

**Rethinking notion of journalism ethics in the reportage of 2008 xenophobic attacks: the case of *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers.**

by

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## DECLARATION

Student number: **34403019**

I declare that *Rethinking notion of journalism ethics in the reportage of 2008 xenophobic attacks: the case of Sowetan and Daily Sun newspapers* is my own work and that, all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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SIGNATURE

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DATE

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	America Broadcasting Company
AIP	Association of Independent Publishers
ANC	African National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CRAI	Citizenship Rights in Africa initiative
FCJ	Forum of Community Journalist
MPASA	Magazine Publishers Association of South Africa
NASA	Newspaper Association of South Africa
PCSA	Press Council of South Africa
SAMP	South Africa Migration Project
SAPC	South African Press Code
UN	United Nations

## SUMMARY

This study aims to draw on some of the ethical guidelines enshrined in the South African Press Code (SAPC 2007:10). This SAPC states that “the press shall be obliged to report news truthfully, accurately, fairly and in a balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts”. This insight is used in order to analyse the way in which the 2008 xenophobic attacks were reported in South Africa by the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers. Overall, the findings show that the two newspapers adhered to the South African Press Code (2007), and were ethical in their 2008 news reports. This specifically contradicts the dominant perception of most mainstream newspaper readers, who thought that, the *Daily Sun* is just a tabloid newspaper which “represents the lowest standard of journalism” (Wasserman 2012:1), because of its sensational crime and sex stories.

### Keywords

Xenophobia, Makwerekwere, Aliens, Ubuntu, Journalism ethics, Press code, Press council, Press Ombudsman.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

According to the South African Press Code (SAPC 2007:9) the sole purpose of the press is to serve society. The press are expected to provide independent scrutiny of the forces that shape society, and, therefore, the press is essential in realising the promise of democracy. In addition, the press enables South African citizens to make informed judgments on key issues happening in the country. Therefore, journalists are expected at all times to commit themselves to the highest standards of excellence, in the process, maintaining credibility and keeping the trust of readers.

In relation to the reporting of violence, the South African Press Code (SAPC 2007:11-12) states “the press shall be obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly”. Section 1.2 adds to this by indicating that “news shall be presented in context and in balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by distortion, exaggeration or mis representation, material omission, or summarisation”. The Press Code (SAPC 2007) takes particular note of what constitutes factual accuracy. This is defined in section 3.1, which states that “Only what may reasonably be true, having regard to the sources of the news, may be presented as fact, and such facts shall be published fairly with due regard to context and importance”.

It is important to note that the press has a right to freedom of expression as indicated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996: 9), and this right can be implied as including presentation of facts without fear or favour. However, this right does not extend to “advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that can constitute incitement to cause harm,” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996:9). This constitutional burden is particularly outlined in the SAPC (2007), Section 2.1, which states that “The press should avoid discriminatory or denigratory references to people’s race, colour, ethnicity, religion,

gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental disability or illness or age,” (SAPC 2007:11-12), except where it is strictly relevant to the matter reported.

Therefore, one can state at this point that, questions of what constitutes “truth, accurate and balanced news, objective and discriminatory references to people’s race and colour” (SAPC 2007:10-11) are the ethical issues that this study concerns itself with, in analysing the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspaper reportage of the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

## **1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

In the second half of May 2008, a wave of xenophobic violence spread all over South Africa (Bekker, Eigelaar-Meets, Gary & Poole 2008). The brutality of these events left an estimated 62 people dead, more than 30,000 people displaced (UN Report 2008), and “countless victims injured and robbed of their properties” (Human Rights Watch 2008:2). The xenophobic attacks started as a series of short, violent outbursts that took place in neighbourhoods of numerous South African cities and towns. “The violence during these outbursts was perpetrated by civilians, and was inflicted on the property and the person of civilians. The perpetrators were largely young poor black South African men, their targets largely the property and businesses of foreign African nationals as well as these civilians themselves” (Bekker et al 2008:4).

According to media reports in local and international media, such as *Daily Sun*, *Sowetan*, *The Star* from South Africa, and *India eNews*, *BBC News*, and *ABC News* to mention just a few. Their report confirms that, the attacks started in Alexandra and then spread to other areas in and around Johannesburg. However, the violence soon spread to Kwazulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and for the Western Cape (Pillay 2008).

For the purposes of this study, focus will be placed on the attacks in Alexandra Township and other townships around Johannesburg, which were reported in the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers. According to Bekker et al (2008:5), explanations offered in the media and in other published documents for the series of outbursts between May and June 2008 were diverse. They include:

1. Failure of government policies to address crime.
2. Collapse of border controls and unsuccessful diplomacy toward black Africans from the surrounding countries.
3. The high unemployment rate particularly for young urban black men, and
4. The failings of the police (whether from lack of resources or poor training).

In retrospect, Harris (2002: 1-6) and Mwilu (2010:11) agree with the views of Bekker (2008:5) concerning some of the reasons, articulated by the locals, for the attacks. In the wake of the 2008 xenophobic attacks, the initial reaction by the Government of South Africa was evasive, essentially denying the scope and seriousness of these events. However, as the series of events spread across the country, the State sought explanations for criminal and mob behaviour, and not on the act of xenophobia itself (Bekker et al 2008). Bekker et al (2008) add:

*“Since the reaction of many of the victims was flight from their residential areas, a series of temporary refugee camps were established (Gauteng and Cape Town in particular). During the aftermath of these outbursts, more than 20 000 refugees were accommodated in this way, numerous African foreign nationals were reported to have left the country, and government urged refugees in camps to return to the residential areas from which they had fled since these were said to have calmed down.”*

(Bekker et al 2008:5)

Authors such as Kruger (2009:12) and Mwilu (2010:15) indicate that the xenophobic attacks of 2008 were recorded as one of the worst cases of violence in the history of South Africa since the end of apartheid. It was also the first time that South Africa’s military were deployed to stop violence on the streets since the political transition to democracy in 1994 (McKnight 2008).

Xenophobia may be defined as a “strong feeling of dislike or fear towards people from other countries, their values, beliefs, cultures and religions” (Harris 2002:9). However, Mwilu (2010) argue that this definition does not really capture the xenophobic tendencies in South Africa. For him, “xenophobia in South Africa is not just a mind-set, but it is also expressed through physical violence against the

targeted people” (Mwilu 2010:12). Furthermore the xenophobic attacks in South Africa did not target all “people from other countries” (Harris 2002:170), as this could have included Europeans from other countries. The attacks predominantly targeted black foreigners from African countries, but during the attacks, “some native South Africans were attacked, because they were mistaken to be foreigners by their attackers,” (CRAI 2009:9).

Therefore, the violent attacks on foreigners from 11-30 May 2008 go beyond the literary definition of the word xenophobia which does not include a violent reaction to racial aversion; the violence that resulted may also be seen as clear violation of the human rights of the targeted people (Mwilu 2010), and the way through which some media sources have reported the attacks have raised ethical concerns. Such ethical concerns will constitute the focus of this study. In addition, *The Report of the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances* (UN Report 2001:7) declares, “xenophobia and related intolerance” constitute “serious violations of and obstacles to the full enjoyment of all human rights”, and a denial of the “self-evident truth that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”.

The violent xenophobic attacks of 2008 were not the first manifestation of xenophobia in South Africa. For example, “Malawian, Zimbabwean and Mozambican immigrants were physically assaulted over a period of several weeks in January 1995, by armed gangs who identified suspected and undocumented *Makwerekere* and marched them to the police station in an attempt to clean the township of foreigners” (Nyamnjoh 2006:36). In South Africa, ‘black’ foreigners are called ‘*Makwerekere*’. The term ‘*Makwerekere*’ means different things in different contexts, but in South Africa it refers to:

*“Not only a black person who cannot demonstrate mastery of local South African languages, but also one who hails from a country assumed to be economically and culturally backward in relation to South Africa. “With reference to civilisation, the Makwerekwere would qualify as the ‘homo caudatus’, ‘tail-men’ ‘cavemen’, ‘primitives’, ‘savages’, ‘barbarians’ or ‘hottentots’ of modern times.”*

(Nyamnjoh 2006:39)

According to Comaroff & Comaroff (1997) ‘*Makwerekwere*’ are usually believed to be the darkest of the dark-skinned. They are also thought to come from distant locations in the furthest corners of Africa (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:23).

In addition, the research by the South African Migration Project (SAMP 2008) which reveals that not only was xenophobic sentiment deeply entrenched and widespread in South Africa, but it had, in fact, slowly been on the rise since 1994 (Crush 2008). The end of apartheid generated heightened expectations, only to disappoint ordinary South Africans with the slow pace of service delivery. This then bred discontent and indignation (Comaroff & Comaroff 1999b). For Mwilu (2010) xenophobia is a legacy of the country’s violent past, and might be an unanticipated consequence of the nation building initiatives that have characterised post-apartheid South Africa (Mwilu 2010).

Looking at the literature concerning xenophobia in South Africa, most research is limited to print media and blog posts. Some research findings generally blame the media for misrepresenting the xenophobic attitudes towards foreign nationals in their news reports by not challenging existing stereotypes that prompted xenophobic sentiments (Danso & McDonald 2000; Fine & Bird 2006). Kruger (2009) adds that in general, the manner in which xenophobic attacks were reported in the print media or shown in electronic media in cinematic narrative, helped to reinforce stereotypes about black African foreigners. However, Kruger does not indicate, in his findings, whether the ‘cinematic narrative’ in the print media was reported ethically or not.

### **1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY**

Therefore, this study will draw on the journalism ethics as enshrined in the South African Press Code (SAPC 2007:10), which states that journalists “shall present news in context and in balanced manner without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation; material omissions; or summarisation”, in order to effectively analyse the way in which the xenophobic attacks and related violence were reported in South Africa by the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers.

This, in turn, will highlight to what extent these newspapers adhered to ethical requirements of reporting the news truthfully, accurately, fairly, objectively, avoiding discriminatory references to people’s race, colour, or other status’ during the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

A qualitative content analysis of a sample of news articles published in the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun newspapers* during 11-30 May 2008 will constitute the research methodology of the study. The study will then draw conclusions from the results of the content analysis on whether the journalists from the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers were ethical in their reportage of news during the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

### **1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

According to Chiyamwaka (2008:1) “the media has assumed and reinforced its important role as a legitimate reflection of public interest and opinion”. Chiyamwaka (2008) adds that:

*Everything that a journalist does has ethical implications, to a lesser or greater extent. This is because everything that a journalist writes or says or neglects to write or say in some or other way has an influence on people.*

*This influence can be good or bad. Because the media have an enormous influence, it is of vital importance that journalism be practiced in an accountable and responsible way.”*

(Chiyamwaka 2008:3)

Despite these concerns, there is no research that has analysed whether print media journalists, in particular journalists from the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers, adhered to media ethics, as set out by the South African Press Code (2007) in the reporting of the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

The *Daily Sun* is a mass market tabloid newspapers which has grown in readership in the last few years to become the country's biggest daily, selling over 500,000 copies nationally, mostly to a working class readership (Harber 2008:162). It offers more local news and gossip; focusing on events in ordinary people's lives rather than national and international news (see section 3.6.2.1 for more information). However, the *Sowetan*, the *Daily Sun*'s main competitor, is also aimed at an English-literate black readership, selling about 130,000 copies, mostly in Gauteng where the 2008 xenophobic attacks had begun (Sparks 2009:200) (see table 3.1 for more information).

It is noted that these two newspapers are very popular among the black communities, where the 2008 xenophobic attacks has occurred, such as, Alexandra, Cleveland, Hillbrow, Tembisa, Primrose, Ivory Park and Thokoza, and their circulation and readership numbers continue to increase, almost on a daily basis. The black communities indicated above, and many others, believe that the two newspapers focus more on stories which directly affect the lives of its readers.

As indicated earlier, (see Section 1.1), according to media reports in the local and international media, such as *Daily Sun*, *Sowetan*, *The Star* from South Africa, and *India eNews*, *BBC News*, and *ABC News* to mention just a few. The attacks started in Alexandra and then spread to other areas in and around Johannesburg, including

Cleveland, Hillbrow, Tembisa, Primrose, Ivory Park and Thokoza. The attacks later spread to Kwazulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and for the Western Cape (Pillay 2008). The communities identified by Pillay, and many other communities, are the same communities where these two newspapers enjoyed, and are still enjoying, increasing circulation and readership. Therefore, the following research questions need to be addressed.

## **1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers adhere to the ethical requirements of reporting news truthfully during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers adhere to the ethical requirements of reporting news accurately during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers present news in context and in a balanced manner, without exaggeration or misrepresentation, for the duration of the 2008 xenophobic attacks?

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers present news objectively during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers avoid discriminatory or denigratory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity or other status during the 2008 attacks?

## **1.6 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

The examination of these research questions is founded on the social responsibility theory, and the South African Press Code (2007). One can paraphrase Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956:2) to say that, one set of ethics cannot apply to news

reports that have to do with foreigners and another to citizens that live in the same community. Social responsibility theory posits that journalists have social responsibilities towards the society (Siebert et al 1956), and one of such responsibility includes providing accurate news without bias.

Social responsibility theory provides the framework for the South African Press Code (2007), which will be used to analyse, and to provide explanation for whether journalists from the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers reported on the 2008 xenophobic attacks truthfully, accurately, fairly, objectively and whether they made discriminatory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity or other status during the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

## **1.7 METHODOLOGY**

This study will use qualitative content analysis to provide answers to the research questions posed in Section 1.4. 96 sampled articles published in the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers from 11-30 May 2008 were sampled from this accessible population, a sample of 56 articles on xenophobia was selected from *Daily Sun* newspaper, and a sample of 40 articles was retrieved from *Sowetan* newspaper. These sampled articles, together, they have a circulation of 96 articles analysed for this study.

The selection of the two newspapers was based on the *Daily Sun* being a national newspaper and *Sowetan* being a provincial newspaper, as well as the two papers are distributed daily. In addition, together they are the highest selling newspapers in black communities, as indicated earlier in section 1.3, in 2008, and in South Africa currently, and they both have a circulation of more than 630,000 copies daily (see *chapter 3 for a further explanation*).

A further motivation for the selecting the research sample from these newspapers is the accessibility of the articles either in print or hardcopy format, as well as, online via subscription.

## 1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

In order to analyse journalism ethics in reportage of the 2008 xenophobic attacks in the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers, chapter 1 provides the aim of the study, states the research problem, and provides research questions, a theoretical foundation and methodology, as well as additional background information that informs the study.

Chapter 2 engages the theoretical framework and literature review around the subject of this study. It reviews the available literature relating to the ethics of the media, the South African Press Code (2007), and Social Responsibility Theory in relation to xenophobic attacks.

In chapter 3, the data will be analysed. It will explain, in detail, the qualitative content analysis as a research method. Conclusions will be drawn on identified categories in order to determine whether the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers complied with the ethical codes of truthfulness, accuracy and balanced and objectivity.

The results of the research will be presented in Chapter 4, with the last chapter 5 concluding the study, and providing suggestions and recommendations for further research in communication and journalism ethics.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Almost all the literatures available on xenophobic attacks agrees that, the 2008 xenophobic violence were the worst cases of attacks in the history of South Africa since the end of apartheid. It was also the first time the military were sent into the streets to stop violence since the dawn of democracy in 1994 (McKnight 2008).

In the midst of the 2008 attacks, the press was expected, according to the South African Press Code (2007), to provide independent news reports that are factual, and accurate. They were also expected to commit themselves to the highest journalistic ethical standards, and in the process, maintaining credibility, and keeping the trust of their readers.

In order to establish if this standard was attained by the press during the 2008 xenophobic attacks, this chapter will review literatures that, focuses, on the extent journalism ethics were upheld in media reports, specifically, in the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers, concerning the 2008 xenophobic attacks on African migrants living in the townships.

The literature review will set the framework for this study, and in-so-doing will eventually establish whether the media applied the Press Code (2007) of ethics in the sampled reports made available to the public during the violence.

In order to achieve this aim, some of the principles of the SAPC (2007) will be excerpted in order to thoroughly analyse the *Sowetan* and the *Daily Sun* newspapers' reportage of the attacks.

Firstly, empirical studies on xenophobic attacks will be scrutinised in order to identify knowledge gaps in existing studies concerning media reports on the 2008 xenophobic attacks, which will then help to articulate a clear method for addressing the gaps identified. The review will then proceed to look at the general meaning of ethics in the media and the crucial challenges that confront journalism ethics. The review will also examine the social responsibility theory which places emphasis on the self-regulation of the media and the expected social responsibility journalists must uphold on daily basis.

In considering the impact of media reports about the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa, Howard (2009:2) contends "incompetent journalism and partisan news management can generate misinformation which may inflame xenophobia, ethnic hatred, class warfare and violent conflict in almost any fragile state such as South Africa." He includes an example, stating that "the anti-Thai violence in Cambodia 2003 was triggered partially by partisan, inaccurate and unfair media reports" (Howard 2009:3). Therefore, it is important for the media to know that it has an enormous responsibility, when reporting on conflicts such as the 2008 xenophobic outbursts in South Africa, to present information in a truthful, accurate, objective and 'non-discriminatory' manner,

A significant number of empirical studies refer to the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. One of the studies is by Gomo (2010). The study provides analysis of the media reporting on xenophobic violence amongst the youth in South Africa, and found that the media provides reports on issues that are experienced in everyday life, and are therefore regarded as commonplace (Gomo 2010:15). However, from the perspective of this researcher, Gomo's study does not provide a fresh perspective on the debate of xenophobia.

Gomo's research does not indicate to what extent journalists faithfully represent the everyday reality of the 2008 xenophobic attacks to its readers and listeners. It also does not indicate whether those realities were reported objectively in the media. Studies by Shindondola 2002; Howard 2009; Mwilu, 2010; Danso & McDonald, 2000; Fine & Bird, 2006 and Kruger 2009 show that xenophobia is experienced in South Africa every day, and that this is primarily due to the South Africa's apartheid past.

The studies add that the media is perceived as promoting xenophobic sentiments. However, these researchers do not indicate whether all the media (i.e. the print and broadcast media) promote xenophobia or whether some media reports were objective and accurate in their reporting of the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

In his argument, Harber (2008:161) explicitly says that “what is needed from the media at a time of ugly anti-social violence was brutal honesty, caution and sensitivity”. One would agree with Harber in deeming that is what ethical journalism requires from media practitioners on daily basis. Therefore, in response to the findings of the above studies, it is important to ask the following questions:

- Were the media honest in their reports on the 2008 xenophobic attacks?
- Were the media sensitive or did they demonstrate bias in their reports of the 2008 xenophobic attacks?

In order to answer these questions, Harber provides a framework for looking at two leading Johannesburg newspapers; *the Daily Sun* and *the Star* media reports of the 2008 xenophobic violence, with a focus on the first few days of the attacks. It is important to indicate that Harber does not specify the time frame for these media reports selected for analysis, referring to it in general terms as ‘the first few days’.

According to Harber, the *Daily Sun* is a mass market tabloid which has grown tremendously in the last seven years to become the country’s biggest daily newspaper. It sells over 500,000 copies nationally, mostly to a working class readership (Harber 2008:162). He adds that the *Daily Sun* newspaper seems to be in support of the violence unleashed on black foreigners, which started in Alexandra, because of the consistent use of the word *aliens* to describe non-South Africans in the initial week of the violence. It is also important to note that there is no existing study confirming that the consistent use of the word *aliens* in media reports during the 2008 xenophobic attacks incites or inflames the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners who lives in the townships (*see Chapter Four for further explanation*).

*The Star* newspaper is the country’s second-biggest daily newspaper, with sales of about 160,000 and targets Johannesburg middle-class suburban households (Harber 2008:169). According to Harber, *The Star* newspaper reports focused almost

entirely on the victims of the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Its choice of gruesome pictures, screaming headlines, and stories told the tales of those targeted by the violence, while, the *Daily Sun*, presented the attackers as faceless and anonymous (Harber 2008:171). In Harber's words, *the Star* was quick to condemn the violence; it even set up its own fund for assisting the victims. One can conclude that Harber's findings, imply that the *Star* newspaper was sympathetic to the victims of the 2008 xenophobic attacks, while *Daily Sun* was in support of the perpetrators of the attacks. These were the views of two newspapers reporting the same violence in the same country, but with a polarised stance in terms of their reporting. However, one could not deduce from Harber's findings, whether the two newspapers were balanced and objective in their news reports on the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

It is evident, based on Harber's findings (2008), that he does not use any of the values and objectives highlighted in Part 1: (*Sections 1- 8, refer to addendum A*) of the South African Press Code to evaluate the xenophobic reports in *The Star* and *Daily Sun*. It is also clear that he does not use any of the press theories to arrive at his conclusions. However, the view of this researcher is that Harber (2008) does not necessarily ignore the values represented in the South African Press Code at the time of his research. In fact, none of the existing literature reviews show whether the print media used the South African Press Code (2007) to evaluate the 2008 xenophobic attacks, but it is clear from reviews that the issues of ethical journalism, such as, objective and accurate reporting are missing in the studies conducted by Gomo (2010), Mwilu (2010), Howard (2009), Kruger (2009), Harber (2008), Fine & Bird (2006), Shindondola (2002), and Danso & MacDonald (2000).

Based on the identification of the limitations highlighted in the above studies, the basic principles of ethics indicated in Part A: Section 1.1, of the South African Press Code (2007) states that "the press is obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly", will be drawn on, in order to analyse the media reports of the 2008 xenophobic attacks with a focus on the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers. The reason for this ethical scrutiny of news reports is to add further depth of understanding to the pool of knowledge regarding the media's reportage of the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

The choice of the two newspapers was based on the following:

- *Daily Sun*, as articulated in Chapter 1, is a national newspaper, while the *Sowetan* is a provincial newspaper. It is important to state that the *Daily Sun* newspaper as a national newspaper has the platform to shape or sway public opinions of its readers, on an issue or violence, such as, the 2008 xenophobic attacks, while, the news impact of a provincial newspaper such as, the *Sowetan* newspaper is limited to its readers at provincial level. However, together they both have responsibilities to their readers, to provide factual and accurate news contents at national and provincial levels.
- Both newspapers are distributed on daily basis.
- According to Audit Bureau of Circulation of South Africa (2008) the two newspapers are the highest selling newspapers in black communities in 2008 and in South Africa currently.

In order to provide concise analysis, explanations for the following terms will be provided:

- The general meaning of 'ethics';
- The Press Council of South Africa;
- The South African Press Code.

## **2.2 EXPLANATION OF ETHICS**

One must not forget that, whatever a journalist writes or says always has an influence on the publics at large and "this influence exists, because the media is so pervasive and ubiquitous, and it confronts people at every turn" (Retief 2002:4). For these reasons, journalists have to carefully weigh the pros and cons of what they do or don't publish.

Froneman & De Beer (1993:4) state that the ethical decisions in the media determine what the public may read, hear and see. Ajibola (2009:71) adds that “ethics may not always be obvious to the audience, but implicitly, ethics are always at the core of the decisions that each journalist makes” while in the field, or in what the editor does at his/her desk in the newsroom.

In her research, Ajibola (2009) further states that the increasing presence and influence of the media throughout the world has raised many ethical and social questions that need to be addressed, both by the media practitioners and the public. According to Ronning (2002), the media are accused of bias, cynicism, manipulations and distortion of news which has resulted in an increasingly serious public debate about ethics in the media (Ronning 2002: 23-24). For example, in recent years, the ruling party, African National Congress (ANC) have openly criticised the conduct of the print media in terms of objective and accurate reporting of news (SAPC 2011:3). These criticisms led to one of the resolutions at the ANC Polokwane conference in 2007 – to investigate the possibility of creating a statutory Media Appeals Tribunal. This led to the Protection of State Information Bill, commonly referred to as the Secrecy Bill that was passed, without participation of opposition parties, on 27 November 2012 by the National Council of Provinces (Sutherland 2012: 1). The bill was referred to President Zuma to sign into law, but on Thursday September 10, 2013, the president returned the bill to the National Assembly for further consideration. One can state that if the bill becomes law in its current form, it will negatively impact journalists and how they report news.

According to the ruling party, the regulation is necessary, in order to curb unethical media practices. One cannot talk about unethical behaviour, either as a government or as media practitioners, without examining definition of ethics.

### **2.3 HOW CAN ETHICS BE DEFINED?**

Hulteng (1985) attempts to answer the above question in his scrutiny of what constitutes ethics. He indicates that there is no ‘one-definition-fits-all’ for ethics. He argues that intensive investigation of volumes of books in search of absolute

definitions raise more questions than providing answers, because every country interprets ethics in different ways. However, Day (2006) provides the following explanation: He defines ethics as the “branch of philosophy that deals with the moral component of human life. It reflects a society’s notion about the rightness or wrongness of an act and the distinctions between virtue and vice” (Day 2006:3). If ethics is indeed part of human life, then journalists need to be rational and logical in their decision-making. An empirical approach to journalism is noted by Retif, who compares the study of ethics to science. According to his study, “ethics uses a systematic, reasoned or rational approach based on a set of principles to determine what is good (i.e. ethical), and what is bad (i.e. unethical) in human conduct” (Retif 2000:4).

Nonetheless, there is still one crucial challenge to journalism ethics-how to promote, and develop excellence in journalistic practice, while adhering to the specific standards of practice, and ethics required by journalists and media organisations (SAPC 2011:37).

As previously noted, the South African Press Code (2007) will form the ethical foundation for analysis in this study. The code is not a separate document from the Press Council handbook. Rather, it is a section embedded in the procedures and constitution of the Press Council of South Africa. In order to best represent the context in which the 2008 xenophobic was reported, it is necessary to use the SAPC (2007), the functioning press code in 2008. Some of the principles indicated in the SAPC (2007), and the mission of the Press Council of South Africa to probe the *Daily Sun* and *Sowetan* newspapers’ reports of 2008.

## **2.4 PRESS COUNCILS**

A press council functions as a trust-building and credibility-establishing body within the media. It helps to improve quality standards in media outlets, preventing interference from the state. It also aids in diminishing the number of court cases against journalists (Ajibola 2009).

The major function of a press council is adjudicating complaints against the media by members of the public, while, simultaneously preserving the constitutional 'freedom of expression'. In most democratic societies with media self-regulation systems, industries fund the press councils as a way of guaranteeing their independence, and shielding them from external control, and influence of governments. According to Pinker (2002:49), countries that fund press regulation tend to have the most discredited press councils. If a press council is funded by government, such councils "will contribute little to protecting press freedom or individual interests such as privacy and reputation" (Pinker 2009: 49).

Other duties of a press council include verifying complaints that fall within the limit of the code of ethics; review them thoroughly from each angle; serve as mediator between the complaints and the media; take decisions on complaints based on rules and regulations with fairness. These duties have contributed to the evolution of the press councils in South Africa.

## **2.5 THE PRESS COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA**

According to the Press Council of South Africa (PCSA 2007), in sections 4.1 – 4.2.5, "the Press Council hears complaints against newspapers and magazines who are members of the council, as well as complaints from the readers against the media. When a complaint is made against a newspaper or magazine that is not a member of the Newspaper Association of South Africa (NASA), The Magazine Publishers Association of South Africa (MPASA), The Association of Independent Publishers (AIP), and The Forum of Community Journalist (FCJ), the Ombudsman shall approach such newspaper or magazine and inquire as to whether it accepts the jurisdiction of the Press Ombudsman for the settlement of the complaint. In the event that the newspaper or magazine refuses to submit to the jurisdiction of the Ombudsman, he or she shall advise the complainant accordingly" (PCSA 2007:20).

The Press Council is set up through self-regulation, though it contains a variety of experts - including its chair, who is traditionally a retired judge. Complaints must be in writing within fourteen days of the date of the publication giving rise to the

complaint. Complainants dissatisfied with the publication's response to the complaint can refer their complaints promptly to the Press Council for Appeal.

In 1977, the constitution of the Press Council of South Africa was evaluated based on the government threat to introduce a Newspaper Press Bill that would pave the way for a statutory Press Council (Kumwenda 2010:38). In 1983, a media council replaced the Press Council to regulate both broadcasting and print media, following the recommendations of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry, which investigated whether the mass media were meeting the needs and interests of South African community, and demands of the times (Oosthuizen 2002:40). The council had 14 public members, 14 press members and two retired judges as chairpersons. However, the South African Broadcasting Corporation refused to be part of the council. The media council later separated from broadcasting, and went back to the old name of Press Council (Ntuli 2008:36). In 1992, the Press Council was reformed and maintained by a committee that included owners, editors and journalists of print media.

In 1997, the Press Council became the Press Ombudsman, and a new Press Code replaced a Press Code of Conduct that dated back to 1962. This led to the appointment of the first Press Ombudsman, Edwin Linnington (Ntuli, 2008:57). At that time, The Press Ombudsman system was managed by The Founding Bodies Committee, consisting of representatives of the newspaper industry. However, in 2007, the structure, once again, reverted back to the Press Council, replacing the Founding Bodies Committee and retaining the position of the Press Ombudsman. The council has four main aims and objectives:

- To promote and preserve the right to freedom of expression including freedom of the press as guaranteed in section 16 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa;
- To promote and develop excellence in journalistic practice and ethics and to promote the adoption of and adherence to those standards of practice and ethics by publications that are associated with it;

- To promote the concept of press self-regulation and to set up the office of the Press Ombudsman and South African Press Appeals Panel;
- To accept a Press Code enforced by an independent non-statutory, mediating and adjudicating structure aimed at introducing procedures for the expeditious and cost-effective adjudication, in the absence of settlement, of complaints against publications published by members of the Print Media Association of South Africa (PMSA), and other publications that subscribe to the press code.

(Press Council of South Africa, 2007:19)

The Press Council determines whether the conduct of the media is contrary to the prescribed press ethics. It keeps pace with developments in determining what is considered unethical, and adopts appropriate standpoints on new situations that arise.

Its other mandate is to promote a system of self-regulation and to fight for media freedom. The foundation of the system is the South African Press Code (2007), adopted by all the principal print media in South Africa. The press code shows basic ethical principles to guide journalists. It is a voluntary code.

## **2.6 THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS CODE**

The Press Council of South Africa has adopted the South African Press Code (2007), to guide journalists in their daily practice of gathering and distributing news. It was adopted in order to guide the Ombudsman and the Appeals Panel to reach decisions on complaints from the public. Its latest review was in 2011. According to Berger (2009:14), “more than 640 publications, mainly members of Print Media South Africa, subscribe to the code.” Berger further indicates that in 1962, newspaper owners reached a consensus on self-regulation for fear of statutory regulation, and therefore, drew the first voluntary code of conduct (Berger 2009:15). This code is similar to those in other countries with press councils, such as, the Danish Media Council, the Botswana Press Council, and the Zambia Media Council etc. The South African Code is against departure of news from the facts through

distortion, significant omissions or summarisations (Hachten & Giffard 1984:61-62). The code further stipulates that comment should be clearly distinguishable from news and should be based on facts truly stated, free from malice, and not actuated by dishonest motives (Hachten & Giffard 1984:61). Hachten & Giffard (1984:62) also indicate that the code requires the press to take account of the complex racial problems of South Africa, and the general good, and safety of the country, and its people. Oosthuizen (2002:83-84) adds that, the stipulation referring to racial issues was a reflection of government's expectations regarding the press reporting on the controversial racial policies of apartheid.

After the new democratic dispensation, a new press code was adopted in 1997, and again in 2007. The latter had seven clauses dealing with a range of issues from fairness in news reporting, advocacy, comment or criticism, to dealing with confidential sources, paying for articles and reporting violence. Contrary to the Press Code of the apartheid regime which was used by the government as a tool for controlling the press, the new code embraces the freedom of expression as indicated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). It also indicates that news should be "published without fear or favour." (SAPC 2007:1). Again, the Press Code of 2007 was reviewed in 2011, and the revised Press Code became effective in February 2013.

## **2.7 THE USE OF SAPC (2007) FOR NEWS ANALYSIS OF THE 2008 XENOPHOBIC OUTBURSTS.**

### ***2.7.1 Reporting news truthfully and accurately during violence***

Journalism is a self-governing occupation that requires ethical codes to set standards for behaviours at all times (Stos 2009:10). Such codes are:

*“Supposed to act as the conscience of the professional, of the organisation of the enterprise. The strength of an ethics code is a function not only of its various principles and mandates, but of its legitimacy and power in the eyes of those for whom it is written.”*

*The code will be obeyed because individuals willingly subject themselves to ethical standards above and beyond their own beliefs or because the code has provisions for enforcement which they fear should they violate it.”*

(Black, Steel, & Barney 1995:13-14)

Richard (2002:8) states that professional ethics should focus on the moral judgements of ethical issues related to the journalism profession, and this must be done according to professional standards. In order to ensure the success of a code, it must be a certain amount of ‘buy in’ from the group for whom the code is meant (Stos, 2009). It must have legitimacy and power in the eyes of its practitioners (Black et al 1995: 13). Stos (2009) adds that, if all journalists willingly adhere to the media codes, it will not be difficult for them to report truthfully and accurately because it will provide guidance at all times (2009: 10). This aligns with the SAPC mandate (2007:1) to encourage the pursuit of truth and accuracy without fear or favour from all its practitioners.

McNair (1998) notes that a journalistic code would legitimise the profession, and provide guidance to journalists on daily basis. McNair quickly cautions that, if care is not taken “such codes may just be a statement of ideals,” (McNair 1998:65) and it may conveniently be ignored during violence. For instance, the news report, and image of a burning man identified as Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuaye of Mozambique, in the Ramaphosa informal settlement on the front page of *The Times* on 19 May 2008, generates serious debates among ethicists (Stos 2009:14).

One can argue the ethics of including this image in the news report both ways: The first argument would be in support of all the newspapers that, publishing the image of the ‘burning man’ was the correct course of action to follow as it helped to condemn the violence unleashed on the African migrants in the townships. On the other hand, one can be defensive, and argue that, such news reportage is offensive, and should

not have been published. Nevertheless, the two arguments raises the question as to whether the journalists who wrote the report, the one who took the photo, and the editor who decided to publish the news reports were ethical in their decisions, and whether they follow the guidelines stipulated in the South African press code as indicated in Section 1-8, SAPC (2007:12).

In spite of this observation, Stos (2009) agrees with Richards (2002:3) in indicating that “ethic is a thin wedge” which means that whether there is a code or not, individuals need to make moral judgements on their own. Nel (2007:340) explains further: “Media codes are only guidelines and does not give clear answers to ethical needs of the practitioners. Journalists still need to develop skills in order to implement them in practical situations, such as the xenophobic violence experienced in May 2008”. One can deduce that whether or not journalists observe code of ethics, does readers or listeners expects them to tell the truth? In addition they need to be fair and accurate as much as possible, without deliberate discriminatory references to people in any form? That was the expectation of the readers of the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers during the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

### ***2.7.2 Presentation of news in context, balanced and objective manner during times of social unrest.***

A number of survey-based studies have been tracking the growing anti-immigrant media coverage in South Africa since 1994 – see Crush (2008), Danso & Macdonald (2000), Murray (2003) and Fine & Bird (2002). It can be seen, based on these studies, that the media is certainly relevant when it comes to examining social unrest, such as xenophobic outbursts, because they reproduce certain ideologies and discourses in the communities. It is therefore the view of the researcher that an essential evaluation of the media’s influence on popular perception, looking at the media as both a means to gauge public perceptions of foreigners and to form perception, is needed. Fine and Bird add that most of the reports in the media prior to the 2008 xenophobic violence provide “incomplete pictures of incidents, and they are one-sided” (Fine & Bird 2002:10). Therefore, it can be deduced that some of the news reports may not be objective or balanced. This is reinforced by Frère, who

posits that the “media constitute a two-edged sword” (Frère 2007:1). They can be the instruments of both destructive and constructive strategies, especially in societies undergoing change such as the relatively new South African democracy. For that reason, journalists need to understand the effect of their reportage, so that, they can better appreciate how influential their role is in a conflict. Facts must be correctly presented and words carefully chosen (Howard 2009:8). In that case, it is essential for the media to remain a constructive tool by providing reports which are balanced and objective during the time of peace and violence in South Africa (Mwilu 2010).

Howard (2009:8) adds that professional journalists do not set out to reduce conflict, but to seek evidence and describe it objectively and accurately. One can only assume that when there is social unrest, all the reports that emanate from the press are balanced and objective. This assumption is based on the premise that journalists voluntarily subscribe to the principles enshrined in the press code of ethics, and it is very clear that every code of ‘good’ journalism unambiguously emphasises the importance of objective and balanced news reports at all times.

In order to fairly represent journalists who work for print media around the clock, and in order to inform, educate and entertain their readers, one needs to understand that those journalists are always confronted with many choices. However, they strive to report objectively, as much as possible, without deliberate discriminatory references to people in any form.

### ***2.7.3 Discriminatory or denigratory references to people’s race, colour, ethnicity, or other status during violence.***

As evidenced in the works of Pillay (2008) and Smith (2008), with regards to the 2008 attacks, most of the xenophobic reports in the media were hateful expressions which contradict the principles of human rights, and freedom of expression. Although the findings of this study differs from the results of Pillay (2008) and Smith (2008). It did not find hateful expression or violation of human rights, but it believes that freedom of expression and human rights without ethical foundation cannot prosper. In order to better understand the previous assertion, a selection of the ‘freedoms’

indicated in Chapter 2, Section 16 (1) of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) will be scrutinised. These rights are as follows: “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” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:9). However, Section 16(2) demonstrates that the abovementioned rights do not extend to “propaganda for war; incitement of imminent violence; or advocacy of hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:9). It can thus be determined that, if the freedom of expression, enjoyed as one of the human rights, is not linked to ethics, there might be a mistake of thinking that human rights and freedom of expression have nothing to do with ethics.

Since this current study is about two South African newspapers, namely the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun*, it may be necessary to explain the principle of freedom of expression which is fundamental to human rights as enshrined in the South African Constitution (1996).

The Republic of South Africa is a signatory to several international treaties on human rights (Mwilu 2010). The followings are a few of the freedom of expression indicated in Chapter 2, Section 16 of the Constitution of the Republic: “(a) Freedom of the press and other media; (b) Freedom to receive or impart information or ideas; (c) Freedom of artistic creativity; and (d) Academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.” (Section 16:1).

The right to freedom of expression and access to the information (Section 32) is the constitutional foundation on which the media base their legitimacy to access and disseminate information. From a media ethics point of view, this is the part of the Constitution upon which the South African Press Code (2007) derives its own constitution. It is a voluntary code, and it is expected to be adhered to by all practicing journalists in the country. It is also the portion where citizens derive their legal right to participate in debates on issues that they deem relevant (Mwilu 2010).

However, the rights in the Constitution, Chapter 2 (Section 16:2) do not extend to “(a) propaganda of war; (b) incitement of imminent war; or (c) advocacy of hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:9). This principle is alluded in the South African Press Code (2007:11) in Section 2.1, where it states “The press should avoid discriminatory or denigratory references to people’s race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental disability or illness or age,” (SAPC 2007: 11), or other status except where it is strictly relevant to the matter reported. It further agrees with the 1986 revised Code of Principles of the International Federation of Journalists, as stipulated in the following article:

*"The journalist shall be aware of the danger of discrimination being furthered by the media and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinions, and national or social origins."*

International Federation of Journalists (1986:3).

Moreover, it will be unethical for a journalist to deliberately publish news stories with derogatory terms such as *aliens* as some media did during the 2008 xenophobic violence (see *chapter four for details*). However, such terminology can be used in the press, only if it is in the public interest, but it must be framed within the story, so that, it does not read in an offensive manner. For example, a headline in one of the daily newspapers read as follow: *Two killed in attacks on aliens* (*The Citizen* 2008:4). It would be difficult for this researcher to prove whether the headline is offensive or derogatory, because *The Citizen* newspaper is not a focus of this study.

According to Coliver (1992: v), terminology, such as the abovementioned found in *The Citizen*, may be deemed as hate expression and offensive to some people, and may, therefore, be considered a violation of human rights. One can concur with Coliver (1992) that hate expression, or some words used in the media deemed as xenophobic expression, may become abusive, intimidating, and offensive to some

readers if it is not carefully articulated in the media (Coliver 1992: v). For that reason, the South African Press Code (2007) indicates that journalists should avoid denigratory references to people's race, colour or other status, or use offensive words in news reports that may create misunderstanding or misrepresentation of facts.

Duncan (2003) agrees that, deliberate xenophobic expression is morally wrong, and it may reduce a category of people in the eyes of readers of particular print media. It may also cause the xenophobic-targeted individuals or groups to be physically attacked (Duncan 2003:2). As indicated in Section 2.2, there is no existing empirical research to confirm this assertion. However, a study conducted by the South African Migration Project (SAMP) revealed that "South Africans exhibits levels of intolerance and hostility to outsiders unlike virtually anything seen in other parts of the world" (SAMP 2008:6). One can say that any expressions that may deliberately reduce a category of people or incite physical violence should be avoided in the media because it may be ethically incorrect. Furthermore, such expressions go against (Section 16) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). One can also indicate that a deliberate discriminatory expression will also contradict the entire sections of the South African Press Code (SAPC 2007:11).

Therefore, efforts should be made to provide news accurately and in a balanced manner without deliberate discrimination or denigratory references to people's race, colour etc. In order to do that, journalists will have to make cautious decisions in the face of many ethical dilemmas which confront news reporters each time they are reporting their beats.

#### ***2.7.4 Ethical decisions faced by journalists in the field during violence and atrocities.***

It is the view of this researcher that, unbalanced stories will create ethical inquiry, in other words, inquiries as to whether journalists have been ethical, and such inquiry exists because a tension inevitably arises over what constitutes the "correct conduct, and fair practices or interpretation of principles, such as, the principle enshrined in

the press codes” (White 2009:2). In the view of White (2009:2), ethical value reflects the individual’s deepest convictions and attachments. “They define who we are, and give us an ethical identity” (White 2009:2). For example, South Africa is famous for its *ethics of Ubuntu*. The idea comes from the maxim *Umuntungumuntungabantu*, which may be translated as “a human being is to affirm one’s humanity by recognising the humanity of others and, on that basis, establish humane relations with them” (Ramosé 2002:231). This was the general expectation of the South African media during the 2008 xenophobic violence, as well as, in other forms of atrocities. Ethics of *Ubuntu* are expressed in several ways, including the principle to ‘minimise’ unnecessary harm to vulnerable subjects of news stories. It is apparent from research done by Crush (2008), Danso & Macdonald (2000), Murray (2003), Fine & Bird (2002), Ramosé (2002) and Mwilu (2010) that there is a need for non-discriminatory reporting by the media.

Tahir (2009:16) further explains that even when journalists are aware of their roles during violent conflict, there is a tendency to support hatred propaganda and war journalism, which ignores balanced independent reporting. This creates the negative impression that journalists do not stick to press code of conduct in the manner they conduct themselves during violent outbursts.

Ethical reporting of conflicts does not only question the possibility of fairness or objectivity in journalism, but it also underlines the positive role journalists can play in order to prevent violent conflicts, and to promote peaceful settlements, reconciliation, and the empowerment of civil society. Research conducted by McQuail (1987:117-118) shows that the principle of media objectivity can be traced to one of the five theories of the press known as social responsibility. It is one of the press theories that points journalists to their ethical and social responsibilities in the society. Therefore, this theory will be used in this study to describe the role of the media during the xenophobic outbursts of 2008. (Refer to *Section 2.9 for explanation on social responsibility theory of the press*).

## 2.8 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY THEORY OF THE PRESS

Ethical journalism is rooted in social responsibility theory of the press articulated by Siebert, Peterson & Schramm (1956). The theory posits that journalists have social responsibilities towards society, and one of such responsibility requires them to provide accurate news to society without bias. It further provides insight into the principles of media ethics which are expected from journalists in line with the guidelines of the SAPC (2007).

However, it is the view of the researcher that one theory cannot account for the multiple ways in which journalists write, and this study specifically acknowledges the point of view of Judith Butler in her book, *Frame of War: When is Life Grievable?* (2010). She embedded her discourses in the theory of *framing*. The significant of her argument is ethical. It questions the framing and the ethics surrounding the interpretations of lives of the victims of war.

She writes that the way an issue is framed (presented) in the media determines the choices the readers, listeners or viewers will make. It will indicate whether or not responsible (ethical) journalism was adhered to in the framing.

She elaborates that “how or what we (readers) see in the media is not exactly the same as dictating a storyline. It is a way of interpreting of reality and the creation of perception” (Butler 2010:66). This simply means that the readers focus attention on certain issues and then create their own meanings.

This study agree with Butler in the sense that If framing is received within the context of relevant ethical reporting, it will either create “mental comfort or cognitive apprehension” (Butler 2010:66) to the readers. Therefore, it is imperative for journalists to be diligent and to engage in ethical reporting which forms their social responsibility to the readers.

There is no doubt that Butler’s argument for the theory of framing is impeccable, but in the context of this study, social responsibility theoretical approach is the most appropriate to describe how the media in South Africa are expected to conduct themselves at the moment, because its principles conforms with the ideals of

democracy. The ideals of social responsibility theory goes beyond the mere framing of news which Butler (2010) articulates in her book, *Frame of War*.

Social responsibility theory will help to explain some of the social duties of the media in bringing the news to its diverse audiences. According to McQuail (1997) the social responsibility theory is one of the four normative media theories, and it “deals with ideas of how the media ought to operate in society” (McQuail 1987:116). The social responsibility theory has developed as a result of the media’s “obligation to be socially responsible” (Siebert et al 1956: 4). The media must make certain that all sides are fairly represented in news reports. It must also ensure that the public has enough information to decide on any matter of concerns (Siebert et al 1956:5).

According to Siebert et al (1956), social responsibility of the media was given credence, after World War 2, through the work of the so-called Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press. This project was requested in 1942 by the founder of *Time* magazine, Henry Luce. It developed at a time when the First Amendment freedom was being increasingly threatened by the rise of totalitarian regimes throughout the world (Blevins 1997: 2). It was led by the then-president of the University of Chicago, Robert Hutchins. The commission deliberated for four years before settling in 1947 on the five guidelines indicated in (*Section 2.11*) for a socially responsible press in a report titled *A Free and Responsible Press* (Middleton, 2009).

Kumwenda (2010:10) shows that after the Hutchins Commission report, the five guidelines, as mentioned previously in this study, provided encouragement to publishers who willingly began to link responsibility with freedom in all their content. They formulated codes of ethical behaviour, and they operated their media with some concern for the public good. Although, prior to the commission report, media practitioners started to recognise the art of writing as a profession which requires ethical code of conduct (Allan 1999:24). For instance, in 1923 the American Society of Newspaper Editors announced their ‘canons’ of journalism, one of which reads: “Impartiality – sound practice makes a clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion”. It further shows that “news reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind” (Allan 1999:24).

After the commission's report, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956) developed the first formal theory of social responsibility of the press known as 'third theory.' The authors emphasises the media's responsibility to use its powerful position to ensure appropriate delivery of information to audiences (Middleton 2009). Siebert et al further argues that social responsibility is an "obligation to provide trustworthy, relevant news, and information as well as, opportunities for diverse voices to be heard in the public arena" (Siebert et al 1956). The following are the principles of social responsibility theory.

## **2.9 TENETS OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY THEORY**

Social responsibility theory claims that the media could do better by adhering to the following precepts:

- High standards for professionalism and objectivity, as well as truth and accuracy.
- Reflects the diversity of the cultures they represent.
- The public has the right to expect professional performance.
- Fulfil social obligations to a democratic society in order to preserve freedom.
- Self-regulation.

(McQuail 1987:117-118)

However, contrary to the argument made by the Hutchins commission and Siebert et al., Owens-Ibie (1994) explains social responsibility in the media from the perspective of a developing country, such as Nigeria. He argues that a certain part of the media responsibility is to serve the public in the sense that "the mass media are to inform the citizenry of what goes on in the government, which, in a way, keeps rulers in check" (Owen-Ibie 1994:71). He further explains that the media should be reporting on and promoting discussion of "ideas, opinions and truths toward the end of social refinement" (Owens-Ibie 1994:71). According to the author, the media are socially responsible in the following ways:

*“To their audiences, to whom they owe correct news reportage, analysis and editorializing.”*

*“To government, to which they owe constructive criticism, a relay of popular opinion and adequate feedback from the populace.”*

*“To their proprietor, to whom they owe the survival of the media organisation as a business venture as well as a veritable source of education, enlightenment and entertainment.”*

*“To themselves, to whom they owe fulfilment in their calling, satisfaction and an entire success story. When any of these “judges” of journalistic responsibility is shunted, accountability is dented and automatically, responsibility is affected adversely”.*

(Owens-Ibie 1994:6)

In the argument made by Siebert et al (1956), the media occupies a tremendously powerful position in the society, and must deliver “truth about the fact” in the most ethical manner (Day 2006:39). It further says that the press must keep the public informed in ways which does not encourage harm to other groups (SAMP 2008). It is then crucial for the media to provide information that is accurate, balanced, fair and objective within the cardinal ethical points of the press codes.

In South Africa, the print media’s willingness to self-regulate, and agreement to adhere to basic principles codified in the South African Press Code is a practical example of the principle of social responsibility theory. However, this does not mean that the South African media system mainly use the social responsibility theory. They reflect elements which are visible from different media theories in their day-to-day media practices.

## **2.10 SUMMARY**

Social responsibility theory clearly states that journalists have responsibilities towards society, and one of such responsibilities, requires them to provide accurate and unbiased news to society. The principle of social responsibility theory further

provide the bedrock for journalism ethics which is evident in the guidelines enshrined in the South African Press Code (2007).

The social responsibility theory and the SAPC (2007), suggests that media practitioners, need to act ethically. They need to report news accurately and objectively, at all times, and this must be done voluntarily. These ethical principles are explicitly shown in sections 1-8, in the SAPC (2007:8-12). However, as indicated earlier in section 1.2, the aim of this research is to excerpt some of the guidelines of journalism ethics enshrined in the SAPC (2007) to answer the research questions indicated in section 1.4. The steps on how to answer the research questions will be articulated in chapter 3.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapters 1 and 2, the background to this study, theoretical framework and literature review were provided and discussed, and the aims of the study were contextualised. Some of the principles stated in the SAPC (2007) were excerpted in order to determine the extent to which the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers' reports observe journalism ethics during the 2008 xenophobic violence. Whether they report truthfully, accurately, fairly, objectively, or avoid deliberate discriminatory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or other status (SAPC 2007:11).

The third chapter of this dissertation will discuss the research design, and methodology used to collect and analyse data about the xenophobic attacks. Popenoe (1971) defines a research methodology as the "analysis of conceptual, logic and research procedures through which data gathering techniques and samples are used in a research". This chapter also looks at the purpose of the study, formulates a research problem, research design and research approach, and discusses the procedure for the content analysis. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the limitations of the study.

#### 3.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research study is to find out whether the journalists of the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers were ethical in their reporting of the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. In order to correctly assess the purpose of this study, research questions were formulated, and a research design developed.

### **3.3 FORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The research questions were formulated as follow:

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers adhere to the ethical requirements of reporting news truthfully during the 2008 xenophobic?

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers adhere to the ethical requirements of reporting news accurately during the xenophobic attacks in 2008?

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers present news in context and in a balanced manner, without exaggeration or misrepresentation in the duration of the 2008 xenophobic attacks?

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers present news in as objective way during the xenophobic attacks of 2008?

Did the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers avoid discriminatory or denigratory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity or other status' during the attacks?

### **3.4 RESEARCH DESIGN**

Research design can be described as the 'glue' that holds all of the elements in a research project together, and a precise notation that enables us to summarise a complex design structure efficiently (Van Rensburg 2000:146-165). Therefore, the following design steps were applied to the study:

- 1 The research question was formulated.
- 2 The population was defined.
- 3 An appropriate sample from the population was selected.
- 4 Categories for the purpose of analysing the data were constructed.

- 5 The content was coded according to established definitions.
- 6 The collected data was analysed.
- 7 Conclusions were drawn and recommendations for further research were made

(Krippendorff 2004:89; Wimmer & Dominick 1997:116)

The above steps provide a template for this chapter, but it is important to reiterate that this study also makes use of a qualitative content analysis, a systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information (Krippendorff 2004:11). The recorded information comprises a sample of 96 newspaper articles which were analysed, so that, the design steps outlined above would be achieved. It is, therefore, imperative to shed more light on the meaning of content analysis as a research approach which is utilised in this study.

### **3.5 THE RESEARCH APPROACH**

**Content Analysis** - newspaper reports and editorials can be analysed using content analysis as a research method. Various researchers differ with regards to the nature of content analysis as qualitative or quantitative method. Saunders and Lewis (2007:470) declare that, content analysis is a form of qualitative research, because of its tendency to be used to analyse non-numerical data. Additionally, the qualitative research process entails identifying categories, and patterns that emerged from the data under scrutiny (Leedy & Ormrod 2005:95).

In this study, qualitative content analysis helps to determine whether journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers were ethical in their reporting of the 2008 xenophobic attacks. This study agrees with Berelson in Holsti (1969) who state that content analysis is a system of compressing many words of text into fewer content categories, based on explicit rules of coding “by identifying specified characteristics of messages” (Holsti 1969:14). All the relevant concepts to the study have been defined, and ethical categories that speaks to some of the principles in the SAPC (2007), such as reporting news truthfully, accurately, fairly, objectively, and avoiding denigratory references to people’s race, colour have been described in order to

retrieve relevant news items from the available data for interpretation and evaluation. Now, that, the research approach has been articulated, one can proceed to provide information on the other aspects of the methodology.

## **3.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In this section, the research methodology, and procedure for the content analysis will be discussed in accordance with the steps listed in *Section 3.4*.

### **3.6.1 Defining the population**

A population can be defined as “the entire group of people or set of objects and events the researcher wants to study,” (Leedy & Ormrod 2005:90). The initial target population for this study comprises all the newspaper articles published on the 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa from *11-30 May*. This population of newspaper articles is extensive, and to access soft copies of newspapers, proved to be difficult, time consuming and costly. It was therefore decided to narrow to the scope of this study to focus on the two aforementioned newspapers. The editors of these two newspapers were very cooperative in the request for access to relevant articles for this study. They provided the soft copies for the newspapers from *11 May to 20 June 2008*. *Sowetan* provides the soft copies for a small fee, while *Daily Sun* provides the copies for free. These soft copies were accessed and downloaded in the newspaper’s respective offices within a designated time frame. From this accessible population, a sample of 56 articles on xenophobia was analysed from *Daily Sun* newspaper, and a sample of 40 articles was selected from *Sowetan* newspaper. These sampled articles, together, comprise the 96 articles analysed for this study.

### **3.6.2 Sampling Procedure**

Sampling is a process of identifying and determining the units of analysis (Burgess 1984:78). This study uses a purposive sampling method to focus on the articles from the two newspapers that cover the events of the xenophobic attacks within the

period specified in (Section 3.6). Purposive sampling is when the researcher “chooses the sample based on who they think would be appropriate for the study. This is used primarily when there are a limited number of people that have expertise in the area being researched” (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995; Leedy & Ormrod 2005:206).

The sampling procedure comprises two stages. The first stage involves selecting sample editions of the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers that fall within the specified time frame of this study (see Section 3.6.2.1) from the accessible population of soft copies made available to the researcher. The second stage involves the selection of a specific time frame within which the newspaper articles could be analysed. A specific time frame was selected, because it was impossible to analyse all the newspaper articles, and editorials pertaining to the 2008 xenophobic violence, from the soft copies available for analyses.

### **3.6.2.1 Sampling stage 1: The selection of a sample of newspapers**

Krippendorff (2004:119) contends that, the main criterion for a sample size in content analysis is that it should enable the researcher to answer the research question or questions of the study. A sample of articles from two South African newspapers was selected as a case study in order to achieve the aim of this study.

#### **Additional rationale for selecting the two newspapers:**

- Both are English medium newspapers. The rationale was that newspapers in languages other than English would be difficult, costly and time-consuming to translate and analyse.
- Both are daily newspapers with a circulation of 100 000 readers or more. It was speculated that the coverage in newspapers with small circulation figures would be more limited in scope.

- Only articles published in the two newspapers within May 11- 30 (2008) were included in the population.

Table 3.1 Audit Bureau Circulation figures (2008) of the newspapers selected for content analysis.

<b>Name of newspaper</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Readership</b>	<b>Circulation figures</b>
<i>The Daily Sun</i>	RSA	5 161 000	513 291 (in 2008)
<i>The Sowetan</i>	RSA	2 097 000	130 000 (in 2008)

Source: <http://www.southafrica.info>

### **3.6.2.2 Sampling Stage 2: The selection of the time frames**

Once the newspapers were selected, the time frame for the study was determined. To analyse all the newspaper articles published on 2008 xenophobic attacks in the selected newspapers would be difficult. It was, therefore, decided to purposefully sample news articles that focus on the xenophobic attacks from 11 – 30 May for analysis. This assisted the researcher in answering the research problems as stated in *Section 3.3*.

Table 3.2 The time frame for the sampled articles.

<b>Name of newspaper</b>	<b>Selected time frame for analyses</b>
The Daily Sun	May 11 – 30 May 2008
The Sowetan	May 11 – 30 May 2008

The rationale behind the selection of the time frame was based on the narrative of the violence occurring in two phases. The first phase of the attacks included the first series of riots which started in Alexandra Township, in the northern part of Johannesburg. According to media reports in the local and international media, such as *Daily Sun*, *Sowetan*, *The Star* from South Africa, and *India eNews*, *BBC News*,

and *ABC News* to mention just a few, the locals launched an attack on foreigners who were mostly from Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe which left two foreigners dead on 12 May 2008.

The second phase started on 22 May, when the former President, Thabo Mbeki, finally released the army to quell xenophobic attacks, so that peace could be restored to Gauteng townships. Once the selection process was completed, the unit of analysis was defined as indicated in *Section 3.6.3*.

### **3.6.3 The unit of analysis**

The unit of analysis for this study includes all the news articles and editorials in the selected newspapers (*Sowetan* and *Daily Sun*) on the 2008 xenophobic outbursts which were published within the specified periods, as stated in *Section 3.6.2.2*. In this study 96 newspaper articles were analysed. The next step involved developing the coding process which enabled the researcher to code the content for analysis.

### **3.6.4 Coding**

The coding process involves the interpreting of the phenomenon that is being studied, and stating the observations in the formal terms of an analysis (Krippendorff 2004:126). The content for coding is outlined and explained in the codebook and code forms (*see Addendum B and Addendum C*). The coders use the codebook as a guide to code the contents under investigation on the code forms.

In this study, the codebook contained clear explanations of the three main concepts of the study. It defined the ethical categories that speak to some of the principles in the SAPC (2007), such as reporting news truthfully, accurately, in a balanced way, objectively, avoiding discriminating reference to people's race, colour or other status for the purpose of coding the content for analysis.

In the content analysis process, there is a difference between human and computer coding. Human coding involves individuals while computer coding involves the automated conversion of content by using a computer to analyse data. The present study uses human coding, which means that the content analysis was conducted manually. Neuendorf (2002:132) suggests that a coding form and codebook should be used to code data for content analysis whether it is a manual or computer coding.

#### **3.6.4.1 Codebook**

A codebook contains all the aspects relevant to content analysis study and it provides descriptions of all the relevant concepts. The codebook is based on the research objectives of the study (Harwood & Garry 2003:480). Riffe, Lacy & Fico (2005:127) describe the codebook as a coding protocol, and the purpose is to provide the rules for the analysis in order to ensure consistency in coding (see *addendum B for the codebook*).

#### **3.6.4.2 Coding forms**

A coding form is used to code the contents in the study. Riffe et al (2005:130) state that the coding form can be a paper or computer-based. As earlier indicated the contents of this study are coded manually on a paper coding form. Thereafter, the coding forms may be adapted to include news contents or remove contents that are not necessary (see *addendum C for the coding form*).

### **3.7 PILOT STUDY**

According to Neuendorf (2002:50-51), a content analysis research process must include a pilot study, followed by final coding, data analysis and reporting. Before the final data collection, a pilot study was completed as part of this research process, in order to define whether the newspapers were ethical in their reportage of the 2008

xenophobic attacks. The pilot study used the news articles and editorials published in the *Star* newspaper within 13 May to 15 May 2008, as a sample, in order to prepare the final coding process, as well as to test the reliability and validity of the final study. It is necessary to indicate that, in the present study, the sampling processes used in the pilot study were the same as for the final study. In order to assess the reliability of this research process, two independent coders were trained and instructed to code the same set of news articles selected from the *Star* newspaper. This method of testing reliability of the study agrees with Krippendorff, who says “it is crucial to train coders in the application of the coding instruments in order to ensure consistency” (Krippendorff 2004:129).

### **3.7.1 Coder training**

Coder training prepares the coders and ensures that they are able to apply the coding procedures by using the coding instruments which, in this study, are the codebook and coding forms. The outcome of the coder training requires the coders to be able to utilise the codebook effectively as their main guideline (Krippendorff 2004: 131). During the training the coders were required to familiarise themselves with the coding process, which was explained to them by the researcher, and questions and concerns posed by the coders were addressed. According to Harwood & Gary (2003:486) the training process is commonly used to pre-test the categories which may be adapted for the final coding.

For this study, the two coders used were trained within a designated two hour training period. During the training session, the relevant concepts in the study, the codebook, the coding form and the application of the coding process in its totality were thoroughly explained to the coders. The coders were then instructed to code a few news articles in order to ensure that they each understood the coding process.

Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill state that, pilot test data can be analysed and serve as an indicator of the validity of the research instrument (Saunders et al 2007:386). In this study, this relates to the codebook and coding forms. The descriptions of the

content in the codebook need to be clear and impartial, in order to be coded correctly and consistently.

Table 3.3 Abridged categories developed for coding the content

<b>Number of category</b>	<b>Categories</b>	
1	Coder ID	
2	Item description	
	Name of newspaper	
	Nature of story - Front page - Inside page	
3	Ethnicity	
4	Ethical categories - Truthfully - Accurately - Objectively - Discriminatory references - Balanced - Exercise due care	Provide comments
5	Concepts or themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• News reports</li> <li>• Editorials</li> </ul>

These categories are described in more detail in (*Annexure C*).

### **1 Number of the article**

Each newspaper article that was analysed was assigned a unique number to distinguish it from the other articles.

## **2 The name of the newspaper**

Included in this category is the name of the newspaper. It distinguishes the newspaper articles from each other.

## **3 The date of the newspaper**

The date of each newspaper article refers to the date on which an article was published.

## **4 Nature of story**

Is the story on the front page or on an inside page?

## **5 Ethnicity**

It shows the race, colour and ethnicity of the victims.

## **6 Ethical categories**

The following categories were extracted from the South African Press Code (SAPC 2007:10-11) in order to answer the question raised in Section 3.3.

- Truthful
- Accurate
- Balanced
- Objective or subjective
- Comment
- Deliberate discriminatory references to people's race, colour or ethnicity
- Exercise due care with regards to brutality and violence perpetuated on the victims.

## **7 Concepts or themes**

Themes that emerged from coding were based on the unit of analysis (see *Section 3.6.3*) in order to provide answer to the research question (see *Section 3.3*).

### **3.7.2 Data analysis**

The data collected from the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers was processed and analysed by hand. The coded sheets for each newspaper were categorised separately, and the themes (news reports and editorials) which were analysed during the pilot test, and final test analysis, were aligned with the purpose of this study (see *Section 3.2*).

Furthermore, the ethical categories captures on the codebook are some of the principles in the SAPC (2007) that were used to evaluate the research question in (*Section 3.3*) as earlier discussed in the theoretical framework for this study in (*Section 2.7*).

The data analysis provides a comprehensive understanding of ethics from a theoretical point of view, and from the prescripts of the South African Press Code (2007), as it reflects in each of the newspapers selected for analysis. At this point, the information captured on the qualitative coding forms for each newspaper can then be reported in the findings, but, before the findings are discussed, it is necessary to review whether the steps taken in the research process are deemed reliable and valid.

## **3.8 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY**

According to Krippendorff (2004:211), every form of measurement should possess the qualities of reliability and validity.

### **3.8.1 Reliability**

Content analysts need to be confident that their data has been generated with all conceivable precautions in place, to ensure against known pollutants, distortions, and biases – whether intentional or accidental - and that the data is easily and clearly understood by all who use it (Louw 2009:170). Krippendorff (2004) further explains that, a research procedure is considered reliable when it responds to the same phenomena in a similar fashion, regardless of the circumstances of its implementation (Krippendorff 2004:211). The following steps were taken in order to enhance reliability of this study.

#### **3.8.1.1            *Population and units of analysis were clearly identified***

The target population and the units of analysis were clearly defined in Section 3.6.1, and from the population 96 newspaper articles was sampled from the soft copies of *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers available to the researcher. The unit of analysis includes all the newspaper articles and editorials in the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers on the 2008 xenophobic attacks published within the specified periods stated in Section 3.6.2.2. All this was done in order to enhance the reliability of this study.

#### **3.8.1.2            *The categories were mutually exclusive***

According to Louw (2009: 171), a study where the categories are vague and not clearly defined can become problematic particularly when it emerges that a unit of analysis can be placed in more than one category. The study is then not reliable as the empirical results can become skewed, (Wimmer & Dominick 1997:110). To avoid this problem the researcher defines and describes each category thoroughly.

### **3.8.1.3      *Procedures for resolving coding problems were established and applied consistently***

To evade coding problems, the researcher double-checked all the coded data alongside the two coders who were trained for this exercise. This is because the researcher is familiar with the operational definitions, and the category that was used in the codebook ensures that the coding was applied consistently.

### **3.8.1.4      *Standardised coding sheets were used***

A standard coding form was developed to classify the qualitative data in the allocated spaces under the relevant category (*see addendum D*).

### **3.8.1.5      *A pilot study was conducted to ensure that the categories were exhaustive***

News articles and editorials published in the *Star* newspaper from 13-15 May 2008 were selected and coded by the coders, and were then double-checked by the researcher in order to identify categories that were poorly defined.

### **3.8.1.6 *Intra-coder reliability was determined***

To ensure intra-coder reliability, the researcher was compelled to code a set of data twice, at different times, in order to ensure consistency in the coding of the content. These steps were taken to ensure the reliability of the study.

### **3.8.2 Validity**

Validity is generally described in research texts as the degree to which a particular research instrument measures what it needs to measure, (Leedy & Ormrod 2005: 28). For example, if the content analysis aims to measure the incidences of xenophobic attacks in the print media, it will only be considered valid if the results clearly indicate the actual frequency of reports on xenophobia in specific media.

Neuendorf (2002:115-117) identifies five types of validity, namely: external validity, face validity, criterion validity, content validity and construct validity. External validity refers to the generalisability of the study, and is related to the sampling method used. As this study uses purposive sampling, external validity does not apply. Therefore, the following two types of validity will be appropriate to the study.

#### **3.8.2.1 Face Validity**

Face validity is the extent to which the measure fits what is expected, or generally believed to be true (Krippendorff 2004a:313). Therefore, if the findings of the content analysis make general sense, they are considered valid in terms of face validity. For that reason, this study uses two independent coders who reviewed the measures as suggested by Neuendorf (2002:115). This enhances the face validity of the study.

#### **3.8.2.2. Expert validity**

In addition, an expert validity was sought in order to enhance the validity within the specific scope of this study. For this study, the advice of an expert, a senior lecturer in the Department of Communication at University of Johannesburg, was sought when the theoretical framework and the categories were constructed. The expertise of the lecturer in the field of communication was drawn on in order to design and execute the study systematically and rigidly.

### **3.9 BIAS OF THE RESEARCHER**

The researcher is conscious of his social and cultural background which inherently shapes his worldview, and which may have unintentionally filtered through into the processes of data collection and analysis of this study. However, effort was made to minimise any possible bias.

### **3.10 CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODOLOGY**

To perform a study of this nature is not without challenges. The first challenge occurred in accessing all the hard copies of newspapers in order to review the appropriate stories published in 2008. The researcher wrote several letters in 2011 and 2012 to the editors of the two newspapers earmarked for this study without receiving any response. Telephonic access to editors also presented a challenge, and the researcher had to draw on the assistance of a former work colleague who enabled him to gain access to the necessary resources at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers.

This experience limited the enthusiasm of the researcher, and made it difficult to request a face-to-face interview with the journalists who wrote the xenophobic stories published in the selected newspapers. This further complicated the researcher's ability to collect first-hand information from the reporters in order to understand the criteria's they have used to select their stories during the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

Another limitation was the difficulty in locating the main victims of these attacks in the Alexandra Township due to the social sensitivity to the word 'xenophobia', and the researcher discerned that pressing the matter would provoke the situation. The researcher visited 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Avenues in Alexandra Township with the view of speaking to a few people in these streets, but none of the people were accommodating in granting an interview concerning the 2008 xenophobic attacks. The main motivator for their lack of participation seemed to be fear. This deprived the researcher of direct input from foreigners, who had experienced the 2008 attacks, on how the media reported their plights during that time.

### **3.11 SUMMARY**

This chapter has described the purpose of the study, the research problem, the research design and the methodology administered in this study. It concluded with the limitations of the methodology.

The researcher will describe in chapter 4, the findings of the processed data in conjunction with the research questions as stated in *Section 3.3*. The findings will be used to answer the research questions comprehensively by making reference to the processed data, theoretical framework and literature review in Chapters.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE RESULTS FOR THE STUDY CONDUCTED ON JOURNALISM ETHICS IN REPORTAGE OF 2008 XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS: THE CASE OF *SOWETAN* AND *DAILY SUN* NEWSPAPERS

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter outlined the research design and methodology used for the analysis of journalism ethics in the reportage of the 2008 xenophobic attacks in two South African daily newspapers. Qualitative content analysis was selected as a research method for the analysing the sampled 96 newspaper articles published on the attacks and the results will be discussed and interpreted in this chapter.

The discussion will include revisiting the objectives of this study, as well as the content analysis strategy. Thereafter, ethics will be discussed, followed by the results for the categories through which the articles will be evaluated, namely: truth, accuracy, balance, objectivity and whether discriminatory or denigratory references were made regarding people's race in the selected articles.

#### 4.2 OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

The specific objectives of this study, as stated in Chapter 1, are to find out whether journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers:

- Were cognisant and adhered to ethical requirements of reporting the news truthfully during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?
- Adhered to the ethical requirements of reporting news accurately during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?
- Presented news in context and in a balanced manner (without distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation) during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?

- Presented news objectively during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?
- Avoided discriminatory or denigratory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity, or other status during the 2008 xenophobic attacks and violence?

### 4.3 CONTENT ANALYSIS

#### 4.3.1 General findings

The study analysed 96 newspaper articles published from 11- 30 May 2008 concerning xenophobic attacks, with the aim of establishing the objectives indicated in *Section 4.2*. Generally, the findings contradict the dominant perception of most mainstream newspaper readers, who thought that the, *Daily Sun* is just a tabloid newspaper which “represents the lowest standards of journalism, because of its sensational crime and sex stories” (Wasserman 2012:1). That perception implies that, *Daily Sun* newspaper does not adhere to the code of ethics of the South African Press Codes.

The analysis considers authorship of each story on xenophobic attacks, and the impartiality of the reporters – whether they are objective or show bias in their reports. According to Gomo “authorship is used to determine the extent of commitment by the media to an issue, such as xenophobic outbursts” (Gomo 2010:30) which is the focus of this study. Gomo states that “when a media organisation uses their own journalists to report on an issue, it shows high commitment from the side of the media organisation, and they can invest time and resources on the issue they want to report” (Gomo 2010:30). Therefore, an objective, balanced news reports can be expected.

During the time frame selected for this study, news articles analysed for analysis from the *Daily Sun* and *Sowetan* newspapers constituted 97% of the sample size, with the other 3% being from editorials. Almost all the news articles and editorials analysed were against xenophobia. The main differences, noted in the analysis of the articles and editorials selected from both newspapers are as follows:

- 40% of articles and editorials selected from the *Sowetan* newspaper focused on the views and experiences of the victims of the attacks, who were largely foreigners; and the remaining 60% focused on general stories that were non-xenophobic.
- However, 57% of the sampled articles from the *Daily Sun* newspaper provide strong media exposure for the locals (South Africans) who were largely the perpetrators of the xenophobic attacks, while the other 43% focused on entertainment, sports, politics and a few general stories that has nothing to do with xenophobic attacks.

It is worth mentioning that not all the black South Africans supported the 2008 xenophobic attacks. There were many of them who voiced their objections and disappointments, in oral and in written form, in newspapers and magazine columns, opinions and articles. They condemned the violence in all respects, and considered the attacks to be inhuman and immoral. Therefore, an appropriate consideration at this point is to provide an explanation of general ethics in order to coherently represent the findings of this study.

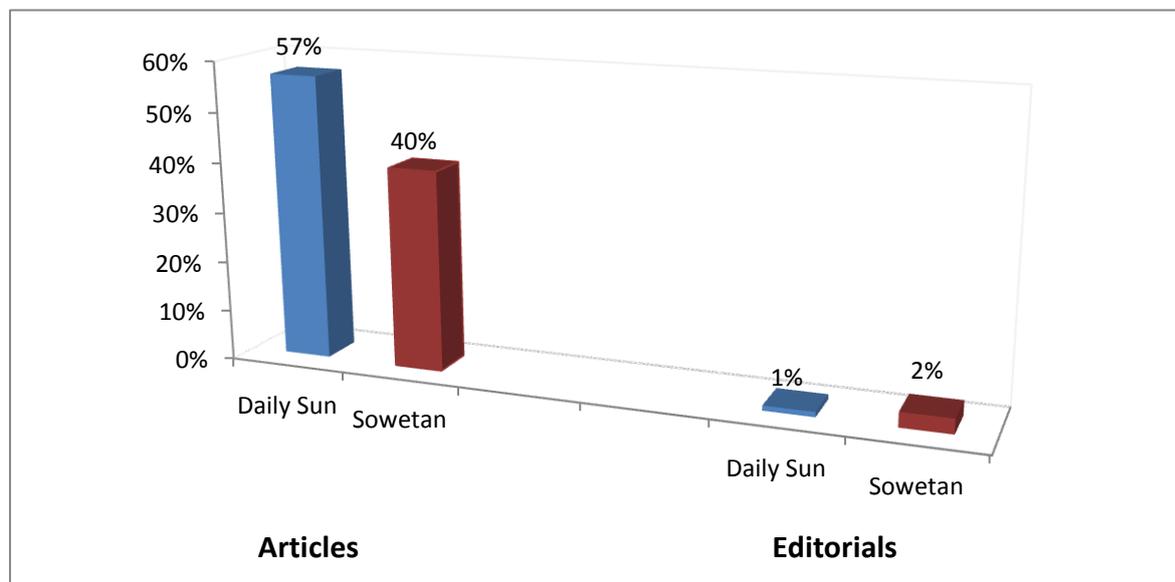


Fig 4.1: Graphical representation of all the articles and editorials that focuses on xenophobic attacks in the sampled population within the time frame indicated in section 3.6.2.2.

#### 4.4 ETHICAL CATEGORIES ANALYSED IN THIS STUDY

In Section 1.1, of the South African Press Code (2007), ethics refers to “news provided truthfully, accurately, fairly, and in balanced manner without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts,” (SAPC 2007:10). One can say that, it is ethical for journalists to create news without forming negative perceptions among the people in the communities. Therefore, the following section will discuss the findings which emanate from the ethical categories, in order to answer the research questions indicated in *Section 1.3.1*.

##### ***4.4.1 Did the journalists at the Sowetan and Daily Sun newspapers adhere to the ethical requirements of reporting news truthfully during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?***

According to the South African Press Code (SAPC 2007: 10-11) only what may reasonably be true, with regards to the **sources of the news** may be presented as fact, and such facts shall be **published fairly with due regard to context** and importance (emphasis added). Where a report is not based on facts or is founded on opinions, allegation, rumour or supposition, it shall be presented in such manner as to indicate this clearly.

From the findings of this study, 97% of the articles analysed quote sources in their news reports, and all content was contextualised so that readers could fully comprehend the content of these reports. Clear (2011:25) explains that “in order for news stories to be truthful, it must be credible.” Credibility posits that, the story or stories must be sincere, trustworthy and reliable. Therefore, for a story or stories to be truthful, the reporter must quote reliable sources that will validate or repudiate the assertions made by the reporter in his/her story or stories.

Examples include the following: *Sowetan* story, titled ‘NIGHT OF TERROR FOR FOREIGNERS,’ (2008:7), which narrates the plight of foreigners who were attacked in Alexandra, north-east Johannesburg. The newspaper’s narrative comprised the views of the foreigners. These foreigners narrate their ordeals at the hands of their

once-friends and -neighbours, who had turned into their attackers. The newspaper quotes some of the locals (South African) as sources in the story, so that the readers will understand why the local unleashed terror on foreigners. The story includes human interest endorsements from some Charity organisations that provide food and clothes for the homeless who had crowded the police station in Alexandra.

In addition, the story provides comment made by a spokesman for the police, Constable Neria Malefetse who reassured the foreigners that they will do everything within their power to bring the situation under control. The newspaper contextualised the story and also backed up the story with facts from reliable sources in order to preserve the story's authenticity.

Another example is the story in the *Daily Sun* newspaper, titled 'IT'S WAR ON ALIENS! 20 bust for attacks', written by Ramothata (2008:4). It starts with a lead which says: "Violent attacks on aliens continue! In Alexandra, north of Joburg, two men said to be aliens were shot and killed on Sunday night. But cops say one of the victims was identified as South African! It is alleged that a group of men from Madala hostel armed with guns, sticks and steel pipes descended on the squatter camp near the hostel. It is mostly occupied by aliens. The group started attacking people" (Ramothata 2008:4). He does not contextualise the story for the readers; neither does he include any quote or quotes from the victims as source in the story. Instead, he speaks to the spokesperson for the police, Constable Neria Malefetse, who confirms the attacks and the death of the two men mentioned in the story.

However, the story could still be regarded as truthful, because he (the journalist) did confirm that there was an attack. He indicates where the attacks took place, and also confirms the number of people killed and the number of people arrested by the police. The findings show that the journalists who wrote the two stories were truthful in their narratives.

The journalists ensure that the stories have credibility, and they both used the same police spokesperson as their credible source. However, the journalist from the *Sowetan* newspaper goes further in adding other sources – getting comments from the victims of the attacks, as well as the perpetrators of the attacks.

The above observation agrees with Richards, who indicate that “ethic is a thin wedge” (Richards 2002:3). This means that whether there is a code or not, individuals need to make moral judgements on their own. Nel (2007) adds that media codes are only guidelines and does not give clear answers to ethical needs of the practitioners. One can then say that journalists need to develop skills in order to implement them in practical situations. They need to decide on their own, how many people they will interview for a story, and how many are credible sources for a story.

#### ***4.4.2 Did the journalists at the Sowetan and Daily Sun newspapers adhere to the ethical requirements of reporting news accurately during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?***

The South African Press Code (2007), section 1.4, states “where there is reason to doubt the accuracy of a report and it is practicable to verify the accuracy thereof, it shall be verified (SAPC 2007:10). It further states that “where it has not been practicable to **verify the accuracy of a report (emphasis added)**, this shall be mentioned in such report” (SAPC 2007:10). It then concludes in Section 1.5, that “a publication should usually seek the views of the subject of serious critical reportage in advance of publication; provided that this need not be done where the publication has reasonable grounds for believing that by doing so it would be prevented from publishing the report or where evidence might be destroyed or witnesses intimidated” (SAPC 2007:10). Therefore, one can agree with newsmanual.net (2013), which indicates “[a]ccuracy is one of the main requirements of journalism.” The journalist or the writer may have to generalise in the introduction for the purpose of keeping it short and simple. The article must be precise in providing the full details in the story. The names and addresses must be correctly indicated, numbers must be accurate, and reliable sources must be quoted in the story – these sources may be eye witnesses, and/or official representatives who are able to comment on the story the journalist intend to write. This finding of the study shows that **97%** of the news articles selected from both sampled newspapers, namely the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun*, were accurate in their reportage. The journalists who wrote the selected articles for this study ensured that names, addresses, and, where necessary, number of

foreigners attacked was clearly indicated, and the number of their attackers apprehended by the police was also provided.

For example, the *Daily Sun* story, titled 'WAR AGAINST ALIENS!' written by Maluleke (2008), clearly indicates that "a third man has been killed in the war against foreigners in Alexandra, outside Johannesburg. The man was shot dead by his attackers in the road on Monday night. The previous night, two other aliens were also shot dead by an angry crowd. It further states that more than 1000 aliens, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes. They are camped at the township police station; looking for protection from their attackers..." (Maluleke 2008:2).

The story does not create any doubt in the minds of the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* readers, because the journalist who wrote the story ensures accuracy. The journalist indicates who was involved in the incident reported on, when the attack occurred and where it happened, as well as the number of victims. It states that, "more than 1000 foreigners sought refuge at the township police station. It also indicates that more than 50 people were arrested, and charged with public violence, housebreaking, robbery and possession of stolen goods" (Maluleke 2008: 2). If one reads the story further, it provides further details and comments from the police spokesperson, The Red Cross, and Gauteng Safety and Security MEC, Firoz Cachalia.

In another example, the story in the *Sowetan* newspaper, titled 'WE WANT TO LEAVE SA,' written by Dlamini (2008). The story reads thus: "Foreign nationals who suffered xenophobic attacks in Alexandra, north-eastern Johannesburg, say they want to return to their homelands –as soon as they can. About 1000 displaced foreign nationals are still packed at Alexandra police station for refuge from their attackers" (Dlamini 2008:4). The story further states that "[t]wo women were raped during the violence, and two men were also arrested for those crimes" (Dlamini 2008:4).

Dlamini (2008) quotes the police spokesman, Constable Neria Malefetse to confirm the narratives. This was done by the journalist in order to ensure accuracy. If one reads the story further, it details the lamentations of foreigners who were camped at

the police station. It provides more information to the readers from the point of views of the victims and the charity organisations that were assisting the victims. It also provides names and addresses of those who are relevant to the story, such as the Alexandra Community Policing Forum chairman, Thomas Sithole, Human Rights Commission chief executive Tseliso Thipanye.

Dlamini provides all the necessary details in order to ensure accuracy of facts, and these facts are supported by vivid descriptions of the attacks in the news report. Therefore, it is the researcher's contention that the journalist does not have any difficulty with the interpretation of the South African Press Code (2007) which was binding on media practitioners during the xenophobic attacks, and is still binding on journalists in 2013.

This contention aligns with Stos (2009:10) who says that, if all journalists willingly adhere to the media codes, it will not be "difficult for them to report truthfully and accurately," because it will provide guidance at all times. This is reinforced in the SAPC (2007:1) which encourages all media practitioners to pursue truth and accuracy without fear or favour.

#### ***4.4.3 Did the journalists at the Sowetan and Daily Sun newspapers present news within context and in a balanced manner, without exaggeration or misrepresentation, during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?***

According to the South African Press Code "news shall be presented in context and in a balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts, whether by distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation" (SAPC 2007:10-11). There is no easy way to answer the question of whether a news story is balanced or biased. One can argue that a balanced news story is a "story that is in-line with the views of a particular media organisation" However, Banerji (2013:1) writes that "[a] story is balanced when its views, opinions, contents and coverage of an event is not one-sided". It is the view of this study that when a story is balanced, facts will not be distorted, exaggerated or misrepresented to the readers.

It also believes that a balanced story will give equal opportunity for everyone reported on in the story to express themselves, and such people will be quoted accurately in the story by the writer.

For example, a story in the *Sowetan* newspaper, titled 'XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE, FLEEING MOM GIVES BIRTH TO TRIPLETS,' written by Ratsatsi (2008). The story begins with the following lead: "Three unborn babies almost died when their mother fell on her stomach while trying to flee from a mob in Tembisa on the East Rand. Otelia Nxabane is receiving treatment at the Tembisa Hospital after giving birth to triplets, a boy and two girls on Monday. Thabo, Tsakane and Nkesani were born prematurely after their mother fell on her stomach while fleeing from xenophobic attackers in Mqantsa section on Monday morning..." "I was still sleeping when I heard people screaming outside," Nxabane said. "Suddenly a group of locals banged on my door and told me to get out. I grabbed a few items and followed the other foreigners. I was so afraid that I tripped and fell on my stomach. But I managed to get to the police station where they took us to Rabasotho Hall" (Ratsatsi 2008:8).

The featured person in this story is Otelia Nxabane. The journalist narrates Nxabane's ordeal, and paints a picture of what led to her premature birth to triplets. However, in order for the story to be regarded as balanced, it needs a confirmation from an eyewitness or witnesses to ascertain whether Nxabane is actually a victim of xenophobic attacks. The police needed to confirm that she was rushed to the hospital for treatment, and a medical practitioner from Tembisa needed to confirm that she had a premature birth as a result of the panic caused at the hands of her attackers, also it has been confirmed that she fell on her stomach.

If one reads the story further, all these questions are indeed answered by the journalist who wrote the story. She uses Nxabane's quotes as a means of telling the story and preserving as much authenticity as possible; she quotes some eyewitnesses who confirm the story; she speaks to the police who also confirm the story; and she interviews the medical personnel who attended to her at Tembisa hospital. Furthermore, at the police station, she speaks to the charity organisation that delivers food to Nxabane, and a few other pregnant women at Rabasotho Hall. She, then, concludes her story by providing an accurate indication of the number of

foreigners who were accommodated at the same hall. She says “more than 400 foreigners are accommodated at the hall. There are more than 10 pregnant women and 163 children” (Ratsatsi 2008:8).

It is the understanding of this study that Ratsatsi ensures that the story has some balance, and that it is void of misinformation or representation of facts.

Another example is the story on the front page of *Daily Sun* newspaper, titled ‘THE ALIEN TERROR, POLICE PUT US THROUGH HELL!’ written by Kwinika (2008:1-2). The story reads: “They’ve been beaten and terrified half to death by angry crowds...some of their shacks have been set on fire. Now these sad, scared and helpless foreigners are trying to get their few belongings. But their troubles are not over...now they are at the mercy of cruel and thieving cops!” It continues with the explanation that “the refugees fleeing from the violence of the past week says that even as they try to get on buses and trains that will take them home...crooked cops swoop on them like vultures. It was happening at Park Station, in Joburg, as a Sun Team arrived yesterday. When they saw reporters, the cops who had become robbers disappeared. Their victims, many of them women and children, spoke to *Daily Sun*” (Kwinika 2008:1-2).

Kwinika quotes two victims, one from Zimbabwe and the other from Malawi, in the story in order to confirm the allegations mentioned in the article. In retrospect, one could say that it was rare for *Daily Sun* to give a voice to the victims in most of the news reports that were printed during the 2008 xenophobic violence, but the above story is one of the exceptions. The victims were many, as indicated in the story, but the journalist did strive for balance. He spoke to the victims, and they were directly quoted in the story in order to heighten the emotional impact of a first-hand account. They narrate their predicaments at the hands of some police officers who were supposed to protect them.

Kwinika continues on page two, where he confronts the police with the allegations made by the xenophobic victims, giving the police the opportunity to confirm or deny these allegations. The effort made by the journalist is a contradiction to the views of Fine and Bird, who indicate that “most of the reports in the media on xenophobic

outbursts provide incomplete pictures of incidents and they are one-sided” (Fine & Bird 2002:10). This claim may align with some news reports in the public domain, but this study did not find evidence to suggest otherwise in the selected articles for this study. According to Howard (2009), professional journalists do not set out to reduce conflict, but to seek the evidence, and describe it accurately with a balanced view.

#### ***4.4.4 Did the journalists at the Sowetan and Daily Sun newspapers present news objectively during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?***

According to the (SAPC 2007:10), a publication should usually seek the views of the subject of serious critical reportage in advance of publication, provided that this need not be done where the publication has reasonable grounds for believing that, by doing so, it would be prevented from publishing the report, or where evidence might be destroyed or witnesses intimidated.

The findings of this study, as indicated earlier in Section 4.3, show that 97% of the selected articles analysed for this study were objective in their reporting. This claim contradicts the findings of Gomo (2010:34) which notes that “electronic media was more objective in their 2008 analyses of xenophobic violence than the print media”. Therefore, it has become imperative for this study to consider other types of articles that are regarded as subjective and such articles are as follows: editorials, columns, letters and interviews. According to Perko, Turcanu, Geenen, Mamani & Van Rooy (2011:25), subjective articles are often “written by one person, it presents the opinion of the author.”

However, objective articles present different views, and facts, in this case about the xenophobic attacks, and it provides answers as to *who, what, where, when, why* and *how* in the articles. This study therefore considers the editorials analysed as subjective articles

#### 4.4.4.1 **Editorial**

The first example is the editorial on the front page of the *Daily Sun*, titled 'ALIENS: THE TRUTH!' (2008:1). The editorial does not have a by-line. However, it starts with a lead as follows: "People who believe that they are very important are running around in circles again...this time about violence in Alexandra. There is much wailing about the debt we owe foreigners, the lessons we should learn from our own struggle, the dignity of all Africans, the evils of xenophobia – the big word for hatred of foreigners. There are calls again for indaba and workshops on the subjects. WHAT NONSENSE!" (*Daily Sun* 2008:1).

The editorial continues with explanations of what the paper considers to be the real reasons for the attacks, and the followings three points are some of the explanations presented to the readers of *Daily Sun*.

- **First point:** *Too many South Africans are walking around unemployed while many foreigners, often prepared to work for less money, have jobs. Job creation has not kept up with reality in our country* (*Daily Sun* 2008:1).

This study believes that this is an unfounded allegation presented on the front page of the 'people's paper', as *Daily Sun* is often referred to. Indeed, it is the opinion of the paper, but it needs credible evidence from Statistic South Africa, Department of Labour or from any other relevant organisation, so that comments will not be posited as fact. One can say that, this first point is based on general perceptions which emanate from members of the society, and which may not be factual. Therefore, the editorial cannot be considered as entirely objective.

- **Second point:** *South Africans living in tin and cardboard shacks are tired of seeing foreigners buying RDP houses from corrupt officials. These houses were supposed to be free to the poorest South Africans. But too many housing and local council officials are crooks* (*Daily Sun* 2008:1).

Again, this would have been a good explanation, if it was supported with evidence the Deed Office South Africa, Department of Human Settlements or from any other relevant organisation to show that the argument is indeed correct,

and it is not a fallacy. Alternatively *Daily Sun* should have conducted its own investigations, and then presented proof in order to expose the council's officials who are involved in the selling of the RDP houses intended for poor South Africans.

- **Third point:** *Many of us live in fear of foreign gangsters and conmen. Much terror has been caused by gangs of armed Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and others. Not every foreigner is a gangster, of course – but too many are (Daily Sun 2008:1).*

This explanation is another allegation without evidence. For *Daily Sun* to have named Zimbabweans and Mozambicans as gangsters in the editorial is definitely not in accordance with the SAPC guidelines in Section 4, Subsection 4.1 and 4.2, which states as follows:

*4.1 The press shall be entitled to comment upon criticise any actions or events of public importance provided such comments or criticisms are fairly and honestly made.*

*4.2 Comment by the press shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment, and shall be made on facts truly stated or fairly indicated and referred to.*

(SAPC 2007:11)

It is clear, from the above quotes and findings of this study, that the *Daily Sun* newspaper editorial is one-sided. It does not present an objective view to its readers. One expects that foreigners' views should have been included in the editorial in order to provide a balance.

Another observation made about the editorial is that it does not really indicate to readers whether the views expressed by *Daily Sun* are facts, or mere comments, as suggested by the South African Press Code (2007). Therefore, the editorial is deemed to be subjective.

Another example is the editorial in the *Sowetan*, titled 'STOP XENOPHOBIC MONSTER.' The author is also not specified, however, it reads as follows: "The spread of xenophobic violence against African immigrants in Gauteng is cause for great alarm, given its potential to create anarchy in many parts of the province. Most worrying, too, is the effect of the violence on the cosmopolitan outlook of Johannesburg and other parts of the province, a feature credited with giving the city its unique vibrancy. But all that is in danger if the violence continues to polarise the province, creating the dreaded no-go areas that were a relic of the 1990s political violence. Behind the violence is undoubtedly a criminal element bent on carrying out its nefarious activities under the cover of public violence" (*Sowetan* 2008:14).

"Evidence of this disturbing pattern is the systematic looting that has followed the evacuation of refugees at various flash points. These point to a deliberate campaign. Sooner or later the conflagration might take on more sinister note with reports of indiscriminate attacks on the public by faceless elements" (*Sowetan* 2008:14).

"Hence the imperative for the government to muster all resources to nip the lawlessness in the bud before it's too late. We dare not return to the climate of fear that enveloped the country in the 1990s" (*Sowetan* 2008:14).

The above is an editorial which reflects the opinion of the *Sowetan* newspaper, making a passionate plea to the government to "nip the lawlessness in the bud" (2008:14), because the newspaper views the attacks on foreigners as an act of criminality. *Sowetan* does not justify the reasons why the locals perpetuate the violent attacks on foreigners, as noted in the content of the *Daily Sun* editorial.

This study believes that the *Sowetan* editorial complies with the guidelines contained in the SAPC (2007), Section 4.3, which states that "Comments by the press shall be an honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motives, and shall take fair account of all available facts which are material to the matter commented upon" (SAPC 2007:12).

#### **4.4.5 Did the journalists at Sowetan and Daily Sun newspapers avoid discriminatory or denigratory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity or other status during the 2008 xenophobic attacks?**

According to the South African Press Code (SAPC 2007: 11), Section 2.1, "the press should avoid discriminatory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental disability or illness, or age." It states, in *Section 2.2*, that "the press should not refer to a person's race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental illness in a prejudicial or pejorative context except where it is strictly **relevant to the matter reported** or adds significantly to readers' understanding of that matter." It concluded in *Section 2.3*, that "the press has the right and indeed **the duty to report and comment on all matters of legitimate public interest**. This right and duty must however, be balanced against the obligation not to publish material which amounts to hate speech".

The above-mentioned has its root in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996:9) in Chapter 2, Section 16 (1):

*"(a) Freedom of the press and the media; (b) Freedom to receive or impart information or ideas; (c) Freedom of artistic creativity; and (d) Academic freedom and freedom of scientific research."* However, it further indicates in *section 16 (2)* that the above mentioned rights do not extend to "propaganda for war; incitement of imminent violence; or advocacy of hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm".

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996:9)

The study does not find any of the selected articles from *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers in violation of the freedoms enshrined in the constitution. It did not contradict any of the guidelines indicated in sections 2.1 – 2.3 in the South African Press Code (2007). However, there have been some criticisms and different interpretations to some of the headlines and choice of words such as *aliens* which

was consistently used in the *Daily Sun* newspaper during the May 2008 xenophobic attacks. This will be explained in section 4.4.6. One should reiterate that the focus of this section is to establish whether the two newspapers selected for this study used discriminatory or denigratory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity or other status during the attacks. In order to answer this question, the following examples will be considered: The article in the *Daily Sun*, titled 'BLOOD AND FLAMES! Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred,' written by Maluleke (2008). The article reads as follows: "The evil flames of violence spread all around the nation's largest city yesterday. Since Saturday night at least 13 people – many of them *aliens* - have died and more than 100 have been injured" (Maluleke 2008:3)

The article continues to describe the scenes of the attacks and the flow of the blood of foreigners, also referred to as *aliens*, in some places in central Johannesburg, and some areas of Ekurhuleni in Gauteng. It further indicates that "[c]ops said criminals were taking advantage of the situation – stealing money, clothes and furniture from aliens and South Africans alike", and that "[f]ive more people were reported killed in Cleveland, Johannesburg, since Saturday night. Two of them – presumed to be aliens – were eaten by flames after their houses were set alight" (Maluleke 2008:3). In paragraph sixteen, the word *aliens* was again used to describe the foreigners who were about to be attacked in Diepkloof. This article is carefully analysed among other articles from *Daily Sun* newspaper that use the word *aliens* in the body of their stories or in their headlines.

The findings show that the word *alien*, defined by the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2002:27) as among other things, a "foreigner" or "a being from another world," has a denotative link with the word 'foreigner, and, therefore, newspapers that used this word cannot be said to have made discriminatory or denigratory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity or other status. The questions to be answered are as follows:

- Were the people attacked and reported on in the article or articles foreigners or not?
- Were these people from another country or not?

If the answers to these questions is yes, then the *Daily Sun*, or other newspapers who may have used same word *aliens* in their news content, have not violated the SAPC (2007:11) sections 2.1 – 2.3 guidelines as indicated above. One can also indicate that there is no evidence to show that the use of the word *aliens* inflamed the violence or constitute hate speech.

Another example is the story in *Sowetan*, titled 'XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE, SHILOWA SAYS NO TO STATE OF EMERGENCY'. The article does not have a by-line. The former Gauteng Premier, Mbhazima Shilowa cautioned politicians against imposing their opinions on how police should deal with xenophobic attacks. He challenged the view that "a state of emergency should be declared and that the army should be deployed in townships following the uprising that has so far claimed more than 22 lives... 'The decision to deploy the army should not be a political one, but that of senior managers of the police, based on their assessment of the situation. While declaration of a state of emergency is a prerogative of the President of the Republic, it is important that such a declaration not be made lightly and in haste,' he said" (*Sowetan* 2008:4). The story continues to say that "[a] state of emergency implies, as the Constitution states, that the life of the nation is threatened by war, invasion or general insurrection, disorder, natural disorder or other public emergency" (*Sowetan* 2008:4).

Firstly, it is important to note that every state in the world follows a specific process, as declared in their constitution, on how to deal with emergency. In this case, Shilowa, who was then Gauteng Premier, had to follow the government protocol on such a matter, and he did not have the authority to call the army to action. At the time of this study, in 2013, it is public knowledge that, the army was later called to the troubled areas in Gauteng by the President of the Republic, Thabo Mbeki, on 22 May 2008, and that decision marked the beginning of the end of the xenophobic attacks in Gauteng. However, the questions that should be posed in this regard are as follows:

- Did the media, specifically the *Sowetan* newspaper, fulfil their responsibility by reporting the matter or not?
- Did *Sowetan* make discriminatory or denigratory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity or other status' by publishing Shilowa's response explaining his refusal to call for a state of emergency in Gauteng?

This study believes that the *Sowetan* newspaper adhered to the SAPC (2007) guidelines in sections 2.1 – 2.3. The matter was in the interest of the public, and the decision to publish the article, therefore, served the purpose of informing the readership of the *Sowetan*. The readers and the victims of the xenophobic attacks, were not discriminated against in any way, and neither were denigratory references made with regards to their race, colour, ethnicity or other status. As reported by some other media, such as, the *Daily Sun*, *Sowetan*, *The Star* from South Africa, and *India eNews*, *BBC News*, and *ABC News*, it was not only the foreigners who were attacked during the violence; some locals (South Africans) were also victims, because they were mistaken to be foreigners by their attackers.

## **4.5 OTHER CATEGORY**

The other category identified in the selected articles for this study is the headlines and how they were worded. The study refers to Section 5 in the SAPC (2007:12).

### **4.5.1 Headlines**

According to the South African Press Code (SAPC 2007: 12), Section 5.1 "Headlines and Captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report or picture in question, and Section 5.3 states that "Pictures shall not misrepresent or mislead nor be manipulated to do so".

Gomo argues that "despite the negativity of the stories on foreigners, non-South Africans are still largely described in the headlines and in the articles as foreigners which is an indication of neutrality, and balance, while the term immigrant also

denotes neutrality, but carries negativity in the South African context” (Gomo 2010:34).

The finding of this study show that 17% of the headlines analysed used the word ‘aliens’ to describe foreigners in the headlines, as well as in the contents of the articles. The use of the word *aliens* was offensive to some readers, organisations and some foreigners, to the extent that *Daily Sun* newspaper was reported to the Press Ombudsman in June 2008 by The Media Monitoring Project (MMP) and Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CorMSA), and the Ombudsman ruled on the complaint on 8 August 2008 (See *addendum D*).

The following examples are some of the headlines reported to the ombudsman, and they are predominantly from *Daily Sun* newspaper: The paper carries about 16 stories with headlines that have the word *aliens*:

*‘It’s war on aliens! 20 bust for attacks!’ (13 May 2008:4);*

*‘Cops said I was an alien! Homeboy angry after jail horror’ (14 May 2008:1);*

*‘War against aliens! Thousand forced to flee Alex’ (14 May 2008:2);*

*‘Aliens: The truth! Daily Sun tells why Alex exploded’ (15 May 2008:1);*

*‘Alex aliens want to go home’ (15 May 2008:2).*

*Sowetan also had a headline which included the word ‘alien’:*

*‘Aliens find refuge at Methodist Church’ (22 May 2008:6).*

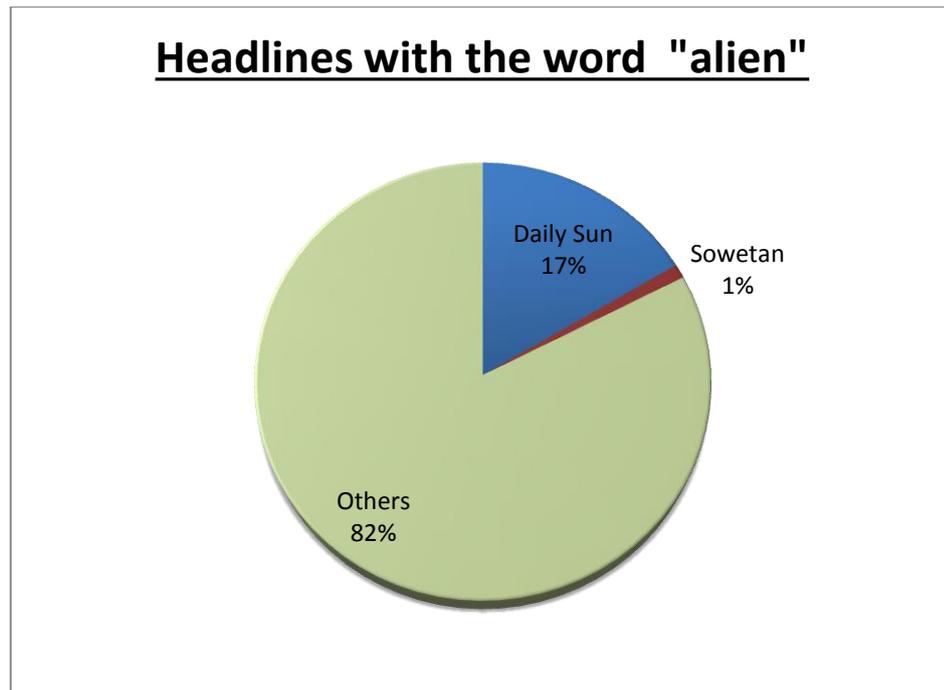


Fig 4.2 Headlines with the word *aliens*

Gomo (2010: 35) further expresses his displeasure with the word *aliens*. He says that “the term was used to dehumanise migrants” (Gomo: 2010:35). He further explains that the term *alien* was once used in the Alien Control Act during apartheid, and he criticises its inclusion in the post-apartheid context, stating that “it’s outdated, but still found [sic] in the media in South Africa” (Gomo 2010:35).

The findings of Gomo are relevant to his sociological studies, but this researcher would have to disagree with Gomo from journalistic point of view. His study was from the point of view of how media reports of the 2008 xenophobic attacks influences social behaviour (Gomo 2010:2), whereas, the focus of this current study is on ethical reporting of the 2008 xenophobic attacks by the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers.

To achieve this objective, a word, such as *aliens* which was used in the headlines and in the contents of the articles, needs to be carefully dissected in order to gain a comprehensive definition. The context in which the word *alien* is used also needs to be carefully considered, and the definition and context then need to be measured against the guidelines in the South African Press Code (2007). If it contradicts the guidelines, then the use of the word in headlines and/or in articles will be deemed

unethical. In order to achieve such an objective, the study will draw on the Press Ombudsman's ruling of 2008 in a complaint between the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) and Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CorMSA) versus Daily Sun (*refer to Addendum D*). In the ruling, the complainants and the newspaper provide dictionary meanings of *alien*. The MMP submitted the following definitions:

In the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2002:27), the word 'alien' is defined as follows:

*"Alien: adj. 1) belonging to a foreign country. 2) unfamiliar or unacceptable 3) relating to beings from other worlds. N. 1) a foreigner. 2) a being from another world."*

*The online source WordNet (r) 1.7, defines 'alien' as:*

*"adj 1: not contained in or deriving from the essential nature of something;*

*"an economic theory alien to the spirit of capitalism"; "the mysticism so foreign to the French mind and temper"; "jealousy is foreign to her nature" [syn: foreign]*

*2: being or from or characteristic of another place or part of the world; "alien customs"; "exotic plants in a greenhouse"; "moved to a strange country" [syn: exotic, strange]*

*n 1: a person who comes from a foreign country; someone who does not owe allegiance to your country [syn: foreigner, noncitizen, outlander] [ant: citizen]*

*2: anyone who does not belong in the environment in which they are found [syn: stranger, unknown]*

*3: a form of life assumed to exist outside the Earth or its atmosphere [syn: extraterrestrial being, extraterrestrial]*

*v : arouse hostility or indifference in where there had formerly been love, affection, or friendliness [syn: estrange, alienate, disaffect]"*

Source: [www.4shared.com](http://www.4shared.com)

The MMP argument regarding complaints about the *Daily Sun* using *aliens* in their headlines and article content was as follows: “What is clear from the definitions is that the term *aliens* is used to refer to something or somebody outside of the centre, something or somebody different to ‘us’. The use of the term on a very basic level serves to locate those who it is applied to as not belonging in South Africa” (Press Ombudsman 2008:2). In other words, it means ‘foreigner’.

The MMP, however, gets tangled up in a logical knot when it refers at various points in its submission to “non-nationals”, “foreign nationals”, “non-South Africans”, “foreigners”, “non-South African residents”, and “non-national people” (Press Ombudsman 2008:2).

According to the Press Ombudsman (2008:2), by the logic of MMP, it is just as guilty as *Daily Sun* in creating an ‘Other’, who does not belong in South Africa. Therefore, the Ombudsman dismisses the argument. It is important to indicate the meaning of the concept of ‘Other,’ and according to this researcher, the concept of ‘other’ is simply the differentiation made in order to separate the locals from the foreigners in media reports.

However, the MMP increases its arguments that in the *Daily Sun*, the word *aliens* is imbued with negative connotations, as it is almost always attached to stories about criminality, theft, and the xenophobic attacks (Press Ombudsman 2008:1-3).

MMP further explains that “[t]he continual reference to *aliens*, and their link with some negative, often illegal, act would clearly create sub-conscious concerns if not acrimonious feelings regarding foreign peoples” (Press Ombudsman 2008:1-2, *original emphasis*).

The MMP concedes that not all the stories were negative, but argues that “[e]ven in those cases where the content may be positive, the use of *aliens* in titles or in the content undermines or minimises the effect, because it necessarily shapes, and distorts the reading of the articles” (Press Ombudsman 2008:1-2).

In his argument, which is contained in the Press Ombudsman (2008) ruling, Deon du Plessis, publisher of the *Daily Sun*, justifies why his newspaper used the word *aliens*. He argues that the word *alien* is brief and strong. It fits a newspaper headline. Even 'foreigner' (which has the same meaning) has nine letters, in comparison with the five letters of *aliens* (Press Ombudsman 2008:3). Therefore, one can say that it is not a deliberate word used in order to denigrate other people's race or status.

A casual reading of some of the articles that were submitted by MMP shows that the newspaper does use *foreigners* and *aliens* as synonyms. In the story headlined, 'War Against Aliens!' for example, the opening paragraph reads: "A third man has been killed in the war against foreigners in Alexandra..." (Press Ombudsman 2008:2).

There is no doubt about which of the meanings of the word *aliens*, as indicated in the headline, the MMP applies in the case of the *Daily Sun*. Their view is that *aliens* mean *foreigners*.

The MMP did not show how the use of *aliens* draws empathy and understanding away from foreign nationals. The Press Ombudsman assumes that "if a person held the same subjective interpretation of the word *aliens* as MMP did, then that person would have as jaundiced, a view of the children as the complainants" (Press Ombudsman 2008:2, *original emphasis*).

Therefore, the ombudsman ruled that the argument against the use of *aliens* would not hold.

This study concurs with the rulings handed down by the Press Ombudsman, and the explanations provided in the rulings, also help to fully grasp the meaning of the word *aliens*. It is the belief of this study that the word *aliens* used in most headlines and news reports that were evaluated was not maliciously used in order to hurt the dignity of foreigners, and, cannot be classified as unethical, because it does not impinge upon the guidelines contained in *Section 5.1* (SAPC 2007:12) which states "Headlines and Captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report or picture in question".

## 4.6 RESULTS OF ANALYSIS

The results for whether **journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers adhered to the ethical requirements of reporting news truthfully during the xenophobic attacks in 2008** show that the journalists were truthful in their narratives. They ensured that the stories were credible by including relevant sources in their stories. The results further indicate that they did not violate the South African Press Code (2007), and that they were ethical (*see Section 4.4.1 for further details*).

The results for whether **journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers adhered to the ethical requirements of reporting news accurately during the xenophobic attacks in 2008** show that **97%** of the news articles selected from both newspapers were accurate in their reportage. The results further show that the stories did not create any doubt in the minds of the readers of the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers. The journalists indicated who was involved in the stories, when the attacks occurred, and where it happened. The results clearly show that both articles state correctly the names of people that were relevant to the stories (*see Section 4.4.2 for further information*).

The results for whether **journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers presented news in context and in a balanced manner, without exaggeration or misrepresentation, during the 2008 xenophobic attacks**. It show that when a story is balanced, facts will not be distorted, exaggerated or misrepresented to the readers. It also shows that a balanced story will give equal opportunity for everyone reported on in the story to express themselves, and these people will be quoted accurately in the story. The articles analysed in this category show that the journalists ensured that their stories were balanced. They comply with the SAPC (2007) guidelines with regards to reporting news in a balanced manner (*refer to Section 4.4.3 for further details*).

**The results for whether journalists at the *Sowetan and Daily Sun* newspapers presented news objectively during the xenophobic attacks of 2008** indicate that the articles were objective. However, this finding contradicts the argument of Gomo (2010:34) which notes that “electronic media was more objective in their 2008 analysis of xenophobic violence than the print media.” The two newspapers analysed for this study are print media, and this study finds that, their news articles were objective, except for the editorials which this study finds to be subjective.

The results also show that both articles did not violate SAPC (2007), Section 4.3 which states that “Comments by the press shall be an honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motives, and shall take fair account of all available facts which are material to the matter commented upon” (*refer to Section 4.4.4 for further details*).

**The results for whether journalists at *Sowetan and Daily Sun* newspapers avoid discriminatory or denigratory references to people’s race, colour, ethnicity or other status during the attacks** do not find any of the selected articles from *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers in violation of the freedoms enshrined in the constitution, neither does it contradict any of the guidelines indicated in sections 2.1 – 2.3 in the South African Press Code (2007). The readers and the victims of the xenophobic attacks were not discriminated in any way in the stories which were analysed, neither was denigratory references made with regards to their race, colour, ethnicity or other status (*refer to Section 4.4.5 for further details*).

#### **4.7 HEADLINES AND HOW THEY WERE WORDED**

This finding of this study shows that 17% of the headlines analysed used the word *aliens* to describe foreigners in the headlines, as well as in the contents of the articles. The use of such a word was offensive to some readers and organisations, to the extent that a complaint was lodged with the press ombudsman, and a ruling was handed down in August 2008. The results of this study agree with the rulings handed

down by the press ombudsman, and the explanations provided in the rulings also aided in fully understanding the meaning of the word *alien* or *aliens*.

The results of this study also show that the word *aliens* used in most headlines and news reports that were evaluated was not intended to be used in a spiteful way – in order to hurt the dignity of foreigners. Therefore, articles and headlines that used the word *aliens* cannot be classified as unethical, because they do not impinge upon the guidelines contained in *Section 5.1* (SAPC 2007:12) which states that “Headlines and Captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report or picture in question”.

#### **4.8 SUMMARY**

The qualitative results of 96 articles that were analysed in this chapter indicate that the media reports during the 2008 xenophobic attacks strictly adhered to the guidelines enshrined in the South African Press Code (PCSA 2007). The fact that a word or comment sounds offensive to readers does not necessarily suggest that, such word or comment is pejorative or prejudicial. The next chapter is the conclusion. It presents a summary of the study, the general research findings, the limitations of the study, and offers some recommendations for further study.

## CHAPTER 5

### RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the data concerning the reportage of the 2008 xenophobic attacks in the *Daily Sun* and *Sowetan* newspapers was analysed, results of the research were discussed, and the research questions formulated in Section 1.4 were answered. The purpose of this chapter is to indicate the recommendations for further study in the field of journalism ethics.

#### 5.2 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The main aim of this study was to find out whether the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers were ethical in their reportage of the 2008 xenophobic attacks. In order to evaluate the aim of this study, research questions was formulated in Section 1.2 and these questions were answered in sections 4.4.1 – 4.4.5, and then, in Section 4.6 the overall results obtained in answering the research questions were presented.

#### 5.3 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

##### 5.3.1 *General findings*

In general, the findings confirm that journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers reported news truthfully, accurately and objectively during the 2008 xenophobic attacks. However, the findings also show that while 97% of news articles concerning these attacks were seen to provide fair and unbiased commentary, the remaining 3% of articles sampled demonstrated a strong tendency towards bias and

subjective reportage. This subjectivity has been established as being characteristic of the editorials sampled.

It is the belief of this researcher that it is not impossible for journalists to achieve 100% truthful, accurate and objective news reportage. If journalists can apply due diligence to every story from the moment a story is being assigned to a journalist, and to the time the story gets published, a greater sense of objectivity may be achieved. It is the recommendation of this researcher that every journalist should strictly adhere to the South African Press Code (2007) or the latest edition in order to evaluate each story before it is submitted for publishing in the newspapers. This will make journalists to be more ethically conscious at all times when working on news stories.

### **5.3.2 Headlines and how they are worded**

From the findings, it is clear that 17% of the headlines from the selected newspapers within the specified time frame indicated in table 3.2 used the word *aliens* to describe foreigners. This is also true of the articles attached to these headlines. According to Gomo (2010:45), the use of such a word is derogatory to victims of the 2008 xenophobic attacks. It is clear in this study that the use of the word *aliens* was offensive to some readers of the two selected newspapers analysed for this study (see Section 4.5.1 for details).

It is the recommendation of this researcher that the media should be more sensitive to its readers and should be more careful with their specific word selection in their headlines, as well as in the articles that follow. This study further suggests that journalists should stick to the guidelines stipulated in the SAPC (2007) or the 2013 edition which addresses the reporting of news, bearing in mind the repercussions of the use of discrimination and hate speech, in order to avoid misrepresentations and misunderstandings of its news content.

### **5.3.3 Editorial**

One of the findings of this study shows that 3% of the articles analysed from the selected newspapers for this research were subjective. These subjective articles are noted as editorials.

Generally, an editorial presents the opinion of a single writer, but it should be researched and include evidence. It is the recommendation of this researcher that editorials should go beyond offering commentary or mere opinion. It should be researched and based on facts, just like any other hard news, as it is prescribed in the South African Press Code (2007) and in the current edition of 2013.

## **5.4 LIMITATIONS**

It is pertinent to note that the findings derived from this study are limited to the selected sample from the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers, and cannot be generalised as representing a general adherence to journalism ethics in all the South African media. McMillian and Schumacher (2001:414) indicate that an extension of the findings will enable others to understand similar situations and to apply these findings to further research. Future research should be able to arrive at the same findings, if it follows the same steps indicated in this study.

## **5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY**

A further investigation into the following can be explored:

- The relationship between xenophobia and racism during the 2008 xenophobic attacks.
- The impact of 'Ubuntu' on journalism ethics in the South African media.
- Analysis of the photographs printed with the 2008 xenophobic attacks' stories.
- Myth or fact? South Africans are xenophobic.

## 5.6 CONCLUSION

This study has investigated journalism ethics in the reportage of the 2008 xenophobic attacks by analysing the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers as a case study. From the point of view of the researcher, the real value of this study lies in the fact that this study provides clarity on whether the two newspapers indicated above adhered to the South African Press Code (2007). The findings show that the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers reported the 2008 xenophobic attacks truthfully, accurately, fairly, and objectively, and the two newspapers made conscious efforts to avoid deliberate denigratory or discriminating references to the xenophobic victim's race, colour, ethnicity or other status, as prescribed in the SAPC (2007:10-11). However, the media need to be more sensitive and careful with the choice of words it uses in the articles and headlines, so that; it will not create unnecessary misinformation or misrepresentations of facts.

It is the hope of the researcher that the findings of this study will sensitise the print media to be more critical of media reports.

It is also the hope of the researcher that, this study will encourage other researchers in the field of Communication Science to do further study in the area of journalism ethics in electronic media with specific reference to South African media.

Furthermore, this study hopes that readers will not be dismissive of media reports based on individual perceptions about the media organisation that published the story. For example, if one has a negative perception about the owner of the AYZ newspaper, it does not mean that news reports from AYZ newspaper should not be read objectively. One cannot just dismiss news reports from AYZ newspaper as untrue because of one's perceptions.

Above all, this researcher believes that South Africa print media deserve commendation for its tenacity and adherence to ethical prescriptions in the SAPC (2007) and the Constitution of the Republic (1996). This commendation was confirmed in the press freedom index (2008) from Reporters without Borders, when

South Africa was ranked 38 in the world because of the excellence of her media practitioners, and freedom of information in South Africa.

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## **ADDENDUM A**

### **The South African Press Code (2007)**

#### **Preamble**

#### **WHEREAS:**

Section 16 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa enshrines the right to freedom of expression as follows:

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes:

- (a) Freedom of the press and other media;
- (b) Freedom to receive or impart information or ideas;
- (c) Freedom of artistic creativity; and
- (d) Academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.

(2) The right in subsection (1) does not extend to

Propaganda for war;

- (b) Incitement of imminent violence; or
- (c) Advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.

The basic principle to be upheld is that the freedom of the press is indivisible from and subject to the same rights and duties as that of the individual and rests on the public's fundamental right to be informed and freely to receive and to disseminate opinions; and

The primary purpose of gathering and distributing news and opinion is to serve society by informing citizens and enabling them to make informed judgments on the issues of the time; and

The freedom of the press allows for an independent scrutiny to bear on the forces that shape society.

**NOW THEREFORE:**

The Press Council of South Africa accepts the following Code which will guide the South African Press Ombudsman and the South African Press Appeals Panel to reach decisions on complaints from the public after publication of the relevant material.

Furthermore, the Press Council of South Africa is hereby constituted as a self-regulatory mechanism to provide impartial, expeditious and cost-effective arbitration to settle complaints based on and arising from this Code.

**Definition**

For purposes of this Code, "child pornography" shall mean: "Any image or any description of a person, real or simulated, who is or who is depicted or described as being, under the age of 18 years, engaged in sexual conduct; participating in or assisting another person to participate in sexual conduct; or showing or describing the body or parts of the body of the person in a manner or circumstances which, in context, amounts to sexual exploitation, or in a manner capable of being used for purposes of sexual exploitation."

**1. Reporting of News**

1.1 The press shall be obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly.

1.2 News shall be presented in context and in a balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by:

1.2.1 Distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation;

1.2.2 Material omissions; or

1.2.3 Summarisation.

1.3 Only what may reasonably be true, having regard to the sources of the news, may be presented as fact, and such facts shall be published fairly with due regard to context and importance. Where a report is not based on facts or is founded on opinions, allegation, rumour or supposition, it shall be presented in such manner as to indicate this clearly.

1.4 Where there is reason to doubt the accuracy of a report and it is practicable to verify the accuracy thereof, it shall be verified. Where it has not been practicable to verify the accuracy of a report, this shall be mentioned in such report.

1.5 A publication should usually seek the views of the subject of serious critical reportage in advance of publication; provided that this need not be done where the publication has reasonable grounds for believing that by doing so it would be prevented from publishing the report or where evidence might be destroyed or witnesses intimidated.

1.6 A publication should make amends for publishing information or comment that is found to be inaccurate by printing, promptly and with appropriate prominence, a retraction, correction or explanation.

1.7 Reports, photographs or sketches relative to matters involving indecency or obscenity shall be presented with due sensitivity towards the prevailing moral climate.

1.7.1 A visual presentation of sexual conduct may not be published, unless a legitimate public interest dictates otherwise.

1.7.2 Child pornography shall not be published.

1.8 The identity of rape victims and victims of sexual violence shall not be published without the consent of the victim.

1.9 News obtained by dishonest or unfair means, or the publication of which would involve a breach of confidence, should not be published unless a legitimate public interest dictates otherwise

1.10 In both news and comment the press shall exercise exceptional care and consideration in matters involving the private lives and concerns of individuals, bearing in mind that any right to privacy may be overridden only by a legitimate public interest.

## **2. Discrimination and Hate Speech**

2.1 The press should avoid discriminatory or denigratory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental disability or illness, or age.

2.2 The press should not refer to a person's race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental illness in a prejudicial or pejorative context except where it is strictly relevant to the matter reported or adds significantly to readers' understanding of that matter.

2.3 The press has the right and indeed the duty to report and comment on all matters of legitimate public interest. This right and duty must, however, be balanced against the obligation not to publish material which amounts to hate speech.

## **3. Advocacy**

A publication is justified in strongly advocating its own views on controversial topics provided that it treats its readers fairly by:

3.1 Making fact and opinion clearly distinguishable;

3.2 Not misrepresenting or suppressing relevant facts;

3.4 Not distorting the facts in text or headlines.

## **4. Comment**

4.1 The press shall be entitled to comment upon or criticise any actions or events of public importance provided such comments or criticisms are fairly and honestly made.

4.2 Comment by the press shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly that it is comment, and shall be made on facts truly stated or fairly indicated and referred to.

4.3 Comment by the press shall be an honest expression of opinion, without malice or dishonest motives, and shall take fair account of all available facts which are material to the matter commented upon.

## **5. Headlines, Posters, Pictures and Captions**

5.1 Headlines and captions to pictures shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the report or picture in question.

5.2 Posters shall not mislead the public and shall give a reasonable reflection of the contents of the reports in question.

5.3 Pictures shall not misrepresent or mislead nor be manipulated to do so.

## **6. Confidential Sources**

The press has an obligation to protect confidential sources of information.

## **6. Payment for Articles**

No payment shall be made for feature articles to persons engaged in crime or other notorious misbehaviour, or to convicted persons or their associates, including family,

friends, neighbours and colleagues, except where the material concerned ought to be published in the public interest and the payment is necessary for this to be done.

## **8. Violence**

Due care and responsibility shall be exercised by the press with regard to the presentation of brutality, violence and atrocities.

## **ADDENDUM B**

### **PILOT CODEBOOK**

#### **1. INTRODUCTION**

This codebook is intended to assist in the investigation of whether the journalists at the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers were ethical in their reporting of the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The study will specifically investigate news reports and editorial comments on xenophobic attacks from 11-30 May 2008 that were published in the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers.

The codebook will provide description of all the coding concepts, and it should be strictly followed. Every news report or editorial comment on the coding form has a code that needs comments or analysis. The description of the concepts related to the study is provided, followed by the description of the categories.

#### **2. INSTRUCTIONS**

The coder needs to analyse each news reports or editorial comment to determine whether the journalist who wrote the report was ethical in reporting of the 2008 xenophobic attacks. This entails identifying the selected aspects which are described in Section 3, and should be analysed.

The analysis should be conducted as follows:

**Step 1:** Read this codebook, and ensure that you are familiar with the concepts of this study.

**Step 2:** Look at each of the selected hard copy of the newspaper, read each article and editorial, and then analysed the content, and then provide your comment or report inside the coding form. Please complete the analysis of each article and editorial before moving on to the next section.

**Step 3:** The first step in completing the analysis will be to match the related articles or editorials on xenophobia to the coding concepts listed in the codebook as provided by the researcher.

**Step 4:** Once you have identified the relevant coding concepts in the article or editorial, you need to write down the exact coding concept identified in the text, and then provide a concise description of each coding concept. This should be done in the coding form in the space provided.

**Step 5:** Now complete all the remaining relevant coding aspects indicated in the codebook by examining the selected articles and editorials for the presence of the listed coding aspects. For example, relevant concept (such as, ethnicity) should be coded using the applicable code such as, African woman or African man etc. If relevant aspects need to be coded as “other,” you need to provide a concise description of the identified “other” in the space provided in the coding form.

An explanation of the different concepts that will help in the coding process is provided below, follow by selected concepts:

### **3. RELEVANT CONCEPTS**

**Item (article or editorial):** The item of analysis in the study will refer to the keyword – xenophobic attacks in the selected article or editorial, and the focus of the item will be on how the 2008 xenophobic attack was reported in the *Sowetan* and *Daily Sun* newspapers.

Note: The content of each of the article /editorial must falls within 11-30 May 2008.

**Nature of story:** The presence of the unit of analysis, i.e. xenophobic attacks in the selected newspaper article or editorials is crucial.

**Ethnicity:** Ethnic group of people who share a common cultural or national origin, and who often share similar general physical appearances (such as, skin colour). For this study, ethnicity shall include the Africans from various African countries or Europeans who were attacked. Provision is made for ethnicity that falls outside these categories (labelled as “other”) or that is difficult to distinguish (It shall be labelled as unknown).

**Ethics:** Ethics in this context will be the delivery of “truth about fact” in the manner which does not encourage harm to other groups (SAMP 2008). With regards to the reporting of news, Section 6 of the South African Press Code (2007) describes ethics as “news provided accurately and in a balanced manner without incitement of violence... (SAPC 2007:10-11).

The study includes six (6) ethical categories, and these categories will be described in detail in the next section.

#### **4. ETHICAL CATEGORIES**

The following categories are excerpted from the South African Press Code (2007:10-11).

1. **Truth** – only what may reasonably be true, having regards to the sources of the news, may be presented as facts, and shall be published fairly with due regard to context and importance. Where a report is not based on facts or is founded on opinions, allegation, rumour or supposition, it shall be presented in such manner as to indicate this clearly.
2. **Accuracy** – where there is reason to doubt the accuracy of a report and it is practicable to verify the accuracy thereof, it shall be verified. Where it has not been practicable to verify the accuracy of a report, this shall be mentioned in such report.

3. **Objective** – a publication should usually seek the views of the subject of serious critical reportage in advance of publication; provided that this need to be done where the publication has reasonable grounds for believing that by doing so it would be prevented from publishing the report or where evidence might be destroyed or witnesses intimidated.
4. **Balanced** – news shall be presented in context and in a balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation.
5. **Discrimination and hate speech** – the press shall avoid discriminating or denigratory references to people’s race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental disability or illness, or age.

The press should not refer to a person’s race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental illness in a prejudicial or pejorative context except where it is strictly relevant to the matter reported or adds significantly to readers’ understanding of that matter.

The press has the right and indeed the duty to report and comment on all matters of legitimate public interest. The right and duty must, however, be balanced against the obligation not to publish material which amounts to hate speech.





**ETHICAL CATEGORY**

**Did *Sowetan* or *Daily Sun* newspaper report the 2008 xenophobic attacks**

**2 Accurately?**

**Description or comment**

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**ETHICAL CATEGORY**

**Did *Sowetan* or *Daily Sun* newspaper report the 2008 xenophobic attacks**

**3 Objectively/fairly?**

**Description or comment**

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**ETHICAL CATEGORY**

**Did *Sowetan* or *Daily Sun* newspaper report the 2008 xenophobic attacks**

**4 In a balanced manner?**

**Description or comment**

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**ETHICAL CATEGORY**

**5 Did *Sowetan* or *Daily Sun* newspaper report of the 2008 xenophobic attacks made deliberate discriminatory references to people's race, colour or ethnicity etc.?**

**Description or comment**

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**ETHICAL CATEGORY**

**6** Were the headlines properly worded in the *Sowetan* or *Daily Sun* newspaper report of the 2008 xenophobic attacks?

**Description or comment**

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**ETHICAL APPEAL**

- 1 Ethical**
- 2 Unethical**
- 3 Combination**

**Description or comment**

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## **ADDENDUM D**

The Media Monitoring Project (MMP) and Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CorMSA) vs. Daily Sun

**Ruling by Press Ombudsman Joe Thloloe**

**August 8, 2008**

This complaint was endorsed by Lawyers for Human Rights, the Agency for Refugee Education, Skills Training and Advocacy (ARESTA) and the Jesuit Refugee Service.

### **Complaint**

The thrust of the complaint was that *Daily Sun*:

Consistently presented foreign nationals in South Africa as “aliens” and as the primary source of all problems;

Presented government as the institution that has enabled the “aliens” to unfairly take advantage of South Africans and South African resources; and

Portrayed violence as an understandable and legitimate reaction to this state of affairs.

The complainants argued that by constantly using the term *alien* and its negative connotations and associations, the *Daily Sun* was clearly perpetuating negative stereotypes that were racially based and discriminatory.

In its written response to the complaint, *Daily Sun* refuted and rejected the allegations against it “in the strongest possible terms as unfounded”.

“To even attempt to apportion any blame to *Daily Sun* as contributing to the terrible things that happened would have the effect of papering over the real reasons that led to ‘Alien Terror’ and ‘War on aliens’,” the newspaper argued.

## **Analysis**

The MMP submitted that the stories violated the following clauses in the South African Press Code:

1.1 The press shall be obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly.

1.2 News shall be presented in context and in a balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by:

1.2.1 Distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation;

2.1 The press should avoid discriminatory or denigratory references to people's race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental disability or illness, or age.

2.2 The press should not refer to a person's race, colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation or preference, physical or mental illness in a prejudicial or pejorative context except where it is strictly relevant to the matter reported or adds significantly to readers' understanding of that matter.

3.4 A publication is justified in strongly advocating its own views on controversial topics provided that it treated its readers fairly by...not distorting the facts in text or headlines.

The weight of the complaint rests on the use of the word alien in the newspaper's stories, headlines and graphics.

The complainants and the newspaper gave us dictionary meanings of *alien*. The MMP submitted the following definitions:

“In the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2002: 27), the word “alien” is defined as follows:

“Alien: adj. 1) belonging to a foreign country. 2) unfamiliar or unacceptable 3) relating to beings from other worlds. N. 1) a foreigner. 2) a being from another world.”

“The online source WordNet (r) 1.7, defines alien as:

“adj 1: not contained in or deriving from the essential nature of something;

"an economic theory alien to the spirit of capitalism"; "the mysticism so foreign to the French mind and temper"; "jealousy is foreign to her nature" [syn: foreign]

2: being or from or characteristic of another place or part of the world; "alien customs"; "exotic plants in a greenhouse"; "moved to a strange country" [syn: exotic, strange]

n 1: a person who comes from a foreign country; someone who does not owe allegiance to your country [syn: foreigner, noncitizen, outlander] [ant: citizen]

2: anyone who does not belong in the environment in which they are found [syn: stranger, unknown]

3: a form of life assumed to exist outside the Earth or its atmosphere [syn: extraterrestrial being, extraterrestrial]

v : arouse hostility or indifference in where there had formerly been love, affection, or friendliness [syn: estrange, alienate, disaffect]”

The MMP argued: “What is clear from the definitions is that the term ‘alien’ is used to refer to something or somebody outside of the centre, something or somebody different to ‘us’. The use of the term on a very basic level serves to locate those who it is applied to as not belonging in South Africa?”

The MMP however gets tangled up in a logical knot when it refers at various points in its submission to non-nationals, foreign nationals, non-South Africans, foreigners, non-South African residents, and non-national people.

By its own logic it is just as guilty as *Daily Sun* in creating an “Other”, who does not belong in South Africa.

This argument that *Daily Sun* creates an Other cannot hold.

Deon du Plessis, publisher of *Daily Sun*, argued: “Alien is brief and strong. It fits a newspaper headline. Even foreigner (which has the same meaning) has nine letters to the five letters of alien.

“Phrases such as non-national – 11 letters, displaced foreign national – 24 letters, economic migrant – 15 letters are not found in *Daily Sun*...

“By the same token township terms such as *Makwerekwere* and other negative words to describe foreigners are not found in *Daily Sun* either.”

A casual reading of some of the articles that were submitted by MMP shows that the newspaper does use foreigner and alien as synonyms. In the story headlined *War Against Aliens!* for example, the opening paragraph reads: “A third man has been killed in the war against foreigners in Alexandra...”

There is no doubt about which of the meanings of aliens the MMP has advanced applies in the case of the *Daily Sun*. Alien means foreign.

The MMP argued that in *Daily Sun* the word alien was also weighted with further negative connotations as it was almost always attached to stories about criminality, theft, and most recently the xenophobic attacks: “The continual reference to ‘aliens’ and their link with some negative, often illegal, act would clearly create sub-conscious concerns if not acrimonious feelings regarding foreign peoples.”

The complainants gave a list of headlines in the newspaper in April and May 2008 as examples of the negative connotations.

The MMP conceded that not all the stories were negative but argued: “Even in those cases where the content may be positive, the use of ‘alien’ in titles, or in the content, undermines or minimises the effect, precisely because it necessarily shapes and distorts the reading of the articles.”

The organisation gave the example of a story headlined *SA is hell for alien kids*, about the challenges experienced by refugee children.

“It is positive that it was covered, but the use of alien in the headline immediately draws empathy and understanding away from the children who are not ‘us’.”

The MMP did not show how this use of alien draws empathy and understanding away. I assume if a person held the same subjective interpretation of the word alien that the MMP has, that person would have as jaundiced a view of the children as the complainants.

This argument against the use of alien will also not hold.

The foundation of the complaint having collapsed, so must the rest of it. The two other issues raised – that *Daily Sun* presented government as the institution that has enabled the ‘aliens’ to unfairly take advantage of South Africans and South African resources, and that it portrayed violence as an understandable and legitimate reaction to this state of affairs – have also not been substantiated by the complainants.

The newspaper referred us to other publications and the Human Sciences Research Council’s report on the causes of the xenophobia, which all confirm what *Daily Sun* had been reporting.

## **Finding**

This office will not entertain the complaint.

## **Leave to appeal**

Within seven days of receipt of this decision, the complainants may apply for leave to appeal to the chairperson of the Press Appeals Panel, Judge Ralph Zulman, setting out in full the grounds of appeal.

**Joe Thloloe**

**August 8, 200**

A few of the selected articles from the *Daily Sun* Newspaper



The body of a pensioner lies in the long grass.

Photo by Samson Ratswana

## Old man's ride to death!

By **AFRICA KA MAHAMBA** and **SIPHO KEKANA**  
**THE MKHULU** rode his bike to collect his pension.

And later he lay dead in the bush at Mabopane Station. Now Johnson Sivane's bicycle is missing—along with his money and bank cards.

His wife Nellie tried to call the missing man's cellphone on Friday night at about 10pm.

"But it just kept on ringing," she told *Daily Sun*. "Later, it was switched off. That makes me think that he was being kept somewhere."

Johnson's body was found on Sunday.

The dead pensioner's niece, Lizzy Msweni, said: "My uncle went to collect his and his brother's pension on Friday. He was going to the bank in Central City complex at Mabopane."

"We heard that boys went to a police station to report a body in the bushes. But when the policeman came back out of the office they had gone." Lizzy suspects that her 72-year-old uncle was kidnapped before being killed because his money and bicycle are missing.

He was going to pay bills at a furniture store and lawyers' offices. She told the *People's Paper*: "We think he was on his way to pay a

funeral policy at the local undertaker when he was attacked by his murderers.

"If the police had acted in time the suspects would have been arrested by now. We suspect that the same people who went to the cops are the ones who killed him," she said.

Inspector Mathews Nkoadi said: "We don't know the cause of death. But we suspect that he might have been strangled, because there are no visible injuries on the body."

"We have opened an inquest on the docket. The case might change to murder if the post mortem results prove that he was murdered."

## IT'S WAR ON ALIENS! 20 bust for attacks

By **DIKGARI RAMOTHATA**

**VIOLENT attacks on aliens continue!**

In Alexandra, north of Joburg, two men said to be aliens were shot and killed on Sunday night.

But cops say one of the victims was identified as a South African!

Constable Neria Malefotse said the identity of the second victim was not yet known. She said no arrests have been made and cops have opened a double murder docket.

It is alleged that a group of men from Madala hostel armed with guns, sticks and steel pipes descended on the squatter camp near the hostel. It is mostly occupied by aliens. The group started attacking people.

"The area between 6th and 2nd avenues and between Roosevelt and London roads, where the squatter camp is situated, was deserted after the incident," said Malefotse.

The incident followed similar attacks in Atteridgeville, Mabopane and Diepsloot in which several people were killed and injured. Many

shacks were also burned down. Residents said they were shocked by the latest attack.

■ Late last night, the situation was still tense. About 500 cops continued to patrol the area.

Gun shots were heard in the dark streets, but cops said they did not know if there were any casualties.

They also claimed that a factory in nearby Mariboro had been set alight. They had no further details.



Residents and cops look at the body of a victim in Alexandra.

Photo by Bomba Chauke

## Now Madisha gets SACP boot

By **RAMOSIDI MATEKANE**

**FORMER** Cosatu president Willie Madisha has now been expelled as a member of the SA Communist Party (SACP).

The Central Committee of the SACP made this big announcement yesterday.

It said Madisha's expulsion from the party follows claims he made last year that he had received and handed over a donation of R500 000 to SACP general secretary Blade Nzimande.

The SACP's disciplinary committee made its findings public yesterday.

"The first charge against Madisha was his failure to raise this matter."

"It was a very serious case of negligence, a dereliction of his fiduciary duties in his capacity as a senior leader of the SACP," said party spokesman Maleka Malesela.

"The second charge was Madisha conducting himself



Willie Madisha looks worried.

Photo by Beeld

in public in a manner that brought the party into disrepute."

Madisha was not available for comment at the time of going to press.

## Tribal head up for assault

**THE HEAD** of the Msogwaba tribal authority in Mpumalanga has been arrested after a heavily pregnant woman was beaten unconscious following a tribal court ruling.

Police arrested Mnu kwa Bhuya (58) in Msogwaba, near Nelspruit, on Saturday.

He was arrested on charges of assault with the intention to cause grievous bodily harm.

He was released on R500 bail when he appeared in the KaNyamazane Court yesterday.

Bhuya was not asked to plead following accusations that he led a crowd that assaulted nine-month pregnant Thandi Mhlabatsi (25), her two children aged seven and eight, and her husband, Theminkosi Mathebula (34) at home last Thursday night.

The assault took place after a tribal court ruled that Mathebula had neglected his other wife, Eunice Mbuyisa (33) and her three children.

He was ordered to pay a R1 100 fine, but when he said he couldn't afford it, the tribal court, led by Bhuya, decided to take action.

When Mathebula protested, he and his family were beaten

up. Mhlabatsi was knocked unconscious and was rushed to Rob Ferreira Hospital in Nelspruit, where she is still recovering from the attack.

Meanwhile, Mathebula says he has been receiving death threats because of the incident.

— AENS

## SUN SPOTS

**That equals 83 arrests for May!** 'Casual' robbers grab bank's cash

**KLERKSDORP** police have succeeded again in combating crime in the Northwest Province. According to the spokesman for Northwest Police, Superintendent Louis Jacobs, more than 83 suspects were arrested for various crimes since the beginning of this month. "Yesterday we arrested 30 suspects for serious crimes such from rape to possession of dagga," he said. Jacobs confirmed that all of this suspects are expected to appear at the Klerksdorp Magistrates Court soon.

— METHOLO MOEMA

**TEN ARMED** men robbed a branch of Nedbank of an undisclosed amount of money in Randfontein on Monday. Police spokesman Joseph Magoai said the men casually walked into the bank and grabbed the manager. They then forced him to open the doors leading to the cashiers. Magoai said the men helped themselves an undisclosed amount of money and fled in three vehicles. He said no shots were fired and no one was injured. Police claim they are investigating the robbery.

— SAPA

# WAR AGAINST ALIENS!



NOWHERE TO GO! Foreigners seek protection at cop shop. Photo by Sipho Mchunu

**THE BIG P1 STORY**  
**Student bust for 'looking' foreign!**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

"I was taken into a van with aliens," he said.

When he got to the Tembisa Police Station he called his aunt to bring his ID—which she did.

But even that did not save him from jail.

"The cops said they would need people from Home Affairs to verify my ID... but Home Affairs never came!"

"I spent the holidays in a jail cell!"

"I want to sue the Minister of Safety and Security for unlawful arrest," he said.

He said he had to sleep with one thin blanket in a freezing cell.

Eventually Elvis was taken to Lindela Repatriation Centre, west of Joburg, where his ID WAS verified and he was released.

Now the unhappy homeboy has been advised to lay a complaint with the commander of the Tembisa cops...

## Thousands forced to flee Alex

By RIFUMO MALULEKE  
**A THIRD man has been killed in the war against foreigners in Alexandra, outside Joburg.**

He was shot dead in the road on Monday night.

On Sunday night, two other aliens were also shot dead by angry crowds.

More than 1 000 aliens, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes.

They are camped at the township police station, looking for protection.

Some of their belongings and money were stolen by the crowd.

The situation remains tense.

The violence started on Sunday when a group of local people armed with sticks and guns attacked aliens, mostly Zimbabweans and Mozambicans.

Most of the frightened aliens say they are now planning to go back to their countries.

More than 50 people – most of them South Africans – have been arrested and will be charged with public violence, housebreaking, robbery and possession of stolen goods.

The Red Cross was among other organisations that came forward to help the aliens with food parcels.

A meeting was to be held to discuss the issue of the foreigners' accommodation.

SAPA reports that late yesterday as Safety and Security MEC Firoz Cachalia called on the community, during a mass meeting, to allow the police to do their work regarding illegal immigrants, residents booted and howled.

Some exited the community hall, saying they should "toyitoyi".

Shouts of "we are overpopulated" rang through the hall as the MEC addressed the crowd.

Many cited unemployment as a basis for the animosity toward foreigners.

"They steal our jobs because they work for little money," one woman said.

At an earlier media briefing, Cachalia said the violent attacks carried out were not just

"spontaneous acts of xenophobic hatred".

"Let's be very clear that these were criminal acts carried out in violation of our country's laws, its constitution and its commitment to human rights," said Cachalia.

He said there was also a degree of misinformation about the attacks as one of the people killed was a South African and a South African family had also been displaced.

"We must call a spade a spade... these are criminal acts."

Cachalia said steps were being taken to ensure that the displaced were being temporarily accommodated and looked after. But by late last night no further attacks were reported.

## Sun saves sad mum!

By NTOMBIFUTHI MBHELE

**DOCTORS** told the woman her baby was dead inside her.

And they did nothing, even though her life was in danger!

But now the unborn baby will be removed from the womb of Thandeka Mngoma (28), of Ndwendwe, KZN.

And it's all thanks to Sun-Power!

On Monday, her sad story hit the front page of *Daily Sun*. That same day, Mngoma was admitted to the Mahatma Gandhi Hospital in Phoenix.

Speaking from her hospital bed yesterday, she said doctors will now induce labour. And the dead baby will come out.

Mngoma told the *People's Paper*: "When I arrived at the hospital, my photo was all over the place. Immediately the public relations officer referred me to the maternity doctor. 'The doctor told me they would remove my dead baby,

so that I can live a normal life," she said.

"Thank you, *Daily Sun* – YOU have real power!"

Mngoma, a first-time mother-to-be, suffered from high blood pressure. Her baby boy died inside her. But then, according to Mngoma, two doctors failed to help her.

Mystery still surrounds her case.

Outraged Sun-Readers wonder how doctors could be so cruel. And medical authorities are asking why Mngoma was turned away from Inkosi Albert Luthuli Hospital in KwaZulu-Natal.

Leon Mbangwa of the KZN Health Department told *Daily Sun*: "We want to establish who told Mngoma to go home and only return when her pregnancy was full-term and she was ready to go into labour."

He said that the department will take strong action if its investigations find that staff members were negligent.



*Daily Sun* on Monday.



**SUN POWER**

Thandeka Mngoma is happy now that she is getting proper medical attention. Photo by Ntombifuthi Mbhele

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# DAILY SUN

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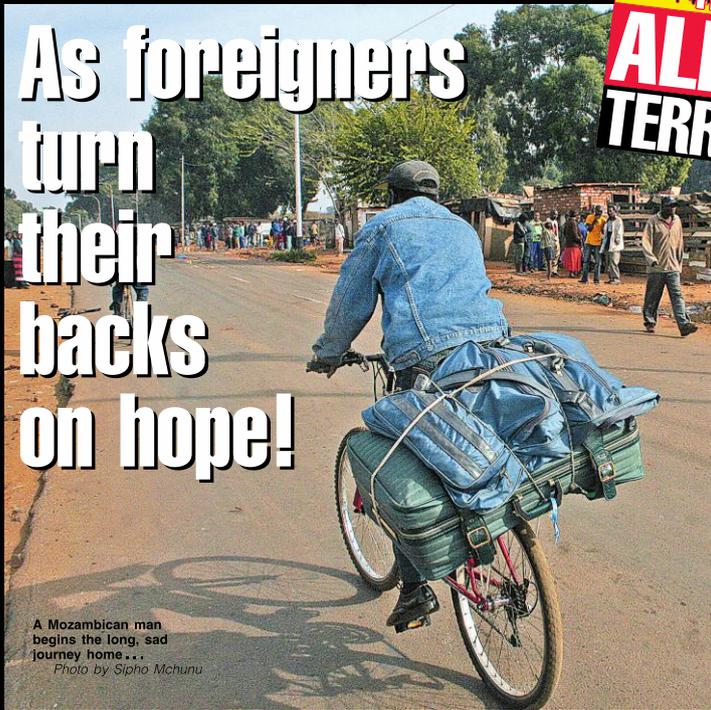


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THURSDAY 22 MAY 2008

# POLICE PUT US THROUGH HELL!

## As foreigners turn their backs on hope!



A Mozambican man begins the long, sad journey home...  
Photo by Sipho Mchunu

### THE ALIEN TERROR!

By SAVIUS KWINKA  
**THEY'VE been beaten and terrified half to death by angry crowds... some of their shacks have been set on fire.**

*Now these sad, scared and helpless foreigners are trying to get home with their few belongings.*

**BUT THEIR TROUBLES ARE NOT OVER... NOW THEY ARE**

**AT THE MERCY OF CRUEL AND THIEVING COPS!**

The refugees fleeing from the violence of the past week say that even as they try to get on buses and trains that will take them home... crooked cops swoop on them like vultures.

It was happening at Park Station, in Joburg, as a SunTeam arrived yesterday.

When they saw reporters, the cops who had become robbers disappeared.

Their victims, many of them women and children, spoke to *Daily Sun*.

They said they were threatened with arrest if they didn't pay up in cash... or with sex!

Zimbabwean David Mavuta said he was thrown into a cop van along with his two kids.

The police demanded R200 - or they would take the little family to Lindela Repatriation Centre.

David said his children were crying with hunger - but this did not worry the police squad which included an inspector, a sergeant and two constables.

David was one of those who only escaped further trouble because the SunTeam arrived...

Morgan Mwachindalo, from Malawi, said: "Instead of giving us protection, we are being taken through hell by the cops.

"If you come to Park Station, especially at bus stops for Zimbabwe and Malawi buses, you will be shocked to see cops beating up those who do not want to pay bribes.

"I told them deportation would be better because I didn't have money for the bus.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

SMILE ALL THE WHILE AND YOU MAY BE... A WINNER WITH SNAPARAZZI! P29

# DAILY SUN

AFRICA'S BIGGEST PAPER  
SOUTH OF THE PYRAMIDS!



PRICE: R1,80 nationwide

THURSDAY 15 MAY 2008

SEE PAGE 7

## ALIENS: THE TRUTH! Daily Sun tells why Alex exploded

DAILY SUN  
SAYS

PEOPLE who believe they are very important are running around in circles again... this time about the violence in Alexandra.

There is much wailing about the debt we owe foreigners, the lessons we should learn from our own struggle, the dignity of all Africans, the evils of xenophobia – the big word for hatred of foreigners.

There are calls again for indabas and workshops on the subject.

WHAT NONSENSE!  
Today... let Daily Sun give the REAL

explanations for what's going on:

■ Too many South Africans are walking around unemployed while many foreigners, often prepared to work for less money, have jobs. Job creation has not kept up with reality in our country.

■ South Africans living in tin and cardboard shacks are tired of seeing foreigners buying RDP houses from corrupt officials.

These houses are supposed to be free to the poorest South Africans.

But too many housing and local council

officials are crooks.

■ Many of us live in fear of foreign gangsters and conmen. Much terror has been caused by gangs of armed Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and others.

Not every foreigner is a gangster, of course – but too many are.

And too many of our cops are NOT doing their jobs. They concentrate instead on making a few fast bucks out of helpless aliens.

■ Now add to all of this the fact that this government has no proper policy for for-

eigners in our country. Let them come, says the government, we must help them... but when they do come, the aliens are left to make their own way.

It's ANOTHER government failure.

Let there be no mistake about this: if there is blame here, it lies on the shoulders of the government and its agencies.

We don't need a conference to know that!

Until the servants of the state start doing their jobs, it's going to happen again.

■ See Page 2

# FLAMES OF FURY!



BEATEN AND BLAZING...

This is what happened to two suspected thugs!

Photo by Sipho Mchunu

When crime-battered people have had enough! P2

THIS GRAND BRASS BAND TAKES A STAND AGAINST EVIL IN THE LAND! P27

# BLOOD AND FLAMES!

By RIFUMO MALULEKE

THE evil flames of violence spread all around the nation's largest city yesterday.

Foreigners all over Joburg and the surrounding areas were attacked this weekend.

SINCE SATURDAY NIGHT AT LEAST 13 PEOPLE - MANY OF THEM ALIENS - HAVE DIED AND MORE THAN 100 HAVE BEEN INJURED!

Cops were thinly stretched as many streets in southern Gauteng and Ekurhuleni became places of blood and looting.

Some of the neighbourhoods affected include: Central Joburg; Cleveland in eastern Joburg; nearby Jeppes-town, Reiger Park and Vosloorus in Ekurhuleni; Katlehong; Delmore Park and Makausi squatter camp, near Primrose, close to Bedfordview, Soweto; Yeoville; and Malvern.

Last night cops said a large number of people took refuge at the Jabulani and Moroka police stations for fear of been attacked, after receiving threats.

Cops said criminals were taking advantage of the situation - stealing money, clothes and furniture from aliens and South Africans alike.

Four of the foreigners were killed in Makausi squatter camp, Ekurhuleni, yesterday morning.

Daily Sun was told the desperate foreigners were sneaking into the area to get clothes and other belongings from shacks they had abandoned earlier.

At police stations in Primrose and Germiston more than 1 000 frightened foreigners took refuge.

Cops said that in the Primrose area one man was arrested for murder and five others were bust for public violence and looting shops.

Cops had been shot at... and angry crowds had thrown stones at them.

Five more people were reported killed in Cleveland, Joburg, since Saturday night. Two of them - presumed to be aliens - were eaten by flames after their houses were set alight.

The rest of the victims were beaten to death.

Several shops along Jules Street in Cleveland were looted, while in Jeppes-town and the Joburg CBD, cars had their windows smashed.

Last night at Diepkloof and nance-field hostels, crowds gathered in an attempt to attack aliens.

Cops said two were injured and three arrested at the Diepkloof hostel, and that they are monitoring the situation at both places.

## Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred



A badly injured, unconscious Mozambican alien is taken out of Makausi squatter camp. Photos by Siphon Mchunu



A victim of the attacks near Germiston.



John Khumalo - not an alien. Photo by Happy Mnguni

## SA couple's shop looted and burned

By NTOMBI NKOSI

NOT ALL the victims of attacks across Joburg are aliens.

South Africans are targets too. John Khumalo (48) had his shop looted and burnt down when attacks took place in Empilisweni informal settlement in Tokoza, Ekurhuleni, early on Saturday.

He and his wife Ana Mathusi (42) and three children had to run for their lives. Ana was struck on the head by a brick.

Ana said they were sleeping as usual when all of a sudden she heard noises outside. When she went outside she found a huge crowd of people, and a brick

slammed into her head.

Then a number of people flocked into their house, taking four televisions, two DVD players and all the stock in their spaza shop.

"We are South Africans, we are not foreigners! What is going to happen to us now?" asked the shocked couple.

## Foreigners helped us, says Zuma

By SUN REPORTERS

"We cannot be famous for xenophobic (hatred of foreigners) attacks."

That was the message to SA yesterday from ANC president Jacob Zuma.

Msholzi was speaking in Mamelodi, Tshwane.

He said he wanted to help people understand the role foreigners played in the past.

"These people helped us during the time of struggle," he said.

"These people allowed us to hide in their countries during the time of the apartheid regime. They allowed us to enter their countries while the apartheid regime told them not to allow us."

"So we must stop the attacks."

Meanwhile, on Friday, Members of Parliament called for stricter border controls and tougher laws to manage illegal immigrants coming into the country.

Parliament suggested:

■ A survey to establish exactly how many illegal immigrants live in SA;

■ A commission of inquiry to find the root causes of attacks on foreigners.

SA National Civics Organisation president Mlungisi Hlongwane said Africans should understand they are brothers and sisters.

Man-made boundaries between African countries should be abolished to allow free movement, he said.



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# BATTLEGROUND: IMAGES

IT'S like a war. All over southern Gauteng, foreigners and South Africans are fighting. Here are images from the battlefield in the streets yesterday by SunSnappers JAN RIGHT, LUCKY MORAJANE, SAMSON RATSWANA and SIPHO MCHUNU.

## THE ALIEN TERROR!



**1** A foreign hawker – who fainted from fright when he was attacked by crowds in Bree Street, central Joburg.

**2** Looted and broken cellphone display counters lie bust in the streets of central Joburg after rioters trashed the shop.

**3** Cops bash a rioter with his own knobkerrie in Somalia squatter camp near Vosloorus.

# OF WAR IN THE STREETS!



**4** Shacks burn fiercely in Ramaphosa squatter camp near Germiston.



## THE ALIEN TERROR!

**6** Fleeing the violence at Ramaphosa squatter camp ... with their mattress on their heads.



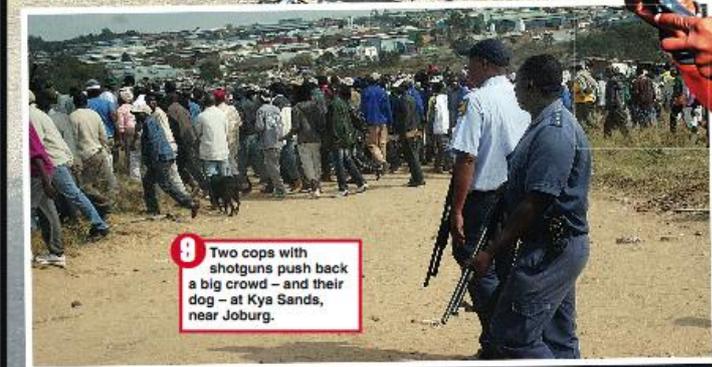
**6** Not only foreigners had to flee. A woman from the Eastern Cape and a little boy take shelter from the storm of violence at Ramaphosa.



**7** A police armoured truck charges through the ruins in Ramaphosa squatter camp.



**8** Ready for action: a cop reloads his pistol in Bree Street, central Joburg.



**8** Two cops with shotguns push back a big crowd - and their dog - at Kya Sands, near Joburg.

# ADDENDUM F

A few of the selected articles from the Sowetan Newspaper

## XENOPHOBIC violence

### Shilowa says not a state of emergency

Gauteng Premier Mkhizima Shilowa yesterday cautioned politicians against imposing their opinions on how police should deal with xenophobic attacks.

He challenged the view that a state of emergency should be declared and that the army should be deployed in townships following the uprising that has so far claimed more than 22 lives.

"The decision to deploy the army should not be a political one, but that of senior managers of the police, based on their assessment of the situation. While declaration of a state of emergency is a prerogative of the President of the Republic, it is important that such a declaration not be made lightly and in haste," he said.

Shilowa said a state of emergency was an undesirable option. Should it be declared, it could become a habit that each time there was a crisis in the country, it would be resorted to.

"A state of emergency implies, as the Constitution states, that the life of the nation is threatened by war, invasion or general insurrection, disorder, natural disaster or other public emergency," Shilowa said.



GRIM AFTERMATH: The bodies of three victims of xenophobic attacks in Reiger Park. PHOTO: VEINHLAFO

### Battle ends Mkhize bid to calm mob

Barakani Metro police chief Robert Mkhize tried in vain to calm warring factions in the Ramaphosa informal settlement yesterday.

Mkhize, who is facing a drunken driving charge, has been recalled from special leave to help quell the xenophobic violence.

Armed firewax bottle, sparking rapid rubber-bullet gunfire from the police.

"I ask you please to leave the road you are marching on and go back to your homes. This will make it easy for the police to patrol," Mkhize was saying when the battle ended this address.

Four people died in the Mkhize informal settlement in Pharoos on Monday. By yesterday six people had been killed in Ramaphosa near Reiger Park.

Three men were found injured in a meek field at Central Village Hotel in Reiger Park. They had serious head wounds.

Mkhize arrived in the settlement and tried to calm the crowd doing house-to-house searches for foreign nationals.

"We are monitoring the situation, it is tense but quiet," said police director Gwindsany Mzimanda.

cyan magenta yellow black • Sowetan • 21 May 2008 • Page 4 All



**NOTICE OF THE ENERGY REGULATOR PUBLIC HEARING ON THE SASOL GAS LIMITED LICENCE APPLICATIONS TO CONSTRUCT GAS TRANSMISSION AND DISTRIBUTION FACILITIES.**

The NATIONAL ENERGY REGULATOR OF SOUTH AFRICA invites all stakeholders and the public to attend the public hearing on Sasol Gas Ltd licence applications to construct gas transmission and distribution facilities in the following areas;

1. Sasolburg in Metsimaholo Local Municipality (Transmission)
2. Rosslyn in Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (Distribution)
3. Jacobs in eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality (Distribution)
4. Moleni in eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality (Distribution)

The associated licence conditions may be viewed on the NERSA website at [www.nersa.org.za](http://www.nersa.org.za). The public hearing details are as follows:

<b>Date</b>	:	Monday, 26 May 2008
<b>Venue</b>	:	Kulawula House 526 Vermeulen Street Arcadia, Pretoria
<b>Time</b>	:	10:30

Members of the public and stakeholders wishing to attend or to present their views at the hearing must submit their request, by 16h30 on Friday, 23 May 2008 to Mrs Nontsikelelo Matyana at:

<b>Telephone Number</b>	:	012-401-4710
<b>Fax No.</b>	:	012-401-4700
<b>E-mail</b>	:	<a href="mailto:publichearings@nersa.org.za">publichearings@nersa.org.za</a>

## Home Affairs helps the helpless

The Department of Home Affairs said yesterday it was assisting thousands of foreign nationals to leave the country immediately.

"Field workers are working round the clock in affected areas helping to process papers for those who are ready to go back to their countries. We are doing this so that they don't have any problems at the different borders," spokesman Mntshole "Basi" said.

But, "I can't say exactly how many foreign nationals had come forward because the department officials were still registering people daily."

Some foreign nationals from Jabulani township were yesterday waiting to be transported by police to the Johannesburg Park Station to catch trains back home.

"Some foreign nationals slept at the police station. Five of them from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, have signed affidavits saying that they want to be sent back home," said police spokesman Kay Mkhizuka.

"They say they don't want what has happened to others to happen to them."

Meanwhile, police in Jabulani township have called meetings to mobilise the community against further violence.

Captain Nirmala Mhese said: "We need to talk to the community and let them know that attacks will not be welcomed in the area."

"There were foreign nationals who spent the night at the Orlando police station," she said.

"They said they feared they would be attacked."

"We want to reassure them that their safety is guaranteed."

She said there had not been any attacks in that part of the township.

The Gauteng education department has encouraged school bodies to be sympathetic to pupils and teachers affected by the attacks.

Department spokesman Bayza Isutsi said: "We have a substantial number of foreign-born educators. We are encouraging our other teachers to fill in for them."

"We request schools to support all affected victims, especially pupils who might miss tests or deadlines to submit their work."

Hesaida school at the Ramaphosa informal settlement on the East Rand was being used as an overnight shelter.

Isutsi said: "We currently don't have the figures on how many pupils are displaced but five weeks ago when the attacks occurred in Mamelodi, 35 pupils were displaced."

Red Cross South Africa has made an urgent appeal to the public to make donations because the organisation had run out of resources.

"With xenophobic attacks being everywhere, our resources have become exhausted. We appeal to everyone to join the humanity chain and make a one-off R20 donation," said Pumi Yoni of the Red Cross.

Yoni said dances can SM6 their names to 079 6 500 0000.

G See also pages 14 and 16

Tuesday May 13 2008 **Late Final**

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**NIGHT OF  
TERROR FOR  
FOREIGNERS**

**PAGE 7**



**BULLETS  
FLY AT  
ANC INDABA**

**PAGE 4**



# MGARIMBE BUST FOR CHILD ABUSE

**PAGE 3**



**Kwaito star spends two nights in police custody after allegations of abuse involving his four-year-old daughter**

cyan magenta yellow black • Sowetan • 13 May 2008 • Page 1 Gauteng

# WE WANT TO LEAVE SA

## Say terrified foreign nationals camped at Alexandra police station

Penwell Dlamini

Foreign nationals who suffered xenophobic attacks in Alexandra, northeastern Johannesburg, say they want to return to their homelands – as soon as they can.

About 1 000 displaced foreign nationals yesterday still packed the Alexandra police station for refuge after being attacked in their shacks on Sunday night.

Charity organisations arrived with food and clothes for the homeless who had crowded into the police station.

Two people were killed and 60 injured when a mob attacked the Alexandra area occupied by foreigners.

“Two women were raped during the violence but we have already arrested two men for those crimes,” said police spokesman Constable Neria Malefetse.

Malefetse said that by yesterday they had arrested a total of 50 people in connection with the violence.

They face charges of murder, attempted murder, public violence and being in possession of stolen goods.

Malefetse said members of the Alexandra community accused the foreign nationals of being responsible for the crimes in their area.

“They [the attackers] got into my shack, took my stove, valuables and R3 500,” said Teresa Mhlanga, one of the victims.

“Then they took me outside and one hit me with a fist on my left eye.”

“I now want to go back to Zimbabwe but I do not have the money.”

Sam Kobedi, 62, born and bred in Alexandra, said the situation was extremely tense and he was scared.

“We are living in fear because we do not know what might happen to us,” Kobedi said.

An urgent meeting, attended by senior police officials, representatives of the Human Rights Commission, political leaders, and the officials Department of Justice, was held at the police station.

“We condemn this violence in



RIOT VICTIM: One of the hundreds of foreign nationals seeking refuge at the Alexandra police station after xenophobic violence in the area.

PHOTO: SAPA

the strongest possible terms and resolve to support the call for a summit on xenophobia,” said Alexandra Community Policing Forum chairman Thomas Sithole.

“We are concerned about it being poor blacks who were

attacking poor blacks in this violent act, so we are pushing for a summit on xenophobia,” said Human Rights Commission chief executive Tseliso Thipanyane.

Thipanyane admitted that the attacks were a sign that the meth-

ods being used to address xenophobia had not been successful.

Gauteng PAC chairman Thami Ka Platjje said economic factors could have played a large part in explaining such behaviour.

Local councillor William

Chuene said: “We will try to normalise the situation and those who are not afraid to go back to their houses will do so

“Arrangements might be made later for people who want to go back to their homelands.”

## Call to 'naturalise' African immigrants

Ido Lekota

The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) has called on the government to “naturalise” the millions of illegal African immigrants at present living in the country.

In a statement yesterday the SAIRR said the government should consider granting the millions of illegal immigrants “some form of legal standing”.

SAIRR spokesman Mapeete Mohale said such a move would allow immigrants to be registered and then their numbers can be monitored.

It would also allow them easier access to the police and justice system when their rights were infringed on either by the police or

the public, Mohale said.

She said in turn the police would then have a better chance of tracking down immigrants allegedly involved in crimes.

“Access to banking and other services will also cut the risks of their being targeted as robbery victims,” Mohale said.

SAIRR deputy chief executive Frans Cronje said the estimated number of African immigrants in the country was between three and five million, “which makes them equal to South Africa’s entire white population”.

Cronje said it was not in South Africa’s interest to have an illegal population the size of the African immigrant population.

The SAIRR call comes amid recent attacks on foreigners by

residents in Alexandra.

The attackers accuse foreigners of stealing their jobs and of being involved in criminal activities.

Mohale ascribed the attacks to the government’s reluctance to accept the fact that African immigrants were now a permanent feature of the South African population.

Currently the government classifies foreigners who flock into South Africa from other African countries either as refugees, who are then registered as asylum seekers; and illegal immigrants who sneak into the country through its porous borders. If arrested these are repatriated to their countries.

Parliament announced yester-

day that it would debate the Refugees Amendment Bill.

The bill grants authority to the director-general of Home Affairs to establish a Refugees Appeals Authority (RAA) that would be responsible for the procedures relating to refugee status determination, obligations and rights of asylum seekers.

Several organisations have condemned the attacks in Alexandra.

Home Affairs communications director Siobhan McCarthy said while the attacks were symptoms of a situation where South Africans face the challenges of rampant poverty and unemployment, “venting their frustration on innocent foreigners was unacceptable”.

Denis Mpanangane of the International Community Unifiers, said “communities that perpetrate xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals are rolling back several years of hard work towards educating South Africans on the importance of respecting human rights”.

Cosatu said there can be no excuse for placing the blame for problems of poverty and unemployment on immigrants “who have been forced to flee from even worse conditions in other parts of Africa, especially Zimbabwe”.

The Young Communist League said the xenophobic attacks were “undermining international struggles and solidarity, which are a cornerstone of our hard won freedom and democracy”.

## XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

# FLEEING MOM GIVES BIRTH TO TRIPLETS

## Babies now without a home, food or clothes

### Pertunia Ratsatsi

Three unborn babies almost died when their mother fell on her stomach while trying to flee from a mob in Tembisa on the East Rand.

Otella Nxabane is receiving treatment at the Tembisa Hospital after giving birth to triplets, a boy and two girls, on Monday.

Thabo, Tsakane and Nkcsani were born prematurely after their mother fell on her stomach while fleeing from xenophobic attackers in Mqantsa section on Monday morning.

"I was still sleeping when I heard people screaming outside," Nxabane said. "Suddenly a group of locals

banged on my door and told me to get out. I grabbed a few items and followed the other foreigners.

"I was so afraid that I tripped and fell on my stomach. But I managed to get to the police station where they took us to Rabasotho Hall."

Nxabane started feeling labour pains at the hall.

"I was taken to hospital in the afternoon and finally gave birth to my three babies during the night," she said. "They are my first babies and I was afraid I might lose them because they did not come at the right time.

"I am devastated because I can't go back to where I was living. My babies have no food or

clothes."

Nxabane will be taken back to Rabasotho Hall when she is discharged from hospital. She will sleep on the floor and wait for food donations.

Nxabane has been in South Africa since 1992. Another pregnant woman, Annah Masimba, 29, is also receiving treatment after being hit in the waist by attackers in the same area.

She is also due to give birth soon. More than 400 foreigners are accommodated at the hall. There are more than 10 pregnant women and 163 children.

Four people died and more than 60 shacks were burned during the attacks in Tembisa.

## Business group visits victims

A group of black businesses from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and other states will visit areas affected by xenophobic attacks today.

Spokesman Khanya Mjiyako said yesterday the delegation would give out food parcels and blankets to victims of the attacks.

"The visit will be a symbol of unity among African states represented in South Africa," Mjiyako said.

Mjiyako said the countries had also set up an African carnival to promote the 2010 World Cup, address xenophobia and promote African tourism.

The group is in the country for meetings organised by the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nafcoo).

Mjiyako said one of the attractions of the carnival would be an African village where "authentic African food and drinks would be exhibited".

Other highlights would include storytelling and poetry. — Sapa

## 'IFP will help to root out xenophobia'

### Mhlaba Memela

The IFP has pledged to cooperate with the authorities to help stop the xenophobic violence now threatening to engulf Durban.

This comes after a group from Dalton men's hostel attacked a city pub-restaurant owned by a Nigerian national.

It is alleged that the unruly group had earlier attended a meeting of an IFP branch re-launch.

They allegedly went on the rampage and damaged the pub-restaurant.

IFP provincial chairman Mntomuhle Khawula, said his party would help the police to bring the perpetrators to book.

He told *Sowetan* that IFP members had a meeting earlier in the hostel where they were preparing to re-launch a branch.

"People went back to their houses. Later in the evening the leadership heard that there was fighting in progress at the pub-restaurant.

"Upon arrival, they found people involved in senseless violence," he said.

Khawula said the hostel is a multi-party residence and to suggest that the attackers were IFP members was irresponsible.



FLAMES OF HATE: Ramaphosa informal settlement in Reiger Park, Boksburg, continued to simmer yesterday.

PHOTO: MOHAU MOFOKENG

## Uneasy calm returns to Reiger Park

### Penwell Dlamini

The Ramaphosa informal settlement in Reiger Park, Boksburg, appeared quiet but tense yesterday with sporadic fighting between locals and foreigners.

By 9am residents stood outside their houses, wondering what the day had in store for them as Metro police and SAPS members patrolled the area and maintained a high visibility.

On Tuesday police fired rubber

bullets at hundreds of men after one of them had thrown a bottle at suspended police chief Robert McBride.

Things took an ugly turn when a man was beaten up by a group of men and had to be taken to hospital.

Three hours later two men who were identified as foreigners were saved by the police when they were beaten up by a mob. One of them had his brains spilling out of his skull.

"They used a garden spade to beat him up and the other was saved by police as the angry mob tried to set him alight using a plastic," said a resident.

The mob had launched attacks against foreigners who tried to salvage what was left of their charred belongings.

"I think it is our persistent pursuing of suspects, strong police visibility and arrests that has helped to restore calm in the affected areas," said police Director Govin-

dsamy Mariemuthoo.

Police had to now and then stop residents who tried to loot some of the goods left by the displaced foreigners.

"I have been in Ramaphosa since 1994 and we did not have a problem with foreigners. I do not know what has sparked such violence," said another resident.

She said her husband, a Shangaan from Giyani, had left her with their five children when xenophobic attacks started.

# Sowetan says

## Stop xenophobic monster

The spread of xenophobic violence against African immigrants in Gauteng is cause for great alarm, given its potential to create anarchy in many parts of the province.

Most worrying, too, is the effect of the violence on the cosmopolitan outlook of Johannesburg and other parts of the province, a feature credited with giving the city its unique vibrancy.

But all that is in danger if the violence continues to polarise the province, creating the dreaded no-go areas that were a relic of the 1990s political violence.

Behind the violence is undoubtedly a criminal element bent on carrying out its nefarious activities under the cover of public violence.

Evidence of this disturbing pattern is the systematic looting that has followed the evacuation of refugees at various flash points. This points to a deliberate campaign.

Sooner or later the conflagration might take on a more sinister note with reports of indiscriminate attacks on the public by faceless elements.

Hence the imperative for the government to muster all resources to nip the lawlessness in the bud before it's too late.

We dare not return to the climate of fear that enveloped the country in the 1990s. An eerie reminder of that period is the restiveness witnessed in some of Gauteng's hostels at the weekend.

It's an unwanted dynamic that will hold dire implications for efforts to quell the violence.

## Great PSL season

A nail-biting finish marked the end of a long but exciting Absa Premiership yesterday. For good measure, fixtures rolled out to a set calendar with almost clockwork precision this season. This is an achievement that seemed to elude the PSL in the past.

Capping a good season with the most lucrative league prize in the history of the PSL were generally well behaved crowds.

Heated moments between fans and coaches were few and far between.

Once again it was the heads of the coaches, not the fans, on the block, though the passion in the terraces somehow made one think otherwise.

Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown. Congratulations to Gavin Hunt and Supersport United!

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## Immigrant problem fault of government

The mayhem in Alex and elsewhere was directly caused by the government.

Where in the world have you seen open borders day and night and no worthwhile effort by the government to deal with the issue of illegal immigrants?

The government has turned its back on the problems of the immigrants, who have to fend for themselves in a country with a high unemployment rate and limited resources for its own people.

What is happening is a manifestation of turning one's back and thinking nature will provide.

The government's denunciation of this kind of violence is not good enough.

What is the basic solution to the mess it has created? Who is responsible and accountable for these illegal immigrants?

The people who live side by side with the immigrants are the ones who feel the pinch in terms of the fierce competition of the capitalist system.

To say that a third force is involved is mere speculation.

Anybody entering South Africa should be registered so that behaviour trends can be recorded in case crime is involved.

Illegal immigration should not be allowed, but immigration according to skill shortages should be encouraged because it boosts the economy.

South Africa has to educate its nationals about immigration from an early age and learn from Australia the US, EU and UK.

Nana Mthembu, Johannesburg

## HAVE YOUR SAY

### The foreigners need us now

I am perturbed at the xenophobia in some of our townships.

We must remember that when Botha, Verwoerd and their likes were thirsting for black blood, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Uganda and other African states harboured our young men and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It's strange to see how now that our brothers seek refuge – not to fight an armed struggle but in search of a safe harbour – we turn around and kick them in the teeth.

Yes, I acknowledge that there are ruffians among the foreigners, but the majority are

honest hard working people. We must face it, no one is perfect and even though it was not publicised, I am sure that some of our boys also got up to no good in exile.

Let's take the high moral ground and accommodate our brothers because Africa is for the Africans.

Our continent is rich in minerals, much richer than the rest of the world, but Africa receives mostly handouts because the poorest people can be found in Africa.

*Asibambaneni maAfrica, together we can rule the world.*  
Gugu Mabele, Johannesburg

### State should educate folk about foreigners

I am deeply concerned about the ongoing violence against foreigners in South Africa.

It has happened in Olivierhoutbosch, south of Pretoria, Atteridgeville, west of Pretoria, Mamelodi, east of Pretoria, and now it is happening in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg.

I live in Mamelodi and I have witnessed the violence myself. I am convinced unemployment is one of the factors contributing to the problem.

I also believe that the government should educate our people about the plight of the foreigners.

Some of the foreigners fled their own countries because of the ongoing violence there. They came to South Africa hoping to find a better life, but unfortunately that has not been the case.

I appeal to all South Africans not to resort to this kind of behaviour. It is not the solution to the problem.

Steve Mogale, Mamelodi

## Zim's currency is not a joke

What's all the fuss about the Zimbabwean currency?

A daily tabloid this week made the new Zimbabwe R250 000 000 note its front-page story and gave its readers the equivalent in South African rands.

The story was meant to be funny, but I frankly don't find such so-called "jokes" funny. That is, if they are meant to be jokes.

What is money anyway? Money, for those ignoramuses who engage in buffoonery, is a measure of value. It is not value itself.

It is the same as the figure "20km". It is a representation of the distance of 20 kilometres. It is not the actual kilometres themselves.

Currency is paper money. The tabloid in question should educate its readers by telling them that we

exchange real value, like our gold, diamond, platinum and so on for paper money or promissory notes. Money is nothing, really.

Zimbabwe is perhaps demystifying the issue of money (the root of all evil), which some people worship more than their deities.

We can make jokes about the Zimbabwean currency but, hey, Zimbabweans own and control their land and resources.

What they do with their land and resources is another matter.

Sam Ditshego, Kagiso

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Pseudonyms may be used but all letters must include the writer's full name, address and telephone numbers. The editor reserves the right to edit letters.