes (both positive and negative) that local students have towards international students, Participants (local students) were asked to describe their feelings and views about international students.

Participants at the university of Fort Hare, Alice campus expressed both positive and negative views about foreign students:

"It is good to have international students in the country because they contribute a lot the scarce skills lacking in SA" (participant 1)

"Their presence provides us with the opportunity to learn from each other's experiences, particularly strengthening our diversity and better understand each other as Africans. Perhaps, the fact that we get to interact with each other as African students will provide space of understanding our differences as well as similarities. Also, learn their culture of hard work and discipline" (participant 8)

"It is very important for a country to have international students to promote diversity in our universities" (participant 2)

"As well as boosting our country's economy" (participant 1)

"Having international students as our classmates help us to understand other cultures that coexist with ours and we actually find them so interesting as they are unique and different from ours" (participant 3)

"Most international students are seemingly not interested in understanding our cultures as we are with theirs" (participant 8)

"They don't wanna learn our languages" (participant 7)

"They are egocentric" (participant 4)

"Some of the international students think that they are better and clever than local students and they undermine us" (participant 5)

"In lecture rooms, international students form their own study and work groups (especially Zimbabweans)" (participant 3)

"I think they too many kodwa (though)" (participant 6)?

"Economically, they boost us; it's just that they don't leave after their studies" (participant 7)

Although the above comments contained many positives, there were negative comments that suggest a sense of pride, egocentrism and ethnocentrism. Touwen (2009) pointed out that ethnocentrism and stereotypes are common features of xenophobic behaviours. Insisting that someone must speak your language smacks of ethnocentrism, it is not compulsory for international students to learn local languages especially when are twelve official languages including the sign language. However, I am of the view that learning and speaking voluntarily the native language of the province where a student is studying, could perhaps assist in reducing xenophobic behaviours including ethnocentrism and stereotypes.

As with participants at the University of Fort Hare, participants at the two focus group discussions held at the University of KwaZulu Natal, offered a more nuanced opinion about international students:

"I love them because they bring more diversity in our country, in terms of their cultural practices" (participant 1)

"I am positive about having foreign students in our universities and their contribution to the value systems, skills and knowledge-base of the African continent" (participant 2)

"These are our fellow black brothers and sisters. We share one African value Ubuntu" (participant 4)

"It is good to have them studying in our country and they have a good education system back in their countries as compared to our SA" (participant 3)

"Diversity makes our country unique and interesting; therefore, it is good to have international students as our classmates" (participant 5)

"International students get preference than us, more especially when it comes to students needs like a residence. Therefore, we are not treated the same as them" (participant 6)

"And they make residence bathrooms filthy from the way they bath (bucket system)" (participant 6)

"They have bursaries from their countries and they take advantage of our women" (participant 7)

In the same vein, participants at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus expressed both negative and positive sentiments about international students. Below are some of the overarching responses that emerged:

"I think that local students are nice and have accepted their counterparts from other parts of Africa as it is very seldom to find xenophobic episodes in our

universities, as compared to those happening in our societies and they have been allowed to participate even in student politics and afforded a right and freedom of association" (participant 1)

"I love them. They bring a different perspective and intellectual expertise in South Africa, mostly in the academic sphere" (participant 7)

"I love them, and I am curious to learn more about them and their cultures and tradition" (participant 3)

"Surely, if the country does not receive and welcome visitors from abroad, it means there is something wrong about that country. Therefore, they bring diversity to our country, as it is called a rainbow nation" (participant 2)

"They are backward in terms of politics. They neither understand politics nor worries about their countries where there are civil wars" (participant 4)

"International students get so much preference from our institution, which makes them more comfortable to stay even longer in South Africa and end up taking our jobs and women" (participant 5)

As mentioned before, this question (perception of international students) was directed to local students only to assess their attitudes (both positive and negative) towards international students. As the findings show, the majority of the local students across the three universities sampled appear to have positive attitudes towards international students.

The common view among the participants was that international students bring diversity to the nation's education sector and also contribute towards the country's economy. Many participants mentioned that they love international students because

they bring uniqueness around the cultures and traditions of South African people. It was commonly mentioned that it is good to have international students in South Africa because they bring more diversity of cultures and languages in South African institutions, which also strengthen the view of the 'rainbow nation'. Also, one of the common views from the participants was that having international students enrolled in South African universities strengthen the quality of education, especially higher education. That also means more points for South African universities in terms of the world university rating.

It is also important to note that there were also negative views expressed by local students about international students, even though the negative perceptions were out-weighed by positives. One of the common negative views to note was; international students think they are intellectually better than South African students. It was also mentioned that international students are granted attractive bursaries and scholarship by their original countries, which makes them take advantage of local female students and date them. It was also stated that they get preference in South African universities and they get comfortable, then they prolong their stay in South Africa, which toughens the competition for jobs and resources. In light of this view, this means that the competition of resources leads to these negative views about international students. This is also explained by the frustration-aggression theory which states that when one group is having a challenge on attaining a goal or accessing resources they tend to blame the other group, which in the case of this study, are international students.

The researcher thus noted that there is so much pride among local students, which elevates to ethnocentrism. it is my view that South African media is too proudly South African because I think it does not do enough to educate local people about Africa and

Africans in general. As noted earlier, the media focus more on the negative side of foreigners and where they are coming from. As Kwansah-Aidoo and George (2017) note, South African media sometimes provide insights into stereotypes about foreign nationals. A typical example is that from the media's perspective, Zimbabwe is known for drought and starvation and the falling houses in the country-side, whereas it is very rare that on TV, they show the beautiful city of Harare and Victoria Falls. Therefore, I believe that media representation of foreigners is not well balanced.

The issue of employment mentioned by some participants show that most participants did not know much about international students who they blame for lack of jobs. Some are not interested in learning more about them, which leads to foreign nationals, in general, being made scapegoat (like they take our jobs). The tendency to make innocent parties scapegoats for certain deprivations or untoward situations is explained by the scapegoating hypothesis. Schwartz and Unger (2017) argues that in such a situation, antagonism towards immigrants is explained in relation to limited resources, such as employment, education, housing, health-care, coupled with high expectations during a transition. This is also explained by the Frustration-Aggression theory, as local people put their frustrations on foreign nationals for not getting these resources which they feel entitled to, including the jobs which are claimed to be taken by foreign nationals. This has been very common to the South African situation of xenophobic behaviours. Whether it be the 2018 incident in Johannesburg which saw massive looting of spaza shops, injuring and killing of shop owners mostly in Johannesburg, or the 2017 attacks in Limpopo, or the 2015 Durban incident or the infamous 2008 event in Alexandra, those who engaged in these attacks have always blamed African immigrants for their unemployment and other deprivations.

5.4.10 INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF LOCAL STUDENTS

Participants (international students) were asked to give their opinion about local students. Their responses consisted of both positive and negative views. This is how some international students at the University of Fort Hare characterised local students:

"Most local students are welcoming and with some of them you can actually make a conversation" (participant 1)

"I love South Africans, in most of them the value Ubuntu is still living on" (participant 2)

"Most local students undermine our cultures and they believe that the only way to live is through practising their cultures (participant 4)

"Local students, more especially the male Xhosas, call us *Amakhwenkwe* because they believe that for one to be a 'complete' man, one has to have undergone through circumcision just the way they did" (participant 5)

"I do not think that all local students like international students because some of them they call us with unpleasant names like *Amagrigamba, Amagweja and Amakwerekwere*" (participant 6)

"They even monopolize most sporting codes. You might be talented in soccer but they would never give you a chance" (participant 7)

The participants pointed out that local students, more especially male Xhosas, call male international students as 'Amakhwenkwe' (boys). In the context of the Xhosa culture, if a man has not yet undergone initiation or has not done it according to the Xhosa culture, he is still regarded as inkwenkwe (boy), until such a time he is initiated. In the Xhosa culture, the initiation is called *Ulwaluko* and it is one of the sacred

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traditions in the Xhosa culture (Ntonzini, 2016). However, in this study, it was found that some male Xhosas undermine other people's cultures because they have not undergone initiation the same way as the Xhosa culture stipulates which then results in stereotypes/ ethnocentrism. This attitude is based on ignorance, for instance, in Nigeria males especially from the southern part of the country, are circumcised within the first two weeks of birth.

At the University of KwaZulu-Natal Howard College, majority of the participants expressed mostly negative views about local students. Below are excerpts from the two focus groups:

"I love local students because most of them are welcoming and nice, I have made a number of friends already" (participant 1)

"They are very nice indeed. I have a friend as well, who is teaching me isiZulu and I can say a few words" (participant 2)

"Some local students do not like us; they call us Amakwerekwere, which is not a nice name at all" (participant 3)

"Although they have never said it out loud local students do not like international students. I don't think they have learnt to accept and tolerate us" (participant 4)

"There is a general stereotype that we came to South Africa because there is so much poverty and starvation in our countries, but we came here to study and go back to our countries and implement what we have studied here but the negative attitudes we get here are very worrying" (participant 5)

"Sometimes when you pass by a group of locals, although you don't understand the language but you can just sense that they are making a silly comment" (participant 6)

Participants at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus also perceived local students differently. Like their counterparts at the University of Kwazulu Natal, the remarks were unflattering:

"I like local students; I have a few friends, I am learning to speak SeSotho from them and I am also teaching them Swahili" (participant 1)

"Some local students just give a disgusting look when they pass by" (participant 2)

"Sometimes when you have been given an assignment as a group, during discussions, they just speak local languages that you do not understand, and they seem not to care" (participant 3)

"Some of them are very nice" (participant 4)

"Some are just pretending to like us. It's painful being a foreigner here; most local students do not like us" (participant 5)

"Despite being called Amakwerekwere, sometimes off campus we get threats. For instance, one student told me that I should thank Nelson Mandela. He is the only reason I was allowed to be in this country but now he is no more". "We have been called Amakwerekwere ever since I came here" (participant 6)

From the above analyses, in all three the institutions, it was mentioned that local students give unpleasant names to international students which are; Amagrigamba, Amagweja and Amakwerekwere. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the word foreigner is actually a translation of the local languages like isiXhosa, isiZulu and others. The word translates to AmaKwerekwere, meaning somebody speaking an unfamiliar or a strange language. The term is popular amongst most South Africans. To make matters worse, the term has also been adopted even in institutions of higher learning (Mgogo, 2015). The media also played a role in disseminating this term, as it has been seen in some newspapers' headlines like the *Daily Sun* and *Daily Dispatch*, some years ago. Although it was difficult to pick which, between positive and negative views about local students, that outweighed the other, it was noted that some of the negative views emanated from the general stereotypes and ethnocentrism among cultures. This was also evident in my previous research (Mgogo, 2015), in which I assessed the intercultural communication challenges and their impact among students at the University of Fort Hare. In thestudy, most international students pointed out that many local students stereotype them and exhibit ethnocentric behaviours towards them. A good example is issue of circumcision according to the Xhosa tradition which I believe is being misinterpreted by some local students. I believe that people are different and have different cultural practices, which make us unique and interesting. I also believe that while one considers his/her culture sacred and deserving its respect and dignity, other people's culture should not be belittled. Hence, it is also my view that the South African media can still educate people about non-South Africans by also reflecting the positive things about them, which can then assist in confronting some of the untruthful stereotypes that most South Africans have against immigrants.

5.4.11 PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS ON SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA'S REPRESENTATION OF FOREIGN NATIONALS

The majority of the participants were of the view that South African media has not been doing justice to the representation of foreign national. Some of the participants felt that the South African media is mostly biased, especially when presenting xenophobic issues. The views below represent the common sentiments of participants at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus.

"South African media should do away with the 'us and them'. That plants the idea of discrimination, as well as outshining that we are totally different from our fellow African brothers and sisters" (participant 4)

"South African media represent us as 'Aliens' and that makes one feels like an invader and unwelcome" (participant 1)

"South African is so proudly South African. Therefore, the media tend to take the South African side of the story and fewer comments on the foreign nationals' side" (participant 11)

"The media emphasize the bad side of foreign nationals. For instance, it's very uncommon to find a good story about foreign nationals in SA" (participant 8)

"Yes, it's like they wait for criminal activities that implicate foreign nationals they act" (participant 15)

Majority of participants in the two focus groups at the University of KwaZulu-Natal were critical of the words that the South African media use to represent African immigrants:

"When there is a xenophobic attack taking place, South African media always alienate foreign nationals, with names like refugees and others" (participant 1)

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"South African media, most of the times, it fails to contextualise when presenting on foreign nationals" (participant 3)

"The artistic power when writing headlines though, sometimes it kills the entire meaning of the story" (participant 6)

"South African media is so impassive when presenting on foreign nationals" (participant 10)

"It does not do enough research; instead it relies on generalised stereotypes, like always representing all Nigerians as drug dealers" (participant 12)

"I want to believe that they do not do enough research on the side of foreigners" (participant 13)

Similarly, participants at University of Johannesburg perceived the South African media to be hostile toward foreign nationals. Majority of the international students were of the view that the representation of African immigrants in the South African media was mostly in bad light.

"They have reflected on the perceptions of the 'local' people. Terms like AmaKwerekwere applied in the early 1990s. Boom Shaka wrote a nice track about it. But you never hear thoughts of those foreign nationals. It is almost as if it's a one-sided story because their voice is either too soft or is silent" (participant 2)

"The story is always one-sided" (participant 7)

"Names of our countries are used by the media as subtitles when referring to foreign nationals. For instance, 'the Zimbabwean that…, the Nigerian that…, etc, even though we have names which could replace these subtitles" (participant 12)

"I think it's just the way of showing that the country is not happy with immigrants" (participant 13)

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Generally, participants perceive South African media to be misrepresenting foreign nationals. This occurs in the way they give unpleasant names to foreign nationals, which appears to have planted the idea that they are invaders. The incorrect choice of words used by the media has been putting foreign nationals in harm's way for more than a decade now. For instance, as early as 1995, *The Star* (14 August 2008) conceptualised the notion of 'alien' for its readers, since then "alien has become almost a swear word in this country, used by xenophobes to describe those who have come to take our jobs, our homes, our women" (Els, 2014: 151). Some names like Amakwerekwere, Amagrigamba, Amagweja and the newly adopted 'my friend' were also used by some of the media houses over the years to refer to foreign nationals. These names stigmatise foreign nationals as invaders in this country, whereas some of the foreign nationals' immigration status is legal. For instance, some of them come as tourists and some are head-hunted by some companies or institutions because they possess exceptional skills that are rare in the South African economy. In my view, again this is the issue of media framing, as discussed in the literature view. The media has been reluctant to research more on foreigners to give balanced and positive reports about them, instead, foreign nationals have been framed by media as people

who are coming from the other planets, and the incorrect choice of words, as discussed above, strengthens this frame.

It is also my view that the media are doing so little in researching and getting to know some of the foreign nationals, especially when reporting on the xenophobic issues. Therefore, they do so little to provide a balance views about foreign and local residents. Scholars like Toohey (2012) and Thuynsma (2012:161) affirm that sometimes, South African media report unbalanced and biased news, and the "media bias in South Africa is clear only once we compare them to the United States". One of the participants noted that South African media is so proudly South African. In other words, the South African media only promotes South African interests and tend to ridicule or suppress the positive sides of other Africans. Therefore, this means that the media should attempt to strike a balance when presenting sensitive issues like xenophobic attacks and should do away with words like 'aliens' and 'outsiders' or other phrases that appears to be derogative of others. However, some people believe that at times it presents stories on the side of foreign nationals, as it represents South African as perpetrators without researching deeply on the cause of these attacks. Therefore, I still believe that the media are capable of educating people about the importance of having legal foreign nationals in South Africa.

5.4.12 PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE 2008 AND 2015 XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

When asked to comment on the role of the media in xenophobic attacks in South Africa most of the participants supported the notion that indeed, the media played a role in these incidences. they pointed out that although the media may not intentionally be contributing to these attacks the way they report and construct their headlines

sometimes lead to misinterpretations which lead to these attacks to happen in other areas of the country. It was it was observed by participants that media has used some unpleasant and derogative names like alien, foreigners and refugees to represent immigrants and that might have also fuelled these xenophobic attacks. This is evident in some newspapers that have been known to use headlines like **"Do not rob thy neighbour! Nine alien thugs robbed a Metrorail security man** Daily Sun *(08/04/2008 p1)"* and *"Durban chaos as mobs and foreigners battle in street"* (Daily Dispatch, *15/04/2015).* It was also pointed out that the chain of unverified videos that are circulating on social networks where foreign nationals are murdered after they have been accused of crimes like rape and witch-craft lead to distrust of foreign nationals residing in other communities nearby. Lastly, the media's failure to properly conceptualize the xenophobic attacks has also been mentioned as one of the contributors to the spread of these attacks. This is evident in one of the *media24* news articles titled '**Report blames media for xenophobic panic in SA** *(06/04/2016).* In the news article, it was mentioned that the government has also put the blame on media for fuelling these attacks based on the same reason. Below are some of the common views expressed by participants at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus:

"We cannot blame the media for our actions. People start these attacks without the help of the media. The media reports what is happening in that time" (participant 15)

"I also think our people initiate these attacks than the media reports on them" (participant 2)

"Again, if the media is able to come up with a headline like 'the mayor singles out Nigerians as drug dealers and pimps', doesn't that give a general idea that

all Nigerians are pimps and drug dealers? Hence they get attacked now and then" (participant 7)

"Yes I think the media do contribute in these attacks. For instance, the xenophobic attacks that happened in KwaZulu Natal in 2015, it was the media that misinterpreted King Zwelithini's speech. If it wasn't for their reports perhaps such attacks wouldn't have taken place" (participant 3)

"The names like 'alien', 'foreigners', 'refugees', and statements like 'flooding to SA' which have been recently used by the media to refer to foreign nationals give a wrong idea to local citizens that we are illegally crowding South Africa, which then can lead to these attacks" (participant 8)

"Although I think it's not the media's intention to contribute to these attacks it's just the way they report on these xenophobic attacks. For instance, the 2015 xenophobic outburst in Durban emanated from the misinterpretation of the Zulu King (participant 11)

"I also think that the way media reports on single xenophobic violence leads to another. For instance, after one spaza shop was found selling expired products just a few months ago (2018), some online articles were reporting that the foreigners' shops are selling expired products which led to looting of spaza shops almost the whole country, and injuring the owners" (participant 5)

"Sometimes it's not the media, it's the people. People blame foreign nationals that they take our jobs, whereas most of the South Africans are lazy to do further studies. So most foreign nationals mostly further their studies" (participant 13)

"I think the media do contribute to the spread of xenophobia in South Africa, although I think it's unintentionally" (participant 9)

"Yes, to add, I think the videos that circulate on social networks about foreign nationals who are murdered by the community also lead to these attacks. For instance, I've seen one of these videos on Facebook just last year (2017) about a Mozambican murdered by the community in Limpopo because he was accused of witchcraft. These chain videos (messages) evoke some emotions and lead to other foreign nationals being suspected" (participant 12)

"There is also another one about a foreign national murdered by the mob in Mpumalanga, Secunda after he was accused of raping a 6-year-old daughter of one of the men in the mob. Such videos have led to a distrust of foreign nationals in our communities" (participant 10)

"The media did play a role in these attacks because of the way they manipulate stories and sometimes exaggerate (conceptualization)" (participant 6)

At the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College, this is what participants had to say when asked to assess the role of the media in fuelling xenophobic behaviour:

"The media played a significant role in these attacks, more especially with the one that occurred in 2015 around Durban". The media distorted King Goodwill Zwelithini's statement and published manipulated news, which led to those attacks" (participant 1)

"I have noted that most people who initiate these attacks are people who are uneducated and staying in townships doing nothing with their lives. And they

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attack foreign nationals, blaming them for taking their jobs and customers. Therefore, the media cannot be blamed for such attacks" (participant 6)

"I do not think it is the media to blame, I just that as South Africans we need to ask ourselves why do we hate our neighbours and fellow black brothers and sisters so much" (participant 3)

"I think we have learnt from our government who always blames media for xenophobic attacks whereas they fail to deal with the issue of illegal immigrants" (participant 10)

"I think if media can focus on presenting news as they are without pushing their agenda South Africans would not be misled and engage in these attacks. By saying they push their agenda I mean that it has always been the media's objective to present only the bad side of foreign nationals like outshining the crime activities where they are implicated, the poverty and health issues back in their countries. Now as South Africans we have been hating foreign nationals because of what we learnt from the media" (participant 14)

The above responses indicate that most participants agreed that the media played a role in xenophobic attacks in South Africa. It was pointed out by the participants that media has taught South Africans to hate foreign nationals because of their tendency to present the negative side of the foreign nationals including their countries. However, few participants pointed out that the media is not completely to blame for xenophobic attacks that sometimes, the attacks are initiated by some uneducated locals. It has been mentioned by some participants that the media tend to characterise perpetrators of xenophobic attacks as uneducated people while the victims are represented as desperate refugees. For instance, in the 2015 xenophobic attacks there were

headlines like *"Durban chaos **as mobs** and **foreigners** battle in street"* (Daily Dispatch*, 15/04/2015*). In essence, the word 'mob' is usually used to depict an uneducated and barbaric group of people who take the law into their hands. However, there is inconclusive evidence to show that the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks are all uneducated people. Some participants stated that officials of the South African government blame the media for the spread of these attacks while these attacks have been linked to government failure to provide services and control illegal immigration.

At the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, the majority of the participants confirmed that the media played a role in the previous xenophobic attacks. It was pointed out that xenophobic-related violence can be reduced if the South African media can begin to focus more on the positive contribution made by foreign nationals who are in the country legally like the provision of scarce skills which help in boosting the economy of the country. However, some of the participants pointed out that there was a need to address the issues of poverty and unemployment in South Africa that is frustrating local citizens instead of blaming the media or the innocent souls trying to make a living,

> "Yes. It always goes back to 1862 when the diamonds were discovered in Kimberley. South Africa became the centre of attention throughout the world. That framing has not changed to date; it is only the xenophobic issue. Have you heard of any other xenophobic attacks in other parts of the continent? Or they only happen in South Africa? Think about it!" (participant 2)

> "We should not always blame the media for our barbaric behaviours. I still think we need to face the reality that the crisis of poverty and unemployment in South Africa frustrate people so much that they find something to put blame on, which

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then happens to be some innocent souls who are also trying to make a living"
(participant 6)

"I still maintain my view, if newspapers like *Sunday Times* still come up with
headlines like 'Kill thy neighbour' we still going to have xenophobia issue in this
country. Remember, South African has a high rate of illiteracy. Therefore, you
would expect someone who is uneducated to interpret and analyse headlines
like these, instead, they would go straight kill these neighbours as media
instructs" (participant 11)

"Yes, to add, and that headline we talked about earlier on *The Citizen* and
media24 news just a few months back (2018), 'declaring war against my *friend
spaza shops selling expired products*. In the context of South African black
people, war means fighting, attacking with the aim to kill or injure. Therefore,
once people see the word war they will know it means attacking. Hence, a
number of foreign-owned spaza shops were looted, some burned to the ground,
some owners were injured and few died. With such, the media is contributing
to these xenophobic attacks" (participant 14)

"Until the media stop framing foreign nationals as refugees, desperate people
and people who come with diseases and focus on the positive contribution they
make to our country like uplifting the economy and the scarce skills we benefit
from them. Perhaps only then the upcoming generation will see it as a good
opportunity having legal foreign nationals in this country and we might become
a xenophobic free country" (participant 4)

In all, the findings revealed that the majority of participants were of the view that the
media did play a role in xenophobic attacks. One of the common views that emerged

from the focus groups was that the media influence xenophobic attacks by manipulating stories and misquoting people. They cited the 2015 xenophobic attacks that occurred around KwaZulu Natal in which the media not only misquoted King Goodwill Zwelithini but also sold manipulated stories, which resulted in the xenophobic attacks. It was also pointed out that headlines, mostly in the print media, are often misinterpreted and misunderstood by the general public which leads to these attacks to take place. For instance, it was also said that media also played a role on the 2018 xenophobic violence where Spaza shops owned by foreigners were targeted with headlines like, *"War declared against **'my friend'** spaza shops selling expired products* (*The citizen*, 22/08/2018), which might have given the wrong idea to the public. *'**Kill thy neighbour'** (*Sunday Times*, 19/042015 p.1) "Pretoria mayor **singles out Nigerians** as **drug dealers** and pimps"* were made as examples of some of these media headlines. Participants were of the opinion that some journalists in South Africa do misquote people and manipulate stories about foreign nationals as a means of staying ahead of competition and this sometimes, leads to these xenophobic attacks to occur. Hence Dunaway *et al,* 2015: 28) maintain that the journalists have now replaced reporting news with making news solely because "the chief purpose is to present sensational information that attracts large media audiences and enhances profit". In light of the above, I argue that that media has set xenophobia as an important agenda following the series of reports on xenophobic attacks since 2008. There appears no desire on the part of the media to advocate for peace through their reportage. The continuous focus on xenophobia by the media has increased its salience in public discourse and this is consistent with the agenda setting theory. Orr (2016) points out that, the agenda-setting theory is about the amount of time spent on

one topic determines the level of the importance put placed on the topic which might sometimes yield negative results.

On the other hand, there were a few of the participants who hold the view that it is not the media that should be blamed for xenophobic attacks, but the unemployed local people who often vent their anger and frustrations on foreign nationals. Although the media to some extent influence some of the xenophobic attacks happening in South Africa, I argue that in some instances, these attacks are instigated by people who erroneously blame foreign nationals for taking their jobs and customers and end up injuring and killing them. I also argue that to a certain extent, the crisis of poverty and unemployment frustrates local residents, which leads them to apportion blame on immigrants. This frustration is best explained by the frustration-aggression theory, which attributes xenophobia to frustrations experienced or imagined by one group (South Africans), for which another group (foreign nationals) is held responsible (Soyombo, 2008; Singh, 2013). Thus, one can argue that when South Africans are frustrated by the crisis of poverty and unemployment, that leads them to be aggressive and they eventually take all of their frustrations onto the foreign nationals. However, it is also my view that the graphic details of arson, killing and looting shown by media during xenophobic attacks, appear to encourage local residents in other parts of South Africa to imitate or replicate these attacks in their respective provinces or communities. This is one of the reasons why xenophobic attack in one area easily spread across the whole country. Thus, Rossler (2017) emphasises that the media have a strong effect on the general public and it can make people believe and model things they watch on visual media. This is congruent to the theoretical supposition of the cultivation theory which is one of the theories used in this study. The theory suggests that if an individual

watch more violence on television, the individual is more likely to be violent (Rossler, 2017).

5.4.13 PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS ON MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF THE PERPETRATORS AND VICTIMS OF XENOPHOBIA

Perpetrators, in this case, are people who initiate the xenophobic attacks, and in the case of this study, this refers to local residents. On the other hand, the victims are the people who are attacked and get injured by perpetrators during the xenophobic attacks and in this study, they are the foreign nationals. The xenophobic events in question refer to those that have taken place in South Africa from 2008 to date. When asked to comment on how the media characterised the perpetrators and victims of xenophobia as well as xenophobic events, participants expressed divergent views.

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, these are some of the responses that emerged:

"I think the media should do a thorough investigation before calling them victims because some of the foreign nationals are pimps and they have young desperate South Africans females as their prostitutes in exchange for drugs and money. So, they victimise these young women as well" (participant 8)

"For me, perpetrators in this context are presented as angry people who enjoy injuring and killing foreign nationals" (participant 5)

"The media always frame the perpetrators as uneducated people who have no jobs and have nothing to do and then they resort to attacking foreigners" (participant 4)

"The victims, which are black foreigners in this context, are presented in media as helpless people who are all criminals and illegal immigrants" (participant 12)

"The media frames victims as refugees" (participant 14)

"Perpetrators are shown as people aggressors" (participant 3)

"The media should do thorough research about xenophobic instances to strike a balance in their stories. For instance, the research for a particular xenophobic attack should be well investigated before it gets presented to the general public. As for now, they just present these instances subjectively" (participant 1)

"I think the media is right when presenting perpetrators as criminals, because in some cases they brutally kill foreign nationals and sometimes even burn them alive, one can consider that to be a first-degree murder" (participant 9)

"And they do not consider that the people they burn have families and probably they are bread-winners" (participant 7)

"It is just so sad that no one has accounted for such brutality because they all deserve a life prison sentence" (participant 15)

As evinced from the above responses many participants think the media presented perpetrators as aggressive and uneducated people who attack foreign nationals with the intention to kill. This finding is in agreement with the findings of Zempi and Chakraborti (2014) which noted that in the event of xenophobic violence, perpetrators are usually angry uneducated people. In other words, media tend to frame the people

who attack foreigners as illiterate and uneducated people. On the other hand, some participants pointed out that victims are usually portrayed as helpless desperate refugees who are mostly illegal immigrants. Pertaining to the xenophobic event, participants were of the view that the media should research more on these events instead of presenting unbalanced reports.

Similar opinions were expressed by participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus. These are some of what the participants had to say:

> "When presenting xenophobic violence, the media do not present well-balanced and researched xenophobic stories" (participant 3)

> "The media should find out more on the cause of that specific xenophobic instance, without generalising from the previous cause, that 'yet another xenophobic violence'" (participant 5)

> "The media present perpetrators as terrorists" (participant 9)

> "Victims are presented as poor people" (participant 12)

> "The media always use victim's country names during xenophobic violence. For instance, 'Mozambican killed' and I think that has a potential of bringing more hatred among blacks" (participant 13)

Generally, participants were of the opinion that identifying perpetrators and victims of xenophobia by their country names promotes more hatred and also encourage retaliatory actions. Majority of participants at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus stated that the media was not doing enough justice in the presentation of perpetrators, victims and the xenophobic event itself. Some of the participants were of

the view that the media should focus on publishing positive news about foreign nationals instead of dwelling on negativity. They argue that there exist many good stories of foreign nationals which the media can project. Professor Tawana Kupe was cited as an example of a foreign national who is positively contributing to the South African academic system. I also want to argue that if more of this type of news could be regularly reported by the media perhaps South Africans would change the way they look at foreign nationals and perhaps xenophobic violence could be discouraged easily.   One of the participants also pointed out that the media could promote Africanism instead of highlighting differences between foreign nationals and South Africa. Hence, in this study, it was mentioned that the media could adopt Ubuntu and peace journalism as models of reporting to advocate for peace and promote Africanism. Below are some of the predominant comments by the participants at the University of Johannesburg

"Sometimes xenophobic issues are presented based on hearsay, manipulation and misquoting people (e.g. King Goodwill Zwelithini). And the media can do better than that by presenting truthful stories based on empirical evidence or reliable sources" (participant 5)

"The media should also write positive things about foreign nationals instead of only focusing on writing stories that implicate them in crime and illegal trespassing. For instance, there are good foreign nationals who are doing well in this country. For instance, Professor Tawana Kupe, a Zimbabwean, who has been recently appointed as the VC of the University of Pretoria" (participant 14)

"I think instead of presenting xenophobic violence as the aggressors against the refugees the media could promote Africanism instead of focusing on our

differences when presenting foreign nationals and local residents during a xenophobic instance" (participant 7)

5.4.14 PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS ON THE PREVALENCE OF XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOURS IN THEIR INSTITUTIONS

The researcher felt that it was necessary to define and explain the term xenophobia to participants before they were asked the question. Therefore, xenophobia was defined as a dislike or fear of people from other countries, perceived to be foreign or strange to them (Jandt, 2014).

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, this is what participants had to say:

"Yes, there are. And they are provoking us, especially Zimbabwean's. How come they even have a WhatsApp group just to discuss how stupid local students are. And the messages from WhatsApp that leaked even mentioned that as South African students, it's like we grew up being taught by our parents how to have kids at 17 years old and how to copy during class tests and exams. I mean that is insulting enough. I am tired of them; they must go" (participant 1)

"Although there haven't been attacks on campus So far, but there are xenophobic behaviours I have noticed at the University of Fort Hare, there are so many negative stereotypes that we have towards one another. For instance, stereotypes like Zimbabweans are all poor, Nigerians are corrupt and scammers, South Africans are stupid whereas they think they are better" (participant 2)

"There is no xenophobia at the University of Fort Hare yet, or it has not yet happened to me" (participant 6)

"There was a day when we were watching soccer (English Premiership League) in the residence TV rooms, local students got in, fiercely demanding to watch rugby, and we were so scared of them and even resorted to moving out of the TV room" (participant 4)

"Yes, I fear that we might be attacked anytime. For instance, in residence cooking area, I was told that my food stinks and I should not cook that food again. I was cooking Sadza (stiff-pap) with Dovi (a stew of peanut butter)" (participant 3)

"As South Africans, we are not xenophobic, it's only that we are not used to the smell of the indigenous food they cook. Hence, we automatically give them attitudes in the cooking areas" (participant 5)

"Yes, and we were also told to watch the soccer in Zimbabwe, this is South Africa" (participant 9)

"Yes, there are xenophobic behaviours, South Africans give us attitudes. We can't even join students' politics we are told to go do politics in our countries not here" (participant 7)

"Yes, there are. Even in intuitional Societies like debate, sport and student political parties you can't join if you are an international student. Otherwise, you will be given stinking attitudes" (participant 8)

"We are not xenophobic towards international students, they should just study and go back to their country with the knowledge they gained here, which is the reason they came to SA" (participant 12)

"South Africans are not xenophobic to foreign students. The fact is, they do not have a political background on South African politics. Therefore, it wouldn't make sense to include. They must go back to their countries and fix political issues there" (participant 13)

"Yes there are. We are called by names like 'Amakwerekwere' and 'Amagweja'. It's so offensive but we got used to it" (participant 15)

"Some of them, when you pass-by they give an unpleasant look they laugh just when you have passed. If you look back at them they pretend to be serious" (participant 11)

With reference to the above responses, it is evident that the majority of participants believe that there are xenophobic behaviours among local and international students learning at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus. Participants (internationals students) pointed to the fact that they are impeded by the local students to partake in institutional societies like sport, debate society and student politics. In defence, local students have justified their refusal to allow foreign students participate in campus politics on the ground that international students do not have a political background of South African politics. Therefore, they wouldn't make concrete contribution to the society. It was also pointed out that xenophobic behaviours go as far as in cooking areas, where international students have been told to not cook their indigenous food because it smells funny. Participants (international students) pointed out that they have not only been called by derogative names like Amakwerekwere and others which

they have come to tolerate but also have been bullied in residence TV rooms where they had to forfeit watching soccer for local students who want to watch rugby. Again, this is an issue of competing for limited resources as explained by the frustration-aggression theory. It has been argued that bullying of international students could at some point arouse xenophobic attacks on campus. Loue and Sajatovic (2012), mention that bullying between different cultures can lead to xenophobic attacks and possibly place immigrants at greater risk of injury and harm.

Participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College expressed a more nuanced view about prevalence of xenophobic attacks in their institution. Participants were of the strong opinion that the university's policy on race and intercultural relations has helped to discourage xenophobia n the institution. These are some of the responses that emerged:

"I believe our university is very strict when it comes to policies that guard against xenophobic behaviour on campus. Hence, these behaviours haven't shown. But some of us have negative attitudes towards international students. For instance, they do not want to share rooms with them and they prejudge them based on generalised stereotypes that they are poor and desperate" (participant 5)

"I think that because of the priority that is put on international students by the university, and they get more access to good scholarships and priority to residence allocation, hence the local students dislike them" (participant 14)

"I have not yet witnessed any behaviour of such nature" (participant 6)

"Although I have a fear that one day these behaviours will show up judging from the attitude we are given by local students, so far I have not yet witnessed any behaviour of that manner" (participant 10)

"Exactly, during the 2015 xenophobic attacks, we were so scared that we did not even go to town, and around campus, although it was quiet. Some students, through their facial expressions, were so disgusted to see us walking around and we had one saying why don't we just study in our own countries" (participant 7)

"So far, there's never been xenophobic attack I know apart from the underpinning conflict between local students and international students. The fact remains that, we as local students, do not like international students, more especially the ones that are black and from the African continent" (participant 1)

"Apart from the negative reactions that are gestured by local students to us international students, I haven't experienced these behaviours" (participant 4)

"As one of the South African students, I haven't seen any xenophobic violence on campus. For that matter, as from 2015 we support and participate in anti-xenophobic campaigns to show that we are against these behaviours. (participant 9)

As can be seen from the above responses, most local participants were of the view that there were no xenophobic behaviours shown. It was pointed out that supporting and participating in anti-xenophobic campaigns have helped to raise awareness and prevent the break out of xenophobic behaviours and attacks on campus. In the same way, most international participants were of the view that there were no xenophobic

behaviours seen at their institution apart from the negative gestures and reaction that they receive from the local students from time to time.

The University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard Campus, has a strong policy that does not tolerate xenophobic behaviours, racism or discrimination. A statement on the university's websites emphasises that:

> *"The University embraces a culture and spirit of Ubuntu, and fosters a welcoming and supportive environment to its international staff and students wherein diversity is respected and valued. As an institution, we are fundamentally opposed to discrimination and social exclusion, and believe that this sort of violence puts us all as a society at risk and will ultimately lead us down the path of a lawlessness and chaotic society"* (Adapted from the UKZN online news, 18 January 2017)

This policy appears to have prevented xenophobic behaviours in the university.

Although KwaZulu-Natal region has experienced spate of xenophobic attacks, it is important to note that some of the xenophobic behaviours and attitudes are actually happening at the grassroots level, although they are not reported. Therefore, this means that students need more encouragement on reporting such behaviours to authorities, as they have a potential of leading to xenophobic attacks. In this view, Touwen (2009) emphasises that xenophobia is the most commonly used indicator of the violence, with racial and black-on-black violence coming in third.

When participants from the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, were asked to comment on whether there were any xenophobic behaviours at their university, the majority of participants re mainly international students, agreed that there are xenophobic behaviours among students. They pointed out that their safety was no

longer guaranteed especially after one international student was shot in one of the institution's residences by a fellow who impersonated security guards and yet no one gets charged for the incident. More so, some of the participants pointed out that they get discriminated mostly when they want to participate in sport. Pervious research has also found out that this discrimination also exists among South African students. For instance, Tshivenda and SeSotho speakers are examples of South African students who have experienced this type of discrimination. Historically, discrimination in South Africa dates back to the apartheid era when citizens faced all kinds of discrimination based on colour and race. The legacy of discrimination may be at the root of the xenophobic behaviours towards foreign nationals (Yakushko, 2018 and Robinson, 2008). This discrimination also permeates the South African university system where some universities are classified as white universities and others as black institutions. It is possible that the attitude of defining university boundaries based on ethnicity may be the reason for the discrimination against international students by local students who feel international students are encroaching on their space. Discrimination was identified in the literature review as not only one of the causes of xenophobia but also a barrier to effective intercultural communication which could possibly lead to xenophobic behaviours. Participants, more especially local participants, also pointed out that these xenophobic behaviours are provoked by the view that international students come to South Africa with good and attractive scholarships and bursaries from their countries then they use that to their advantage specially to date local female students. This raises another negative sentiment from the male local students.

Like their counterparts at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus,

expressed mixed feelings about the prevalence of xenophobic behaviours in their campus. Below are some excerpts:

"As, one of the South African students, I think there are none of such behaviours I have noted so far" (participant 9)

"I have witnessed these behaviours happening. For instance, some of us coming from the Limpopo Province who speaks Tshivenda are still experiencing some of these behaviours and attitudes from the other students from Gauteng, who mostly speak Sesotho. Even though both Venda and Sesotho are official languages of the same country, South Africa" (participant 1)

"I am not sure if these behaviours are not shown towards foreign students, but for me, I haven't seen anything, although I know that some local students do not like international students who are black, with so many claimed reasons and some are based on generalised stereotypes mostly by media" (participant 13)

"I can agree that there are xenophobic behaviours among students, by judging from the perceptions and stereotypes that some of us local students have towards international students" (participant 6)

"I would say there are such behaviours and attitudes among students. I heard stories from my friends that they have been discriminated by local students in sports mostly" (participant 5)

"most local students have adapted so much of the western culture and moved away from African cultures, and some of us are still holding on to our cultures

and values. Therefore, some of the local students find it hard to tolerate people who are still practising African cultures and values" (participant 7)

"As one of the local students, my perception as a South African student is that, just because some international students come to South Africa with good scholarships that almost provide for everything, some of these students take advantage to impress local female students which cause other local male students to dislike them. Hence, the xenophobic behaviours then prevail among students" (participant 8)

"My opinion is that xenophobic behaviours spread because we see illegal immigrants getting caught by police and drug lords on television and most of them are usually foreign nationals, usually Nigerians. Therefore, as South African we get the same idea even with foreign students on campus". (participant 2)

"I think there are xenophobic behaviours among students because some students do not want to accept that we are unique and different in terms of the language we speak the dressing code and cultural practices. Therefore, some students fail to accept that reality and end being intolerant towards others, as well as believing that their way of life is the only correct and good way of living" (participant 10)

"Local students hate international students. This is not the best time to be a foreigner in South Africa. We are scared for our lives. If one of us can get shot on campus residence by some pretending to be a security guard where are we supposed to be safe" (participant 11)

"It's a big concern more especially if these cases are not solved police" (participant 14)

"Me, I regret coming here" (participant 12)

Furthermore, interestingly diverse views emerged from the participants, in this regard. One common thread that emerged from the group discussions across the three universities was the concern by local students that international students seem to be receiving preferential treatment especially in the allocation of residences. Local students feel that the tendency of university authorities to give priority to international students was undermining their interests and this often leads to dislike of international students by the local students. This a good example of the contestation for resources among groups. Competition for resources has been known to lead to frustrations which can translate to aggression. Oftentimes this aggression is channelled towards the parties that are thought to be encroaching on the right of others. As explained by the he Frustration-Aggression Theory when people experience frustrations in accessing resources there is the tendency become aggressive against other group competing for the same resources. In the case of allocation of hostels above, it seems local students hold international students responsible for their frustrations in accessing residences take out their frustrations on international students and using them as scapegoats (Soyombo, 2008; Singh (2013). The frustrations can lead to the development of xenophobic behaviours among students. Moreover, one of the views from the participants was that watching xenophobic attacks, seeing so called illegal immigrants and drug dealers getting caught on television reinforce and promote the stigmatisation of all foreign nationals as illegal immigrants and criminals. This helps to spread xenophobic attacks and behaviours in other locations and. Gerbner's

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cultivation theory holds that heavy viewers of violence in television are likely to be violent. When these individuals keep seeing the violence meted out to illegal foreign nationals in the media there is a likelihood that when they go to the outside world, they will see every foreign national as illegal immigrant, criminals and drug dealers who deserve to be dealt with. This world view tends to cultivate and spread xenophobic behaviours (Tate, 2010). Almost all students in South African universities have access to free Wi-Fi, they can easily access more Youtube videos of xenophobic violence from which they can cultivate these behaviours and inherit them.

5.4.15 PROMOTING ANTI-XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOURS AMONGST STUDENTS: THE ROLE OF MANAGEMENT

When asked to comment on what the university management should do to promote anti-xenophobic behaviours among students, participants offered divergent views. Participants at the University of Fort Hare pointed out that have a cultural day could be beneficial. They stated that learning other cultures could possible discourage xenophobic violence. Participants identified the creation of awareness about other cultures as one way to overcome xenophobic behaviours. This also consistent with suggestions in previous research (Neocosmos, 2010 and Clausen (2006). It was also pointed out that a launch of more anti-xenophobia campaigns would also assist to discourage xenophobic behaviours among students. Participants suggested that management could leverage the cultural day to raise awareness among students so that they know more and appreciate other cultures, like the way they dress, their traditional food and so forth. Such event they argue could help reduce stereotypes, ethnocentrism, prejudice, discrimination and xenophobic behaviours among students.

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Some participants (local students) also pointed out that the management should ensure that South African students are prioritized when it comes to student scholarships and bursaries, and the supervisor-linked bursary was made as an example. Below are extracts from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus:

"the University of Fort Hare should reinforce and strengthen the Cultural Day as much as possible, where there will be a show of cultural food, clothing and even music. Perhaps that can assist in learning more about other cultures than relying on media generalised stereotypes about foreign nationals" (participant 3)

"To add, Cultural Day could help students to gain information and interest about other cultures and nations across Africa, as well as reducing stereotypes, ethnocentrism and prejudice among students" (participant 5)

"The university should strengthen anti-xenophobia campaigns, even if there has not been any xenophobic attack taken place. It should be a yearly function" (participant 11)

"Perhaps, the history of Africa and its people need to be part of the curriculum because local people are not having a problem with all foreign nationals, but are having a problem with their own African brothers and sisters" (participant 15)

"The university management should not allow a situation where student bursaries and scholarships like supervisor linked bursary to be given mostly to international students. That angers local students and I believe we should be

prioritised when it comes to allocation of such scholarships because we are South Africans" (participant 7)

Participants from the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus, also shared similar sentiments. Majority of the participants stated that institution's management, should introduce more anti-xenophobia campaigns and that does not have to wait until xenophobia attacks occur before these campaigns are launched. On the other hand, participants noted that the university management should encourage multi-cultural studies among students so as to promote an effectively diverse learning environment. Guffey and Loewy (2013) emphasized that the process of interacting with, exchanging and understanding people from other cultures is always restricted by two main barriers: ethnocentrism and stereotyping. These two factors may also be counted as xenophobic behaviours and attitudes and can be overcome by reinforcing tolerance among students. I align with the view that encouraging multi-cultural study groups among students and regular anti-xenophobia campaigns can help achieve tolerance.

This is what participants at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College had to say:

"The management should encourage lecturers to strengthen multi-national (mixed cultures) study groups to increase intercultural awareness and hopefully, that can reduce xenophobic behaviours and attitudes among students" (participant 9)

"Having multi-national and multi-cultural study groups can easily eliminate xenophobic behaviours and also eradicate some of the stereotypes that are indirectly enforced by media about foreigners" (participant 3)

"It looks like there's a need for more anti-xenophobic campaigns that are initiated by students, both local and international students" (participant 13)

"We don't have to wait for a xenophobic attack to take place and only then these campaigns are launched" (participant 7)

"Yes, I'm also with this view of more anti-xenophobia campaigns. It's better to operate on preventive strategy than to operate on defensive strategy" (participant 6)

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, these are some of the recurring views of participants with regards to what management can do to prevent xenophobic behaviour on campus:

"The management should also explain and clarify the term xenophobia among students, more especially to the first year students, to raise more awareness" (participant 1)

"The management should create and allow a space for students to debate and discuss around the xenophobia issue" (participant 12)

"Anti-xenophobia campaigns at universities can contribute towards the eradication of xenophobic behaviours among students" (participant 8)

"The management should ensure equal opportunities for both local and international students, more especially on scholarships and bursaries" (participant 4)

With reference to the above views, participants are convinced that implementing ant-xenophobia campaigns by the institution could be the way to discourage xenophobic behaviours among students. It was also pointed out that allowing space for students to debate, explain and discuss the xenophobia issue could also assist to discourage xenophobic behaviours among students. I also want to argue that the promotion of debate and discussion by management can give a suitable platform for students to discuss their challenges and fears pertaining to xenophobic behaviours.

5.4.16 PROMOTING ANTI-XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOURS: THE ROLE OF THE STUDENTS
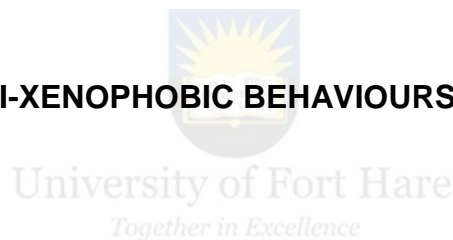
The battle against xenophobic behaviour on campus involves not only management but also university students. Therefore, participants were asked to suggest what roles they think students can play in promoting anti-xenophobic behaviours. These are some of the views that emerged from the two focus group discussions held at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus:

"Amongst campaigns that SRC organise, they must also reinforce the one for xenophobia" (participant 6)

"If the SRC can make use of the debate society or open up a general debate about xenophobia each year, I think it can help to deal with xenophobic behaviours among students" (participant 15)

"I think students, more especially us South Africans, need to be active in these anti-xenophobia campaigns we are talking about. We should not rely on the management to give us a signal" (participant 1)

"Yes, that includes the cultural day thing. If we don't actively participate in these activities, it would seem like we still want to carry on with this hate amongst ourselves" (participant 10)

As can be deduced from the above statements, participants were of the view that students would have to take the lead by actively participating in anti-xenophobic campaigns and championing the cultural day campaigns without relying or waiting for management to command such. It was also pointed out that the Students Representative Committee (SRC) can play a big role in this regard, by also organising and facilitating students' campaigns around issues of xenophobia. I argue that campaigns and open debates pertaining to the issue of xenophobia can really assist to discourage xenophobic behaviours among university students in general, as these strategies would also help to establish awareness so as to discourage these behaviours.

From the combined views of participants from the two focus group discussions held at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College, these are some of the views that emerged:

"Students must engage themselves in the discussion about xenophobia and address the reason for these attitudes and behaviours to prevail and be willing to bring resolutions afore" (participant 1)

"Students, especially local students, must not rely on the media to know about other cultures beyond the borders of South Africa, they must research more to eliminate generalised stereotypes and develop well-researched information, maybe on the books" (participant 11)

"I think we should be encouraged to work with international students also in classrooms. In that, we get more time to learn one another's cultures and ways of doing things" (participant 14)

"As local students, we should be at the forefront, leading ant-xenophobic campaigns" (participant 7)

Majority of the participants, mostly local students, were of the view that students should lead the afore-mentioned anti-xenophobia campaigns to discourage xenophobic behaviours among students. It was also highlighted that students, especially local students must not rely on media generalised stereotypes to be able to define international students, instead, as emerging scholars, they should research more, read books to get to understand international students. The information on published books, journals, menu-scripts the benefit local students in understanding cultures from abroad, more especially the African continent. More so, the information from these sources could be very relevant as it is based on research evidence. Therefore, it is more updated and authentic compared to generalised information from the media.

Similar opinions were expressed by participants at the e University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus. Here are some of the excerpts from the participants:

"Students have to accept that South Africa is a diverse country and so many unfamiliar cultures are yet still to come to this country" (participant 3)

"Students need to adapt to the fact that no man is an island. Therefore, we will always rely on one another as unique and different in terms of cultures as we are" (participant 6)

"Students should take the lead to campaign for anti-xenophobia. In our communities in South Africa, if you are a university student you are respected and people listen to you. Therefore, we take the lead to campaign for anti-xenophobic country perhaps we could discourage xenophobia attacks in communities and streets" (participant 12)

"Students need to develop an interest to adapt and like other cultures, and be willing to learn more on our differences, for instance, willingness to learn other languages from other countries" (participant 14)

Generally, participants from the University of Johannesburg were of the opinion that getting to know other people's culture could help build mutual respect, love and harmony. Participants noted that students especially the local students should always bear in minds that South Africa is a country of diversity country there are still more unfamiliar cultures to come to South Africa. They argue that students and the general public must try by all means to get used to foreign cultures they come across and should know that countries will always rely on one another. Trading and tourism are increasing among countries especially in South Africa. There are still more unfamiliar cultures to tour and do business in South Africa. Therefore, students, as learned and educated people should be at the forefront for the push for peace among local and international students so that the economy of the country will keep on growing.

It is my view that adaptation to other cultures can be achieved through the implementation of the strategy called 'convergence'. As noted by Giles (2012)

communication convergence is a strategy or tactic where individuals adapt their communicative behaviour to become more alike compared to their interlocutor's behaviour. The convergence can be done through changing accent, modifying word choice, using similar expressions, or adjusting non-verbal behaviours to create a sense of similarity between two people. Hence "the convergence behaviour includes modifying language and dialects, speech rate, pauses, utterance length, phonological variations, smiling, gazing and any other kinds of nonverbal gestures" (Fong & Chuang, 2003: 56). All these play a vital role in the communication process. Furthermore, many students have used this strategy to blend within other cultures that are far away from home. I also argue that this does not only help one person to be able to blend with other cultures, but it also helps individuals to get to know more about other cultures, which in turn reduces negative stereotypes, prejudice, ethnocentrism and perhaps, xenophobic behaviours.

5.5 DISCUSSION BASED ON THE FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

The views of the participants were almost similar in many ways, as the participants were able to confirm that what they hear, see and read in media influence them to a large extent. This view emerged from many of the focus groups, with one of the participants attesting that that media influence people so much that they have adopted the so-called Western culture. They also pointed out that children are not spared in any way as evidenced by the way most of them have developed so much love for the Western sport like wrestling, which in many instances makes them become violent towards other children as they imitate the wrestling stars. I personally agree with thes view, with the opinion that in the South African media content, for instance, in many

drama series, many villains or antagonist actors have been copied by many criminals to perform different kinds of crime. For example, in the drama series Uzalo, which airs on *SABC 1*, there is a villain character called Nkunzi, who, together with his accomplices, robbed a church of thousands of rands. In real life, a similar crime was executed at Ngcobo location in Eastern Cape. Moreso, on the 28th of June 2018 a church in Port Elizabeth was also robbed on gunpoint (*the Herald Live*, 29 June 2018). This, therefore, shows that although it is not the intention of the media to encourage crime, the influence that they have on the general audience is significant. Berger (2012) calls this scenario the unintended effects of the media. This also confirms Gerbner's cultivation theory described earlier in this study, which suggests that heavy television viewers are more likely to live television lifestyle (popular culture) because the television has so much power that it influences them to believe in what they see being streamed on the screen (Signorielli, 2005). I also believe this is applicable to other forms of media like the radio, print media, social media, etc.

Another issue that came out so strongly in focus group analysis, particularly from the local students, was the argument that priority is given to international students, which somewhat leads to a dislike and hate of international students by their local counterparts. On this note, the prioritisation of residence allocation and scholarships issues were highlighted as some of the contentious issues. This is mainly an issue of competition for resources, which is also contributing to the resurgence of xenophobic behaviours among students. this is consistent with the Frustration-Aggression Theory which attributes xenophobia to the frustrations experienced or imagined by one group (which is a competition of resources) for which another group is held responsible (international students). Furthermore, this is happening as local students experience problems like not being given priority to get a residence, therefore, they resort to taking

out their frustrations on international students and using them as scapegoats (Soyombo, 2008; Singh, 2013).

It was confirmed by the majority of the participants that media reporting influences xenophobic behaviours among students, as the participants argued that because of the misrepresentation of foreigners, with the adoption of derogative words like Amakwerekwere, and others, and misquoting people, the media have oftentimes, promoted xenophobic behaviours among the youth, inclusive of students. Participants also pointed out that it's been a decade (since 2008) since media reported strongly of xenophobic attacks, and it has not changed the way it presents foreign nationals (e.g. Nigerians as drug-dealers, Somalians as spaza shop owners, Zimbabwean as poverty stricken people and illegal immigrants), which means that the media has put xenophobia as an important issue and has framed foreign nationals as illegal immigrants and criminals (agenda-setting and framing theory). The preponderance of views, suggest that participants strongly believe that journalists sometimes do twist and manipulate stories to achieve sales and to beat competition with other media houses, a good example being the 2015 KwaZulu-Natal massive xenophobic attacks in which King Goodwill Zwelithini was allegedly misquoted as saying that foreign nationals should be chased back to their countries.

Pertaining to the students' views on media reporting of xenophobic attacks, it was unanimously agreed that in most instances, the media do not strike a balance in their stories when representing xenophobia related stories. Furthermore, it was noted by the participants that the media build their information on generalised stereotypes and hearsay, especially from the side of foreign nationals. Moreover, the participants from the focus groups also noted that unpleasant names and words like 'Alien,

Amakwerekwere, Amagrigamba' have been previously used by some media houses, which lead to many local people adopting these names and some are still using them even now. It was thus noted that the media must discourage such names and they must do thorough research based on empirical evidence to broadcast well-balanced stories, as well as promoting Africanism which is also called Ubuntu/peace journalism.

The majority of the participants confirmed that they have witnessed xenophobic behaviours among students in their universities. More so, participants from the focus groups did confirm that they have witnessed such behaviours among university students, noting that although it is very rare to witness xenophobic behaviours in lecturer rooms, such behaviours prevail more often in the residences, in assembling areas like TV rooms and so forth. It was also noted by the participants that even among local students, such behaviours are witnessed. This view was highlighted by one of the participants who pointed out that some of the students coming from the Limpopo Province who speaks Tshivenda are still experiencing some of these behaviours and attitudes from their fellow students from Gauteng, who mostly speak Sesotho, even though both Venda and Sesotho are official languages of the same country, South Africa. Moreover, some participants, mostly international, noted that South Africans do not want to make friends with international students, and that adds more on the misunderstanding negative attitudes that portrayed by local students towards international. This is best explained by the isolation-hypothesis theory.

5.6 PRESENTATION / ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Some of the participants were not comfortable to speak among many people and this study involved bringing together different cultural groups to discuss xenophobia

issues, one of the sensitive topics to tackle in research. Furthermore, some cultures and nations are less represented in some South African universities. In view of this, the researcher deemed it necessary to also conduct in-depth interviews separately, as an additional data-gathering method, so as to accommodate those participants who did not want to speak among other students.

5.6.1 MEDIA INFLUENCE ON THE PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, this is what respondents had to say:

"Very much so, because sometimes they bring about stories we never thought of, therefore, the media always gives us something to think about or influence our thinking" (respondent 1)

"Media influence us to a greater extent. For instance, fashion is mostly advertised on television using celebrity and many who follow that particular celebrity are likely to fall for whatever is being sold" (respondent 2)

"People have become so much dependent on the media for their daily lives. For instance, most people, especially the youth, every time when they wake up, the first thing they do is to log-on to social networks like Facebook and Twitter to get updated with news and things around them, which affect them" (respondents 3).

"Media influence us to a larger extent. That's why successful adverts are done on media because they quickly reach the target audience" (respondent 4).

"The media is very powerful, for quite some time it made believe that Zimbabwe is only a rural country because it has been focusing on the poor side of Zimbabwe. It never showed how beautiful Harare is, which has made us believe that country is even worse than it is" (respondent 5).

Respondents at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus were asked to comment on the extent to which the media influence them. All the participants agreed that indeed, the media influence their perceptions of reality. In other words, the media cultivates their views. Hence, in the cultivation theory, Baran and Davis (2013) point out that the world view created by television becomes the reality because the audience believes it is to be so. I also want to agree that since the Western countries began to influence other countries to develop, the media has been used as the tool to inject the ideas of the modern world. This view is supported by Wood (2016) who notes that all kinds of media, including digital media, have been used as the main tool to influence our thinking and perspective. One of the respondents also pointed out that it is difficult to live without media, especially for youth, as logging into social networks is the first thing they do when they wake up to get updates on things around them. Thus, Gunter (2016) also support this notion pointing that young people use media daily, particularly social media. Even though they believe that social media decrease the chances of social cohesion and affect people's social interaction negatively, young people are so much dependent on it.

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College, these are some of the views that emerged:

"We get so much influence on media. As a result, most of us have adopted so much on media. For instance, the fashion, hairstyle and music from Western countries and America have been adopted by many countries including SA" (respondent 1)

"Media has influenced and turned our lives around. We've learnt to believe most of the media information. We even buy clothes through social media" (respondent 2)

"The media influences us to a greater extent. For instance, most of us have never been to New York but through the media, we have learnt and believed that New York is the greatest and a big magical city that never sleeps" (respondent 3).

"If you can study the popularity of Hip Hop culture from the United States of America you actually the influence the media has on us" (respondent 4)

"Media influence us to a larger extent because through it we are able to follow elections and get results through media reports and we take that information as it is although we didn't see the process with our own eyes" (respondent 5).

With reference to the above responses, it is easy to note that, indeed, media cultivates the views of the audience. Hence, all respondents were of the view that media influence them to a great extent. Among the views, it was pointed out that media has taught us how other people live their lives in other parts of the world and New York City was made as an example. In my view, this is the issue of media framing. I also want to argue that the media has framed the African continent as civil war zone, poverty and as a continent with most people living with diseases and viruses. Therefore, the media has influenced many people to believe in this information. Hence

it has become a generalised stereotype across the world and has led to much xenophobic-related violence.

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, this is what respondents had to say:

"Media influence us to a larger extent. For instance, we depend on media to see the latest trends" (respondent 1)

"It would be difficult to live without media in the 21st century because we rely on it in to communicate even with people to other countries" (respondent 2)

"For us to know what is going on the parliament it is media that informs us and we mostly believe everything they report. Hence, I believe that it influences us a lot" (respondents 3)

"Media is very powerful. It can make you or break you. We've seen people getting famous and all of a sudden they become nothing known. For instance, most people liked Oscar Pistorius but as soon as media reported that he shot his girlfriend most people began to dislike him" (respondent 4)

"I would say media influence us to a certain extent because some of us we choose what to believe and not. That is why we still have people in South African who have held on to the old ways of living and rejected the popular culture of which everyone is adopting" (respondent 5).

Based on the above responses, most participants were of the view that media influence people to a larger extent, which means that their views are cultivated by

media. It was also noted by the respondents in this institution that we are still dependent on media in order to know the affairs of other countries. On the other hand, one respondent pointed out that some people have not fully adapted to the popular culture that people have learnt on media, thus, they are holding on their indigenous way of living.

5.6.2 INFLUENCE OF MEDIA REPORTING ON XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOURS AMONG STUDENTS

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, this is what respondents had to say:

 "Sometimes the media sensationalise the attacks and make them as if every foreign national is being attacked, while it is sometimes just an occurrence in one province" (respondent 1)

"I think the media has an influence by reporting on stories that are not fully researched. For instance, the story of the leaked WhatsApp messages from the WhatsApp group of Zimbabwean students that were offensive to the South African students was reported on the *Daily Dispatch* on the 27th of November before the university management even intervened on the matter. Therefore, some students saw read the news and started hating" (respondent 2)

"And, I think it's the way media, mostly print, forms their headlines that evoke emotions to some people. The same newspapers in their headlines with the word 'war' made other people think there is physical fight among Zimbabwean and South African students" (respondent 2)

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"The media has influence because they have injected negative stereotypes and information about us foreign nationals. For example, if you are from Zimbabwe like me South Africans will assume that you are coming from a poor household with starvation, that is the information that the media has generalised on" (respondent 3)

"Media always reports on negative things done by foreign nationals and they do not focus on the good things we are doing for South Africans, like the scarce skills that they source to our countries, I am very disappointed that they do not focus on such positives" (respondent 4)

"Note the use of the names of our countries by media to report on a crime committed by foreign nationals is adding more on the hatred of foreigners. I've seen newspapers writing the Zimbabwean killed, the Zambian caught on drug burst. Such kind of language influence more xenophobic behaviours from the South Africans" (respondent 4)

"I think it's the South Africans who hate us more than media does because they just hate us and we can't fully blame the media. I mean some of them we have stayed with them for more than a year. They must have realized that we are not the same it's just the media that generalizes the information" (respondent 5)

With reference to the above views, most respondents agreed that media has an influence on xenophobic behaviours among students. Among the views, it was pointed out that the media usage of country names to report on issues like crime where foreign nationals are implicated paints a bad picture to the general foreign nationals of that particular country, as it injects the idea that all the people from that country are the

same. In other words, the media sets the agenda and frames foreign nationals as criminals. It was also pointed out that the sensetionalization of xenophobic attacks by media in which it is reported as if all the foreign nationals in South Africa are being attacked. However, among the views, one of the respondents pointed out that it is not the media to blame but South Africans, as they were not taught by media to hate foreign nationals.

These are some of the views that emerged from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus:

> "Xenophobia can take place because of media reporting, and most students are exposed to media, more especially digital and social media" (respondent 1).

> "I do not think that the media have something to do with these attacks, instead, I think that it is people who are angry because of government failure to alleviate poverty and creation of job opportunities. So, I think it's a blame game" (respondent 2).

> "The internet has allowed people to blog just anything they want to talk about. Therefore, this freedom has led other people to publish fake news about foreign nationals" (respondent 3)

Based on the above views, most participants agreed that media has an influence on the xenophobic behaviours among students. Among the views, it was pointed out that the access on digital media and social media expose students the xenophobic attacks which are reported in that space. In my view, this might be because students in almost all universities have free access to Wi-Fi. Therefore, they can browse just anything

and it is possible that they come across with xenophobic-related violence in those spaces. This poses a threat; as social media is regarded as the host of fake news. On the other hand, one of the respondents had a contrary view, pointing out that it is South Africans who are angry because of the government's poor service delivery then South African put their anger. This notion is also supported by the frustration-aggression theory which emphasizes that when one group is experiencing challenges they tend to blame the other vulnerable group (Sign, 2013). Thus, in this context, it is the South Africans who are frustrated because of the poor service delivery from the government who then put their frustrations on the vulnerable foreign nationals.

These are some of the views that emerged from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus:

> "From my point of view, the media has an influence on xenophobic behaviours, including racism and discrimination. They are taught at home. Therefore, I believe that if such behaviours do exist among students, it is likely to be the societies from which they come from, which are to be blamed" (respondent 1)

> "It's just the representation of foreign nationals by the South African media that inject xenophobic behaviours among us. For instance, as from 2008 xenophobic attacks the media has represented us aliens which sound like people coming from the other planet. That's why South Africans will never get to understand us" (respondent 2)

"I think the media has taught us to hate foreign nationals. It's because of their focus on the negative side of immigrants. I study with foreign nationals and I noticed that most of them are nice and humble people" (respondent 3)

"I would like to believe that it is South Africans who hate us before the media even represented us negatively. I mean the South Africans have forgotten that during apartheid we accommodated their politicians who had to exile" (respondent 5)

With reference to the above views, most participants agreed that media has an influence on xenophobic behaviours. Most of the respondents pointed out that it is the negative media's representation of foreign nationals that causes these behaviours to emerge among students. It also came out of the respondents that these behaviours are inherited from the society where these students are coming from. However, one of the respondents pointed out that many South Africans already hated foreign nationals even before the media began representing foreign nationals negatively. The freedom of expression from the media has been misinterpreted and over-exercised by many people, and that has led to people offending others. For instance, the WhatsApp post that has leaked from the WhatsApp group of the Zimbabwean students at Fort Hare has evoked and draw a lot of anger to South African students.

5.6.3 MEDIA REPORTING OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

These are some of the views that emerged from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus

"The media has always presented xenophobic attacks as if all South Africans are attacking foreign nationals" (respondent 1.

"Media present tend to present unbalanced news and heir reports are usually not well researched" (respondent 3).

"On Youtube, some of these attacks are not censored they are so disturbing, and some people in our communities learn from these videos to also attack foreigners living nearby for the same reasons" (respondent 4).

"When these attacks are taking place South Africans are always presented as jobless angry people" (respondent 5)

With regards to media reporting of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, participants were of the opinion that when the media reports these attacks; it does not only present the scene as if all South Africans are attacking foreign nationals but also present them as angry and jobless people, which mean that the media constantly frame the perpetrators as unemployed people. More so, it was also pointed out that some of the videos reporting xenophobic-related violence on digital media and social media like YouTube are not censored; therefore, some other people replicate these attacks in their communities, the same way they have seen it on the video. For instance, there was the story circulating on the social network of two Ethiopian men who were brutally beaten using stones and sticks by the locals after they were accused of child trafficking. The video was very raw and disturbing with no viewer disclaimer. Soon after that, another video was shot of a Somalian stoned to death after being accused of witchcraft. I want to argue that it possible among these cruel activities, the other one is motivated by the other. More so, this is best explained the Gerbner's cultivation which highlights that the heavy views of violence are likely to be violent (Baran and

Davis, 2013). In other words, the world view created by television and YouTube videos becomes the reality because the audience believes it is to be so.

These are some of the views that emerged from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard college campus:

> "In the event of xenophobia, the media has always presented victims as illegal immigrants whereas some of them have papers" (respondent 1)

> "When reporting on xenophobia, the media use strong words like mobs and refugees, which exaggerates the xenophobic scene" (respondent 2).

> "The South African media is bias, when reporting on these xenophobic attacks it always gives readers the idea that all the foreign nationals being attacked are illegal" (respondent 5).

Based on the above views, the researcher noticed some similar views emerging from the respondents. For instance, the issue of media presenting xenophobia attack victims as illegal immigrants has been over exhausted. However, one of the participants pointed to the issue of the choice of words mostly use in news headlines, which end up exaggerating the scene of these attacks. Thus, the word mobs and refugees have been used as examples in this case. I also want to argue that in some cases, the media tend to use pictures which are too exaggerative. For instance, in 2015 xenophobic attacks that happened around Durban, on the *IOL* (Independent Online news) the picture which was used under the headlines had a number of men

carrying spears and look like they are going to war. Some of these pictures send strong messages to the readers and viewers which ends up overstating the scene.

These are some of the views that emerged from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus:

"The media goes to the extreme when reporting on xenophobic attacks, For example, the pictures of people being burnt alive are too much for the public eye" (respondent 1).

"I think the media has focused more on black-on-black violence rather than other issues in South Africa. For instance, the media emphasizes more on xenophobia rather than racism and discrimination between black and white people (respondent 2).

"When reporting about xenophobic behaviours, I think both parties are misrepresented. For instance, the media makes it as if the foreigners being attacked are all illegals and trespassers" (respondent 3).

"I think the choice of words that are used in headlines takes away the actual state of the scene and exaggerates everything, and sometimes, end up losing the actual meaning as well" (respondent 4).

With reference to the above views, some similar views among respondents also emerged from this institution. For instance, the issue of the choice of words used by media on their headlines to explain the scene sometimes is exaggerated and ends up losing meaning. This notion is supported by Touwen (2009) as he pointed out that the

different concepts mostly used by the South African media to define the scene of the xenophobic attack are not only having a different meaning with the context of Africa but also in the Western representation of Africa.

5.6.4. LOCAL STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

It is important to note that this question was only prepared for local students.

In this view, these are some of the respondents' views from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus:

> "It is good to have international students in the country because they contribute a lot to the body of knowledge" (respondent 1)

> "Their presence provides us with the opportunity to learn from each other's experiences, particularly strengthening our diversity and better understand each other as Africans. Perhaps, the fact that we get to interact with each other as African students will provide space for understanding our differences as well as similarities and also, learn their culture of hard work and discipline" (respondent 2).

> "I think they are too many, more especially Zimbabweans. They should study and go back to their respective countries so that South African upcoming students can get admission" (respondent 4).

It is important to note that this question was only asked from the South African students to comment on their feelings and views about international students. Thus, most respondents brought up positive views about international students. However, one of

the respondents came up with a different view and pointed out that the number of internal students has grown relatively high which might hinder some upcoming local students to get admission. The international students from Zimbabwean were mentioned as an example. This might be because Since 1995 "the Zimbabwean government has continued to send students to a number of South African Universities, with Fort Hare ever receiving the largest portion of students due to the fact that the University of Fort Hare is the Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe's alma mater and the ties he has with the institution" (UFH Online news, 2016.

These are some of the views that emerged from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus:

"I love them because they bring more diversity in our country, in terms of their cultural practices" (respondent 3).

"I think they get more advantage and priority than South African students" (respondent 4).

"I am positive about having foreign students in our universities and their contributions to the value systems, skills and knowledge-base of the African continent" (respondent 5)

Based on the above views, most participants raised positive views about international students. The issue of international students' contribution to diversity and their contribution to knowledge-based skills was highlighted as one of the positive aspects of having international students studying in South Africa. It was also pointed out that international students contribute to strengthening the values that are shared by the African continent. Moreso, I am also of the same view that although African nations

have different cultural practices, there are some value systems that bind us together as one. For instance, 'Ubuntu' which means that a person is a person by other people (Fourie, 2007) is the value that is well known to most countries in the African continent. However, one respondent pointed out that they are given priority than local students, which in my view, sounds like the competition of resources among students, which will possibly create frustrations from the local students (as explained by the frustration-aggression theory), which will then lead to xenophobic behaviours.

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus these are some of the views that emerged:

"I love international students and I have made some friend from them" (respondent 1).

"It is good to have international students because their presence in this country contributes to the country's economy" (respondent 3).

"I think they are good academics who are top achievers. However, they are not easy to study with, as they prefer not to work with South Africans simply because they think they are too clever than us" (respondent 4).

Based on the above views, most participants brought up positive views about international students. Among the views, it was mentioned that the presence of international students contributes in the country contributes to the economy of the country. From the researcher's point of view, I also agree with this view that international students' presence in the country also strengthens international

relations and the country's trade with other countries which as a result boosts the country's economy.

5.6.5 INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF LOCAL STUDENTS

It is important to note that this question was only prepared for international students.

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus these are some of the views that emerged:

"Some of the local students are very nice and welcoming" (respondent 2)

"I have friends who teach me Xhosa language and they are very nice" (respondent 3)

"From my experience, South Africans are so judgemental, especially if you are a black international student. The negative attitudes we get especially from the Xhosas are so offensive" (respondent 4)

"Local students, more especially the accommodating culture (Xhosas) undermine almost all international students' cultures, especially the language, and they think they are better than anyone" (respondent 5).

Participants from the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, brought up positive and negatives views about local students. Based on the above views, some respondents brought positive views and pointed out that, South African students are nice and welcoming. On the other hand, some respondents brought up negative views pointing that South African students are prejudging and have negative attitudes towards international students. In my view as the researcher, this actually shows that some of the students have passed the cultural shock stage and have accepted other cultures

that were strange to them from both local and international perspectives. However, one of the respondents pointed out that local students think that their culture is better than the international students' cultures. In this view, Schaefer (2008) argues that in an ethnocentric scenario, one group considers itself superior, while treating outsiders with contempt. Therefore, this means that ethnocentrism does exist among students, both local and international.

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus, these are some of the views that emerged:

"Local students, in my view, are wonderful and amazing, and I don't believe they are against foreign students or nationals in any way" (respondent 1).

"I think students are educated enough to understand that we are all unique and different and at the same time we are all black brothers and sisters separated by colonial borders. However, I think it is uneducated people on the street who hate us so much" (respondent 2).

"I have never had a problem with any local student so far, they are lovely". This, therefore, means that students are still coexisting harmoniously" (respondent 4)

"I think local students think they are better, and they don't want to mingle with us as some of them say we stink" (respondent 5).

With reference to the above views, all the respondents interviewed brought up positive views about local students. It is important to highlight the view expressed by one of the respondents that South African students are not as xenophobic as South Africans

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in the community who are mostly uneducated. Thus, this view is similar to the findings of the study conducted from the University of Johannesburg, Soweto Campus by Patsika (2015), which proved that uneducated people in South African are more xenophobic as compared to the educated people. In my view, this can also be supported by the fact that many xenophobic attacks recorded have happened in the cities and communities outside the university campuses. On the other hand, one respondent pointed out that local students isolate themselves from the international students and they think international students stink. In light of this, this is a similar case that is explained the isolation-hypothesis theory, as it asserts that contemporary xenophobia by recourse to internal isolation, isolation between South Africans, as a consequence of apartheid (Hook and Eagle, 2002).

From the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, these are some of the views from the respondents that emerged from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted:

> "I think that local students are nice and have accepted their counterparts from other parts of Africa as it is very seldom to find xenophobic episodes in our universities, as compared to those happening in our societies and they have been allowed to participate even in student politics and afforded a right and freedom of association" (respondent 1).

> "Local students are bitter, they like white international students and despise their fellow black brothers and sisters in neighbouring countries, and this is a concern" (respondent 2).

From the respondents from the University of Johannesburg, respondents expressed both positive and negative opinions about local students, as it was pointed out that some of the South African students seem to have accepted their counterparts from some of the countries in the African continent, which means that, again international students feel isolated from the local students (isolation-hypotheses theory), and that gives birth to the negative attitudes that international students have towards local students. However, it was also mentioned that local students have accepted white international students more than black international students. From my point of view, although I agree that people can accept one another's cultural difference, I am of the same view as Bohannan (2010), who argues that where there are two or more cultures in one place, there is bound to be a misunderstanding, in spite of degree or the level of that misunderstanding.

5.6.6 RESPONDENTS' VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus these are some of the views that emerged:

> "Although I cannot say the media played a big role in the outbreak of 2008 and 2015 xenophobic episodes, however, those attacks were represented as the national phenomenon. Such representation of news might have led to other areas that had no attacks to follow their local counterparts and start attacking foreign nationals" (respondent 1)

> "Although reporting news is one of the fundamental functions of media I think Sometimes, unintentionally so, they hint people from other areas to also initiate

these attacks. For Instance, in the case of the recent 2018 xenophobic attacks where spaza shop owners were killed, injured and their shops looted, some people saw it on media that these foreign shops are looted after being accused to sell expired products then we saw these attacks being launched in other parts of South Africa (respondent 2)

"I don't think it's the media, South Africans are just angry towards their poor government services and they decide to blame it on immigrants together with their government" (respondent 3)

"Besides media, I think South Africans haven't come to accept foreigners in their country" (respondent 5)

With regards to the above element, the findings of the study showed that most of the participants thought that media played a role in the 2008 and 2015 and 2018 xenophobic attacks. The common perception was that although the media did not intend to promote xenophobic attacks, the way the attacks were represented to the audience raised an alarm which then also triggered violent attacks in several areas. In light of this view, this means that the media has set the agenda by putting xenophobia on top of the important topics and eventually these reports alarmed the audience and they ended up also implementing these attacks on their respective areas. In other words, after the media set the agenda on reporting on xenophobia more often, people's views were then cultivated and they were left to believe that the world view shown on media is the real world view. Based on the above views, most respondents have blamed media reportage for xenophobic attacks happening in South Africa. Among the views, it was pointed out that media unintentionally plays a role in these attacks. The recent 2018 xenophobic attacks that implicated looting of foreign owned

shops, injuring and killing the shop owners were made as an example. It was highlighted that the reporting and broadcasting of these acts gave a hint to people in other parts of South Africa to do the same in their areas. Moreso, this view also reflects Gerbner's cultivation theory that highlights that people who watch so much of violence on media tend to be violent as well (Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2012). It is my view that the power of the media has enough strength to influence the audience unintentionally. Shirk (2011) also agrees that the media, especially the broadcasting media, remain powerful in terms of influencing large numbers of people.

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus these are some of the views that emerged:

"I think so. Most journalists add spices to the stories to sell their newspapers, and in the 2015 xenophobic attacks, they were one hundred percent responsible, as they misquoted the Zulu King" (respondent 3).

"I think it's the over exaggeration and use of some other words that influence to also partake on xenophobic violence. A typical example, in media reports, mostly print, it's common to see the word 'war' when reporting on xenophobic attacks. I think that gives a wrong idea, especially to people will less education that they decide to also go to war" (respondent 4)

"I wouldn't say it media though" (respondent 5)

With the respondents from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard college campus the majority of them agreed that the media played a role in xenophobic attacks

happened in South Africa. The most common perception from them was that although they could not relate to the other xenophobic outbreaks, was that the media contributed to the 2015 xenophobic outbreak. It was highlighted that the media manipulated the words of the Zulu King hence the xenophobic outbreak in 2015. This view is also highlighted by Foreman (2011:11) who argues that "most information usually gets manipulated just to have a commercial success".

Below, are some of the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, respondent's views that emerged from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted:

"I think that the government and people are to be blamed for these attacks" (respondent 1)

"The South African government has been promising jobs to local people, but so many of them are still jobless. Therefore, I think that people are angry and they put their frustrations on foreign nationals" (respondent 3)

"Putting media aside, I think the government must resolve these issues" (respondent 4)

Based on the above views, respondents from the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, also shared similar views that it is not media to blame, but the people who frustrated and government. Again, this is a similar view of the Frustration-aggression theory which was also used in this study to explain xenophobic behaviours in this study.

5.6.7   RESPONDENTS' VIEWS ON MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF THE PERPETRATORS AND VICTIMS OF THE XENOPHOBIA

In this view, the researcher feels it is necessary to just group the responses from the respondents, from all three universities, as they were very similar to the previous responses. This is so to avoid an irritating repetition:

"The media has been representing foreign nationals as people who are desperate and running away from their dry countries, without looking at the fact that some of the foreign nationals have been headhunted for utilisation of the skills they possess which are scarce" (respondent 4, University of Fort Hare, Alice campus).

"Mostly, during and just after the apartheid era, some newspapers were calling most foreign nationals as 'Aliens' and Amakwerekwere and these unpleasant names have since stayed in the minds of most local people" (respondent 1, University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College).

"I don't think media is doing a lot to promote the positive aspects of foreign nationals, especially of African origin. They portray them as drug dealers' aliens or illegal immigrants and all those sorts of things. Whereas their counterparts from the western world are seen as tourists or investors" (respondent 3, University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus)

Base on the above views, apart from the views that have been over-stated by many respondents, I want to argue on the issue of scarce skills in South Africa. This issue of scarce of skills shortage in South Africa, more especially in the academic sphere, has been an issue for so many years now, which leaves a country with no choice than to rely on non-South Africans. Now, the major concern is xenophobia in South Africa,

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in which if it is not resolved it will keep on negatively affecting the economy of South Africa as well as denting the relations with other countries, more especially the ones that the country is still outsourcing these scarce skills on.

5.6.8   RESPONDENTS' VIEWS ON THE PREVALENCE OF XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOURS IN THEIR INSTITUTIONS

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, these are some of the views that emerged:

"So far, I have not yet witnessed any kind of such behaviours" (respondent 2)

"Although xenophobic attacks have not yet erupted in the institution, I have witnessed the xenophobic behaviours, very much so, especially, in administration, both junior level and high-level rankings. One gets to witness it every day, whether it's displayed on non-verbal cues or spoken words" (respondent 3)

"Yes, I have witnessed such behaviours. For example, the majority of my colleagues or friends at the institution where I am working and studying are discriminated against because of their foreign nationality or status. Sometimes, they are called names or side-lined on the processes and benefits that are due to them being staff members and academics" (respondent 4)

"For me, generally, local people see themselves as superior to their fellow African counterparts. Moreover, the culture of hard work that is synonymous with foreign nationals at times poses a threat to the locals as they have to

compete with the same resources and obviously foreign national always get an upper hand due to their hardworking nature" (respondent 5)

Based on the above views, most participants have agreed that xenophobic behaviours do prevail among students. The researcher found that most respondents were of the common view that such kinds of behaviours have been portrayed in their institution. Although it is not yet evident, some respondents also pointed out that these behaviours are not only prevalent among students but they are portrayed at the management level of the institution. In my view, this poses a major concern as management are supposed to be the ones who guard against the prevalence of such behaviours with strong university policies against xenophobic behaviours, which are set and monitored by them. Among the views, it was also pointed out that the general stereotype that international students are more hardworking in nature poses a threat to local students, as they have to compete for the same resources and most of the times international students usually get the upper hand. In my view, this is because as from 2014 to current, more than 70% of Fort Hare's postgraduates are non-South Africans from Southern Africa (Bank 2014).

These are some of the views that emerged from the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College campus:

"Although I have a feeling that these behaviours might exist, they are still suppressed, I haven't witnessed them so far" (respondent 1)

"I think they are there, just that we don't want to mention people" (respondent 2).

"I have not yet seen these behaviours" (respondent 3)

When respondents from the University of KwaZulu Natal were asked to comment on whether there were any xenophobic behaviours witnessed at their university, the researcher gathered that most respondents were of the view that there were no xenophobic behaviours shown. However, after the researcher probed more on this question, one of the participants gave a hint that it is possible that these behaviours are there although they might be still suppressed and by the students.

From the combined views of respondents from the five in-depth interviews conducted at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, these are some of the views that emerged:

"I have not yet witnessed xenophobic behaviours yet" (respondent 2)

"Similar behaviours exist. For instance, some students do not want to be mixed in one group with international students and if it happens, negative attitudes do prevail among students" (respondent 3)

"I have witnessed such behaviours, where students find it difficult to tolerate one another because of their differences in language and cultures. And that has led to negative attitudes showing among students" (respondent 5)

Based on the above views, most participants agreed that xenophobic behaviours are prevalent among students. It was highlighted that it is difficult for students to tolerate each other with differences in languages spoken and cultures leading to a showing of negative attitudes among students. Moreso, the issue of isolation also came up

from the participants, in the case where students find it hard to tolerate one another, and then they resort to isolation.

5.6.9 PROMOTING ANTI-XENOPHOBIC BEHAVIOURS: THE ROLE OF THE STUDENTS

The researcher feels it is not necessary to list quotes from the participants in this view, as they were very similar from the ones mentioned before, which involve cultural day, more anti-xenophobic campaigns and discussing and debating about xenophobia and anti-xenophobic policies.

However, as many respondents indicated that xenophobic behaviours prevail because of prejudice among students, the researcher believes that prejudice is capable of erupting xenophobic attacks amongst students. Thus, Bello (2017) notes, that xenophobic behaviour can also be problematic forms of prejudice. In view of this, it was also important to probe the role of management in promoting anti-xenophobic behaviours. Therefore, participants from the University of Fort Hare were asked to comment on what they thought the management should do to discourage xenophobic behaviours among students. Many respondents were of the view that management should strengthen the policy that guides against such behaviours and they should be monitored and re-evaluated on a regular basis to ensure that students abide by the policy.

5.7. SUMMARY OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

It is important to note from this study that there is so much similarity in the responses of participants who participated from this study in all three selected South African Universities. The researcher established that all the students were being influenced by the media, to a greater extent. Thus, many participants were of the view that most people, especially young people, are so much reliant and dependent on the media, particularly the social media, as their source of information and news, which, in my view, their views end up being cultivated by media. Interestingly, from all three universities, many participants attested that media reporting do influence xenophobic behaviours among university students. One common view was that students are so much exposed to almost all different kinds of media because of the free access to Wi-Fi in almost all South African institutions. Therefore, broadcasting xenophobic attacks by media can result in people (including students) imitating what they would have seen in the media, hence, cultivation theory. As noted in the literature review, the media have the power to cultivate the audience, for instance, if they watch more violent programmes, they are more likely to be violent (Riddle, 2009).

Data collected from the in-depth interviews also showed that the media are doing a good job by diffusing information to the general public and they deserve to be commended for that. However, in this study, it was found that many participants were of the view that sometimes media stories do not strike a balance and some get manipulated in terms of reportage to achieve more sales. As noted in the literature review, that it is possible for media companies to manipulate stories for personalised sales strategies (Sandoval, 2014).

Moreover, the common view from the participants was that in most media reports, xenophobic related issues are generalised to the whole country, even though the incidences would have occurred in some specific areas within the country. Furthermore, based on the data analysis from the in-depth interviews, it has been found that in some South African universities, xenophobic behaviours and attitudes are being displayed among both students. Ethnocentrism and intolerance among students and management were named as the most contributory factors to the existence of these behaviours and attitudes. As Bennett (2013) argues, one manifestation of xenophobia is ethnocentrism. It was also noted that the media wrongly frames foreign nationals as criminals and drug dealers. More so, media also uses their countries names to report on foreign nationals, which adds on framing the issue. In this chapter, data were presented and critically analysed. The qualitative data collected through personal interviews and focus groups was discussed in line with the aims and objectives of the study. On that note, the following chapter summarises the key findings from the research and provide recommendations, based on the findings.

5.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented and carefully analysed the qualitative data collected from both focus groups discussions and in-depth interviews. In this chapter, issues like participants' most trusted source of news, media influence on student's perceptions, media reporting's influence on xenophobic behaviours among students and the views of students on the role of the media in xenophobic attacks in South Africa were discussed. Furthermore, local students' perceptions of international students and international students' perception of local students were interrogated. The next chapter

focuses on the conclusions of the study and recommendations from the study are discussed.

CHAPTER SIX:

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1   INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to critically analyse the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviour among students in selected South African universities. Specifically, the study attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent has media reportage of xenophobia influenced xenophobic-related behaviours among students in South African universities?

2. What are the students' views of media coverage of xenophobic attacks in South Africa?

3. How has the media influenced behaviour in South Africa?

The research design employed for this study was the qualitative research methodology. The data collection instruments used was focus groups, in-depth interviews, textual analysis and observation. The purposive sampling technique was used to select the sample for the focus groups and in-depth interviews. The sample was drawn from three universities namely, the University of Fort Hare, Alice campus, University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College, and the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus. A total of 43 participants were involved in the six focus group discussions while 15 participated in the in-depth interview across the three universities. In all, 58 participants were involved in the research. The thematic analysis was used to analyse data from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. This section summarises the findings of the research with a view to answering each research question, and then come to conclusions based on the findings. The chapter concludes with recommendations and suggestions on how the findings of the research

could be applied by university managements and students with regards to promoting anti-xenophobic behaviours in the universities.

6.2 SITUATING FINDINGS WITH RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

6.2.1 Objective one: To establish the extent to which media reportage on xenophobia influences xenophobic-related behaviours among students in South African universities.

This study revealed that media reportage on xenophobia has the potential to influence xenophobic-related behaviours among university students. As shown by the findings, majority of the participants in all three selected South African universities agreed that the media reports on xenophobia influence to a larger extent, their perceptions and overt behaviours towards international students. The findings have shown that students like the larger society, rely on the media, to keep them updated. Participants revealed that they are exposed to xenophobic-related violence through traditional and new media. With free Wi-Fi, students are increasingly accessing the internet and social media like Facebook and Twitter for information even as most media companies are now using such social networks to reach the audience. Literature and empirical findings suggest that the South African media tend to present foreign nationals in bad light and in most cases; reports about foreign nationals are steeped in stereotypes, prejudice ethnocentrism and ethnic profiling. The findings have shown that repeated exposure to this biased reportage about foreign nationals can contribute to xenophobic behaviours. The consistent exposure of xenophobic-related violence in the media can lead the audience to cultivate or imitate what they see, hear or read from the media. As explained by Gerbner's cultivation theory, people who watch more violence are likely to be violent (Fortner & Fackler, 2014; Fourie, 2008). This is applicable especially

to young people which accounts for the highest percentage of university population. It has long been established that the media influence young people to a great extent. although the media play a crucial part in societies, by bringing educative and entertaining programs to the general public, they can also to some extent, be harmful to vulnerable members of the audience especially the youth (Ruddock, 2013; Wood, 2016; Valkenburg *et al,* 2017; Gunter, 2016). It is, therefore, safe to say that the coverage of xenophobia and the way foreign nationals are framed and represented in the South African media encourage locals to cultivate negative perceptions and attitudes towards foreign nationals and this tend to trigger xenophobic behaviours, these tendencies are exhibited by students who are members of the larger society,

6.2.2 Objective Two: To critically evaluate the student's views on media reporting of xenophobic attacks in South Africa

The findings of this study generally suggest that the South African media are not doing enough to educate citizens about foreign nationals especially the positive contributions they make to the economy. As demonstrated by the textual analysis of some of the news headlines the South African media tend to portray African foreign nationals as drug dealers, illegal immigrants, while foreign nationals from the Western countries are seen as tourists and investors. South Africans including students have come to believe these stereotypes and frames of references as true and thus form their impression and opinion about immigrants especially from the African continent, from these generalised stereotypes and negative portrayals in the media. The findings showed that majority of the students believe the media appear more interested in highlighting the misdemeanours of a small number of immigrants or emphasising issues that fuel discord than focusing or advocating for peace and nation-building in their reports. The findings showed that the media coverage of xenophobic attacks in

South Africa focuses mainly on reporting the event as they unfold sometimes with manipulated and sinister headlines without providing context. In other words, media reports on xenophobia and xenophobic-related violence often lack balance and fairness. Most participants attribute xenophobic tendencies to the legacy of apartheid. During the apartheid regime, foreign nationals, mostly from the African continent, had very limited chances to cross the artificial borders inside the country. In that era, black people were forced to live within the colonial and apartheid borders and if they crossed over, they would be declared illegal immigrants. It appears the apartheid legacy of demarcating and guiding territory according to race and ethnicity is yet to be addressed even in the democratic dispensation (Aljazeera, 2015). However, even now, South Africans are still reluctant to welcome other Black foreign nationals compared to the warm welcome extended to white foreign nationals. This view is also supported by (Tafira, 2017; Neocosmos, 2010; Gomo, 2010; Patel & Essa,2015).

6.2.3 Xenophobic behaviours among local South African university students

The findings show that although not rampant, xenophobic behaviours occur in South African Universities. The majority of the participants, particularly the international students confirmed that they have seen traces of and actual occurrence xenophobic behaviours among students. These behaviours are displayed on streets inside campus, in lecture rooms, at campus residences students' television rooms and during sporting activities. For instance, it was mentioned by participants (international students) that sometimes some of the local students do bully international students in TV rooms, impolitely demanding to change the channel. Bullying can lead to the eruption of xenophobic attacks and possibly place international students at a greater risk of injury or harm (Loue & Sajatovic, 2012). The findings show that local students

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manifest xenophobic behaviour by constantly reminding International students go back to their home countries. In some other instance, local students refuse to be paired in the same group for class work or sport activity. The finding showed that international students are apprehensive of xenophobic attacks especially after media reports about the death of two international students killed on account of xenophobia. The findings suggest that some international students regret coming to study in South Africa because of the xenophobic behaviours they encounter at the universities.

Lastly, the findings indicate that xenophobic behaviour is not restricted to international students, some local students from certain provinces of South Africa also experience xenophobic behaviours from their fellow South African students. It emerged that students from Limpopo Province who speak the Tshivenda language encounter negative attitudes and sometimes, disdain from local students from the Gauteng Province who speak mostly Sesotho. The searcher observed that such prejudicial behaviours also exist between isiZulu and isiXhosa speakers. The discriminatory behaviours also extend to staff of the universities who often want to show other ethnic groups that they do not belong. This tendency has been described as 'ethnophobia' (Stepaniant, 2017).

.6.2.4 Causes of xenophobic behaviours among students in South African universities

One of the ancillary objectives of this study was to identify the causes of xenophobic behaviours in South African universities. The findings showed that competition for resources was a key factor that triggers xenophobic behaviours among local students. In this view, the local students highlighted that the priority which is given to international students by the universities, in terms of residence allocation and other

benefits. The seeming preferential treatment of foreign students somehow evokes anger which may lead to negative behaviours from the local students who feel that they are being deprived of the same privileges. The findings suggest that xenophobic behaviour is a way by local students to vent their frustrations over some deprivations which they attribute to foreign students. This behaviour is consistent with the frustration-aggression theory, which states that when one group (in this case, local students) experiences difficulty achieving a goal they become frustrated and tend to hold another group (in this case, international students) responsible for their challenge (Soyombo, 2008). Often they take out these frustrations on a vulnerable or minority group (Singh, 2013). The findings showed that local residents including university students make foreign nationals including international students scapegoats for their individual frustrations and the failure of their government to provide efficient service delivery.

The findings showed that ethnocentrism was a key factor in the formation of local students' attitudes and behaviours towards international students. The analysis indicates that local students perceive their culture to be superior to those of the international students (Booth, 2014). This mind-set tends to elicit condescending behaviours towards foreign students. Ethnocentric sentiments can lead to intolerance which could lead to xenophobic behaviours. The findings also identified stereotyping of other people and culture especially media stereotyping of foreign nationals, as a source of cultivating xenophobic sentiments. The findings suggest that local students build their knowledge of foreign nationals from the generalised media stereotypes. It has been found that stereotyping breeds prejudice and intolerance which often underlie xenophobic behaviours (McKay, 2016; Jackson, 2014; Taras, 2012 & Varadi, 2014).

6.2.5 Promoting anti-xenophobic behaviours: the role of the university management

On the issue of what the management of universities could do to reduce the prevalence of xenophobic behaviours, the participants suggested the inclusion of a Cultural Day in the university calendar, where cultural groups from different countries will showcase their cultures, including traditional attire, indigenous food and music. This view is also supported by scholars like Judd (1995) who argues that xenophobic behaviours like stereotyping, ethnocentrism and prejudice can also be eliminated through the showcasing of cultural heritage such as cultural music and dance. Virtually all the participants' local and foreign students believe a Cultural Day would be beneficial to South Africans and foreign nationals, as well as South Africans. The findings suggest that participants believe the Student Representative Council of the universities can contribute towards the eradication of xenophobic behaviour among students, by organising and championing students' debates about issues around xenophobia. Such programmes including diversity management workshop for students and staff, would encourage mutual understanding and afford both local and international students to be exposed to other cultures.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS TO THE STUDY

This study has clearly shown that the media play a crucial role in maintaining, educating, entertaining and informing the society about current affairs. In doing this, the media help in shaping people's identities, attitudes towards other ethnic and racial minorities. In support of the above, the findings of this study have demonstrated that the media play a vital role in the day-to-day lives of people who extensively rely on the media for news and entertainment.

Thus, this study concludes that the media reportage about xenophobia has an influence on the spread of xenophobic behaviours in South Africa. This study also concludes that sometimes it is media headlines and the dissemination of inaccurate information, more especially on social media that contributes to the brutal xenophobic-related violence. It has also been realised that sometimes the media fail to contextualise and use accurate concepts to report on xenophobic-related violence, which then contributes to the attacks.

With reference to the literature reviewed, as well as the data analysed in this study, one can conclude that whether intentionally or unintentionally, the South African media are believed to have contributed to the spread of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Hermann and Cornelius (2011: 52) note that "xenophobic offences can be seen as a consequence of media reporting and can be seen as a reaction to offences".

6.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE STUDY

Having reviewed related literature and interacted with the participants while collecting data and also analysed the data, this study has come up with the following recommendations based on the objectives of the study:

6.4.1 PEACE JOURNALISM: AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR REPORTING CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

Lynch and McGoldrick (2005: 5) define peace journalism as a process "when editors and reporters make choices, about what to report and how to report it, which creates opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent actions and develop positive responses to conflict". Peace journalism is further perceived as "an alternate professional paradigm for the journalists, editors and reporters to enable

them to view, interpret, source and narrate conflicts, war or violence in a manner that seek non-violent responses in society" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012). Hence this study proposes peace journalism as an alternative model for reporting conflict and violence, because, in the case of xenophobic violence, reporters and editors will choose to report xenophobia in a way that will allow an opportunity for the conflicting parties to discuss the roots of their conflict and come to understanding of one another so the media will finally report the xenophobia in a way that attempts to achieve a non-violent society and advocating for peace. Another alternative model for reporting conflict and violence is Ubuntu journalism, hence it is discussed below.

6.4.2 UBUNTU JOURNALISM: AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR REPORTING CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

The problem with most South African journalists is that they practice the Western professional norms which are considered to be individualist, in a way that it is no longer about the society but the self-service kind of journalist (Chasi, 2016). However, most African cultures are collectivist which means that for one to survive they are dependent on the community they are growing in. This is how Ubuntu as a value is born. In light of this view, Fourie, (2007: 210) emphasizes that "person is defined with reference to the community". When combine with journalism, it means that journalists, editors and reporters would highlight the need for unity of humanity and highlight the importance of constantly referring to the principles of empathy, cooperation, peace building and sharing to seek to resolve common problems, like xenophobic-related violence in this case (Blank-Libra, 2017). Hence, this study also proposes Ubuntu journalism as an alternative model for reporting xenophobic-related violence. However, it would also be a good idea to introduce a local language course for international students in the

province where they are studying so as to assist in the betterment of intercultural communication. Hence this proposition is discussed in detail next.

6.4.3 PROPOSING LOCAL LANGUAGE COURSE FOR ALL INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Hughes (2006) notes, that language is a bearer of prejudice which is also a contributing factor to xenophobic behaviour. Therefore, this study proposes that South African universities offer any local language-as per the language spoken in that particular province, as a compulsory course for every international student registering their first year at university. Many scholars have argued that language is mostly perceived as one of the strongest contributors to xenophobic behaviours and a barrier to effective intercultural communication when studying abroad, as it may limit students' opportunities to interact with the local culture (Mancini-Cross, Backman & Baldwin, 2009). More so, this will also allow an opportunity for international students to learn some of the local languages because in most instances, misunderstandings are caused by the inability to understand the language of the host country. It is thus essential that international students have a basic understanding of the local language, and then they can be confident enough to engage more with local students. this would also improve intercultural communication and reduce stereotypes, ethnocentrism, prejudice and perhaps eliminate xenophobic behaviours among students.

Despite people's great strength in communication, misunderstandings and mistranslations can easily occur when a foreign language is spoken around students who do not understand that particular language. However, it is my view that language impacts the daily lives of people of any race, culture, or a nation. Therefore, it is my belief that if international students learn a local language as one of their compulsory

modules, that can help in expressing their feelings, attitudes and views better to their fellow students from other cultures. Research conducted at Auburn University by De Valoes (2014) proved that:

➢ Learning a local language by international students creates more positive attitudes and less prejudice toward students who are from different cultures

➢ Analytical skills improve when students study a foreign language.

➢ It enables students to gain a more profound understanding of their own culture.

➢ International graduates often cite local language learned courses as some of the most valuable courses in college or university because of the communication skills developed in the process.

➢ Learning a local language by international students expand one's worldview and limit the barriers of communication, distrust and fear (xenophobic behaviours).

➢ It leads to an appreciation of cultural diversity.

6.4.4 BUILDING CONTENT ON GENERALISED STEREOTYPES

As mentioned above, this study confirmed that the majority of students viewed media's representation of foreign nationals as lacking balance and it is usually based on generalised stereotypes. Understanding the difficulties that are experienced by media practitioners when covering sensitive issues like xenophobia and noting the competition of sales among the media houses, the researcher suggests media practitioners must invest in researching these stories, instead of relying on generalised information and stereotypes, (like drug dealers, spaza shop owners and illegal immigrants). They must also explore the positive contribution made by foreign

nationals instead of focusing more on the negative side of them. For instance, it is important to also note that foreign nationals also contribute economically by investing in some of the South African established businesses. And some are also tourists with legitimate papers. Perhaps this can also have a positive impact on social institutions like universities, specifically among students as they are more exposed to different types of media because of free access to the internet.

6.4.5 MEDIA AS THE CATALYST FOR SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT

It has been mentioned in this research and also confirmed by participants that sometimes media reports unintentionally encourage and influence xenophobic attacks, and an analogy of misquoting King Zwelithini in KZN was used in this research and by the participants to supplement and support this argument. Scholars like Fourie (2008), Yao and Lee, (2013), Berger, Lambe and Perse (2016) are of the view that the media are a powerful tool to influence and change society's perspective. Therefore, it is my view that the power that media has can be exercised and utilised to challenge xenophobic behaviours like stereotypes, ethnocentrism and prejudice and perhaps advocates for peace development, the Ubuntu or peace journalism among fellow black Africans.

6.4.6 AVOIDING SCAPE-GOATING THE FOREIGN NATIONALS

It has been noted that society and media sometimes put blame on foreign nationals for social issues in the country, for instance, unemployment, resources, crime and poverty. As the researcher, I have also noticed that the government has also played a role in this blame game when justifying poor service delivery, blame is put on foreign nationals, mentioning that because the country has so many illegal immigrants,

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therefore, it is difficult to meet the needed standard of service delivery. Furthermore, notwithstanding that South Africa is one of the countries with best immigration laws in the world, but on the other hand, the government has failed to effectively implement these laws which have resulted in foreigners being trespass and breach their visa in the country and stay untraceable. Therefore, it is the duty of the media to challenge these short-comings, as blaming foreigners will not change anything other than creating hate and conflict among society (Gomo, 2010).

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study has critically analysed the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviour among students in selected South African universities. In most cases, the responses of the participants have been honest and fair enough to discuss xenophobic behaviours that exist in their respective universities. It must, however, be noted that this study has built on research on three universities out of twenty-six universities with numerous campuses. The three selected universities are in three different provinces out of nine provinces in South Africa with more than one university in each. Therefore, in light of this, there are still a number of universities and provinces still open for research.

Further research could focus on critically analysing the language used by the media to represent foreign nationals and what influence it has on xenophobic behaviours in society. It must be noted that somehow, South African media still promote 'us and them', which in my view, still promotes segregation differences among us. There is still a lot of generalisation and stereotyping from media, like injecting the idea that all Nigerians are drug dealers and pimps, Somalians are all spaza shop owners and sell

rotten food, and all foreign nationals are illegal immigrants. Thus, it would be of interest to address more on these issues. In my view, local citizens themselves could play a very big role in bringing peace and reducing these stereotypes by accepting and appreciating cultural diversity, taking time to learn more other cultures.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The researcher feels the need to re-emphasize one of the key arguments from this research that, although the media are expected to entertain, inform and educate, they "have the power to initiate social chaos" (Fourie, 2007:8), some stories with sensitive topics like xenophobia, if they get manipulated, a catastrophic social chaos takes place. More so, it is also my view that the journalists have now replaced reporting news with making news and this is because the number of media houses has grown extensively hence the competition of news presentation is at its pick. Moreso, African journalists have adopted the Western style of reporting which is based on the individualistic value and self-serving rather than sticking to the collectivist way of reporting news, which is aligned with Ubuntu journalism, where the focus is to bring peace, unity and conflict resolution in the society. With that being said, the aim of this study was to critically analyse the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviour among students in selected South African universities. Three different South African universities were selected in this study, namely the University of Fort Hare, the University of KwaZulu Natal and University of Johannesburg to use them as case studies. The literature that is relevant to this study was reviewed. The role of media in conflict resolution was highlighted, theories of media: the cultivation theory, the agenda-setting and framing theory were also used to explain media reporting of

xenophobia. For xenophobia, frustration-aggression theory and isolation-hypothesis theory were used to explain xenophobic behaviours. This study was also able to confirm the existence of xenophobic behaviours among students in selected South African universities. Based on the relevant literature reviewed and data collected, the study has confirmed that, indeed, the media plays the role in influencing xenophobic behaviours, even among students, with manipulation and exaggeration of stories, which in-turn fuel more xenophobic behaviours from the South Africans. Hence, this study has come to a number of recommendations for media that includes the adoption of peace journalism and Ubuntu journalism as alternative models for reporting xenophobia, in an attempt mitigate conflict and xenophobic-related violence and build peace and united society.

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APPENDIX A: UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE ETHICAL CLEARANCE

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
REC-270710-028-RA Level 01

Certificate Reference Number: OSU421SMGO01

Project title: **A Critical Analysis of the Influence of Media Reporting on Xenophobic Behaviours Among Students in Selected South African Universities**

Nature of Project   PhD in Communication

Principal Researcher: Quatro Mgogo

Supervisor: Prof O.O Osunkunle

Co-supervisor: N/A

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby give ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). Should any other instruments be used, these require separate authorization. The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this certificate, using the reference number indicated above.

Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document;
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research.

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

Special conditions: Research that includes children as per the official regulations of the act must take the following into account:
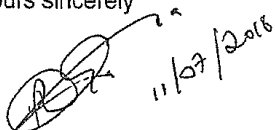
Note: The UREC is aware of the provisions of s71 of the National Health Act 61 of 2003 and that matters pertaining to obtaining the Minister's consent are under discussion and remain unresolved. Nonetheless, as was decided at a meeting between the National Health Research Ethics Committee and stakeholders on 6 June 2013, university ethics committees may continue to grant ethical clearance for research involving children without the Minister's consent, provided that the prescripts of the previous rules have been met. This certificate is granted in terms of this agreement.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance Certificate if
    - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected;
    - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented;
    - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require;
    - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to.

- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.

- In addition to the need to comply with the highest level of ethical conduct principle investigators must report back annually as an evaluation and monitoring mechanism on the progress being made by the research. Such a report must be sent to the Dean of Research's office.

The Ethics Committee wished you well in your research.

Yours sincerely

11/07/2018

Professor Pumla Dineo Gqola
Dean of Research

05 July 2018

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL GATEKEEPER'S LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

18 October 2018

Mr Quatro Mgogo
Department of Communication
University of Fort Hare
Email: qmgogo@wsu.ac.za

Dear Mr Mgogo

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) towards your postgraduate studies, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"A critical analysis of the influence of media reporting on xenophobic behaviours among students in selected South African universities."

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by conducting focus group discussions with students at UKZN.

Please ensure that the following appears on your notice/questionnaire:
- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

You are not authorized to contact staff and students using 'Microsoft Outlook' address book. Identity numbers and email addresses of individuals are not a matter of public record and are protected according to Section 14 of the South African Constitution, as well as the Protection of Public Information Act. For the release of such information over to yourself for research purposes, the University of KwaZulu-Natal will need express consent from the relevant data subjects. Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

MR SS MOKOENA
REGISTRAR

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APPENDIX C: UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG GATEKEEPER'S LETTER

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr Quantro Mgogo   From: Prof C.M. Fourie

Date: 15 November 2018   Subject: Request to conduct research at the UJ

Dear Mr Mgogo

Permission is granted that you may conduct part of your research at the University of Johannesburg following the conditions as was agreed upon.

Good luck with your studies.

Prof C.M. Fourie
Head: Institutional Research and Planning Unit
Division for Institutional Planning, Evaluation and Monitoring
Tel: 011 559 2093
Email: nfourie@uj.ac.za

OFFICIAL ADDRESS I Crr Kingsway and University Road Auckland Park
PO Box 524 Auckland Park 2006 I Tel +27 11 559 4555 I www.uj.ac.za
Auckland Park Bunting Campus I Auckland Park Kingsway Campus
Doornfontein Campus I Soweto Campus

UNIVERSITY
OF
JOHANNESBURG

APPENDIX D

THE FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS (WILL FOLLOW LATER AFTER PRINTING)

1. What is your age group?
2. What is your nationality?
3. What is your home language?
4. What is your academic level?
5. Which newspaper(s) do you most read and why?
6. Which radio station(s) do you most listen to and why?
7. Which TV channel(s) do you watch most for news and why?
8. Which online source of news (if any) do you use most and why?
9. Which of these do you trust most for news reporting and why?
    i)   TV
    ii) Radio
    iii) Newspaper
    iv) Online (internet)
10. To what extent does what you hear, see or read on the media influence your opinion, attitudes, and perception of things around you?
11. What is your opinion on media reporting of xenophobic behaviours that are happening in our communities?
12. What are your views on media reporting of xenophobic attacks in South Africa?
13. To what extent do you think media reporting influence xenophobic behaviour among students in South African universities?
14. Which best describes your feelings and views about foreign students?
15. And why?
16. Which best describes your feelings and views about local students?
17. And why?
18. What is your opinion about the way media represent foreign nationals?
19. Do you think media played a role in the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks, and why?
20. How do you think the media should represent the perpetrators, victims of xenophobia and the event of xenophobia itself?
21. What are your general perceptions of xenophobic behaviour at your university?

22. Do you think are there any xenophobic behaviour at your university?

23. If yes, have you witness or experienced such behaviour.

24. In your views, why do such behaviour prevail?

25. What do you think the university management should do to eradicate xenophobic behaviour among students?

26. What do you think the students should do to eradicate any xenophobic behaviour among themselves?

APPENDIX E

THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (WILL FOLLOW LATER AFTER PRINTING)

1. What is your age group?

2. What is your nationality?

3. What is your home language?

4. What is your academic level?

5. To what extent does what you hear, see or read on the media influence your opinion, attitudes, and perception of things around you?

6. What is your opinion on media reporting of xenophobic behaviours that are happening in our communities?

7. What are your views on media reporting of xenophobic attacks in South Africa?

8. To what extent do you think media reporting influence xenophobic behaviour among students in South African universities?

9. Which best describes your feelings and views about foreign students?

10. And why?

11. Which best describes your feelings and views about local students?

12. And why?

13. What is your opinion about the way media represent foreign nationals?

14. Do you think media played a role in the series of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, and why?

15. How do you think the media should represent the perpetrators, victims of xenophobia and the event of xenophobia itself?

16. What are your general perceptions of xenophobic behaviour at your university?

17. Do you think are there any xenophobic behaviour at your university?

18. If yes, have you witness or experienced such behaviour.

19. What do you think the university management should do to eradicate xenophobic behaviour among students?

20. What do you think the students should do to eradicate any xenophobic behaviour among themselves?

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

APPENDIX F: TURNITIN REPORT

PhD thesis

by Quatro Mgogo

PhD thesis

15% SIMILARITY INDEX **10**% INTERNET SOURCES **3**% PUBLICATIONS **12**% STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	repository.up.ac.za Internet Source	**1**%
2	Submitted to University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Paper	**1**%
3	carienjtouwen.wordpress.com Internet Source	**1**%
4	uir.unisa.ac.za Internet Source	**1**%
5	Submitted to University of Johannsburg Student Paper	**<1**%
6	Submitted to University of Cape Town Student Paper	**<1**%
7	www.atlanticphilanthropies.org Internet Source	**<1**%
8	Submitted to Rosebank College Student Paper	**<1**%
9	www.ccsenet.org Internet Source	**<1**%