

Global Media Journal
African Edition
 2015 Vol 9(2):217-247

Reactions and Actions to Xenophobia in South Africa

An Analysis of *The Herald* and *The Guardian* Online Newspapers

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Abstract

*The spate of xenophobic attacks that occurred in South Africa first in 2008 and more recently in 2015 has raised questions in relation to causes and possible solutions. These discourses have focused on South African narratives with little contributions on how other African nationals perceive and conceptualize xenophobia. The paper recognizes the power of the mass media in serving as a major source of information for a variety of people in shaping their views and opinions about issues concerning xenophobia. Based on mass media narratives, the concept of a global village becomes more apparent as viewers, listeners and readers were informed of the events even though they were several miles away and in the comfort and safety of their environments. The paper argues that the media did not only inform but also served as a platform through which national and international reactions and actions could be aired and reported. These reactions and actions speak to a perceived identity that bind people along the lines of fundamental and sensitive issues such as religion, gender, rights and race. The Arab Spring protests exemplify the quintessential demonstration of the mobilization, by mass media, of citizens who through reactions and actions united to fight a common course and defend a common identity in the 21st century. The study focuses on the xenophobic attacks in South Africa between April and June 2015. The paper considers xenophobia not from the point of view of South African journalists and citizens but from the narratives of foreign online newspaper reportage. Through content analysis of online versions of *The Guardian* (based in Nigeria) and *The Herald* (based in Zimbabwe), the study attempts to understand the role of the media in reporting the reactions and actions as identified in these papers. Key findings of the study suggest that mass media are not only instrumental in stimulating actions and reactions within the selected countries but also in South Africa where the xenophobic attacks took place.*

Keywords: *xenophobia, online newspaper, reaction, action, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, South Africa*

I. Introduction

It cannot be denied that mass media are powerful tools that have served for decades in informing, entertaining and shaping the minds of generations. Through mass media, consumers are privileged to meet and know the views and personalities of individuals they may not ordinarily have encountered. Events that ordinarily would not have been known due to distance

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or social barriers become public knowledge through the lens of the media. The power of mass media though goes beyond informing and entertaining, and this has been a topical issue upon which a number of researches have been conducted. Over the years, mass media researchers have pointed out that mass media messages are not only able to inform their receivers about events and the issues that surround the event but are also able to create a sense of how important such events are or can be by the amount of information provided (McQuail, 1985; McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

The in-depth analysis of events and the continuous but systematic supply of information by the mass media keep viewers not only informed but also give the impression that the information provided is enough to make ‘the right decisions.’ This strategy of continuous and frequent reportage projects an event as being larger and more important than it really is (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010). Media attention to an issue can thus take various forms ranging from talk show topics, hard news, documentaries or interviews all within a short time frame. According to Dunaway, Branton and Abrajano (2010), these diverse forms of mass media presentation of events serve as cues that shape public opinion and the creation of unconscious images which influence political as well as socio-economic actions and reactions to issues. This strategy buttresses the point made by Berelson in McCombs and Shaw through (1972) that “[on] any single subject many ‘hear’ but few listen” (p. 177).

II. Media Focusing Events and Agenda Setting

Birkland (1998) considers how events can influence group and agenda policies through “focusing events” (p. 54) defined as attention grabbing events that are sudden, causing an immediate harm or with the possibility of posing future harm. Their occurrence in a particular geographical location may trigger reactions from residents in other locations that may fear a similar event or consequence may befall them (Meyers, 2000). Such fear may attract interest groups, government leaders, entrepreneurs and other members of the public to the problem with

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an aim of searching for a solution through an advocacy for policy change or amendment. Dunaway, Branton and Abrajano (2010) in their content analysis of media reportage of immigration in border and non-border towns note the importance of the media in transforming an event into a focal event through its reportage. In their research, they discovered that because media reportage of immigration activities in border towns are more, the residents in those areas identify the event as a focal one reacting to the issue and the migrants as a major threat to their existence. Such a reaction is not prevalent with residents not within border areas. The aim of the authors was to understand the relationship between news patterns concerning immigration and immigrants at border states and the shaping of public opinion and reactions in comparison to those not residing in border states. They noted that states in the border areas cover more issues and events relating to immigration, thus creating the notion that it is the most important problem for the area and the people. The images associated with immigrants, the authors observe, are often very negative, thus inciting a sense of urgency for policy action to prevent what was perceived to be a threat. The results showed that as media attention to immigration issues increased, so did the identification of migrants as being one of the nation's most important problems, and so did the activities initiated by the residents in response.

In South Africa, xenophobic attacks are believed to have their roots in the continuous influx of foreign nationals into the country. During these attacks, which are often very violent, foreign nationals with specific reference to African nationals are killed or severely injured along with South African citizens. A large number of them have their shops and property looted or burnt leaving them displaced and financially distraught. Surveys done in 1997 and 2006, show that the majority of South Africans believed that foreigners were a threat to the social and economic development of their country (Crush & Pendleton, 2007; Crush. & Pendleton. 2004; Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh, & Singh, 2005) and a large percentage called for government policies to control the migration of foreigners into South Africa and their activities in the country (Williams,

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2010). The tension is worse in communities with poor service delivery and social amenities (Kayitesi & Mwaba, 2014). The negative image and intense hatred for immigrants is believed to have been made a focal event by mass media coverage of immigration and migration. Media reportage of cross border activities as well as international migration was often anti-immigrant, based on exaggerated statistics and assumptions (Danso & McDonald, 2001; Williams, 2010). Some scholars like Wadworth (2010) have interrogated the relationship between immigration and crime rates (often triggered by the public and even elected officials who associate immigrants with drunkenness, violence and crime) and found an inverse relationship between the influx of immigrants and crime rates in the U.S.

A number of scholars of xenophobic violence in South Africa, like Matsinhe (2011), theorize that these activities have their foundation on what Fanon terms 'phobogenic' or a stimulus to anxiety. Africa's fear of itself is demonstrated in an intense hatred for other African black indigenes. The notion of Africa's fear of itself is conceptualized in the term *makwerekwere* indicating a South African collective identification of 'we' against 'them' (Matsinhe, 2011, pp. 295-296). A notion that black foreigners are a threat while white foreigners bring in wealth is formulated from this belief. In other words, the South African collective identity can tolerate the White Race who are associated with development (they create jobs and investments) and tourism but not the Black Race, the majority of whom are nationals from other African countries who are associated with underdevelopment (they steal jobs and compete with South Africans for limited resources) and crime (drugs and corruption). The *makwerekwere* image and stereotype, with all its dehumanising connotations, takes centre stage in the psyche of the xenophobes as they justify their actions by scapegoating tactics that black foreigners are responsible for rising unemployment (Nyamnjoh, 2006).

To answer the questions on xenophobes' definitions of who a foreigner is in South Africa, Neocosmos (2008) traces this warped conception to the discourses of exceptionalism perpetuated

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and maintained by all citizens. The dominant ideology among South Africans is that South Africa is not really an African country but rather its “intellectual and cultural frame of reference is in the USA and Europe” (Neocosmos, 2008, p. 590). The perceptions of South Africa of its being exceptional to the rest of the continent stems from its relatively advanced form of industrialisation and infrastructural development compared to the other African countries. While other African countries are perceived to be primitive, backward, authoritarian, poverty-stricken and failed states, South Africa stands out as a beacon of democracy and reconciliation. It is an identity based on an ideology of ‘exceptionalism’ held without apologies and uncritically by South Africans.

Further to the discourses of exceptionalism, another aspect that seems to be fanning xenophobia in South is the hegemonic idea of indigeneity (Hussein & Hitomi, 2014; Neocosmos, 2008; Crush & Pendleton, 2007). The post-apartheid South African political stance is to redress the economic imbalances the apartheid system created. In so doing the government had to identify the previously disadvantaged and disenfranchised indigenous people and come up with policies to bring the previously disadvantaged people on a par with the people who had benefited from the apartheid system. These initiatives, being good and ideal as it seems, are responsible for further entrenching exclusion, discrimination, and the ‘othering’ of those deemed unqualified to benefit.

III. Research Methods

The aim of this research is to conduct a study of the reportage of two major national newspapers in Nigeria and Zimbabwe on the xenophobic attacks that happened in South Africa in April 2015. Purposive sampling was used to select Zimbabwe’s *The Herald* out of 61 newspapers and *The Guardian* out of 199 newspapers in Nigeria. The major criteria considered in their selection include their online presence (indicating they are internationally accessible) and their national reach within the home country in terms of readership status and ability to cover national events. Both are daily newspapers in their respective countries with available printed copies.

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The month of April 2015 was chosen as the timeframe for data collection, chiefly because xenophobic attacks seemed to have reached their peak during this month. The timeframe also coincides with the period of time when South Africa was receiving high international media attention due to the xenophobic violence being experienced in the country. All news stories, feature articles and opinion pieces, relating to the event in South Africa in the month of April, were downloaded from the websites of the two selected online newspapers. A total of 67 news articles were downloaded from *The Herald* and 29 articles were downloaded from *The Guardian* website.

Using simple percentages, frequency of reportage was done while qualitative descriptive methods were used to analyse the reports which were categorized into themes. These themes took into consideration the fact that the selected online newspapers were reporting the xenophobic events occurring in South Africa which was miles away from the base of the newspapers. The reports analysed were made up of story headlines, sub-headlines and introductory paragraphs based on the newspaper writing style of introducing the most important element of a story to readers first while subsequent information serve to support the main gist of the report. The aim of this journalist style is to attract the attention of readers to a story through its headline and sub-headlines while providing the necessary facts in relation to whom, what, where and how an event occurred within the first paragraph.

The reports were classified into four major themes based on their headlines and itemized chronologically. Through these themes, the frequency of reportage was analysed using simple percentages and the diversity of events was analysed using qualitative descriptions. The four identified themes and their corresponding headlines are presented below (Please see the appendix for the headlines and attached website citations).

A. Reports of Foreign Reactions to Xenophobia

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Within this theme were stories that report the reactions of individuals, governments, bodies and associations that represent interests outside South Africa to the xenophobic events and the concept of xenophobia itself. Reaction within this context refers to responses in terms of verbal statements or quotations. Under this theme, a total of 27 reports were recorded for *The Herald* and 11 for *The Guardian*.

B. Reports of South African Actions in Response to Xenophobia

This theme deals with reports of physical reactions to the xenophobic event by South African individuals, the government, bodies and associations. This may be in the form of riots, protests, campaigns, concerts etc. Under this theme, a total of 15 stories were recorded for *The Herald* and 8 for *The Guardian*.

C. Reports of Foreign Actions in Response to Xenophobia

Unlike the theme above, this deals with reports of physical reactions to the xenophobic events by individuals, governments, bodies and associations that represent interests outside South Africa to the xenophobic events and the concept of xenophobia itself. This may be in the form of riots, protests, campaigns, concerts etc. Under this theme, a total of 13 stories were recorded in *The Herald* and 8 in *The Guardian*.

D. Reports of South African Reactions to Xenophobia

Within this theme were stories that report the reactions of South Africans either as individuals, the government, bodies or associations in relation to the xenophobic events and the concept of xenophobia itself. Reaction within this context refers to responses in terms of verbal statements or quotations. Under this theme, a total of 9 stories were reported under this theme from *The Herald* and 2 from *The Guardian*.

IV. Analysis of the Reportages

Between the 1st and 30th of April, 67 stories were recorded for *The Herald* while *The Guardian* reported 29. The frequency of reportage during this month was high indicating a

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continuous flow of information that was sustained during the height of the xenophobic events as they occurred in South Africa. The higher number of news items from *The Herald* may be due to its geographic proximity to South Africa, the cultural and historical ties of both countries as well as their joint membership of SADC (Southern African Development Community). This may also explain the difference in the earliest dates of reportage recorded by the two papers. For *The Herald*, its first story appeared on the 6th of April with the headline “Zuma assures foreigners over xenophobia” while *The Guardian* reported its first story much later on April 16th with the headline “Malawi to evacuate citizens from South Africa.” These headlines were subsequently followed with an average of two to three reports of the event per day for both papers.

The determination of both online newspapers to make the xenophobic events happening in South Africa one of focal importance was evident in their use of diverse methods including hard news, feature articles, opinion pages and editorials to inform their readers. There was also a demonstration of the use of diverse sources in the compilation of news reportage ranging from international media news agencies, government agents, political bodies within Africa, such as SADC and AU, interest groups within and outside the home countries and individual members of the home country including victims of the xenophobic attacks.

Both the Zimbabwean and Nigerian media had similarities in their reportage of the xenophobic events that occurred in South Africa. Both papers had their highest percentage of reportage focusing on reactions outside South Africa to the xenophobia event than any other theme. *The Herald* reported 27 stories representing 42% of its total stories while *The Guardian* reported 11 representing 38% of their total content. This was followed by a concentration of the actions taken within South Africa and in countries outside it (including actions taken within the selected countries), and lastly South Africa’s reactions to xenophobia and the events. For Zimbabwe’s *The Herald*, 15 (23%) stories focused on reporting the actions of South Africans to xenophobia and the attacks, 13 (20%) stories focused on foreign actions (including actions

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within Zimbabwe) against xenophobia, and 9 (14%) focused on stories of South African reactions to xenophobia. In relation to Nigeria's *The Guardian*, there was an equal representation of 8 (28%) stories under the themes of South African reactions to xenophobia and foreign actions against xenophobia (including actions within Nigeria), and 2 (2%) stories representing South African reactions to xenophobia.

A. *Reports of Foreign Reactions to Xenophobia*

The online media reportage of reactions to xenophobia by *The Herald* and *The Guardian* represent the voices of a diverse group of people outside South Africa. Within this theme are stories that the newspaper houses develop with an angle aimed at informing their citizens of national and international reactions to the xenophobic attacks on their kinsmen residing in South Africa. The initial headlines seem to create the focal attention needed to prompt a reaction by the citizens of Zimbabwe and Nigeria. To analyse this, the reportage was classified based on the sources and the reportage type.

In both papers, the editorial team and individual opinions were a significant voice. Through this format, an analysis of the concept of xenophobia was done. The editorials and individual opinions in both papers speak of a need to unite as Africans and strongly condemn the violent acts of xenophobia. They remind the South African people and government of the role other African countries played in their liberation history insinuating that this factor makes South Africa obliged to accommodate other Africans.

For *The Herald*, these headlines consider xenophobia as resulting from a capitalist structure inherited from the apartheid era, believed to be the cause of the downturn of the South African economy. Some of the voices blame xenophobia on 'white interest' insisting that "[s]o long as a majority of South Africans remain foreigners to the national economy, attacks against fellow Africans shall be a recurrent theme, thus furthering white interests by keeping us divided while they consolidate their regional blocs." For some of the Zimbabweans, xenophobia is a shame as

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“one African turns against the other,” a continuation of which they believe would destroy the continent. There are also reminders of what is believed to be South Africa’s obligation under the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the United Nations in 1993, to protect foreigners. Based on such platforms, the voices from Zimbabwe make it unequivocally known that they are “disgusted and hurt by the senseless violence” finding it “unacceptable. ... that this most despicable behaviour is happening for the second time within seven years does not speak well for the reputation of South Africa.” There is also a mention of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini who is said to have remained silent despite ‘major impact on life and politics’ accusing him of “presiding and chewing up a large proportion of Kwa Zulu Natal’s budget.” The role of international bodies in condemning not only the ‘barbaric’ acts of xenophobic violence by the South African people but also the South African government was seen as more than justified. One of the reportages considers the impact of the xenophobic events on women who work hard to support their families through labour in the South African informal sector.

The Guardian editorial team and individual opinion voices remind South Africa of “the colossal amount of money Nigeria spent on South Africa during apartheid” and describe the attacks against ‘fellow Africans’ as ‘unfortunate, regrettable and condemnable’ insisting that “history will no doubt remember these killings, and the perpetrators will never be forgiven.” Xenophobia is described as “destructive to the ties that bind brothers and sisters across the continent,” and in relation to the perpetrators, their actions “put a big question mark on the humanity of the instigators as well as the perpetrators, revealing their bestiality in spectacular fashion.” There is also an analysis of the concept of immigration which the Nigerian voices believe should be considered on the basis of “not so much your status, but your contributions.”

Regional bodies in Africa were also represented under this theme but were mainly from the Southern African region and were recorded in *The Herald*. Such bodies include SADC, AU, ZIFA, AIMS, and ambassadors. The reports make it known that these bodies condemn the acts of

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violence with words such as ‘unacceptable,’ with AU calling ‘for an immediate halting of violence.’ The Kenyan Ambassador called for ‘tolerance in South Africa,’ and the Ambassador to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees called for being ‘calm.’ SADC advised affected foreigners “not (to) retaliate, but [they] must engage in dialogue to end the problem” while AIMS (African Institute for Mathematical Science) spoke to South Africans saying “xenophobia had caused irreparable damage to the country.”

The governments of the two countries were also represented through government organizations and members of the political bodies. In Zimbabwe, the ruling party, ZANU PF, “called for the immediate cessation of xenophobic attacks” because “the continued violence makes a mockery of the persistent calls for unity in the SADC region.” The Zimbabwean President, who was then SADC Chairperson, called on “SADC member states to put mechanisms in place to ensure their citizens flocking South Africa return to take up opportunities at home.” *The Guardian* also gives a direct quote of the Zimbabwean President as saying, “I would like to express our sense of shock and disgust as we abhor the incident that happened in Durban where some five or six people were burnt to death deliberately by some members of the South African Zulu community.”

Within the Nigeria political arena, *The Guardian* reports that “‘Reps urge Jonathan to recall Nigerian ambassador’ with the rider ‘We’ll rescue Nigerians if situation demands, says minister.’” Another report states “Senators ... expressed concern over recent xenophobic attacks on Nigerians and other African nationals in South Africa in spite the collective fight against Apartheid.” These reports were later followed with reassuring words to reduce tensions such as “Federal Government has not recalled its envoys in South Africa” reassuring Nigerians that they “were merely summoned for consultation, following the xenophobic attacks in South Africa.” Another reports a member of the House of Representatives saying, “it was not necessary to recall Nigeria’s High Commissioner to South Africa over the xenophobic attacks” since “South

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Africa's government was now making efforts to quell the violence" insisting that Nigeria must "get (a) commitment from South Africa that Nigerians and other foreign nationals in the country will be safe henceforth."

Bodies and individuals within the countries are also represented and these include musicians, religious bodies, and individuals attacked during the xenophobic attacks. In Zimbabwe, through the ZIFA, football fans called for "Zimbabwe (to) withdraw from the 2015 COSAFA Cup in protest." In Nigeria, threats are apparent with reports of youth societies threatening to "shut down South African firms operating in Nigeria" with riders reading "*Nigerians who suffered losses may be compensated, says minister. MTN condemns attacks on foreigners.*" Stakeholders in Nigeria were also reported as charging AU and ECOWAS "to ensure that rules for protection of migrants feature prominently in national laws of countries in the continent." In the same story, it is also reported that the Nigerian government 'appealed for caution from Nigerians and other arms of government' in an attempt to 'douse the anger.'

B. Reports of South African Actions on Xenophobia

The Herald had a number of negative stories under this theme with seven of them being descriptive murders of Zimbabweans caught in the xenophobic violence. One of the earliest stories under this category was published on the 9th of April under the headline "The anatomy of S. Africa xenophobia" with the following excerpt from the first paragraph reported as a direct quote from a South African indigene: "First we go for the Nigerians. They're easy targets. We tell everyone they're drug dealers and are corrupt, because then we can victimise and criminalise them, and our police can harass them. We won't feel guilty. If we can make them look bad, our problems will look better." This report is the second listed by *The Herald* with the first being on the 16th of April with the headline, "Zuma assures foreigners over xenophobia." Despite the headline that reports that "Zuma acts on xenophobia" by assigning "three ministers to attend to the xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu Natal" and his issuance of "a directive ... to protect all

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human life,” the actions of the South African government did not seem to be reassuring. *The Herald* reports that though these measures were taken, “a new wave of xenophobia showed no signs of abating.” Tales of the murder of “Mozambican man in Alexandra” to which “SA politicians were demanding arrests” were followed with horrifying headlines indicating the fate of Zimbabwean nationals caught in the xenophobic attacks. The following headlines reading ‘Zim woman decapitated,’ ‘Zim pair gunned down,’ and ‘Murder most foul’ have stories that graphically describe the brutality of the killings. There were no actions reported of the South African government’s actions regarding these murders, but there were reports of sports associations located in South Africa acting against xenophobia such as “SAFA plans games to fight xenophobia” in order “to sensitise the public on the evils of xenophobia.” COSAFA, another sports association, “vowed to use the upcoming Senior Men’s Cup tournament as a means to heal the wounds of the region.” There was also a report of the peace march held in Johannesburg where “Thousands of people marched through South Africa’s main city...to demand an end to a recent wave of xenophobic attacks.” The march reported on the 24th of April seemed to indicate some hope as the headlines following this date report that a South African musician who had previously cancelled his “gig in Bulawayo barely a fortnight ago over xenophobia fears” had finally agreed to perform in Zimbabwe. *The Herald* also reported in a headline that the “Police announce end of xenophobia in KZN” while within the story readers are told this happened after “two weeks of violence against foreign nationals claimed seven lives.” Another story report that the South African government through the Ministry of Telecommunications and Postal Services made a call to take off the South African Internet “content that is deemed racist or xenophobic.”

The Guardian, in its reportage of South African actions to xenophobia, seemed to make an attempt to reassure the Nigerian populace (and by extension the Nigerian government) that the xenophobic attacks were under control. The first headline under this theme for *The Guardian*

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reads “South Africans march against attacks of foreigners,” which appears a day after the online paper began its xenophobic reports. Within the story, *The Guardian* reports that “THOUSANDS of people are expected to attend a march in South Africa’s coastal city of Durban in solidarity with the country’s foreign nationals” adding that “at least five people have been killed and 74 people arrested.” *The Guardian*, in the next headline, describes the xenophobic attacks as “unending,” but in the story reports that “NO fewer than 5,000 people have taken part in a rally against xenophobia in South Africa’s coastal city of Durban” adding that “President Jacob Zuma condemned the violence” calling it “shocking” and asking that “calm to be restored.” Another headline reports of “Uneasy calm in Johannesburg after anti-immigrant riots” stating that “People were on alert.” This was quickly followed by reports of the efforts of the South African government which was greatly emphasized in headlines which read: “South Africa to deploy army over xenophobic attacks,” “Zuma vows action over immigrant attacks as army deployed,” “11 arrested in South African police and army raid” and “South Africans march against xenophobia.”

C. Reports of Foreign Action on Xenophobia

This theme represents the third largest number (13) of stories reported for *The Herald* while an equal number to the previous theme above (8) was reported in *The Guardian*. Through this theme, *The Herald* made the full impact of the xenophobic attacks on Zimbabwean nationals residing in South Africa known. A number of the headlines and stories quoted numerical figures making the calamity seem even more real. The first headline under this theme was reported on the 16th of April reading “800 Zimbabweans displaced, 1 dead in SA xenophobic attacks – Government ready to evacuate citizens,” and within the story *The Herald* informs its readers that the “Government yesterday set up an inter-ministerial team to facilitate the immediate return of those displaced by the attacks.” Another headline which reads “A moment of silence to xenophobia victims” captured an event done to mark Zimbabwe’s Independence Day. A

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government representative announced that “[t]he repatriation of over 1000 Zimbabweans displaced in escalating xenophobic attacks in Durban is expected to start tomorrow.” The return of the repatriated Zimbabweans from the xenophobic attacks in South Africa and the Zimbabwean government’s efforts and preparations towards ensuring their safe arrival was a major and deliberate focus of *The Herald*. Under the headline “Zim sets up xenophobia victim centre,” readers are informed that the “Civil Protection Unit has established a reception and support centre ... in preparation for the arrival of victims of xenophobia from South Africa, whose first batch is expected tomorrow.” The next headline reports that “400 repatriated from S. Africa” while within the story it is announced that “the first batch of 407 Zimbabweans who were displaced during the xenophobia motivated attacks ... in South Africa left for Zimbabwe last night by road.” When the repatriated victims did arrive, *The Herald* reports that “The first batch of Zimbabweans fleeing xenophobic attacks in South Africa arrived ... last night with harrowing tales of how they narrowly escaped death and witnessed some people being killed.” The arrival of the second batch of repatriated victims was also recorded under the headline “More flee xenophobic attacks” and readers are told that the “second batch of 333 Zimbabweans who were displaced by xenophobic attacks in Durban, South Africa, will leave for Zimbabwe this morning.” When the victims did arrive, it was reported that the “last group of 300 Zimbabweans fleeing xenophobic attacks in South Africa arrived here yesterday afternoon and was expected to leave for their respective homes last night in six buses hired by Government.” These headlines serve as a form of comfort for those who must have been horrified by the actions of the South African people and the insensitivity of the South African government to the plight of the Zimbabwean nationals in South Africa. The projection of the Zimbabwean government as the rescuer and life saver of its citizens from the “barbaric” acts of South Africans who ‘shamelessly’ turned against their ‘fellow Africans’ must have brought on the much needed hope the nation needed.

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The religious community and the entertainment industry's actions were also represented in the reports of *The Herald* under this theme. One of the headlines reading "Church condemns xenophobia" tells of the church's plans to "hold 15 workshops in various communities to promote peace and encourage people to relate well in intercultural settings." Another headline reads "Christians hold anti-xenophobia prayers," the efforts of Christian groups under the umbrella of the Zimbabwe Heads of Christian Denominations (ZHCD) is told as they prayed 'against xenophobic attacks on foreigners living in South Africa'. The activities of the entertainment industry in a show of protest were represented through headlines such as "Charambas cancel SA tour over xenophobia" and "Comedians blasts xenophobia in drama."

The activities of the Malawian people and their government appeared under this theme in both newspapers. *The Herald* reports under the headline 'South African shops in Malawi shut in xenophobia boycott' explains that "South African owned shops in Malawi have remained closed after calls for a boycott from activists angered at recent xenophobic attacks." *The Guardian* under the headline "Malawi to evacuate citizens from South Africa" informs its readers of the Malawian Government's intentions to "repatriate its nationals from South Africa, following an upsurge in xenophobic violence." *The Guardian* also reports of the Zimbabwean Government's intentions to repatriates its citizens from South Africa under the headline "Zimbabwe to bring home nationals caught in S.Africa attacks." A later headline in *The Guardian* gives an update of the repatriated Zimbabweans reading "Zimbabweans fleeing S.Africa attacks face bleak future" stating that "Zimbabwean migrants who fled a wave of anti-foreigner violence in neighbouring South Africa arrived home Wednesday to the same bleak economic prospects that sent them abroad in the first place. Visibly dejected as they stepped out of buses ... said their dreams had been destroyed by the attacks."

The Guardian under this theme focused a lot of attention on the activities of Nigerian individual citizens and groups within the country who rose up in protest against the xenophobic

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attacks on Nigerians and other foreign nationals taking place in faraway South Africa. Interestingly the people targeted their grievances directly to the South African Government. One of the headlines reports that: NANS (National Association of Nigerian Students) gives South African government 7 days ultimatum to stop xenophobic attacks'. This headline is followed by another which says, 'Group seeks compensation for victims of xenophobic attacks', where *The Guardian* reports that "A civil society group, Citizens Advocacy for Social and Economic Rights (CASER), has called on the South African Government to pay compensation to victims of the xenophobic attacks in that country." A third headline reads, "Protesters threaten South African interests in Nigeria" where it is reported that "PROTESTS yesterday, overtook the streets of Abuja, Benin City and other places in response to xenophobic attacks in South Africa, where Nigerians have reportedly suffered injuries and lost millions of Naira." These activities obviously caught the attention of the Nigerian Government and *The Guardian* in the following headline which reports that "FG moves to end attacks on Nigerians in S' Africa" stating that 'The Federal Government yesterday said it is monitoring the steps being taken by the South African Government to stop the xenophobic attacks that have raged in South Africa against foreigners and their business interests'. Another informs the Nigerian populace that "FG summons S' Africa's High Commissioner over attacks' with the following attached riders 'Lagos Consulate office shut; Senate wants Zulu king dragged to ICC; Reps demand compensation for victims.'" The Nigerian Federal Government seemed to be responding to the actions of the Nigerian people which could have led to more chaos within Nigeria than anticipated. To reassure the populace, the government had to be seen as being in control of the situation and ready to act in the interests of its citizens whether they were in Nigeria or not.

D. Reports of South Africans Reaction to Xenophobia

This theme recorded the lowest number of stories within both papers with *The Herald* reporting nine stories and *The Guardian* only two. *The Herald* presents the South African

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reactions in two ways with five of the stories indicating remorse and reassurances and condemnation while four stories on the other hand indicate threats and even disgust at foreigners. Reassurances came from the South African Government and this was reported under the headline, “Zuma assures foreigners over xenophobia” with the following soothing words captured “President Jacob Zuma has assured foreigners including Zimbabweans living in South Africa that they are protected by a ‘friendly’ legislative system which accommodates everyone.” The South African Football Authority’s perceptions were captured under the headline, “SAFA condemns xenophobia” where it was said that they “condemned in the strongest terms the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals being perpetrated by what it called criminal elements.” Members of the South African political forum indicated some form of shame at the activities of their people. Under the headline ‘With heads bowed in shame’ the speech given by the then South African President Thabo Mbeki following the May 2008 riots was analysed with the question, “Different decade, different president, what has changed?” A more contemporary South African political figure was quoted in the headline “We must be ashamed: Malema.” *The Herald* gives more details within the story that, “Economic Freedom Fighters leader Julius Malema called for peace ... laying the blame for deadly xenophobic violence at the door of the ANC.” These stories nevertheless were intertwined with reports of an almost opposite view of foreigners by South Africans. One of such headline comes a week after the reassuring words of President Zuma reading, “Zuma’s son: Govt. must stop unnecessarily accommodating foreign nationals” with the President’s son declaring that “The South African government needs to stop running away from dealing with xenophobia.” There are also reports of South Africans reacting to international condemnation with threats captured in the headline, “Xenophobic thugs: ‘We’ll burn you alive.’” This headline comes out twice in *The Herald* with the first headline reporting that “Security has been beefed up at the Durban offices of the SA Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) after a series of violent threats” while the second explains that “Anonymous callers

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have threatened to burn down the office if it continued its investigation into Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini after his alleged antforeigner speech in Pongola last month, which is widely believed to have sparked the xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu Natal.” The Zulu king is also mentioned in a headline which declares that “Zwelithini likens immigrants to lice, ants” where the writer likens such statements to “the inflammatory utterances that fanned the Rwandan genocide in 1994 where over one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed over an eight month period.”

The Guardian has two reports classified under this theme both of which indicate some remorse and condemnation of the xenophobic activities. The first is captured under the headline, “Zulu king denies triggering South Africa attacks” where *The Guardian* reports that the king “denied whipping up xenophobic hatred in South Africa after he was accused of triggering violence.” The second story is a feature written by a South African for the benefit of the Nigerian and international populace under the headline “Lest We Forget ... Africa’s Hospitality Liberated South Africa.” Within the article, the writer states, “THE recent xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa brought into focus the role African countries played in South Africa’s liberation. Some of the sentiments of our people got me worried and thinking just how little many South Africans know about the role the countries of these people we now have little regard for played in our liberation.”

V. Discussion and Conclusion

The frequency and diversity of reportage by the two selected online newspapers of the xenophobic incidents that occurred in South Africa depicted the reactions and actions of citizens within the papers’ home countries, international views as well as those of South Africans. While the reactions reported of the Zimbabwean people was one of condemnation, shock and even disgust; the reported South African reaction was intertwined with threats, abuses and the use of hate words. Though a number of the reports implied some form of reassurance and even shame, the South African Government was not reported to have taken any actions to address the loss of

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lives and property. *The Herald* reported that Zimbabwean citizens suffered in the hands of South Africans. The actions of the Zimbabwean Government were emphasized as a saviour of its people from the deadly hands of their oppressors through an action of the repatriation of its citizens. The agenda set by *The Herald* may have been to discourage Zimbabweans from migrating to South Africa by instilling fear in their minds while encouraging Zimbabweans in South Africa to consider coming back home. Through the action of the Zimbabwean Government of repatriation, the reassurance of a supportive government was projected to Zimbabweans within and outside the country.

The reaction of the Nigerian people and government as reported by *The Guardian* was based on the historical financial and political support given to South Africa and its people during their fight for liberation under the Apartheid Regime. This seemed to encourage actions of threats and demands followed by violent protests directed at the South African Government and interests in Nigeria. To diffuse these actions, *The Guardian* seemed to deliberately select news items that projected the South African people and Government's attempts at curbing the xenophobic violence and its affects. It also projected the actions and reactions of the Nigerian Government which was swift in its demands that xenophobic attacks against Nigerians and other nationals would not be tolerated. The agenda in this case was not set for the Nigerian people, but the South African Government and people indicating the displeasure of Nigeria as a country to its people being harmed by fellow Africans and making it known that retaliation would not be in the interest of South Africans and their investments within Nigeria.

It is obvious that the reactions of foreign nationals to xenophobia are very different from the reactions captured in the literature of South Africans. The concept of *Makwerekwere*, or a 'we against 'them' is obviously not shared by other African countries who rather believe in the spirit of 'Ubuntu' a concept of brotherhood. The belief that a shared identity was formed in Africa through shared histories of White oppression, slave trade, colonialism and apartheid. An

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oppression that could only be fought with the unified effort generated from within the African continent for the benefit of the African people. The reactions connote a sense of betrayal to this identity by the South African people who were assisted during their time of distress with financial and political support. It is based on this premise that African nationals' reaction to xenophobia is one of disgust, hurt and even anger. The action of the repatriation of their citizens by African governments is not only a show of displeasure but also a sense of the betrayal of a common identity.

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Appendix

I. Reports of Foreign Reactions to Xenophobia

Under this theme, the following headlines were recorded:

Cecil John Rhodes Fell, xenophobia must follow (*The Herald*, April 15, <http://www.herald.co.zw/cecil-john-rhodes-fell-xenophobia-must-follow/>)

<http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za>

Xenophobia and bloodshed in his majesty's kingdom (*The Herald*, April 16, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobia-and-bloodshed-in-his-majestys-kingdom/>)

South Africa obliged to act (*The Herald*, April 16, <http://www.herald.co.zw/south-africa-obliged-to-act/>)

ZANU PF condemns xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 16, <http://www.herald.co.zw/latest-zanu-pf-condemns-xenophobia/>)

The real foreigner is the economy. Stupid! (*The Herald*, April 17, <http://www.herald.co.zw/the-real-foreigner-is-the-economy-stupid/>)

Nigeria, U.S. decry violence against foreigners in S' Africa (*The Guardian*, April 17, <http://www.nguardiannews.com/2015/04/zimbabwe-to-bring-home-nationals-caught-in-s-africa-attacks/>)

SA xenophobia: AU speaks out (*The Herald*, April 17, <http://www.herald.co.zw/sa-xenophobia-au-speaks-out/>)

Xenophobia: Kenyan ambassador calls for tolerance (*The Herald*, April 17, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobia-kenyan-ambassador-calls-for-tolerance/>)

SA attacks expose ZIFA: Fans call for COSAFA Cup boycott (*The Herald*, April 18, <http://www.herald.co.zw/sa-attacks-expose-zifa/>)

Mugabe condemns anti-migrant attacks in South Africa (*The Guardian*, April 18, <http://www.nguardiannews.com/2015/04/mugabe-condemns-anti-migrant-attacks-in-south-africa/>)

Ambassador calls for calm (*The Herald*, April 20, <http://www.herald.co.zw/ambassador-calls-for-calm/>)

SADC urged to dialogue (*The Herald*, April 20, <http://www.herald.co.zw/sadc-urged-to-dialogue/>)

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Musicians pray for xenophobia victims (*The Herald*, April 20, <http://www.herald.co.zw/musicians-pray-for-xenophobia-victims/>)

South Africa reaches boiling point (*The Herald*, April 20, <http://www.herald.co.zw/south-africa-reaches-boiling-point/>)

SA afrophobia a legacy of white monopoly capitalism (*The Herald*, April 21, <http://www.herald.co.zw/sa-afrophobia-a-legacy-of-white-monopoly-capitalism/>)

BeritaKhumalo speaks on xenophobic attacks (*The Herald*, April 21, <http://www.herald.co.zw/berita-khumalo-speaks-on-xenophobic-attacks/>)

Youths threaten reprisal attacks on S'African interests in Nigeria: Nigerians who suffered losses may be compensated, says minister. MTN condemns attacks on foreigners (*The Guardian*, April 21, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/youths-threaten-reprisal-attacks-on-safrican-interests-in-nigeria/>)

Senators condemn xenophobic attacks, recall Nigeria's fight against apartheid (*The Guardian*, April 21, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/senators-condemn-xenophobic-attacks-recall-nigerias-fight-against-apartheid/>)

Kanengoni Malinga speaks on xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 22, <http://www.herald.co.zw/kanengoni-malinga-speaks-on-xenophobia/>)

Xenophobia victims narrate ordeal (*The Herald*, April 22, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobia-victims-narrate-ordeal/>)

Xenophobia: No word from big brother(s)? (*The Herald*, April 22, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobia-no-word-from-big-brothers/>)

Xenophobia Self -destructive (*The Herald*, April 23, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobia-self-destructive/>)

AIMS condemns xenophobic attacks (*The Herald*, April 23, <http://www.herald.co.zw/aims-condemns-xenophobic-attacks/>)

<http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za>

Xenophobia chokes bus operators (*The Herald*, April 24, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobiachokesbusoperators/>)

‘Major factor of Migration is unemployment’ (*The Guardian*, April 25, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/major-factor-of-migration-is-unemployment/>)

HIFA 2015 (*The Herald*, April 27)

Xenophobia and a united Africa (*The Guardian*, April 27, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/xenophobia-and-a-united-africa/>)

Of xenophobia and a quest for African renaissance (*The Guardian*, April 27, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/of-xenophobia-and-a-quest-for-african-renaissance/>)

Analysts hit back at Zuma comments (*The Herald*, April 28, <http://www.herald.co.zw/analystshitbackatzumacomments/>)

Xenophobia: Time Africans shared economic dreams (*The Herald*, April 28, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobiatimeafricansshareeconomicdreams/>)

Rep-elect urges dialogue over xenophobia in S’Africa (*The Guardian*, April 28, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/rep-elect-urges-dialogue-over-xenophobia-in-safrica/>)

Nigeria hasn’t recalled envoys from South Africa (*The Guardian*, April 28, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/nigeria-hasnt-recalled-envoys-from-south-africa-says-fg/>)

Africans must unite and fight xenophobia (*The Guardian*, April 28, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/africans-must-unite-and-fight-xenophobia/>)

Xenophobia, the rise of lunatic fringe (*The Herald*, April 29, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobiatheiseoflunaticfringe/>)

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Politicisation of tragedy (*The Herald*, April 29, <http://www.herald.co.zw/politicisationoftragedy/>)

Xenophobia: Women, children hit hardest (*The Herald*, April 30, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobiawomenchildrenhithardest/>)

President on xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 30, <http://www.herald.co.zw/president-on-xenophobia/>)

Stakeholders charge AU, ECOWAS on migrants rights (*The Guardian*, April 30, <http://www.nguardiannews.com/2015/04/stakeholders-charge-au-ecowas-on-migrants-rights/>)

II. Reports of South African Actions in Response to Xenophobia

The headlines reported under this theme include:

The anatomy of S. Africa xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 9, <http://www.herald.co.zw/the-anatomy-of-s-africa-xenophobia/>)

Zuma acts on xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 13, <http://www.herald.co.zw/zuma-acts-on-xenophobia/>)

Durban rocked by violent clashes (*The Herald*, April 14, <http://www.herald.co.zw/durban-rocked-by-violent-clashes/>)

XENOPHOBIA: SA cops, goons in street battles as five foreigners die (*The Herald*, April 15, <http://www.herald.co.zw/sa-cops-goons-in-street-battles-%E2%80%A2five-foreigners-killed-since-friday-%E2%80%A2concern-xenophobia-can-turn-genocidal/>)

South Africans march against attacks on foreigners (*The Guardian*, April 17, <http://www.nguardiannews.com/2015/04/south-africans-march-against-attacks-on-foreigners/>)

<http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za>

Unending xenophobic attacks in South Africa (*The Guardian*, April 18, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/unending-xenophobic-attacks-in-south-africa-2/>)

SAFA plans games to fight xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 20, <http://www.herald.co.zw/safa-plans-games-to-fight-xenophobia/>)

SA politicians demand arrests over Mozambican's murder (*The Herald*, April 20, <http://www.herald.co.zw/safa-plans-games-to-fight-xenophobia/>)

COSAFAs slam xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 20, <http://www.herald.co.zw/cosafa-slam-xenophobia/>)

Xenophobia: Zim woman decapitated (*The Herald*, April 20, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobia-zim-woman-decapitated/>)

South Africa plans football matches against xenophobia (*The Guardian*, April 20, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/south-africa-plans-football-matches-against-xenophobia/>)

Uneasy calm in Johannesburg after anti-immigrant riots (*The Guardian*, April 20, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/uneasy-calm-in-johannesburg-after-anti-immigrant-riots/>)

South Africa to deploy army over xenophobic attacks (*The Guardian*, April 21, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/south-africa-to-deploy-army-over-xenophobic-attacks/>)

Zim pair gunned down in S. Africa (*The Herald*, April 22, <http://www.herald.co.zw/zim-pair-gunned-down-in-s-africa/>)

Zuma vows action over immigrant attacks as army deployed (*The Guardian*, April 22, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/zuma-vows-action-over-immigrant-attacks-as-army-deployed/>)

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11 arrested in S. African police and army raid (*The Guardian*, April 22, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/11-arrested-in-s-african-police-and-army-raid/>)

Thousands march for peace in Jo'burg (*The Herald*, April 24)

South Africans march against xenophobia (*The Guardian*, April 24, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/south-africans-march-against-xenophobia/>)

Murder most foul (*The Herald*, April 25, <http://www.herald.co.zw/murdermostfoul/>)

Big Nuz finally agrees to come (*The Herald*, April 27, <http://www.herald.co.zw/bignuzfinallyagreestocome/>)

Latest: Police announce end of xenophobia in KZN (*The Herald*, April 28, <http://www.herald.co.zw/latestpoliceannounceendofxenophobiainkzn/>)

Xenophobia victims named (*The Herald*, April 29, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobiavictimsnamed/>)

Xenophobic content to be taken offline (*The Herald*, April 30, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobiccontenttobetakenoffline/>)

III. Reports of Foreign Actions against Xenophobia

Under this theme the following headlines were recorded:

800 Zimbabweans displaced, 1 dead in SA xenophobic attacks – Government ready to evacuate citizens (*The Herald*, April 16, <http://www.herald.co.zw/800zimbabweansdisplaced1dead/>)

Malawi to evacuate citizens from South Africa (*The Guardian*, April 16, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/malawi-to-evacuate-citizens-from-south-africa/>) Zimbabwe to bring home nationals caught in S. Africa attacks (*The Herald*, April 17, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/zimbabwe-to-bring-home-nationals-caught-in-s-africa-attacks/>)

<http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za>

A moment of silence to xenophobia victims (*The Herald*, April 18, <http://www.herald.co.zw/a-moment-of-silence-to-xenophobia-victims/>)

Zim sets up xenophobia victim centre (*The Herald*, April 18, <http://www.herald.co.zw/zim-sets-up-xenophobia-victim-centre/>)

NANS gives South African government 7 days ultimatum to stop xenophobic attacks (*The Guardian*, April 18, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/nans-gives-south-african-government-7-days-ultimatum-to-stop-xenophobic-attacks/>)

400 repatriated from S. Africa (*The Herald*, April 20, <http://www.herald.co.zw/400-repatriated-from-s-africa/>)

Group seeks compensation for victims of xenophobic attacks (*The Guardian*, April 20, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/group-seeks-compensation-for-victims-of-xenophobic-attacks/>)

Jah Prayzah defends video (*The Herald*, April 21, <http://www.herald.co.zw/jah-prayzah-defends-video/>)

Protesters threaten South African interests in Nigeria (*The Guardian*, April 21, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/protesters-threaten-south-african-interests-in-nigeria/>)

Xenophobia: First batch arrives (*The Herald*, April 21, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobia-first-batch-arrives/>)

Church condemns xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 22, <http://www.herald.co.zw/church-condemns-xenophobia/>)

FG moves to end attacks on Nigerians in S' Africa (*The Guardian*, April 22, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/fg-moves-to-end-attacks-on-nigerians-in-safrica/>)

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Zimbabweans fleeing S. Africa attacks face bleak future (*The Guardian*, April 22, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/zimbabweans-fleeing-s-africa-attacks-face-bleak-future/>)

More flee xenophobic attacks (*The Herald*, April 23, <http://www.herald.co.zw/more-flee-xenophobic-attacks/>)

Charambas cancel SA tour over xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 23, <http://www.herald.co.zw/charambas-cancel-sa-tour-over-xenophobia/>)

FG summons S' Africa's High Commissioner over attacks: Lagos consulate office shut. Senate wants Zulu king dragged to ICC (*The Guardian*, April 23, <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com/2015/04/fg-summons-safricas-high-commissioner-over-attacks/>)

Christians hold antixenophobia prayers (*The Herald*, April 24, <http://www.herald.co.zw/christiansholdantixenophobiaprayers/>)

Xenophobia: Last six buses arrive (*The Herald*, April 25, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobiaalastsixbusesarrive/>)

South African shops in Malawi shut in xenophobia boycott (*The Herald*, April 25, <http://www.herald.co.zw/southafricanshopsinmalawishutinxenophobiaboycott/>)

Comedians blasts xenophobia in drama (*The Herald*, April 28, <http://www.herald.co.zw/comediansblastsxenophobiaindrama/>)

IV. Reports of South African Reactions to Xenophobia

Under this theme are the following headlines:

Zuma assures foreigners over xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 6, <http://www.herald.co.zw/zuma-assures-foreigners-over-xenophobia/>)

<http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za>

Zuma's son: Govt must stop unnecessarily accommodating foreign nationals (*The Herald*, April 14, <http://www.herald.co.zw/zumas-son-govt-must-stop-unnecessarily-accommodating-foreign-nationals/>)

'With heads bowed in shame' (*The Herald*, April 15, <http://www.herald.co.zw/with-heads-bowed-in-shame/>)

Xenophobic thugs: 'We'll burn you alive' (*The Herald*, April 15, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobia-in-south-africa/>)

SAFA condemns xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 17, <http://www.herald.co.zw/safa-condemns-xenophobia/>)

Zwelithini likens immigrants to lice, ants (*The Herald*, April 17, <http://www.herald.co.zw/zwelithini-likens-immigrants-to-lice-ants/>)

Zulu king denies triggering South Africa attacks (*The Guardian*, April 20, <http://www.nguardiannews.com/2015/04/zulu-king-denies-triggering-south-africa-attacks/>)

We must be ashamed: Malema (*The Herald*, April 21, <http://www.herald.co.zw/we-must-be-ashamed-malema/>)

Lest We Forget... Africa's hospitality liberated South Africa (*The Guardian*, April 26, <http://www.nguardiannews.com/2015/04/lest-we-forget-africas-hospitality-liberated-south-africa/>)

Xenophobic thugs: 'We'll burn you alive' (*The Herald*, April 27, <http://www.herald.co.zw/xenophobicthugswellburnyoualive/>)

Zuma to brief SADC on xenophobia (*The Herald*, April 28, <http://www.herald.co.zw/zumatobriefsadconxenophobia/>)