

**Must they sing ‘Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika or must they return
fire: A critical analysis of discourses surrounding African
migrants on South African online news and Facebook**

By

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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MA in Intercultural Communication

in the Department of General Linguistics

at

Stellenbosch University

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March 2020

DECLARATION

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March 2020

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Acknowledgements

To begin, I wish to convey my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Lauren Mongie, for all she has done to assist me. I value her leadership, direction, honesty and affirmation in this process. It is difficult to express how much it has meant to me. Additionally, I want to show my appreciation for all the staff at the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University who provided the foundation for this endeavour. Next, I would like to thank my examiners, Carla Els and Marcellyn Oostendorp, for their feedback and for investing their time towards the improvement of my thesis. Furthermore, I want to express my love and appreciation for my husband, Tseliso Mohlomi, and my son, Tshepo Mohlomi. Thank you for your inspiration, patience and support. I want to thank my friends, Lidy van der Bergh and Linda Gibson, for your prayers and encouragement as I wrote this thesis. Above all, I would like to acknowledge God for gifting me with the time and strength to do this work.

Abstract

Since 1994, xenophobic violence has become a regular occurrence in South Africa. (Matsinhe 2011:295) and xenophobic attitudes and discourse have been taken up and practiced by ordinary South Africans as well as those in powerful roles (Tella 2016:143). This study has relied on van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the discursive construction of African migrants in South African online news articles and in Facebook comments. This thesis addresses the following research questions: (i) How are African migrants discursively constructed in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments responding to those articles? (ii) Which themes are visible in these representations of African migrants in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments responding to those articles? (iii) Which ideologies are visible in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments that respond to those articles? (iv) Which discursive devices are used to construct these ideologies in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments that respond to those articles?

The findings showed that migrants were discursively constructed, from a tolerant perspective, as valued individuals who suffer hardships in South Africa and as victims of xenophobic violence. In contrast, from an intolerant perspective, migrants were depicted as entering the country illegally, as being criminals and as being problematic for the country. In addition, the most common themes focused on the following: difficulties migrants face; the documentation of migrants and the enforcement of migration; crime and lawbreaking; and xenophobic behaviour and discourse. Also, two tolerant ideologies were repeated in the discourse. The first supported the interests of migrants in being allowed to work in South Africa, while the second ideology relied on the belief that South Africans and migrants are equals. In contrast, an intolerant ideology supported the interests of the South African group in having exclusive rights to jobs and businesses and strongly justified violence against African migrants. Finally, the following discursive devices were used to construct these ideologies: implication, necessity modalities, quantification, evaluative lexical items, the active voice, metaphors, and the rhetorical device of invoking categories of people with entitlements. In closing, this study has contributed to the understanding of xenophobic discourse and its resistance, on the topic

of African migrants in South Africa, by investigating its role in online news and Facebook comments.

Opsomming

Sedert 1994 het xenofobiese geweld 'n gereelde gebeurtenis geword in Suid-Afrika (Matsinhe 2011:295) en xenofobiese houdings en taalgebruik is opgeneem en beoefen deur gewone Suid-Afrikaners asook diegene in magtposisies (Tella 2016:143). Hierdie studie het van Dijk se sosio-kognitiewe teorie van Kritiese Diskoersanalise (KDA) gebruik om ondersoek in te stel rakende die diskursiewe konstruksie van Afrika-migrante in Suid-Afrikaanse aanlyn-nuusartikels en in die kommentaar-seksie op Facebook. Hierdie tesis spreek die volgende navorsingsvrae aan: (i) Hoe word Afrika-migrante diskursief gekonstrueer in Suid-Afrikaanse aanlyn-nuusartikels wat Afrika-migrasie topikaliseer en in die Facebook-kommentare wat reageer op daardie artikels? (ii) Watter temas is sigbaar in hierdie verteenwoordigings van Afrika-migrante in Suid-Afrikaanse aanlyn-nuusartikels wat Afrika-migrasie topikaliseer en in die Facebook-kommentare wat reageer op daardie artikels? (iii) Watter ideologieë is sigbaar in Suid-Afrikaanse aanlyn-nuusartikels wat Afrika-migrasie topikaliseer en in die Facebook-kommentare wat reageer op daardie artikels? (iv) Watter diskursiewe tegnieke word gebruik om hierdie ideologieë te konstrueer in Suid-Afrikaanse aanlyn-nuusartikels wat Afrika-migrasie topikaliseer en in die Facebook-kommentare wat reageer op daardie artikels?

Die bevindinge toon dat migrante diskursief vanuit 'n verdraagsame perspektief gekonstrueer word as gewaardeerde individue wat swaarkry in Suid-Afrika en as slagoffers van xenofobiese geweld. Hierteenoor, vanuit 'n onverdraagsame perspektief, word migrante voorgestel as individue wat die land onwettig binnekom, kriminele is en problematies is vir die land. Verder het die mees algemene temas gefokus op die volgende: moeilikhede wat migrante in die gesig staar; die dokumentering van migrante en die toepassing van migrasie; misdad en wetsoortreding; en xenofobiese gedrag en taal. Twee verdraagsame ideologieë is ook herhaal in die diskoers. Die eerste het die belange van migrante ondersteun deurdat hulle toegelaat word om in Suid-Afrika te werk, terwyl die tweede ideologie staat maak het op die siening dat Suid-Afrikaners en migrante gelykes is. In kontras het 'n onverdraagsame ideologie die belange van die Suid-Afrikaanse groep ondersteun om eksklusiewe regte te hê tot beroepe en besighede, en het geweld teen Afrika-migrante ten sterkste geregverdig. Laastens is die volgende diskursiewe toestelle gebruik om hierdie ideologieë te konstrueer: implikasie, modale hulpwerkwoorde wat noodsaaklikheid aandui, kwantifikasie, evaluerende

leksikale items, die aktiewe sinsvom, metafore, en die retoriese toestel waar kategorieë van menseregte gebruik word. Ter afsluiting, hierdie studie het bygedra tot ons begrip van xenofobiese diskoerse en sy weerstand, op die onderwerp van Afrika-migrante in Suid-Afrika, deur ondersoek in te stel na sy rol in aanlyn-nuus en Facebook se kommentaar-seksie.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

This thesis will investigate, from a critical discourse analytical perspective, the discursive construction of African migrants in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments responding to those articles. This study will be based on a qualitative analysis of the discourse, which will be supported by a minor quantitative analysis. It will investigate common themes of the discourse; ideologies that are evident in the discourse; and discursive devices that are used to construct these ideologies. The data used for this investigation was collected over a period of 21 months from the South African online news publication, News24; specifically from the News24.com Facebook page and the News24 website, which are linked to one another.

1.2 Problem statement and focus

The UN Working Group on People of African Descent released a report in 2016, highlighting a growing normalisation of xenophobia and racism in public discourse found in the media. The Working Group identified this as a “major threat, not only to the rights of victims, but also to the rule of law, democracy, social cohesion and peace for society in general” (South African Human Rights Commission 2017:48). Since the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994, the problem of xenophobia has surfaced with violent attacks and harassment of African migrants becoming a regular occurrence across the nation (Matsinhe 2011:295). In addition to physical assaults and the destruction of property, many African migrants are also confronted with xenophobic discourse and attitudes from ordinary South Africans, the media, police, government officials and by some government departments (Tella 2016:143).

1.2.1 Categories of non-nationals

In the public discussion about migration to South Africa, a variety of terms have been used to define non-nationals such as “asylum seekers”, “refugees” or “migrants”. These terms are sometimes used interchangeably which can cause confusion and erode public support for refugees as well as for their human rights to seek asylum. To clarify this confusion, the International Organization for Migration (2020) defines an “asylum seeker” as an “individual

who is seeking international protection”, but whose claim to asylum has not yet been finalised. In contrast, the term “refugee” is defined in international law as someone who is outside his or her “country of origin because of feared persecution, conflict, violence, or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order, and who, as a result, requires ‘international protection’.” (UNHCR 2020:1) This definition is not dependent on the formal refugee status of the person. “Recognition of his refugee status does not... make him a refugee but declares him to be one. He does not become a refugee because of recognition, but is recognized because he is a refugee” (International Organization for Migration 2020). Another commonly used term, “immigrant”, is defined as a person who takes up residence in a country “other than that of his or her nationality or usual residence”. Additionally, the designation of “migrant worker” describes a person who engages in “a remunerated activity” in a country where he or she is a non-national. Lastly, although there is no uniform definition of the term “migrant” (UNHCR 2020:2), for the purpose of this study, the word will be used to refer to a person who leaves his or her country of origin and moves into a different country, either temporarily or permanently, for a variety of reasons, and establishes considerable social connections there (UNESCO 2017a).

1.2.2 Recent migration

In recent history, migration to South Africa has gone through a series of changes due to political and historical developments. During apartheid, immigrants to South Africa were mainly white, except for migrant workers from nearby countries, who were seen as a source of cheap labour. There were no refugee policies, though Mozambicans escaping civil war were allowed to live in the homelands without any legal status (Amit and Kriger 2014:270). After the transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa became a receiving country for refugees. Three years later, the 1998 Refugees Act was established, which was based on the humanitarian principles of the international refugee convention, and four years later, this Act was followed by the 2002 Immigration Act. While these new laws allowed asylum-seekers to live in South Africa while waiting for the outcomes of their cases, they did not give many options to migrants seeking work in the country, and as a result, many used the asylum process as a legal way to work and live temporarily in South Africa (Amit and Kriger 2014:271). The official asylum-seeker numbers peaked in 2009 at over 200,000 applications (Amit and Kriger 2014:273).

1.2.3 Xenophobia in South Africa since 1994

Since the rise of democracy in 1994, which brought an influx of migrants, xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals in South Africa have begun to occur regularly (Matsinhe 2011:295). The attackers have generally been reported to be black South African citizens who blame migrants for social problems in the country, such as crime, high unemployment, the spread of HIV and more (Matsinhe 2011:306). As early as 1994 in Alexandra township, non-nationals were evicted in the so-called “Operation Buyelekhaya” (Operation go back home), with foreigners’ homes being looted and burned by youth claiming affiliation with political parties and a community organisation. In 1998, three foreign nationals were thrown from a moving train by a group who had attended a political rally blaming migrants for social ills. The following year, Mozambicans running an informal business were robbed by members of the “Malamulela Social Movement”.

In the first half of the next decade, from 2000-2005 incidents of attacks against Mozambicans, Somalians, Zimbabweans and others took place in the form of murder, looting, evictions, and destruction of houses, shops and businesses (Misago 2016:71). Following these events, in 2006 xenophobic attacks increased in different areas of South Africa, targeting over 100 shops, displacing foreign nationals for up to three months, and killing 20-30 Somalis (Misago 2016:72). These incidents continued in 2007 and leading up to the infamous events of May 2008 in South Africa (Misago 2016:73). Researchers estimate that from the 11th to the 26th of May 2008, foreign nationals were attacked in 135 locations in South Africa, with 62 killed (including a number of South Africans), dozens raped, hundreds injured, over 100,000 displaced from homes, and millions of rands worth of property destroyed or stolen (Misago 2016:76).

In looking back on these events of 2008 and the years following them, the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) reported, in 2011, that since mid-2008, there were monthly attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. Additionally, from 2011-2014 the UNHCR's Regional Office for Southern Africa (UNHCR ROSA) documented rising numbers of xenophobic attacks in each of these years. The next year, in 2015, the South African Police Service (SAPS) reported xenophobic violence in three provinces, in which 16 people were killed, over 6000 displaced and hundreds of businesses looted and destroyed

(Misago 2016:97). In addition, from January 2015 to January 2017 the media reported 66 deaths, 116 assaults, over 500 shops looted and over 11,000 people displaced due to xenophobic attacks in the country.

Thereafter, in February 2017, xenophobic violence flared up once more in Gauteng, with the looting of shops and houses. This resulted in a total of over 60 victims of violence, including both South Africans and non-South Africans (Xenowatch 2019a). During the following year, 2018, 12 deaths and 29 assaults were attributed to xenophobia (Xenowatch 2019b). Finally, from January to September 2019, 18 people were killed, 43 assaults were carried out, hundreds were displaced and nearly 150 shops were looted. At the time of writing this thesis, the number of xenophobic incidents this year (2019) have nearly reached the same amount as during the infamous events of 2015, and are the third-highest of any year recorded since 1994 (Xenowatch 2019c).

1.2.4 Focus of the study

In light of these problems, the present study will focus on how attitudes concerning migrants are expressed and reproduced through discourse. According to Critical Discourse Analyst van Dijk (2009:75), discourse can be used as a foundation for anti-immigrant attitudes and can reproduce xenophobia at a societal level. Additionally, discourse is key to legitimising racism (Jiwani and Richardson 2011:274) and has the power to define and affect the everyday lives of the out-group in a society (Jiwani and Richardson 2011:257). Van Dijk (2009:76) defines “racism” as “a social system of racial or ethnic domination, consisting of two major subsystems: “racist social cognition (prejudices and racist ideologies)” and “underlying racist practices (discrimination)”. Racist discourse, which is one of these practices, reproduces racist social cognition. Furthermore, racist social cognition can be expressed as racist discourse, exclusion, violence, and discrimination against the out-group (van Dijk 2009:70). Additionally, ideologies are enacted in discourse; as well as in practices such as the exclusion of certain groups from jobs, housing, communities or countries; and also in physical abuse and violence (van Dijk 2000b:32).

Just as ideologies are enacted in discourse, they can also be learned or changed by discourse (van Dijk 2011:408). This means that anti-racist attitudes and ideologies can be learned and reproduced using anti-racist discourse (van Dijk 2009:77). Discourse can also be used to

challenge xenophobia with the same structures and strategies which are employed in xenophobic discourse. In addition, discourse can be used to delegitimise pervasive racist myths (van Dijk 2009:78); to create arguments against racist policies (van Dijk 2009:81); to discredit opponents of inclusion and to emphasise the value of equality (van Dijk 2009:82).

1.3 Rationale for the study

As mentioned in the previous section, van Dijk (2002:158) argues that discourse can be used to reproduce racism. He links racially motivated violence to the way the dominant group in a society speaks and writes about migrants, non-whites, and ethnic out-groups, and argues that both racism and xenophobia originate from social structures set up to maintain racial oppression through discriminatory actions, attitudes and ideologies (van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman and Troutman 1997:165). Given that discourse has the power to fashion social categories and be a catalyst for violence (Foster 2000:8), more research is needed on the discursive construction of African migrants to South Africa.

1.4 Aims of the study

The proposed study aims to contribute to the understanding of tolerant and intolerant discourse towards African migrants in South Africa by analysing how the group is discursively constructed in South African online news articles and Facebook comments referring to those articles. Secondly, it will give insight into how people practice discrimination against African migrants using discourse and how other people counter this xenophobic discourse. Thirdly, the study will add to the knowledge of how tolerant and intolerant discourse on this topic is employed in the South African context of online news articles and Facebook interaction. Fourthly, the research will build on the awareness of how discourse on social media can be used as a tool of oppression or of opposition to hegemony. Therefore, the proposed study has the potential to help address the societal challenges relating to African migrants in South Africa, especially relating to discourse used by the media and the general public.

1.5 The research questions

The primary research question for this thesis is:

- i. How are African migrants discursively constructed in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments responding to those articles?

The sub-questions are:

- ii. Which themes are visible in these representations of African migrants in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments responding to those articles?
- iii. Which ideologies are visible in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments that respond to those articles?
- iv. Which discursive devices are used to construct these ideologies in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments that respond to those articles?

1.6 Outline of the thesis

The first chapter of this study introduces the topic and background of the study including recent migration to South Africa and xenophobic violence in the country. It also covers the study's aims, context and research questions. Next, Chapter 2 presents a literature review of studies that have been carried out on the analysis of discourse in news media and everyday talk concerning hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse. Following this, Chapter 3 discusses the historical background of CDA, the concept of 'power' and its resistance, the theoretical framework of van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA and critiques of CDA and van Dijk's framework. Subsequently, Chapter 4 presents the research questions, data collection and analytical methodology of the study. After this, Chapter 5 offers a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data collected from the news articles and Facebook comments which make up the corpus. Next, Chapter 6 gives an overview of the results of the study, discussing them and highlighting the significant observations. Finally, chapter 7 discusses the final conclusions of the study, its limitations, and suggestions for future research.

1.7 Key terms and abbreviations

This section presents technical terms and explanations of acronyms used in the present study.

African National Congress (ANC)

The ANC is the political party that has been governing South Africa since the adoption of democracy in 1994.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is "discourse analytical research" which investigates how text and talk are used to implement, reproduce and counter dominance and oppression in society. CDA seeks to comprehend, reveal, and confront inequalities between social groups. CDA is not a method of analysis, but uses many methods from discourse studies, social sciences and the humanities (van Dijk 2015a:466).

Ideology

The term "ideology" has to do with a system of ideas or beliefs which are held by a social group and which are used to interpret situations and to control the discourse and practices of group members. Ideologies delineate the identity of the group and its relationship to other groups. It is important to note that ideologies promote the interests of the group and can be used to propagate the domination of other groups or to resist it (van Dijk 2011:395).

Migrant

The present study uses the term "migrant" to refer to a person who leaves his or her country of origin and moves into a different country, either temporarily or permanently, for a variety of reasons and establishes considerable social connections there (UNESCO 2017a).

Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The Reconstruction and Development Programme is a policy framework that was implemented at the adoption of democracy in South Africa to counter the effects of apartheid. It focused on meeting critical needs such as housing, electricity and water, and on developing human resources, the economy and the democracy of South Africa (The South African Government 2019a).

Refugee Reception Office (RRO)

A Refugee Reception Office is an office run by the South African Department of Home Affairs, which deals with applications, interviews and documentation related to asylum seekers and refugees (Sonke Gender Justice 2019).

South African Social Security Agency (SASSA)

SASSA is a government agency that distributes social grants to vulnerable groups such as the disabled and the elderly.

Xenophobia

Xenophobia is defined as “attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity.” (UNESCO 2017b) The present study focuses mainly on xenophobia in terms of national identity.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the problem statement; an overview of categories of non-nationals; and the history of recent migration and xenophobia in South Africa. The chapter has also covered the focus of the study; the rationale and aims of the study, the research questions; an outline of the thesis; and explanations of key terms and abbreviations used in the study. Chapter 2 will present a literature review of ten studies that have been carried out on the analysis of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse concerning migrants and racial out-groups.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The following literature review focuses on previous, related research on the topic of xenophobia and racism used in news discourse and everyday discourse. This includes discourse found in print media, in online news, and social media such as blogs, Twitter and Facebook. The literature review begins with a focus on van Dijk's early studies which investigated everyday talk and news discourse about racial out-groups, immigrants and refugees. This is followed by an overview of more recent studies concerning everyday talk, news articles and discussions on online platforms which highlight hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse concerning racial out-groups, immigrants, asylum seekers and migrants.

2.2 van Dijk's early research on racism in news media

Early qualitative research on the analysis of discourse concerning race and ethnicity began in the 1980s (van Dijk et al. 1997:166) with van Dijk as one of the foremost scholars on the role of the media in the reproduction of racism (Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak 2011:379). As the present study is based on the work of van Dijk, his early research, in particular, is highlighted in this literature review. The following consists of van Dijk's early studies which used CDA to investigate discourse in news and everyday talk concerning non-dominant racial and ethnic groups, as well as immigrants and refugees. The studies were carried out in western nations and used mainly qualitative analysis with some quantitative analysis. Though these studies were conducted in different nations, the findings are very similar.

2.2.1 Ethnic prejudice in everyday talk in the Netherlands and United States

One such study, by van Dijk (1987:11), took place in both the Netherlands and the United States, and was focused on how racial prejudices are communicated and reproduced in everyday talk. The study was based on a collection of projects conducted from 1980 to 1985 at the University of Amsterdam and the University of California, San Diego (van Dijk 1987:15).

Interviews were conducted with 180 respondents from the white in-groups in both locations. The interviews topicalised the relevant ethnic or racial out-groups in the country (van Dijk

1987:16). One focus of the interviews was on discovering respondents' sources of information about racial out-groups. For example, people were asked if their information was obtained from family members, friends or the media. The interviewer controlled the topic, but the interviews were structured in an informal manner, to closely resemble everyday talk (van Dijk 1987:18). Other data was collected from media texts as well as surveys, which collected quantitative data for background information. Some data also came from personal reporting, in diaries, about daily communication on the topic of racial out-groups. However, this method was not very successful (van Dijk 1987:17).

The method of data analysis for van Dijk's (1987) study was mainly qualitative and used discourse analysis to investigate "overall thematic (macro) structures, narrative or argumentative schemata, local semantic strategies, lexical style, rhetorical operations, and more specific conversational properties of talk" (van Dijk 1987:20). This was done by first determining the macrostructures, the argumentation structures and the narrative structures of talk. Following this, talk was analysed on the micro-level of sentences, speech acts, turns, semantic moves, as well as style, rhetoric, and conversational formulation (van Dijk 1987:21). The analysis focused on examining how everyday talk about racial out-groups includes goals of positive self-portrayal and negative other-portrayal (van Dijk 1987:22).

Interviews were compared to evaluate whether persuasive strategies were socially shared. Discourse was also analysed to discover how people express socially shared values, norms and evaluations about racial out-groups (van Dijk 1987:26). In addition, a brief analysis was done on the role of the media and the authorities in controlling discourse about racial groups (van Dijk 1987:24). The study investigated how racial in-groups talked about racial out-groups by expressing "structures and strategies of prejudice in social cognition"; what sources people based their information and opinions on; which types of social contexts were involved in talk about racial out-groups and what role the elites and the media played in the reproduction of racism in everyday talk (van Dijk 1987:3840).

The study found that topics related to racial out-groups were very similar in both California and the Netherlands (van Dijk 1987:385). Some typical topic groups included their differences, deviance, and failure to adapt; their threat to "Our" interests, "Them" being in competition with "Us", as well as resentment of their "favourable treatment" (welfare,

affirmative action, etc.) (van Dijk 1987:386). The study used Labov's narrative categories (1967) which describe the structures commonly used in oral stories. These include the abstract, orientation, complicating action(s), evaluation, resolution and coda (or conclusion) (van Dijk 1984:82). Storytelling about racial out-groups in California and the Netherlands often included a negative complicating action and evaluation category, and lacked a resolution category, emphasising that the elites are the victims of discrimination rather than out-groups. In addition, stories involving crime, problems, differences, deviance and threat related to out-groups, were used as proof supporting argumentation against these groups (van Dijk 1987:387).

In the discourse which made up these interviews, semantic moves were found, including apparent denial (signalled by "I'm not prejudiced, but..."), mitigation (attempts to make negative expressions less severe), apparent concessions (admissions about "Our" negative qualities or "Their" positive qualities which are then retracted often by using the word "but") and contrastive emphasis (for example, "We" are hardworking while "They" are lazy). In addition, lexical choice, the overuse of pronouns, rhetoric and style, were used to accomplish positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (van Dijk 1987:388). The study found that people attribute their sources of information about racial out-groups mainly to conversations with other people and to the media, especially TV and newspapers (van Dijk 1987:390).

Further, the study concluded that prejudice is a form of socially shared negative attitudes which are organised in categories such as "origin, appearance, socioeconomic status, sociocultural properties, or personal characteristics" of racial out-groups (van Dijk 1987:391). In addition, it was found that prejudice involves general strategies for the management of information about racial out-groups and specific "situation models" (van Dijk 1987:392) which are defined as "episodic representations" of personal experiences (van Dijk 1987:191). The research also discovered that prejudiced attitudes, as well as the structures and strategies used in discourse, are homogeneous in both Western Europe and North America (van Dijk 1987:392).

The study further discovered that people pay attention to, remember and cite the information about racial out-groups, which is in agreement with their own attitudes on the topic, thus

circulating the prevailing ethnic consensus and protecting the in-group's power and dominance in society (van Dijk 1987:393). The research indicated that discourse about out-groups has several functions including positive self-presentation, signalling group membership, social sharing of thoughts and experiences and authorising social action against out-groups (van Dijk 1987:394). Through research concerning a new and unknown group of refugees (the Tamil) in the Netherlands, the study concluded that prejudices about out-groups originate and are prepared by elite groups, who have access to the power of the media, and are accepted by the general public who embrace these prejudices as their own (van Dijk 1987:395).

2.2.2 The depiction of Tamil refugees in Dutch news reporting

In contrast to the previous study, which focused on everyday talk about racial out-groups, the next study highlights news discourse about these groups. In this study van Dijk (1988a:167) focused on Dutch news reporting during the immigration of about 3000 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka. The project investigated how the media gives rise to and affirms the anti-immigrant consensus of those in power. The research examined news articles from December 1984 to May 1986 (van Dijk 1988a:168) which were found in five national, daily newspapers (van Dijk 1988a:171). A total of over 400 news stories were collected (van Dijk 1988a:171). Following this, texts were investigated at the micro-level of words, sentences, word groups and clauses as well as at the macro-level of whole texts (van Dijk 1988a:170). Additionally, a quantitative analysis recorded the main topics used in the news articles as well as how often they were used. The main actors in the news articles were also documented in the same way. Next, both qualitative and quantitative analysis were used to inspect the semantic macrostructures in the headlines and the frequency of their use (van Dijk 1988a:173). Similarly, the topics of the news articles were investigated in this manner (van Dijk 1988a:175). Finally, local semantics were investigated qualitatively to unearth participant roles as well as portrayals and assessments of the Tamils (van Dijk 1988a:177).

This study explored the topics and inferences found in the headlines of the daily press (van Dijk 1988a:173); how the local meaning of the news reports aligned with the headlines; and what attitudes and ideologies could be connected to this discourse (van Dijk 1988a:177). In a quantitative analysis of the major topics found in the news articles, it was found that the press

described the Tamil immigration as socially and politically problematic for the white in-group in the Netherlands. The most common topic of headlines had to do with actions of the government in relation to the Tamil people, thus associating the immigrants with the police or the Department of Justice from the outset (van Dijk 1988a:173). Another common topic had to do with accommodation, reception and welfare of the Tamils in the Netherlands, and the problems these caused for the authorities. A different topic found in the headlines was related to the Tamil people's response and opposition to the moves of the government.

In addition to topics, headlines used discourse to characterise the Tamils as "illegal" and as refugees with economic, rather than security interests (van Dijk 1988a:174). The themes of the news articles were similar to those of the headlines, often associating the Tamil immigrants with various problems. Themes included the refugee status of the Tamil people, their housing, the situation in Sri Lanka and protests by the Tamil immigrants against their situation in the Netherlands (van Dijk 1988a:175).

In the qualitative research related to local sentence meaning the immigrants were found to be connected to deviance, lawbreaking and crime (van Dijk 1988a:177). These definitions of the Tamil people also contributed to the characterisation of them as being illegitimate refugees only interested in economic gain (van Dijk 1988a:179). This was taken even further in the depiction of their immigration as an "invasion" of the Netherlands (van Dijk 1988a:180). The media also used numbers to emphasise this metaphor of invasion by daily or weekly counting of Tamil arrivals. Different newspapers reported varying numbers and researches concluded that these numbers were used in a metaphorical way to imply the use of facts (van Dijk 1988a:182). Metaphors having to do with the force of water were used to describe the Tamils, including "flow", "torrent" and "wave", emphasising their numbers (van Dijk 1988a:183). The study concluded that the press constructed the Tamils as a national threat to the Netherlands (van Dijk 1988a:185). In conclusion, the research found that the media reproduced and sanctioned the perspectives of the political and social in-group, which were hostile towards the Tamil immigrants (van Dijk 1988a:167).

2.2.3 Dutch news headlines and the characterisation of ethnic out-groups

In the previous study, van Dijk focused on discourse about one group of immigrants in the Netherlands, but in the next study, he broadened this focus to news discourse concerning

many different immigrant groups and racial out-groups in the country. In this study, van Dijk (1988b:227) investigated how the media contributes to the “reproduction of racism” by exploring how ethnic out-groups are written about in European news headlines (van Dijk 1988b:221). The research took place in the Netherlands and focused on the seven main newspapers in the nation. The study describes ethnic out-groups in the Netherlands as various groups, which have immigrated to the country, or as groups which are racial minorities in the country. Some of these people are citizens of the Netherlands (van Dijk 1988b:230).

Data was gathered from seven newspapers over a period of six months, from the 1st of August 1985 to the 1st of January 1986 (van Dijk 1988b:235). All the headlines of news reports and features, which focused on “ethnic groups and ethnic affairs”, were studied. A total of 1738 headlines were examined using mainly qualitative analysis, but also some quantitative aspects (van Dijk 1988b:230). The headlines were examined to ascertain how out-groups and situations concerning them were portrayed in the macrostructure (or summary) of the article, in the highest (macro)-proposition, in the headline and in the lead section of the article (van Dijk 1988b:226).

The study found that over half of the headlines referred to ethnic groups in society and most headlines specified well-known groups in the Netherlands by name, such as Turks or Moroccans. In addition, headlines referred to groups in a more general way describing them as refugees or “foreigners.” Powerful institutions were not often named in the headlines, though their role was presupposed, thus de-emphasising their agency in relating to ethnic out-groups. For example, *Tamils refused entry* does not specify who refused the Tamils entry, but it is understood. The study also found, when comparing newspapers, that the liberal press had nearly twice as many headlines referring to ethnic groups or ethnic affairs. The headline topics focused on immigration, crime, deviance and discrimination (van Dijk 1988b:257). The syntactic structures used presented ethnic out-groups as dominated groups in Dutch society. This was found in the headlines, in which ethnic out-group members were seldom agents of action, but were objects of the actions of others, mainly those of the authorities. However, when ethnic out-group members were agents of actions, they were presented as being responsible for negative acts such as crime, illegal immigration or protests (van Dijk 1988b:258). Van Dijk (1988b:260) concludes that this view of ethnic minorities, which is

found in the headlines, describes and endorses the ethnic consensus and its supporting ideologies, and as a result, contributes to reproducing racism.

2.2.4 Argumentation in British newspaper editorials concerning ethnic out-groups

In the next study, van Dijk changed the focus from headlines in the Netherlands to editorials in British newspapers about racial out-groups. Van Dijk (1992:248) analysed two editorials from British newspapers, which focused on the topic of extensive violence that occurred between police and young people in 1985 in Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham. These events were provoked by two separate incidents in which police entered the homes of two women of African descent. One woman was shot and crippled by police and the other suffered a heart attack and died during the episode.

This analysis was a contribution to a University of Amsterdam project which began in the early 1980s and researched the role of discourse in the reproduction of racism, specifically in textbooks, conversations and the media (van Dijk 1992a:243). The research analysed two British tabloid editorials (van Dijk 1992a:248): an editorial from the *Mail* titled *The choice for Britain's blacks* (October 8th, 1985) and an editorial from the *Sun* titled *The blacks must act* (September 30th, 1985) (van Dijk 1992a:250). The research used qualitative analysis to examine the structures and strategies used in argumentation (van Dijk 1992a:243); how the main argument of each editorial was supported and defended (van Dijk 1992a:250); which argumentative structures and strategies were found in the text; and which ideological presuppositions were put forth by the editorials (van Dijk 1992a:244).

The main argument found in the editorial by the *Mail* was a warning to black people that they should submit to authorities and behave in the way prescribed by the white in-group. The argument used “implications, presuppositions, suggestions, innuendo, mitigation, and other forms of indirectness” to maintain a positive self-presentation. The ideological presuppositions found in this editorial included the argument for white dominance and power in Britain; and the argument that racism is caused by the very groups who are being subjected to it (van Dijk 1992a:253). The main argument of the editorial by the *Sun* was also a warning that black people should “behave, or else”. This editorial blamed the victims for their situation and warned that black people would alienate themselves because of their actions. In addition, it prescribed that black people should behave like Asians, who were considered to

be a model minority group (van Dijk 1992a:255). The study concluded that both editorials defended an argument of white dominance over black people and validated racism (van Dijk 1992a:256).

2.2.5 Summary of van Dijk's early research on racism in news media

Early research by van Dijk which used CDA to analyse racism and xenophobia in news media and everyday talk, resulted in similar findings across the studies. A positive presentation of the in-group and a negative presentation of the out-group was a common strategy found in the discourse which was studied (van Dijk 1987:388). In addition, racial out-groups, immigrants and refugees were often associated with crime and other negative events (van Dijk 1988a:177). Many of the studies found that the structures and strategies used in news discourse and everyday discourse serve to maintain the hegemony which is in place and justify racism against out-groups (van Dijk 1992a:256). In the next section, recent research on the topic will be discussed to show what changes have occurred in the field and what has remained constant.

2.3 Recent publications

Recent publications on the analysis of discourse concerning racism and xenophobia include a focus on both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse in news media and everyday talk. In addition, because of changes in technology, online platforms have become important for news discourse as well as everyday discourse. In this literature review, recent publications include studies conducted in both Global North and Global South contexts. The following articles have been selected for this literature review due to their close links to the present study. These studies focus on both everyday discourse, news discourse and the use of online platforms for gathering data. Some of the following studies also provide the additional aspects of counter-hegemonic discourse, Global South contexts and studies conducted in the South African context, which align with the present study.

2.3.1 Challenges to racist themes in everyday talk concerning the Maori people group in New Zealand

The first study highlights the aspect of counter-hegemonic discourse in everyday talk. This study, set in New Zealand, investigated anti-racist discourse in everyday talk and how it

engaged with the dominant racist discourse. The study investigated challenges to four racist themes common in New Zealand and investigated rhetorical devices used in counter-hegemonic discourse (Fozdar 2008:529). To begin, the study conducted in-depth interviews with ten working-class Maori (an indigenous people group) and twelve working-class Pakeha individuals living in the Wellington area (Fozdar 2008:531). The term “Pakeha” refers to white New Zealanders (Fozdar 2008:535). The interviews were structured as a list of topics for discussion, rather than a list of questions, with the goal of collecting qualitative data.

The list of topics for discussion included biculturalism and multiculturalism; parallel health, education and justice systems; land conflicts, Waitangi Day (a New Zealand public holiday), Maori language and sovereignty, affirmative action, and ethnic relations in New Zealand and abroad (Fozdar 2008:531). “Parallel health, education and justice systems” refers to the rights of indigenous people in New Zealand to sustain separate legal systems from the State (Durie 2003:67) and the authorisation by the State for indigenous groups to dispense social services (Durie 2003:174).

The interviews were recorded and transcribed using “first pass” transcription (Fozdar 2008:532). “First pass” transcription is defined by Hepburn and Potter (2004:175) as transcription “without intonation, emphasis, breathing, overlaps, etc.” From this corpus, the challenges to four hegemonic themes were chosen for analysis. These themes were the productive use of land; the favourable comparison of the Maori situation to that of other indigenous groups; the legitimacy of Maori protests and how historical injustice should be dealt with in the present generation (Fozdar 2008:534). The study investigated how anti-racist discourse in New Zealand engaged with the dominant racist discourse; what challenges to racist themes and arguments were made and which rhetorical devices were used in the counter-hegemonic discourse (Fozdar 2008:529).

The first racist topic, “resources should be used productively”, has to do with the use of the land in New Zealand and employs stereotypes that certain groups are more or less productive (Fozdar 2008:535). A Pakeha man countered this discourse with an example of the land dispute over the Raglan golf course. He explained that the land was loaned to the government to be used as an airstrip during wartime, but was never returned to the Maori. The man used several rhetorical strategies in his argument, such as the use of a naming tactic (for example

labelling a group as “radicals”); presenting an extreme scenario (characterising a situation in the strongest possible way in order to influence the audience’s perspective); using disclaimers (expressions which soften a forceful point such as *that's how I see it*) and exemplification (the use of an example to explain a perspective) (Fozdar 2008:535). The participant resisted the “common sense” and majority voice strategy, used for the dominant discourse, with a counter-argument against what *some people say*, emphasising that there is another story. He then presented explicit, factual details, which were missing from the dominant story. This countered the use of vagueness, which is a strategy of the racist discourse (Fozdar 2008:536).

The second racist topic, “the Maori should be grateful that their situation is better than that of other indigenous groups”, focuses on contrasting the treatment of the Maori in New Zealand with how indigenous groups have been treated elsewhere such as Australia and South Africa. The counter-argument challenges the assumption that because people groups in other countries have been treated worse than the Maori, this absolves New Zealand of their responsibility in the mistreatment of the local indigenous group. Participants who challenged the dominant discourse used the following strategies: the use of a reasonable middle ground device (expressing that all sides of an argument have been considered in one's view of an issue); hedging; using a tentative argument and recounting one’s own arguments (Fozdar 2008:538).

The third racist topic, “there are legitimate and illegitimate ways of doing things”, has to do with the manner in which protests are carried out by the Maori. This discourse focuses its arguments on the tactics used, in such a way as to draw attention away from the issues being protested. In the interview of a Pakeha woman who was married to a Maori, a specific incident was discussed concerning protests, which occurred during the Waitangi Day 1995 celebrations. The interviewee countered the dominant discourse by using weak agreement (partial acceptance of an opposing viewpoint), by claiming special knowledge (of Maori culture), and by using repetition (Fozdar 2008:539). The interviewee re-framed the protest as legitimate and civilised from the point of view of the Maori culture and criticised Pakeha people for being uneducated on this topic.

The fourth racist argument claims that current generations of Pakeha should not be held responsible for the acts of previous generations in relation to the treatment of the Maori

people. This discourse disconnects the present injustices from the past treatment of the Maori and denies the current inequalities that exist. In counter-arguments against this view, participants used weak agreement, naming tactics, rhetorical questions, credentialising (claiming credibility because of personal experience), constructed dialogue (paraphrasing a real or hypothetical conversation), special knowledge, disclaimers, exemplification, and recounting (Fozdar 2008:542). The study concluded that counter-hegemonic argument can engage with racist ideology in such a way as to negotiate definitions of reality and ultimately change the dominant ideology. In addition, the study found evidence that this is currently happening in everyday conversations (Fozdar 2008:543).

2.3.2 The discursive construction of Argentine immigrants to Spain in an internet forum

The next study also investigated counter-hegemonic discourse as well as hegemonic discourse. The study also focused on everyday talk, though the context was an online platform. This study concerns the discursive construction of Argentine immigrants to Spain in an internet forum. The public forum where the discourse was found functioned as a virtual community for Argentines living in Spain and included topics relevant to the group, such as advice on legal matters, international telephone rates, housing, and discussions on immigrant life in Spain (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:572).

Data was gathered from the website *PatriaMadre.com*, an online forum for Argentines living in Spain or planning to live there. The forum was organised by topic with posts and responses to posts creating topic threads (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:572). The data used in the study was sourced from the forum topic *Soy español y vivo en Madrid (I'm Spanish and I live in Madrid)*. This topic began with the following message, which is translated from the original Spanish:

Let me tell you something, before coming to Spain, think about it twice. Things here regarding immigrants are worse each day. Spanish people are very unhappy with immigrants because many immigrants without papers come to Spain and steal, kill and there are mafias. We Spaniards have a lot of patience but it's coming to a point where we'll end up exploding. Before coming, make sure to have your documents in order and a job, we don't accept people who come to commit crimes since we are

very much fed up with all these people. Immigrants who come to work hard, like we work, are welcome. (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:576)

The topic thread included a total of eight messages, posted between 21 July and 12 September 2005, written by six individuals from Argentina, Spain and Romania. The posts were analysed using CDA with a focus on xeno-racism and its appropriation or its contestation, especially by the non-dominant group (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:577). “Xeno-racism” is defined as racism based on economic inequalities along with social or cultural differences, which are linked to racial differences whether “real or imaginary” (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:573). This study analysed how racist and xenophobic discourse was endorsed or resisted by participants in the internet forum; which ideologies were endorsed or resisted; and how public discourses on immigration were included in the everyday talk of the participants (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:576).

The research found that an in-group of Spaniards and out-group of immigrants were constructed by the commenter who started the topic thread, in his initial message. This was emphasised by the initial commenter’s use of the first person plural and the second person plural. For example, *veniros* (you pl. come) and *trabajamos* (we work) (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:578). The construction of this dichotomy was countered by participants who cited Spain’s history of emigration to Argentina, thus affiliating Spaniards with the immigrant out-group. This argument, however, which is based on the blood ties which Spaniards and Argentines share, still supports xeno-racism against immigrants of other lineages (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:579). In a similar argument, a participant attempts to break down the “Us” and “Them” dichotomy by emphasising the common experience of people groups that have an immigrant history. Another resistance strategy used in the group was to turn the dichotomy on its head, emphasising the negative qualities of Spaniards and the positive qualities of immigrants. Still another strategy was to identify the initial commenter’s personal lack of knowledge about immigration and attempt to educate him. This strategy attributed racism to the first commenter as an individual, but not to all Spaniards, by using the second-person singular verb form of *viviste* (you sg. lived) (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:580).

The study found that representations of different social actors were far from neutral. For example, the creator of the forum topic characterised Spaniards as patient and hardworking,

while he represented immigrants as violent and involved in criminal activities (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:581). The counter-argument made by other participants used the same strategy, by characterising Argentines as proactive and ambitious, while Spaniards were represented as lazy and unmotivated. Another strategy used to contest the initial commenter's characterisations was that of allocating positive and negative qualities to both groups, thus breaking down differences between the groups. This argument presented the issue of crime as a universal problem of humanity (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:582). In addition, the Argentine participant used nominalisation (*la delincuencia – delinquency*) and impersonal construction (*se robe – stealing* and *se asesina – killing*) to avoid showing human agency, and with it immigrant agency, in connection with crime (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:583).

The research also investigated the stance adopted by participants in the forum. The analysis of the discourse revealed that the first commenter used mitigators and qualifiers to say that not all immigrants have negative characteristics. This face-saving strategy employed apparent denial, similar to expressions like, “I’m not racist, but...”, which is a distinctive element in the denial of racism (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:583). In addition, the lack of modality in the first commenter's statements presents his assertions as facts, rather than his own opinions. No auxiliary verbs or hedges were used when the original commenter discussed the controversial topics of immigration. This was unexpected and the researcher attributed his directness to the medium of the internet, which provides anonymity and decreases accountability. In addition, the initial commenter represented himself as the voice of all Spanish people, thus removing his individuality. This is shown by his change from using the first-person singular verb form (*comento – I comment*) to his later use of the first-person plural (*los españoles tenemos – We Spaniards have*) (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:584). However, another participant, Amparo, challenges the first commenter's claim of representing all Spanish people, by presenting herself as a Spaniard who does not share the same views on immigration (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:585).

This study concluded that both the xeno-racist views of the first commenter and the counter-arguments against these views can be found in Spain's political and media discourses (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:586). This shows the top-down movement of these ideologies. However, the study also concluded that there is a “bottom-up process” of supporting and contesting these ideologies. Finally, the study concluded that the internet, unlike other forms

of media, gives the opportunity for a less-mediated discourse, which allows a voice to marginalised, non-dominant groups such as immigrants (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:587).

2.3.3 Counter-hegemonic argument and interactions in an Australian newspaper's online blog concerning immigration

Like the previous study, the next study also used data from an online platform. This Australian study conducted by Fozdar and Pedersen (2013) focused on an opinion piece published on a newspaper website, which recounted the story of a stateless asylum-seeker, Wasim, whose case had been unresolved for 10 years (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:372). Wasim escaped from a situation of arrest and torture in his home of Indian-controlled Kashmir and eventually arrived in Australia. He applied for asylum but his visa was rejected. In addition, India would not allow his return to Kashmir, denying him citizenship. This left Wasim stateless, without a legal residence in either country (Pedersen and Fozdar 2010:7). The reporter argued that Australia has humanitarian obligations to asylum-seekers and called for compassionate action to be taken on behalf of Wasim, whose case was in limbo. Bloggers responded with arguments and counter-arguments related to the opinion piece (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:372).

The study used naturally occurring data (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:374) from *The Weekend Australian's* online blog, specifically from a 2008 article written by Phillip Adams. The 55 responses to the news article were categorised either as positive or negative towards asylum-seekers (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:376). The data was analysed using discourse analysis, focusing on the interactive and the argumentative aspects of the blog (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:375). This study investigated how bloggers were aligned with or divided from, other bloggers and the author of the article; how this was seen in the arrangement of the posts and in the discourse; the role of these interactions (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:375); and strategies used in the counter-hegemonic argument (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:379).

The research found that bloggers clearly chose polarised positions in the discussion, aligning themselves either with the pro-immigration group or the anti-immigration group on the blog. This was accomplished in three ways, by naming (addressing the author by name or one another by their blog name); name-calling (labelling another person); and by direct argument (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:377). The research also found that some bloggers created a

counter-hegemonic discourse by using specific strategies to counter racism (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:371). These strategies included: providing information in order to quell misinformation; expressing shared values and norms; using empathy; emphasising positive “commonalities and differences”; confronting erroneous beliefs, engaging in self and group identities, and bringing attention to inconsistencies and contradictions in the dominant hegemonic discourse (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:381). The study concluded that social media can be a space where effective strategies are used to confront racism through the use of counter-hegemonic discourse and it also offered documentation of how counter-hegemonic discourse is created (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:384).

2.3.4 The discursive construction of asylum seekers, migrants and refugees in South African news articles

In contrast to the previous study, which used data from online conversations about asylum seekers, the next study focuses on how news articles discuss asylum seekers and other migrants. This research study conducted in South Africa by Els (2013) explored the discursive construction of asylum seekers, migrants and refugees in news during the xenophobic violence of April to May 2008. During this time, violence against non-South Africans took place in the township of Alexandra near Johannesburg, resulting in 62 deaths and thousands of displaced people (Els 2013:47). The main groups targeted were people from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria and Somalia, though Pakistani and Chinese businesses were also looted. In addition, South African citizens who were mistaken for foreigners were attacked (Els 2013:48).

News articles published in the South African tabloid, *Daily Sun*, from April to May 2008, were gathered (Els 2013:47). From this corpus, articles were selected and analysed using van Dijk’s approach to CDA (Els 2013:52). The study investigated discursive structures and strategies used to create an “Us” versus “Them” division. It also analysed the visual elements of the articles that were used to emphasise meaning (Els 2013:53). Additionally, the study examined how non-South African refugees, migrants and asylum seekers were discursively constructed in the news articles (Els 2013: 49) and which ideologies were seen in these constructions (Els 2013:47).

The study found that topics of “crime, war, outsiders... and destruction” found in the headlines, were associated with non-South Africans. The metaphors of *flood* and *tsunami* were also used in discourse about migrants. The ideology supported by these representations is that foreigners are a threat and don’t belong in South Africa; in addition they are portrayed as undesirable, criminal, and dangerous (Els 2013:56). Passive constructions and personification (*eaten by flames*) served to de-emphasise South African agency in the burning of foreigners’ houses. In addition euphemisms and vagueness (*an angry crowd*) were used to protect the identity of those who shot and killed foreigners (Els 2013:58). Visual elements were used to emphasise the analogy of war that underpinned the ideology that foreigners were a threat to South Africans (Els 2013:59). Sarcasm was used to present non-South Africans as an inferior group (Els 2013:60). The study concluded that the *Daily Sun* discursively constructed non-South Africans as outsiders, creating an “Us” and “Them” division, affecting the way non-nationals were perceived by South Africans (Els 2013:62).

2.3.5 The discursive construction of Zimbabwean immigrants to South Africa in news articles

Another South African study also investigated news discourse concerning immigrants to the country. This study was conducted by Banda and Mawadza (2015) and investigated the discursive construction of Zimbabwean immigrants to South Africa over a twelve year period. The study focused on the discourse of otherness and the creation of a moral panic in newspaper articles published in South Africa (Banda and Mawadza 2015:47).

The researcher searched the South African Media (SAM) database for articles that commented on Zimbabwean immigration to South Africa. These articles were then scanned and categorised by “dominant immigration metaphors, discourse structures, lexical choices and underlying moral panics.” In total, 575 articles were randomly selected, spanning the entire period included in the database (between 2000 and 2012). To account for the concept of ‘moral panic’, data collection focused on articles containing a headline which attributed blame to immigrants for perceived problems in South African society (Banda and Mawadza 2015:48). The study analysed the data using van Dijk’s theory of CDA (Banda and Mawadza 2015:50). The data was also analysed in terms of the concepts of ‘remediation’ and ‘immediacy’ in relation to their contribution to the creation of a moral panic (Banda and

Mawadza 2015:47). The research posed the question, how are prejudiced discourses and moral panics concerning Zimbabwean immigrants constructed in the news discourse (Banda and Mawadza 2015:51) found in the SAM database (Banda and Mawadza 2015:47)?

The study found that the news discourse characterised Zimbabwean immigrants as *terrorists*, *conmen*, and *gangsters* who are *armed*. The discourse also created an “Us” and “Them” divide by the use of possessive pronouns and in-group and out-group designators. In addition use of the words *taking over*, *stripping*, *cost* and *compete* were used to express the view that immigrants are harmful to South African society (Banda and Mawadza 2015:53). The study also found that news articles often referred to information from unverifiable sources, which was used as “evidence”. For example, an article quoted *government officials* and *analysts* estimating the number of Zimbabwean immigrants as being three to five million. In addition terms such as *swamping*, *smothering* and *exodus* call up images of overwhelming numbers of immigrants threatening South Africa (Banda and Mawadza 2015:54).

In addition, the study found that a moral panic was being created over jobs by suggesting that immigrants are responsible for the difficulty South Africans face in finding employment. Along with this, immigrants were also accused of using South Africa’s government resources (social grants and healthcare) in such a way as to deny access to these resources by citizens (Banda and Mawadza 2015:55). The research found that counterarguments to this discourse were not given, nor were immigrants quoted in the articles, resulting in the unbalanced reporting of news items. (Banda and Mawadza 2015:56). Moral panic was also stirred up over the topic of housing, especially RDP houses by accusing immigrants of obtaining government housing in the place of South Africans (Banda and Mawadza 2015:57). The study discovered that the South African media quotes verbatim to create a sense of speaking directly to the readers without mediation. For example, ‘*Foreigners are stealing our birth right*’ and ‘*Our brothers don’t have houses*’. In addition, information is missing about why some foreigners have housing; for example, some are tenants and spouses of South African citizens. Finally, a moral panic was created by focusing on government finances, which foreigners were accused of swindling, “plundering...and stealing” (Banda and Mawadza 2015:59). Immigrants were also characterised as criminals and outsiders to the South African national identity, creating an “Us” and “Them” delineation (Banda and Mawadza 2015:60). The research concluded that the use of rhetorical structures, the exclusion of immigrant

voices, and the lack of critical reporting, results in news which is likely to miseducate South Africans and reinforce hostilities towards immigrants (Banda and Mawadza 2015:62).

2.3.6 Counter-hegemonic discourse on social media concerning migrants to South Africa

In contrast to the previous study, which found an “Us” and “Them” divide between South Africans and immigrants, the next study focused on counter-hegemonic language in the same country. A South African study, conducted by Dube (2015), focused on counter-hegemonic discourse concerning migrants. This study investigated how anti-xenophobic rhetoric was used in social media, during the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The researcher was interested especially in biblical themes and religious language used online to denounce the attacks (Dube 2015:1). The data came from Twitter, YouTube and Facebook, but mainly the Facebook page “Stop xenophobia”. The study used ATLAS.ti software to code the data into interpretive variables for qualitative research (Dube 2015:1). Paragraphs, sentences and phrases which denounced the attacks were collected from the aforementioned social media sites. The data was then categorised according to the frequency of the themes or discourses which were used (Dube 2015:3). The study investigates how social media was used to express anti-xenophobic ideas and themes, especially how religious discourse was used in this way (Dube 2015:1).

The study found several reoccurring arguments, which were used against xenophobic viewpoints. These counter-arguments included the following themes: human value and equality based on the belief that all people were created by God; the biblical command to be hospitable to foreigners; the African idea of ‘ubuntu’ and the unity of Africa; and lastly ethics and morality (Dube 2015:5). “Ubuntu” refers to the African value of communal well-being rather than a value of individual well-being (Dube 2015:4). The study concluded that in contrast with the government-controlled media, which focused on economic variables in relation to the xenophobic attacks, social media created a counter-narrative focusing on the shared humanity of all people (Dube 2015:1).

2.3.7 Summary of recent publications

Recent publications on the topic of racist and xenophobic discourse in news and everyday talk revealed some findings which were repeated throughout the research across many different nations. Many of the studies on the discursive construction of racial out-groups and migrants found that an “Us” and “Them” dichotomy was established (Els 2013:62). In addition, migrants and out-groups were associated with negative acts, such as crime (Banda and Mawadza 2015:53). Agency was also de-emphasised in order to present the in-group in a positive light (Els 2013:58). Further, metaphors were used to emphasise the idea that immigrants are a threat to the in-group (Banda and Mawadza 2015:54). Other strategies included the use of mitigators, qualifiers, disclaimers (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:583), passive constructions, euphemisms and vagueness (Els 2013:58) in order to present the out-group in a negative light.

Some of the research focused on the counter-hegemonic strategies used in discourse, such as emphasising what the in-group and out-group share in common (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:580) and attempting to replace misinformation with verifiable facts (Fozdar and Pedersen 2013:381). Other counter-hegemonic strategies included naming strategies, exemplification, disclaimers, presenting extreme scenarios (Fozdar 2008:535), hedging, weak agreement, special knowledge, repetition (Fozdar 2008:538), naming, the use of rhetorical questions and credentialising (Fozdar 2008:542).

2.4 Conclusion

As highlighted in this literature review, early studies by van Dijk on the analysis of discourse in news media and everyday talk, concerning racism and xenophobia focused on hegemonic discourse. More recent studies have expanded this focus to the investigation of counter-hegemonic discourse. News media and everyday talk are now taking place in online platforms, which also expands the research into this area. In addition, studies, which first focused on Western nations, have now extended to the Global South. With all these changes, the basic premise of CDA as it relates to racism remains unchanged. The structures and strategies that are used in hegemonic discourse are similar across different national situations. In addition, counter-hegemonic discourse has similarities across a variety of settings, adding

to our knowledge of how hegemonic ideologies may be countered and possibly changed over time.

This chapter has presented a literature review of van Dijk's early studies as well as contemporary studies by other scholars. These studies analysed discourse in news media and everyday talk concerning hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse on the topic of migrants and racial out-groups. Chapter 3 will discuss the historical background of CDA, the concept of 'power' and its resistance, the theoretical framework of CDA according to van Dijk and criticisms of CDA and van Dijk's framework.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will cover the historical background of CDA, the concept of ‘power’ and its resistance, the theoretical framework of CDA according to van Dijk, as well as critiques of CDA and Van Dijk’s framework. The chapter aims to provide an overview of CDA as a type of research that investigates how text and talk are used to implement, reproduce and challenge the social system of racism in society (van Dijk 2015a:477). The term “discourse” refers to tools that can be used for creating meaning including text, talk, images, symbols, colours, design, etc. Discourse and society shape one another in a two-way relationship. Discourse has the power to maintain and reproduce social structures and to change them, while at the same time discourse is shaped by these societal situations and structures. (Fairclough, Mulderrig, and Wodak 2011:373). The term “critical” as it is used in CDA stems from the critical theory of Marxism and the Frankfurt school which used critique to try to understand and change social situations. In this sense, CDA is critical as it strives to bring about social change through its research (Fairclough et al. 2011:374).

3.1.1 Historical background of CDA

The history of CDA can be traced to the influence of Western Marxism, which focuses on how capitalism is reproduced through cultural and social means. Western Marxism also has an interest in how meaning and ideology contribute to these occurrences. Gramsci’s views on power and hegemony have also impacted CDA (Fairclough et al. 2011:376). Other influences on CDA include Althusser’s (1971) theory of ideology, Foucault’s studies of discourse in the 1970s, and Pierre Bourdieu’s (1991) work on language and power relations. In addition, the first linguistic theory of ideology by Volosinov (1973) and Bakhtin’s interests in the dialogical aspects of texts are important to CDA (Fairclough et al. 2011:377).

Critical Linguistics (CL), which emerged in the 1970s, was a forerunner to CDA. CL focuses on grammatical forms and structures, such as nominalisations, metaphors, rhetorical devices and the like, which can be analysed in terms of how they relate to ideology and social inequality. Social semiotics, which has also influenced CDA, was later developed to analyse how language, images, layout, colour and other visual aspects can have ideological meanings.

Some of the main theoretical approaches to CDA include Fairclough's focus on discursive and social change, van Dijk's socio-cognitive perspective and Wodak's discourse historical approach to CDA (Fairclough et al. 2011:378). In addition, the study of argument and rhetoric by many different scholars has added important theoretical elements to CDA during the last two decades, focusing on areas such as the media, politics, nationalism, business and racism (Fairclough et al. 2011:381).

3.1.2 Power, oppression and resistance

An important concept, which is vital to CDA, is the notion of 'power'. Van Dijk's concept of 'power' or 'social power' refers to how much a group or institution is able to control the actions and minds of other social groups. Actions of other groups are controlled by force or "coercive power", but mostly by "mental power" which is accomplished through influencing people's minds (van Dijk 1997a:17). This power has its source in elite access to social assets such as military force, finances, reputation, popularity, knowledge, information, culture, or communication mediums. Power is active in legislation, rules, social conventions and social consensus. Power is acted out in overt, abusive actions but also in everyday practices which are not always obvious (van Dijk 2015a:469).

Powerful groups have special access to resources such as high social standing, entitlements, and finances, as well as desirable jobs, housing and education. Dominance by a social group is defined by morally and legally unjustified access to these types of resources (van Dijk 1993a:21). Group dominance is practiced through "oppression, suppression, exclusion, or marginalisation" of members of dominated groups (van Dijk 1993a:24). Van Dijk defines the term "racism" as group dominance based on racial or ethnic differences related to origin, appearance or culture (van Dijk 1993a:23). Racism is displayed as group dominance in attitudes and ideology as well as in discriminatory practices (van Dijk 1993a:24).

In a democratic society, inequality that is maintained by a dominant group must be justified by that group in order to legitimise their power. This is done by controlling various types of discourse and communication (van Dijk 1994:34). Groups that control political discourse, media discourse, educational discourse and so on, are able to maintain power by influencing people's minds and as a result, their actions (van Dijk 2015a:469).

One way that people control others is through persuasion. A person in a position of power may request or suggest a particular action from a less-powerful person, who then complies in order to avoid unpleasant repercussions (van Dijk 1997a:18). In a more hidden way, discourse can be used to control people by directing their minds in such a way so that they act in a prescribed manner by their own choice. If the public discourse of the powerful group influences other people's beliefs, and a consensus is achieved, then a hegemony is formed. This means that requests or commands do not need to be given because the interests of the people, and thus their actions, are in harmony with the interests of the powerful group (van Dijk 1997a:19).

Despite this, systems of domination often lead to resistance among members of the oppressed group, as well as some objecting members of the dominant group. Resistance of power abuse involves attitudes and ideology as well as actions, such as protests. This is true for systems of anti-racism, which oppose racism and find legitimacy in shared values such as democracy, justice and equality. Like racism, anti-racism is mainly learned through text and talk (van Dijk 2009:77). One of the main tasks of CDA is to clarify how discourse is used to reproduce power abuse of dominated groups or to clarify how these groups resist being dominated through the use of discourse (van Dijk 2015a:466).

3.2 Van Dijk's approach to CDA

Teun van Dijk, one of the foremost theorists in CDA, has focused his approach on "the cognitive dimensions of how discourse operates in racism, ideology and knowledge". He has highlighted the role of the media (and other public discourse) as it is influenced by "elite public figures" in the reproduction of racism (Fairclough et al. 2011:379). Van Dijk's (2009:64) perspective on discourse is distinguished by the 'Discourse-Cognition-Society triangle'. This concept has to do with the idea that the relationships between discourse and society are connected by cognitive means. So, "social interaction, social situations and social structures" affect discourse only through "people's interpretations" of these domains. Inversely, text and talk affect "social interaction and social structures through the same cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies."

3.2.1 Ideology

Van Dijk (2006:116) defines the term “ideology” as a system of beliefs, which are socially shared by members of a group "in order to promote their interests and to guide their social and political practices." (van Dijk 2015b:495) Therefore, ideologies are a type of ‘social cognition’ or a set of beliefs shared and distributed across the minds of a group of people (van Dijk 2011:398). Ideologies define the group’s social identity and its shared beliefs (van Dijk 2006:116). This group identity is described especially in terms of the group’s relationship to other groups (van Dijk 2011:404). Ideologies, as a type of social cognition, are specific to a particular group in society, unlike ‘knowledge’, which is a type of social cognition shared by a whole society. Ideologies emphasise a specific group’s beliefs and concerns, whereas knowledge is a belief adhered to by an entire society as a type of common ground (van Dijk 2011:400).

Ideological beliefs are basic, general and abstract principles, which are believed to be self-evident, and which control other socially shared beliefs. For example, socially shared anti-immigration beliefs are controlled and organised by a racist ideology (van Dijk 2006:116). Because ideologies are general and abstract, they are applicable to many types of situations (van Dijk 2011:398). Ideologies are extremely stable and are learned (or changed) slowly. This change or learning occurs as a result of experiences and discourses a person is exposed to over a long period of time (van Dijk 2006:116). Ideologies may be positive or negative and may be held by the majority or by a minority of people in society. For example, there are racist and anti-racist ideologies as well as feminist and anti-feminist ideologies (van Dijk 2006:117). They can be used to maintain power abuse by dominant groups, but ideologies can also be used in the resistance of domination (van Dijk 2015b:495).

3.2.1.1 Group schema

Ideas or beliefs are stored in the semantic part of long-term memory as mental representations (van Dijk 2011:402). Van Dijk (2000a:17) postulates that the mental representations of ideologies are organised into a schema of categories that define the properties of a group. The following categories are included in the schema: the identity, activities, goals, norms and values, group relations and resources of the group. The identity of the group is defined by its origins and by who belongs to the group. The activities of the group include its duties and

occupations. Group goals involve what the group wants to secure or acquire. The norms and values define what is desired and approved of and what is unacceptable or seen as unfavourable for the group. The group relations category defines how the group relates to other groups as allies or adversaries. Resources include anything that is a source of power (or lack of power) for the group (van Dijk 2011:402).

3.2.1.2 Ideologically based attitudes

Attitudes, like ideologies, are a type of social cognition shared across the minds of a group of people (van Dijk 2011:405). They are not made up of personal opinions, but rather of group opinions (van Dijk 1992b:210). These group opinions or beliefs have to do with specific social issues such as immigration or pollution, which are based on ideology. Attitudes are closely related to discourse and practice, while ideologies are related to them indirectly. Therefore, attitudes are more useful in the control of discourse and practice than ideologies (van Dijk 2011:405). Attitudes, like ideologies, tend to be polarised in terms of issues (for example pro-choice vs. pro-life stances on abortion) and in terms of the positive representation of the in-group and negative representation of the out-group. Attitudes are expressed in text and talk because discourse is directly related to attitudes, and more indirectly related to ideologies. People first acquire attitudes and later acquire the ideologies which organise those attitudes (van Dijk 2015b:497).

Attitudes form the connection between the individual and society as well as between discourse and "socio-cultural and political contexts". Van Dijk (1992b:210) defines "ethnic prejudices" as "a specific type of (negatively oriented) group attitude about other ethnic groups". These attitudes (prejudices) determine how dominant group members perceive ethnic events, how they assess other ethnic groups, and how they interpret and produce discourse related to ethnic matters.

3.2.2 Mental models

In order to connect ideologies and ideological attitudes to discourse, the concept of 'mental models' is needed. Mental models are personal, subjective representations of a person's experiences (specific situations) which are stored in episodic memory (the autobiographical part of long-term memory) (van Dijk 2011:405). Van Dijk (1990:166) labels these types of mental models as 'situation models'. When individuals personally experience, read or hear

about an event, they create a distinctive mental model of that situation or they update an older model (van Dijk 1990:166). For example, when individuals read or hear about an event such as the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11th, 2001, they form a personal understanding about the event based on everything they have personally experienced or heard from different sources (van Dijk 2008:61). Situation models may also include emotions and opinions about the specific experience that they relate to (van Dijk 2011:406). In the example of the attack on the World Trade Center, individuals may evaluate the event in the form of opinions and they may experience emotional reactions to the event, such as sadness or anger. All of these aspects are part of the mental model of the event or situation (van Dijk 2008:61). Van Dijk (2014:124) postulates that mental models are structured into categories, which describe a person's experience of a situation. The proposed categories include a spatiotemporal setting, the identities, roles, relationships and intentions of those involved, as well as the activity which takes place.

Mental models account for both the shared opinions of group members and the unique personal opinions held by individuals. Groups can have similar opinions about a specific event because mental models can be controlled by socially shared ideological attitudes. However, personal experiences and goals may produce individual opinions that differ from the group's perspective (van Dijk 2011:406). Mental models, which are influenced by ideological attitudes, control practices including ideological discourse. Mental models belonging to members of an ideological group will be unique to each individual, but at the same time, they will have aspects that are socially shared with other group members. It is through these mental models that an ideological group will analyse and depict social events which have significance for the group (van Dijk 2011:407).

A special type of mental model, the 'context model', holds the key to the relationship between discourse and society. The concept of 'context models' has to do with the communicative situation an individual is presently involved in and how the context is important to the discourse used in the situation (van Dijk 2014:125). Context models are subjective descriptions of the communicative situation which determine what type of discourse is most suited to the circumstances (van Dijk 2011:407). For example, when an individual is consulting a medical practitioner or having a meeting with his or her supervisor,

the context model will affect the discourse in different ways according to the social dimensions of the situation (van Dijk 1990:167).

Like situation models, context models exist in episodic memory and can be recalled and talked about. Context models include the experience of the communication as well as opinions and emotions related to it. The categories of context models are similar to those of situation models, but with a focus on communication. Categories of context models include a spatiotemporal setting, the identities, relationships, communicative roles, and communicative intentions of those involved, as well as the communicative activity that takes place. These categories are the foundation for deictic expressions and the conditions needed for speech acts. Deictic expressions are parts of discourse that refer to the setting, participants or action in a communicative situation (van Dijk 2014:125). For example, “here” and “there” are deictic expressions having to do with a place or location (Loos, Anderson, Day, Jordan and Wingate 2003). The term “speech act” refers to an action that is performed through discourse “with a certain intention of the speaker and effect on the hearer” (Paltridge 2012:245). Examples of speech acts include greeting, apologising, requesting, inviting, etc. (Paltridge 2012:227)

Situation models and context models are the central theoretical concepts that van Dijk (2014:125) uses to make the connection between discourse and society. It is through these mental models that individuals mentally represent social situations and produce discourse about events. Their discourse is controlled by context models about the social and communicative situation.

3.2.3 Ideology and discourse

According to van Dijk (1998:242), ideologies control attitudes, which in turn impact mental models (of situations and contexts) which are the source of discourse. To rephrase this idea, ideological discourse is managed by social cognition (socio-cultural knowledge, group knowledge, ideologies and attitudes) and personal cognition (situation models and context models) (van Dijk 2011:410). Evidence of ideologies can be found in discourse using the concept of the ‘ideological square’ as shown below (van Dijk 2011:412).

3.2.3.1 The 'ideological square' in discourse

Van Dijk's (2011:412) concept of the 'ideological square' defines four strategies used in ideological discourse including emphasising "Our good things", emphasising "Their bad things", de-emphasising "Our bad things" and de-emphasising "Their good things". Group members will often communicate positively about their own group and negatively about other groups which they perceive to be in opposition to the in-group. These strategies of emphasis or de-emphasis can be employed at all levels of discourse including the following: negative topics, level of description, implications, presuppositions, visual elements, sound structures, rhetorical moves and more (van Dijk 2011:413). Van Dijk (2011:412) theorises that ideologies are able to affect all discourse structures, apart from the standard rules of grammar and discourse which are ideologically neutral.

The following examples show how the ideological square appears in discourse. Headlines, images and page layout can be used to emphasise negative things about "Them". Responsibility for actions can be either stressed or hidden by using active or passive sentences. Words can be chosen in such a way as to highlight negative things about "Them" and positive things about "Us", as in the choice of the words "terrorist" or "freedom fighter". Positive topics such as tolerance can be related to "Us", while negative topics like violence are related to "Them". Metaphors and euphemisms can be used to accent positive information about "Us" and negative information about "Them". All of these discourse structures and many more can be used in ideological discourse in general and racist discourse in particular (van Dijk 2002:147). For a list of discursive devices and how they are used, see section 4.5.

3.3 Racism in group relations

Van Dijk (1987:28) defines the concept of 'racism' as "an abstract property of social structures at all levels of society that manifests itself in ethnic prejudices as shared group cognitions, in discriminatory actions of persons as dominant group members, as well as in the actions, discourses, organisation, or relationships within and among groups, institutions, classes or other social formations." The concept of 'racism' is usually thought of as having to do with physical characteristics such as skin colour which is used to define the in-group and out-group. These distinctions between groups may be slight or may not exist at all. These and

other socially-constructed characteristics used to define groups can be quite different in different societies. For example, in Brazil, different groups of black people may be distinguished from one another in specific ways that do not apply in the United States. In addition to physical appearance, origin, language, religion, culture, norms, values and more are used to distinguish groups (van Dijk 1993a:22).

Van Dijk (1993a:20) links the concept of 'racism' to the nature of groups. A person who engages in discrimination, or who has prejudices against specific racial or ethnic groups, does so, on the basis of group norms and values or ideologies, rather than characteristics they have as an individual. Racism has to do with the dominance of one ethnic or racial group over another. This power is social, political, economic or cultural, rather than personal power. In other words, the powerful group dominates the less powerful group as a group. However, there may be individual instances where a person from the less powerful group has power over a person from the powerful group. For example, a black professor may have power over a white student because of the roles they have as individuals. The social freedom of dominated groups is limited by the control of powerful groups over resources such as income, status, desirable jobs, education and housing, and other privileges. When this control is morally or legally illegitimate, it is power abuse, which is an essential quality of racism (van Dijk 1993a:21).

According to van Dijk (1993a:24), racism involves a "system of group dominance, manifesting itself both in social cognitions (attitudes, ideologies) as well as in systematic social practices of exclusion, inferiorization, or marginalization". Racism can take many different forms such as white supremacist ideologies and violent or overt discriminatory acts, but more commonly racism takes the form of negative opinions, attitudes and ideologies and less obvious discrimination which directly or indirectly upholds the power of the dominant group's everyday actions, processes and social cognitions (van Dijk 1993a:5). Discourse is crucial to the reproduction of prejudice and racism, as this is the main way these cognitive dimensions of racism are adopted and assimilated by society (van Dijk 2002:146).

3.3.1 The role of the elites in the discursive reproduction of racism

Van Dijk (1993a:8) proposes that "political, media, educational, academic, and corporate elites" play a major part in the reproduction of racism by influencing discourse which

perpetuates the power of their in-group. The public actions of elite members of society have mainly to do with text and talk. Van Dijk (2002:148) defines the term "elites" as members of the dominant group in society who have access to the symbolic resources of "the mass media, politics, education, research, and the bureaucracies." These resources give the elites the ability to influence the public in a way that ordinary people cannot. The elites determine the ideological direction of a society including its values, goals, and interests as well as what is considered common sense and consensus. Unlike ordinary members of society, who actively engage in discourse mainly via everyday conversations, the elites have control over the discourse of the media, politics, religious and educational institutions, the corporate world and other social organisations (van Dijk 1993a:9). Using these means, they are able to prepare and guide forms of racism for the public to engage in (van Dijk 1993a:8).

It is through the social institutions (controlled by the elites) that that the lives of ethnic out-groups are controlled and restricted (van Dijk 1993a:11). These social institutions control aspects of the daily lives of immigrants and less-powerful ethnic groups such as housing, employment, legal documents, information, culture, access to healthcare and welfare and much more. This control of social institutions by the elites is accomplished mainly through text and talk. This discourse occurs in political meetings, debates and speeches, in job interviews, news articles, marketing, entertainment, textbooks, academic teaching and writing, etc. (van Dijk 2002:145) The power of the elites is often used for racist purposes, but it can also be used for the resistance of racism, though the elites involved in this are a small group (van Dijk 2002:149).

3.3.2 The reproduction of racism

Van Dijk (2015b:503) describes the concept of racism as "a social system of domination" which has its source in racist ideology, bases its legitimisation on this ideology, and is socially shared by the dominant in-group. This system is executed as "racist practice and interaction" which leads to discrimination and the reproduction of racism. People acquire racist ideology from racist attitudes, and racist ideology also forms or reinforces racist attitudes (about immigration, the job market, affirmative action, etc.). Racist attitudes are obtained from and also produce racist mental models of situations. These mental models are put to use in the performance of racist practices.

The production of racist text and talk is a discriminatory practice, and this discourse also reproduces racist attitudes and ideologies (van Dijk 2015b:504). In addition to discourse as a racist practice, van Dijk (1998:198) describes "exclusion, marginalization, problematisation and violence" enacted against other ethnic groups as racist practices carried out at both macro and micro-levels of society. It is the communication of the elites, at the macro-level of society, which has the most power for the reproduction of racism through the means of public discourse (van Dijk 2015b:504). Ideological discourse is linked to violence because ideological discourse is the key to the reproduction of racism. According to van Dijk (2002:148) discourse structures (often produced by the elites), once absorbed by individuals who read or hear them, influence the mental models and attitudes which people have about in-groups and out-groups. After racist mental models and racist attitudes are established, they may result in racist practices enacted by the people who possess those mental models and attitudes. Racism is reproduced in society through this process.

3.3.3 Context and racist discourse

The context in which discourse takes place is essential for understanding why racist discourse varies so much despite a socially shared "dominant ethnic consensus". The context of a communicative event has to do with the following factors: the social domain (politics, media, etc.) the "global social actions" (news production, legislation, etc.), the local actions, the setting, the participants and their roles (both social and communicative), group membership (including ethnicity), the participants' beliefs and goals. These aspects influence how text and talk are produced in a way which is appropriate to the context (van Dijk 2002:149), which will be discussed below.

3.3.4 Racism in news discourse

Van Dijk (2015c:384) defines the term "prejudice" as "a form of social cognition, as a system of negative attitudes about ethnic others, shared by members of the dominant group". Ethnic prejudice is acquired during the process of socialisation, mainly through public discourse which is controlled by the elites. One of the main channels of public discourse is the media, which includes the internet. When the dominant ethnic group maintains power over media discourse and has a near consensus, out-groups are not able to gain power in the media, and a

hegemony is established. This power is then practiced in the process of news production (van Dijk 2000b:37).

3.3.4.1 The news production context

The communicative situation (or context) of news production is understood in the minds of participants as context models. In the process of news production, journalists use a context model which includes the following categories: the setting, participants and their roles, identities and relations, the type of communicative action and its aim and goals, and the participants' knowledge, attitudes and ideologies. These aspects of the context model control all aspects of news discourse and communicative behaviour.

3.3.4.2 Topics of news discourse

The biased context of news production results in biased news writing. Many structures of news are influenced by this bias, including topics, headlines and leads, local semantics, local syntax, lexical choice and quotations. The topic or general meaning of a discourse is defined by macropropositions (van Dijk 2015c:387). Van Dijk (1980:84) describes 'macropropositions' as propositions that represent "the global meaning of sequences of sentences" in a text. Topics are interpreted subjectively by participants and are necessary for the creation, understanding, recall and reproduction of text and talk. Topics are a kind of plan the journalist has for the creation of an article. In addition, topics are the information which is easiest for readers to remember.

3.3.4.3 Headlines and leads of news discourse

The headline and lead of an article summarise the text, usually contain the topics, and allow readers to interpret the meaning of the article. The headline and the lead allow journalists to highlight one aspect of a story in a biased manner. For example, attention could be drawn to a small group of violent demonstrators in an otherwise peaceful protest. Likewise, headlines and leads can be used to focus attention on violence committed by the out-group rather than the violence of the dominant group's police officers (van Dijk 2015c:388).

3.3.4.4 Local meaning (semantics) of news discourse

Semantic macrostructures of discourse are found in headlines and they also organise the local meanings of discourse as well as interpretation and recall processes. Van Dijk (1984:56) defines the term "macrostructures" as "hierarchical configurations of (macro) propositions, which represent the themes or topics of the respective episodes of the discourse at various levels of generality or abstraction." The concept of 'local meaning' has to do with the intended significance that can be attributed to words, sentences and sentence sequences in a text (van Dijk 2000b:39). Local meaning can create bias in news discourse by the use of descriptions, generalisations, implications, metaphors, modalities, presuppositions, and more. Descriptions of these discursive devices and their uses are found in section 4.5.

In addition to these discursive devices, syntax also contributes to sentence meanings. The local syntax of sentences expresses the specific roles of in-group or out-group members such as "responsible agents, targets or victims of action." Syntax is used in accordance with the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (van Dijk 2000b:40). For more on syntax, see section 4.5.4. Attitudes about in-groups and out-group and opinions about events are also seen in the lexical choices used in news discourse. Negative words may be chosen to describe out-group members or their actions (van Dijk 2000b:39). For examples of lexical choices, see section 4.5.3.

3.3.4.5 Quotations in news discourse

In the writing of news text, sources such as witnesses, commentators, and institutional declarations are directly or indirectly quoted. Journalists tend to quote in-group members over out-group members, signalling which individuals or institutions they deem reliable. For example, if out-group members are quoted, they will not be allowed to speak alone, but together with an in-group member. These actions serve to define out-group events from the in-group's perspective (van Dijk 2015c:389).

The final product of news production, news articles, editorials and the like are consumed by the public. Through this discourse, the mental models, attitudes and ideologies of the public are negatively influenced concerning ethnic out-groups and immigrants. This process effectively reproduces the system of racism in society (van Dijk 2015c:390). Van Dijk (2002:151) asserts that most members of the dominant ethnic group derive their beliefs about

others from the discourse of the mass media. And much of the everyday discourse concerning ethnic out-groups is based on information from the media.

3.3.5 Racism in everyday discourse

It is through everyday discourse, such as conversation, that people learn about the world and acquire prejudices and ideologies while interacting with family, friends and co-workers (van Dijk 2002:150). Van Dijk (1992b:201) asserts that everyday dialogue by dominant ethnic groups about ethnic out-groups, immigrants, refugees and the like, has the purpose of communicating and propagating "ethnic beliefs, attitudes and ideologies, as well as commonsense interpretations" of events having to do with these groups.

3.3.5.1 Topics in everyday discourse

Similar to news discourse, everyday discourse has typical topics when discussing ethnic out-groups, such as cultural distinctions between groups; deviance of ethnic out-groups; "unfair competition" over resources; perceived cultural differences (van Dijk 1992b:214); and deviance of the out-group (van Dijk 1992b:216). These topics have to do with ethnic out-groups being seen as a threat to the dominant group's domain, resources laws, culture, norms, values, etc. and clearly show the ideological roots of racism in everyday discourse because the out-group is seen to be threatening "the power and privileges that define" the position of the dominant ethnic group (van Dijk 1992b:218).

3.3.5.2 Schema of stories in everyday discourse

Topics set the meaning of a discourse, whereas schematic categories set the overall form of the discourse by arranging the topics in a hierarchical order. For example, discourse may be arranged in terms of a story schema or an argumentation schema. In everyday discourse, stories are often used to express individual experiences. Stories typically follow a schema (as seen in section 2.2.1) which includes the following, in this order: "Summary, Orientation, Complication, Resolution, Evaluation and Coda or Conclusion" (van Dijk 1992b:218). The summary of a story is meant to attract the attention of the audience by introducing the compelling occurrence of the story. Additionally, the orientation (or setting) gives the time, place, conditions and people involved in the story. Further, in the complication category, the main problem of the story occurs. The resolution involves the process of solving the problem

which occurred in the complication. In contrast, the evaluation category includes opinions about the events or the emotions caused by the events of the story. Finally, the conclusion (or coda) category involves the narrator coming to a conclusion, making recommendations, or communicating future intentions based on the story (van Dijk 1984:82).

The schema of stories was seen in interviews recorded in the Netherlands concerning other ethnic groups. In these interviews, storytellers often omitted the resolution category, leaving the complication of the story unresolved in order to blame the out-group (van Dijk 1992b:219) or to portray the in-group as victims (van Dijk 1992b:220). Additionally, stories about other ethnic groups which do contain a resolution category often have an element of paternalism or positive self-presentation (van Dijk 1992b:221).

3.3.5.3 Schema of argumentation in everyday discourse

As in the case with story schema, everyday discourse can also be arranged into argumentation schema (van Dijk 1992b:218) to make opinions "plausible, reasonable, defensible or acceptable." Argumentative schema has standard categories such as a premise and a conclusion. Informal arguments in everyday talk usually follow a pattern. First, an opinion is established, followed by arguments with the goal of making "the opinion (more) plausible". Next, if needed, sub-arguments will be added to support the initial arguments. Lastly, a conclusion will be reached, by "repeating or paraphrasing the initial opinion" (van Dijk 1984:106). Stories relate to arguments in that the evaluation category (opinions about the events or the emotions caused by the events) of a story (van Dijk 1984:82) is often also the conclusion of an argument. This usually has to do with a negative characterisation of the ethnic out-group or the ethnic situation (van Dijk 1992b:222). In addition, the coda of a story may also "formulate the practical conclusion for future action" (van Dijk 1992b:222). The conclusion categories of both stories and arguments use the strategies of the ideological square to depict the dominant ethnic group positively while characterising other ethnic groups negatively and imply solutions, such as demanding cultural adaptation, which is "really a demand for subordination." (van Dijk 1992b:224)

3.3.5.4 Local semantics in everyday discourse

Topics and the schema of stories and arguments distinguish discourse at the global level. Conversely, local semantics deals with meaning at the local level of sentences, words and strategic moves in conversation (van Dijk 1992b:225). Local discourse semantics has to do with propositions, their structure and relationships between them. The term "proposition" refers to "the meaning of a whole clause or sentence". Propositions in a discourse relate to one another by impacting the meaning of sentences or clauses that follow them. At the local level of discourse, propositions have various functions such as generalisation, specification or illustration (van Dijk 1997b:9).

Strategic moves, such as disclaimers, are also typically found in the local semantics of everyday conversations (van Dijk 1994:26). Van Dijk (1984:116) defines the term "move" as "each step that is assumed to contribute to the overall goal of the [semantic] strategy". Disclaimers are semantic moves with a strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (van Dijk 2002:150). There are many types of disclaimers including the following: apparent denial ("We have nothing against black people, but ...") apparent concession ("Some of them are smart, but in general ..."), apparent empathy ("Of course refugees have had problems, but ..."), apparent ignorance ("I don't know, but ..."), apparent excuses ("Sorry, but ..."), reversal ("Not they, but we are the real victims ..."), and transfer ("I don't mind, but my clients ...") (van Dijk 2002:151). The first part of many of these moves has to do with presenting oneself in a positive light, while the second part presents others in a negative light (1994:26). In addition to disclaimers, implications, presuppositions and allusions are commonly used in everyday talk about other ethnic groups to protect the speaker's image when communicating negative views about other groups (van Dijk 1992b:225).

The analysis of local semantics uncovers how propositions relate to one another, as well as strategic moves such as disclaimers, implications, presuppositions, mitigation and the like. All of these aspects of local semantics are used by dominant ethnic group members as impression management tools during the "expression of racist opinions" in everyday discourse. These opinions are actually socially shared "group experiences" that communicate "social, group attitudes." (van Dijk 1992b:229)

3.3.5.5 Style, rhetoric and conversational attributes of everyday discourse

Although opinions about other ethnic groups are socially shared, they are expressed differently by different people (van Dijk 1987:99). Style, rhetoric and other conversational elements are features of everyday talk about other ethnic groups which produce various forms of the meanings discussed above (van Dijk 1992b:229). The term "style" is defined as "the variable expression of meanings as a function of context" (van Dijk et al. 1997:171). Differences of style generally have to do with social aspects of the situation such as formality or informality, social positions of the participants (status, gender, power, etc.) and personal aspects of the situation, such as emotions (van Dijk 1987:99). An element of style which is typical of talk about other ethnic groups has to do with the designation or naming of these groups, for example by using the term "foreigners", "Turks" or "Moroccans" (van Dijk 1984:137). Demonstratives of distance (explained in section 4.5.1.) are also used frequently to distinguish members of the out-group. Finally, a general fixed register of difference is common in discourse about other ethnic groups. For example, *they have different kinds of habits, they have quite different beliefs*, and so on (van Dijk 1984:138).

While style is oriented toward the speaker and has to do with expression, rhetoric is oriented towards the hearer and has to do with persuasion (van Dijk 1984:134). For example, rhetoric is used to share personal opinions concerning out-groups in a way that appears credible, sensible and justifiable (van Dijk 1984:139) and to present the in-group in a positive way (van Dijk 1987:108). For a list of rhetorical devices and their uses in discourse, see section 4.5.9.

In addition, when people talk about other ethnic groups in conversational interaction, typical features emerge such as pauses, hesitations, corrections, false starts, etc. This is illustrated in the following sentence fragment: *because we hardly get uhh Surinamese or uh clients and no uhh Moroccan* (van Dijk 1987:112). Van Dijk (1984:149) asserts that hesitation often occurs when people have to name another ethnic group or when people are regulating the production of delicate topics as well as managing positive self-presentation.

In all the levels of everyday discourse, global and local meanings are planned and produced to express the speaker's negative attitudes about other ethnic groups (van Dijk 1987:117). However to protect oneself, this is done in a "credible, justifiable, defensible, and socially

acceptable way." In everyday talk, topics, the schema of stories and arguments, local semantics, style, rhetoric and conversational features all support the goals of negative other presentation and positive self-presentation in the reproduction of racism (van Dijk 1987:118).

3.4 Criticism of CDA and van Dijk's framework

CDA has become an established model useful for revealing how ideology operates "in and through discourse" (Breeze 2011:520) as well as the workings of power in society as it relates to language. Despite this, the criticisms of CDA have been varied. One appraisal aimed at the basis of CDA and its theoretical framework, argues that it lacks the objectivity needed for research (Breeze 2011:494). Other scholars accuse CDA of not being clear on the meaning of the foundational term "critical", thus causing imprecision. Further, CDA has been judged for not adhering to one social theory but using many different ones (Breeze 2011:500). Because CDA relies on many different social theories and language theories, critics believe that the theoretical background of CDA can become unclear (Breeze 2011:520).

Another charge against CDA is that its methodology has been open to "deterministic assumptions about the workings of discourse and social reproduction." (Breeze 2011:494) The methodologies used by practitioners of CDA have been accused of not having coherence and of being unsystematic (Breeze 2011:502). Widdowson (in Breeze 2011:503) reproves van Dijk and other scholars for producing studies that "suffer from ... 'randomness' and openness to bias". Widdowson also holds that CDA scholars do not use impartial methodology and choose to analyse certain features of the text unsystematically in order to support an ideological interpretation of the discourse.

In addition to this, CDA scholars have been accused of ignoring the social contexts of the discourse they analyse (Breeze 2011:512). Macrocontext has always been a focus of CDA, but scholars have been criticized for not giving enough focus to the immediate context of the discourse (Breeze 2011: 520). CDA practitioners have also been faulted for focusing on the negative aspects of discourse and society instead of being constructive in studying positive aspects of discourse and society (Breeze 2011:516). For example, van Dijk is criticized for focusing on the "analysis of reproduction rather than transformation." Lin (2014:216) suggests that rather than focus on the "reproduction of ideologies", van Dijk and CDA scholars should "analyse transformation processes." Finally, CDA is charged with becoming

an “intellectual orthodoxy” that can be a source of hegemony, or of becoming the very thing it set out to criticize (Breeze 2011:518).

3.5 Conclusion

CDA involves research concerning how discourse is used to impose, reproduce and validate “social power abuse and inequality” as well as how discourse is used to resist this inequality (van Dijk 2015a:466). Van Dijk’s approach to CDA focuses on the socio-cognitive aspects of how discourse relates to society through personal and social cognition (van Dijk 2009:64). According to van Dijk (1998:242), ideologies control attitudes, attitudes impact mental models (of situations and contexts), and mental models format discourse. Ideologies (structured on group schema) “found and organise” attitudes about social issues, for example, prejudiced attitudes about other ethnic groups. These socially shared attitudes are expressed in text and talk and seen in other social practices (van Dijk 2015b:497).

Racism is “a social system of domination” based on racist ideology, and is socially shared by the dominant ethnic group, while racist ideology forms or reinforces racist attitudes that produce racist mental models. These mental models are put to use in the performance of racist practices such as discourse (van Dijk 2015b:503). This racist ideological discourse is distinguished by aspects of the ideological square (van Dijk 2011:412) and can be found in both news discourse and everyday discourse (van Dijk 2015b:498), in both macro and micro-level discourse structures (van Dijk 2015a:468). Additionally, ethnic prejudice can be seen in the following structures of news discourse: topics, headlines and leads, local meaning (semantics), and quotations (van Dijk 2015c:387). Similarly, in everyday discourse, bias towards out-groups can be seen in the following structures: topics, schema of stories and argumentation, local semantics, style, rhetoric and conversational attributes of everyday discourse (van Dijk 1992b:211).

When racist discourse in news and everyday talk are taken in by individuals, these discourses can be used to form or update mental models related to other ethnic groups, to form racist attitudes and finally to adopt a racist ideology. In this way, racism is most commonly reproduced in society beginning from the powerful elites and public discourses and ending up in everyday discourse (van Dijk 2002:148). Resistance to racism works in the same manner, entailing ideology, attitudes, mental models and finally discourse. It is reproduced in the

same way as well, beginning with discourse which affects mental models and which influences attitudes and finally culminates in the adoption of anti-racist ideology (van Dijk 2009:77). This chapter has discussed the historical background of CDA, the concept of 'power' and its resistance, the theoretical framework of CDA according to van Dijk, and criticisms of CDA and Van Dijk's framework. Chapter 4 will describe the research questions, data collection and analytical methodology of the study.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The role of CDA is to bring attention to the ways in which discourse is involved in either the reproduction of or the resistance towards inequality in societies (Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak 2011:373). This chapter gives an overview of the methodology used to achieve this objective including the research aims, the approach to data collection, the sources used, and finally the analytical methodology applied to data analysis.

4.2 Research questions

The primary research question for this thesis is:

- v. How are African migrants discursively constructed in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments responding to those articles?

The sub-questions which increase the scope of the primary research question are:

- vi. Which themes are visible in these representations of African migrants in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments responding to those articles?
- vii. Which ideologies are visible in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments that respond to those articles?
- viii. Which discursive devices are used to construct these ideologies in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments that respond to those articles?

This thesis will show how discursive devices are used to express in-group and out-group associations. In addition, the aim is to show how these in-group and out-group designations are ideological as they define the social identity and shared beliefs of a group (van Dijk 2006:116). The strategic objective, in harmony with the aims of CDA, is to add to the understanding of how discourse in online news articles and Facebook page comments

produces, reproduces or resists social power, inequality and injustice, particularly towards African migrants to South Africa (van Dijk 1993b:279).

4.3 Data collection

Data was collected from the News24.com Facebook page and the News24 website, which are linked to one another. Using the “search for posts on this page” feature on Facebook, a search was done of News24.com Facebook posts to find news articles topicalising African migration that were published between the 1st of October 2017 and the 30th of June 2019. A list of 71 keywords related to African migration was compiled (see Appendix S) and used to search for news articles. News articles that related to African migration to any country other than South Africa were excluded. In addition, news articles that had very few or no Facebook comments about African migration were excluded from the corpus.

Following this, Facebook comments relating to each news article post were collected. A Facebook comment and replies to it were chosen from each post in the following manner. Out of the top 10 “most relevant” comments, as defined by Facebook, the comment with the most replies (rather than the most likes or emojis) was chosen for analysis. If the comment with the most replies, did not topicalise migration, it was eliminated and the comment which had the most replies and that also topicalised migration, was chosen. If none of the top 10 most relevant comments had enough replies or topicalised migration in their replies, the researcher continued examining subsequent comments until a suitable comment with replies was found. The comment chosen was referred to as the “primary comment”.

After the primary comment was chosen, the first 10 replies to that comment were collected, though some primary comments had less than 10 replies. This group of comments was referred to as the “primary comment with replies” The collection of comments with replies was done in order to focus on a text analysis of the Facebook comments.

Each news article together with its comments was given an impact score that was recorded in an Excel spreadsheet. This impact score was based on a tally of the likes, emojis, comments and shares of the post on Facebook. The articles and comments were then ranked in order by their impact scores. Each news article was classified as having one of the following viewpoints: pro-migrant, anti-migrant or neutral/mixed. Each primary comment with replies

was also classified in this way and the pro-migration and anti-migration comments contained within were counted. These details were recorded in the Excel document. Other information recorded in the spreadsheet included the following: the title of the news article and Facebook post; the date of the article and Facebook post; themes and sentences associated with them; tallies of sentences for each theme; the link to the online news article; and the Facebook post link. The final corpus consisted of 28 news articles and 28 Facebook comments with replies, which related to those articles.

4.3.1 News24.com Facebook page and website

News24.com is the Facebook page associated with the News24 website, www.news24.com. News24 was founded in 1998 (Media24.com 2019) as an English-language online news site based in South Africa. The Facebook page was opened in 2008 (Facebook.com 2019). News24 is owned by Media24, which is self-described as “South Africa’s leading media company with interests in digital media and services, newspapers, magazines, ecommerce, book publishing, print and distribution.” (Media24.com 2019) At the time of writing this thesis, the News24.com Facebook page had 6.8 million likes. As one of the major online news sources in South Africa, News24 is a compelling choice for collecting data concerning the discursive construction of African migrants to South Africa.

Posts on the News24.com Facebook page are mainly made up of a photo from a news article with a caption and a link to the news article on the News24 website. Facebook users can react to, comment on, or share the News24.com Facebook posts. Facebook users can also reply to another person’s comment or react to a comment using emojis, GIFs and likes.

4.4 Analytical methodology

This study focused on a qualitative analysis of the corpus supported by a secondary, quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis of the collected news articles and Facebook comments was completed in line with the theoretical framework of CDA according to van Dijk, as discussed in chapter three, in order to answer the primary research question.

4.4.1 Initial data analysis

To begin the analysis, each news article and primary comment with replies were examined to find textual elements, which are closely related to ideologically based attitudes (van Dijk 2011:405). The following questions were answered in the initial data analysis.

- i. Which positions on immigration are expressed by the author and Facebook commenters?
- ii. What topics are emphasised in the article and in the Facebook comments when writing about migrants, and how are they discussed?
- iii. How does the local sentence meaning emphasise the in-group's good qualities and the out-group's bad qualities by employing lexical choices, implication, presupposition, mitigation description, syntax and other strategic moves?
- iv. How are demonstratives used to signal social distance or nearness and to designate the in-group or out-group?
- v. How are pronouns used to convey in-group or out-group association?
- vi. Which rhetorical devices (including metaphors) are used to emphasise positives or negatives about the in-group or out-group?
- vii. How do topics, local sentence meaning, demonstratives, pronouns and rhetorical devices play a part in the overall meta-strategy of the ideological square?

4.4.2 Thematic analysis

After the initial data analysis, the qualitative analysis was further developed by carrying out a thematic analysis of the corpus, which contributed to answering research question ii. The thematic analysis was carried out according to the principles set out in Braun and Clarke (2012). During this phase, both quantitative and qualitative analysis took place.

First, the entire corpus was coded for themes and these were recorded in the Excel spreadsheet mentioned earlier. Sentences, which represented the themes, were collected and counted in the Excel document to ascertain which themes were most and least common in the

corpus. The themes were then ranked in order from most common to least common, based on the number of sentences in the corpus representing each theme. The top five themes were ascertained using this data. Next, 50 sentences were collected to represent the top five themes. The sentences were examined to find the discursive devices used; in order to determine the ways in which the themes were discursively realised; and to identify ideologies represented in the sentences.

4.4.2.1 Selection of 50 sentences representing the top five themes

After the most common themes were identified, each theme was represented by selecting 10 sentences from the entire corpus, resulting in a total of 50 sentences or phrases to be used for an in-depth analysis of the themes. The sentences were selected in the following manner. Sentences that had been recorded in the Excel spreadsheet under each theme were re-examined to choose some for in-depth analysis. Sentences were chosen which best represented the theme while incorporating selections from both the news articles and Facebook comments. In addition, the researcher selected sentences that represented both the dominant viewpoint of the theme as well as the opposing viewpoint, whether pro-migration or anti-migration. Following this, each theme was divided into sub-themes and analysed as described in section 4.5.12.

4.5 Discursive devices identified and sentences analysed

The sentences selected for in-depth analysis were examined to find discursive devices used in discourse concerning African migration. This provided the answer to research question iv. The list of discursive devices described below was compiled from van Dijk's (2000:61-85 and 2011:413-414) lists as well as Mongie's (2013:136-142) catalogue of these.

4.5.1 Demonstratives of distance

Demonstratives of distance are often used in talk about other ethnic groups. These demonstratives use deictics to show social distance by using words such as "they", "them", or "those people" instead of calling the group by name (van Dijk 1987:104). Deictic categories communicate the "orientation within the immediate context of the utterance". For example, the "lexical or grammatical item" may refer to the "identity or location of the speaker, the

addressee or other entities.” (Trask 1992:75) Van Dijk (1987:105) asserts that demonstratives can be used to express attitudes of distance and depersonalisation and thus prejudice.

4.5.2 Pronouns

The group relations category of ideology, mentioned in chapter three, is polarised into the in-group and out-group. The in-group and out-group are typically represented in discourse using the opposing “us” and “them” pronouns (van Dijk (2011:412).

4.5.3 Individual lexical items

Van Dijk (1998:31) proposes that lexical items can be used in an evaluative manner. Ethnic out-groups or immigrants may be described using a variety of words that imply specific meanings, such as the term “illegals” which implies that immigrants are breaking the law. Attitudes towards out-groups can affect whether a journalist will use the word “riot”, “disturbance”, or “unrest” about an event. In addition, "code words" such as “welfare mothers” can be used to describe ethnic groups in a way that can be interpreted by readers without directly naming an ethnic group (van Dijk 2000b:39).

4.5.4 Modified propositions

According to van Dijk (in Mongie 2013:138), there are several ways in which lexical items can be modified. Two of these are through the use of syntax and necessity modalities. The syntax of sentences can be modified by arranging words in such a way as to hide or de-emphasise the agency of the in-group. Discrimination or xenophobia may be reported on without revealing who is actually carrying out the actions against out-group members (van Dijk 2015c:389). In addition, agency of the out-group can be emphasised by placing the group in the active role, thus highlighting their responsibility for negative actions (van Dijk 1998b:32). Necessity modalities are used to describe negative behaviour by the in-group which is carried out against the out-group “as inevitable” (van Dijk 2015c:388). An example of this is used in the sentence *The police had to act tough against the demonstrators*. In this way, necessity modalities are often used to reduce the negative actions of the in-group (van Dijk 1998b:32).

4.5.5 Implication

Van Dijk (2011:413) defines implication as “propositions implied by propositions explicitly expressed in the discourse”. This means that part of the information is expressed in such a way that the audience can fill in the missing information from “their general sociocultural knowledge” (van Dijk 2000a:46). Implication can be used to form negative propositions about the out-group (van Dijk 2011:414).

4.5.6 Presupposition

Presupposition is defined by van Dijk (1995:273) as “any proposition whose truth is accepted by the speaker in order to be able to make an utterance, but which is not asserted by the utterance”. Negative characteristics of out-groups can be presupposed in such a way that they are asserted by the in-group, even without evidence (van Dijk 2015c:388). Both implications and presuppositions allow the speaker to “make claims without actually asserting them, and... to take specific beliefs for granted although they might not be.” (van Dijk 1995:273)

4.5.7 Mitigation

Mitigation uses indirectness to tone down negative talk about other ethnic groups and to present oneself as tolerant by "moderating negative opinions about others" (van Dijk 1987:87). Mitigation is used in the sentence, *facing this... increase of the foreign population in France, one has witnessed... reactions that come close to xenophobia*. Instead of saying directly that the French are committing racist acts against immigrants, the speaker tones this down to describe *reactions that come close to xenophobia*. (van Dijk et al. 1997:170)

4.5.8 Explicit or implicit description

Information about groups can be made explicit or implicit depending on the amount of information expressed in the discourse (van Dijk 2000a:47). Details of negative behaviour by out-groups are often elaborated on, while less detail is used in the description of the negative behaviour of in-group members (van Dijk 2015c:388). Van Dijk (2015c:387) refers to this positive characterisation of in-groups and negative characterisation of out-groups as the ‘ideological square’, which has been explained in section 3.2.3.1.

4.5.9 Rhetorical devices

When people speak about other ethnic groups in conversation, they use rhetorical operations to make socially delicate opinions more "plausible, reasonable and acceptable" (van Dijk 1984:139). Rhetorical operations which are typical of talk about other ethnic groups include the following: contrast, in which positive properties of the in-group and negative properties of the out-group are expressed; generalisation, in which one occurrence is applied to the whole out-group; and repetition, which is the recurrence of expressions (van Dijk 1984:139).

Other types of rhetorical operations include irony, in which meaning is expressed by saying the opposite (van Dijk et al. 1987:106); and metaphor, used "when direct, literal description would threaten face-saving" or to make descriptions "livelier" (van Dijk et al. 1987:108). Metaphors can also be used to "make abstract mental models more concrete" as in the case of characterising immigration as incoming waves of water threatening the country (van Dijk 2015a:474).

Rhetorical devices such as alliteration and rhyme are used to emphasise negatives about the out-group (van Dijk 2011:414). Lists emphasise and uphold arguments of the in-group. Assertions presented as facts present convincing arguments as truth, without using any evidence to support the claim (Lynn and Lea 2003:433). Common knowledge asserts that something negative is true about an out-group (Lynn and Lea 2003:445).

Rhetorical questions are used to "frame the issue at hand as part of reasoned debate." (Lynn and Lea 2003:435). The presentation of extreme cases is meant to provoke an emotion from the audience such as anger, resentment or offense. Invoking of categories of people with entitlements introduces the in-group as having certain rights over other groups. This establishes an unfair situation for the in-group, if these rights are afforded to out-groups. The disclaimer of apparent denial is used to deflect any criticism of the speaker as having a racist attitude. An example of this is the phrase "I'm not racist, but..." (Lynn and Lea 2003:434). In addition, the disclaimer of apparent sympathy is the argument that decisions which negatively affect migrants are "for their own good" (van Dijk 1997c:37).

Another rhetorical device is exemplification, which uses an example to explain a perspective (Fozdar 2008:535). Puns create emphasis by introducing one word in place of another incidentally, similar word (Mongie 2013:142). Labelling an out-group, for example as “radicals”, is a naming tactic used to characterise the group negatively (Fozdar 2008:535). Blaming the victim is the strategy of attributing blame to an out-group by asserting that their “unequal treatment is justified” as a result of the group’s own actions (van Dijk 1991:193). These rhetorical operations can express negative opinions about other ethnic groups or communicate positive self-presentation of the in-group (van Dijk 1984:141).

4.5.10 Quantification

Quantification uses numbers to emphasise the viewpoint of the in-group and is often used in news on immigration (van Dijk 2000a:53). Quantification can be used to generalise negative examples about the out-group and positives about the in-group (van Dijk 2000a:72). Some example of quantifiers which emphasise or mitigate statements are the words “all”, “many”, “often”, “always” (van Dijk 1984:124), “constantly” and “everywhere” (van Dijk 2000a:72).

4.5.11 Analysis of discursive devices in sentences

First, the discursive devices described above were identified in the sentences chosen for analysis. Following this, van Dijk's CDA (2015a:466) was employed to determine the ways in which the themes were discursively realised in the corpus using ideological discourse concerning African migration. Finally, ideologies found in the sentences were identified and described. These moves answer research question iii.

4.5.12 Sentences representing the top five themes

The thematic analysis was carried out using both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Themes were identified in the corpus and recorded in the Excel spreadsheet to determine the five most common themes in the corpus. Next, 50 sentences were chosen to represent the most common themes. These sentences were analysed in-depth by identifying discursive devices; by using CDA to examine how themes were discursively realised; and by identifying ideologies represented in the sentences.

Figure 1: 50 sentences focused on in analysis

| Sentences Analysed | News Article/Facebook Post Dates | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Totals | Total Sentences | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|--------|-----------------|------------|
| | 12 Oct 17 | 10 Feb 18 | 9 Mar 18 | 12 Apr 18 | 10 May 18 | 9 Jul 18 | 29 Aug 18 | 15 Sept 18 | 1 Nov 18 | 13 Nov 18 | 17 Nov 18 | 8 Jan 19 | 6 Feb 19 | 30 Mar 19 | 2 Apr 19 | | | 2/3 Apr 19 |
| Sentences news articles | 1 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 40 | 50 |
| Sentences Facebook | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 10 | |
| Themes | Number of sentences themes appear in | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Theme 1: difficulties migrants face | | | 7 | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | 10 | 50 |
| Theme 2: documentation/enforcement | | | | | | 2 | | 1 | | | 1 | 5 | | | | 1 | 10 | |
| Theme 3: migrants a threat | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | 3 | | 1 | 1 | | | 3 | 10 | |
| Theme 4: crime/law-breaking | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | 2 | 2 | | | | | 4 | 10 | |
| Theme 5: xenophobia | 1 | | | | 3 | | 2 | | | | | | | 1 | 3 | | 10 | |

Figure 1 above, shows the 50 sentences that were selected for close analysis. First, the dates of the news articles and Facebook posts, in which the selected sentences are found, are listed. Next, the number of sentences, which originate from news articles or Facebook posts, are counted. In addition, the themes, which were focused on in the analysis, are listed, as well as the number of sentences representing each theme. Finally, the number of sentences is totalled.

4.6 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis of this corpus served to support the qualitative analysis. It included a table representing the impact scores of news articles and related Facebook posts, ranked from most popular to least popular. A graph was also produced showing the number of news articles and comments with replies, which were pro-migrant, anti-migrant or neutral/mixed.

Additionally, a graph presenting the number of pro-migrant and anti-migrant Facebook comments was created. Finally, a table of all the themes in the corpus was generated, completing the answer to research question ii. The themes in the table were ranked by the number of associated sentences, from most common to least common.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of how CDA and the theories of van Dijk have been applied to the investigation of the discursive construction of African migrants to South Africa, specifically in online news articles and in Facebook comments referring to those articles. Furthermore, this chapter has described the research aims, data collection tasks, and data sources, as well as the analytical methodology used and how this serves to answer the research questions. Chapter 5 will present a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data collected from the news articles and Facebook comments that make up the corpus.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

5.1. Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of the quantitative analysis of the themes in the corpus. It is followed by an overview of each of the top five themes in the corpus, with a discursive analysis of examples from news articles and Facebook comments. These five themes are examined in order, beginning with the most commonly occurring theme in the corpus. Further, the ideologies found in the themes are identified. In completing these tasks, the research questions included in Chapter 4 have been answered. Additionally, the text of the news articles and Facebook comments which are analysed in this chapter are included in the appendices of this thesis.

5.2 Quantitative analysis of the corpus

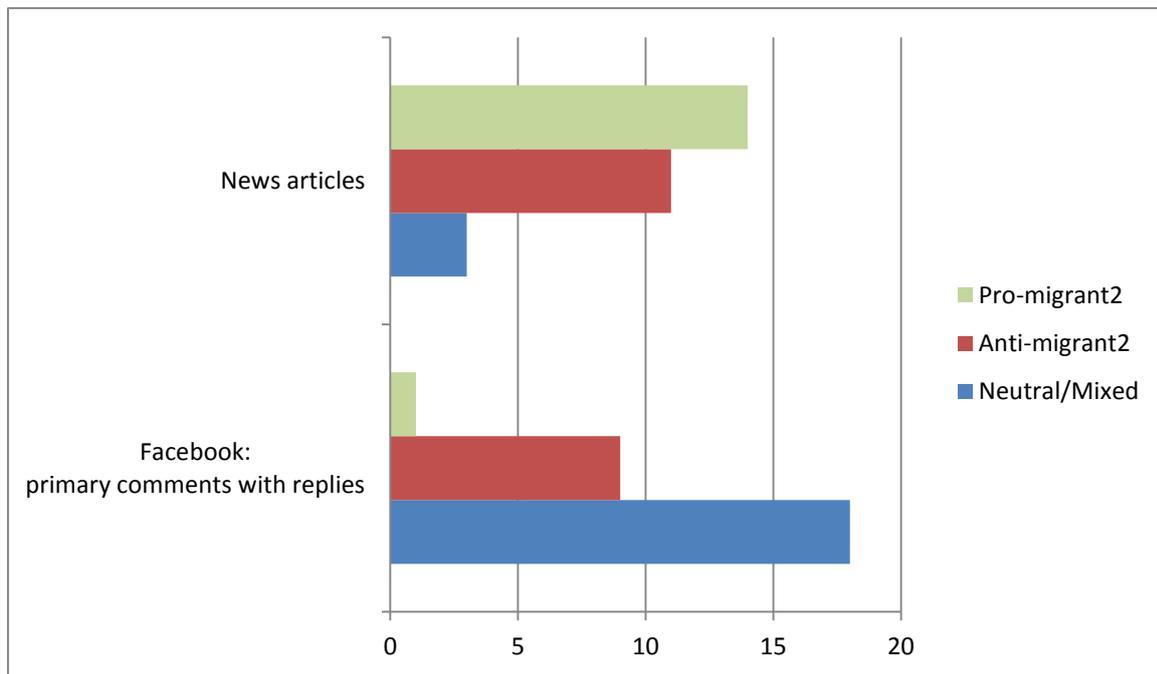
The corpus is made up of 28 online news articles along with 28 sets of Facebook comments related to each article (see section 4.3 for comment selection method). The articles and Facebook comments were published between the 1st of October 2017 and the 30th of June 2019, over a time span of 21 months. All of the news articles which topicalised African migration and which were posted on the News24.com Facebook page during this time period were included in the corpus. In Figure 2, below, the 28 articles and corresponding Facebook comments are ranked by their impact scores from highest to lowest. The impact score is equal to the total number of likes, emojis, comments and shares on the Facebook post.

Figure 2: Impact scores of news articles and related Facebook posts

| Title of news article/Facebook post | Date of article/Facebook post | Impact score |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Ramaphosa: SA borders 'need to be open for Africans to move freely and to promote business' | 22 March 2018 | 10,034 |
| Malema calls for African, coloured and Indian unity | 30 March 2019 | 6903 |
| Police intercept truck heading for Zimbabwe border with stolen goods worth millions | 16 December 2018 | 4447 |
| Secure our borders and fix our fences – Maimane | 5 July 2018/6 July 2018 | 2491 |
| Xenophobic attacks: 'I go to Malawi with a heavy heart' | 2 April 2019 | 2434 |
| 'We want foreigners gone' - Mahikeng protesters | 10 May 2018 | 1730 |

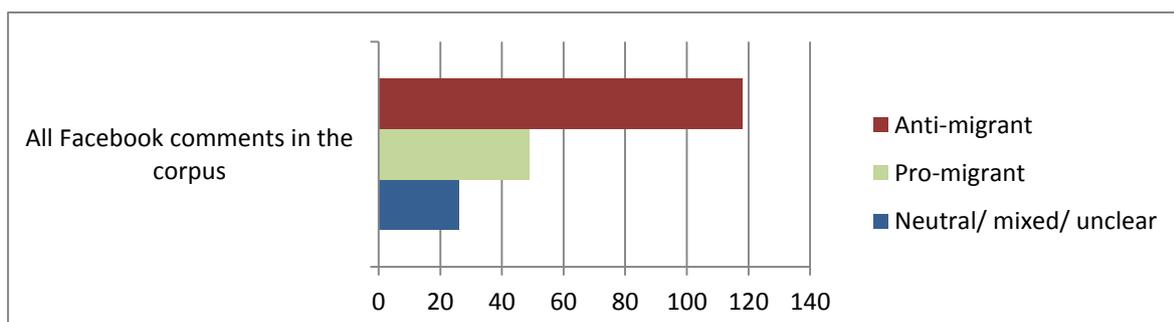
| | | |
|---|---------------------------|------|
| 22 trapped underground after gas explosion at Gloria Mine | 6 February 2019 | 1346 |
| Over 160 illegal immigrants arrested at Limpopo border during police operations | 9 December 2018 | 1240 |
| One shot dead, foreign national shops looted in Soweto violence | 29 August 2018 | 892 |
| Cape Town Mayor Plato's philosophy on migrants to Western Cape causes furore | 18 February 2019 | 874 |
| Stop paying 'millions to protect ministers' and equip SANDF to protect borders - DA's Msimanga | 9 April 2019 | 823 |
| DA plays populist immigration card | 23 October 2018 | 637 |
| Former Limpopo cop sentenced to life for murder of foreign spaza shop owner | 28 December 2017 | 598 |
| R15 for a delivery: The battle of 3 desperate men who deliver your food | 19 June 2018 | 597 |
| Former Home Affairs employee faces corruption charges for allegedly issuing fraudulent permits to foreign nationals | 4 November 2017 | 559 |
| Debating illegal immigration: where do we draw the line? | 8 January 2019 | 559 |
| Most asylum seekers in SA are young males looking for economic opportunities | 10 February 2018 | 548 |
| Home Affairs in court after official tears up child's passport | 1 November 2018 | 544 |
| Protecting South Africa's borders: Rocky roads and unrelenting conditions | 17 November 2018 | 499 |
| Tough laws and effective enforcement needed to secure borders | 9 July 2018 | 484 |
| No trace: Anonymous bodies of migrants fill Joburg cemetery | 1 November 2018 | 421 |
| How not to handle migration in South Africa: Lessons from West Africa | 2 April 2019/3 April 2019 | 405 |
| No toilets for refugees while new offices for Cape Town in pipeline | 31 January 2018 | 299 |
| Ethiopian immigrants' long battle to be heard | 9 March 2018 | 269 |
| Mashaba in Twitter spat over 'ebolas' remark | 13 November 2018 | 256 |
| Man terrorised for renting shop to a Somali | 12 October 2017 | 253 |
| Some Zimbabweans still waiting for permits as deadline looms | 15 September 2018 | 227 |
| For asylum seekers, the long walk to freedom is still beyond reach | 12 April 2018 | 134 |

Figure 3: Attitudes towards migrants in news articles and Facebook comments



In Figure 3 above, each article was designated as “pro-migrant”, “anti-migrant” or as having a “neutral/mixed” position on migration. These numbers were tallied, which resulted in a total of 14 pro-migration articles, 11 anti-migration articles and three articles that had a neutral or mixed position on migration. The primary comment with its replies was also designated as “pro-migrant”, “anti-migrant” or as having a “neutral/mixed” position on migration. This resulted in one comment with replies which was pro-migration, nine comments with replies which were anti-migration, and 18 comments with replies which were mixed or neutral. For an explanation of the term “primary comment with replies”, see section 4.3.

Figure 4: Pro-migrant and anti- migrant Facebook comments



In Figure 4 above, the numbers of pro-migration and anti-migration comments were counted, resulting in a total of 51 pro-migration Facebook comments and 116 anti-migration Facebook comments. In addition, 26 comments were found which were neutral, mixed or unclear.

The quantitative data which came out of the thematic analysis of the corpus resulted in a total of 61 different themes. In Figure 5 below, the sentences and sentence-like structures related to each theme are recorded and tallied and the themes are ranked in order from the most popular to the least popular.

Figure 5: Themes in the corpus

| Themes in the corpus | Number of sentences |
|---|---------------------|
| Difficulties migrants face (hardships and challenges) | 165 |
| Documentation/enforcement | 144 |
| Migrants being a threat | 132 |
| Crime/lawbreaking of migrants | 121 |
| Xenophobic behaviour and discourse | 115 |
| Refugees/asylum seekers | 99 |
| Migrants being treated unjustly | 77 |
| Deviance of an out-group other than migrants (usually a political party, racial group or class group) | 69 |
| Migration as a political issue | 65 |
| Police | 56 |
| Corruption and fraud related to migration | 53 |
| Entitlement of South Africans | 46 |
| Death/murder of migrants | 44 |
| Migration uncontrolled/unenforced | 40 |
| The economy | 38 |
| Positive actions/emotions towards migrants | 38 |
| South Africans not being deviant | 38 |
| Dangers migrants face (such as capture, imprisonment, physical harm) | 37 |
| Numbers of migrants | 36 |
| Competition between South Africans and migrants | 35 |
| Drugs associated with migrants | 31 |
| Pan-Africanism | 31 |
| Human rights | 31 |
| Unemployment | 30 |
| Inferiority of an out-group other than migrants | 29 |
| Migrants don't belong in South African territory | 28 |
| Expulsion of migrants | 28 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Migrants not being a threat | 27 |
| Legitimate/illegitimate migration | 26 |
| Migrants being different from South Africans (in appearance, language, culture, food) | 25 |
| Migrants and other out-groups not belonging because of a different origin than the in-group | 24 |
| Migration a problem | 23 |
| Difficulties South Africans face (hardships and challenges) | 22 |
| Positive identity of migrants (as individuals, activists, professionals, mothers, etc.) | 22 |
| Deviance of migrants | 22 |
| South Africans not unfair towards migrants | 21 |
| Migrants benefiting South Africa/South Africans | 18 |
| Disease associated with migrants | 16 |
| Migrants work hard | 14 |
| Migrants don't cause social problems | 14 |
| Historical migration | 13 |
| Apartheid | 12 |
| Colonialism | 11 |
| Disappearance of migrants | 10 |
| Entitlement of South Africans wrong/exclusion of migrants wrong | 10 |
| Superiority of an in-group | 10 |
| Commonalities between South Africans and migrants | 10 |
| Migrants cause social problems | 10 |
| South Africa's migration situation being worse than other places | 9 |
| Danger South Africans face (physical harm) | 9 |
| Inferiority of migrants | 9 |
| South Africans and other groups belonging because their origin is associated with South Africa | 8 |
| Superiority of migrants | 8 |
| International relations | 7 |
| Migrants harm South Africa/South Africans | 7 |
| South African territory does not belong only to South Africans | 5 |
| Migrants harm South Africans business | 5 |
| Nationalism | 4 |
| Common humanity of migrants and South Africans | 3 |
| Migrants not being deviant | 3 |
| Terrorism | 3 |

5.3 Top five themes

The top five themes in the corpus are the following: difficulties migrants face; documentation and enforcement of migration; migrants being a threat; crime and lawbreaking of migrants; and xenophobic behaviour and discourse. Ten sentences or phrases were chosen from each theme for analysis.

5.3.1 Theme 1: difficulties migrants face

The most common theme in the corpus concerns difficulties migrants face. This theme is mainly pro-migrant but also has anti-migrant variations. The theme deals with difficulties in the migrants' country of origin, the hardships involved in the journey, and problems migrants face in the destination country.

5.3.1.1 Difficulties faced in countries of origin

The sentence below is found in the news article published on the 9th of March, 2018 (Appendix D). The sentence emphasises the difficulties faced by migrants in their countries of origin and takes a tolerant position on the topic.

- (1) ...he had left Ethiopia because he had been involved in protests and the government was arresting supporters of the Oromo Liberation Front. (line 94-95)

In this sentence, the evaluative nouns “protests” and “supporters” (line 94) depict the migrant in a positive light, as an activist and proponent of a cause. Here, positive self-presentation of the in-group of migrants is seen as one of the strategies of van Dijk’s (2015c:387) ‘ideological square’, which has been explained in section 3.2.3.1. Further, the sentence above implies that the protests were in alliance with the Oromo Liberation front and that the migrant feared he would be arrested along with other protesters. Additionally, the phrase “he had left Ethiopia because” (line 94) accentuates that the migrant’s motivation for leaving Ethiopia was based on his actions as a protester and the danger of being arrested for these activities. This implies that he would have stayed in Ethiopia if this had not happened.

To add to this idea, the negative actions of the Ethiopian government are highlighted by the in-group by using the active voice in the phrase “the government was arresting supporters of the Oromo Liberation Front” (line 94-95). In this phrase, the evaluative noun “liberation”

(line 95) defines the cause as promoting human rights. Further, implication emphasises that the arrests were unjust because the government opposes protesters who are depicted as standing for human rights, as mentioned earlier. Therefore it is implied that in opposing the protesters, the Ethiopian government also opposes their cause of human rights. This is an example of negative other-presentation of the out-group.

The sentence below follows the previous sentence in the news article published on the 9th of March, 2018 (Appendix D). It continues with the theme of difficulties faced by migrants in their countries of origin and has a tolerant stance towards migration.

(2) Ethiopia is a dictatorship in Africa. (line 96)

Here, the evaluative noun “dictatorship” (line 96) is used as a rhetorical device to label Ethiopia as a country which is ruled by an oppressive government with absolute power over its citizens. This depicts the out-group (the Ethiopian government) in a negative manner in order to justify Ethiopian migration to other countries.

The sentence below follows the previous two sentences found in the news article published on the 9th of March, 2018 (Appendix D) and has a tolerant position on migration.

(3) We have to leave our country, which we love so much, because there is no freedom...
(line 96-97)

In the sentence above, the in-group of migrants present themselves in a positive way using the modified verb “love so much” (line 96) which indicates that the group feels a great deal of love for their country of origin. In addition, the necessity modality, “we have to leave” (line 96) communicates that migrants have no other choice but to relocate to another country and it implies that they do so reluctantly. To add to this idea, the causative conjunction “because” (line 97), emphasises the reason for leaving. This reason is found in the noun phrase, “no freedom” (line 97) which expresses that there is a lack of human rights in the country, causing citizens to emigrate. In the ideology seen in the subtheme of difficulties in the country of origin, migrants identify themselves as patriots and activists who value freedom and therefore should resist an unjust government in their country of origin, or escape oppression by migrating.

5.3.1.2 Difficulties on the journey

The next sub-theme concerns difficulties migrants face on the journey to South Africa. The sentence below has tolerant sentiments concerning migration and is found in the news article published on the 9th of March, 2018 (Appendix D).

- (4) He said he had stayed in Kenya for about 10 months before making his way to SA, which took another three months and cost about R50 000 in total. (line 100-101)

The rhetorical device of exemplification is used here to emphasise the sacrifices migrants make by embarking on a journey, which took over a year and cost a large amount of money. This strategy calls forth sympathy towards migrants which is further developed by quantifying the amount of time expended travelling. This is employed in the phrases “10 months” (line 100) and “three months” (line 101), which refer to different stages of the journey. This idea is strengthened by a second example of quantification seen in the phrase “about R50,000” (line 101) referring to the high expense of the journey. Implication is also used in this sentence to communicate that migrants make significant sacrifices of time and money to travel to the destination country.

The sentence below follows the previous sentence in the news article, published on the 9th of March, 2018 (Appendix D), and continues with the sub-theme of difficulties on the journey. The sentence has a tolerant stance on migration.

- (5) His brother had paid the costs and now he had to pay back the debt from his earnings of about R2 000 a month. (line 101-102)

The rhetorical device of exemplification is used here to emphasise how the migrant took on debts, which had to be repaid out of his small salary. Additionally, the verbs “had paid” and “pay back” emphasise the financial transactions related to the migrant’s journey. Further, the migrant’s difficult situation is stressed using the necessity modality “he had to” (line 102) expressing that the migrant is under compulsion to repay the debt to his brother. Finally, the migrant’s monthly income is quantified using the phrase “about R2 000 a month” (line 102), which is a small amount of money to live on in South Africa. This implies that it will be difficult for the migrant to repay the debt he owes. As in the previous sentence, this strategy creates sympathy towards the migrant.

5.3.1.3 Difficulties in the destination country

The next sub-theme has to do with difficulties migrants face in the destination country. The sentence below was published in a news article on the 1st of November, 2018 (Appendix J) and has a tolerant perspective towards migrants.

- (6) A 16-year-old Zimbabwean has missed a year of school and has been unable to rejoin his mother in South Africa after a Home Affairs official in Harare declared his application for a study visa fraudulent and tore up his passport. (line 2-4)

In this sentence, the adjective “16-year-old” (line 1) highlights that the migrant is a minor and is therefore vulnerable. In addition, the phrase “missed a year of school” (line 2) stresses the hardships faced by the migrant and the ways they may impact on his future. This incident is quantified using the noun “a year” (line 2), emphasising the extended time period in which the migrant’s schooling has been disrupted. Furthermore, the writer highlights that the family relationship has been negatively affected using the phrase “unable to rejoin his mother in South Africa” (line 2- 3), which emphasises that the migrant was with his mother in the destination country before the event which separated them against their wishes.

Moreover, in the sentence above, the evaluative adjective “fraudulent” (line 4) is used by the Home Affairs official to describe the migrant’s visa application. This negative representation of the 16-year-old is tempered by the verb phrase “tore up his passport” (line 4) as it implies that the official’s actions were unjust since the visa application was deemed fraudulent, not the passport itself. This strategy shifts the focus from the (alleged) wrongdoing of the minor to the negative actions of the government official and is an example of negative other presentation.

The comment below was made on a Facebook post which was published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix P). This sentence presents an intolerant argument concerning migrants.

- (7) its not that they work hard its because they have no choice its not their country they don't have rights that's why they won't strike coz they here illegally and besides our currency compared to theirs (u do the maths) they are being exploited... (line 30-32)

The pronoun “they” (line 30-32) is used six times in this comment to talk about migrants and to designate them as the out-group. Similarly, the adjective “our currency” (line 31-32) and the pronoun “theirs” (line 32) also stresses the “Us” and “Them” dichotomy, defining South Africans as the in-group and migrants as the out-group. Having established the out-group, the claim that migrants work harder than South Africans is invalidated using the phrase “its not” (line 30) to negate the verb phrase “work hard” (line 30). This is an example of negative other-presentation in that the out-group’s positive characteristic of being hardworking is denied. Next, the causative conjunction “because” (line 30) points to the three reasons that migrants’ hard work is invalid. The first reason uses a necessity modality, “they have no choice” (line 30), which emphasises that migrants are not innately hard working, but do so because of their difficult position in South Africa. The second reason is seen in the adjective “not their country” (line 30) stressing that migrants don’t belong to South Africa and have no claims in the country. This explains why migrants have no other choice and also is connected to the third reason, which is found in the phrase “they don’t have rights” (line 31). This implies that migrants as non-citizens are taken advantage of and aren’t afforded justice in South Africa, and therefore that the group’s only option is to work hard.

Furthermore, in the comment above, the possibility modality “won’t strike” (line 31) expresses that it is unlikely that migrants would protest their lack of rights. It is implied here that a description of migrants as hardworking is due to the fact that the group doesn’t strike. The group’s absence of demands concerning their working conditions is explained using the adverb “illegally” (line 31) which describes migrants’ state of existence in South Africa. Similar to the argument that migrants don’t strike due to their disadvantaged status, another argument is put forth to explain migrants’ lack of protest. This argument is presented by emphasising the difference between the South African rand and other currencies using the verb “compared” (line 32). In addition, the expression “u [you] do the maths” (line 32) presupposes that the difference between currencies is self-evident. It is implied that the strong South African currency is another reason migrants are unwilling to protest for rights, because they can afford to be paid less than others, due to the rand having a higher value than their own currencies. Additionally, the comment above uses the rhetorical device of generalisation to express that migrants work hard because they are exploited, because they are illegal workers and don’t have rights, and because their currencies are weaker than South Africa’s currency. The final phrase “they are being exploited” (line 32) uses a passive sentence

construction to de-emphasise who is carrying out the exploitation, de-emphasising the negative actions of South Africans.

The sentence below expressed a tolerant sentiment towards migration and is found in the news article published on the 9th of March, 2018 (Appendix D). This sentence continues with the sub-theme of difficulties migrants face in the destination country.

(8) And I still have to send money to my family back in Ethiopia. (line 103)

The sentence above stresses that despite all other responsibilities, the migrant has the obligation to provide for family members in Ethiopia. This is done by employing the adverb “still” (line 103) in the necessity modality “I still have to”. This emphasis on providing for the financial needs of family members also serves to create empathy towards the migrant due to his burden of responsibility.

The sentence below follows the previous sentence in the news article published on the 9th of March, 2018 (Appendix D) and also has a tolerant position on migration.

(9) I have to work at least two years to pay my brother back... (103-104)

In the sentence above, the necessity modality “I have to work” (line 103) emphasises the migrant’s need to earn money in order to repay his debt. In addition, the amount of time needed for repaying the debt is quantified in the phrase “at least two years” (line 103-104). Moreover, the phrase “at least” (line 103) implies that it could take longer to repay the debt.

The sub-theme, difficulties migrant face in the destination country, is seen in the sentence below, found in the news article published on the 12th of April, 2018 (Appendix E). This sentence presents tolerant sentiments concerning migration.

(10) She is forced to travel by bus to Limpopo every three to six months to renew her asylum seeker permit following a decision by the director general of the Department of Home Affairs to no longer offer the service at the country’s second-busiest Refugee Reception Office (RRO) on Cape Town's Foreshore. (line 13-16)

The necessity modality “She is forced to” (line 13) stresses that the migrant has no other choice but to take the long journey to Limpopo. This also implies that there will be negative

consequences for her if she fails to comply. In addition to the negative conditions which compel the migrant to travel, the journey is also presented negatively. Her mode of transport is described using the phrase “by bus” (line 13) which implies that this is an arduous way to travel such a distance. Furthermore, the rhetorical device of presenting extreme cases is used to accentuate that a migrant must travel from Cape Town to another province, in order to get services at a refugee office. The use of this rhetorical device is meant to provoke an emotional response that is favourable towards the migrant. Similarly, an extreme case is presented by quantifying the number of times the migrant must repeat the journey, using the phrase “every three to six months” (line 13). This also highlights the difficulties the migrant faces and creates sympathy towards her.

The second part of the sentence above changes the focus from the migrant to the director general of Home Affairs. This occurs in the preposition, “following a decision by the director general of the Department of Home Affairs” (line 14), which uses the active voice to indicate that the migrant’s situation is as a result of the determination made by the official. This is an example of negative other-presentation. Additionally, the adverb of time “no longer” (line 15) presupposes that in the past it was possible to renew permits in Cape Town. To continue, the Cape Town RRO is described using the adjective “the country’s second-busiest” (line 15), which implies that there are large numbers of migrants in the Cape Town area and that the resolution by the director general to discontinue the renewal of asylum seeker permits in the city was unjust towards them. This further implies that Home Affairs is to blame for the difficulties faced by asylum seekers in Cape Town who need to renew their permits.

In the sub-theme difficulties migrants face in the destination country, three ideologies are seen from two different perspectives. In the first ideology, migrants identify themselves as victims of injustice carried out by South African government officials, and believe that their group should have the right to stay in the country. In the second ideology, migrants consider that making significant sacrifices of time and money in order to migrate, with the goal of providing for family members, is important. In the third ideology, South Africans maintain that hard work is important and believe that the group is entitled to jobs over migrants.

5.3.2 Theme 2: documentation and enforcement

The second most common theme found in the corpus was that of the documentation of migrants and the enforcement of migration at the country's borders. This theme focuses on migration as a problem, which needs to be solved; on border controls; and on the issuing or denial of permits.

5.3.2.1 Migration as problematic and needing a solution

The sentence below contains the sub-theme of migration as a problem in need of a solution. It is found in the news article published on the 8th of January, 2019 (Appendix M). This sentence has an intolerant perspective on migration.

(11) We need to address the problem of illegal migrants before it does start infecting our political culture more. (line 58-59)

Migrants are represented in a negative light by describing them as lawbreakers using the evaluative adjective “illegal” (line 58). Similarly, the evaluative noun “problem” (line 58) portrays the migrants in question as problematic for the country's political culture. Once the negative characteristics of migrants have been established, a sense of urgency is given to the problem by using the necessity modality “we need to address” (line 58), which suggests that a treatment or a solution is required. To strengthen this suggestion, the conjunction “before” (line 58) warns that action should be taken in order to avoid a negative outcome, and implies that it is not too late to do so. To add to the warning, a metaphor emphasises the threat that is associated with migrants. This metaphor is seen in the evaluative verb “infecting” (line 58) which portrays illegal migrants or migration as an infection in a body threatening to cause illness and death and which must be controlled. The phrase “our political culture” (line 58-59) specifies that a South African sphere of influence is affected negatively by illegal migration. This implies that the shared values and conventions of the political sphere are threatened by illegal migration. Finally, the adverb “more” (line 59) presupposes that illegal migration has already begun to negatively affect the political culture.

The sentence below continues with the sub-theme of migration as a problem needing a solution. It follows the previous sentence in the news article published on the 8th of January, 2019 (Appendix M) and presents intolerant sentiments.

- (12) The solution seems obvious: control the borders properly and document every person coming into the country. (line 59-60)

In the sentence above, the evaluative verb “solution” (line 59) depicts migration as a problem to be solved. This leads to an explanation of the proposed solution, presented in two parts. The first part is asserted in the phrase “control the borders properly” (line 59), which refers to the regulation of migrants who are crossing the border and implies that the current border controls are not adequate and should be increased. The second part of the solution is found in the phrase “document every person coming into the country” (line 59-60) which implies that this task is not being carried out, again stressing that current migration controls are not adequate.

The sentence below expresses the sub-theme from a perspective of tolerance towards migrants. It is found in a news article published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix Q).

- (13) “It is common knowledge that in countries experiencing immigration and having difficulties dealing with crisis and unemployment, some political leaders try to scapegoat foreigners and tighten controls of residence. (line 43-45)

In the sentence above, the noun “common knowledge” (line 43), which is also a rhetorical device, presupposes that the assertion the writer is about to make is well known and is deemed to be true by most people. Following this, a metaphor is used to assert that migrants are being treated unjustly. The metaphor, seen in the phrase “political leaders try to scapegoat foreigners” (line 45) depicts migrants as being made to unjustly carry the blame for the problems of a nation, such as unemployment. The results of this blame are seen in the phrase “tighten controls of residence” (line 45), which emphasises that the perceived problem of migration is addressed by increasing the regulation concerning who has permission to live in the country and for how long.

Two ideologies are seen in the sub-theme of migration as a problem needing a solution. In the first ideology, South Africans are convinced that they should defend their political norms concerning illegal immigration by regulating permits and border security. Whereas, in the second ideology, it is believed that migrants are victims of the actions of unjust government officials and that the group should have the right to remain in the destination country.

5.3.2.2 Border controls

The sub-theme of border controls is seen in the sentence below from the news article published on the 17th of November, 2018 (Appendix L). This sentence begins with an effort to solicit sympathy or admiration for the SANDF, by employing an explicit description of the challenges faced by soldiers patrolling the borders, and continues with an intolerant perspective on migration.

(14) Despite unrelenting terrain, the beating sun and vast tracks of land to patrol, South African Defence Force (SANDF) soldiers on the borders have still managed to apprehend more than 6 000 people - allegedly for trying to illegally enter South Africa from Mozambique since January. (line 5-8)

The phrases “unrelenting terrain”, “beating sun” and “vast tracks of land to patrol” (line 5) highlight the challenges faced by soldiers as they monitor South Africa’s borders. This brings attention to the soldiers’ difficult task of preventing migrants from crossing the border. In addition, the adverb “still” emphasises that despite these difficulties, the soldiers had a high degree of success, which depicts the in-group in a positive light. To emphasise this success, the number of migrants apprehended is quantified in the phrase “more than 6000 people” (line 6-7). This quantification also serves to highlight the threat posed by large numbers of migrants attempting to cross the border. Moreover, the phrase “since January” (line 7-8) specifies that this number includes migrants apprehended only during the year in question. This implies that even greater numbers of migrants have been caught attempting to enter South Africa and that migrants arrive in overwhelming numbers. Additionally, the phrase “trying to illegally enter South Africa” (line 7) refers to migrants attempting to enter South Africa who do not have permission or proper documentation.

The sentences below contain the sub-theme of border controls and are found in the news article published on the 9th of July, 2018 (Appendix G). Both sentences contain an intolerant stance on migration.

(15) Security at the border post is less intensive than at an average suburban block of flats. (line 18)

(16) Vehicle and document checks are perfunctory, when they take place at all. (line 19)

In sentence 15 above, the phrase “less intensive than at an average suburban block of flats” (line 18) describes security at the border post as being minimal and implies that that security at a block of flats is more controlled than at the national border of South Africa. Similarly, in sentence 16 above, the adjective “perfunctory” (line 19) describes inspections of vehicles and documents as being apathetic and unconcerned. In addition, the phrase “when they take place at all” (line 19) implies there are times when inspections of vehicles and documents do not take place and that because of this the border post is not secure.

In the ideology seen in the sub-theme of border control, South Africans find it important to overcome challenges and believe that the group should enforce the law by defending the country’s borders from illegal migrants.

5.3.2.3 The issuing or denial of permits

The two sentences below, found in the news article published on the 8th of January, 2019 (Appendix M), contain the sub-theme of the issuing or denial of permits. Sentence 17 is an attempt to appear tolerant, which is explained below, while sentence 18 communicates the intolerant views of the writer.

(17) Make it easy and free for people to apply for asylum or work permits. (line 60-61)

(18) Those who are denied these privileges will unfortunately have to go home. (line 61)

In sentence 17 above, the imperative verb phrase “make it” (line 60) introduces the argument that new immigration processes need to be established. This idea is expanded using the evaluative adjectives “easy” and “free” (line 60) to describe how the process of applying for asylum or work permits should be. In addition, mitigation is used, in the phrase “make it easy and free” (line 60), to soften a strong comment on the documentation of migrants, which follows in sentence 18. This strategy is an attempt by the writer to appear tolerant. Lastly, the adjectives “asylum” and “work” (line 60) describe the types of permits which should be easily accessible for migrants and suggests that other types of migrants may be unacceptable.

The second half of the argument for introducing new immigration processes is seen in sentence 18, which focuses on migrants who do not have asylum or work permits. This group is discussed in the phrase “those who are denied these privileges” (line 61), which uses the passive voice to hide the agency of South Africans in denying permits to migrants. This de-

emphasises the negative actions of the South African in-group. Furthermore, in this phrase, the noun “privileges” (line 61) describes the asylum or work permits mentioned in the previous sentence. This implies that migrants do not have rights to asylum or employment in South Africa. To temper this perspective, the adverb “unfortunately” (line 61) uses apparent sympathy to repel any criticism of the writer as xenophobic. This is also used to mitigate the necessity modality “have to go home” (line 61) which indicates that migrants’ do not have a claim to South Africa and that their rightful place is in their country of origin. In addition, the rhetorical device of invoking categories of people with entitlements is used. In this case, migrants with documents (either asylum or work permits) are entitled to stay in South Africa whereas other migrants must leave.

The sentence below is found in the news article published on the 8th of January, 2019 (Appendix M). This sentence has an intolerant view of migration with an attempt by the writer to appear tolerant.

(19) ...he welcomes migrants from everywhere but insists that they be properly documented and issued with resident’s permits. (line 35-36)

The phrase “he welcomes migrants from everywhere” (line 35) begins the sentence using mitigation to soften the strong comment which comes afterwards. In this phrase, the evaluative verb “welcomes” (line 35) communicates that the politician, who is the subject of this sentence, is pleased to extend hospitality to migrants. Additionally, the noun phrase “migrants from everywhere” (line 35) expresses that the politician accepts migrants equally, not discriminating based on their country of origin. Up to this point, the sentence has used a strategy of positive self-presentation of the in-group, however, it concludes with a negative presentation of migrants.

The sentence continues with the phrase “but insists” (line 35) which stresses that there are stipulations for migrants to be welcomed, and emphasises that the stipulations are non-negotiable. These requirements are presented in the phrase “properly documented and issued with resident’s permits” (line 35-36). Here, a rhetorical device is used to invoke categories of people with entitlements. In this case, migrants who have residence permits and proper documents are entitled to stay in South Africa; conversely, migrants who do not meet these requirements are disqualified from staying in the country. Furthermore, the evaluative adverb

“properly” (line 35) implies that some migrants do not have permits. In this way, migrants are described implicitly as being undocumented. In addition, the term “resident’s permits” (line 36) refers to a temporary or permanent residence permit which, in South Africa, are usually issued to “international students, foreign workers and tourists” (The South African Government 2019b) as well as business people, refugees, and relatives of South Africans (Department of Home Affairs 2019). This requirement implies these types of migrants and non-South Africans are desirable, and that other types are undesirable.

The sentence below, from the news article published on the 15th of September, 2018 (Appendix I), expresses the theme of documentation of migrants from a perspective which is tolerant towards the group.

(20) Without a valid permit to show, they find their bank accounts frozen, face difficulties registering their children at education institutions and even lose their jobs. (line 6-8)

The possessive adjective “their” (line 7-8) is used three times to describe things or people as belonging to the out-group of migrants. This is seen in the phrase “their bank accounts, their children and their jobs” (line 7-8), which stresses that migrants are an out-group, separate from South Africans. Additionally, it implies that the migrants in question had permits in the past because they were able to have bank accounts and jobs. In contrast, the phrase “without a valid permit to show” (line 6) depicts the present state of some migrants in South Africa as lacking the physical document of a legal permit.

The results of this problem are expressed in the passive voice, which is seen in the phrases “they find their bank accounts frozen”; “face difficulties registering their children” to study; and “lose their jobs” (line 7-8). Here a passive sentence is used to hide agency and de-emphasise the negative actions of the in-group of South Africans. Furthermore, the rhetorical device of a list is used here to emphasise the problems which result from permits not being issued. One of these problems is seen in the noun phrase “difficulties in registering” (line 7) which expresses the inability to secure education for dependents. Another example is found in the phrase “even lose their jobs” (line 8) which expresses that migrants are deprived of jobs in which they had been employed and emphasises that this is the worst of the three outcomes mentioned.

In the sub-theme of the issuing or denial of permits, two ideologies are seen. In the first ideology, South Africans believe that they are not xenophobic, but consider themselves as being sympathetic towards migrants. The group also maintains that they should uphold the law by expelling illegal migrants from the country. Conversely, in the second ideology, migrants are convinced that they should have the right to remain in South Africa to work and study.

5.3.3 Theme 3: migrants being a threat

The third most common theme found in the corpus was that of migrants being a threat. This theme encompasses the ideas that migrants threaten South African well-being, South African territory and the group's power.

5.3.3.1 Threat to South African well-being

The comment below is found on a Facebook post published on the 10th of February, 2018 (Appendix C). The sub-theme of migrants being a threat to South African well-being is seen in the comment and an intolerant sentiment is communicated.

(21) This people (sic) are way too many, collapsing government systems aimed for our people, just look at our Health Department, they are filled in our hospitals and clinics, our schools, even prisons.our (sic) limited resources aimed at servicing our citizens are being over stretched (line 1-4)

The phrase “this people” (sic) (line 1) is a distanced expression which is used to avoid naming the group and to signal social distance from the out-group of migrants. In addition, the modified adverb “way too many” (line 1) emphasises that there are excessive numbers of migrants in South Africa. To add to this idea, a metaphor is used in the phrase “collapsing government systems” (line 1). The metaphor depicts the out-group of migrants as something of great size or weight, which is overwhelming the object containing it. In addition, the metaphor continues with the verbs “collapsing” (line 1), “filled” (line 2) and “over stretched” (line 3-4) which emphasise that government institutions are unable to cope with the large numbers of migrants using their services.

In contrast to the characterisation of migrants, government services are also characterised in the phrases “aimed for our people” (line 1-2) and “aimed at servicing our citizens” (line 3), which describe government resources as being meant for South Africans, not migrants. Here, the rhetorical device of invoking categories of people with entitlements is used to show that citizens are entitled to government services, but migrants are not. In addition, the possessive pronoun “our” is used six times in this comment to highlight all that belongs to South Africans and not migrants, which is seen in the phrases “our people” (line 1-2), “our Health Department” (line 2), “our hospitals and clinics” (line 2), “our schools” (line 2-3), “our limited resources” (line 3) and “our citizens” (line 3). This list of government resources is also a rhetorical device used to emphasise the argument that these institutions are adversely affected by migrants. Furthermore, the evaluative adjective “limited” (line 3) describes South African resources as not being enough for both the in-group and the out-group.

To add to this idea, the phrase “just look at our Health Department” (line 2) presupposes that it is easy to find an example of how migrants are bad for South African resources. Similarly, the phrase “even prisons” (line 3) implies that migrants not only use services meant for law-abiding South Africans, but the group also uses the resources meant for South African prisoners. This is an example of the rhetorical device of presenting extreme cases, which emphasises the argument that migrants are bad for government resources.

The sentence below is found in a news article published on the 13th of November, 2018 (Appendix K). It expresses intolerance towards the out-group and contains the sub-theme of migrants being a threat to South African well-being.

(22) We are [not] going to sit back and allow people like you to bring us Ebolas... (line 23-24)

The noun phrase “people like you” (line 23) is a distanced expression, which indicates social separation from the out-group, avoids naming the group and is a form of othering. In addition, the metaphor “[not] going to sit back and allow” (line 23) expresses that South Africans will restrain migrants from a certain course of action which is threatening the in-group. This threat is found in the phrase “bring us Ebolas” (line 23-24) which uses the active voice to express that migrants are responsible for introducing diseases into the country. This

phrase also uses the rhetorical device of presenting extreme cases by mentioning Ebola, to highlight that migrants are a threat to South African health.

The phrase below follows the previous sentence in the news article published on the 13th of November, 2018 (Appendix K) and has an intolerant stance.

(23) Health of our people first. (line 24)

The evaluative adjective “first” communicates that South African health is more important than the health of migrants. Here, the rhetorical device of invoking categories of people with entitlements is seen in the depiction of health or healthcare resources as an entitlement allotted to citizens, rather than migrants.

The sentence below follows the previous two sentences in the news article published on the 13th of November, 2018 (Appendix K). It contains the sub-theme of migrants being a threat to South African well-being and presents an intolerant argument.

(24) Our health facilities are already stretched to the limit...” (line 24-25)

The phrase “our health facilities” (line 24) describes government health resources as belonging to the in-group of South Africans. In addition, the adverb “already” (line 25) indicates that even without the presence of migrants in the country, the government clinics and hospitals struggle to cope with the health needs of citizens. Similarly, the metaphor “stretched to the limit” (line 25) depicts government health institutions as an object which is used to capacity and is about to be damaged if it is overused. This metaphor expresses that no resources are available for migrants because they are all being used by South Africans.

The theme of migrants being a threat to the well-being of South Africans is seen in the sentence below from a news article published on the 10th of May, 2018 (Appendix F). This sentence communicates an intolerant position towards migrants.

(25) The problem with the foreigners is they are killing our kids with drugs and abortions.
(line 8)

The noun “foreigners” emphasises that migrants do not belong in South Africa, but belong elsewhere. To add to this negative characterisation of migrants, the evaluative noun “problem” (line 8) defines migration as problematic for South Africa. Furthermore, the

phrase “they are killing our kids” (line 8) uses the active voice to highlight the negative actions of migrants. This phrase portrays the in-group as being threatened by migrants and is an example of negative other-presentation by the South African in-group. To add to these ideas, the continuous present tense verb “killing” (line 8) indicates that this is not a single event, but it is one that is ongoing and which characterises the out-group of migrants.

Following the negative depiction of migrants, the South African in-group is described using the adjective “our kids” which emphasises that the South Africans who are at risk are vulnerable children. Examples of how South African children are at risk is found in the preposition “with drugs and abortions” (line 8), which implies that migrants are involved in deviant behaviour such as illegal drug sales and offering illegal abortions, resulting in South African deaths.

In the ideology seen in the sub-theme of migrants being a threat to South African well-being, South Africans identify themselves as victims of migrants who threaten government resources and the national health of the in-group. South Africans are convinced that they should be entitled to these resources ahead of migrants and that the health of the in-group is more important than the health of the out-group. Additionally, in this ideology, the South African in-group believes that they should defend the country from the threat migrants pose. Furthermore, South Africans identify their children as victims of criminal migrants.

5.3.3.2 Threat to South African territory and power

The sub-theme of migrants being a threat to South African territory and power is seen in the sentence below. The sentence is found in a news article published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix Q) and has intolerant sentiments towards migrants.

(26) The arms that are being used here in Hillbrow are arms of war, which are unlicensed.
(line 168)

The nouns “arms” (line 168) refers to weapons, while the evaluative adjective “unlicensed” (line 168) describes the weapons as being unsanctioned by South African authorities. In addition, “arms of war” (line 168) is a metaphor that depicts migrants as enemy combatants. Furthermore, the phrase “here in Hillbrow” identifies the territory which is threatened, which

is a neighbourhood of Johannesburg where many migrants can be found. This implies that the out-group, in the sentence above, is made up of migrants.

The sub-theme continues in the sentence below, which follows the previous sentence in the news article published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix Q). This sentence expresses intolerance towards migrants.

(27) The hijacking of buildings here in Hillbrow is a sign of taking over power. (line 168-169)

The phrase “hijacking of buildings” (line 169) refers to the occupation of abandoned buildings in the inner cities of South Africa. In this phrase, the verb “hijacking” (line 169) has to do with something which is taken by force and commandeered. In addition, the phrase “a sign of taking over power” stresses that the occupation of buildings by migrants is part of a deliberate process of gaining possession and control over South African territory.

The sentence below is found further down in the same news article as the previous two sentences, published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix Q). The sentence presents intolerant ideas concerning migrants in South Africa.

(28) The question of dominance of foreign nationals in illegal trading but also in businesses that are here in Hillbrow is an economic sabotage against our people that were supposed to be those that were running those particular businesses. (line 169-172)

The phrase “the question of” (line 169) implies that a discussion is going on concerning the issue being presented. This discussion is introduced in the noun phrase “dominance of foreign nationals” (line 170), which indicates that migrants are in a more powerful position than the South African in-group in the sphere of business and illegal trading. To add to this negative portrayal of migrants, the evaluative adjective “illegal” (line 170) describes the group’s unauthorised trading and businesses. Furthermore, the noun phrase “economic sabotage” (line 171) stresses that migrants run businesses with the goal of harming South African businesses. Similarly, the noun “sabotage” (line 171) is used to imply that migrants are enemies of South Africans. To add to this idea, the preposition “against our people” (line 171) emphasises that

migrant businesses are in opposition to South African businesses and that the in-group is threatened.

In contrast, the phrase “supposed to be” (line 171) stresses that South Africans, rather than migrants, are intended to run businesses in the country. This is an example of the rhetorical device which invokes categories of people with entitlements and expresses that South Africans are entitled to participate in business and migrants are excluded from running businesses. Finally, the phrase “those particular businesses” refers to businesses run by migrants in Hillbrow, which should be run by South Africans instead. This implies that migrants have encroached on the economic territory of South Africans.

The phrase below is from a news article published on the 8th of January, 2019 (Appendix M). This phrase exhibits the sub-theme of migrants being a threat to South African territory and power and communicates intolerance towards migrants.

(29) ...Johannesburg was getting “engulfed” by illegal migrants... (line 15)

In the phrase above, a metaphor is seen in the use of the verb “engulfed” (line 15) which characterises migrants as a body of water surrounding and overwhelming the city, thus endangering it. This metaphor implies that there are overwhelming numbers of migrants in the city and depicts migrants as threatening the territory of the in-group, namely the city of Johannesburg.

The comment below, on a Facebook post published on the 6th of February, 2019 (Appendix N), is intolerant towards migrants.

(30) ...and they going to have the right to vote (line 6)

The noun phrase “the right to vote” describes the privileges and power migrants are forecasted to have in South Africa. This implies that migrants will have the same power as citizens to make choices about the governance of the country. Therefore, the implication is that the out-group threatens South African power.

In the ideology seen in the sub-theme of migrants being a threat to South African territory and power, South Africans are convinced that it is important to uphold the law. Additionally, the in-group believes that they should defend South African cities, buildings and the business

domain from the threat of migrants. This is based on the idea that South Africans are entitled to have power over these areas. Furthermore, the in-group is convinced that citizens should have the exclusive right to vote in the country.

5.3.4 Theme 4: crime and lawbreaking of migrants

The fourth most commonly occurring theme found in the corpus is crime and lawbreaking of migrants. This theme has to do with migrants being involved in crime in general, in high-profile crimes, and in illegal immigration and small crimes.

5.3.4.1 Crime in general

The following sentence, which presents an intolerant perspective towards migration, is found in the news article published on the 9th of July, 2018 (Appendix G).

(31) We must all do everything possible to combat the crime that has taken hold of our borders. (line 4)

The necessity modality “we must all do” (line 4) is used to express the importance of what is being proposed. This proposal is seen in the metaphor indicated by the alliterative phrase “combat the crime” (line 4). This metaphor depicts the engagement between the South African in-group and criminal migrants as a war. Additionally, the definite article used in the phrase “combat the crime” (line 4) presupposes that there is crime at the borders. To add to this idea, the verb “taken hold of our borders” (line 4) communicates that the crime carried out by migrants has become stronger. This reference to borders also implies that it is migrants who are involved in crime. In response to this threat, the phrase “we must all do everything possible” communicates that the entire South African nation must take every feasible action to address the problem of crime carried out by migrants.

The comment below is found on a Facebook post published on the 12th of October, 2017 (Appendix B). The sub-theme is evident in this comment and a perspective of tolerance towards migrants is expressed.

(32) foreigners are human beings and they do make mistakes just like citizens, they do crime just like anyone. (line 34-35)

The noun “human beings” indicates that both South Africans and migrants share characteristics, which all people have in common. Similarly, the phrases “just like citizens” and “just like anyone” use comparison to stress that migrants are no different from South Africans and that both groups commit crimes. In addition, the phrase “make mistakes” (line 35) serves to mitigate and de-emphasise the negative actions of migrants.

In the sub-theme of migrants being associated with crime in general, two ideologies can be seen. In the first ideology, the in-group of South Africans believes that all citizens should defend the country from criminal migrants by any means. In contrast, the second ideology maintains that migrants and South Africans are equal human beings and that migrants should not be exclusively held responsible for the crime in the country.

5.3.4.2 High-profile crimes

The sub-theme of migrants involved in high-profile crimes is seen in the sentence below, found in a news article published on the 17th of November, 2018 (Appendix L). This sentence has a position of intolerance towards migrants.

(33) ...89 hijacked vehicles worth more than R28m, which were allegedly smuggled into Mozambique, were seized. (line 21-22)

The phrases “89 hijacked vehicles” (line 21) and “more than R28m” (line 21) quantify the number of stolen vehicles and their value. This emphasises the amount of crime, which is taking place, and the high monetary value of the stolen vehicles. In addition, the adjective “hijacked” (line 21) describes the vehicles as having been taken by force from their owners in a criminal act, and the verb “smuggled” (line 21) emphasises that the vehicles were being transported across the border covertly, which implies that a criminal act was taking place. In addition, the preposition “into” Mozambique (line 21-22) implies that the criminals are migrants.

The sentence below is found in a news article published article 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix Q) and contains the sub-theme of high-profile crimes. This sentence contains intolerant ideas towards migrants.

(34) I want to ask the nation [of] South Africa and the so-called human rights activists and organisations what must the police do when they are shot at by criminals? (line 183-184)

The phrase “the nation [of] South Africa and the so-called human rights activists and organisations” (line 183) indicates the group which is being addressed. The mention of the second group in the phrase “so-called human rights activists” (line 183) implies that some kind of discord exists concerning the definition of human rights, or that the group is not advocating for the human rights of South Africans, but only for those of migrants. Next, the rhetorical question is introduced in the phrase “what must the police do when they are shot at by criminals?” (line 184). This question is meant to emphasise the situation police officers experience and to depict the argument of the in-group as logical. The question begins with the necessity modality “what must the police do” (line 184) which is used to stress that a response by the police is demanded. Additionally, a passive sentence construction is employed in the phrase “shot at by criminals” (line 184). This implies that police are the victims in the situation. Lastly, the noun “criminals” (line 184) refers to migrants by way of implication. This is evident because of whom the earlier question is addressed to: the nation of South Africa and the human rights activists and organisations, which are two groups with some kind of stake or interest in migration.

The sentence below follows the previous sentence in the news article published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix Q) and continues with an intolerant perspective towards migrants.

(35) Must they sing ‘Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika or must they return fire? (line 184-185)

The necessity modality, “must they sing ‘Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika” (line 184-185), uses irony to express a possible response by police. This song is the national anthem of South Africa, meaning, “God bless Africa”, which is used here as a pun to refer to African migrants. An example of irony is also seen here because the typical response to being shot at is not to bless the shooter. The expected response is suggested by the second necessity modality “must they return fire” (line 185) which indicates that the criminals are the first to shoot and police only shoot in response. The entire sentence above is a rhetorical question used to emphasise that police are justified in shooting criminal migrants.

The sentence below is found in the same news article published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix Q) and follows the previous two sentences. Like the previous two sentences, this sentence also contains an intolerant view of migrants.

(36) We are losing police officers day in and day out but we are protecting criminals who are terrorising our people. (line 185-186)

The phrase “losing police officers” uses a euphemism to express that police are dying and the implication here is that they are being killed by migrants who are characterised as criminals. In addition, the expression “day in and day out” (line 185-186) communicates that this has been happening regularly, over a long time period. Moreover, irony is used in the phrase “but we are protecting criminals” (line 186) to emphasise that the situation is unjust. Here, the verb “protecting” (line 186) indicates that police are defending migrants from harm. This is an implicit description of police protecting migrants from xenophobic violence. In contrast, the noun “criminals” (line 186) refers to migrants. This is implied in the two previous sentences, as mentioned earlier. In addition, this phrase implies that police should not be protecting migrants and that the out-group deserves to be subjected to xenophobic violence due to their criminal actions, which is an example of blaming the victim. To add to this, the phrase “terrorising our people” (line 186) uses the active voice to highlight the negative actions of the out-group of migrants. This implies that migrants are causing South Africans anxiety by threatening the in-group and carrying out violence against them.

The theme of migrants involved in high-profile crime is found in the comment below from a Facebook post, which was published on the 3rd of April, 2019 (Appendix R). This sentence presents intolerant sentiments towards migrants.

(37) ...some of these people live in Suburbs and drive Mercedes-Benz"s (sic) without any jobs. (line 15-16)

The phrase “live in Suburbs and drive Mercedes-Benz"s” (line 15-16) is an explicit description of migrants, portraying the group as living luxurious lifestyles with expensive cars and houses. To add to this idea, the preposition “without any jobs” (line 16) indicates that migrants don’t work for these luxuries and implies that they are involved in lucrative crime.

In the ideology seen in sub-theme of high-profile crimes, South Africans find it important to make a living through honest work. The in-group also believes that it is essential to oppose criminal migrants and to recover stolen property. Additionally, South Africans identify themselves as victims of criminal migrants and believe that they should have the right to defend themselves from the out-group through violent means. Further, the in-group maintains that the South African police force should not protect criminal migrants.

5.3.4.3 Illegal immigration and small crimes

The sub-theme of migrants' involvement in illegal migration and small crimes is seen in the sentence below from a news article published on the 13th of November, 2018 (Appendix K). This sentence expresses an intolerant view of migrants.

(38) ...he made his first citizen's arrest, after a man was nabbed for pushing a trolley filled with around 20 cow heads through central Johannesburg. (line 5-6)

The use of the adjective "first" (line 5) to describe the citizen's arrest suggests that it was monumental in some way for the person who carried it out. In addition, the arrest is linked to the migrant's actions in the phrase, "after a man was nabbed for pushing a trolley filled with around 20 cow heads" (line 5-6), implying that this is the crime he was arrested for. In this phrase, the adjective "filled" describes the state of the trolley while the phrase, "around 20" (line 6) quantifies the number of cow heads it contained. This implies that the man had a significant amount of cow heads, which were probably intended for sale, not for personal consumption, which further implies that the migrant was running an illegal business. Additionally, the preposition "through central Johannesburg" (line 6) specifies that the incident took place in the urban hub of the city. The implication here is that the practice of transporting meat in such an informal way is out of place in a modern, urban environment. To add to the meaning of this phrase, in the following sentence, the man transporting cow heads is described as a migrant. Therefore, the implication in this sentence is that migrants violate the norms of South Africa.

The sentence below is found in the same news article as the previous sentence and was published on the 13th of November, 2018 (Appendix K). This sentence has an intolerant perspective of migrants.

(39) It is unhygienic and he was arrested for contravening by-laws and for being an undocumented person... (line 39-40)

The evaluative adjective “unhygienic” (line 39) describes a migrant’s transportation of cow heads in a trolley, mentioned earlier, as unclean. In addition, the preposition “for contravening by-laws” (line 39) indicates that the migrant violated a local ordinance. It is implied that this was related to the unhygienic transport of meat mentioned earlier in the news article. The second incident of lawbreaking, which led to the arrest, is found in the preposition “for being an undocumented person” (line 39- 40). In this phrase, the evaluative adjective “undocumented” (line 40) describes the same migrant as lacking a permit to be in South Africa.

The sentence below has an intolerant stance on migration and is found in a news article published on the 17th of November, 2018 (Appendix L).

(40) The precise number of people apprehended since the beginning of the year, for allegedly attempting to enter the country illegally, was 6 462. (line 19-20)

The phrase “attempting to enter the country illegally” (line 20) indicates that people were trying to enter South Africa without permission. To strengthen this, the number “6 462” (line 20) quantifies and emphasises the large number of migrants stopped from entering South Africa.

In the ideology seen in the sub-theme of illegal immigration and small crimes, South Africans are convinced that they should uphold the law and that the group should have the right to stop migrants from operating illegal businesses and from entering the country illegally. In addition, the in-group considers it important to run businesses with modern standards of hygiene.

5.3.5 Theme 5: xenophobic behaviour and discourse

The fifth most repeated theme found in the corpus was that of xenophobic behaviour and discourse. This theme includes actions or the call for actions against migrants; xenophobia being denied, explained or justified; and xenophobia being condemned.

5.3.5.1 Actions or the call for actions against migrants

In the sentence below the sub-theme, of actions or the call for actions against migrants can be seen. This sentence presents tolerant ideas about migrants and is found in a news article published on the 12th of October, 2017 (Appendix A).

(41) The same Somali shop owner, Adam Abulai, had previously been forced to vacate the premises in 2015 when the community drove out immigrant shop owners, looting and burning their premises. (line 11-13)

In the sentence above, the phrase “Somali shop owner, Adam Abulai” (line 11) is an explicit description of the migrant, which includes his country of origin, his occupation and his name and surname. This amount of detail about the migrant’s identity emphasises his individuality and values him as a person. In addition, the phrases “immigrant shop owners” (line 12) and “their premises” (line 13) describe the migrants as business people and the places which were looted and burned as the group’s property. This implies that injustice has been done to people who are a legitimate part of the community. Furthermore, the phrase, “had previously been forced to vacate the premise” (line 11-12) communicates that this eviction was involuntary and had already happened once before. In contrast with the description of the migrants, the noun, “the community” (line 12) identifies the group which carried out the eviction as people living in the area, implying that these were South Africans. The actions of this group are seen in the phrases “drove out immigrant shop owners” and “looting and burning their premises” (line 12-13) which use the active voice to show the agency of the South Africans in carrying out negative actions against migrants.

The sub-theme of actions or the call for actions against migrants is seen in the two sentences below from the news article published on the 10th of May, 2018 (Appendix F). Sentence 42 begins in a neutral way by describing the protesters’ actions, however, the second half of the sentence, which contains the message on the placards, is intolerant towards migrants. This intolerant sentiment continues in sentence 43.

(42) They held up placards, one of which read: “Every foreigner must go – burn their business.” (line 14)

(43) Go! Go! Go! (line 15)

The phrase “held up placards” (line 14) implies that the group was protesting against migrants. The demands of this protest are found in the phrase “every foreigner must go” (line 14) which uses a qualifier of quantity to indicate that no migrants should remain in the area. In addition, the necessity modality “must go” (line 14) indicates that the expulsion of migrants is compulsory. To strengthen this idea, the imperative “go” (line 15) is repeated three times for emphasis, commanding migrants to leave. Lastly, the command for the action to be carried out against migrants is given in the phrase “burn their business” (line 14) which also uses the rhetorical device of alliteration to accentuate the message.

In the theme of actions or the call for actions against migrants, two ideologies are seen. In the first ideology, migrants are identified as valued individuals and business people who are victims of xenophobic South Africans. In addition, it is maintained that migrants should have the right to operate businesses in South Africa. Conversely, in the second ideology, South Africans are convinced that they have the exclusive rights to run businesses in South Africa and that the group should defend that right by expelling migrants from their business premises through violent means.

5.3.5.2 Xenophobia denied, explained or justified

The sentence below is found in the news article published on the 10th of May, 2018 (Appendix F) and contains the sub-theme of xenophobia denied, explained or justified. This sentence has an intolerant perspective towards migrants.

(44) We are not being xenophobic or what, but we are saying they must do business professionally. (line 11-12)

The phrase “we are not being xenophobic or what, but” (line 11) uses apparent denial to refute possible claims that the group is xenophobic, by using the strategy of positive self-presentation before presenting the out-group negatively. This phrase also uses the active voice to stress that South Africans are not responsible for xenophobia. Following this, the necessity modality “they must do business professionally” (line 11-12) highlights that it is essential for migrants to carry out business in a professional manner and implies that they are unprofessional in some way.

The sentence below is a comment from a Facebook post published on the 29th of August, 2018 (Appendix H) which presents an intolerant view of migrants.

(45) I am against xenophobia but just wanna know if foreigners take us for granted by selling us expired foods imitation cokes and ada (sic) things we dont know. (line 1-2)

The phrase “I am against xenophobia but” (line 1) is apparent denial of the in-group’s xenophobic attitudes about migrants. In contrast with this positive self-presentation, the phrase “take us for granted” (line 1) uses negative other-presentation to express that migrants do not value the relationship with South Africans and expect that it will always be available to them. This phrase also uses the active voice to highlight the negative actions of the out-group.

Examples of how migrants take South Africans for granted are found in a list of products sold by migrants in the phrase “selling us expired foods imitation cokes and ada things we dont know” (line 2). This list is a rhetorical device, which is used to emphasise the unsatisfactory qualities of the goods. Additionally, the verb “selling us” (line 2) uses the active voice to stress the negative actions of migrants in selling inferior products. To add to this idea, the evaluative adjectives “expired” and “imitation” (line 2) describe the food and drinks sold by migrants as being substandard. Finally, the phrase “things we don’t know” (line 2) uses implicit description to talk about products which are contrary to South African norms. The implication here is that migrants are deviant and promote deviance in South African communities.

The comment below follows the previous sentence in a Facebook post published on the 29th of August, 2018 (Appendix H) and continues with an intolerant perspective of migrants.

(46) please we work hard for this money dont (sic) take advantage cos (sic) this will be the results of taking advantage (line 2-3)

In the sentence above, the verb “please” (line 2) is used to implore migrants not to take advantage of South Africans. In addition, the phrases “dont (sic) take advantage” and “taking advantage” (line 3) imply that migrants are treating South Africans unfairly in order to profit from them. The rhetorical device of repetition is used here to stress the commenter’s point. In contrast, the phrase “we work hard for this money” uses the active voice to stress the positive

actions of the in-group of South Africans. Finally, the phrase “this will be the results of taking advantage” (line 2) is used as a warning to migrants and implies that migrants are to blame for violence carried out against them, which is an example of blaming the victim.

The sub-theme of xenophobia being denied, explained or condemned is found in the comment below, from the Facebook post published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix P), which presents an intolerant stance on migration.

(47) The problem is that we do not have the economy to support these foreigners, jobs are scarce and that is what’s driving xenophobia. (line 1-2)

The evaluative noun “problem” (line 1) introduces the reason behind xenophobic violence. This problem is revealed in the phrase “we do not have the economy to support these foreigners” (line 1) which communicates that South Africa lacks wealth, jobs and resources and therefore cannot accommodate migrants. This is an example of the rhetorical device of presenting assertions as facts.

To support the argument that South Africa cannot accommodate migrants, the phrase “jobs are scarce” (line 1-2) is used to imply that there are not enough jobs in the country for South Africans. Furthermore, the phrase “that is what’s driving xenophobia” (line 2) expresses that the situation of high unemployment contributes to violence against migrants. This phrase also uses the passive voice to hide the agency of South Africans in carrying out xenophobic attacks against migrants. Finally, the sentence above implies that South Africans and migrants are competing for jobs and that this competition causes resentment of migrants by the in-group, resulting in xenophobic actions towards the out-group.

The comment below follows the previous sentence from a Facebook post published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix P) and expresses intolerant ideas about migrants.

(48) It’s not that the local people hate them for nothing, these guys are competing for jobs (line 2-3)

The phrase “it’s not that the local people hate them for nothing” (line 2-3) implies that there is a reason migrants are hated by South Africans, which is found in the next phrase “these guys are competing for jobs” (line 3). This phrase uses the active voice to emphasise the

negative actions of the out-group and implies that migrants are acquiring jobs which South Africans deserve to have, thereby invoking categories of people with entitlements. In addition, the rhetorical device of common knowledge and blaming the victim are both used here to communicate that job competition between migrants and South Africans is at the root of xenophobic attitudes. Finally, the phrase, “the local people” (line 2) refers to South Africans by identifying them by their origin which is from nearby, rather than far away as in the case of migrants.

In the ideology found in the sub-theme, xenophobia denied, explained or justified, South Africans believe that they are not xenophobic and that they are victims of migrants’ unjust treatment. The in-group also finds it important that business is done in a professional manner and that products that are sold are of high quality. In addition, the in-group believes that they should not accept deviant behaviour from migrants. In this ideology, South Africans maintain that working hard to earn a living is important. Finally, the in-group believes that they are entitled to jobs ahead of migrants and that this right should be defended, even by violent means.

5.3.5.3 Xenophobia condemned

The sentence below, found in a news article published on the 30th of March, 2019 (Appendix O), contains the sub-theme of xenophobia being condemned. This sentence also communicates tolerant sentiments concerning migrants.

(49) Stop attacking our brothers from Africa, our sisters from Africa. (line 23)

In order to express that migrants and South Africans belong to the in-group, the adjective “our” (line 23) is used twice in the sentence above. Additionally, the nouns “brothers” and “sisters” (line 23) imply that migrants and South Africans share familial ties. To strengthen this idea, the preposition “from” Africa (line 23) is repeated twice to describe migrants and to emphasise the common origin the group shares with South Africans. These shared characteristics are the basis for the imperative addressed to South Africans in the phrase “stop attacking” (line 23) which refers to xenophobic violence against migrants.

The comment below is found on a Facebook post published on the 2nd of April, 2019 (Appendix P) and has a tolerant stance on migration.

(50) So it warrants killing other people... When black South Africans were being hosted by other African countries like Zambian...we never lifted a stone at any of their comrades... This is barbaric... Disgusting and shame on all south Africans (sic) (line 36-38)

The introductory particle “so” (line 36) is used to belittle the point under discussion in the Facebook comments, which focuses on the topic of job competition between South Africans and migrants. This is followed by the phrase “it warrants killing other people” (line 36), which is a rhetorical question implying that job competition between the two groups is not a reason to kill migrants. Here, the noun “other people” (line 36) refers to migrants by identifying them as human beings. Additionally, the phrase “when black South Africans were being hosted by other African countries” (line 36-37) directs attention to the time during apartheid when some South Africans lived in political exile in other African countries. In this phrase, the evaluative verb “hosted” (line 36) emphasises that South Africans were welcomed and cared for and implies that the hospitality black South Africans received during exile should be repaid to African migrants in South Africa. To add to this argument, the preposition “like Zambian” (sic) (line 37) gives an example of a country that hosted South African exiles. This is followed by the pronoun “we” (line 37) which implies that the commenter may be from Zambia and also designates the in-group as either Zambians or African countries that hosted exiles.

The argument against xenophobic violence continues in the phrase “we never lifted a stone at any of their comrades” (line 37), which uses the active voice to stress the positive actions of the in-group in not harming South Africans. The rhetorical device of common knowledge is also used in this phrase to express that South Africans in exile were not harmed in the countries where they stayed. In contrast, the evaluative adjectives “barbaric” and “disgusting” (line 38) imply that xenophobic violence carried out by South Africans is backwards, deviant and repulsive. Moreover, the phrase “shame on all south Africans” (sic) (line 38) expresses that South Africans should feel guilty and that they are dishonourable for their wrongdoing in attacking migrants.

Two ideologies are found in the sub-theme of xenophobia being condemned. In the first ideology, South Africans and migrants are identified as having a common heritage and familial ties due to their shared continent. Therefore, it is considered important that South

Africans should not carry out xenophobic violence against migrants. In the second ideology, non-South Africans, or African migrants, are convinced that hospitality is important and that it is wrong to kill people over job competition. The group believes that hospitality should be repaid with hospitality and not with violence.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has covered the quantitative analysis of the corpus, which was a mix of pro-migration and anti-migration news articles and Facebook comments with a total of 61 different themes. A thematic analysis was presented of the five most repeated themes in the corpus. These included difficulties migrants face; documentation and enforcement of migration; migrants being a threat; crime and lawbreaking of migrants; and xenophobic behaviour and discourse. Additionally, discursive devices were identified which expressed the viewpoint of the in-group, whether that of South Africans or migrants. Occasionally these two groups were combined into a united in-group. These discursive devices were used to emphasise positive things about the in-group and negative things about out-groups. In addition, the discursive devices de-emphasised negative things about the in-group and positives about out-groups. This agrees with the strategies of van Dijk's (2011:412) 'ideological square'. Finally, the ideologies found in the themes were identified. The research questions included in Chapter 4 have also been answered in this chapter. Chapter 6 will give an overview of the results of the study, discussing them and highlighting the significant observations.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This study was stimulated by an interest in how African migrants are constructed in news articles and discussions found in Facebook comments. It has relied on van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory of CDA to examine discourse at macro and micro levels to determine the discursive construction of African migrants in South African online news articles and Facebook comments. The results and discussion follow below.

6.2 Results

In the section below, the four research questions are presented and answered in terms of the findings from tolerant and intolerant perspectives of African migrants. These expound on the discursive construction of migrants; the themes that were visible in the discourse; the ideologies found and the discursive devices used to construct these ideologies.

6.2.1 The discursive construction of African migrants in online news and Facebook

The primary research question, below, is discussed in the next section, in terms of the tolerant and intolerant perspectives of African migrants.

- i. How are African migrants discursively constructed in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments responding to those articles?

6.2.1.1 The discursive construction of African migrants from a tolerant perspective

Several characterisations of migrants, from a perspective of tolerance, were found in the news articles and Facebook comments. Firstly, migrants were discursively constructed as activists and as proponents of human rights in their country of origin. Secondly, migrants were depicted as enduring difficulties such as sacrificing significant amounts of time and money in order to migrate. To add to this, migrants were portrayed as having a burden of responsibility to send money back to family members whom they have left behind.

Thirdly, migrants were portrayed as vulnerable and as suffering hardships due to unjust decisions concerning their permits and the processes related to these documents. Fourthly, migrants were discursively constructed as human beings, who are unique and valued individuals; as having familial ties and sharing a common origin with South Africans; and as having hosted exiled South Africans in their countries during apartheid. These characteristics were contrasted with the portrayal of migrants as being unjustly blamed for unemployment and other national problems and as being victims of undeserved xenophobic violence. Finally, migrants were portrayed as people who, like South Africans, become involved in crime due to bad judgement.

6.2.1.2 The discursive construction of African migrants from an intolerant perspective

Several discursive constructions of migrants from an intolerant perspective were found in the news articles and Facebook comments. Firstly, migrants were depicted as not belonging in South Africa, as being unwelcome, as being problematic for the country, and as arriving illegally in large numbers. Related to this, migrants were portrayed as acceptable or unacceptable based on either being afforded or denied permits. Secondly, migrants were characterised as threatening South Africa's security, its national health, its norms, political unity, government resources and the lives of its citizens. Similarly, the group was depicted as enemies who threaten South African territory, power and the country's sovereignty. Thirdly, migrants were characterised as being in competition with South Africans for jobs. For this reason, migrants were portrayed as causing resentment and were depicted as being responsible for the xenophobic violence carried out against them. Fourthly, migrants were portrayed as running businesses which are unprofessional and unsanitary, and which take advantage of and are unfair towards South Africans. Finally, the group was characterised as being involved in an increasing amount of crime. As a consequence of this, migrants were portrayed as deserving to be shot at by police officers and also as deserving the xenophobic violence experienced by the group.

6.2.2 Themes visible in the representations of African migrants in online news and Facebook

The second research question, below, is answered in the following section, in terms of the tolerant and intolerant perspectives of African migrants.

- ii. Which themes are visible in these representations of African migrants in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments responding to those articles?

6.2.2.1 Themes visible when discussing migrants from a tolerant perspective

The main themes, which were found in the representations of African migrants, are listed in this section and the next, in order of their popularity in the corpus. Firstly, the most popular theme which was used to discuss migrants from a tolerant perspective was that of difficulties migrants face, which focused on hardships in the country of origin, during the migration journey and in the destination country. Secondly, the theme of the documentation of migrants and the enforcement of migration at the country's borders criticised the topic and depicted documentation as problematic for migrants. Thirdly, the theme of crime and lawbreaking argued that both South Africans and migrants are involved in crime. Additionally, the theme of xenophobic behaviour and discourse presented migrants as victims of injustice and condemned xenophobia.

6.2.2.2 Themes visible when discussing migrants from an intolerant perspective

Firstly, the most popular theme which was used to discuss migrants from an intolerant perspective, was that of difficulties migrants face, which argued that migrants are better off in their country of origin due to their hardships in South Africa. In addition, it was argued that the exploitation of the group, as an under-paid workforce, causes competition between South Africans and migrants. Additionally, migrants' hardships in South Africa were disparaged. In the second theme, of documentation of migrants and the enforcement of migration at the country's borders, migration was portrayed as a problem that should be solved by the strict regulation of permits. Thirdly, the theme of migrants being a threat was seen in the idea that migrants threaten the territory, power and well-being of South Africans. Fourthly, the theme of migrants being involved in crime and lawbreaking blamed migrants for crime in the country, especially in terms of high-profile crimes, illegal immigration and running illegal businesses. Next, the theme of xenophobic behaviour and discourse included the call for actions against migrants and the denial, explanation and justification of xenophobia.

6.2.3 Ideologies visible in the representations of African migrants in online news and Facebook

The third research question, below, is discussed in the next section, in terms of the tolerant and intolerant perspectives of African migrants.

- iii. Which ideologies are visible in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments that respond to those articles?

6.2.3.1 Tolerant ideologies concerning migrants

Two main tolerant ideologies towards African migrants were repeated in the discourse. In the first ideology, migrants believe that providing for family members is important enough to make significant sacrifices of time and money in order to relocate to another country. In addition to this, migrants are identified as valued individuals and business people who are victims of xenophobic South Africans. Moreover, migrants are convinced that hospitality is important and that it is wrong to kill people over job competition. Furthermore, it is maintained that migrants should have the right to operate businesses in South Africa. Finally, migrants identify themselves as victims of injustice carried out by South African government officials and believe that the in-group should have the right to stay in the country in order to work. In the second tolerant ideology towards African migrants, South Africans and migrants are considered equal to one another based on their shared humanity and common heritage due to their shared continent. This ideology maintains that migrants should not be exclusively held responsible for the crime in the country. Based on this reasoning, it is believed that South Africans should not carry out xenophobic violence against migrants.

6.2.3.2 Intolerant ideologies concerning migrants

The main intolerant ideology towards African migrants was seen repeatedly in the discourse and includes the following beliefs. In this ideology, South Africans maintain that working hard to earn a living is important; they believe that the in-group is entitled to government resources and jobs ahead of migrants and that this right should be defended by violent means. Further, South Africans are convinced that they have the exclusive rights to run businesses in South Africa; that the in-group has the right to stop migrants from operating illegal businesses and that the group should defend these rights by expelling migrants from their

business premises through violence. Despite this, South Africans do not consider themselves xenophobic. In contrast, the in-group believe that they are victims of criminal migrants and are convinced that all citizens should defend the country from this group by any means. Similarly, South Africans believe that they should enforce the law by defending the country's borders from illegal migrants and by expelling illegal migrants from the country.

6.2.4 Discursive devices used to construct ideologies

The final research question, below, is answered in the following section, in terms of the tolerant and intolerant perspectives of African migrants.

- iv. Which discursive devices are used to construct these ideologies in South African online news articles that topicalise African migration and in the Facebook comments that respond to those articles?

6.2.4.1 Discursive devices used to construct tolerant ideologies

The most common discursive devices used to construct ideologies, concerning migrants, from a tolerant perspective were the following. The in-group of migrants (or Africans) was presented positively by employing implication 53% of the time, necessity modalities 33% of the time, quantification 33% of the time and evaluative lexical items 20% of the time. In contrast, out-groups were presented negatively by using implication 47% of the time, evaluative lexical items 27% of the time and the active voice 20% of the time.

For example, in the sentence below, a necessity modality, quantification and implication are used in the positive self-presentation of migrants. This is seen in the necessity modality "he had to" (line 102) which expresses that the migrant is responsible to repay the debt. Also, the migrant's monthly income is quantified using the phrase "about R2 000 a month" (line 102) emphasising the migrant's small income and implying that it will be very difficult to repay the debt. In these ways, the in-group is presented positively and sympathy is created for migrants.

- (51) His brother had paid the costs and now he had to pay back the debt from his earnings of about R2 000 a month. (line 101-102) (=5)

Additionally, in the sentence below, evaluative lexical items are used both in the positive self-presentation of migrants and in the negative other-presentation of South Africans.

(52) So it warrants killing other people... When black South Africans were being hosted by other African countries like Zambian...we never lifted a stone at any of their comrades... This is barbaric... Disgusting and shame on all south Africans (line 36-38) (=50)

Finally, in the sentence below, implication and the active voice are used in the negative other-presentation of South Africans. The phrase “the country’s second-busiest” (line 15) implies that there are large numbers of migrants in Cape Town and that the director general’s decision to discontinue the renewal of asylum seeker permits was unjust towards the group. Also, the preposition, “following a decision by the director general of the Department of Home Affairs” (line 14) uses the active voice to indicate that the official is responsible for the migrant’s situation.

(53) She is forced to travel by bus to Limpopo every three to six months to renew her asylum seeker permit following a decision by the director general of the Department of Home Affairs to no longer offer the service at the country’s second-busiest Refugee Reception Office (RRO) on Cape Town's Foreshore. (line 13-16) (=10)

6.2.4.2 Discursive devices used to construct intolerant ideologies

The main discursive devices used to construct ideologies from an intolerant perspective were the following. The South African in-group was presented in positive ways using evaluative lexical items 17% of the time and also by using the active voice 17% of the time. In contrast, migrants and other out-groups were presented negatively by employing implication in nearly every sentence; by using evaluative lexical items 40% of the time, metaphors 20% of the time, necessity modalities 20% of the time and by invoking categories of people with entitlements 17% of the time.

This is seen in the sentence below, which employs a metaphor in the phrase “collapsing government systems” (line 1). This metaphor depicts the out-group of migrants as something too big for the object containing it, thus presenting the group negatively. Additionally, in the phrases “aimed for our people” (line 1-2) and “aimed at servicing our citizens” (line 3) the

categories of people with entitlements are invoked to show that citizens are entitled to government services, but migrants are not, presenting the out-group negatively. After this, the evaluative adjective “limited” (line 3) describes South African resources as not being enough for both the in-group and the out-group, presenting South Africans positively, as being unable, but not unwilling to share these resources.

(54) This people (sic) are way too many, collapsing government systems aimed for our people, just look at our Health Department, they are filled in our hospitals and clinics, our schools, even prisons.our (sic) limited resources aimed at servicing our citizens are being over stretched (line 1-4) (=21)

Another example is seen in the sentence below, in the phrase, “we are not being xenophobic” (line 11), which uses the active voice to stress that South Africans are not responsible for xenophobia. Following this, the necessity modality “they must do business professionally” (line 11-12) highlights that it is important for migrants to carry out business in a professional manner and also implies that out-group members are unprofessional business people, thus negatively portraying the out-group.

(55) We are not being xenophobic or what, but we are saying they must do business professionally. (line 11-12) (=44)

Finally, in the sentence below, the evaluative noun “problem” (line 8) is used in the negative other-presentation of migrants.

(56) The problem with the foreigners is they are killing our kids with drugs and abortions. (line 8) (=25)

6.3 Discussion

The discussion that follows includes an overview of similarities and differences between the present study and previous studies on the topic of discourse used concerning migrants and racial out-groups. This is followed by a discussion that relates the findings of the present study to van Dijk’s theoretical framework and offers the researcher’s interpretation of these findings.

6.3.1 Similarities and differences with other studies

In chapter 2, an overview was given on earlier studies, which used CDA to investigate both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse in news media and everyday talk concerning immigrants and non-dominant racial and ethnic groups. Many of the findings of these studies, concerning an intolerant view of migrants and racial out-groups, were similar to the findings of the present study. In a study by van Dijk (1987:386) concerning racial out-groups in the US and the Netherlands, these groups were discursively constructed as a threat and as abusers of the system. Similarly, in a South African study, migrants were depicted as unwelcome criminals who threaten the country (Els 2013:56). Additionally, a study in the Netherlands found themes such as immigrants being in competition with the in-group, being deviant and being a threat to the in-group's interests (van Dijk 1987:386). Furthermore, a South African study found that immigrants were seen as responsible for the difficulty South Africans face in finding employment and were accused of using South Africa's government resources (social grants and healthcare) in such a way as to deny access to these resources by citizens (Banda and Mawadza 2015:55). These discursive constructions, themes, and ideologies used were all similar to the findings of the present study. Finally, many of the studies in chapter 2 found the same discursive devices seen in the present study, which were used to construct these ideologies.

Earlier studies also investigated counter-hegemonic discourse concerning migrants and racial out-groups. Some of the findings of these studies concerning a tolerant view of out-groups were similar to the findings of the present study, though there was less alignment here than with the studies focused on intolerance. This is most likely due to the fact that there has been less research focusing on the counter-hegemonic perspective. Some similarities were found in a South African study, which found that themes of African unity were used to support the acceptance of migrants (Dube 2015:5). Other themes in this study were not common in the present study, such as biblical commands to be hospitable to foreigners or the African value of 'ubuntu' (communal well-being) (Dube 2015:4). The tolerant perspective of migrants was seen in a study in Spain, in which historical blood ties shared by Spaniards and Argentines were used to affiliate Spaniards with the immigrant out-group (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:579). This type of characterisation was seen in the present study, in which African migrants and South Africans were depicted as being brothers and sisters. In the same study, another

strategy was used to contest intolerance towards migrants, by constructing both groups as having positive and negative qualities and by presenting the issue of crime as a universal problem of humanity (del-Teso-Craviotto 2009:582). This was also seen in the present study, in which both migrants and South Africans were portrayed as being involved in crime due to bad judgement. In the studies covered in chapter 2, some discursive devices used in the construction of tolerant ideologies about migrants and racial outgroups were similar to the present study, such as the use of extreme cases and exemplification, found in a New Zealand study (Fozdar 2008:535). However, many more of the discursive devices, found in past studies concerning tolerance, were different from those in the present study.

6.3.2 Findings in relation to van Dijk's theoretical framework

Chapter 3 has summarised the main components of van Dijk's theoretical framework, on which the present study has been founded. These provide a helpful framework for understanding some of the main findings of the present study. In the quantitative analysis of the attitudes represented in news articles and Facebook comments, it was found that these attitudes were divided into pro-migrant and anti-migrant views, just as van Dijk suggested (van Dijk 2015b:497). For detailed numbers related to this, see section 5.2. This polarisation of the issue was expected; however, it was surprising that more news articles were found to have a pro-migration perspective than the anti-migration perspective. In contrast with the pro-migration perspective of the news articles, the attitudes related to the Facebook comments were quite different, in that the primary comments with replies were mainly a mix of pro and anti-migration attitudes. There are two possible explanations for this difference. First, it is possible that journalists are more careful about what they write than everyday Facebook users. Another explanation for this difference between the news articles and Facebook comments is that the news articles had one author, whereas the Facebook comments usually formed an argument between several commenters representing the pro-migrant and anti-migrant viewpoints, resulting in a mix of attitudes.

Furthermore, the quantitative analysis found that there were more than twice as many anti-migration comments than pro-migration comments in the corpus. This is detailed in section 5.2. This finding is interesting considering that a majority of news articles had pro-migration attitudes and it would have been expected that the news articles and related Facebook comments would have aligned in their attitudes. It may be that the platform of Facebook

provides an environment for intolerant comments to have a greater impact due to the fact that these types of comments get many responses, causing the algorithm to perceive them as more relevant than other, tolerant comments.

Similar to the polarisation of attitudes in the articles and comments, the themes in the corpus also contained a mix of attitudes. Only a few themes were completely aligned to a tolerant or intolerant position. It was interesting to find that the most prominent theme, of difficulties migrants face, was mainly from a perspective of tolerance. This was unexpected, as it supports a counter-hegemonic discourse. There were eight main news articles that focused on this theme, out of 28 total articles, which seems quite significant. In these news articles, migrants were given a voice to share their perspectives. This doesn't seem to agree with van Dijk's findings, in which themes on migration focused only on negative topics, such as problems and threats caused by the out-group. In fact, van Dijk (2015c:387) found that positive themes concerning migrants were usually related to sports or entertainment. This inconsistency may be explained by van Dijk's focus on intolerance rather than tolerance in his research.

In contrast to this, most of the findings of the present study did align with van Dijk's theories. For example, van Dijk (2011:411) proposes that racist ideological discourse is distinguished by aspects of group schema and the ideological square (van Dijk 2011:412). This was widely seen in the intolerant discourse used in news articles and Facebook comments in the present study. Van Dijk also theorises that (2002:148) discourse structures influence the mental models and attitudes which people have about in-groups and out-groups. Once racist mental models and racist attitudes are established, they may result in racist practices. This was seen in the present study, in that intolerant discourse was used to justify violence against migrants. It is likely that this type of discourse then leads to the practice of violence against African migrants in South Africa.

In comparison with this, the tolerant ideological discourse found in the present study also comprehensively included the aspects of group schema and the ideological square in exactly the same way as the intolerant discourse. This also aligns with van Dijk's (2009:77) ideas that resistance to racism works in the same manner as racism, involving ideology, attitudes, mental models and finally discourse; and that it is reproduced in the same way as well. Therefore it is likely that the tolerant discourse and the presence of the counter-hegemonic

ideologies found in the present study could lead to a greater consciousness of intolerant practices towards migrants. This increased awareness might lead to tolerant practices towards migrants and possibly curb some of the violence against them in South Africa.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has included the results of the present study including the four research questions and the findings related to these; a comparison of findings with previous studies on the topic; a discussion relating van Dijk's theoretical framework to the findings; as well as the researcher's interpretation of these findings. Chapter 7 will discuss the final conclusions of the study, its limitations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Final remarks

The present study intended to investigate the discursive construction of African migrants in South African online news articles and Facebook comments. In order to do this, news articles topicalising African migration were selected and analysed along with Facebook comments related to those articles. This was done in order to ascertain how African migrants were discursively constructed; to discover which themes were visible in the data; to extract the main ideologies in the data and to illuminate which discursive devices were employed in the construction of these ideologies.

First, a quantitative analysis of the corpus investigated the tolerant and intolerant attitudes of news articles and Facebook comments as well as the themes found in the corpus. A mix of pro-migration and anti-migration news articles and Facebook comments were found, which included 61 different themes. Next, a thematic analysis of the five most popular themes in the corpus was conducted. These top five themes included: difficulties migrants face; documentation and enforcement of migration; migrants being a threat; crime and lawbreaking of migrants; and xenophobic behaviour and discourse. In addition, the ideologies found in the news articles and Facebook comments were investigated. A mix of ideologies was found, with some presenting a tolerant view and others presenting an intolerant view of African migrants. Finally, discursive devices used to construct these ideologies were identified. These discursive devices were used to employ the strategies of the ideological square, which have been explained in section 3.2.3.1. The discursive devices were used both in tolerant and intolerant perspectives towards migrants.

The results of this analysis revealed that its findings aligned well with van Dijk's theoretical framework, especially concerning intolerant discourse about migrants and its connection with ideology. However, the findings concerning tolerant discourse about migrants diverged somewhat from van Dijk's ideas. This was seen especially in the themes found in the present study, which were much more tolerant than expected. Despite this divergence from van Dijk's theoretical framework, the main content of the findings on tolerant discourse agreed with van Dijk's theories on ideology, discourse and the reproduction of racism, or in this case, resistance to racism. This was explained in chapter 6, section 3.2.

7.2 Limitations

This study was limited in several ways. Firstly, it sourced news articles from only one online news site in South Africa. This study also did not include printed newspapers, which are widely read in the country. Additionally, comments were sourced only from Facebook and not from other social media platforms. Furthermore, the time period in which data was collected was limited to 21 months and does not fully represent the last 25 years of democracy in South Africa, in which the issue of African migrants has become important. Finally, only 50 sentences were chosen for close analysis in the present study. A wider analysis may have expanded on the discursive construction of African migrants in the country.

7.3 Suggestions for future research

This study could have been expanded in several ways to develop it further. Firstly, the study could be conducted over a broader time period, preferably from 1994 until the present time, which would include the recent history of African migration to South Africa. Secondly, the study could investigate multiple sources of news including online and print media. Thirdly, other social media platforms such as Twitter or Instagram could be added as sources of comments concerning African migrants. Finally, this study could be expanded to include news articles and Facebook comments topicalising migration to other countries.

7.4 Conclusion

More awareness is needed by news media organisations, journalists and the general public concerning how discourse concerning migrants can contribute to intolerant practices against the group, one of which is xenophobic violence. It is, however, promising to see that some reporting and some discussion on social media reflect a tolerant discourse concerning migrants. The journalists and members of the general public who are engaging others with this tolerant discourse should be encouraged that their words are able to effect change in the attitudes and ideologies held by those who oppose them, eventually resulting in changed behaviour towards migrants.

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Appendix A: online news article

1 **Man terrorised for renting shop to a Somali (12 October 2017)**

2 A shop that was previously run by a Somali immigrant stands empty in Duduza. (Kimberly
3 Mutandiro GroundUp)

4 Duduza - Elvis Volosi says a burning tyre was hurled through the living room window of his
5 house and his car was petrol bombed. The incident happened in September while he was
6 asleep with his family, GroundUp reports.

7 He says he will no longer rent out his shop premises to "Amandia", the township slang for
8 Somalis, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Ethiopians and Eritreans. "I do not want to put myself or
9 my family in danger," he says.

10 Volosi says he had been warned a few days before the attack to "get rid of the Somalis".

11 The same Somali shop owner, Adam Abulai, had previously been forced to vacate the
12 premises in 2015 when the community drove out immigrant shop owners, looting and
13 burning their premises. A "ban" was then imposed by the community.

14 The 2015 xenophobic violence was triggered after an altercation in which a 14-year-old boy
15 was shot by a Somali shop owner. The boy died two months later.

16 This was followed by rumours that the Duduza water tank was poisoned by immigrants.
17 Local police said there was no evidence for this.

18 "As a community we banished 'Amandia' shop owners. Not only are they murderers but they
19 mistreat our brothers and sisters who work for them. Anyone who backs them will suffer the
20 consequences," a woman from Duduza, who claims to have been present during the shooting
21 incident, told GroundUp.

22 She said: "My deaf brother used to work for 'Amandia' and they never used to pay him".

23 But a month ago, about 20 elderly members of the Duduza community started a petition for
24 the immigrant shop owners to return.

25 **'We are not xenophobic'**

26 One woman told GroundUp she wanted the Somalis back because they used to give groceries
27 on credit and allowed people to pay at month end.

28 She also said that when the Somali shopkeepers sold to them and they were short a rand or
29 some cents, they were not turned away. She said the Duduza shop owners are disrespectful
30 and are always short of stock.

31 Just over a month ago, accompanied by police, Abulai returned to Volosi's premises.
32 Members of the Masehaba community cheered, but it was to be a short-lived victory against
33 hatred, because other residents were quick to accuse Abulai of bribing police to help him
34 come back into the community. Abulai was soon pushed out again.

35 Duduza police spokesperson Sergeant Harry Cecil Manaka said: "As police our duty is to
36 make sure that community members are safe. We were not aware that certain members of the
37 community did not want the Somalis to come back. The matter is under investigation and we
38 will do our best to protect the victims."

39 Business owners in the community told GroundUp that the police had no right to interfere. A
40 tuckshop owner in Duduza for eight years said: "They [immigrants] burn incense and take
41 away our luck, stealing customers. Since they were chased away business is good."

42 In a meeting hosted by the Greater Nigel Economic Empowerment Forum a list of grievances
43 were drawn up against immigrant shop owners accusing them of selling products below cost,
44 closing local businesses then raising prices again, of being "unhygienic", of not employing
45 South Africans; of not contributing to local funerals, and of not supporting the local
46 economy.

47 "We are not xenophobic because we have other nationals who are not Somalis operating their
48 businesses. Some of them are even members of our business forum," claimed a representative
49 for the association who refused to be named.

50 But business owners in other parts of Duduza said they had nothing against immigrant shop
51 owners. "When customers can choose to buy in Pick n Pay when Shoprite is just around the
52 corner, Shoprite does not stage a fight against Pick n Pay. Why can't local tuck shop owners
53 be civilised?"

54 Abulai was present when Volosi's house was petrol bombed, he says, at about 02:00 on two
55 consecutive days. He says he used to pay his workers well and Volosi is his witness. He says
56 he used to help many people even at funerals and delivered them food personally with his
57 van.

"I am an African man who is working hard to support my wife and [three] children. Why is that a crime? If the rest of South Africa accepted Somalis back into the community after the xenophobic attacks, why is it such a problem for Duduza people?" he asked.

Appendix B: selected comments* from Facebook post “Man terrorised for renting shop to a Somali” (12 October 2017)

1 **Thembekile:** I do not condone violence and I do not say all foreign shop owners are the same
2 BUT at times allowing them to trade in our communities brings trouble to the community and
3 a living to the shop owner.

4 In my locality they do not sell groceries only but substances that would not have access to my
5 community if they were not there. In some cases they sell tablets to arouse manhood, who buy
6 those things young men who later rape girls and grannies. In some cases they sell tobacco to
7 school children to me this shows they have no interest in the welfare of our communities.

8 It might not be all of them but I am raising some concerns that makes communities fight with
9 the he land Lords who lease to foreign nationals.

10 **Curtis:** if you had raised you kids well I don't think you would really be worried bout all that,
11 am not saying you a bad parent thou. but before we start pointing fingers lets take some time
12 out and take a really close look at our communities

13 **Thembekile:** My community is such a rural community, infact my parents had a shop when
14 we were growing up but we never sold Tobacco to underage children and we never sold
15 substances that can be harmful to anyone.

16 If our children are not raised properly as you might be suggesting, let me remind you that they
17 are a responsibility of the community . If the community is not holding hands to ensure that
18 children are not exposed to harmful substances then I shouldn't be having this comment.

19 **Robert:** lol how many taverns are owned by foreigners? most of them are south africans n
20 yet alcohol is sold to school kids during the weekends, there is a lot of underage pregnancies
21 are influenced by viagra ...

22 **Thembekile:** Very true Robert then include the drugs sold in the shops and unfortunately in
23 my community there is no tavern, Beers are sold at the shop.

24 I am not generalising here I qouted a scenario that I am personally aware of and I also said I
25 am not saying all scenarios are the same.

26 **Curtis:** Thembekile cacisa inzondo yakho yabantu banga phandle so kade uthi your
27 community this your community that it surely sounds like a fairy island. i don't believe we
28 could be having the same problems. Otherwise well said Robert how many people are getting
29 killed injured robbed because of these so called Travens

30 **Thembekile:** Curtis andinayo Jonathan qha I am sharing what happened kweyam I
31 community when shops were now owned by foreign nationals.if you want to call it indzondo
32 it's fine.

33 **Gift:** you do hate foreigners. even southAfrican citizens do sell tobacco and nyoope to our
34 kids.not only forigners. its like u are saying if it is done by a citizen no problem. foreigners ar
35 human beings and they do make mistakes just like citizens,they do crime just like anyone.

*All names of commenters are pseudonyms

Appendix C: Selected comments* from Facebook post “Most asylum seekers in SA are young males looking for economic opportunities” (10 February 2018)

- 1 **Mpumi:** This people are way too many, collapsing government systems aimed for our
2 people, just look at our Health Department, they are filled in our hospitals and clinics, our
3 schools, even prisons.our limited resources aimed at servicing our citizens are being over
4 stretched
- 5 **Xolani:** Hospitals or clinics are built in an area to serve a certain number of population so if
6 an influx of people come in that area then it becomes a problem
- 7 **Johan:** You speak the truth.
- 8 **Matsebang:** foreigners are paying in public clinics
- 9 **Joshua:** Public clinics and hospitals ain't free for foreigners (except those with refugee
10 status)
- 11 **Xolani:** I'm ready to vote for any party that will promise to build a wall in the next elections
- 12 **Sipho:** Stupidity is when you want a job but you don't know which job
- 13 **Thabo:** Build a wall bt don't try to jump it
- 14 **Nkele:** Zoliswa sothos are south Africans
- 15 **Zachariah:** Life esidimeni was was there any foreigner as a patient?No none nada..SA staff
16 ,management & patients.What happened?Who is to blame?
- 17 **Joshua:** Xolani there is no wall built in Namibia or Botswana yet they manage to control
18 immigration. SA will spend a lot of money on building the wall that will be defeated by a
19 very cheap ladder. Problem is corrupt cops not the absence of wall.

*All names of commenters are pseudonyms.

Appendix D: online news article

1 **Ethiopian immigrants' long battle to be heard (9 March 2018)**

2 Children practice Quran at an Islamic school at the Al Taqwa Mosque In Mayfair,
3 Johannesburg. The school almost exclusively teaches refugee children from the surrounding
4 area. The mosque was built by the Oromo community. (Ashraf Hendricks, GroundUp)

5 Pretoria - It's about 05:00 on a dark on Tuesday morning. Hundreds of Ethiopian immigrants
6 jostle to be first in the queue at the Desmond Tutu Refugee Centre in Marabastad, Pretoria.

7 Most have come to renew their asylum seeker documentation; others are new arrivals hoping
8 to apply for asylum seeker status, according to a GroundUp report.

9 When GroundUp arrived, the new arrivals were queuing outside a closed gate and those
10 renewing documents used another entrance on the other side of the building.

11 On the gravel patch outside the centre, vendors begin to set up their stalls and make fires.
12 They sell chips, sweets, fruit, cold drinks, samoosas and Ethiopian coffee.

13 Hundreds of Ethiopian immigrants stand in line outside the centre. The new arrivals start
14 queuing from as early as 05:00.

15 Kadir Godana, 26, said he had fled Ethiopia after being imprisoned for almost three years.

16 He said he was arrested because he supported the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) at a protest.

17 "The Ethiopian government killed my brother and my cousin in a shootout because they were
18 part of OLF," said Godana.

19 He travelled from Ethiopia to SA by hiding in the back of a truck. He paid bribes at about six
20 different borders, passing through Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe.

21 Since his arrival in SA, Godana said, he had been to the refugee centre to apply for asylum
22 seeker documentation about seven times, but had never managed to get in.

23 *Hundreds of Ethiopian immigrants stand in line outside the Desmond Tutu Refugee Centre in*
24 *Marabastad, Pretoria. (Ashraf Hendricks, GroundUp)*

25 When GroundUp met him at the centre, he was trying again. He said he would have to pay a
26 bribe.

27 "Everyone knows you have to come here with money, otherwise you will never get in," he
28 said.

29 Ramadan Kebato, 25, who is Godana's nephew, has been in SA for about two years.

30 He said he had studied sports science and engineering in Ethiopia but dropped out, fearing
31 political persecution from the government.

32 "I was part of the OLF youth organisation while I was studying. I was involved in the protests
33 and they [the Ethiopian government] were targeting the Oromo youth. I was scared for my
34 life, so I decided to come here," said Kebato.

35 He said he had left his mother, father and sister in Ethiopia, travelling by truck through
36 Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique, to SA.

37 He said he had to pay smugglers at each border, adding up to about R24 000 in total.

38 Unlike Godana, Kebato said he received his asylum seeker papers within 14 days of his
39 arrival.

40 He said he had paid a "broker" R3 000 to get him through the renewal gates, and he had been
41 taken straight to a Home Affairs official's office, where his asylum seeker papers had been
42 processed.

43 He said the brokers paid the officials directly.

44 He had applied for refugee status but had been refused. He was at the centre to explain why
45 he had missed the deadline to appeal.

46 While GroundUp was speaking to Godana and Kebato a "broker" approached them, offering
47 to get them into the office of an official the "broker" knew.

48 He said the official would ask for R1 000. He promised to take Godana in through a side gate
49 reserved for Home Affairs officials. Godana refused.

50 Home affairs spokesperson Thabo Mokgola said action would be taken against corrupt
51 officials.

52 He said the Refugee Amendment Act of 2017 had been amended to include "lifestyle audits,
53 polygraph testing and harsh punishment" for Home Affairs employees to curb corruption at
54 the refugee centres.

55 He said the Desmond Tutu centre had state-of-the-art cameras "capturing every movement".

56 Anyone with a complaint about corruption should go to the centre management with specifics
57 "like time, date and the specific area in the centre" and "immediate action" would be taken,
58 he said.

59 Despite the claim that Oromo people were being targeted in Ethiopia, Mokgola told
60 GroundUp that Oromo Ethiopians made up less than 5% of the immigrants visiting the
61 refugee centre.

62 **Asylum procedure**

63 According to the Home Affairs website, asylum seekers must have personally faced a "risk to
64 life or cruel and unusual treatment" to qualify for refugee status.

65 Within 14 days of their arrival, they have to plead their case in an interview with a Refugee
66 Reception Officer.

67 The officer gives them an asylum seeker's permit which is valid for six months. Before it
68 expires, the asylum seekers have another interview, this time with a refugee status
69 determination officer, who either approves the application or rejects it if it is "manifestly
70 unfounded, abusive or fraudulent".

71 Asylum seekers have 30 days to appeal against the rejection.

72 The Refugee Appeal Board then conducts a hearing, where the applicant can state his or her
73 case fully, and rules on the decision made by the officer.

74 In a Human Rights Commission inquiry in February, Lawyers for Human Rights said 96% of
75 refugee status appeals were denied, which is the highest rejection rate in the world.

76 The director of asylum seeker management at the Department of Home Affairs, Mandla
77 Madumisa, said the number was high because of the high number of appeals from immigrants
78 who had come for economic reasons.

79 He said SA was a "peculiar case" because 76% of the asylum seekers appealing their statuses
80 were men.

81 Most were from Ethiopia, Bangladesh and West Africa, between the ages of 19 and 36, and
82 were seeking economic opportunities here.

83 He said this was contrary to the "global trend" of appeals from mixed groups of refugees,
84 including mothers, children and elderly people.

85 Madumisa said there was currently a backlog of 140 000 refugee status appeals.

86 Makgola said: "Home Affairs processes newcomers every day. Clients are asked to come
87 according to the schedule of their nationality in order to ensure readiness to receive them."

88 **Mayfair's Ethiopian community**

89 Hussen Abdala works in a shop in Mayfair.

90 Abdala, a 25-year-old Ethiopian asylum seeker, sits behind the burglar bars separating the
91 customers from the shopkeeper. He lives in Mayfair, a predominantly Ethiopian
92 neighbourhood in the west of Johannesburg.

93 He sells cooldrinks, chips, and other food. Abdala has only been in SA for two months. He
94 told GroundUp he had left Ethiopia because he had been involved in protests and the
95 government was arresting supporters of the Oromo Liberation Front.

96 "Ethiopia is a dictatorship in Africa. We have to leave our country, which we love so much,
97 because there is no freedom," said Abdala.

98 *Kubra Zakii Umr's parents both died after she left Ethiopia. She has been in South Africa for*
99 *18 months. (Ashraf Hendricks, GroundUp)*

100 He said he had stayed in Kenya for about 10 months before making his way to SA, which
101 took another three months and cost about R50 000 in total. His brother had paid the costs and
102 now he had to pay back the debt from his earnings of about R2 000 a month.

103 "And I still have to send money to my family back in Ethiopia. I have to work at least two
104 years to pay my brother back," he said.

105 Abdala said he had tried to get asylum seeker documentation but Home Affairs officials had
106 told him newcomers were not being accepted.

107 "Ethiopia is part of Africa, we want this government to protect us," said Abdala.

108 Kubra Zakii Umr (18) has been in SA for 18 months. After Umr left Ethiopia, both her
109 parents died.

110 Umr is an asylum seeker who lives in Mayfair. She said she had been a student activist
111 demanding equal rights for Oromo people and had left to avoid arrest.

112 She came to SA with other students, who were also fleeing Ethiopia.

113 Umr said she received an appointment for her asylum seeker papers at the refugee centre.

114 She said she had been back three times but they kept telling her to come back at a later stage.

115 On her fourth attempt, a Home Affairs official told her they were no longer accepting
116 newcomers, she said.

117 **Fleeing Ethiopia**

118 Ethiopians are protesting against "displacement, corruption, poor administration, human
119 rights abuses and the unequal distribution of resources" in their country according to Newewe
120 Mussa Habib, the national chairperson of the Oromo Community of South Africa (Ocofsa).

121 On February 16, the Ethiopian government declared a state of emergency, following anti-
122 government protests throughout the country and the unexpected resignation of Prime Minister
123 Hailemariam Desalegn.

124 According to a government press statement, the state of emergency was created to maintain
125 calm.

126 "The emergency rule is aimed at protecting the constitution and constitutional order, as well
127 as ensuring security and stability of the country," reads the statement.

128 But Habib said the state of emergency would give the military unprecedented control.

129 "They want to kill anyone they want and they want to arrest anyone without a court order,"
130 said Habib.

131 "The government is the one that makes violence. There is no equality. People are fighting for
132 freedom. They are complaining about human rights violations and poor administration."

133 This is the second state of emergency in two years.

134 A graphic video released in 2016 by Human Rights Watch shows the brutality used by
135 Ethiopian security forces against protesters.

136 In 2015, thousands participated in anti-government protests. Security forces fired into crowds
137 killing hundreds. Tens of thousands were detained. According to reports, more than 6 000
138 opposition supporters were released this year, but protests persisted.

139 Ethiopia is governed by the EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front), a
140 coalition party. The Oromos are the largest ethnic group in the region, making up 34% of the
141 population, yet they have little power.

142 The country is being run by an "autocratic" government, says Misbah Ahmed, secretary
143 general of Ocofsa.

144 "There is no freedom of speech, freedom of expression, freedom of gathering... There are no
145 democratic and human rights," says Ahmed.

146 Now a refugee in SA, Ahmed was a journalist in his home country, but says he was
147 threatened, tortured and arrested for reporting on the protests and human rights violations.
148 Once released, he decided to flee to SA.

Appendix E: online news article

1 For asylum seekers, the long walk to freedom is still beyond reach (12 April 2018)

2 The revamped Desmond Tutu Refugee Reception Centre in Pretoria (Lerato Sejake/News24)

3 After losing everything, heavily pregnant Ana*, 34, was forced to leave her home and
4 country. With nowhere to go, she and her husband embarked on an arduous five-day bus trip
5 from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to South Africa.

6 The drive was an unending gamut of fear-inducing experiences, which included a four-hour
7 long bus search by armed soldiers just before they passed the Congolese border.

8 Ana's sudden departure followed an incident with her husband, an artist in the DRC, who
9 openly called the Congolese government "undemocratic" during a public performance.

10 They were forced to flee in the middle of the night out of fear that they would be targeted.

11 Six years later, Ana finds herself curled up on a mattress in a crowded Musina shelter in
12 Limpopo.

13 She is forced to travel by bus to Limpopo every three to six months to renew her asylum
14 seeker permit following a decision by the director general of the Department of Home Affairs
15 to no longer offer the service at the country's second-busiest Refugee Reception Office
16 (RRO) on Cape Town's Foreshore.

17 The pronouncement – which means that no new applicants for asylum could be processed in
18 the Western Cape – was made in 2012, three days after Ana arrived in Cape Town.

19 Thousands of foreign nationals are now required to travel to the country's three other RROs
20 in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and Limpopo to renew their permits two to four times a year if
21 they were not registered in Cape Town.

22 It will take at least a few days before Ana can renew her permit and begin the long journey
23 back to her husband and two children in Cape Town.

24 Litigation against Home Affairs

25 "How can I save money to go to Musina again and again? How can I live a good life if I don't
26 have legal papers?" Ana asks.

27 "I just want people to know about my life in South Africa. How can you ask someone to
28 travel as far as Musina, Pretoria or Durban to renew their papers?"

29 The Scalabrini Centre, an immigration rights advocacy organisation, initiated litigation
30 against the Department of Home Affairs in 2013 to challenge the decision to close the Cape
31 Town RRO.

32 *People queuing at the Desmond Tutu Refugee Centre in Pretoria to renew their asylum-*
33 *seeking papers. (Photo: Kimberly Mutandiro, GroundUp)*

34 Last year, the Supreme Court of Appeal echoed the Western Cape High Court's ruling that
35 the decision to close the RRO was irrational.

36 The department has failed to comply with the court's order that the RRO be reopened by
37 March 31.

38 And while the service remains withdrawn, Ana is forced to cough up R5 000 for every trek
39 she has to make to Musina. She has to stay in a shelter because she doesn't have money to
40 pay for a hotel room.

41 "There were too many people in one room and I got sick," she recalls.

42 There is no direct bus route to Musina. The taxi drive from Pretoria to Musina is at least eight
43 hours, Scalabrini Centre director Miranda Madikane explains.

44 It is very expensive for a large family because all dependents must be present when their
45 permits are renewed.

46 Ana, however, cannot afford it.

47 Madikane says: "Some asylum seekers and their families might stay in local shelters, while
48 others are forced to sleep in the open. They also risk losing their jobs.

49 "Further, Musina is considered very dangerous for newly-arrived asylum seekers who are
50 subjected to crime and violence, due to their particularly vulnerable situation."

51 **'Denying access to basic services'**

52 Ana occasionally styles her neighbours' hair to keep their small family afloat, while her
53 husband works as a security guard.

54 "You can't get a job in South Africa without papers," she says.

55 "I used to be a make-up artist for a big production company in the DRC, but I'm also a good
56 hairstylist. It's difficult because friends and people from church want you to do it for free."

57 *Asylum seekers gather outside the Foreshore offices of Home Affairs in Cape Town. (Tariro*
58 *Washinyira/GroundUp)*

59 Other seemingly simple tasks, such as opening a bank account or buying a SIM card, are
60 difficult without a South African ID.

61 "I can't open a bank account, I can't get a house. When I went to the bank, they did not give
62 me a good answer."

63 The department has failed to send court-mandated progress reports to the Scalabrini Centre,
64 Madikane says, and this inaction has forced her to take legal steps against them.

65 "I don't think the media needs to know what we're doing before we file the papers. I just took
66 a look at the drafts from our legal counsel and the papers will be filed by the end of the
67 week," Madikane says.

68 "What they are doing is damaging. They are denying access to basic services to thousands of
69 refugees and that is unacceptable."

70 Several attempts to contact the Department of Home Affairs over a period of two weeks, via
71 email and telephone have been unsuccessful.

72 Department spokesperson Thabo Mokgola promised to release a statement on the matter.
73 However, the response did not materialise.

74 **Not her real name*

Appendix F: online news article

1 **'We want foreigners gone' - Mahikeng protesters (10 May 2018)**

2 Protesters in Mahikeng have called on all foreign nationals to leave the province. (Iavan
3 Pijoos, News24)

4 While an impasse over the future of embattled North West Premier Supra Mahumapelo
5 continues, protesters in the province have turned their attention to foreign nationals.

6 Protesters in Mahikeng are calling on all shop owners who are foreign nationals to leave the
7 province.

8 "The problem with the foreigners is they are killing our kids with drugs and abortions. They
9 are doing so many illegal things in our country," protester Trevor Phelwane said.

10 Phelwane, however, denied that the protest was xenophobic.

11 "We are not being xenophobic or what, but we are saying they must do business
12 professionally."

13 A large group of protesters gathered outside the museum in the town on Thursday morning.
14 They held up placards, one of which read: "Every foreigner must go – burn their business.
15 Go! Go! Go!"

16 Another read: "I'm a hawker and the foreigners are killing us."

17 Singing as they voiced their displeasure, the protesters also called for Mahumapelo to step
18 down.

19 Several shops dotted around the museum were closed and there was a large police presence in
20 the area on Thursday.

21 **No opportunities**

22 Another protester, Keoagile Mothibi, said there were no job opportunities in Mahikeng.

23 "There are no mines and factories in Mahikeng for our people to get jobs. The foreigners
24 came in large numbers to our town and are causing a problem for our small businesses," he
25 said.

26 Mothibi was adamant that all foreign nationals had to leave the province.
27 "We want them gone. Their placards are all over the town and our town has become so dirty."
28 Provincial police spokesperson Brigadier Sabata Mokgwabone said officers were "talking" to
29 the protesters.
30 "They apparently have business related issues," he said.
31 On Wednesday Mahumapelo announced that he would not be stepping down as premier or
32 ANC chair of the platinum-rich province as he'd initially indicated. He would instead go on
33 leave, appointing finance MEC Wendy Nelson as acting premier.

Appendix G: online news article

1 **Tough laws and effective enforcement needed to secure borders (9 July 2018)**

2 Mmusi Maimane

3 Africa is in a war against human trafficking, cash-in-transit heists, arms and drugs smuggling.
4 We must all do everything possible to combat the crime that has taken hold of our borders.

5 Citizens, go and experience the border for yourselves. It is an unconscionable indictment on
6 the state of the ANC national government and not a matter of whether you are pan African or
7 not.

8 What I experienced at the Ramatlabama border control post on the border of Mahikeng and
9 Botswana last week was a horror story of how ANC governance has utterly failed to secure
10 our borders and protect the people of South Africa. It is a forgotten place where drugs can
11 quite literally be smuggled over the border in a wheel barrow.

12 It is little wonder that the Mmabatho police station has seen a 538% increase in drug related
13 crimes over the past decade. These are not simply statistics – these are families whose lives
14 have been destroyed by the ANC government's mishandling of their basic duty to protect the
15 borders. Residents of Ramatlabama Village, not far from the border post, live in poverty, do
16 not have jobs and have given up looking for jobs, have no recreational facilities, are plagued
17 by stock theft and have seen their communities literally invaded by the scourge of drug crime.

18 Security at the border post is less intensive than at an average suburban block of flats.
19 Vehicle and document checks are perfunctory, when they take place at all. There was not a
20 single search dog in sight. Technology seems absent or antiquated. The officers themselves
21 only intermittently present. This is South African's border with Botswana – a country that has
22 been identified by the US State Department's International Narcotics Bureau since 1994 as a
23 transit country for extremely dangerous hard drugs like mandrax.

24 It was only two years ago that customs officials from SARS came into possession of almost
25 R80m of mandrax at the Kopfontein border post in the same province. I doubt this type of
26 drug bust could ever have been achieved at Ramatlabama border post.

27 At a similar time, a routine vehicle search in Mahikeng found as many as 57 children being
28 smuggled into South Africa from Malawi through Zimbabwe and Botswana, probably as part
29 of a human trafficking ring.

30 What sickens me is how many more cases of modern day human slavery like this have been
31 missed by broken border posts like Ramatlabama. By not effectively protecting our borders,
32 the ANC government has potentially enabled many more instances of human slavery. And
33 this does not even touch on the kickbacks that government officials have no doubt received
34 while 'guarding' the gates.

35 South Africa's borders are not secure. Therefore, South Africans are not secure. If this is the
36 case of border security, what of the security of our schools and hospitals?

37 The ANC government needs to redivert South African National Defence Force (SANDF)
38 funding to a new border management plan. So that the number of companies deployed along
39 our borders can increase from 15 to at least 22, and the number of units tasked with repairing
40 and maintaining our border fences can at minimum double.

41 Where SAPS and Home Affairs are responsible for land crossings, they need to be better
42 trained, properly equipped with technology and intelligence gathering abilities, and they need
43 to be held to account for their performance.

44 This is how illicit trade will be prevented and stopped, wildlife poaching, drug and human
45 trafficking, organised crime, stock-theft, and unchecked illegal immigration. And if the ANC
46 government does not have the political will to do this, then when the DA is voted into
47 national government, we will.

48 The first job of any government is incontrovertibly to protect its citizens. This is a
49 constitutional obligation. It is the government's duty as the protectors of our borders and the
50 custodians of our safety to ensure that this five-fold increase in drug crimes along our borders
51 is stopped and reversed.

52 I will continue to doggedly hold the ANC government to account for their obligation to
53 protect the people of South Africa. There are many more examples of border posts like this;
54 where officials have been found with drugs, helping smugglers, or where there is free

55 movement of illegal immigrants into South Africa, where poachers come and go, and where
56 cross-border cattle raids are regular.

57 The only way to maintain a South Africa that is open to skilled, legal immigrants, while
58 keeping our borders protected, is through tough laws and effective enforcement. This is the
59 DA's pledge to South Africa.

60 - Maimane is leader of the Democratic Alliance.

Appendix H: Selected comments* from Facebook post “One shot dead, foreign national shops looted in Soweto violence” (29 August 2018)

- 1 **Neo:** I am against xenophobia but just wanna know if foreigners take us for granted by
2 selling us expired foods imitation cokes and ada things we dont know.please we work hard
3 for this money dont take advantage cos this will be the results of taking advantage
- 4 **Dumsani:** but you are looting those expired food!!!!
- 5 **Neo:** My brother did you read the first line of my comment.im not justifying xenophobia and
6 well me i never participate in stupid things ive got a bizniz to run
- 7 **Dumsani:** Neo me too im not saying you are the one who is looting im just saying why
8 looting or buy if those foods are expired.
- 9 **Yvonne:** Dont buy from them
- 10 **Sizwe:** we dont need to explain ourselves to those who sold us fake good, sleeping with cat
11 inside the shoppers
- 12 **Nomvula:** Soweto only has about 11 000 foreign tuck shops, every second corner you'll find
13 them. They sell basic things that we use/ need everyday yes they are not forcing us to buy
14 from them but the least they can do is sell us quality and not compromise our health
- 15 **Anne:** So don't buy expired food and stuff.
- 16 **Liz:** Sabelo, will u find Picknpay or spar in rural areas or less developed townships? Will u
17 use your last 100 bucks just to get to town to buy maizemeal when these indians are closeby?
18 Nomvula has a brain at least,and she's black..and I bet she wouldnt go around looting shops
19 coz of anger that these FOS feed us.All we want is quality food that has not expired thats all.
- 20 **Andile:** you loot the same fake products loool i gave up😁😁😁😁
- 21 **Nomvula:** Pick n pay is 2 taxis away from me what must happen ke Sabelo??

*All names of commenters are pseudonyms.

Appendix I: online news article

1 **Some Zimbabweans still waiting for permits as deadline looms (15 September 2018)**

2 Morgan (surname withheld) applied on 7 December 2017 for a Zimbabwe Exemption Permit.
3 She has been tracking her application online. “Up to now nothing new, almost nine months
4 after submission,” she said. Photo: Brent Meersman

5 Some Zimbabweans who have applied for their Zimbabwe Exemption Permits (ZEP) are
6 anxious about the slow progress processing their permits. Without a valid permit to show,
7 they find their bank accounts frozen, face difficulties registering their children at education
8 institutions and even lose their jobs.

9 The ZEP replaces the ZSP (Zimbabwean Special Permit) which expired in December 2017.
10 The Department of Home Affairs issued a circular to banks, employers and learning
11 institutions in December that, as long as people could show proof of application for the ZEP,
12 they should continue to receive services while their application was adjudicated. However,
13 GroundUp is aware of several cases where banks, schools and employers have not heeded
14 this advisory.

15 According to GroundUp, applications for the ZEP opened on September 15, 2017 and the
16 closing date (extended twice) was February 15, 2018.

17 On January 31, the department announced that the ZEP process, which included finalising
18 adjudications and issuing all new permits, would be completed by the end of September
19 2018.

20 But on September 6, home affairs media manager David Hlabane said in an email response to
21 GroundUp that the department was currently adjudicating applications that were received
22 before the closing date and the process should be completed around October.

23 GroundUp has been trying every day since Monday to get an answer from the department as
24 to how many applications have been successfully processed, but without success.

25 Morgan (surname withheld) applied on December 7, 2017. She has been tracking her
26 application online. "Up to now, nothing new, almost nine months after submission," she said.

27 Cindy (surname withheld) told GroundUp in an email: "I submitted my paperwork in January
28 and still nothing." She said she was suspended from work six weeks ago. Her employer wants
29 her to show a valid permit. She provided proof of application and showed the receipt, but she
30 said her employer wasn't satisfied.

31 A Zimbabwean man, who also wished to remain anonymous, said he submitted a ZEP study
32 permit for his daughter in February but only received an SMS notification that his daughter's
33 application was received by Home Affairs on August 4. He said his Capitec bank account has
34 been frozen.

35 Helen (surname withheld) is worried that she may not get her wages this week after FNB
36 froze her account in December last year. Her employer has been paying her in cash but says
37 the company cannot continue to do that.

38 The ZEP Dispensation Forum on Facebook is encouraging Zimbabweans not to merely check
39 online but to actually visit the offices of Visa Facilitation Centre (VFS), the company that
40 processes the permits for the Department of Home Affairs. The page has posts from people
41 who applied in November 2017, who have not yet received their ZEPs, and from people who
42 have been struggling without documentation.

43 Most Zimbabweans in South Africa have been uncertain about their future in the country
44 since the inception of the Dispensation of Zimbabwean Permit (DZP) in 2010. About 245 000
45 DZPs were issued. It was valid for four years and was supposed to be non-renewable.

46 It was later extended to three years and renamed the ZSP in 2014. Just under 200 000 ZSP
47 permits were issued.

48 Again, in December 2016, the Department of Home Affairs said the ZSP would not be
49 renewed, but it created the ZEP in 2017, valid for four years.

50 On the ZEP, it states that the document "doesn't allow the holder to apply for permanent
51 residence irrespective of the period of stay in South Africa. ZEP will not be renewable and
52 the holder cannot change conditions of the permit in SA".

Appendix J: online news article

1 **Home Affairs in court after official tears up child's passport (1 November 2018)**

2 A 16-year-old Zimbabwean has missed a year of school and has been unable to rejoin his
3 mother in South Africa after a Home Affairs official in Harare declared his application for a
4 study visa fraudulent and tore up his passport. (Brent Meersman, GroundUp)

5 The Department of Home Affairs is once more embroiled in a legal battle.

6 On September 21, court papers were filed in an application lodged against the minister and
7 the director general (DG) for declaring a visa application by a Zimbabwean child fraudulent
8 and banning him from returning to SA for five years, GroundUp reported.

9 As a result of the department's action, Wadzanai Bello has been separated from her 16-year-
10 old son, Tinashe Bello, since March. He has missed a year of schooling.

11 She says it has caused her much pain. Her only contact with her son is by telephone twice a
12 week.

13 Bello is being represented by the Legal Resources Centre. In her founding affidavit in the
14 court case, she states that Tinashe has been at Zonnebloem Nest High School since 2015.

15 **Visa application**

16 In February, he was selected to go to Germany to represent his school in a soccer tournament.
17 But for Tinashe to leave and re-enter South Africa, the German embassy insisted he get a
18 study visa, not the visitor's visa which Bello initially applied for at the Visa Facilitation
19 Centre (VFS) in Cape Town.

20 On the advice of the VFS, Bello sent Tinashe to Zimbabwe to apply for the study visa
21 because an application can only be made outside of South Africa.

22 Since she could not accompany her son because she was working in Cape Town, she relied
23 on the assistance of her extended family in Zimbabwe and a South African family that helped
24 with supporting documents and money to enable Tinashe to apply for the visa.

25 In May, at the last of several frustrating appointments that Tinashe and his family attended at
26 the South African Embassy in Harare, where a different document was rejected each time, he
27 was suddenly informed that his application was "a scam".

28 In her affidavit, Bello says the South African Home Affairs official then tore up Tinashe's
29 passport and threw it away. Tinashe was informed that he was banned from returning to
30 South Africa for five years.

31 Bello said in the affidavit that the DG's dismissal of the visa application as fraudulent was
32 substantively and procedurally unfair.

33 Tinashe was not given an opportunity to make representations nor was he given an
34 opportunity to exercise his right of review or appeal in terms of the Immigration Act.

35 According to Bello, there were no reasonable grounds to conclude that the application was
36 fraudulent. She argued that irrelevant considerations were taken into account and relevant
37 considerations were not considered, resulting in the decision being taken arbitrarily.

38 Also, although it is still unclear whether Tinashe was in fact declared a prohibited person,
39 Bello's affidavit says a fraudulent application is not a listed ground in terms of Section 29 of
40 the Immigration Act to make such a declaration, and the DG exceeded his powers because he
41 did not have the necessary standing to declare a person a prohibited foreigner outside the
42 ambit of the act.

43 Tinashe was in possession of a valid passport and the information that was provided was
44 correct, according to Bello's affidavit. If there is any suspicion about the authenticity of the
45 documents, there are other means available to the DG to verify the information.

46 GroundUp has been trying to get comment from the Department of Home Affairs for a week.

Appendix K: online news article

1 **Mashaba in Twitter spat over 'ebololas' remark (13 November 2018)**

2 Herman Mashaba. (Gallo Images)

3 Johannesburg Mayor Herman Mashaba is at the centre of a Twitter controversy after a tweet
4 accusing some people of bringing "ebololas" into the country was perceived as xenophobic.

5 Mashaba tweeted on Monday that he made his first citizen's arrest, after a man was nabbed
6 for pushing a trolley filled with around 20 cow heads through central Johannesburg.

7 "I have just personally stopped this illegally act in our city. How do we allow meat trading
8 like this? I am waiting for @AsktheChiefJMPD to come and attend before we experience a
9 breakdown of unknown diseases in our @CityofJoburgZA," he tweeted.

10 The move was met with mixed reaction on social media.

11 While some congratulated Mashaba for upholding food safety standards, others accused him
12 of killing small businesses.

13 Twitter users pointed out that the practice of transporting and selling meat in this fashion had
14 been going on for decades.

15 In response to complaints, Mashaba tweeted: "Black business is not about putting the health
16 of our residents at risk...There is a huge difference between chaos and running business. Our
17 country can ill afford the health breakdown of unknown diseases."

18 On Tuesday, social media users also called him out for being disrespectful when he added
19 fears of Ebola to the mix.

20 One detractor tweeted: "Don't kill small businesses rather try to help those people. These
21 people are trying to earn a living and must not be excluded from parti in the main stream
22 economy, they need to be helped with issues of compliance [sic]."

23 Mashaba tweeted back: "We are going to sit back and allow people like you to bring us
24 Ebololas in the name of small business. Health of our people first. Our health facilities are
25 already stretched to the limit (sic)."

26 The comment was slammed by some on Twitter, including Constitutional law expert Pierre
27 de Vos.

28 "If you: a) refer to 'people like you' (referring to foreigners) b) then equate being foreign to
29 bringing ebola (equating foreign with disease) c) then talk about "our people first", in my
30 book it is xenophobia. Steeped in prejudiced about and antagonism towards foreigners," De
31 Vos tweeted.

32 Later on Tuesday, Mashaba further justified his decision to act against the trader, saying he
33 was guided by the Meat Safety Act and assisted by the city's chief of police.

34 "The trader violated the act which stipulates how raw meat ought to be stored and
35 transported. The trader fell short of meeting the legislative requirements as the cow heads
36 were exposed to contamination," he said.

37 Meanwhile, the man was presumed to be a meat trader or food vendor, Johannesburg Metro
38 Police Department spokesperson Wayne Minnaar said.

39 "It is unhygienic and he was arrested for contravening by-laws and for being an
40 undocumented person," said Minnaar.

41 "Anyone transporting food must do so in a hygienic matter because there could be a spread of
42 disease."

Appendix L: online news article

1 **Protecting South Africa's borders: Rocky roads and unrelenting conditions (17**
2 **November 2018)**

3 A SANDF soldier uses binoculars to survey the border post between Mozambique and South
4 Africa in the Mpumalanga province. (Photographer: Alex Mitchley)

5 Despite unrelenting terrain, the beating sun and vast tracks of land to patrol, South African
6 Defence Force (SANDF) soldiers on the borders have still managed to apprehend more than 6
7 000 people - allegedly for trying to illegally enter South Africa from Mozambique since
8 January.

9 News24 visited the Macadamia military base in Mpumalanga near the Lebombo border post
10 on Thursday.

11 There, base commander Major Marvin Manganye spoke about their mission to maintain
12 South African sovereignty.

13 "Due to economic decline and political unrest in the neighbouring countries and the rest of
14 Africa, the province has seen an increase of illegal foreigners settling in the area or moving
15 through the area into the interior of South Africa," said Manganye.

16 He added that soldiers also dealt with foreigners who smuggled contraband cigarettes, drugs,
17 alcohol and vehicles across the borders.

18 **SANDF successes**

19 The precise number of people apprehended since the beginning of the year, for allegedly
20 attempting to enter the country illegally, was 6 462.

21 In addition, 89 hijacked vehicles worth more than R28m, which were allegedly smuggled into
22 Mozambique, were seized.

23 *Lance Corporal Siza Foxi stationed at his outpost in the Kruger National Park in*
24 *Mpumalanga. (Photo: Alex Mitchley)*

25 The SANDF also arrested 159 people in connection with other smuggling crimes since the
26 beginning of the year.

27 On Thursday morning, News24 witnessed how patrolling soldiers chased several people who
28 allegedly entered South Africa through a hole in the border fence. The group fled into no
29 man's land on the Mozambican side of the border.

30 Soldiers stationed at Macadamia Military Base say they have had to deal with 14
31 undocumented persons trying to enter South Africa since the start of November.

32 Along the 168km border of Mozambique and Swaziland, which borders Mpumalanga, the
33 fence has been destroyed at various points.

34 This part of the border is protected by soldiers deployed in Macadamia.

35 **SANDF in the Kruger Park**

36 News24 also visited the Sand River Military Base in the Kruger National Park (KNP) and
37 accompanied soldiers patrolling along the 189-kilometre-long border.

38 In the KNP, soldiers rarely have to deal with vehicle smuggling or undocumented persons
39 trying to enter the country.

40 Instead, they have been deployed to protect the borders from rhino and elephant poachers.

41 According to the defence force, 344 rhino carcasses and the remains of 65 elephants have
42 been discovered in the park since January. Four hundred and six suspected poachers have
43 been arrested and 156 weapons have been confiscated.

44 *A carcass of a rhino that was poached in the Kruger National Park (Photo: Alex Mitchley)*

45 Lieutenant Nsovo Tshelele, who is a platoon commander overseeing soldiers deployed in
46 five-man squads that protect a 70km area in the park, told News24 that three rhinos were
47 recently poached near the border.

48 Tshelele explained that the poachers used homemade silencers, either made from PVC piping
49 or from two-litre plastic bottles, and that they must have struck at night when soldiers were
50 not allowed to patrol.

51 **Difficulties in protecting the border**

52 Tshelele explained that it is immensely difficult to patrol vast tracks in "terrain that is not
53 forgiving".

54 She added that getting to certain sections of the park along the border could take hours
55 because of the terrain. Certain parts of the border were even difficult to access by vehicle.

56 Within the KNP, soldiers have to be wary of dangerous animals roaming the area, including
57 lions, leopards and highly venomous snakes.

58 "Some of the roads are not moving straight to the fence. We have to move away from the
59 fence, and [patrolling] to the fence, we come across dangerous lions, but luckily we have
60 been taught about animal behaviour," said Lance Corporal Sisa Foxi.

61 While patrolling with soldiers on Wednesday and Thursday, two patrol vehicles had flat tyres
62 as they wrestled with the rugged and rocky terrain, and steep inclines and declines along the
63 border fences.

64 *A soldier changes a flat tyre during a patrol along the border of Mozambique in*
65 *Mpumalanga (Photo: Alex Mitchley)*

66 Mpumalanga shares a 780km border with Mozambique and Swaziland combined.

67 One battalion, consisting of three companies, has been deployed by the SANDF to protect
68 this border, which has 11 ports of entry, including three commercial ports.

Appendix M: online news article

1 **Debating illegal immigration: where do we draw the line? (8 January 2019)**

2 One of the prime roots of the current wave of nationalist and populist politics worldwide is
3 the large number of immigrants from the Middle East, north Africa and south America
4 seeking refuge in other countries.

5 South Africa has a larger number of refugees than most countries, yet there is the perception
6 that it doesn't have a major impact on our politics.

7 Xenophobia in especially our townships has become a common phenomenon, but since the
8 bloody attacks on migrants in 2008 and again in 2015, all political parties and civil society
9 have condemned it strongly.

10 It has since become indecent, and politically incorrect, to express concern over illegal
11 immigrants. But it is a false correctness that doesn't bother most ordinary citizens.

12 Two political leaders have recently dared to address this taboo topic: Johannesburg's DA
13 mayor, Herman Mashaba, and the trade union leader and founder of the new Socialist
14 Revolutionary Workers Party, Zwelinzima Vavi. Mashaba has repeatedly stated that
15 Johannesburg was getting "engulfed" by illegal migrants and that they should be treated as
16 criminals. He was sharply rebuked by the ANC and the EFF.

17 Vavi put a photograph of Muslim men on Twitter last week, saying: "These are new shop
18 owners going for midday prayers. Too many things going wrong? How did their goods come
19 this far? How did they go through borders - were duties paid? What contributions to the tax
20 man? What is the impact to local manufacturing sector? What's happening to jobs?"

21 He was immediately criticised by activist Zackie Achmat, who tweeted: "Comrade
22 @Zwelinzima1 this is one of the saddest moments for our country. Xenophobia and
23 insinuating Islamophobia from a comrade with enormous power. Where is your anti-fascist
24 international programme to build people's solidarity on work, income, ecology, justice &
25 peace?"

26 Vavi responded: "Comrade I can still no xenophobia [sic] or worse, Islamophobia, when
27 pointing out that 25 years into democracy represented the wiping out of the spaza shops

28 historically operated and owned by the Black/African owners or pointing out dumping of
29 cheap goods that has destroyed manufacturing".

30 Mashaba was stung by the criticism and wrote in an opinion piece in the Sowetan: "A nasty
31 trend has taken root in our country in which anyone who dares to speak out against certain
32 issues is publicly humiliated and dismissed. For merely lamenting the state of illegal
33 immigration I was labelled "xenophobic", "afriphobic" and "illiberal". Inevitably, the merits
34 of the argument then go undebated."

35 Mashaba says he welcomes migrants from everywhere but insists that they be properly
36 documented and issued with resident's permits.

37 "It is time that we recognise there is space for a responsible discussion on the subject of
38 illegal immigration. Our citizens want it; our police want it; our doctors and nurses want it. In
39 a democracy, debating such matters is critical," says Mashaba.

40 He has a point. I think all public figures, actually all of us, should desist from publicly saying
41 things that could exacerbate xenophobia or prejudice against non-citizens. But we cannot kill
42 the debate; it won't go away if we don't talk about it, because ordinary citizens do.

43 My instincts as a human being make me want to scrap man-made borders and welcome all
44 those in need into our midst. I have very little sympathy for wealthy Western countries such
45 as Britain, France, Germany or the US who go hysterical about the influx of migrants.

46 But South Africa is a country with a struggling economy, massive poverty and
47 unemployment, and inequality is a real threat to our stability. It makes a real difference when
48 between two and five million immigrants, many of them with low skills levels, compete for
49 jobs, homes, medical care and schools for their children with citizens.

50 It is also true that much of the violence against foreign nationals in the townships is instigated
51 by local shopkeepers who hate competition from especially entrepreneurs from Somalia,
52 Pakistan and Bangladesh. The migrant-owned shops are often much cheaper than the local
53 spaza shops and offer a greater range of products.

54 We need to add to the debate the fact that there are tens of thousands of immigrants in South
55 Africa who are contributing hugely to our society: business people, academics, medical

56 doctors, entrepreneurs, etc. I suspect that most, if not all, of them have work permits, though,
57 and I doubt that many South Africans have a problem with them.

58 We need to address the problem of illegal migrants before it does start infecting our political
59 culture more. The solution seems obvious: control the borders properly and document every
60 person coming into the country. Make it easy and free for people to apply for asylum or work
61 permits. Those who are denied these privileges will unfortunately have to go home.

62 But this is South Africa 2019. Too many public servants (and politicians) are corrupt, lazy or
63 incompetent to implement such programmes efficiently. It should not stop us from having
64 public debates about the issue and informing the public fully of all the facts, complete with
65 giving migrants a voice. Perhaps the faith communities should also get involved.

Appendix N: Selected comments* from Facebook post “22 trapped underground after gas explosion at Gloria Mine” (6 February 2019)

- 1 **Patrick:** South Africa is very nice we have Nigerians, Malawian, Zimbabweans, Lesotho and
2 other foreigners do as they please nje
- 3 **Letiwe:** They own south Africa
- 4 **Patrick:** Clearly.....our government is not doing enough
- 5 **Olugwashe:** South Africa belongs to the San and the khoi khoi
- 6 **Annelea:** Patrick and they going to have the right to vote
- 7 **Hazel:** I guess when we voting we voting for foreigners to have a good life in SA
- 8 **Patrick:** Olugwashe di that gives this people a right to do as they please?
- 9 **Helen:** South African cannot afford another five years of ANC mis-rule. It is up to the voter
10 to end it. That being said, I do hope they are able to rescue those trapped.
- 11 **Mdu:** ZIMBABWE belongs to Donalt trump that’s why its over sunction with no currency
- 12 **Fred:** Helen let vote for EFF

*All names of commenters are pseudonyms.

Appendix O: online news article

1 **Malema calls for African, coloured and Indian unity (30 March 2019)**

2 Julius Malema (File, Daily Sun)

3 EFF leader Julius Malema called on Africans, coloureds and Indians to unite, and on black
4 South Africans to stop xenophobia.

5 Addressing a big crowd in Philippi on the Cape Flats, Malema said: "You are not foreigners
6 in the Western Cape!"

7 "Comrades, you must go and go and reclaim the streets of Western Cape, whether you are
8 coloured, whether you are African. All of us we are one thing. We are black. We are the
9 victims of apartheid. We must be united as black people."

10 He said South Africa will never survive if black people are divided. "The reason why they
11 divide us, the reason why they are threatened by unity of Africans, coloureds and Indians, is
12 because they know when we are united we will not be dominated by white monopoly capital.

13 "It is important to unite and see ourselves as victims of apartheid, because whether you are
14 Indian, whether you are coloured and you might think you are closer to whites, whiteness
15 doesn't like you. It oppressed you before, it will forever oppress you.

16 "So we, as victims of apartheid, Indians, coloured and black, we must treat each other as
17 equal.

18 "Without unity of purpose, we will never get our land back."

19 He also called for an end to xenophobic violence, saying he was ashamed to be a South
20 African after recent events in KwaZulu-Natal.

21 "Whether you're from South Africa, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, this is your home. This is Africa,
22 this is South Africa.

23 "Stop attacking our brothers from Africa, our sisters from Africa.

24 "There is no Nigerian who have stolen an industry and hired Nigerians only. There is no
25 Zimbabwean who has a farm in Knysna or Stellenbosch who hires Zimbabweans. It is your
26 white people who hire Zimbabweans, pay them low, so that you can fight among yourselves
27 as Africans."

28 He said borders shouldn't be glorified, because it was imposed by white people who wanted
29 to divide Africa.

30 "Stop that nonsense, it stops today, we must unite as Africans!"

31 He blamed joblessness on whites who are refusing to invest in South Africa and promised
32 that this will change after an EFF victory come May 8.

33 "It is your time, African child, to shine. The time to feel pity of yourself as an African child
34 must come to an end. On the 8th of May a new African child will be born. A child with
35 possibilities."

36 He also promised if the EFF is in government, the first thing they will do is put former
37 president Jacob Zuma behind bars, followed by President Cyril Ramaphosa, Nomvula
38 Mokonyane, Bathabile Dlamini, Malusi Gigaba and the like.

39 "We are going to arrest all these criminals because they have caused you pain for 25 years.
40 They will regret that they have played with black people.

41 "Anyone who steals from black people, anyone who doesn't deliver services to black people
42 is a criminal must be locked up in jail and must be locked up for a very long time."

43 He also promised, among other things, truly free (sic) education, bigger social grants, houses
44 people can be proud of and a clinic in every ward.

45 Jumping the gun a bit, he said: "We are a caring government, we are a government that loves
46 black people, we are a government that is for black people. We are not a government that is
47 going to perpetuate the pain and suffering of black people. We will end your pain because
48 your pain is the pain of the EFF.

49 "Black people have suffered for too long," he said.

50 "We are the most hated nation! We want a government that loves black people. But in loving
51 black people, it doesn't mean we hate other people."

52 He said it is like a marriage – you are in love with your wife, but that does not mean you
53 dislike other people. He said the EFF is in a marriage with black people, so they can't cheat
54 on black people with white people.

Appendix P: Selected comments* from Facebook post “Xenophobic attacks: 'I go to Malawi with a heavy heart' ” (2 April 2019)

1 **Matt:** The problem is that we do not have the economy to support these foreigners, jobs are
2 scarce and that is what’s driving xenophobia. It’s not that the local people hate them for
3 nothing, these guys are competing for jobs

4 **Rene:** Matt when you are in the recruitment industry you learn that the foreigners work
5 harder than the locals, they do not strike, riot or protest or create carnage wherever they go.
6 THIS is the reason that they get the jobs, AND they are paid the exact same rate as a local
7 would get. Open your eyes people! Stop being so ignorant!

8 **Phillie:** Matt grow up up bra . you and your so called guys need education or go back to
9 school. Are you government or finance minister to say there is no enough economy to support
10 the foreigners ? Do the foreigners ask you or ask our government for support ? They hustle
11 and struggle for themselves to earn a living. Why are you fighting and killing them ? A tree
12 dnt make a forest, read history of countries that was or still under sanction, their economy
13 melts down or remains stagnant. Every country needs each other to grow the economy if you
14 are taking about our economy as you said.

15 Ignorant is a disease

16 **Barnard:** True, including health care, basic education, sanitation etc

17 **Vincent:** Lisa as long as u r not black u r a foreigner to me.

18 **Nico:** Vincent stupidity at its best lol grow up idiot.

19 **Benny:** Victoria i agree with what you say... but what you say is the real problem. There is a
20 LEGAL minimum wage that all employers have to pay. The problem is, employers pay less
21 than the minimum wage and fill these positions. So that in itself is a problem. Now locals
22 have to compete with that.

23 Beggars can't be choosers, what you are suggesting is put the employers in charge of wages.
24 Lady you will die. You will learn to live on R5 a day... not that bad? I suggest you start
25 googling the conditions in other African countries. Salaries and wages needs to be regulated
26 by government and ENFORCED otherwise we are going down the shitter.

27 PLEASE this is just a comment on the exploitation of employees by employers. I do not
28 agree with any violence against any one not local to South Africa.

29 **Innocent:** Vincent uyaphambana

30 **Bheki:** Rene its not that they work hard its because they have no choice its not their country
31 they don't have rights that's why they won't strike coz they here illegally and besides our
32 currency compared to theirs(u do the maths) they are being exploited... Otherwise why if they
33 so gud can't we have the same employer go open same company in Malawi???

34 #light skinned be acting smart here knowing exactly what they mission is by employing
35 foreigners

36 **Alufeyo:** So it warrants killing other people... When black South Africans were beinghosted
37 by other African countries like Zambian...we never lifted a stone at any of their comrades...
38 This is barbaric... Disgusting and shame on all south Africans

39 **Bheki:** Those comrades never opened shops, never sold drugs, never got employed to spite
40 others..... What angers SAns is that our gov always say we short of engineers bt if u go to
41 FET(recommended by same gov) u will never find engineering class empty, go to universities
42 u will never find engineering class empty, still you get gov saying we short engineers n
43 skilled labour...

*All names of commenters are pseudonyms.

Appendix Q: online news article

1 **How not to handle migration in South Africa: Lessons from West Africa (2 April 2019)**

2 Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of Nigeria

3 *With the ANC and DA entering the sensitive migration issue via an election campaign, there*
4 *is a very real danger that the situation might one day spiral out beyond their control,*
5 *writes **Mukoni Ratshitanga**.*

6 Former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo has proffered advice to African political
7 parties and citizens on the thorny issue of migration across the continent.

8 In an exclusive interview on POWER 98.7, Obasanjo said: "Migration is something that must
9 be handled with dexterity, with responsibility and with sensitivity on the continent of Africa."

10 He appealed to political parties who are apprehensive of migrants to "think again". The
11 elderly African statesman, who was in South Africa last week to attend the Southern African
12 Development Community (SADC) Solidarity Conference on Western Sahara, said: "What
13 you think you will gain in terms of jobs for your people by keeping other people from other
14 countries away will amount to nothing."

15 **Nigeria-Ghana experience**

16 Referring to the January 1983 Executive Ordinance by the then Nigerian president, the
17 recently deceased Shehu Shagari, which expelled over two million – most of them Ghanaian
18 citizens – from Nigeria, Obasanjo said: "We tried it in Nigeria; it didn't work."

19 He added: "You will know we have something ... there is a particular type of bag we call
20 "Ghana must Go". This was when Nigeria was trying to drive Ghanaians out of Nigeria. It
21 didn't work. And if anything, it put [a] sour taste because you're now separating families."

22 The Shagari Ordinance came against the backdrop of a cocktail of socio-economic fortunes
23 and misfortunes rooted in the complex West African and African history.

24 The years 1973 – 1981 witnessed a rise in the oil price – Nigeria's main source of revenue –
25 which enabled the state to make significant investments in public works and light industries.
26 This pull-factor brought greater numbers of migrants from neighbouring countries into

27 Nigeria, a process further propelled by the 1973 and 1974 drought in the Sahel region.
28 Things would predictably take a different turn by the early 1980s. The oil price fell sharply in
29 1981, the Nigerian economy declined, along with industrial investment, while urban
30 unemployment – affecting two thirds of urban workers – rose. Worse still, widespread
31 corruption during the period of the Shagari government only served to aggravate the
32 situation.

33 An International Monetary Fund (IMF) Structural Adjustment Programme which imposed
34 unpopular cuts in social expenditure followed in 1983, an election year in Nigeria.

35 The confluence of negative socio-economic circumstances impacted on the political sphere,
36 drawing into the potent mix, migrants who, until then, had not featured prominently in the
37 Nigerian public discourse.

38 On January 17, 1983, the Nigerian government ordered all unskilled and undocumented
39 migrants to leave the country within 14 days. They were accused of taking away jobs from
40 citizens, engaging in crime and other forms of deviant social conduct, while allegations of
41 conspiracy to register migrants as voters in the general election of August that year were
42 levelled against the opposition.

43 As Daouda Gary-Toukara has noted: "It is common knowledge that in countries
44 experiencing immigration and having difficulties dealing with crisis and unemployment,
45 some political leaders try to scapegoat foreigners and tighten conditions of residence. This is
46 a means of acquiring legitimacy..."

47 In typical rabble-rousing form, Shagari publicly stated that: "If they (migrants) don't leave,
48 they should be arrested and tried, and sent back to their homes. Illegal immigrants, under
49 normal circumstances, should not be given any notice whatsoever. If you break a law, then
50 you have to pay for it."

51 Shagari would win the elections by a comfortable margin of four million votes more than the
52 second most popular contestant, Obafemi Awolowo.

53 **What goes around comes around: the 1969 Ghanaian expulsion of Nigerians**

54 Fourteen years earlier in 1969, the Ghana government had expelled 150 000 Nigerians who
55 had lived in Ghana for decades, eking out a livelihood as traders, workers, farmers and other
56 professions.

57 At the time, the Ghanaian economy was cocoa-dependent, and the commodity provided for
58 over 70% of foreign exchange earnings. The 20 years from 1950 – 1970 witnessed a
59 continuous decline in the world cocoa price which had dropped by 75% by 1969.

60 A pattern emerges here: the greater the economic hardship, the louder the anti-immigrant
61 decibels become. Nigerian academics Johnson Aremu and Adeyinka Ajayi would later note,
62 in a paper published in 2014 that, "With Ghana's continued economic misfortunes, the
63 Government and popular press really had no difficulty turning to aliens as scapegoats for
64 their malaise.

65 "The expulsion order may also be seen as an attempt by [Prime Minister] Kofi Busia to win
66 the confidence of the masses and restore the legitimacy of his government. Since government
67 was losing its grip on the economic survival of the country, Busia and his cabinet members
68 were left with little or no choice than to seek solace in sending away non-nationals as a way
69 of appeasing the anger of the masses."

70 **Consequences of the Ghana – Nigeria expulsions and some niggling questions**

71 The consequences of the expulsions were multiple. For purposes of this article, we will
72 consider at least three.

73 Firstly, the Ghana Ministry of Interior was "directed to comb" the country "thoroughly" for
74 any would-be defaulters who were accordingly arrested. Such words conjure up ideas of a
75 siege and encourage an atmosphere in which all manner of abuses can be tolerated and
76 triggered.

77 Secondly, echoing Obasanjo's concern about the disruption in family life, Aremu and Ajayi
78 have noted that, "A multiplier effect of this forced, sudden exit of Nigerians from Ghana was
79 that it led to family disorganization and family separation. Many Nigerians who were already
80 married to Ghanaians could not come with their wives or husbands and had to live a dejected
81 life ever since then. Re-uniting such separated families has been less successful even after the
82 dust of the expulsion saga had settled down."

83 Thirdly, in both Ghanaian and Nigerian cases, bilateral relations between the two countries
84 naturally suffered and placed a needless freeze on the regional and continental economic
85 integration project which is vital to the resolution of many of the continent's challenges, not
86 the least important of which is the matter of economic migration.

87 But all of this begs many questions. Aremu posed some of these questions in a 2013 paper
88 published by the African Research Review.

89 He asked what progress had been made in turning Nigeria's fortunes with respect to reducing
90 unemployment and poverty as well as diversifying and growing the economy since the 1983
91 purge. This would naturally include the fight against crime, which migrants were accused of
92 spear-heading.

93 These questions about Ghana and Nigeria equally interrogate the situation in all other African
94 countries: does the expulsion of migrants provide a silver bullet for the resolution of a
95 country's complex socio-economic and political problems?

96 **Enemies of Africa**

97 Last week, President Obasanjo had strong words for those who hold and propagate anti-
98 immigrant positions. "Anybody who is a party to it," he said, "I would say he's an enemy of
99 Africa. And if any political party is doing that, I would say, they should think again." He
100 stressed that he, as a matter of principle, would never be party to "stopping any African from
101 moving freely within Africa. I will never be a party to it."

102 He said that law enforcement agencies of immigrant recipient countries should address
103 measures against criminal conduct among immigrants rather than tarnish everyone with the
104 same brush. "If they are criminals, of course you shouldn't allow criminals."

105 He implored political parties to understand that migration is an age-old phenomenon which
106 pre-dates the formation of the nation state. "Migration is what has kept the world going. And
107 I believe that nothing should stop [it]" adding that "migrants have a lot to offer" to host
108 countries.

109 **South Africa: An immigrant society**

110 To illustrate the age-old nature of migration, Obasanjo drew attention to the fact that South
111 Africa is itself a product of migrants.

112 "This particular country, South Africa, is a country of migrants. It depends how far back you
113 want to go from [the] 16th, 17th centuries when the Dutch first came here. Those people are
114 part and parcel of this country. If they came in one or two ships, you would probably need
115 thousands of ships now to ship them back. Of course, they won't go."

116 He could have added that South Africa is also an exporter of people to other places that have
117 now become nation states. A prime example is the AmaNdebele of Zimbabwe, who fled
118 South Africa during the Mfecane period in the 19th century under the leadership of Mzilikazi,
119 eventually settling in present-day Zimbabwe. These would also be part of Africans from
120 beyond our borders who regularly come under attack by South Africans who demand that
121 they go home!

122 Of course, the Mfecane period predates 1886, the year European powers gathered in Berlin to
123 divide Africa among themselves and for themselves, drawing arbitrary borders that separated
124 people into nation states that had no relationship with local political, social, economic and
125 cultural realities.

126 In this context, President Obasanjo could also have said that before and after 1886, the
127 Amaswati were and still reside in the pre and post 1886 Berlin-defined geographical spaces
128 of South Africa as they do in the Kingdom of Eswatini, in the same way that the Batswana
129 lived and still live in Botswana and South Africa, the Vhavenda in South Africa and
130 Zimbabwe, etc. with the only difference being that they are now separated by a border.

131 **Migrants, the 2019 general election and Pan Africanism**

132 For the very first time since 1994, this year the immigrant question is serving as an election
133 issue.

134 It entered the electoral terrain in dramatic fashion when, in November last year, City of
135 Johannesburg Mayor Herman Mashaba, generated a little storm in a tea cup; 'arresting' a man
136 for carrying a cow head destined for dismembering and eventual sale in the informal market.

137 Endorsing his boss' 'arrest,' David Tembe, the chief of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police
138 Department (JMPD) claimed that the man was an undocumented migrant. Mashaba boldly
139 claimed that his intervention was a preventative measure against the Ebola disease,
140 suggesting that Africans from beyond our borders are nothing but mobile carriers of disease!

141 But the entire spectacle was suspect. It bore the hallmarks of the launch of a choreographed
142 anti-African immigrant electoral platform by Mashaba's party, the Democratic Alliance (DA).

143 For while Mashaba was shopping for publicity and applause by targeting a lone informal
144 trader in the streets of Johannesburg and making emotive and offensive statements about
145 other Africans, DA Member of Parliament Jacques Julius was simultaneously engaged in his
146 own lengthy Twitter campaign along the South African and Mozambican border, demanding
147 that the government "Secure[s] Our Borders".

148 A coincidence? I have my doubts.

149 There followed by a plethora of potentially inflammatory public statements by politicians
150 from across the political divide about the burden placed on the country's fiscus by
151 immigrants, the supposed unfair competition they brought to local small business owners and
152 other remarks that provoke bigoted discourse in the public space.

153 In fact, to be fair to the DA, the most virulent charge against migrants was led by Safety and
154 Security Deputy Minister Bongani Mkongi at a press conference in July 14, 2017. To
155 illustrate the gravity of his stance, it is best to quote him in full:

156 "The question arises and we must investigate also what the law of South Africa is saying,
157 how can a city in South Africa be 80% foreign nationals. That is dangerous. That in Hillbrow
158 and the surrounding areas, South Africans have surrendered their own city. The nation should
159 discuss that particular question.

160 "You will not find South Africans in other countries dominating a city into 80% because if
161 we do not debate that, that necessarily means the whole South Africa could be 80%
162 dominated by foreign nationals and the future president of South Africa could be a foreign
163 national.

164 "We are surrendering our land and it is not xenophobia to talk [the] truth. We fought for this
165 land from a white minority. We cannot surrender it to the foreign nationals. That is a matter
166 of principle. We fought for this country, not only for us, for the generations of South
167 Africans.

168 "The arms that are being used here in Hillbrow are arms of war which are unlicensed. The
169 hijacking of buildings here in Hillbrow is a sign of taking over power. The question of
170 dominance of foreign nationals in illegal trading but also in businesses that are here in
171 Hillbrow is an economic sabotage against our people that were supposed to be those that
172 were running those particular businesses.

173 "We are facing here service delivery protests that we don't know where they are coming
174 from. Some of the issues is that we cannot give shelter to our people because these buildings
175 are being occupied and hijacked by people and lunatics that we don't know where we can be
176 housing at least the middle class that is working here.

177 "Those who are coming from universities at least have enough to buy their own houses and
178 they can rent from the state and then start a new life; you know, invest and buy a proper
179 house in future. But we can't do it because these buildings are hijacked by criminals. People
180 are being raped there, you know. There is drug dealing there. There are shebeens there, you
181 know. There are second hand goods amongst businesses of stolen goods by the way and all
182 sorts of criminal activities and we must do something about it.

183 "I want to ask the nation South Africa and the so-called human rights activists and
184 organisations what must the police do when they are shot at by criminals? Must they sing
185 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika or must they return fire? We are losing police officers day in and day
186 out but we are protecting criminals who are terrorising our people. We are 52 million people.
187 If each and every of us can be a police officer and fight against crime we will squeeze crime
188 in South Africa."

189 Framing the discussion this way is most unhelpful for obvious reasons, the most glaring
190 being the use of statistics which no one knows the source from whence they are drawn. Most
191 importantly, we close room for appreciating the benefit that South Africa receives from
192 immigrant labour, skilled and unskilled, professionals like doctors employed in the South

193 African public health system and the private sector, academics and others as well as the
194 cross-cultural pollination every society requires for its own evolution and development.

195 Perhaps the most incisive observation was observation was made by Ugandan academic,
196 Mahmood Mamdani. Two years ago, he once implored his audience at the University of
197 South Africa to "Make a list of countries in Africa, [and consider] their GDP. South Africa is
198 at the top. Then make another column of the number of refugees hosted in each of these
199 countries. South Africa is nowhere near the top."

200 "There is a crisis in South Sudan. Three hundred thousand South Sudanese crossed the border
201 into Uganda a few months ago. There is no public outcry. Why is there no public outcry?
202 Uganda is a much poorer country than South Africa. It is not because the Ugandan people are
203 less xenophobic, they are less xenophobic but why? It's not because they are naturally less
204 xenophobic. It is because of an entire history. It is because the government has not provided
205 the leadership in xenophobia."

206 The two major political parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and the DA, have
207 formally raised the issue of migrants in their manifestos and are making public calls about the
208 documentation of migrants and tighter border controls.

209 With these two major parties entering the sensitive migration issue via an election campaign,
210 and so many high-ranking politicians speaking emotively in a manner that scapegoats
211 migrants for our abiding structural socio-economic challenges, there is a very real danger that
212 the situation might one day spiral out beyond their control, with catastrophic consequences
213 for the human beings involved and for our country's relations with the rest of the African
214 continent and the world.

215 The irony of history is that it is the DA, a liberal party with very little commitment to the
216 continent of Africa, which, in the context of a difficult election for the ANC, baited the ANC,
217 a Pan African formation, to enter the immigrant question with haste, resorting to potentially
218 dangerous populism. The unavoidable question the ANC needs to ponder over is whether it
219 has lost its Pan African vision and what the implications are for South Africa's relations with
220 the rest of the continent.

221 **What is to be done?**

222 Perhaps the starting point is appreciation of Obasanjo's remark that "migration is something
223 that must be handled with dexterity, with responsibility and with sensitivity on the continent
224 of Africa".

225 The urgency of addressing the political dangers that attach to the mismanagement of
226 migration obliges the continent's political leaders to demonstrate moral and principled
227 leadership when dealing with these issues that affect fellow Africans very deeply.

228 They should also be preoccupied with the implementation of instruments like the African
229 Union (AU) Protocol to the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community Relating
230 to Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Right of Establishment.

231 It is vitally important not to lose sight of the social and economic justice imperatives at play
232 here. The inequitable distribution of resources within and between countries is one of the
233 drivers of migration within and beyond the continent. It also foments the resentments that
234 lead to hostility towards migrants. It is not enough or acceptable to replace such a considered
235 approach with simplistic and populist high-pitched shrills bemoaning the presence of
236 migrants.

237 To return to President Obasanjo, this issue requires political maturity evidenced by dexterity,
238 sensitivity and deep sense of responsibility for the well-being of all Africans. Are our leaders
239 and societies equal to this responsibility?

Appendix R: Selected comments* from Facebook post “How not to handle migration in South Africa: Lessons from West Africa” (3 April 2019)

- 1 **Cyril:** I personally think refugee camp is the answers now these people are everywhere
2 without proper documentation and some are not even working how do they make a living
- 3 **Francis:** U Born with proper documents??
- 4 **Sam:** Look at his comment so arrogant... Funa nje induku aba hayi enyinto
- 5 **Cyril:** Sam I'm not gonna answers that stupid question he's bitter he knows their time is up
6 it's time for them to go home
- 7 **Sam:** They're so arrogant pretending as if they don't want to live in south Africa yet he
8 probably came by crocodile here
- 9 **Samuel:** Did you created the land
- 10 **Cyril:** Samuel it's safe for foreigners
- 11 **Matuma:** STEALING AND TAKE HOME
- 12 **Theo:** Documents proper documents then we lve in harmony
- 13 **Elrena:** Cyril they have refugee camps in most parts of the world, that's how they control
14 who stays & who goes back.
- 15 **John:** You forgot to mention some of these people live in Suburbs and drive Mercedes-
16 Benz"s without any jobs. How do they make their money?

*All names of commenters are pseudonyms.

Appendix S: keywords related to African migration

Africa/African/Africans
African national/African nationals
Alien/aliens
Angola/Angolan/Angolans
Asylum seeker/asylum seekers
Border/borders
Citizenship
Democratic Republic of Congo/Congo/DRC/Congolese
Ethiopia/Ethiopian/Ethiopians
Foreign/foreigner/foreigners
Home Affairs/DHA
Illegal/illegals
Immigrant/immigrants/immigration
Lesotho/Basotho
Malawi/Malawian/Malawians
Migrant/migration
Mozambique/Mozambican/Mozambicans
Namibia/Namibian/Namibians
Nigeria/Nigerian/Nigerians
Pakistan/Pakistani/Pakistanis
Permanent residency/permanent residencies
Permit/permits
Refugee/refugees
SADC (South African Development Community)
Somalia/Somalian/Somalis
Swaziland/Swazi/Swati
Visa/visas
Xenophobia/xenophobic
Zimbabwe/Zimbabwean/Zimbabweans