

FRAMING OF THE SAN PEOPLE BY THE NAMIBIAN PRINT MEDIA

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS IN MEDIA STUDIES

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

BY

MOSES E.D. MAGADZA

200844563

MARCH 2016

MAIN SUPERVISOR: PROF E. AKPABIO

CO-SUPERVISOR: DR RUTH ABANKWAH

DEDICATION

To my mother Rosemary, Morlen, Andra and Joshua who quietly submitted to a life of extreme deprivation while I skidded over the banana skins of postgraduate studies to increase my scarcity value. To Andra and Joshua: Thus far has the Lord helped me. May the ceiling of my academic exploits be your footholds! Live long and prosper.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have been completed were it not for the help and encouragement I got from many people and institutions. A few deserve special mention: Nuran; my supervisors, Prof Eno Akapabio and Dr Ruth Abankwah; Dr Tom Fox who supervised my BA Honours in Media Studies mini thesis and laid the foundations upon which I am trying to build on through further studies; Dr. Catherine Chipo Amoo who prayed for me and my entire family while helping me locate relevant literature; the inimitable Prof John Ernest Odada who initiated me into university education and made it his mission in life to closely monitor my progress; Prof Percy Chimwamurombe who made me believe that the sky is the beginning; my friends who kept inspiring me through their incredible work ethics; the University of Namibia managers; my family and the Great Omniscient Being above for all the guidance and protection.

DECLARATION

I, Moses E.D. Magadza, declare that the study “FRAMING OF THE SAN PEOPLE BY THE NAMIBIAN PRINT MEDIA” is a true reflection of my own research and that this work or part thereof has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

No part of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in any retrieved system, or transmitted in any form or by means (e.g. electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior permission of the author, or the University of Namibia. I, Moses E.D. Magadza, grant the University of Namibia the right to reproduce this thesis in whole or in part, in any manner or format, which the University of Namibia may deem fit, for any person or institution requiring it for study and research; providing that the University of Namibia shall waive this right if the whole thesis has been or is being published in a manner not satisfactory to the University.

.....
Moses E.D. Magadza

Date

ABSTRACT

This largely qualitative and partly quantitative study is a critical analysis of the representation of San people of Namibia in selected stories published in *The Namibian*, *New Era*, *Informanté*, *The Southern Times*, *The Villager*, *The Windhoek Observer* and *Namibian Sun* newspapers over two years from January 2012 to December 2013. The aim was to evaluate the economic, socio-cultural and political situation of the San people as reported by the seven newspapers. A purposive sampling technique was used to select the stories. Content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA) were used to analyse data and point out binaries and dichotomies inherent in selected articles. The framing theory and CDA informed the study. Recurrent themes from the literature review were compared and contrasted with media stories. The study found that media coverage of San people and issues that affected them was grossly inadequate, and that San people were a peripheral ethnic group when it came to access to health, media rights, education, land, self-identity and dignity. It also found that the media glossed over San-related issues. It concludes that there was a disconnection between non-journalistic writers and the media on San issues. San people were heterogeneous yet the media treated them as homogenous. Balanced reportage of issues that affect San people was conspicuously absent. Much of the reportage was event-driven, lacking analysis and balance. The study recommends a revision of the intermediary role of the media, journalistic ethics and a shift from symptoms to causes and viable solutions. It further recommends new media discourses that shift from stereotyping to a discourse that restores and upholds the identity of San people.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
DECLARATION	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VI
LIST OF FIGURES.....	XI
LIST OF TABLES	XII
ACRONYMS.....	XIII
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Orientation of the study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	3
1.3 Objectives of the study.....	4
1.4 Significance of the study.....	5
1.5 Limitations of the Study	5
1.6 Conclusion	6
1.7 Definition of terms and concepts.....	6
CHAPTER TWO	9
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	9

2.0 Introduction	9
2.1 Theoretical framework	9
2.2 Introducing the Republic of Namibia	12
2.3 The San people of Namibia	14
2.4 Things from the bush?	23
2.5 The role of the film industry in determining San identity	24
2.6 A crisis of identity and stereotypes.....	28
2.7 The role of the media	33
 CHAPTER THREE	 36
 METHODOLOGY	 36
3.0 Introduction	36
3.1 Research design.....	36
3.2 Methodology.....	36
3.2.1 Quantitative Content Analysis	37
3.2.2 Population	37
3.2.3 Selection and Sample (Content Analysis)	38
3.2.4 Applying content analysis	39
3.2.5 Applying Critical Discourse Analysis.....	40
3.3 Analysis and Coding Schedule.....	45
 CHAPTER FOUR.....	 50
 DATA PRESENTATION	 50
4.0 Introduction	50
4.1 Number of Articles per Publication per year	51
4.2 Thematic Categorisation.....	53

4.2.1 <i>The Namibian Newspaper</i>	54
4.2.2 <i>New Era Newspaper</i>	57
4.2.3 <i>The Namibian Sun</i>	59
4.2.4 <i>The Southern Times</i>	61
4.2.5 <i>The Villager</i>	63
4.2.6 <i>Windhoek Observer</i>	65
4.2.7 <i>Informanté</i>	67
CHAPTER FIVE	73
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	73
5.0 Introduction	73
5.1 'Things from the bush'- framed identity and stereotype	75
5.1.1 Othering	77
5.1.2 Generalisation and Collectivisation	78
5.1.3 Glossing over real issues	81
5.1.4 Representational strategies	82
5.1.5 Agency and causality	85
5.1.6 Exploitation of San culture	87
5.1.7 Stereotyping and generalisation	88
5.2 Marginalisation and exclusion	90
5.2.1 Names as devices	91
5.2.2. Injustice	93
5.2.3 Majoring the minor	94
5.2.4 Commercial vs Social issues	99
5.2.5 Ambiguity, avoidance and concealment	101

5.2.6 Muted, missing voices	103
5.3 Land question.....	107
5.3.1 Ignored history of dispossession.....	107
5.3.2 Ideological framing.....	110
5.3.3 Transitivity	112
5.3.4 Deliberate omissions?	114
5.4 Education	118
5.4.1 Issues of access.....	119
5.4.2 Unclear needs.....	122
5.4.3 Omission and avoidance.....	123
5.4.4 Hard to reach San	126
5.5 Social and Health Issues	127
5.5.1 Inadequate coverage?	129
5.5.2 Obscuring agency	133
5.5.3 Overlexicalisation	134
5.5.4 Coverage of gender issues	137
5.5.5 The forgotten children.....	139
CHAPTER SIX.....	141
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	141
6.0 Introduction	141
6.1 Conclusion.....	141
6.2 Addition to scholarship.....	144
6.3 Recommendations.....	145
REFERENCES	149

APPENDIX A..... 158

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Map of the Republic of Namibia	14
Figure 2.2: The San of Namibia	19
Figure 4.1: Publication Comparison 2012 vs 2013	52
Figure 4.2: Percentage coverage by Publications.....	53
Figure 4.3: Articles in <i>The Namibian</i> by Themes (2012-2013)	56
Figure 4.4: Percentage Coverage of Themes by <i>The Namibian</i> (2012-2013).....	57
Figure 4.5: percentage coverage of themes by the <i>New Era</i> (2012-2013).....	59
Figure 4.6: Percentage Coverage of Themes by <i>The Namibian Sun</i> (2012-2013).....	61
Figure 4.7: Percentage Coverage of Themes by <i>The Southern Times</i> (2012-2013).....	63
Figure 4.8: Percentage Coverage of Themes by <i>The Villager</i> (2012-2013)	65
Figure 4.9: Percentage Coverage of Themes by the <i>Windhoek Observer</i> (2012-2013).....	67
Figure 4.10: Percentage Coverage of Themes by <i>Informanté</i> (2012-2013).....	69
Figure 4.11: Summary of Thematic Coverage for all Publications (2012-2013).....	70
Figure 4.12: Summary of Thematic Coverage by Publication (2012-2013).....	71

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1 Articles per publication per year	51
Table 4.2 Thematic Categorisation for <i>The Namibian</i>	55
Table 4.3 Thematic Categorisation for <i>New Era</i>	59
Table 4 4 Thematic Categorisation for <i>The Namibian Sun</i>	60
Table 4.5: Thematic Categorisation for <i>The Southern Times</i>	62
Table 4.6: Thematic Categorisation for <i>The Villager</i>	64
Table 4.7: Thematic Categorisation for the <i>Windhoek Observer</i>	66
Table 4-8: Thematic Categorisation for <i>Informanté</i>	68

ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CA	Content Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
NSFP	National School Feeding Programme
NBC	Namibia Broadcasting Corporation
NFC	Namibia Film Commission
NSDO	Namibia San Development Organisation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter positions the study by presenting its orientation and highlighting the research gap. The chapter also outlines the objectives and the significance of the study. It goes further to explain the limitations that were encountered in carrying out the study. The chapter ends with definitions of key terms and concepts that were used in this study.

1.1 Orientation of the study

Studies conducted by Avison and Meadows (2000) in Australia show that non-indigenous voices outnumber those of indigenous people in the mass media. In Namibia, various scholars that include Hitchcock, Ikeya, Biesele and Lee (2006), Suzman (2001), Dan and Mosimane (2010), Dieckmann (2007), Gordon and Douglas (2000) and Sylvain (2002) have written extensively about San people.

They generally seem to agree that the condition of San people in Namibia is dire, marked as it is by marginalisation, alterity and poverty. The belief that San people were marginalised was shared by President Hifikepunye Pohamba who once called for the inclusion of San people in the academic world (Haifiku, 2013).

However, it was unclear how often stories about San people or issues that affect them appeared in the media or whether enough was being done to highlight their plight in the print media. This study attempts to fill this knowledge gap.

Gordon and Douglas (2000) argue that the identity of the San in Namibia has been interfered with through alterity, which basically means that the identity that the San have is one that was created and imposed from outside; firstly by colonialism which characterised them as primitive and untameable, secondly by apartheid in which they were stereotyped as two legged bloodhounds or trackers and, thirdly by postcolonial discourses.

Hitchcock, Ikeya, Biesele and Lee (2006) note that the San people, who are referred to by different names depending on who is writing or speaking about them, have for many years been portrayed in contradictory ways. These authors observe that, to some people, the San people represent the image of life like that of humanity's ancestors which was marked by hunting and gathering, while to others, the San people stand for apartheid's most oppressed victims or marginalised minorities.

Hitchcock, Ikeya, Biesele and Lee (2006) estimate that there are approximately 100 000 San people in various countries of southern Africa, Namibia included. This implies that the San people form a significant part of the populations of the countries in which they live. Given that all constitutions of the countries in which the San people live (including Namibia) guarantee freedom of the press, it is safe to argue that the San people should be entitled to the right to freedom of expression and access to the media as enshrined in the Constitution.

Hitchcock, Ikeya, Biesele and Lee (2006) observe that while some of the San people have continued with their trademark lifestyle of hunting and gathering, many have been absorbed into capitalist structures in which they have taken up menial jobs, usually as farm labourers. There are, however, scattered success stories of some San people in different parts of southern Africa engaging in entrepreneurial ventures that include small-scale agriculture and

livestock production (Hitchcock, Ikeya, Biesele & Lee, 2006). There are also some instances in which some governments that include Namibia and Botswana have developed policies ostensibly to support the San people (Sylvain, 2002).

These interventions notwithstanding, it remained unclear how the Namibian print media had reported on the situation of the Namibian San people. According to Suzman (2001), the San people still experience a lot of challenges. This author argues that very few San people have rights to land. As a result, many of them do not stay in one place and are economically dependent.

With respect to education, Suzman (2001) reports that many of the San people are illiterate and feel alienated because they are under-represented in government structures, as well as in local and regional elected bodies. Similarly, Diekmann (2007) observes that the San of Namibia remain one of the most marginalised groups of people. With little access to formal employment, most San people rely heavily on social networks to re-distribute scarce resources to survive.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Whereas it is an officially acknowledged and generally widely accepted fact that the San people of Namibia are marginalised and need help (Haufiku 2013), specific details of their plight and what needs to be done to alleviate their plight appear to be conspicuously absent from the country's main print media. The media can safely be described as the loudest discourse.

According to Dijk (2000), all over the world the media do more than just conveying

information. Indeed, through representation, the media can form public opinion on a variety of issues including marginalized communities. In the case of Namibia, one can postulate that by not highlighting the voices and the plight of marginalized communities, the media can render such communities invisible and therefore irrelevant. This is because the media are an important means to convey information and to inform opinion in any country (Cottle, 2000). Accordingly, how the media report about the San people in Namibia can have either a positive or a negative impact on the lives of this underprivileged group. Stories about the San people have seldom appeared in the Namibian print media, and it appears that the print media do not go out of its way to look for stories on the plight of the San people (Jeursen, 1995; Biesele & Hitchcock, 2008).

In other parts of the world, minority and marginalised communities such as the Aborigines have always struggled to gain fair access and representation in the mainstream media (Avison & Meadows, 2000; Ang, 1990). This research, therefore, sought to generate information on how the main Namibian print media engaged with the San, who, like the Aborigines of Australia, are also classified as marginalised indigenous people (Gordon & Douglas, 2000) to determine to what extent the media assisted in changing the negative identity of San people in Namibia to another, or confirmed it. In examining this, this research was guided by the concept of journalistic media ethics.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The broad objective of this study was to generate information on how the print media in Namibia was reporting on the San people in the country and issues affecting them. Specifically, this study sought to:

- Investigate how the Namibian print media portrayed the San people in Namibia;
- Establish the frequency with which the print media covered Namibia-based San-related issues; and
- Recommend ways in which the San and issues affecting them could be covered in the print media.

1.4 Significance of the study

This study highlights the manner in which the San people living in Namibia and issues related to them were covered by the Namibian print media. The manner in which the media portray the San in Namibia is an area that has not been covered by previous studies (Suzman, 2000, Suzman, 2001, Dan., 2010, Gordon & Douglas, 2000). Findings from this study may be used to make recommendations with respect to how the Namibian print media can effectively report on issues affecting this community. Elsewhere, media coverage of marginalised communities has influenced governments' and other stakeholders' policies towards such communities (Avison & Meadows, 2000). Similarly, this study makes recommendations that may improve the professionalism of journalists' coverage of the San people in Namibia based on the research findings.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on print media publications written in English, leaving out those that were reported in other languages such as Afrikaans and German. Due to the complexity and sensitivity of the subject in question, selecting appropriate stories suitable for either Content

Analysis or Critical Discourse Analysis was done as per the researcher's own judgment which might have left out some stories which others might feel fall under either Content Analysis or Critical Discourse Analysis. This study is limited on what the papers have written as juxtaposed with what non-journalist researchers have unveiled, and not what the San people have said.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter contextualised this study by presenting its orientation. It highlighted the research gap that this study sought to fill. The chapter also outlined the objectives of the study and justified the study by explaining why it was done. The limitations of the study were presented in this chapter. This chapter ends with the definition of key terms and concepts that are used in the study. The next chapter examines literature related to the topic under investigation.

1.7 Definition of terms and concepts

This section operationalises terms and concepts that are used in this study.

- Alterity: A situation in which the identity of a people is created and imposed from outside causing a feeling of otherness.
- Post-colonial: After Namibia's political independence in 1990.
- San: Bushmen; physically small, brown complexioned hunter gatherers of Namibia and parts of southern Africa.
- Poverty: A state of deprivation; having little or no money, goods or

means of support.

- Identity: Fact of being whom or what a person is; a set of characteristics by which one is known.
- Stigma: A mark of disgrace associated with a particular person or group of people.
- Marginalisation: The process of treating a person or people as insignificant or confining them to the fringes of society.
- Empowerment: Increasing the educational, socio-economic and other rights issues of a person or community.
- Stereotype: Formulaic, oversimplified image of a person or group of people.
- Balanced reporting: Presenting all sides of a story to ensure fairness.
- Symbolic annihilation: The absence of representation or underrepresentation of San people of Namibia in the media.
- Print media: Newspapers.
- Agency: The capacity of individual readers to act independently and make their own decisions with respect to what they read in the media.
- Discourse: Written news articles and the meaning behind them.

- Framing: Representation of San people in the media
- Social subjects or participants: Terms commonly referring to the people in the stories in Critical Discourse Analysis

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

Bell (1993) defines literature review as a process of reading what other researchers have written about one's area of interest. Similarly, Kothari (2011) states that literature review enables the researcher to know what information related to his or her proposed study is available. This helps the researcher to identify gaps that his or her research might fill. It also provides material to support or refute the researcher's arguments. This section presents what other researchers have written about Namibia, the San people in Namibia, their conditions of living, and the role the media play in society in portraying and reporting on marginal groups. Such literature assisted this researcher in conceptualising and planning this study. This researcher read books, peer-reviewed journal articles and internet sources to appreciate what other scholars have written about San people in Namibia and other marginalised communities in other parts of the world such as the Aborigines of Australia. This section looks also at the background of the San people; factors affecting their identity; the plight and general life conditions of Namibian San; an overview of the mass media, especially the print media; the role of the print media in Namibia; the theoretical framework that underpinned this study; and what Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is.

2.1 Theoretical framework

This section looks at the theoretical framework that underpins this study. This research was guided by the framing theory of the media. Kitzinger (2007) says that, apart from informing,

educating and entertaining the public, the media can influence the way people see events or issues through a process known as ‘framing.’ The above-mentioned author describes framing as a process in which reality is organised, events are categorised in certain ways while paying attention to some aspects rather than others. According McCombs *et al.*, (1997), when the media concentrate on an issue, people get the impression that whatever that issue is important. This theory was useful during this research as this researcher could use it as a lens when analysing the various articles that have been written about the San people of Namibia by selected Namibian print media.

De Vreese (2005) notes that an increasing number of people is turning to the news media for information. The above-cited author says that framing of events and issues in specific ways is one of the ways in which the media may succeed in influencing and shaping public opinion. Similarly, Entman (2007) has defined framing as a way of arranging elements of perceived reality to promote a particular view.

Framing, therefore, can also be defined as the process of defining issues that merit public or official attention. Entman (2007) suggests that agenda setting can be seen as the first successful step towards framing. From the foregoing, it is safe to postulate that framing can focus on the traits of a political candidate, the conditions in which members of a particular community live, topical world events such as climate change, genetically modified food, gender-based violence and maternal mortality.

According to McCombs and Ghanem (2001), framing normally does three things: it highlights the causes of problems, it encourages moral judgments and associated responses, and it promotes favoured policies. While acknowledging that the media has the power to set

a nation's agenda and focus on specific issues, McCombs and Ghaahem (2001) argue that the media alone cannot determine the public agenda. They contend that "Information and cues about object and attribute salience provided by the news media are far from the only determinants of the public agenda" (McCombs & Ghaahem, 2001, p. 8).

One can say that this is because members of the public are generally wise enough to independently determine in which direction their nation is going as well as the welfare of their local communities.

McCombs and Ghaahem (2001) posit that, although the media can present information and facts to the public, the same public can immediately determine which of the information being presented to them is relevant to them. The media can, therefore, set the agenda only when members of the public consider the news that they provide as relevant.

To support the view that some members of the public have agency and can make up their own minds in spite of what appears in the media, McCombs and Ghaahem (2001) cite as an example the failure to sway public opinion of the Clinton-Lewinski scandal as an example of the limits of media influence and framing. The authors argue that "Overwhelmingly, the United States public rejected the relevance of that scandal as the basis of their opinion about the presidents' success or failure in governance" (McCombs & Ghaahem, 2001 pp. 8-9).

Nevertheless, McCombs and Ghaahem (2001) concede that extensive coverage of crime and violence at one university in the United States contributed to the decline in enrolment among first years, especially female students.

It can be said from the foregoing that the media wields immense potential to influence

public and other perceptions through the manner in which they frame news. This is why it was important to undertake this research to throw light on how the San people of Namibia were being reported in the main print media publications in Namibia. This research enabled the researcher to draw informed conclusions with respect to issues related to the representation of the San people in the media. Such issues included accuracy (whereby identifiable sources are used and facts are presented as opposed to conjecture); balance (which entails multiple sources in which alternative voices and opinions are presented while relevant captions, headlines and photographs are used); exclusion and depersonalisation (in which generalised numbers are used) and stereotypes were used.

Framing can also lead to criminalisation through labelling and attribution of certain negative traits to certain people (Maneri & ter Wal, 2005). Knowledge of this practice enabled the researcher to identify instances in which specific types of reportage had the potential to criminalise the San people of Namibia.

2.2 Introducing the Republic of Namibia

This study was done in the Republic of Namibia. This section presents a brief overview of the country to place the study in geographical context.

According to Niall (2011), the Republic of Namibia is in southern Africa. As of 2011, Namibia had a population of approximately 2.18 million people occupying an area of 824,116 square kilometres. This implies that the country had a population density of about two people per square kilometre (Naill, 2011). Young people aged below 15 accounted for about 43% of the population, while less than 4% of the population was over the age of 65 years by 2011 (Naill, 2011).

At the time of this study the country was facing a plethora of challenges, including unemployment, poverty, gender-based violence and a relatively high incidence of HIV and AIDS, which by 2011 had reduced total life expectancy to 51.6 years and the population growth rate to 2.6% per annum, while approximately 60% of the population lived in the rural areas (Naill, 2011).

According to the Sowman and Cardoso (2010), mining, tourism, agriculture and fisheries are among the country's economic drivers. Although Namibia is classified as an upper middle income country (Sowman and Cardoso, 2010), it has one of the highest income inequalities in the world with a Gini coefficient of 0.7 (Frederick, 2009).

Namibia has a relatively good network of telecommunication and road infrastructure, ports and railway system which are key in attracting foreign direct investment. Nevertheless, the country faces a high unemployment rate of about 51.2%, with 27.6% of the general population considered to be poor, out of which 13.8% are considered extremely poor (Naill, 2011). The San people of Namibia, whose representation in the main print media was examined in this study, fall into the category of these extremely poor people.

In answer to the plight of the generality of Namibians and to spur development, the Government of the Republic of Namibia has developed a national development blueprint called Vision 2030 (Zere *et al.*, 2004). The objectives of Vision 2030 are, among others, to ensure the equitable provision of health care, education and reduction of poverty (Zere *et al.*, 2004). Namibia is divided into 14 administrative regions.

has fortunately become rare in public discourse on San people, but its implications, one may argue, are still prevalent in the attitude and treatment of the San people today.

Like on the vast majority of African people, colonial contact had its pernicious and debilitating effects on the San people. In *A History of Namibia*, Wallace (2014) points out that one of the immediate consequences of colonial rule was the disruption of San society, and the loss of both economic independence and cultural affinity to their rock art tradition. According to Wallace (2014), unlike other social groups which have gone a long way in socio-economic-cum-political emancipation, the San's developmental potential has remained thwarted and it is commonly blamed on the myth that 'they are San', a stigma whose epidermisation by the San people equals self-negation, self-hatred and self-rejection. This has rather enlivened the potency of San poverty and the accompanying multidimensional depravity of this citizenry of all the requisite essence of meaningful living.

Essentially, many writers argue that the San people of Namibia are victims of the way that colonialism and apartheid shaped their identity. The above authors, for example, seem to agree that as a consequence of this colonial framing and characterisation, the San people are generally regarded as primitive and untameable. This is perhaps because the San people were never any good at working under the contract labour system in Namibia (Winterfeldt, Fox & Mufune, 2002). The San were the last people anyone would employ on a farm or mine because there was a belief that they were not cut for the modern world. It is safe to argue that perhaps this belief gave rise to a policy under which the San people were confined to game reserves like Etosha in Namibia.

It appears that the apartheid system approved the San people's culture and maintained the

arguably silly belief that the way the San people lived epitomised the way Africans in general lived hundreds of years ago. Small wonder, therefore, that the apartheid system seemingly denied the San people development and let them practise their 'traditional culture' in remote areas that included Tsumkwe. Suzman (2000) and Gordon and Douglas (2000) contend that this created a picture of the San people as primitive, traditional or even possibly stupid which became widespread even after independence among some Namibians – white and black. These authors argue that because this picture has persisted, the San people have, to a very large extent, been denied development and continue to trudge through life with the worst social problems.

Suzman (2002) notes that as a community, the San people in Namibia are in a terrible state. Perhaps one of the reasons why the San people in Namibia appear to have been generally neglected is that they were used as trackers by the South African Defence Force during the war of liberation (Gordon & Douglas, 2000). It is safe to say that it is possible that there are sections of contemporary Namibian society that have never forgiven the San people for their association with a vicious, near genocidal military unit at whose hands many Namibians died.

As alluded to earlier, Gordon and Douglas (2000) and Suzman (2000) maintain that the San people in Namibia suffer from alterity or an identity crisis. In other words, the image of the San people of Namibia has been interfered with and negatively altered. One can say that it has been created and imposed on them from outside. This study also seeks to examine the genesis of this identity crisis and show whether the media in Namibia have tried to challenge that identity. More specifically, this study set out to determine to what extent this image has persisted or has been challenged by the media as well as to determine the extent

to which the issues that affect the San people of Namibia have been highlighted or swept under the carpet through reportage.

Suzman (2001) states that the population of the San in Namibia is estimated at around 33 000. Anaya (2013), on the other hand, estimates the number of San people in Namibia to be close to 37 000. Very few San have rights to land. As a result, many San people do not stay in one place and are economically dependent. Dan (2010) states that the San people are among the most marginalised in Namibia. Dan adds that many San people feel alienated because they are under-represented in government structures as well as in local and regional bodies.

Dieckman (2007) further notes that the San people, especially those found in the Etosha area, are also known as the Hai||om. Available literature produced by various authors clearly shows that the San people in Namibia are not a homogenous community. Indeed, according to Longden (2004), Namibia is home to distinct San communities with distinct languages, traditions, customs and histories. Some of these unique San groups include the Hai//om, Khwe,! Kung, Ju/'hoansi, Naro and N/u. This puts paid to the seemingly simplistic view that the San people of Namibia are a homogenous group with the same history, challenges and needs. Over the years, this researcher has observed San traditional dance groups performing to amuse and entertain people at gatherings that include the University of Namibia graduation ceremonies and independence days. Invariably, the director of ceremony introduces the dancers simply as "San dancers," with no attempt to explain from which San ethnic group they are from. This creates the mistaken belief that all San people are the same. This implies that the San have multiple identities and this study seeks also to explain how such identities came about and to what extent the Namibian reportage

encompasses these multiple identities.

Dan *et al.*, (2010) concur that the San people are among the most marginalised in Namibia and, because of their limited access to modern services such as health facilities and others, the San have relied on indigenous knowledge for survival. According to Suzman (2001), the San people do not stay in one place and are economically dependent. With respect to education, Suzman (2001) reports that an estimated 20% of the San people are illiterate. The above author adds that the San people were for a long time the sole occupants of pre-colonial Namibia until Bantu-speaking people thronged the country and dominated them, employing some of them as slaves. By 1990, an overwhelming number of San people had neither access nor rights to land and were very poor. Their condition has not improved, according to Anaya (2005).

The above author notes that consequently, large numbers of San depend on a variety of unreliable resources for their sustenance. The most important is food aid, which is only delivered sporadically and has been known to be 'lost' en-route and is barely adequate even when it reaches its destination.



Figure 2.2: The San of Namibia

Source: earthpeoples.org

Data provided by the Emergency Management Unit (EMU) indicates that between 17 000 and 22 000 San currently depend on government food aid and the cabinet has directed that the San should be supported indefinitely by food-for-work programmes and other welfare schemes” (Suzman, 2001, p.7).

Due to their living conditions, some San people have resorted to alcohol abuse, leading to other social problems that include domestic violence and crime committed mostly while they are under the influence. According to Dieckmann (2007), the living conditions of the San people in Namibia have continued to deteriorate over the years and, with little access to formal employment, most San people rely heavily on social networks to re-distribute scarce resources to survive. In light of this predicament, one may argue that it is only through constant and immediate coverage that the San’s condition could be uplifted. Has the

Namibian print media done enough to bring out the plight of this social group? This is one such crucial questions this study answers.

Suzman (2001) states that, although the Government of the Republic of Namibia and non-governmental organisations have tried to get San children into school, few remain enrolled. The author says there are a variety of reasons for this. One of them is cultural. The San do not have a culture of formal education and so when a San child drops out of school, the parents do not interfere. Many San children find it culturally traumatic to leave their lifestyle to join the formal education system. Distances from where the San people stay to school have also been cited as a deterrent. Ideas to build San boarding schools have generally not succeeded as few of the San parents are prepared to let their children leave home and go to such facilities.

According to Suzman (2001), the San people seldom beat up their children even as part of socialisation or to discipline them. However, corporal punishment is still widely practised in some Namibian rural schools. This discourages some San learners from attending school. The attitude of fellow learners such as bullying has also discouraged some San learners from attending school.

It is important to reiterate that the San people of Namibia are considered among the first group of people to occupy Namibia, according to Biesele and Hitchcock (2011). The San people found in Namibia are considered to be the second largest grouping of San people in Southern Africa, the largest being in Botswana, according to Lee (2003.)

The other groups include the Himba (a group of pastoral nomads that roam the hard to reach Opuwo area in the Kunene Region in search of water and grazing with their many cattle and

goats), the Ovazemba, the Ovatjimba and the Ovatue. As already indicated, the above-mentioned disadvantaged groups own varying quantities of livestock from which they get meat and milk. According to Anaya (2013), these ethnic groups have indicated a willingness to be integrated into the mainstream Namibian society and to be given a platform upon which to determine their own socioeconomic development trajectory.

However, the San people do not own land, do not own livestock and generally have no say over natural resources that sustain them since they are originally hunter gatherers. This makes the San people of Namibia the worst off of the country's indigenous people, hence the decision to focus on the manner in which the media report about them on issues that affect them.

According to Suzman (2001), the Government of the Republic of Namibia has tried to develop policies to enable some San people to benefit meaningfully from the resources found in the areas in which they live. It also became necessary to determine, through this study, the manner and effort in which the Namibian print media were discussing their editorial policies and covering their implementation or otherwise.

Anaya (2013) contends that ethnic groups that are officially recognised as disadvantaged, including the San people, have expressed disquiet over apparent exclusion from decision-making at local and national levels because they are regarded as lesser mortals. However, it was not clear how the print media in Namibia reflected this discontent through their reportage and this is one of the reasons why this study was carried out to fill this knowledge gap.

The Government of the Republic of Namibia has, through its Ministry of Education,

developed policies to bring about equitable access to primary education (Wolfaardt, 2001). Some of the policies advocate for mother-tongue instruction as well as culturally appropriate education in schools, particularly at the lower levels of primary school.

Recently, the fact that some ethnic groups continue to lag behind others in education attracted the attention of former President Hifikepunye Pohamba, who called for mechanisms to include the San people in education. This study examined the extent to which the Namibian print media were interrogating this apparent exclusion and generating debate with a view to resolving it.

Much has been written about the plight of Namibian San people by people who are not media practitioners. Some of the notable authors are Suzman (2001), Anaya (2013), and Biesele and Hitchcock (2011). The general point of consensus seems to be that San people suffer widespread poverty and have no control over their ancestral or traditional lands and associated resources. These authors also seem to agree that other challenges facing the San people of Namibia include lack of participation and self-governance, limited access to health and educational facilities as well as widespread violation of their fundamental human rights, some of which should be protected and guaranteed by the Namibian Constitution.

Given that the San people constitute a significant percentage of the Namibian population (Suzman, 2001) and are found in different parts of the country including the NyaeNyae conservancy in Tsumkwe, Gobabis, the Zambezi and Kavango regions as well as around Etosha National Park, a critical look on the reportage about the San people in Namibian print media was necessary to shed light on how the media were helping change or maintain the status quo through the manner in which they reported on the San.

2.4 Things from the bush?

Things from the Bush is the title of Suzman's (2000) book on the Omaheke Bushmen. It was inspired by a casual discussion that the author had with a Namibian San man. During the conversation, the San man told the author:

“I do not know what makes a Bushman a Bushman. But I know that the Bushmen are the people who are always ‘under’ and that it is them [Herero, Boers, etc.] that keep us down. It is them who say that we are just Bushmen; that we are just things from the bush” (Suzman, 2000, p. 7).

The above statement by the San man appears to support the views of various authors, including Biesele, Gordon and Lee (1986), that the identity of Namibian San people has been externally determined by powerful forces including successive colonial political regimes, members of the military, commercial farmers and more populous and more dominant Namibian ethnic groups. The statement also unfortunately unveils a deep-rooted inferiority complex among the San people.

This study enabled this current researcher to assess the extent to which the contemporary Namibian print media are also shaping the identity of San people through the manner in which San people are represented through media coverage. In other words, has the print media in Namibia done anything to represent the various San peoples of Namibia other than marginalised the ‘things from the bush’? Literature shows that there are different San groups with unique challenges and aspirations in Namibia. To what extent is this variation reflected or even acknowledged through the manner in which Namibian San people are represented in the print media publications that are studied in this current research?

2.5 The role of the film industry in determining San identity

The film industry has also played a major role in shaping the identity of Namibian San people and other San groups found in other parts of Southern Africa (Gordon, 1992). Films that feature San people include the hugely popular yet controversial “*The gods must be crazy*,” and “*Crazy Hong Kong*.” While Gordon (1992) postulates that the former film has presented San people as an idyllic yet resilient community that has perfected the art of thriving in an extremely inhospitable environment, one can argue that the film has had other negative and perhaps even unintended consequences. The film shows a group of San people apparently living in peace and harmony until an empty Coca Cola bottle falls into their midst from an airplane flying over their homeland. It is the first time that the San people have seen a Coca Cola bottle. As they grow more familiar with the strange object, they discover that it can be used as a tool to do all sorts of things. It soon becomes such a popular object that every member of the San community wants to use it, almost all of them, at the same time. Soon, frequent fights break out over the right to use the bottle (which a pilot had tossed out as rubbish) which is regarded as an indispensable gift from the gods. As concerns mount over the strife that has been brought about by this presumed gift from the gods, a decision is taken to return it to the gods and the lot falls on one of the ‘Bushmen’ to undertake a vain and perilous journey to the edge of the earth, where the disruptive gift is to be dumped.

One can argue that, apart from presenting the San people as a largely primitive, possibly stupid and hilariously superstitious group of people, the film masks the wretched existence of San people that many authors that include Gunther (1992) and Suzman (2001) have highlighted over the years. Whereas these authors and others have written about widespread

hunger, limited access to water and land, lack of access to educational and health facilities, the impact of disease including HIV/AIDS among some San people, this film presents an arguably inaccurate picture of San people as a generally healthy, happy, well-fed and carefree community. Indeed, it ignores the documented plight of San people.

Throughout this study, one of the key questions that lingered was: If the film industry has arguably been flawed in its representation of San people, how has contemporary Namibian print media fared with respect to reporting about the plight of the San people of Namibia? Has the Namibian print media challenged or perpetuated the myths and metaphors about the San people of Namibia through their reportage, by omission or commission?

The film entitled "*The gods must be Crazy*" cited above possibly creates the stereotype of San people as a backward and uncivilized people with neither knowledge nor need for money. This comes out clearly towards the end of the film in which the San character in the motion picture is offered a monetary reward and somebody tries to block the gift and remarks that Bushmen have no need for money.

In advancing the argument that the identity of San people of Namibia has been externally determined, Suzman (2000) writes:

Thus, paraded in an often grim display of other fairground attractions, show-ground Bushmen were to become a living, breathing and occasionally stuffed corporeal metaphor of alterity. Exhibited as living archetypes of 'hard primitives' of Rousseau's Second Discourse or as exemplars of the most degraded form of humanity, Bushmen were to find a place in Europe's reinvention of itself during its colonial adventures in Africa and the new

world (p.3).

Additionally, Suzman (2000) advances the thesis that, for ethnographers, there seems to have been a preference to study “pure” Bushmen. The author describes such a San person as physically distinctive, being generally shorter and lighter in colour than their Bantu neighbours, who hunted and foraged, appeared to show little interest in agriculture or pastoralism, did not build houses, appeared not to have permanent settlements and display much of the explicit ritual life which Europeans regarded as to constitute the basis of ‘culture’ (p. 4).

In an attempt to lure tourists to Namibia, the Namibia Tourism Board (2013) markets the country’s San people as ‘a must see’, alongside the country’s flora and fauna. One of the Board’s advertorial reads: “The San are greatly admired for their hunting and tracking skills, for their incredible endurance and their profound knowledge of the inhospitable environment they inhabit” (NTB 2013).

Photographs of semi-naked San people of Namibia practising their “truly indigenous” lifestyle accompany the messages designed to attract potential tourists. One can argue that this type of representation creates a stereotype and, according to Adichie (2013), perpetuates the inaccurate and incomplete single story of Namibian San people as nothing more than semi-naked hunter gatherers eking a precarious existence in a harsh environment.

A critical analysis of the manner in which the Namibian print media represented the San people of Namibia was therefore necessary to examine whether the media were complicit in the perpetuation of this single story of the San people of Namibia. As can be seen from the foregoing, Namibia is, broadly speaking, home to two categories of San people: the “pure”

San people who continue to exhibit hunter-gatherer traits and can be credited for drawing tourists to the country, and the “impure” (Suzman, 2000) who have moved into urban settlements, where they plod through largely unnoticed. These can be said to include such Namibian San people who have put aside their animal skins and hunter-gatherer lifestyles for modern clothes and a sedentary lifestyle. Such a lifestyle includes attending school and tertiary education, seeking employment and applying for assistance under government-initiated programmes such as Mass Housing Schemes. The question beckons: How are these two broad categories of Namibian San people represented in contemporary print media in the country? The paucity of information related to this partly inspired this study.

Additionally, during colonialism, the San people of Namibia, although branded as “irresponsible and unreliable” by white commercial farmers, were sometimes preferred as farm labourers by some commercial farmers. According to Suzman (2000), this was mostly the case during Namibia’s liberation struggle. This was because the Owambo speaking labourers were seen to be sympathetic to SWAPO, which was waging the liberation struggle. To prevent political activism on their farms, the above author argues that some white commercial farmers who believed that the Ju/’hoansi San people were not only intelligent, agile and technically savvy (Gerhardt, 1976), employed only San people. According to Suzman (1995), in those days some San speaking people had no qualms working for relatively lower wages than the Owambo labourers who represented the majority. One can argue that this created enmity and friction between some San people and other members of the Namibian population.

2.6 A crisis of identity and stereotypes

One can safely argue that, to a certain extent, the identity and social worth that the majority of people and people in power attach to a person or a group of people can have a positive or negative impact on how that person or group of people feel in life. Indeed, some identities can open doors of opportunities in life while others can spoil one's life changes.

Various authors, including Hitchcock (2012), have argued that a significant percentage of Namibians tend to demean San people whom they either ridicule or despise. These authors advance the thesis that the identity that San groups in Namibia carry in contemporary Namibia is not of the San people's making. Rather, it is an identity that has been created by other people who include colonisers and settlers, academicians, policymakers, architects of apartheid and post-independence administrations.

Hitchcock (2012) observes that, despite spirited efforts, the San people of Namibia – particularly those that live in the Tsumkwe Region and were settled there by the South African Defence Force and the now defunct South West Africa government – have largely failed in their quest for political recognition, securing their land and rights over resources, and generally improving their livelihoods. According to Wyckoff-Baird (2000) some San people have even tried to secure the assistance of local and international non-governmental organisations in their quest for justice, but this has not yielded positive results. Others have tried even more dramatic and confrontational means to gain control of what they consider their land. Hitchcock cites the example of an incident in 1997 in which furious San people picketed at the entrance of Etosha National Park resulting in 73 of their number being arrested, although charges of trespassing and gathering unlawfully were later withdrawn.

Several authors have also highlighted the fact that Namibian San people appear to be grossly underrepresented in leadership and administrative institutions, be it at local, regional and national levels. This study was necessary also to determine the extent to which ordinary San people's voices or indeed those of their leaders or representatives are 'audible' in Namibia's print media and if they do, what sort of issues they articulate. This was important because elsewhere, the print media can influence public discourse around the concerns of marginalised communities through framing or sweep such issues and voices through what one can describe as symbolic colonialism, which gives currency to the dictum that out of sight is out of mind.

As has already been alluded to, the Government of the Republic of Namibia officially recognises the San people, along with other disenfranchised ethnic communities, as extremely marginalised. As a result of colonial era policies, many San people found themselves with little or no access to their traditional lands after white commercial farmers occupied large tracts of land with the help of Germans and South Africans (Wallace, 2014). That status quo of dispossession on the part of the San people has not yet been reversed, even after Namibia's political independence. Accordingly, many San people continue to find themselves on the fringes of independent Namibia, eking a precarious existence as labourers of white commercial farmers or more powerful ethnic groups.

In addition to internationally recognised severe income inequality and statistical poverty (Bandora, 2014), Namibia is considered one of the countries with the most unequal distribution of land (Hunter, 2004). While lack of access to land has plunged other ethnic groups – especially those that live in rural areas – into poverty, Gordon and Douglas (2000) argue that the San people of Namibia seem to have borne the brunt.

Even under colonialism, Battistoni and Taylor (2009) record that the San people in Namibia were treated very meanly, and reports abound of how some arguably mean-spirited white commercial farmers even back then hunted San people and shot them dead as part of recreation, prompting South Africa, which took over the then South West Africa under a Trusteeship Mandate (Bandora, 2014), to make the shooting of the so-called Bushmen a criminal offense.

During the 1960s and the 1970s, sociologists who included George Herbert Mead advanced the thesis that people, especially children and the less powerful, tend to become what people, including the so-called significant others (parents, teacher, friends, religious leaders and so on), think and say about them. Gerber (2010) calls this labelling which is associated with self-fulfilling prophesy and stereotyping.

According to Biesele and Hitchcock (2008), during colonialism the San people of Namibia were looked down upon and despised by various sections of the community, including powerful commercial farmers, administrators under the colonial regime and even senior military officers.

The above author notes that the San people in Namibia were routinely branded as “bandits,” “vagrants,” “vagabonds,” “stock-thieves,” and “outlaws,” by white settlers as well as by German and the South African regimes. According to Gordon and Douglas (2000), the manner in which the media, during colonial times, depicted the San people and issues surrounding their existence contributed to resentment against the San people. In those days, some sections of the media reported about “Bushmen Plague,” and “Bushmen Danger,” which tended to rally public sentiments against San people.

Gordon and Douglas (2000) record that as early as the 1900s, the press in the then South West Africa (now Namibia) carried articles suggesting that there was need to beef up the military who should then act against the so-called Bushmen.

In what is perhaps a graphic depiction of the level of resentment against the San people of Namibia during colonial days, Gordon (2009, pp. 42-45) records that harsh strategies were devised by colonial establishments to deal with what was considered to be “The Bushmen Problem.” These strategies included wiping the so called “Bushmen” off the face of the land, forcefully relocating San people from their ancestral lands toward the coast of Namibia, or chasing them into the desert, training the “Bushmen” to undertake menial work, and setting up areas in which only San people would live in the country. One such area was in the Kaukau veld near Grootfontein (Gordon, 2009.)

Nigerian writer Adichie (2013) has probably taken Mead’s ideas of labelling and stereotyping a step further. Talking about the dangers of what she describes as the single story, the author argues that advancing only one side of a story creates stereotypes which are not only untrue, but often fail to tell the complete story. She argues that stories including those that appear in literature and the media can be very powerful and can be used to deprive and misrepresent people and events. However, stories can also be used to portray people and events in a positive light. Stories can build or restore people’s self-worth. The author warns that portraying people in a particular way repeatedly might actually lead to a situation in which those people become what the story depicts in what one can describe as self-fulfilling prophecy.

Going through things that have been written about the San people of Namibia, especially

during colonialism, one cannot help but come to the sad realisation that a significant number of writers and powerful members of the community at the time succeeded in projecting a single story of the San people which depicted them as “lazy,” “dishonest,” “unreliable,” “stupid,” and even “sub-human species.” In light of the foregoing, this study, which looked critically at the manner in which the print media in Namibia reported about the San people and issues surrounding the San people in contemporary Namibia, was necessary to determine whether the media were helping change the perception and identity of the San people, or maintaining the situation that prevailed during colonialism through the way they report.

This study was guided by the framing theory of the media. According to McCombs and Ghanem (2001), framing is a technique that the media use to influence the reaction of their audience to given issues. An understanding of the framing theory will help this current researcher to understand how the media portrays the San in Namibia. Kitzinger (2007) states that, apart from informing, educating and entertaining the public, the media can influence the way people see events or issues through a process known as ‘framing.’ Entman (2007) describes framing as a process in which reality is organised, and events are categorised in certain ways while paying attention to some aspects rather than others. Entman (2007) further states that framing includes the media deciding what an experience or an event means or how it came about through reportage. Knowledge of frame analysis will enable the current researcher to figure out how the media have told a story and why they have told it in the manner they have told it. It will also help the researcher to think of what alternative ‘frames’ could have been used when reporting about the San.

Having appreciated the various issues and challenges that the San people of Namibia face,

through examining the work of writers who were not media practitioners, this researcher used content analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse news articles about San people and issues affecting them which had appeared between January 2012 and December 2013, to establish how the San people were portrayed.

2.7 The role of the media

Various authors (for example Pushparaj, 2012; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001), define mass media as communication that reaches a large audience. Such communication can be in written form, broadcast on television or radio, or spoken. Movies, the internet, newspapers and magazines are also considered as part of the mass media.

For many years the media have played various roles. According to McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997), some of the roles include keeping the public entertained and informed. This is mostly done through radio, television, cinemas and magazines which run a plethora of entertainment programmes. The other role of the media is to propagate news and current affairs. People need to be informed about what is happening around them, whether this relates to the weather, health, fashion, politics or peace in their country. The media also has a responsibility to keep the electorate closer to their leaders by providing details of all political developments and decisions to the public domain. This enables people to vote wisely.

Pushparaj (2012) maintains the view that the media should probe events and point out the shortcomings of society. Given that there is no evidence of any study on the manner in which the media in Namibia reports on San people, this implies that the plight of San people in Namibia remains largely unclear from a media perspective.

Larsen (2007) states that there are different types of media in Namibia which include electronic and print media. Since 1969, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) dominated the electronic media and broadcast in African languages spoken in Namibia during the 1960s. According to Maho (1998), there are approximately 30 languages spoken in Namibia. Transformation for the broadcaster came in 1990 when the South West Africa Broadcasting Corporation was renamed the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). Its mandate was to provide education, information and entertainment to its listeners without discrimination in keeping with Article 21 of the Namibian Constitution. The NBC now operates radio services in several languages, with regional programming at various times. These include Oshiwambo Service in Oshiwambo, Kwanyama for the north and northwest, Otjiherero Service in Herero in the east and Damara/ Nama Service to cater for central Namibia. The NBC also broadcasts in English and Afrikaans. It is worth mentioning that NBC recently introduced limited radio services in the local San languages in Tsumkwe to inform and entertain communities in remote villages of the conservancies. However, Gordon and Douglas (2000) state that there are five San language groups in Namibia. This makes broadcasting to San people in their mother tongues a logistical problem. Namibia also has several daily and weekly newspapers which mostly publish in English, Oshiwambo, German and Afrikaans. However, although some of these publications have reporters or correspondents in some parts of the country, many of these print publications do not reach remote parts of the country.

Happer and Philo (2013) state that the media, which include television, the print and online publications, play an important role in informing people about what happens in their immediate surroundings and the entire world. These authors acknowledge the fact that the

consumers of media messages do not sheepishly and uncritically take in media messages because they are thinking beings with agency. These authors nevertheless acknowledge that the media can influence public discourse on various issues through the manner in which they portray those issues.

One can argue that just as the media can generate debate around issues by giving them prominence, the media can also remove important issues from public discussion. In light of the foregoing, what appears in the media and who generates it become important issues worthy of exploration. With respect to this study, that exploration and analysis was done through critical discourse analysis.

Conclusion

This chapter presented views of authors and researchers relevant to the topic under study.

The next chapter discusses the methodology that guided this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discussed the methodology that was employed to conduct the study. It also describes the research design.

3.1 Research design

This study used triangulation involving content analysis and critical discourse analysis of newspaper articles on the San people. According to Kothari (2011), qualitative approaches are based on attitudes, beliefs and perceptions such as feelings of disappointment. The manner in which the media had covered the San people could best be presented through thick descriptions as well as examining the manifest content of the various news stories (Wimmer and Dominick, 2005).

This study carefully studied articles written about the San people over a period of two years (January 2012 to December 2013). By so doing, the researcher was able to reveal relevant issues such as frames, biases, stereotypes, 'othering', exclusion, exclusion and demeaning photographs and captions. This was achieved through deconstructive reading as noted by experts that include Frohmann (1992), Nahl (2007) and Fairclough (2010).

3.2 Methodology

Methodology refers to the manner in which a researcher plans to collect his or her data, analyse it, and draw conclusions from it (Creswell, 2009; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005; Nachmias & Nachmias, 1981; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2003). The researcher first conducted a

document search to find out if there were any policies or guidelines on journalistic practice in Namibia. The researcher collected copies of some of the newspapers targeted for analysis through content analysis and critical discourse analysis and looked for articles on San people of Namibia on the online archives of those newspapers.

3.2.1 Quantitative Content Analysis

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2013), quantitative content analysis can be used to throw light on large amounts of data that appear in the media to understand what print media publications contain. In support of the above author, Gunter (2008) explains that quantitative content analysis can be used to describe and assess the representation of given groups of society. It is for these reasons that this researcher chose content analysis. However, some critics have do not favour content analysis. Hansen et al., (1998) are some of the authors that do not favour content analysis, arguing that it has several shortcomings that render it inadequate. The above authors argued that given that researchers tend to focus attention on aspects that they consider to be important, objectivity is impossible to achieve based solely on content analysis. In light of the limitations of content analysis, this researcher combined content analysis with critical discourse analysis. This was in keeping with Bryman (2011) who postulated that combining methods of analysing data enables triangulation which obviates the shortcomings of using only one method.

3.2.2 Population

The population of this study consisted of 150 San related print media articles on the San people in Namibia published from January 2012 to December 2013 in *The Namibian*, *The Villager*, *New Era*, *The Namibian Sun*, *The Observer*, *Informanté* and *Southern Times*.

3.2.3 Selection and Sample (Content Analysis)

The judgemental technique was used to select news stories. It is a non-probability sampling technique. A total of 125 San-related news articles from Namibia's main daily and weekly newspapers, *The Namibian*, *The Namibian Sun*, *New Era*, *The Windhoek Observer*, *The Villager*, *Informanté* and *The Southern Times* were chosen for analysis.

Various factors influenced the choice of these newspapers. Among them is the fact that all of them are published in English, which is the official language in Namibia and the language in which this study is conducted. In terms of circulation and reach, all of them have relatively high print runs and are influential, reaching almost all parts of the Republic of Namibia where the study was conducted. Additionally, all of these newspapers have well managed online archives through their websites. More significantly, most of the newspapers except two (*New Era* and *The Southern Times*) are not owned or controlled by the government. This makes them independent which, according to Dunn (2011), was an important consideration in the selection and study of media sources.

Articles which appeared over the two years were accessed through the newspapers' online archives. To yield articles relevant to this study, a range of search terms were applied. The words 'San', 'Bushmen', 'marginalisation', 'education', 'culture', 'ecotourism', 'land', 'representation', 'identity' and 'health' were used to search the online portals of the selected newspapers.

To eliminate articles that were irrelevant and those that were not published during the period covered by this research, this researcher manually filtered the articles. This process yielded 125 articles in all from the selected newspapers. Given that some merely mentioned San

people in passing, this researcher manually selected articles that reported about San people beyond just mentioning them. Such articles were selected for deeper and broader analysis through critical discourse analysis.

3.2.4 Applying content analysis

Kerlinger (2000) defined content analysis as a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. One of the key characteristics of content analysis is it can be replicated. This means that a different researcher following the same procedure should be able to achieve results achieved by a previous researcher. Indeed, the researcher's biases, prejudices or preferences should not taint the research process. However this can only happen when and where clear techniques and guidelines are provided. One can therefore safely conclude that quantitative content analysis, if used alongside qualitative content analysis as was done in this study, can provide a richer context and meaning, especially when it uses statistical data. This is because although quantitative data can cover a wide range of issues, it does so only superficially. To avoid presenting only the skeleton of the issue being studied, this researcher used also qualitative content analysis as that would present the complete picture.

One of the strengths of content analysis is that of accuracy. Since content analysis is partly quantitative, results are reported with mathematical precision, which removes the risks of generalisation.

3.2.5 Applying Critical Discourse Analysis

Such authors as Renkema (2004), Stubbs (1996), Toolan (2002), Van Dijk (2005), Van Leeuwen (2008), Wodak and Meyer (2010) have argued that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be defined as both a theory and method used to examine texts to unravel often hidden themes related to social power and identities.

Given the afore-said background, it is important, at this juncture, to explain what Critical Discourse Analysis is all about, and why CDA was chosen as an appropriate theory for this thesis. It is also important to emphasise that with respect to this study, CDA was used more as a theory than a research method.

Discourse (Latin - 'discursus') which means 'running to and fro' denotes written and spoken communication (Foucault cited by Wodak and Meyer 2001) and it is the communication part that is of paramount importance. The focus, within the parameters of this study, is the written discourse. Discourse is thus the use of words to exchange thoughts and ideas and any attempt to study the organisation of language above the sentence or above the clause has merited the term Discourse Analysis. In the Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language, Crystal (1987) notes that "The traditional concern of linguistic analysis has been the construction of sentences; but in recent years, there has been an increasing interest in analysing the way sentences work in sequence to produce coherent stretches of language" (p. 116).

Discourse analysis, in short, focuses on the structure of naturally occurring spoken/written language. Yule (1996) posited that it is the effort to interpret and to be interpreted; an effort based on background knowledge that matters most in Discourse Analysis.

For Foucault (cited by Wodak and Meyer 2001), discourse represented systems of thought composed of ideas, attitudes and courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the world of which they speak. It is the main force which works behind all kinds of human activities and changes in social fabric. This is why Foucault analysed discourse in terms of knowledge production and power, a tool that controls knowledge systems, the organisation of our social world and us including our thinking and emotions. This is the notion that is elaborated by Fairclough (1991) as discussed below.

Sapir and Whorf (cited by Yule 1996), in what has come to be termed The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, argued that language determines the way we think. One can thus assert that discourse is the totality of codified language within a specific field of study. Broadly, one can therefore talk of legal discourse, political discourse, and theological discourse, among others.

Discourse cannot therefore be understood outside its historical, cultural and or political milieu. For Stubbs (1983), language and situation were inseparable. He argued that “there is no use of language which is not embedded in the culture” (p. 8). This implies that communication is impossible without shared knowledge and assumptions between readers and writers, or speakers and hearers. Stubbs (1983) further stated: “We often know what kind of language to expect in different situations; and, conversely, given a fragment of language, we can often reconstruct in some detail the social situation which produced it” (p. 2).

One can thus argue that language is inseparable from its users; that language operates within certain boundaries; that language does not exist freely, nor its users. There is quite specific

linguistic behaviour attached to being a teacher, a doctor or a pastor, for example. Language and its users operate within different universes of beliefs as well as different background assumptions. It is through discourse, therefore, that social roles are recognised and sustained.

It is important to note that each and every discourse adopts and provides a distinct style, vocabulary and presentation required to convey the respective ideas to a specific audience. Furthermore, those ideas are oriented to inculcate a specific way of thinking and/or actions. Discourse thus establishes, in the words of Foucault, “orders of truth” - the establishment of what one can regard as the dominant ideology. From these premises, it is relevant to explain that any label that discourse paints, once sufficiently established, can govern reality.

Whilst discourse analysis preoccupies itself with such facets like discourse organisation, text cohesion and coherence, among others, Critical Discourse Analysis seeks to question the ideology behind discourse and maintains that discourse is a tool of control by the powerful; a systematically and methodically calculated way of keeping people in their confined social positions.

Thus the word ‘critical’ is central to question, analyse, examine and expose these dominant ideas which in most cases reveal social inequalities, repression, subjugation, and isolation, only to mention but a few. Fairclough (1991) maintained that language connects with the social through being the primary domain and vehicle of ideology. He seems to agree with discourse analysts that social conditions determine properties of discourse and that the relationship between language and society is internal, inseparable and dialectical (p. 23).

Similarly, Wodak (2009), by and large, viewed language (discourse) as a form of social practice where not only individuals, but also institutions and social groupings have specific meanings and values that are expressed in language (p. 6). This means that both immediate conditions of the situational context and the most remote conditions of institutional and social structures have to be put into consideration when one is critically analysing a text.

The notion of ‘critical’ is primarily applied to the engagement of power relations. The idea is to unlock hidden power relations constructed through language thereby challenging the social inequities it reinforces (Fairclough, 1991). CDA takes the view that texts need to be considered in terms of what they include and also what they omit. The increasing importance of language has been advocated by a number of social theorists like Bourdieu, Foucault and Habermas (cited by Fairclough 1991). These scholars are of the agreement that we are living in a linguistic epoch where language is important enough to merit the attention of all citizens. It becomes necessary therefore, in Fairclough’s words:

To highlight how language, in its everyday as well as professional usages enables us to understand issues of social concern. More specifically, to examine how the ways in which we communicate are constrained by the structures and forces of those social institutions within which we live and function (p. vi).

It appears that Fairclough (1991) was turning away from the view that language is a tool that merely reinforces predetermined social roles. He further grappled with the view of language as a system of sentences and the notion that people operate solely within unchanging social structures. This becomes a paradoxical statement that reveal how language contributes, and

more dangerously, legitimizes the domination of some people by others. This is part of the reason why CDA has been chosen to examine the language of the print media of Namibia and their portrayal of the San people.

Indeed, society and the various social institutions within which people operate are divided up and demarcated, structured into different spheres of action, different types of situations, each of which has its own associated type of practice. Be that as it may, Fairclough (1991) maintained that the ways in which orders of discourse are structured, and the ideologies which they embody, are determined by relationships of power.

There is always thus, as Fairclough (1991) put it, a 'hidden agenda' in language. The discourse functions in this way so to sustain unequal power relations. Discourse becomes in this sense a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants.

By so doing, social subjects are constrained to operate within the subject positions set up in discourse type and must be in that sense, passive. This discussion seeks a favourable linguistic playing field which can allow San people to act as social agents not as perennial underdogs.

CDA thus goes beyond discourse to examine the motive behind any form of communication. Fairclough (2005) advanced the thesis that discourse can be used to bring about social and political subjugation and that the manner in which discourse is used to create meaning is not apparent to the casual reader and so the task of the competent critical discourse analyst is to go beyond the surface of text which includes pictures and headlines to appreciate how discourses work, and explain hidden meanings and constructions. Indeed,

as McCarthy (1994) argued, discourse can convey a lot; much more than what is immediately visible in a sentence or paragraph within a text.

It can be argued, therefore, that CDA is a theory of emancipation; it plants the seeds of critical consciousness to the analyst. Armed with this theory, one can see that certain types of discourses can aggravate the plight of the weak and defenceless members of society; those who find themselves pitted against more dominant social and historical forces and are unable to either define or defend their cause. It is for this reason that CDA was selected as the most appropriate theory to examine the media reporting on the San people of Namibia.

CDA analysts thus have a crucial social role in society and it becomes mandatory for them to conduct research in solidarity and cooperation with the dominated groups. This researcher's interest in social and cultural issues in general, and his own critical observation of the relationships between different social groups in particular, prompted the choice of CDA in this study.

3.3 Analysis and Coding Schedule

Given the fact that any aspect of a news article can be quantified (Hansen *et al.*, 1998), there is need for researchers to focus on only aspects that are relevant or important to the research. Such an approach would enable researchers to draw up a coding schedule that can capture aspects that are in line with the objectives of their study.

With this in mind, this researcher extensively read what non-journalistic authors that have written about San people of Namibia and the issues that affect them. These issues are dealt with at length in Chapter One and Two. Through a constant juxtaposition of San-related

articles with the work of independent scholars, this researcher was able to draw up a coding schedule using priori and emergent codes.

To come up with emergent codes, this researcher randomly selected 14 articles (two from each of the seven newspapers that were studied) to pick out suitable themes in keeping with the objectives of the study. Inter-coder agreement for the pilot study made up of 12 news stories was 83%. Disagreements were resolved by mutual agreement and this resulted in removing ambiguous categories. The result was a 100% inter-coder agreement for the main study. Appendix A shows the coding schedule that was generated.

3.4: Pilot Study

To ensure reliability of the coding schedule, this researcher and another coder trained by this researcher conducted a pilot study before the coding schedule was finalised. Through this pilot testing, the researcher and the other trained coder were able to pick out potentially problematic codes, especially those that were too broad or ambiguous. Meriwether (2001) was a strong advocate of conducting a pilot study as a prelude to the full study. Following the piloting, some codes were added, while others were struck off the coding schedule.

3.5 Sampling

Sampling refers to the identification and selection of participants or units of analysis for a study from a selected target population. It is used to select a portion of the population for study. The type of study, time, available resources and the extent to which the selected sample is representative of the target population determines the sample size (Bless & Higson-Smith, 200; Flyvbjerg, 2007; Gobo, 2007).

This being a largely qualitative research, triangulation was used and the study was based on non-probability and purposive sampling rather than probability and random sampling approaches. The sample size is small and purposefully selected from newspapers and news articles that were relevant to the phenomena under study. This researcher took this approach to capture the richest possible data to meet the objectives of the study (Holiday, 2010; Creswell & Clark, 2007).

3.6 Purposive sampling

Units of study in this research were selected using purposive sampling. Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (2006:16) defined purposive sampling as a sampling method that involves handpicking supposedly typical or interesting cases. It selects units of study among a selected target population because of some defining characteristics that make them the repositories of data needed for the study. The newspapers examined in this study were selected on the basis that they are published in Namibia and essentially cover the whole country in terms of reportage. The articles examined were selected because they covered San people of Namibia.

3.7 Data collection and analysis

With the aid of key words and phrases, this researcher visited the online archives of the newspapers that had been selected for this study. An initial search yielded 150 articles. From these, 125 were handpicked on the basis of their suitability for content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA). The other 25 articles were not relevant to this study in that some of them were published outside the study period, while others dwelt on the plight of San people in other countries, notably Botswana. The use of key words and phrases to select

articles for analysis was inspired by the ideas of Entman (1993), McQuail (2010) and Tankard (2001).

3.8 Documentary analysis

This researcher read and analysed written communication that could shed light on issues that affect San people of Namibia. These documents included policy documents on education and the Namibian Constitution.

3.9 Examining secondary sources

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2013), the examination of secondary sources can be useful in that it can shed light on or complement the primary data gathered. This enabled this researcher to confirm, modify or contradict his research findings. This researcher examined previous research finding related to the representation of marginalised communities – in this case the San people of Namibia – thereby gaining theoretical perspectives that were employed during this research. The use of secondary sources entailed a thorough review of literature on San people of Namibia.

3.10 Data analysis

Weirs (1995) advised that qualitative data should be analysed and coded through setting context codes to ascertain that the phenomenon under study is given due attention. In line with this recommendation, a coding schedule was used to capture the content of articles that were studied using content analysis, while CDA techniques were used to analyse some of the articles in more depth and breadth.

3.11 Research ethics

To uphold ethics, the researcher fully attributed all ideas taken from previous researchers and authors that were referred to in this study. This was done in line with the wise counsel of Babbie and Mouton (2003) who advised that to avoid falling into the pitfalls of plagiarism and academic dishonesty, all sources must be fully acknowledged. Given the political sensitivities around San people and issues that affect them, this researcher used all information gathered through this study responsibly and only for the purposes of this study.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed methodology and the research design that were employed to conduct the study. The next chapter presents and discusses data gathered through content analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses data gathered for this study through content analysis.

Baxter (2010:536) defined Content Analysis as “The study of human communication such as books, websites, paintings, newspapers and laws.”

This study focused on San-related newspaper articles that appeared in the following newspapers: *The Namibian* (a privately-owned daily newspaper), *The Namibian Sun* (a privately-owned daily newspaper), *New Era* (a government-owned daily newspaper), *The Southern Times* (a regional weekly jointly owned by the governments of Zimbabwe and Namibia and which strives to report on the SADC Region), *The Villager* (a privately run weekly newspaper), *The Windhoek Observer* (a privately-owned weekly newspaper) and *Informanté* (a privately-owned weekly newspaper that is distributed free of charge).

There are various dimensions of content analysis but of interest in this study is the summative content analysis wherein one counts, compares main key words, issues or content followed by interpretation. Content analysis unpacks meaning, purpose or effect of any type of communication inclusive of newspapers.

This researcher observes from the onset that the process of content analysis is elaborate, excruciating and involves reading over and above the given data to guarantee thoroughness. Convergence and divergences are commonplace among scholarship on content analysis.

4.1 Number of Articles per Publication per year

Publication	Year	Year	Total
	2012	2013	
The Namibian	12	19	31
New Era	30	28	58
The Namibian Sun	2	2	4
The Windhoek Observer	0	4	4
The Southern Times	3	2	5
The Villager	3	5	8
Informanté	1	14	15
Total	51	74	125

Table 4.1 Articles per publication per year

As shown in Table 4.1 above, in total 125 articles were published across all the newspapers selected for this study over two years from January 2012 to December 2013. *New Era* published the highest number of San-related articles 58 during the period under study. *The Namibian*, also a daily but privately-run newspaper, published the second highest number of articles 32. The third highest number of articles 15 appeared in the *Informanté*. This is a privately-run weekly newspaper distributed free of charge. *The Villager* published eight articles followed by *The Southern Times* which published five articles. *The Windhoek*

Observer, a weekly publication and *The Namibian Sun* had 4 articles each, the lowest number of articles per paper.

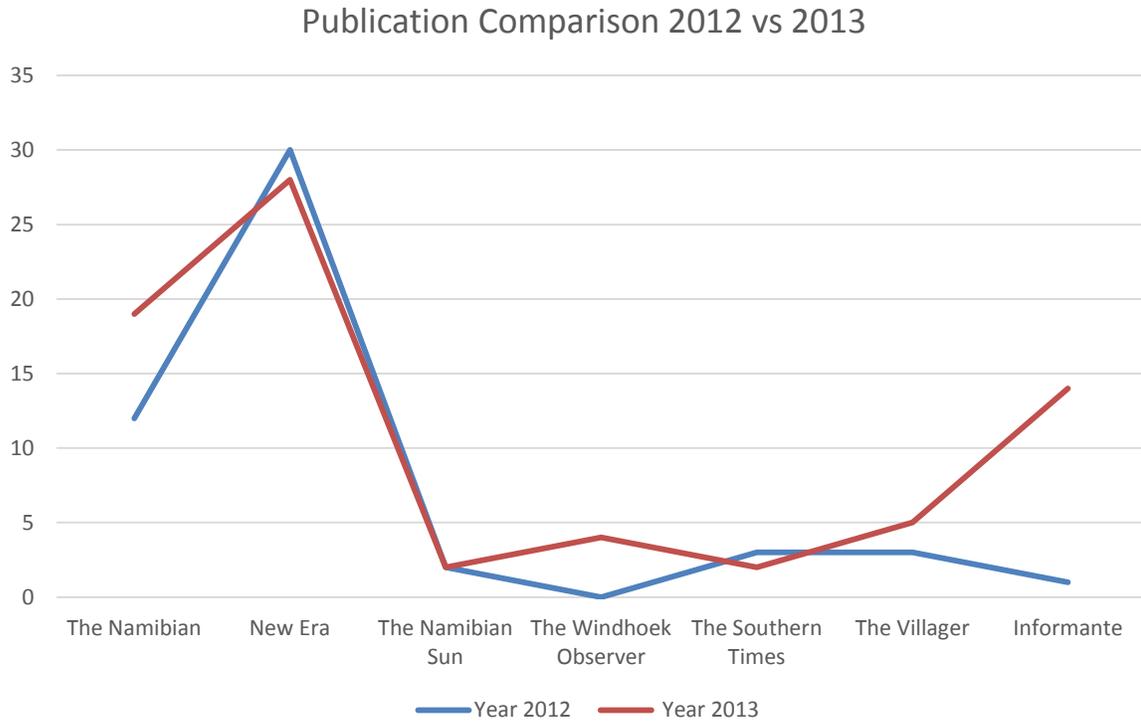


Figure 4.1: Publication Comparison 2012 vs 2013

Figure 4.1 shows that *New Era* peaked in the number of articles published in 2012 and 2013 with 30 and 28 articles respectively. The lowest articles published appeared in *The Windhoek Observer* which did not publish San related articles in 2012, although it later published four articles in 2013 representing an average of two publications across the two years of the study.

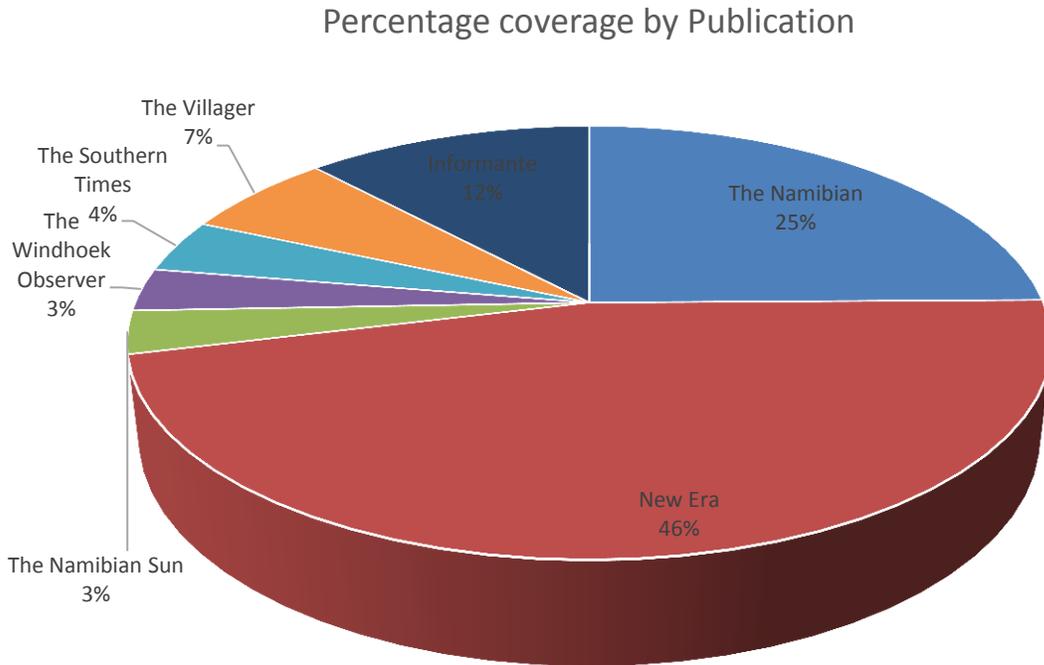


Figure 4.2: Percentage coverage by Publications

The largest share, almost half, of articles came from the *New Era* which as shown in Figure 4.2 had 46% of the articles published. *The Namibian* published a quarter of the articles during the same period. Stories that were published in the *Informanté* account for 12% of all San related articles published during period under review.

4.2 Thematic Categorisation

This section on content analysis essentially classifies, that is, employs thematic categorization which is an elaborate academic enterprise or engagement which involves extensive reading of the identified newspaper articles covering some issues. What follows is the categorisation of items in a way that offers description of what they are about,

establishing links between categories (themes) and even subthemes, and reviewing information categorised so that possibilities for merging or sub categorisation is done.

4.2.1 *The Namibian Newspaper*

The Namibian newspaper as illustrated in Table 4.2 covers in the main poverty, cultural issues, marginalisation and socio-economic issues. The issues covered in 2012 and 2013 portray a largely negative picture of the San people. There is observably a complete negation of health, exploitation, representation, gender equity, identity, social mobility and political issues in the coverage. Also, the voice of the San people is seemingly muted.

THEMATIC CATEGORISATION	CODE	2012	2013	TOTAL
Ecotourism	ET	0	0	0
Socio-Economic Issues	SEI	4	2	6
Cultural Issues	CI	3	4	7
Marginalisation	M	2	3	5
Identity	I	2	0	2
Educational Advancement	EA	0	2	2
Health	H	0	0	0
Social Mobility	SM	0	0	0

Justice and Law	JL	1	0	1
Political Issues	PI	0	0	0
Representation	R	0	0	0
Land	L	0	2	2
Socio-Economic Empowerment	SEE	3	2	5
Exploitation	E	0	0	0
Unemployment	U	0	0	0
Gender Equity	GE	0	0	0
Poverty	P	1	2	3

Table 4.2 Thematic Categorisation for *The Namibian*

As further clarified by Figure 4.3, the issues that non-journalistic writers (Hitchcock, Ikeya, Biesele & Lee, 2006; Suzman, 2001; Dan, 2010; Dieckmann, 2007; Gordon & Douglas, 2000; & Sylvain, 2002) have highlighted as among those that affect San people of Namibia are conspicuously absent from the themes covered by *The Namibian*.

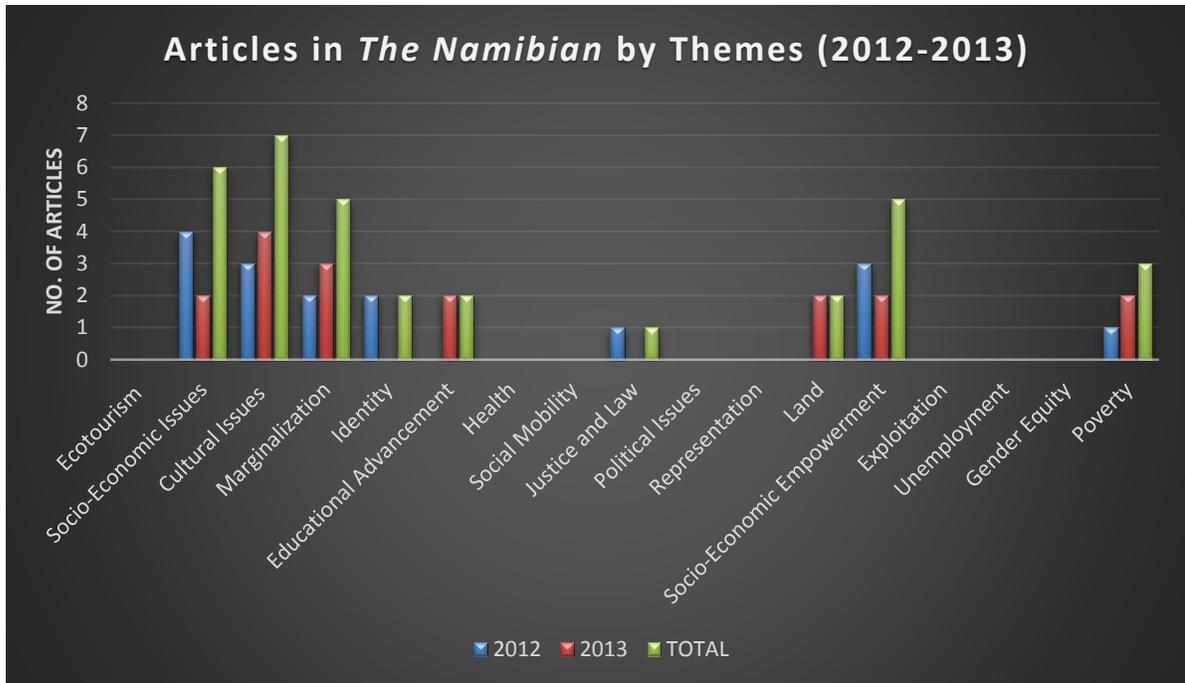


Figure 4.3: Articles in *The Namibian* by Themes (2012-2013)

As shown in Figure 4.4, *The Namibian* focused its coverage on cultural issues (21%) followed by socio-economic issues (18%). Marginalisation is also among prominent themes covered (15%). However, other important issues related to exploitation, the benefits accruing from eco-tourism, gender equity, health, justice and law had little or no coverage.

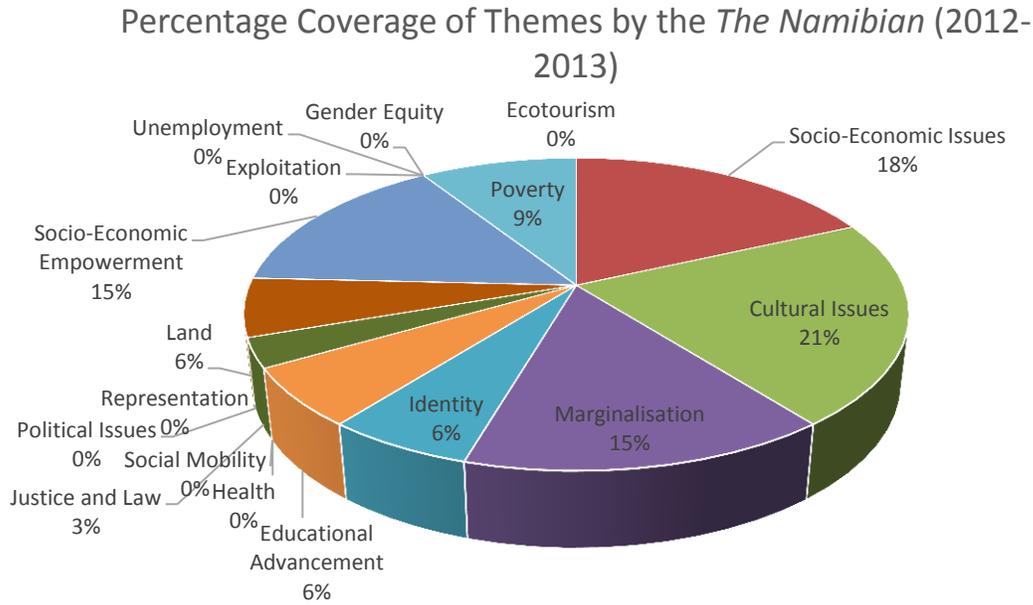


Figure 4.4: Percentage Coverage of Themes by *The Namibian* (2012-2013)

4.2.2 *New Era* Newspaper

This government owned and controlled newspaper is, as reflected in Table 4.3, was preoccupied with marginalisation, education and socio-economic issues which were essentially negative. Mentioning of empowerment initiatives in specific areas of driving schools, employment and the debushing programmes, however, seems to provide balance. A consistent pattern is the subdued or missing voice of the San people which raises the fundamental question: Are these initiatives what the San want given the fact that there is mere mention and not involvement? The coverage appears to be largely event driven as opposed to that initiated by the publication itself which would be richer in scope and analysis.

THEMATIC CATEGORIZATION	CODE	2012	2013	TOTAL
Eco-Tourism	ET	0	0	0
Socio-Economic Issues	SEI	2	4	6
Cultural Issues	CI	1	0	1
Marginalisation	M	3	1	4
Identity	I	1	1	2
Educational Advancement	EA	1	4	5
Health	H	0	1	1
Social Mobility	SM	0	0	0
Justice and Law	JL	0	1	1
Political Issues	PI	0	0	0
Representation	R	0	0	0
Land	L	3	1	4
Socio-Economic Empowerment	SEE	1	4	5
Exploitation	E	0	1	1
Unemployment	U	0	1	1

Gender Equity	GE	0	0	0
Poverty	P	11	7	18

Table 4.3 Thematic Categorisation for *New Era*

Figure 4.5 shows coverage of San related issues by themes. It is apparent that issues related to eco-tourism, political issues, representation, and gender equity do not feature.

**Percentage Coverage of Themes by the *New Era*
(2012-2013)**

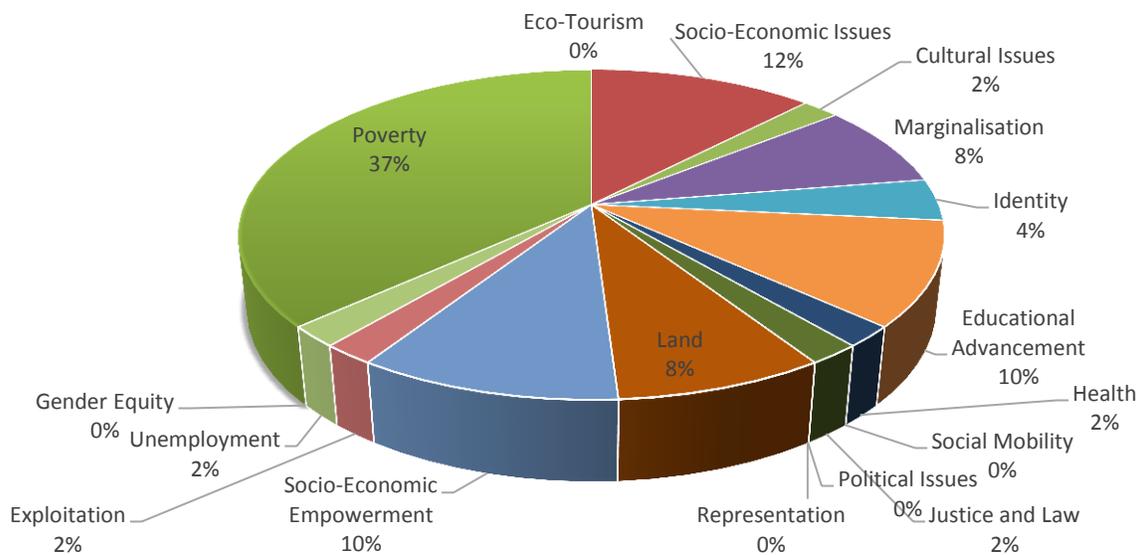


Figure 4.5: percentage coverage of themes by the *New Era* (2012-2013)

4.2.3 *The Namibian Sun*

The Namibian Sun is a daily newspaper. As shown in Table 4.4 it confined itself to very few themes. This raises a lot of questions with respect to the extent to which the publication deems San people and issues that affect them to be news worth. As can be seen in the

Table, many of the possible categories are conspicuous by their absence. This is notable given the agenda setting role of the media as explained by various authors who include Entman (2007) and McCombs and Ghanem (2001). Highlighting a few issues occasionally while ignoring others is consistent with the framing theory defined by Kitzinger (2007), McCombs *et al.*, (1997) and others.

THEMATIC CATEGORIZATION	CODE	2012	2013	TOTAL
Marginalisation	M	1	0	1
Health	H	0	1	1
Exploitation	E	0	1	1
Poverty	P	1	0	1

Table 4 4 Thematic Categorisation for *The Namibian Sun*

Figure 4.6 shows that *The Namibian Sun* covered only four themes of the 17 categories identified in the study.

Percentage Coverage of Themes by *The Namibian Sun* (2012-2013)

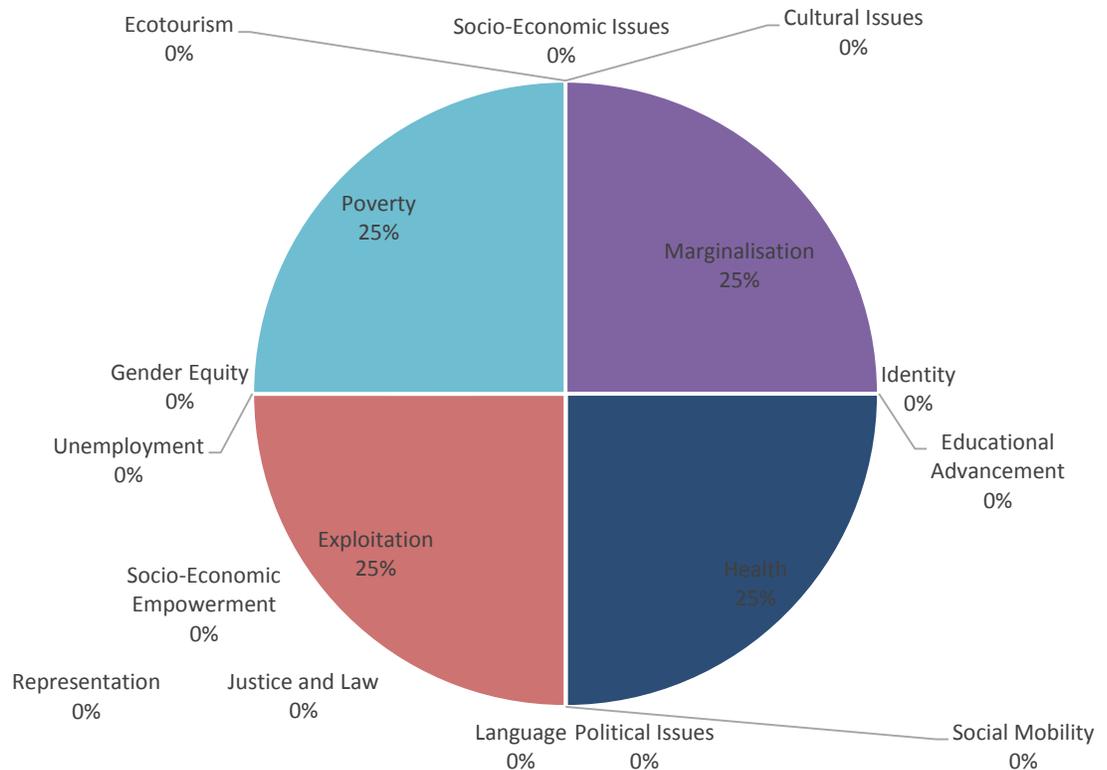


Figure 4.6: Percentage Coverage of Themes by *The Namibian Sun* (2012-2013)

4.2.4 *The Southern Times*

The Southern Times is a regional weekly newspaper. It is jointly owned by the governments of the Republics of Zimbabwe and Namibia. Its stated mission is coverage of issues affecting the SADC Region from an Afrocentric perspective. This might explain why the few San related articles present a macro picture which can mask local realities (Avison & Meadows, 2000). Regional stories tend to be too generalised as to be of significant use in policy formulation, implementation and modification. As shown in Table 4.5, the stories published by *The Southern Times* focused on cultural issues, educational advancement, representation, land and socio-economic empowerment.

THEMATIC CATEGORIZATION	CODE	2012	2013	TOTAL
Cultural Issues	CI	0	1	1
Educational Advancement	EA	1	0	1
Representation	R	1	0	1
Land	L	0	1	1
Socio-Economic Empowerment	SEE	1	0	1

Table 4.5: Thematic Categorisation for *The Southern Times*

Figure 4.7 shows the themes covered by *The Southern Times* during the period under study.

Percentage Coverage of Themes by The Southern Times (2012-2013)

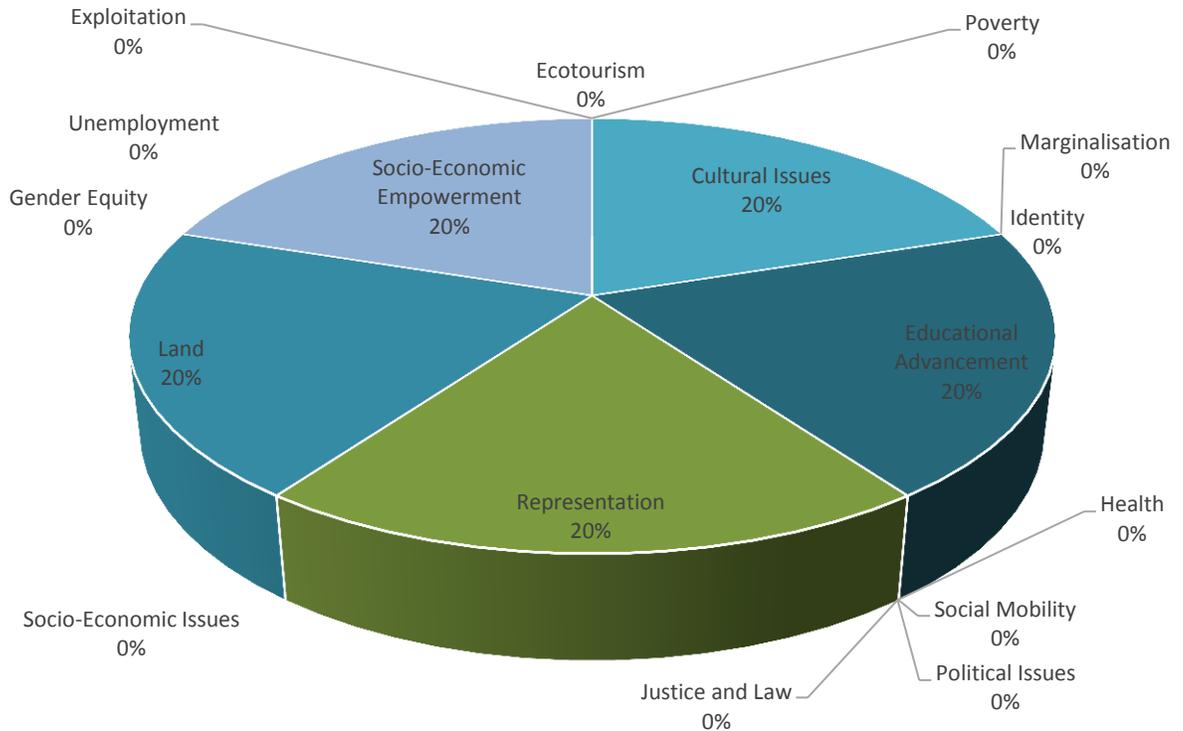


Figure 4.7: Percentage Coverage of Themes by *The Southern Times* (2012-2013)

4.2.5 *The Villager*

The Villager is a relatively new weekly publication which is privately owned. While its coverage of issues by themes was low as shown in Table 4.6, it mentions issues that have been raised by non-journalist sources and which did not feature prominently in the coverage provided by the other publications. These themes are related to social mobility, educational advancement, socioeconomic issues, eco-tourism and cultural issues. The publication appeared to have carried success stories among the San people without overly projecting dejection and hopelessness.

THEMATIC CATEGORIZATION	CODE	2012	2013	TOTAL
Ecotourism	ET	0	1	1
Socio-Economic Issues	SEI	1	0	1
Cultural Issues	CI	1	1	2
Marginalisation	M	0	1	1
Educational Advancement	EA	0	1	1
Social Mobility	SM	0	1	1

Table 4.6: Thematic Categorisation for *The Villager*

Figure 4.8 shows the coverage of themes that appeared in *The Villager* by percentage.

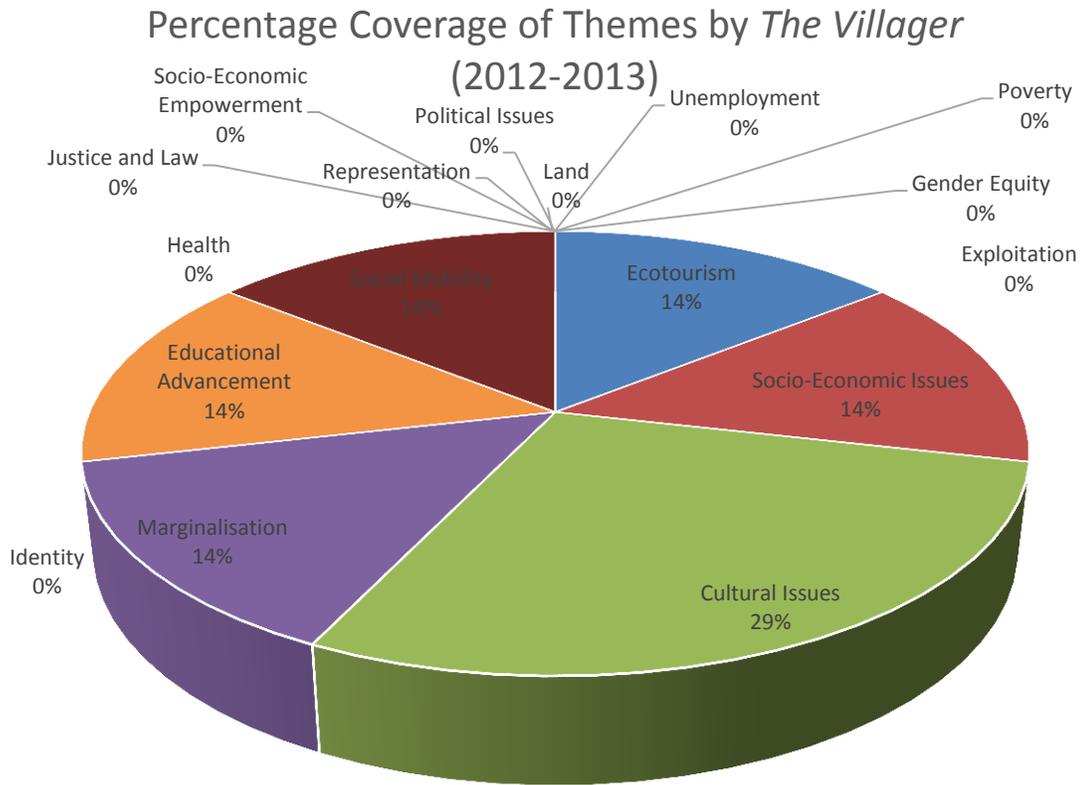


Figure 4.8: Percentage Coverage of Themes by The Villager (2012-2013)

4.2.6 Windhoek Observer

The *Windhoek Observer* is a privately run weekly newspaper. As shown in Table 4.7, it did not carry San related articles in 2012. As has been alluded to in this study, highlighting a few issues occasionally while ignoring others is consistent with the framing theory defined by Kitzinger (2007), McCombs et al. (1997) and others.

The few articles that mention San people published in 2013 nevertheless touch on some of the critical issues identified by non-journalistic sources as some of those affecting San people which are identity, exploitation and socio-economic issues.

THEMATIC CATEGORIZATION	CODE	2012	2013	TOTAL
Identity	I	0	1	1
Exploitation	E	0	2	2
Socio-Economic Issues	SEI	0	1	1

Table 4.7: Thematic Categorisation for the *Windhoek Observer*

Figure 4.8, shows that stories related to exploitation of San people (50%), identity (25%) and socio-economic issues (25%) featured in *The Windhoek Observer* publications during the period of the study.

Percentage Coverage of Themes by *Windhoek Observer* (2012-2013)

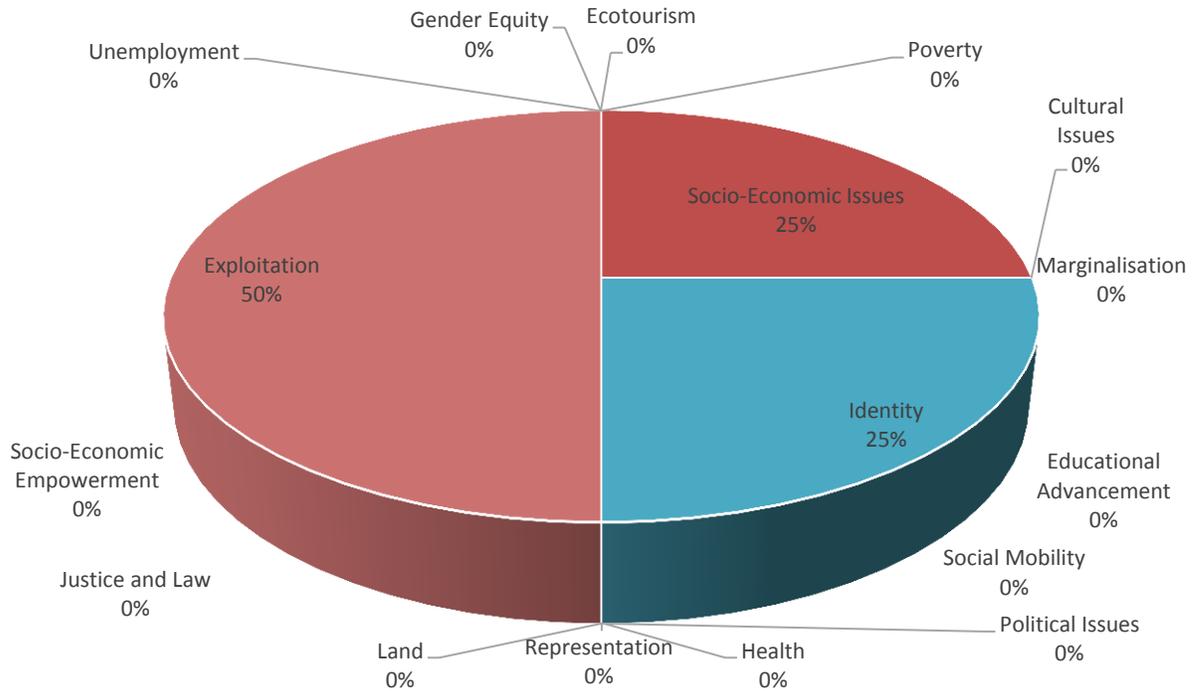


Figure 4.9: Percentage Coverage of Themes by the *Windhoek Observer* (2012-2013)

4.2.7 *Informanté*

Table 4.8 shows that the *Informanté* newspaper published only one article mentioning San people in 2012. However, there appears to have been a huge number of articles seemingly focusing on pertinent issues of land, education and social mobility in 2013. This exponential increase of articles mentioning San related issues was noteworthy. However, content analysis alone could not enable one to draw conclusions with respect to the quality of that coverage, hence the use of Critical Discourse Analysis which was done in Chapter 5.

THEMATIC CATEGORIZATION	CODE	2012	2013	TOTAL
Ecotourism	ET	0	1	1
Marginalisation	M	1	1	2
Educational Advancement	EA	0	2	2
Social Mobility	SM	0	1	1
Justice and Law	JL	0	1	1
Representation	R	0	1	1
Land	L	0	9	9

Table 4-8: Thematic Categorisation for *Informanté*

Notably, Figure 4.10 shows that more than half of the articles published by the *Informanté* were on land. This is commendable given that access to land has been identified as one of the most crucial issues affecting San people in Namibia (Hunter, 2004).

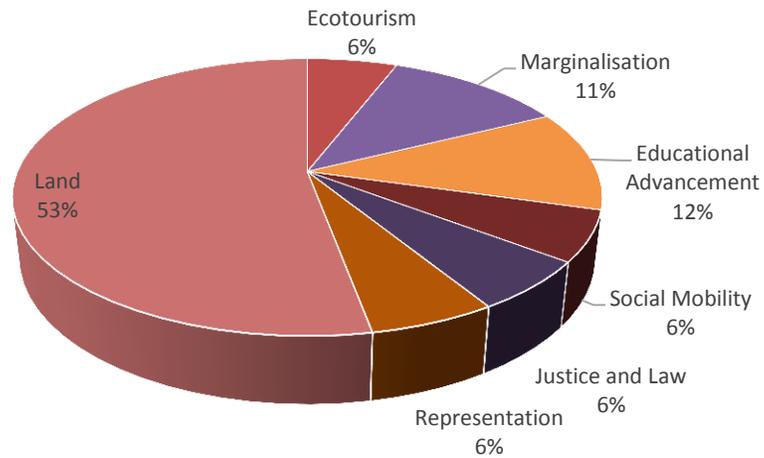
Percentage Coverage of Themes by *Informanté* (2012-2013)**Figure 4.10: Percentage Coverage of Themes by *Informanté* (2012-2013)**

Figure 4.11 shows the coverage of all the themes identified in this study by all the newspapers over the two years of the study. It shows that the most frequently occurring theme is that of poverty (18%), followed by land (13%) and socio-economic issues (13%). Cultural issues, marginalisation and educational advancement also feature relatively prominently. However, none of the newspapers studied carried articles related to gender equity and political issues, which, according to Wallace (2014), are important. It is also noteworthy that issues of health are the greatest challenges facing San people of Namibia who had not been spared the devastating effects of HIV and AIDS (Anaya, 2013).

Summary of Thematic Coverage for all Publications (2012-2013)

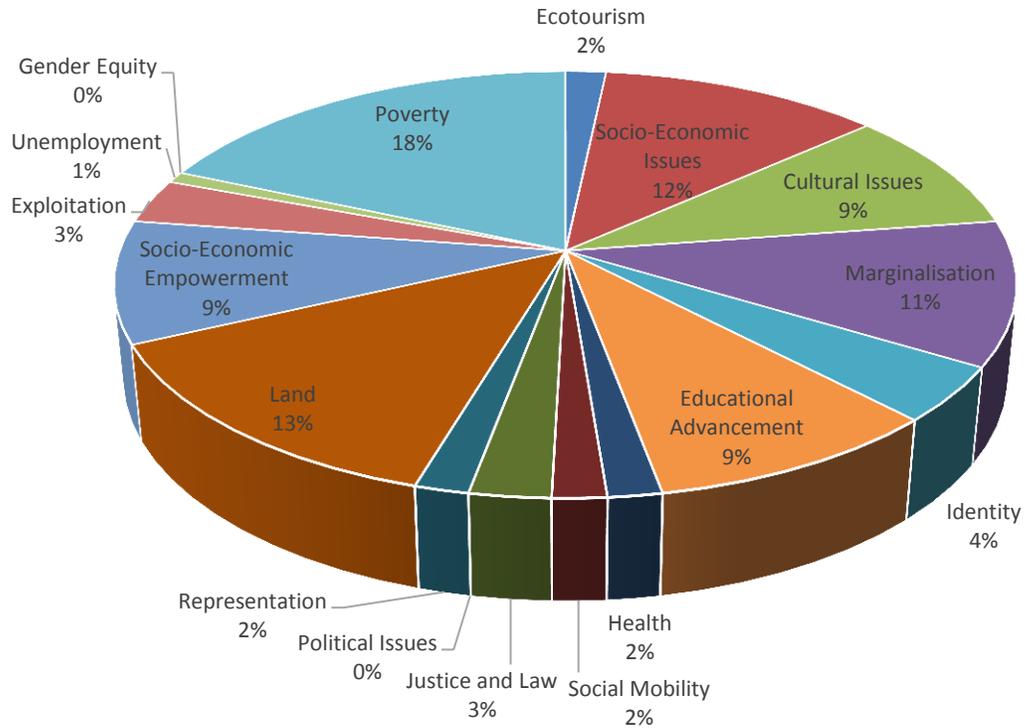


Figure 4.11: Summary of Thematic Coverage for all Publications (2012-2013)

Figure 4.12 shows the number of articles that appeared per theme in selected newspapers in more detail.

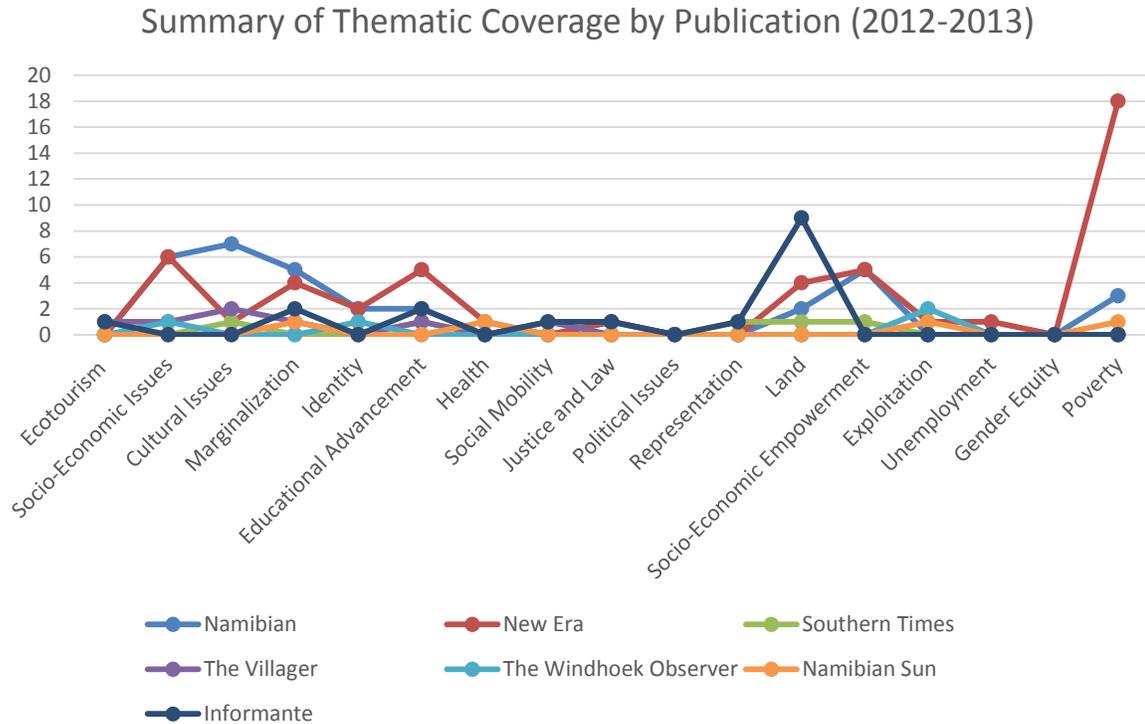


Figure 4.12: Summary of Thematic Coverage by Publication (2012-2013)

Conclusion

Based on thematic categorisation alone above, one can conclude that, on the whole, coverage of San people and issues related to them was event driven. The media apparently tended to amplify statements of powerful people like politicians about the San people without contextualising and critiquing the feel good political statements. Another observation is that daily newspapers (*The Namibian*, *The Namibian Sun* and *New Era*) tended to mention the San people more frequently and appeared to mention more themes than weekly publications that include *The Villager*, *The Southern Times*, *Windhoek Observer* and *Informanté*. Having said this, it was difficult to draw conclusions with respect to the quality of reports and balance which entail representing both sides of an issue backed by the newspaper's own opinion (third voice). This could not be assessed through Content

Analysis alone. These issues required a more vigorous engagement with published articles to unpack hidden issues related to power, stereotyping, marginalisation, ideology, Afghanistanisation, underrepresentation and relevance, hence the application of Critical Discourse Analysis which was elaborated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

This discussion in this chapter was informed by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It also adopted Akapabio's (2009) position that selecting and organising stories in the framing tradition gives a one-dimensional interpretation of the people and that negative frames are always a precursor to something evil. It was argued here that the neglect and general disdain with which the San were treated in both economic and social sectors like health, education, land rights, among others, emanated from this framed identity of the San as low class citizens. This framed identity justified the ignoble dehumanisation of the San and the negative treatment meted out to them. The general conclusion to this is that the San had become victims of an ideological framework and perennial stereotype through the media.

This chapter was broadly divided into five major sections. There was the issue of identity where the San are framed as second class or subhuman creatures by the general public and particularly by the media. This was discussed first. As mentioned earlier on, non-journalistic researchers have propounded the idea that part of the major plight of the San people is identity crisis, with writers like Suzman (2001) claiming that the San identity has been largely affected by alterity. This section sought to explore the extent to which the print media of Namibia restore this stolen legacy or perpetuate it through reportage.

The second section analysed event-driven stories. These are media articles that preoccupied themselves with stories on events and big names while purporting to be San-related stories. These stories were discussed under the headline Marginalisation and Exclusion. Issues like

frequency of appearance and reason of coverage featured more, the argument being that more burning issues were not covered, let alone occasional events featured especially by influential politicians or other prominent personalities.

The issue of land was discussed in the third section. The section examined the support of the media on San's land rights through coverage. Historical as well as present day land dispossession and their impact on the San lives were the main areas of focus. The intention was to examine the extent to which the print media air the San as equal Namibians in their land plight and as expressed by themselves. In the fourth section, the issues of education and unemployment were discussed. The major question here was: Are San children getting equal education and employment opportunities like other Namibians and if not, why and what has the media got to do with it? Health and other social issues like gender were discussed in the fifth section.

The gist of the argument is that the character and function of journalistic language connects with the social through being the primary domain and vehicle of ideology and that the mass media have become both the fuel and the lubricant of that vehicle. Thus, the general thesis of this study is that by failing to revolt against the framing tradition, the Namibian print media fall under those texts that require a critical glance for they carry a strong ideology. Fairclough (1991) aptly noted:

Institutional practices which people draw upon without thinking (which) often embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimise (the) existing

(status quo). Practices which appear to be universal and common-sensical can often be shown to originate in the dominant class or the dominant block, and to have become naturalised.

The result of framing people is the creation of certain worldviews. These worldviews become not only institutional but also formal. They become not only the normal but also the rational. Texts or news stories function to sustain unequal power relations, or as in this case, maintain and justify some unfair treatment given to certain groups of people. 'Social subjects' or 'participants' (as the people in the stories are commonly referred to in Critical Discourse Analysis) are constrained to operate within the subject positions set up in discourse types and must be in that sense passive (Fairclough, 1991). This is the position that the Namibian print media glibly announced though not overtly, as this discussion tried to unveil.

5.1 'Things from the bush'- framed identity and stereotype

The treatment of the San people as subhuman creatures was not something uncommon to many Namibians from all walks of life. The general disdain prevalent even in common and banal street discourses was seen through the way the San people are named, for example 'Ovawangala' which, according to field research, refers to someone who is either homeless or useless. This is someone with no sense of tomorrow or yesterday. It may also refer to a directionless underclass barbaric wanderer. Arguably, this view of the San has its roots in the colonial dispensation. Apart from the fact that physical displacement also meant psychological displacement, one of the major aspects of colonial discourse was to psychologically disorient the victims in order to leave them with no sense of belonging.

The lack of a sense of belonging among the San people can thus be traced back to the colonial period and the 1951 South Africa's annexing of Namibia, making it a province of South Africa. As part of its oppressive apartheid policy and divide-and-rule tactics, the South African administration established 'homelands' for the different native societies on the basis of tribal groupings. Whilst the other ethnic groups, namely Ovambo, Kavango, Damara and Herero received large homelands where they could continue with their customary ways of life, the San were dispersed widely throughout the homelands of larger groups. Bushmanland, intended as a 'homeland' and established at the edge of the Kalahari, was occupied only by a few hundred Jul/'hoansi, a San community occupying Tsumkwe West. Few of Namibia's San ever had any ties to Bushmanland (Suzman, 2001). This displacement and dispersal, coupled with the hitherto prevailing demeaning discourse, have had adverse effects on San identity. Unity of purpose for any positive direction is hitherto a big challenge among the San who are still to gather together and pave a way forward as a unified people.

The San dilemma is thus made worse by the devastating and searing energy-sapping heat of the discourse revolving around their identity. They have become largely "Institutional subjects ... constructed" by the prevailing discourse (Fairclough, 1991) and consequently find themselves in positions whose ideological underpinnings they are unaware of. The intention of this section is to examine the extent to which the Namibian print media ameliorate or aggravate the derogatory and disparaging colonial as well as the hitherto prevailing discourse which describes and positions the San as the most barbaric 'bush' people.

5.1.1 Othering

The above-mentioned street discourse that ‘others’ and depicts the San people of Namibia as backward people is rhymed by the story entitled “Namibia’s Bushmen Profit from Nature” published in *The Namibian* on the 3rd February in 2012. The headline blatantly referred to the San as “Bushmen”, a direct confirmation of the presupposed “otherness” of the San people. That title presupposed that there existed, in a country called Namibia, a distinct, separate and seemingly incompatible group of people who belonged to the bush. The journalist failed or pretended to fail to notice the fact that the term carries with it countless negative connotations and implications. In that article, there was the assumption that the San were known as Bushmen and presenting them like that would not necessarily harm their image and standing in society. And yet to the discerning reader the title actually reflected that the writer of the article actually believed that the San are not necessarily full human beings. Taken seriously, the term “Bushmen” connotes half-human, perhaps barbaric, perhaps animalistic, irrational, primitive beings who are content to stay in the bush because they belong to the bush like animals.

Ideally, this should not have continued to happen in the so-called postmodern world, where globalisation is acclaimed to have affected the most remote peasant corner of the world. The story glossed over the real problems of a people by claiming that they were benefitting from nature as if the San are the only Namibians to ‘profit from nature.’ One easily realizes that they were referred to as “Bushmen” to justify the lopsided view of the writer of the story.

Richardson (2007) argued that the way people are named in news discourses can have a significant impact on the way in which they are eventually viewed by the readers. Machin

and Mayr (2012) stated that, in any language, there existed no neutral way to represent a person and that these semiotic choices, ‘representational strategies’ as Fowler (1991), Van Dijk (1993), Fairclough (2003, p.145) termed them, served to draw attention to certain aspects of identity and lead to placing people in certain social positions.

The whole meaning could be different if the headline, for example, was like this: “Namibians profit from nature” or, “Poor Namibians profit from nature” or “Namibian families profit from nature”. “Namibians profit from nature” would have nationalised the problem and ‘poor Namibians profit from nature’ would have achieved the effect of universalising the problem. It is a truism that there are other tribes apart from the San who also thrive from nature. “Namibian families profit from nature” would have given the problem a humanitarian outlook since the word ‘family’ takes readers to a respectable unit of people that deserves proper recognition. A family is a group of people that usually includes women and children who need protection. It is not “profiting from nature” that matters here. What matters is who is profiting from nature. Thus, by using the term “Bushmen” the journalist wants to carry the readership from the human world to the bush world where animals live in harmony with nature! Here, the writer places the “Bushmen”. Thus the term does not connote poverty or family units among the San, but bush activities – an animalistic presentation that totally dehumanises the San.

5.1.2 Generalisation and Collectivisation

Social actors are often evaluated not on the basis of who really they are, or what they do but through representational strategies (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The title to the story has some important ideological consequences. Such derogatory terms have adverse effects on the

identity of the San people. This is what Akapabio (2009) quoting Aday (2006) termed frame on the public consciousness whereby repetition and reinforcements of certain frames as opposed to others make them more salient while those not so emphasised become invisible.

Reese (2007) argued that frames are organising principles that are socially shared and persistent over time and that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world. It follows that the coverage of the San people of Namibia falls under the framed category and the public view of the San, and unfortunately, the way the San people view themselves is tragically altered by this framing tradition. A framed people live within certain barricades adjudicated by the given frames. Such mental barricades constitute the existing ideology defined by Richardson (2007) not only as a system of ideas or beliefs, but ways of thinking in which historically transient (dehumanising) forms of social organisation are represented as eternal, natural, inevitable or, worse still, rational. Thus any kind of mistreatment meted out to such people is already innately justified by the frames in which the people are put. This is seen in a news story titled “They just want to use us; San women” where the San women concede that “San are considered to be of ‘low status’ in the Namibian society”.

The device of generalisation and collectivisation is implied in the use of the term “Bushmen” when referring to all San people, without giving specifications about their location and dialects. Oftentimes, the San were portrayed as part of a general collectivity. No attempt was made by such articles to individualise the feelings of the San and their identities thereby bringing readers closer to them. The San were therefore stereotyped and this removed the readers’ empathy. Readers were actually being encouraged to ignore the plight of the San because it is considered normal for “things from the bush” to thrive from nature.

Throughout the article, the text presents the San as people who have long lived “in harmony with nature”. The lexical choice “harmony with nature” is authenticated by its cumulative synonyms so prevalent in the story like “profit from nature”, “indigenous populations”, and “nomadic San people”. This becomes a device of accumulation; a stylistic device that is defined as a list of words which embody similar abstract or physical qualities or meanings with the intention to emphasise the common qualities that words hold.

They were also depicted as “Namibia’s oldest indigenous inhabitants” and “the original inhabitants of Namibia”. Being “Once the sole occupants of much of southern Africa” is not a crime that they should not have been presented in such a derogatory way. In news stories, persons are specified and characterised with respect to quality, space time and so on, according to Richardson (2007).

The story was set in Tsumkwe where, as seen in one news story in *The Villager*, the San were deprived even of a mortuary. One would wonder where the harmony preached was when people were living in disproportionate poverty. The time the story was set saw countless land invaders annexing San land. The irony here was that the story tells readers that the people were in harmony with nature when the very nature is under threat from invaders. For example, the harvesting of the ‘devil’s claw’ - a root used as a natural medicine and basket-making, mere menial jobs for people struggling for survival, was being ironically appreciated and was enough for people to be regarded as content with nature. Basket making was no longer of cultural value but for sale. Traditional dances were no longer performed to establish and maintain the social and cultural rapport but to entertain tourists. The story was content with all these contradictions and their consequences on the San identity.

5.1.3 Glossing over real issues

The mention of the San as the first sole occupants of a territory does not bring justice to the way the San are pictured in this story. The article mentioned poverty in passing and seemed to maintain the view that the San were doing well, “able to move forward with a mix of tradition and modernity”. This was in contrast with the explicit exploration of the nature and statistical figures of poverty and marginalisation one would expect from the loudest paper like *The Namibian* and to the observation of the non-journalistic sources like Suzman (2001) who noted that as a community, San people in Namibia were in a terrible state.

At the social and cultural levels, the article failed to rebut and counter the prevalent disdain with which the San people were generally and unfairly held. The article seemed to support the demeaning view that the San were naturally poor “things from the bush”.

The same attitude was carried in the article “Profiting from Nature - How the San in Namibia are leveraging on their environment”. Published on 24 May 2012, this story was almost a photocopy of the above-criticised story published in *The Namibian* on 3 of February 2012. In a poverty-stricken Tsumkwe, where prostitution and alcohol abuse are the daily order, where countless San are landless, it seemed sarcastic to report that people were profiting from anything including nature itself which was shrinking with every passing day because of cattle herder ‘invaders’. The major devices used in this article were omission and avoidance. This is what Machin and Mayr (2012) referred to as suppression - lexical absence whereby certain terms and aspects one might expect from such reportage are absent. The life of San women through making handicrafts for the small tourist trade was reported as a normal source of living for the people. The San women were largely portrayed as living

“in harmony with nature”. The fact that the nature was in fact disturbed and the view that the San face a plethora of challenges like HIV and AIDS and prostitution was avoided. These real challenges that the San face on the ground in Tsumkwe were not only glossed over but were totally avoided. One wonders why the journalist was not concerned about these glaring omissions. It is ironic that the article concluded that the San would be able to “move forward with a mix of tradition and modernity”.

5.1.4 Representational strategies

The apparent failure by the Namibian print media to uplift the identity and the stolen legacy of these communities was seen through the way the news headlines were framed. For example,

“San complain about being left out” - *New Era* 21 May 2012

“San girl conquers modelling world” – *The Namibian* 19 October 2012

“Little justice for Aminuis San” - *The Namibian* 23 October 2012

“San farmer feels discriminated against” – *The Namibian* 20 May 2013

“San drown in abject poverty” *Namibian Sun* 19 June 2012

“A helping hand for the San” - *New Era* October 7, 2013

“Spare a thought for the San people” – *Namibian sun* 2012-06-20

“Food relief for starving Oshivelo San” – *The Namibian* 22 June 2012

This “San” stigma which was in almost every article studied here was of ideological

significance. One can argue that it became a realm of semiotic choices that had the effect of connoting a set of ideas, values and sequences of activity that were not necessarily overtly articulated. As shown below, there were many other possibilities that could have been used to represent or formulate the news headlines. There were certain characteristic features associated with ‘San girl’ and not ‘Owambo girl’, for example. In like manner, it appears as if the way a ‘San farmer’ produced his crops and livestock could not be the same as ‘a Zambezi farmer’ or just a ‘Namibian farmer’.

Such linguistic resources (choices) are referred to as ‘representational strategies’ in Critical Discourse Analysis. The San were thus represented in news frames that emphasise their ‘otherness’. This emphasised their low class situation as something natural and God-given, without overtly stating it. This is what Van Dijk (1996), (cited by Richardson, 2007), referred to as ‘ideological squaring’ whereby news texts use referential choices to create a certain stigma and to make events and issues appear simplified in order to control their meaning. The moral panic and the humanitarian catastrophe of literally starving children, of mothers giving birth in shacks with no medical attention, of unemployed loitering youths, of teenagers in general awe with no school nor enough hunting ground, of ill-equipped distant clinics which did not have even mortuaries, were thus mitigated when the headline simply stated “San drown in abject poverty”. Machin and Mayr (2012) had this to say:

In any language there exists no neutral way to represent a person. And
 all choices will serve to draw attention to certain aspects of identity
 that will be associated with certain kinds of discourses. ...these choices

allow us to place people in the social world and to highlight certain aspects of identity we wish to draw attention to or omit.

This failure to find another way to represent people showed the general disdain with which these people were treated in the media where little was done to show that these groups were people before they became San. It was germane to conclude that other ethnic groups were, in most cases, represented neutrally except the San. For example, titles like “two men arrested for rape” were used for other groups without stating their tribe. Even in cases where the San had done Namibia proud, the label ‘San’ was rarely removed. The example is what we see in the above-mentioned examples: “San girl conquers modelling world” which could have been framed as ‘Namibian teenager conquers modelling world’ or simply “Sannatjie Keinamses conquers modelling world”. Even on some instances where one would expect more sympathetic or humanitarian ways of representing the people, the San stigma remained prevalent. “Food relief for starving Oshivelo San” could have been framed like ‘Food relief for starving Oshivelo families’ with the word families bringing us closer to women and the hungry children in desperate need of relief. This could mean that a San girl was not expected to conquer the modelling world just like any other girl.

Rarely were San participants represented as specific individuals but as a generic type. The “San” label perpetually represented the San as a type and this had the potential to compromise their identity. It is important to realise that this way of representation did not occur accidentally or in a linguistic random sampling. Rather, as Richardson (2007) put it, it is a result of a choice, the choice to use one way of describing a person, an action or a process over another; the choice to use one way of constructing a sentence over an

alternative; the choice to include a particular fact or opinion or argument over another.

5.1.5 Agency and causality

In the story “San complain about being left out”, the word “complain” in the headline had a considerable impact on the way the author wanted the audience/reader to perceive the San people. Let us take it this way: “San said they are being left out” or “San grumbled that they are being left out”. “Said” could have been the more neutral word that the journalist could have used. If “announced”, for example, had been used, it would suggest that the San were a rational and organised people. It would have implied that the San were reasonable and had said something that was planned. If they merely “complained” or “grumbled”, this gives much impression and attention on the character of the San than on the legitimacy of their cause. It was not stated overtly but communicated through the quoting verb choices and this consequently influences the entire discourse. It would thus sound like the San are not more than a low down-trodden grumbling people or a disorganised rabble of an ever-complaining group of people. This becomes another way of stereotyping and framing veiled under the carpet of semantics. In plain discourse analysis, whether it is a San or not who says “We are being left out”, in reported speech, it makes sense to use “complain” or “grumble”. It is indeed a semantic rather than a pragmatic issue, no matter who is speaking to whom and when.

Let us put it in this way: “Government left out the san”. This could be what Fairclough (1991) regarded as a ‘declarative’ sentence, a Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) simple sentence.

Subject

verb

object

Government left out the San

In this instance, elements of agency and causality are not backgrounded. The author in presenting the short article with such a title shows that there is, in Fairclough's (1991) words, an ideological work being done through such conscious hedging and deception. The object (the San) is made to be the subject complaining. The complaint is presented in a one quoted sentence – “rules in the park value the lives of animals more than those of human beings” – no further details are given as to what type of treatment these people are getting and who is responsible for running the operations at the park. An extract from the article in question reads:

Having lived within the perimeters of the park for centuries, the disgruntled San group believes the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) values the preservation of wildlife more than humans, because most rules and regulations in the park restrict the freedom of people.

Machin (2012) noted that in discourse, different categories of participants are often given different types of reactions to events. In this case, San people were portrayed as people who complain. The above-quoted paragraph was presented as if was only a belief, an attitude by the San people that they were being treated as worse than animals. The article seemed to presuppose that the San were mistakenly misconstruing the park's job and symbolism. This was shown by “having lived within ...for centuries” and “disgruntled San group.” They were presented as a backward, if not illogical and irrational people failing to grasp the function of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

5.1.6 Exploitation of San culture

It is not only lack of a sense of belonging. The San tragedy was slightly worse. Their culture many a time became a playing zone and a source of business for unscrupulous people and tourists. This was seen in the story “Controversy plagues photo shoot” where “accusations of stereotyping and possible exploitation have plagued a photo shoot in Sossusvlei Namibia”, where “Critics have stated that photos in the spread, like the one taken at the Namib Rand Nature reserve, perpetuates racial stereotypes and used people as exotic human props” or “as human museums.” What was unfortunately absent was the details of the photo shoot and the extent to which it had dehumanised the San man. This scenario was similar to the scenario where the tourists took photos at will without the San’s consent, or when the San had to sell their culture through performing traditional dances for tourists’ entertainment.

Article 19 of the Constitution of Namibia reads:

Every person shall be entitled to enjoy, practice, profess, maintain and promote any culture, language, tradition or religion subject to the terms of this Constitution and further subject to the condition that the rights protected by this article do not impinge upon the rights of others...

This thus obliges all researchers, media practitioners and tourists as well to respect San cultural heritage and binds them to consult the San before using their images and other attributes. The story thus failed to emphasise this dictum. It rather stressed people’s call for the man to be compensated where one may argue that there is no amount of money or reward that can buy a people’s culture and sovereignty.

5.1.7 Stereotyping and generalisation

Similar sentiments were aired in the story “San girl conquers modelling world” where the discovery of a young San model was presented as follows:

'He looked at me and saw that I had small eyes and small ears. When he met my parents, he realised that I belonged to the San tribe and took me to model,' she said of her discovery. She adds that her first modelling shoot took place at the Harnas game farm, where she posed with cheetahs.

The story stressed without questioning the nature of her discovery by a Canadian film maker and her unusual physical qualities. The writer wrote as if the girl's identity could not be affected by the attitude in the lines. She was being reduced to become part and parcel of the exploitable natural tourist attraction around her. The story reduced Sannatjie to a mere piece of tourist attraction though it pretended to report her through a positive light. It merely focused on the presumably positive aspects of the model's experiences, claiming that it helped her to learn more about the cheetahs and the negative implications were left untouched. The lack of self-esteem, a sense of self-denial was seen in the article “They just want to use us – San women” published in the *New Era* on 18 September 2013. This spiral of self-negation was common among women in general but in this instance it was particularised on San women. The article simply portrayed this identity dilemma as a mere “San women claim”, just as a matter of sentiment and not a real substantive matter on the ground.

This prompted one may want to ask: If the San “are considered to be of ‘low status’ in the Namibian society”, to what extent did the press help to disclaim such a hypothesis apart

from picturing it as a mere sentiment by the San?

This stereotypical attitude had instilled a sense of despair and a low self-esteem among the San, to the extent of hiding their identity when in public or as in this case, a refusal by San women to date the men from their ethnic group because of poverty:

New Era approached the San women, who everyday come together under the shade of trees overlooking the spot where Shoprite supermarket in Rundu dumps expired food and other leftover consumables. The women confided that they find it hard to find meaningful employment and are forced to look for men who can provide for them. “I dropped out of school in 2010 when my parents died... I cannot be dating one of my own people, because most of them are also suffering like me. How can such a person support me?” she asked.

This alludes to serious identity crisis though the story remained largely quiet about it. People had been framed and lived within certain frames of reference that they believed to be normal and journalists seemed to propagate this view too.

Constant repetition of the word ‘San’ itself seemed to emphasise the purported “otherness” of these community groups. The crucial questions that remained were: Are these people San before they become people? Are they San before they become Namibians? Are they second class citizens or somewhat subhuman? The Namibian print media had done little to either trace or recognise these binaries. They had failed to instil a sense of belonging among the San both as equal Namibians and as able people. Neither did the media allow the San a chance to define themselves apart from few instances when San people were depicted

demonstrating self-defeat and self-rejection and endless awe at the circumstances circumscribing their deplorable condition.

5.2 Marginalisation and exclusion

Non-journalist discourses had revealed that the San people of Namibia were generally out of reach of the country's mainstream programmes. In other words, the San lived outside the typical Namibian society, with little to no participation in the broad national affairs and development programmes. The San had no representation at local, regional and national levels save for the recognition of two chiefs in the Tsumkwe District. No liberation war credentials were associated with the San people other than a reference to their having been used by the South African military troops as scouts and trackers (Suzman 2001). Therefore, this section examined how the Namibian newspapers treated and portrayed this lack of recognition and national invisibility.

In this regard, Sylvain (2002) noted that post-independent Namibia had plausibly created conservancies where indigenous communities could achieve a level of control over some natural resources, thereby generating an income from game management and tourism. This section sought to unveil the extent to which the media had covered these and other policies put in place by the government to bail the San people from the manacles of marginalisation. It was crucial to find out how loud the media had been in covering implementation and non-implementation of these policies.

To begin with, the story "UNAM Donates Mattresses to Community Hostel" was an event-driven story on the 'handover ceremony'. Prominent devices were speech acts as people of power made pledges and promises. This story was more of a parade of the goodwill and

noble acts of the ministers than an expression of the grave situation of the San people. Another device used was the one of naming, not of the beneficiary San children but of the present ministers with their eloquent and grand titles, giving the whole article an air of grandeur and vividness:

The handover ceremony was attended by Deputy Prime Minister, Marco Hausiku, Kavango East and West Governor, Ambassador Samuel Mbambo, Regional Education Director, Alfons Dikuua, Councillor of the Kahenge constituency, Joseph Sikongo, and members of the community... Unam's Rundu campus Director, Dr Gilbert Likando, Unam Vice-Chancellor, Professor Lazarus Hangula ...

5.2.1 Names as devices

It was significant to note how strategically the device of naming was used here. The ministers, directors and other influential names were always mentioned first and "members of the community" coming at the very end. The devices of nomination and functionalisation were also used here, showing what Machin (2007) aptly posited:

Participants can be nominated in terms of who they are or functionalized by being depicted in terms of what they do. The paragraph quoted above is a clear example of a case where nomination brings us closer to the individual while functionalisation allows the presence of the person to be more official and to add legitimacy.

The article became some kind of a eulogy; ceremonially praising the present big names.

Arguably, the device of functionalisation was also accompanied with the use of honorifics and their use suggested a degree of seniority that required a degree of respect. A great chasm was however created between the San people who were simply referred to as “members of the community” by the use of such devices. According to earlier arguments in this thesis, this would have been a commendable mainstreaming strategy: calling the San “members of the community”, just like any other community, instead of a special case. The so called big names were thus conclusively represented in news frames that safeguarded their seniority while the San community members were represented in news frames that naturalised their inferiority and exclusion.

The ultimate intention of the above seems to have been to advertise the ministers and ostensibly show “the caring spirit of national leaders” through coverage. This may have been done to show that the leaders were doing their job relentlessly. In turn this might have given hope to the reader and the audience community because it had been shown that they had enough representation. The presence and name dropping of such big names would create the impression that the people’s problems were over. This psychological solace to material problems was another form of manipulation. One may argue that the leaders’ presence and the grandiloquence with which they were presented ironically added weight to the marginalisation of the poor San people whose concerns the stories remain oblivious of.

The 150 mattresses to be handed over in such relative splendour left a lot to be desired. The article was content to leave other problems apart from the dramatic irony shown when it unveiled that the mattresses had been donated when some learners were actually sleeping in a dining hall. One would expect a donation of accommodation to come before the mattresses. All in all, this became a mere spontaneous occasion that showed no consultation

with the needy to air what they wanted in order of preference or importance. Such an occasion became a reflector of discrimination because the San were generally considered under-developed and intellectually backward, if not primitive. The assumption was that the San were a hapless people who would benefit from modernisation and integration into the dominant society. What the Namibian print media glossed over was the origins and impact of such discrimination.

5.2.2. Injustice

The story “Little justice for Aminuis San” demonstrated the effect of marginalisation and injustice meted out on the San. The title unfortunately hesitated to introduce the reader to either the perpetrator or the victim of the offence. It rather replaced the name of the victim with his place of origin. This became an example of a metonym used to obscure the gory nature of the offence. The victim was thus simply an “Aminuis San” without a name. It was paradoxically fascinating that the assailant’s name was not provided throughout the story. He was simply referred to as “a former employer” and the victim’s statements were depicted as mere claims. Thus his statement “we red people mean nothing to the police” could paradoxically mean that the San were presented in a light that showed insignificance, not only to the police, but also to the media.

The article indeed acknowledged, for example, that the San were regularly beaten up by other farmers with criminal cases rarely opened “because the victims are paid off with paltry sums of money not to press charges”. But awareness of the San’s rights remained unclear in this and other stories. While non-recognition of many of the San traditional leaders denies them access even to the basic forms of traditional justice, high illiteracy levels among the

San and a limited knowledge of English also restricted access to justice and social facilities and seriously compromised their access to information and law, and this is what the media was supposed to propagate, but it unfortunately seemed to aggravate the situation.

It seems that there was no specific legal protection of indigenous people in general under Namibian law. The only use of the term ‘indigenous’ in reference to a group of people was found in section (b) of the Traditional Authorities Act of 2000 which ascribes indigenesness to almost anyone of African bloodline born in Africa, thereby confirming that the Government of Namibia regards all Namibian communities of African bloodline as indigenous people (Sylvain, 2002). Article 1(b) reads:

... traditional community means any indigenous homogeneous, endogamous social grouping of persons comprising of families deriving from exogamous clan which share a common ancestry, language, cultural heritage, customs and traditions, who recognizes a common traditional authority and inhabit a common communal area....

This is not specific and did not augur well with the San who, as research has proved, had no traditional representation. What was appalling in this case was the media’s silence on such crucial matters.

5.2.3 Majoring the minor

In the story “President Holds Christmas Party for San”, the event was depicted as “a rare spectacle in the rural area, which has very little evidence of development and sits without

television and radio reception.” What was interesting in this story was that emphasis was on the event and not on the fact that the village has little to no evidence of development. The economic and social marginalisation was not what matters for the media. The zeal and zest was to colourfully picture His Excellency and his spectacular visit to the San people:

... President Pohamba was excited and felt the visit also gave him an opportunity to familiarise himself with the concerns of residents in the area. He pledged government's commitment towards the social upliftment of the San people.

The centre of attention in this story, it should be reiterated, was the President, not the San. The constant juxtaposition of the eulogised presentation of the Presidential speeches with the countless problems of the San community clearly denoted the ultimate intention of the story.

The party was arguably not as important an action to a people who lacked food and identity (ID) documents as the story unveils. The real problems were wiped off with a single presidential statement which became contradictory to the statement in the opening paragraph which states that the village had no sign of development:

"I am happy that we have worked with the regional governor and council to organise an early Christmas party for the residents of Chetto and the surrounding areas. The visit has also given me an opportunity to familiarise myself with government projects and programmes in the area. The government is committed, hence the building of a school and clinic to serve the community of Chetto," said Pohamba.

Fairclough (1991) argued that newspaper reporting does not represent equally all social groupings in a population. Government ministers, like in this case, feature far more than the unemployed San people.

It was also important to note that journalists work under editorial control. For Fairclough (1991), rather more nebulously, the responsibility is on the newspaper itself as a sort of institutional collective. This is why powerful social actors feature more and control and constrain the contributions of non-powerful social actors. Media producers have the sole producing rights and can therefore determine what is included and excluded, who to interview and how events are represented. Such a scenario, one may argue, is the prime cause of the media indulgence in event-driven stories which become another deviation from the crucial details of the ground problems to mere parading of big names.

Until the end of the quoted story, only the President was repeatedly quoted. No voice of the local residents of Chetto was heard, apart from the special thanks given to the sponsors of the event by the President

A similar event-driven story was entitled “Pohamba joins Mourners At !Kung San Chief’s Burial”. The story by and large covered His Excellency who featured more than the other attendants who were generally referred to as “hundreds of people.”

A strikingly interesting story in the *New Era*, written by George Sanzila, published on 19 December 2012, is entitled “HuntAfrica Hosts a Successful Tournament for the San”. This story did not depict the event for the event’s sake, but the event for the business’ sake. Thus the story unfolded:

The Bwabwata San community and its surrounding areas were treated to an early Christmas present, when HuntAfrica Namibia sponsored a two-day soccer and netball tournament at Divundu, last weekend.

The so-called successful Tournament for San hosted by HuntAfrica was a good development since sport and recreation helped reduce the feeling of discrimination. It however, unfortunately, fell under the event-driven stories. One would argue that, had it not been for the event and had it not been for the big company that “forked out over N\$30 000 for organising the soccer and netball tourney”, the story might not have been even published. In this instance, reportage still followed big names and business people and not the marginalised groups. Not many details were given on San problems, save the boasting that “Kyaramacan Association... generates about 4-million per year from hunting concessions”, some substantial amount that could do a lot in alleviating San poverty:

The Bwabwata community extends from Masambo in western Caprivi to the Divundu area in the Kavango Region. HuntAfrica, which has a five-year trophy hunting concession with the Kyaramacan Association, a Community Based Natural Resource Management initiative (CBNRM), which runs the Bwabwata National Park in conjunction with the Ministry of Environment and Tourism also sponsored sewing machines and other supplies to the community, which consists predominantly of San people.

No profound details of what the San needed, save the detailed explanation of

HuntAfrica's exploitations and hunting, as the name implies, were provided. The above-quoted paragraph was more of a business map for interested tourist adventurers with details not of the San plight (save for the few sewing machines and other unnamed supplies given as a consolation to the community):

A partner in HuntAfrica Namibia, James Chapman, explained the association's social responsibility initiatives and how they have benefited the community of Bwabwata since the resumption of the concession. "We have a social support programme of different activities. We have sponsored a tournament since last year on a rotational basis at Divundu and Omega with support from various sponsors such as Aquafresh, Morvite and Simba chips. We have also been supporting San children in the Bwabwata area by giving them food, soccer balls, sewing machines, tables and chairs to projects dealing with beadworks in the San community," said Chapman.

This became the preoccupation of the paper: to cover the noble acts of the company's donations as described by the company chairman and not by the San community. No evidence of these donations, no details of their social and educational upliftment was present in the story. The tendency was to speak about the San and doing what anyone feels was best for them.

5.2.4 Commercial vs Social issues

The donations and tournaments were indeed good, and this discussion is not a deliberate attempt to undermine the private sector's acts of charity. The concern of this study was the threshold of the media's reluctance to go an extra mile to question whether such donations were of prioritised value among the San. It was important to ask if such tournaments were what the San would prefer first when they slept on empty stomachs and went without identity documents, as the preceding articles had shown. Purporting to incorporate the San into the mainstream of economic and social domains through this way of reportage had not only weaknesses but rather strengthened the frames of the San as insignificant community groups. It presupposed that the companies and the associations doing their game and park business knew what the San wanted, which in turn presupposed that the San did not know what they needed. The story thus paraded:

Thaddeus Chedau, the chairperson of the Kyarama Association,
which generates about 4-million per year from hunting concessions,
was ecstatic that HuntAfrica has played a significant role in reducing
unemployment and imparting skills to the San community. "This is
the second year HuntAfrica is sponsoring a tournament....

This raised a lot of crucial rhetoric questions: Why are we told of Thaddeus Chedau, the chairperson of the Kyarama Association's ecstatic happiness and not of the beneficiary San

community? Why does the journalist deprive us of a single San's smile and happiness on the whole event?

If the Kyarama Association generates about four-million per year from hunting concessions, how much of this money had benefited the San, save the few chairs and little food mentioned in the story? If the four million did not benefit the San, why were the readers not told about it in this story, which was supposed to be a San related story? It appears that the ultimate intention of the story was to advertise the grandeur of the company and not to reduce exclusion among the San. Ironically, the article showed how the companies were exploiting the San and their land for their stupendous aggrandizement.

Published on 31 July 2012, the story "Govt to Empower San People" also revealed the weaknesses on the part of Namibian print media to report against marginalisation.

The headline was not only vague but also off-tangent. The whole story was about the funeral of the San Chief. The story title, though event-driven, was supposed to introduce or inform the reader about the funeral. It was not clear whether the title was giving a promise to empower San people or it is a supposedly belated duty of the government to empower the San people. It was only in the first sentence that was mentioned that the government had been called upon to develop infrastructure in the Tsumkwe Constituency. The second paragraph then says that the statement was made at a funeral:

Amathila was speaking at the funeral of !Kung San Chief John

Arnold, his wife Maria !Nuse and their grandson Duggery

Arnold at the Omatako village in Tsumkwe West on Saturday.

Even the San traditional and cultural ways of burying their dead were not aired here because the preoccupation was to represent the people of power. Another disheartening setback was the absence of efforts by the Namibian print media to promote and protect the intellectual rights of the San people either through supporting an enactment of legislation or the dissemination of information. Researchers had reported that intellectual property rights were absent in Namibia. According to their findings, property rights, especially in terms of invention, were absolutely lacking in Namibia and called for a thorough study before such rights could be regulated. This concern was shown in the article “San lose copyright for film”.

5.2.5 Ambiguity, avoidance and concealment

The news headline “San lose copyright for film”, written by Diana Ndimbira on 11 July 2013, followed the tradition of other headlines that obfuscate causality through deleting the agent. The headline was in the form of a passive sentence which revealed an attempt to conceal and to take for granted. If the reader wanted to know explicitly who was behind the action, the reader would have had to convert the sentence into an active sentence where the verb form would reveal agency and causality. Thus the headline would be like, ‘Vickson Hangula hijacks San copyright for film’. Here the actor is clear and presented through the active material process ‘hijacked’ and the San become the objects of the action whereby the agent is neither backgrounded nor deleted.

The story’s first paragraph still dwelt on ambiguity, avoidance and concealment. Part of the read:

SOURCES in the film industry have levelled allegations of hijacking

the copyright of a film that belongs to the most marginalised community in the country against one of the most prominent film producers in the country. It has come to light that the copyright for the San film documentary titled ‘We Were Once Hunters’ that is supposed to belong to the community has been acquired by the producer of the film dubiously.

The underlined words and phrases show the journalist beating around the bush, trying to avoid being direct and specific. Similar phrases like “an unhappy member of the public told the Windhoek Observer”, “Sources who approached this paper felt that” and “Sources say” can be seen throughout the story, demonstrating vague sources.

Apart from the so-called unhappy member of the public, the chairperson of the board of the NFC Rosalia Penda, merely gives detailed generalisations and the “Minister of Information, Communication and Technology Joel Kaapanda said that the fact that Hangula had the copyright for the documentary could have just been an oversight on his part.”

The attempt in the whole story was to exonerate this action. This attempt was made clear in another news story entitled “Hangula defends copyright to San documentary” published by *Windhoek Observer* on 15 August 2013 where Hangula was interviewed to defend himself and he did it. What remained dubious was the fact that no member or representative of the San, including the actors, were interviewed or allowed to feature in both stories. Such a suppression appears to have been ideologically motivated, a scenario made clear by the fact that non-journalistic sources voiced so loudly against the hijacking of the San’s intellectual

rights by noting that the San had suffered from ‘an intellectual hijacking’ of their traditional knowledge and intellectual property theft organised by individuals and private companies, some involved in the media as in this case and other industries. The media’s work does not show any attempt to respect the heritage of the San and not to utilise the research or information obtained from San traditional knowledge without permission from the San. Thus the San have to suffer a double blow of being exploited and then left marginalised with no sign of compensation or recognition.

5.2.6 Muted, missing voices

On 20 June 2012, *The Namibian Sun* published a story with a seemingly convincing title “Spare a thought for the San people”. This calls for an urgent and serious consideration of the San’s ages-old exclusion. The title was however vague for it did not tell who must spare a thought for the San people. Neither did it specify the type of the thought that was needed to ameliorate the plight of the San. This became a good example of scratching the surface without giving viable solutions to the problem. The story maintained vivid descriptions of the San people’s plight without allowing any voice of the San themselves to feature. Their plight was just pictured unclearly. No trace was made to the cause of the plight of the San save a robust overemphasis on symptoms presented in overused and general terms such as marginalisation and dehumanisation:

sordid state of poverty

disheartening article

wholesale penury

arginalisation and dehumanisation

inhuman conditions

These were among the most used terms in the article to evoke empathy and sympathy with the San. The hyperbolic over lexicalisation device was used here. For Teo (2000), this device is seen when a surfeit of repetitious, quasi-synonymous terms are woven into the fabric of news discourse, giving rise to a sense of over completeness (Quoted by Machin p. 37).

Such vocabulary thus becomes nothing but empty buzzwords created for the reader to sympathise with the San to no avail. The readers' minds are consequently carried away from the desperately needed solutions to mere empathy. Ideologically, the story hedges the causes and responsibility of the San poverty in the hocus-pocus of over-lexicalized symptoms and grandiloquent terminology.

The argument here is that over-wording the San problem does not augur well for them and is not enough for the people's voice - the media. Apart from the floating overgeneralisations, the article makes use of what Machin (2012) regarded as 'aggregation' whereby the San people are quantified and treated as statistics as illustrated below:

“.....*thousands of them* continue to live under wholesale penury....”

“.....*some still* don't have basic shelter....”

“.....sanitation to *some of these people*...

It is evident that “thousands of them” implies more than two thousand or four hundred thousand. Van Dijk (1991) noted that such statistics were normally used to give an impression of objectivity and credibility when, in fact, readers are not given specific figures. “Some” means how many? Does “some” presuppose that a certain unknown number has whilst another unknown number does not have – in this case, basic shelter and food? One is bound to ask why the article dwelt on mentioning “some” without giving clear or at least well estimated figures. Those who must ‘spare a thought for the San people’, be it the government or private philanthropists, are left with no clue to the actual facts on the ground and the needed aid. This might explain why most of the aid for the San had remained unsystematic and spontaneous. Machin (2012 p. 84) posited that when actual numbers were replaced by such abstractions, readers can always ask what ideological work is being done. In this instance, failure to provide exact figures shows lack of concern as well as neglect on the part of the media, and this neglect is further diminishing the San’s hope for recognition and inclusion in both the social and economic enclaves of Namibian society.

The juxtaposition of Namibia “classed as a rich country” with “vibrant fishing sector and a prospering mining industry” to the marginalised communities’ “wholesale penury”, “dehumanisation” “health risks that could cut short the lives of those exposed to such conditions”, cannot go without mentioning. With such juxtaposition, one would expect causes and solutions to be clearly laid out.

The article appeared to be on the side of the marginalised. The readers were told of ‘policy pronouncements and increasing public participation as well as awareness of the plight of the San people...’ We are also told of the need for “full engagement with the affected communities”. However, the story remains silent about the type of policies or the nature of

public participation and awareness. Nor are we told the party or organisation or stakeholder that needs to spearhead or pioneer the so-called ‘full engagement’. “Engagement”, “participation” “pronouncements” gives the impression of a journalist who was trying to present a solution without actually saying anything.

Nominalisations were a key part of the writer’s linguistic strategy. Words which are supposed to be presented in actual and timely verbal processes were presented as nominalisations. What needed to be done was actually side-stepped. Processes needed to effect a change were presented as nouns that needed other definitions by themselves. ‘Engagement’ became just a thing, not the needed event or process. The journalist was able to background what exactly it was that needed to be done and what readers needed to know by using such nominalisations.

The ‘potpourri of promises by the powers that be’ ironically reflects the potpourri of buzzwords of the article that offers mental panacea to a non-critical reader and to the San, while it gives little to nothing to a critical reader of the desired information about the causes of the plight of the San. Suggestively, the article (with its evident over concern about the San’s plight) could have made at least little reference to some exact policies like the 2005 San Development Programme put in place by the government for the development of the San people and how such policies could be implemented.

The print media visited the San either to cover big names or to scratch the surface and overgeneralise San dilemma, thereby conclusively convincing readers that it was in tandem with the ignoble and framed view that the San were not only invisible but also insignificant.

5.3 Land question

In Namibia, land was widely regarded as a prerequisite for successful rural development, and poverty alleviation and it had remained the most contested resource since colonial times. Before the coming of the whites, all land was owned by Africans. There was no monopoly or segregation in as far as land use and distribution was concerned all over Namibia in general. Sylvain (2002) notes that European colonialists often occupied most of the land suitable for farming. Indigenous traditional land has, since the colonial era, been turned into either game parks or commercial farms, resulting in indigenous people, particularly the San, being turned into a landless and underclass destitute people. This situation forced them to become either squatters in their own motherland or ill-paid farm labourers or domestic servants in the then ever-mushrooming white-owned settlements.

Suzman (2001) noted that the San have a special attachment to their land and that access and rights to traditional lands and natural resources are critical for their survival. Land is thus the primary source, the backbone of the San survival for hunting for wildlife and gathering veldt fruits. Given this background, the primary agenda of this section was to question the extent to which the Namibian print media respect, protect, cover and inform on issues related to the San rights to land, since access to land was seen as necessary for the provision of opportunities to sustainable means of livelihood and the enhancement of the dignity, well-being and economic empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups and communities.

5.3.1 Ignored history of dispossession

It is important to emphasise that, historically, the San suffered eviction and dispossession through the creation of parks and game reserves. Conservancies and national parks

barricaded San rights to land and thereby harming their traditional economy. This dispossession did not end with colonial dispensation. In Namibia, game reserves and parks still belonged to the government and were managed on its behalf by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism. Such games and parks include the Bwabwata National Park, the Mahango Game Reserve and the Etosha National Park. The establishment of game parks obviously had a serious impact on the occupants of the communal land in question as this places restrictions on both land use and access to wildlife resources.

As if to say this was not enough, the stories analysed within the parameters of this study showed continual dispossession of San land, this time not at the hands of the former coloniser, but by fellow Namibians whom as the discussion unveiled, the media refused either to punish or even mention.

The story entitled “The failure of law and politics” published in the *Informanté* on 8 August 2013 vividly depicted the vagueness and contempt with which the print media treated the San land rights. Firstly, the news title was too broad and general for this kind of story. Secondly, the title was too ambiguous. Causality and agency were not only vague but seemingly absent. Failure was attributed to institutions not to people who worked or controlled these institutions. Who was behind law and politics, we were not told. Neither were we told what was law and politics in this context. Several other questions remained unanswered here: Are there sections of the law which promote injustice? Is it the people failing the law – that is, to uphold the norms and values adjudicated by the law?

The topic sentence informed us of “scores of illegal farmers”. The origin of the settling farmers was left out completely. Their number was also not included. They were just

“scores”. The journalist diluted the impact of a gross act of invasion by camouflaging even the origin of the invaders. One wondered if it was due to sheer lack of concrete evidence that the writer chose to gloss over facts and naming people by simply alluding to them as “scores”. Such a technique allowed the journalist to ‘dress up’ the sentence as Machin (2012) would put it. This obfuscation of agency is, as Fairclough (1991) argued, always ideologically motivated. Thus the story proceeded:

Desperate san community members, cut off from their hunter-gather lifestyle by the encroaching fences, this week told *Informanté* that they feel neglected and betrayed by the authorities.

More fascinating was the line/statement that the San were cut off from their ways of living ‘by the encroaching fences’. Inanimate agents in this case ‘encroaching fences’ were responsible for the San people’s misery and desperation. Had it not been for the fences, the San could not be cut off from their hunter-gather lifestyle. Thus, it was now not people who erected the fences but just the fences themselves responsible here. This deliberate and ideologically motivated obfuscation of agency, causality and responsibility showed that the journalist aligned himself not with the desperate San, but maybe with the invaders.

It was also paramount to note that, according to the article, the San were neither neglected nor betrayed. Rather, they merely ‘feel neglected and betrayed’. Because of the word “feel”, the audience members were encouraged to sympathise with the “desperate San community members” by being informed of their feeling of neglect. The social actors were constructed as ‘reflectors’ of an action thereby invoking sympathy. Sympathy and empathy were however not enough. What was needed was to portray this action, invasion, as it was,

not as a matter of reactions and feelings. This device continued in the same story when we were informed that the “residents complain...”, as if to suggest that their plight was not that genuine but rather a mere reflection of attitudes and emotional reactions. By so doing, the journalist did not allow the residents to have a common and genuine cause. Neither did he allow them to speak for themselves.

5.3.2 Ideological framing

This kind of writing can conclusively be considered to be a surreptitious piece of ideological framing under the veil of semantics. The Ministry of Land and Resettlement “has maintained a stony silence”. This became a metaphorical example of a rhetorical trope used for emphasis and vividness. A metaphor is basically the means by which we understand one concept in terms of another (Machin 2012 p.157). Part of the story read:

The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement has maintained

a stony silence, brushing off all questions to the

under-resourced Otjozondjupa Communal Land Board....

The silence was ‘stony’, and questions (which we were not even told) were swept away as if with a brush. Such a metaphorical presentation makes the language more live and vivid. However, in the long run, this method obscures both the asked questions and any possible responses. It rather seems that no questions were asked because it makes no sense to talk of a stony silence and about the brushed away questions at the same time. There was a latent

contradiction at the epicentre of the intentionality of this discourse - an ironic conception of reality.

Metaphor is fundamental to human thought and metaphorical thinking underlies all our statements about the world (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Chilton, 1996; Hart, 2008; Semino 2008) as quoted by Machin p. 163. Metaphor forms a fundamental part of human cognitive process. Semino (2008) noted: “When metaphors become the dominant way of thinking about a phenomenon, it may become very difficult to challenge metaphor used to describe it, since these become the common sense or naturalised way of understanding the world” (p. 165).

Thus the mere ‘brushing off’ of questions tends to make the so-called asked questions valueless. In this case, the metaphor aids only in obfuscating causality in a way that allows more abstracted solutions to carry weight. Thus, eviction orders do not carry the intended weight. What was communicated here, in the realm of real solution seeking, was next to nothing. Questions were brushed off to the under-resourced Communal Land Board of Otjozondjupa as if to say the communal land was the one to blame. Here, the order of causality was reversed to further hedge responsibility.

In like manner, the story “Land invasion”, published in the same paper on 15 May 2013, was marred by ambiguity and endless obfuscations. The headline carried a lot of ambiguity. It did not spell out who was invading whose land and it became a clear example of the literal device known as nominalisation. The noun form of the verb “invade” was used. As a result a process had been reduced or converted into a noun. The absence of the agent, in this case, the invader, in the headline left a lot to be desired. There was no tense to give timing to the

invasion, and attributions of causality and responsibility were therefore left unclear.

It was only towards the end of the topic sentence that we were alerted that the “settling Oshiwambo farmers” was responsible. “Oshiwambo farmers” is a collective noun. Names of individuals were left out throughout the story. The same sentiments were carried in the article “Cattle herders annex San land” published in the *Informanté* on 6 May 2013. They were merely “cattle herders” with no names or tribal origin. Little to no blame was apportioned to the invaders. Rather, the article was content with indirectly quoting a single representative who blamed a member of the former traditional authority for misusing the official stamp to sell the land to the northern farmers. The minister was reportedly not aware of the process, but the article said he was on a tour of the region. To do what when he was unaware of the situation, one may ask. Neither did the Regional Council in Tsumkwe know anything about this matter. The paper was glossing over the issues, presenting them as, at times, mere gossip.

The ultimate intention of the story “Police act in Tsumkwe” was to align the paper to the people of authority and, in this case, the police force. This is explained by the headline’s explicit portrayal of the subject of the action in the sentence which makes it different from other headlines like “land invasion” that have no elements of causality. The headline thus depicted the police in action, but it did not tell us the type or nature of the action in the process.

5.3.3 Transitivity

The way the police were represented in this news discourse was different from the way other people were represented. The predominant device used here is transitivity. Transitivity

describes the relationship between participants and the role they play in the process described in reporting. How actions are presented, what kind of actions appear in the text and who does them and to whom (Mills 1995). This means that journalists have the choice to determine who does what to who and can change the participants involved in the process; the process itself expressed in the verb phrase or the circumstances associated with the process. All these have effect on agency and deliberate transformations remove a sense of specificity and precision from the clauses. Successive studies of journalism have shown that there is often social or ideological significance between these choices.

The first paragraph which was written in bold font stated that “force was finally brought to bear by the Namibian police who stopped the entry of more cattle into the protected and vulnerable N=̂a Jaqna Conservancy of the! Kung community of indigenous San people”. The police action so emphasised in the story headline could however be shown to be mere exaggeration when the second paragraph unveiled that they had stopped only 48 head of cattle for the whole week whilst an estimated number of more than 1000 head had entered avoiding checkpoints. Part of the article read:

Reports have also surfaced in the local daily media this week that

members of the force have begun issuing eviction notices to

some 32 identified illegal farmer settlers who have moved into the

Tsumkwe West Communal area.

“Reports have also surfaced...” indicates a vague source. “They have begun issuing eviction notices to 32 identified illegal farmer settlers...” does not tell how many illegal farmer

settlers have invaded the land nor their names, tribes or origins. We were told they had begun but we were not even told how many among the 32 had received the notices. The number of notices was very small compared to the reported number of settlers and an extra of another 26 000 hectares of land that had been illegally fenced-off as the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement's team of nine mapping officers discovered.

The concluding sentence of the article states that "however the local !Kung community is still angry and despondent about the delay in authorities taking decisive action." This bears enough testimony to the uselessness of the so-called "police act" so hailed in the headline and the beginning of the story.

It was fascinating to note that in almost all of the land related stories, there was the absence of the invaders. The invaders were constantly referred to as 'illegal cattle herders', 'illegal cattle farmers', 'cattle herders', 'land invaders', et cetera. The question is: Were these people not known, or were they foreigners to be referred to in such distant terms? It was clear that this was partly because the invaders belonged to some more powerful ethnic groups or were affiliated to dominant political blocks whose mentioning would do more harm than good. Thus mentioning them in a bizarre and enigmatic way was enough justice for the San and they had to accept this lot. Their right to land was constantly glossed over and they were in a way framed as a people whose right to land was neither a priority nor legitimate.

5.3.4 Deliberate omissions?

Another interesting news story, "Tsumkwe invasion continues unabated", also continued with the tradition of making the agency anonymous and hiding responsibility. The title hid

the responsible agents. Apart from the nominalisations discussed above, another striking device was used in this title. This device is called metonym – a form of substitution in which something that is associated with x is substituted for x (Richardson 2007). It thus falls under journalistic rhetorical tropes in which one word, phrase or object is substituted for another from a semantically related field of reference. In the case “Tsumkwe invasion continues unabated”, people responsible for invading are replaced by the place itself. Like other tropes, the significance of metonymy lies not in their presence in a text but in the way.

In this case, metonymy was chosen by the journalist because it rendered the actors responsible unknown; thus conjuring away responsibility and keeping the invaders in the semantic background. The story was framed in the sense that San rights to land were not explicitly specified in the media. Neither did the media follow some legal obligations that protected San rights to land. Evictions were regarded as normal since the San were traditionally nomadic people:

THE land invasion and illegal settling of cattle-farmers in the

Tsumkwe West N~~z~~a Jaqna Conservancy area continues

right under the noses of the Namibian authorities as ever

more cattle are moved into the area, more protected trees

are chopped down and more illegal fences erected daily.

Those that suffer the brunt of this continuing apathy and ineptitude

are among the most historically disadvantaged and vulnerable of all

Namibia's peoples; the !Kung San community.

Mentioning the affected people without mentioning the affecting people who were only referred to as (more and more farmers descending upon the defenceless community) did not do any justice to the article.

The land invasion continues to exacerbate despite earlier lip-service from the Namibian police and all three (sic) the Ministries of Lands and Resettlement, Environment and Tourism, and Regional and Local Government, Housing and Rural Development calling on the land invaders to cease and desist.

It was surprising that the media mentioned the failure of the police and the three above-quoted relevant ministries but could not dare to mention the settling farmers and their number. This put at stake the representation of the San and diluted the impact of the action.

In the story "Land invaders unfazed by GRN decree" published in the *Informanté* on 21 August 2013, the introducing paragraph did not mention who these invaders were:

TOTAL disregard for last week's tri-ministerial decree that no more animals be moved into the Tsumkwe East N~~z~~a Jaqna conservancy area has seen invading farmers continue to bring

cattle through the bush, and vast herds still arrive daily... The farmers have fenced off huge tracks of land, inhibiting free movement of the San and preventing them from earning a living by collecting and selling devil's claw, as was the custom.

As a result, we had a collection of stories which failed to mention the details of the invading farmers. No legal action was reported in all these stories apart from “tri-ministerial decree that no more animals be moved into the Tsumkwe East N~~z~~a Jaqna conservancy area” in this story and what was termed “lip-service from the Namibian police” in the story “Tsumkwe invasion continues unabated.”

It was interesting to note that in all these stories there was the refusal by the media to mention the land invader. One was forced to ask: If it has been easier for the international media, the history books and the researchers in general to report land dispossession by the white people, why is it becoming so sensitive and increasingly difficult for local the print media to mention at least the origin of the so-called settling land invaders? Another obvious question would be: If this invasion of Tsumkwe is known by the authorities including the police, as the media has shown by itself, why is it so difficult to have the perpetrators brought to book? The general conclusion is that there was no respect of the San land rights and the failure by the print media to give details of the ‘invaders’ shows their support and alignment to the settling farmers and not the San.

Constitutionally, the state has the right to expropriate land in the public interest. One may argue that it remains the role of the media to disseminate information and policies that may

protect the San in issues pertaining to their land rights. A good example is the Agricultural Land Reform Act 6 which was passed in 1995 in a bid to resolve the problem of landlessness. In its Section 2, it provides for the redistribution of land to those Namibian citizens who do not own or have the use of agricultural land and foremost are the Namibians who have been socially, economically and educationally disadvantaged by past discriminatory practices; the San being the good example. It becomes ironical that the people who were supposedly the most beneficiaries of such reforms were hitherto the most victims of more dispossession right there under the eyes of the authorities and in the eyes of their own mouthpieces – the media.

5.4 Education

Studies outside the media have revealed that, as a people, the San have the lowest literacy rate in Namibia, estimated at around 23 percent, well below the national mean of 66 percent. Low school enrolment which stands at 21 percent against the mean national average of 83 percent is among the causes. Statistics have also revealed that education standards in rural minority-dominated areas are generally lower than elsewhere in the country. Ethnically-motivated mockery from other students from privileged ethnicities and even by teachers encourages lower attendance and a higher school drop-out rate among the San. For example, in schools where the San are in the minority, complaints of bullying and teasing at the hands of other students for ethnic reasons cause huge drop-outs or lead the San students to hide their identity (Suzman 2002).

This section explains the extent to which the Namibian print media aligns or distances itself from the facts exposed by non-journalist researchers. The key questions to be pursued in this

section are: Have the media done enough to show the real situation on the ground when it comes to San education and employment especially in the remote rural areas? Are the statistics of illiteracy and its impact on the San children available in the Namibian print media? Do the media provide adequate information and reasons behind low enrolment and attainment rates, behind high dropouts and low pass rate among the San? Are statistics of San unemployment readily available in the Namibian print media?

5.4.1 Issues of access

The Namibian Government has arguably done a lot when it comes to education in the country at large. Non-journalist sources note the Namibian Government's efforts to provide access to education impartially. They thus note the National School Feeding Programme (NSFP) which was introduced by the Ministry of Education in the Kunene (Opuwo) and Otjozondjupa (Tsumkwe) Regions in an effort to attract children who would otherwise be unable to attend school because of hunger. They also noted the San Development Programme under the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister that launched the 'Back to School and Stay at School' campaign for San children. Under this campaign, a Students Financial Assistant Fund Programme was put in place and it benefited some 65 San learners during the year 2008. This includes the sponsorship of learners at various stages of their education, ranging from primary school through to university (Suzman, 2002).

Similarly, the Namibian Education Act of 2001 provides for access to impartial, quality and democratic national education. This policy introduced mobile schools for the Himbas, satellite schools for the San (in accordance with their nomadic life-style) and a national school feeding programme for poor communities. Moreover, the Policy on Teenage

Pregnancy allowed the readmission of girls to school after giving birth.

One may want to understand if these policies were present in the Namibian print media in the first place and to what extent the media informed the people about the existence of these policies especially to the intended beneficiaries. Therefore this section sought to show the extent to which the print media in Namibia supported these programmes through reportage and through providing relevant information to policy makers on the needed support not in order of preference but in order of priority.

The *New Era* published a news story entitled “Schools receive computers, solar panels” on October 10 2013. In that story, the seven schools that receive the donations were not named. Neither was their location given, nor were we told whether those who received the donation were the ones who needed it most. All we were told was that the donation came from the Namibia San Development Organisation (NSDO). It became a spontaneous story that lacked the most desired information.

On 4 November 2013 the same paper published another story entitled “San kindergarten in desperate need of help”. The story detailed the “dilapidated”, “rotting walls”, and broken windows of Coblenz kindergarten where “there are simply no toilets”. Here, 14 children were struggling “with barely any learning materials and equipment to use for learning”.

It is the same paper which reported a donation worth N\$300 000 used to buy computers on 10 October 2013. Thus one can easily note that the education system in Namibia suffered from an inequitable allocation of resources to the different regions and different schools. What the same paper failed to question was the relevance of such donations to certain schools when the same paper reported that other educational places had “a shortage of

almost everything”. In this case one was left wondering if media people were robotic; walking with cameras, shooting and writing just what they saw without any evaluations. If this was the case, then the media ceased to be the so-called people’s voice and eyes.

The *Informanté* published a story called “San school’s capacity boosted” on 10 September 2013. The story gave a laudable campaign flowered with countless donations:

The Back to School and Stay At School campaign for the
San community launched by the Deputy Prime Minister
Marko Hausiku at Ekoka Primary school recently, has
yielded financial and material benefits.

The location of the campaign, Ekoka primary, with its remoteness showed some degree of concern on the part of the media. The story also unveiled that the school, which was located in Okongo Constituency in Ohangwena Region, enrolled a high number of San people and had also the highest number of drop-out San learners.

The reasons for the high dropout rate were not given. We were told that the back to school and stay at school campaign aimed to draw attention of San learners and parents as well to highlight the importance of education as the key towards poverty alleviation. Sadly, we were not told how the campaign was going to achieve this. The vision and mission of the undertaking was good but the obstacle was the lack of a specified channel through which it was going to be achieved. It appeared from the report that it was just launched and we did not hear of it in any other story or at any later date for us to ascertain the results it had

yielded. One was left with an impression that this may just be another event-driven scene which the paper over exaggerated and portrayed as a campaign.

5.4.2 Unclear needs

The article “A helping hand for the San” (7 October 2013) was driven by the donation event. The focus of attention was on the ‘helping hand for the San’ not specifically on the San situation. The short news story with virtually no details on San plight and daily needs on education – save a splendid picture that reveal healthy, well-clothed smiling school children – left a lot to be desired. The vagueness of the title “A helping hand for the San” was that neither details nor stipulated context of need was given throughout the whole article. Focus was rather on the donators of the computers - The Namibia San Development Organisation NSDO which donated ten computers to be distributed to an unmentioned San community.

One wonders if computers were the most needed items given that most San populated schools did not have electricity or even school blocks. These were schools where even pencils, books, shoes and classrooms were still a luxury to the San children, especially in the inaccessible rural areas. The media’s mode of coverage can thus be shown to be majoring on minor things and minoring on major issues, a scenario Akapabio (2009) termed ‘Afganistanism’ (concentrating on distant useless issues while ignoring pressing local issues). In this case, computer donation was good but it was totally divorced from the actual and basic needs for the survival of San education.

Another important aspect that had hampered San education was the designation of English as an official language. Indeed, it was more appropriate that the language policy adopted by

a sovereign state had the benefit of acting as a *lingua franca* joining different tribal groupings especially in high national institutions. However, one of the consequences of designating one language as official is that non-official languages are treated differently and cannot be dealt with on the same footing. While other tribal languages have enjoyed usage in schools and children learning different subjects in their mother tongue, the development of user-friendly orthographies of the phonetically complex San languages presents serious challenges. As a result, mother-tongue education has been introduced in very few schools in the Tsumkwe area (Ministry of Basic Education and Culture 1988 quoted by Suzman, 2001).

This has watered down the development of San education whereby a very small proportion of San people have the choice to enrol in a school where their culture is not respected because of the discouragement of mother-tongue education. What matters most is that all these issues were totally absent from the Namibian print media and this has compromised a lot on San education.

5.4.3 Omission and avoidance

The news story entitled “Fawena helps San student” published in The Namibian on 8 August 2013 was also of interest when it comes to the journalists’ stylistic devices of omission and avoidance on San related issues. The forum for African Women and Educationalists in Namibia (Fawena) was reported here helping a San student. Tissa John was reported as one of the beneficiaries who were unfortunately not mentioned in this article. Apart from giving details of this girl’s development, the article did not give enough details about the strengths and weaknesses of Fawena, particularly understanding how far it

had gone in reducing illiteracy and improving enrolment rates and reducing dropouts. We were not told how many had hitherto benefited and what needed to be done for more to benefit.

Details of the origins of the project were also absent. Only non-journalists have revealed that since San students were always in the minority, the result was that numerous San children were confronted with some teachers treating San children and their parents in a way that could alienate them from the formal education process. Aware of the gravity of the problem, this is how the Namibian Ministry of Education has implemented the Fawena Project; aiming to integrate the San into national life by providing them with relevant, culturally-appropriate and functional basic education with a special focus on the education of girls (Suzman 2002).

Picking a single lucky girl shows inadequate research and it runs contrary with the non-journalist studies which revealed that, apart from these efforts, most indigenous people, especially women and children, have no access to education and are unable to pay fees for secondary school learners and to purchase uniforms due to the household focus on the acquisition of food. One wonders why the paper wants readers to believe that everything is normal when it comes to San education. One ends up supposing that this could be caused by the media's fear to confront the authorities who have in their part already done a lot which is not even reported. Arguably, this avoidance is another form of framing whereby the writers of the stories want us to believe that what they have told us is enough for the San.

The news story entitled "Campaign to keep San children in school" (*New Era*, 23 September 2013) showed some difference for the better and tended to give some details and causes of

the challenges faced by San school children:

The special advisor to Prime Minister Dr Hage Geingob on the welfare of marginalized communities, Royal /Ui/o/oo, says San children are often emotionally tormented, stereotyped and ridiculed at school for their so-called unusual physical features. This discrimination and discouragement often lead to poor performance and them dropping out of school.

The cause of this ridicule and discouragement was however not pursued at all in this only hopeful story. The circulating ideology – failure to accept the San as equals which in turn induces this ethnically motivated mockery was absent. Other countless challenges like the numerous fees (which include fees for uniforms, books, boarding costs, and school improvement, which place a heavy burden on students' families and preclude some children from attending school) were not at all mentioned.

In addition, whilst considerable effort was being put into development programmes for indigenous peoples, many of these programmes aimed at the San are comparatively integrationist in their approach (Suzman, 2001). It is paramount to note that the whole system of formal education was hitherto an alien phenomenon to some San groups in Namibia. One may express some concern that integration policies and programmes might be detrimental to the protection of ethnic and cultural diversity of these communities. A description of some of the measures taken and their relevance for the San peoples is a pre-

requisite whereby the media is expected to play a significant role to spearhead consultation with the indigenous people whether the educational policies go in tandem with their traditional practices.

5.4.4 Hard to reach San

The glaring weakness of most articles on education was their context of situation. The articles tended to dwell on San children in Windhoek and other accessible places, choosing to pick single successful stories of individual San children and leaving behind a preponderant majority in remote areas to whom education itself remained a luxury. This shows a great lack of serious and detailed research because real problems are faced by children in remote and largely inaccessible areas where poverty is hampering implementation of the people's right to education.

The issue of unemployment was rarely discussed in the print media, apart from the article titled "San in Dire Need of Basics" where the San speaking community in the Gam settlement in the Otjondjupa Region were reported to be in dire need of basics such as shelter, food and clothing and were living in "a place where one cannot find even menial work". This omission suggestively connoted the view that the media did not regard San employment as a priority.

Sufficient educational support and information from the media is imperative in order to enable San communities to make informed decisions about their children's educational development. The print media are expected also to voice the fact that it is not sufficient to provide these communities with free education up to Grade 10 and thereafter abandon them without at least giving them vocational training in such fields as agricultural extension

services to serve their own communities and reducing the rampant unemployment rates among the San. Providing education is arguably still not enough without creating equal opportunities for employment for the San people. These are some of the burning issues lacking in the Namibian print media.

5.5 Social and Health Issues

In this section, there was a critical analysis of the way in which the print media covered the San people in the realm generally encompassing socio-economic and health issues. Issues affecting the indigenous San communities among which are gender, the marooning HIV/AIDS pandemic, among others were discussed to find out whether they were fully covered in the stories or not. The aim was to find out if the media encompassed San women and San children in news coverage. Constant reference was made to the article 23(2) of the Constitution of Namibia, the government's introduction of the San Development Programme, the United Nations Development Programme of 1996, the Namibia Human Development Report of 1996 and the optimistic Vision 2030's blueprint for Namibia's development.

Perhaps it would be useful to give a brief background to the afore-stated programmes. The article 23(2) of the Constitution of Namibia reads as follows:

Nothing contained in the Article 10 (equality provision) hereof shall

prevent parliament from enacting legislation providing directly or

indirectly for the advancement of persons within Namibia who

have been socially, economically or educationally, disadvantaged
by past discriminatory laws or practices, or for the implementation
of policies and programmes aimed at redressing social, economic or
educational imbalances in the Namibian society arising out of
discriminatory laws or practices, or for achieving balanced structuring
of the public service...

This provision is considered critical for the advancement of persons who have been socially disadvantaged, the San being the best example. The July to August 2005 visit of the African Commission's Working Group led to the initiative by the Namibian government to put in place the San Development programme which was approved by cabinet on 29 November, whose objective was to ensure full integration of the San communities into the mainstream of the socio-economic strata; a programme given more drive by the country's 2030 Vision of a just and equitable society.

The gory dilemma of San suffering was detailed in news stories titled "San face starvation in Otamanzi" and "Starvation, despair stalk San village". The story portrayed that the San "are on the brink of starvation":

We are sleeping on empty stomachs and the children are crying

daily for food and clean water. Our councilor does not

visit us. As you may see yourself there is no roads here, no

electricity, no health facilities, no cell phone network, no clean water and no food. We are treated like sub-humans as if we are not part of this country,” said pensioner Gundjileni Uusiku.

5.5.1 Inadequate coverage?

The article explored the horrid but daily scenes of San adults “indulging in drinking sprees as a way to satisfy their hunger while the young girls are involved in unprotected sex with cattle herders of Angolan origin”, as a way of making a living. The result was unplanned children “born under abject poverty, further complicating the already deplorable living conditions” and “the spread of the HIV/Aids since most of the young men and women are not sensitised about the killer disease”. “It seems we have been forgotten”, was the general feeling of the people.

I am pleading on a daily basis with the councillor to deliver food to the people but nothing has been done so far. The people are suffering here and I wish to appeal to the government to do everything within its power to rescue our people from such devastating conditions.

The same sentiments were found in the article “Starvation, despair stalk San village.” where malnutrition, extreme poverty and disease are depicted as the daily diet of San people living in a remote and virtually inaccessible village in Ohangwena Region.

Life has become a daily battle to survive for members of a tiny San community in Enkolo village in the Eenhana Constituency of Ohangwena Region, who are literally starving to death.

And many have already died because of their vulnerability to diseases. They claim that they have been forgotten by everyone, even a local church.

Their means of survival did not go beyond picking wild berries, traditional spinach and the alcoholic home-brew “Otombo”, which they received as payment for performing occasional work for local villagers. The story also revealed that the “children had stopped attending school and parents had started offering their children to anyone interested in adopting them”. The stories failed to inform or give details of the causes of these problems. They had adopted a policy of picturing it as it is and leaving it as it is.

The headline “San at Ombili settlement in dire need of water” (*New Era*, 18 November 2013) only introduces us to the water problems while the first paragraph reveals that the San are deprived of all basics. This shows omission whereby a reader can ignore the story after looking at the headline, thinking that the story was based only on water problems.

At least 200 people of the marginalised San community in the Ombili location of Eenhana are said to be living in abject poverty without housing, water, sanitation. Moreover, over

90 percent of them have identification documents.

It remains unclear why the writer narrows all these problems to water. The story also unveiled that “most parents are abusing alcohol, with children suffering the most as their parents or guardians allegedly sell drought relief food to buy alcohol”. Like other news stories discussed above, the causes or the solutions were not given. Rather, the story levelled the blame on the San themselves for selling the donated food. What the story failed to question was the reason behind this behaviour.

Another news story “Donated Food Rots as San Starve in Oshikoto” also follows this trend. The beginning of the topic sentence introduced us neither to the starving San nor to the donated food but to the Swapo Party Regional Coordinator. Of paramount importance is the omission device used here. The name of the person responsible for the rotting of the donated food was deliberately absent. Even the reason why the food was not distributed was not established. Responsibility was laid to “a warehouse is belonging to a traditional leader”, as if to say that the warehouse was now the cause. A warehouse is just a building, an inanimate thing.

The one who condemns the incident was fully mentioned. His political affiliation was also mentioned ahead of everything else. The traditional leader and his political affiliation were deliberately or strategically omitted to obscure agency and causality. It is common knowledge that most of these traditional leaders are staunch SWAPO members but, should it be mentioned here, it would taint the party, since SWAPO members are commonly hailed for feeding and not starving the people. Thus a warehouse was all we were left with to apportion blame to. No strong condemnation or legal action was reportedly taken against a

warehouse for such a heinous and ignominious act.

Such obfuscation of agency, causality and responsibility is, according to Norman Fairclough, ideologically motivated. The article continues: “Amukwiyu says he is running out of patience with the situation and is unimpressed by the flimsy excuses that have been provided so far.” Amukwiyu was indirectly quoted here, and there was no evidence of reported speech saying exactly the same. The story goes on: “Amukwiyu says government will continue to prioritise the plight of the San communities scattered throughout the country.” This becomes sheer politicking, an empty appeal to authority, itself being another fallacy. In the first place, the rotting donated food has not been donated by government but by a local businessperson. In the second place, there is no evidence of any policy or protocol to be taken by the government in the context of this paper. The story moves from representing the San to becoming a platform for and a machinery of propaganda and political rhetoric.

The title “Food relief for starving Oshivelo San” (*The Namibian*) fosters the journalist’s affinity for ambiguity and empty rhetoric. Apart from the presupposition that there was a community of San people starving at Oshivelo, the phrase “food relief” did not communicate anything at all. It did not tell us the type of food and how regularly the food was going to be distributed. In fact, the nominalised phrase did not have any verbal tense to indicate whether the food had been distributed or was in the process of coming. Thus the story ran:

THE Government and some good Samaritans have come to the rescue

of starving, shelter-less San people at Oshivelo in the

Oshikoto Region. After The Namibian reported about starving families at Oshivelo, the Government started a drought relief food programme at the settlement. Recipients are expected to do work in exchange for the food.

Readers were told that the Government had started a drought relief programme, but it remained unclear whether the starving people had yet received any rations. Neither did the statement that recipients were expected to do work in exchange for the food, given any information if the starving people had received anything. Towards the end of the story, it was revealed that “there are still many other San families without shelter”. “Many” does not mean any specific number. This shows vague and random sourcing of news stories and that negatively compromises the San’s need for social and basic rights. The last statement reads: “Gomachab said his office is doing its best to improve the living conditions of the San people.” This is a conclusively fallacious and ironical presentation of facts which shows the paper’s alignment to the powers that be, except the starving San.

5.5.2 Obscuring agency

The headline “San Deprived of mortuary”, just like others, obscures agency and responsibility. The verb ‘deprived’ is in the passive voice. There is no adverbial to indicate by whom the San are deprived of a mortuary. In effect, the form of the sentence suppresses information about who is responsible for such a heartless deprivation. The San who should be the object in the formulation of the headline are the subject of the sentence. In particular, it becomes what Fairclough (1991) refers to as an “agentless passive” headline. It is not

clear whether it is presented as an event, or as a process or a timeless state of affairs. This is equivalent to the headline that reads “Pauper Burials Common Among San” by Mathias Haufiku, 4 September 2012, which presents the situation as the natural state of affairs - framing the people to their grave.

Such lexical choices have become common in most news headlines reporting the San people. Fairclough (1991) further noted that these choices may be consistent, automatic and in most cases commonsensical and therefore consequently ideological. This ultimately shows the existence of a process of hedging.

This story explored the deep and immeasurable psychological trauma on the part of the San people. The way the sentences are constructed, the diction and the pitch of the story itself do not match the grave situation it is portraying. The San people were forced to bury their dead within a day simply “because the San populated area does not have a mortuary and the nearby clinic with a mortuary has a faulty generator” and everything ends there. All elements of causality are thus attributed to the San populated area because it is not having a mortuary. We empathise with the San families but one wonders if that is all that the media have to offer. This shows how matters of serious concern can be veiled under the carpet of semantics.

5.5.3 Over lexicalisation

The title “San drown in abject poverty” vividly presented a picture of the San sinking deep into a sea of poverty. This metaphorical presentation of the San drowning served nothing but to intensify the objectification of this group of people. They were reduced to an object sinking into a deep sea. This metaphor obscures what actually causes this drowning and

merely simplifies the situation. Like the article ‘spare a thought for the San people’, what exactly to be done was not specified and everything remained bizarre and enigmatic. Through the journalist’s choice of words, ground reality was marred by over lexicalisation and that obfuscates causes, history of the San problems, with abstracted solutions allowed to carry weight. This is seen through such phrases like “sordid state of poverty” and its synonyms like “deplorable conditions”, “unearthed abject poverty”, shocking and deplorable...”, “a sorry state of housing”, “verge of collapse”, “wanting sanitation”, the “high mortality rates” and “dilapidated building”. These collocations allow the journalist to dwell on symptoms and systematically remaining silent about the empirical solutions so desperately needed.

A government delegation’s recent visit to four settlements
in the Caprivi Region where thousands of marginalized
San people live has unearthed abject poverty and a stirring
of inhumane living conditions.

The readers were not told whether “a government delegation” presented in the story comprised individual experts on San issues or mere officials splendidly dressed, touring the area to enjoy a holiday out of the offices. The abject poverty was already been mentioned and repeating it under the veil of an unspecified delegation might simply be a fallacy of appealing to authority deliberately included to gain authenticity and credibility. Some experts have a tendency to look at this as an example of functionalisation where participants are nominated in terms of who they are or functionalised by being depicted in terms of what

they do. Functionalisation also connotes legitimacy and in this case it is presupposed that their findings are legitimate and official. It can also bring false hope that since the problems have been accounted for by such big names, they will soon be over.

In the next paragraph, the readers were told that the “Caprivi Governor Lawrence Sampofu recently undertook a tour of Omega 3, Chetto”. His name came after a functional honorific “Caprivi Governor” which made his findings and presence in the story more authoritative and important. The same lexical device was used in the eighth paragraph where the “Kongola Constituency Councillor” said that the regional council awaits responses on submissions made to three ministries namely, The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare and the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing and Rural development. All this sought to bring legitimacy and authority to the article but unfortunately said little to nothing about an authentic and straightforward measure taken to alleviate the San situation. When the article concentrated on mentioning all these ministries to no avail, one could still wonder where the programmes set by the government specifically to deal with San problems were, for example, the San Development Programme.

Muluti Davit, the Kongola Constituency Counsellor was directly quoted several times in the middle till the end of the article. Interesting to note is the fact that no San person had been given opportunity to say something in the article. Fairclough (2003) argued that where participants are excluded from a text, we need to ask why. For Fairclough (2003), what was missing from a text was just as important as what was in a text. In this respect, the San were reduced to mere objects; part and parcel of the exploitable natural resources that did not have any say whatsoever. It is ironical that the article detailed the conditions of the San

without allowing them to speak for themselves.

5.5.4 Coverage of gender issues

No news story studied within the context of this thesis particularly dealt with the issue of gender. Article 10 of the Namibian Constitution protects everyone's right to equality and their right not to be discriminated against on any grounds. Article 23(3) empowers the state, when implementing affirmative action, to have regard for the fact that women in Namibia have traditionally suffered discrimination and that they need to be encouraged and enabled to play a full, equal and effective role in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the nation. Moreover, positive developments were introduced by the Married Persons Equality Act, which provides for a more equal say of partners in the management of household property and common assets. It also removes the husband's automatic common law status as head of the household.

While the Namibian government, through the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, adopted the National Gender Policy in 1997 and the National Plan of Action on Gender in 1998, (thereby attempting to involve women in all activities aimed at resolving both domestic and other conflicts) and while the Namibian Constitution includes the enactment of legislations (to ensure equality of opportunities for women to enable them to fully participate in all spheres of Namibian society), little was presented by the Namibian print media to examine the extent to which such policies had gone in eliminating discrimination against San women and providing their access to health care services.

Non-journalistic sources had revealed that San women suffered from discrimination, both as women and as indigenous people subjected to extreme poverty, human trafficking, illiteracy,

poor health care and sexual violence. They were located in areas cited as having fewer critical care units for birth complications with fewer traditional or trained birth attendants and large distances to travel to receive healthcare. Thus, the consequent assumption was that maternal mortality was high among the San people.

Armed with all this information, numerous questions regarding Namibia's print media's failure to cover these issues and other customary laws that were detrimental to especially San women could be raised. Some of the issues were the high incidence of rape among San women by members of other communities and the threat of the practice of polygamy and immorality which put women at a higher risk of contracting HIV/AIDS because they had no say over either their own or their husband's sexual behaviour which seemed to be caused by negative stereotypes.

In the story 'They just want to use us – San women', the San women were resorting to prostitution because of poverty. What the journalist failed to show in the story was that the women had no other options apart from dating for money and to provide information on the government policies aimed at uplifting San women. The media unfortunately presented the stories as if it was becoming innate for the San women to be immoral. There were no efforts to educate San women to overcome the historical imbalances that existed between men and women, mainly arising from customary law. No attempts were made either to make San women do something for themselves apart from waiting for expired food dumped from the shop as shown in the same story.

What was conspicuously absent in the news stories was any considerable voice to represent or voice San women's problems. Avoidance or omission (as it is termed in critical discourse

analysis) is usually the main tool used by the media to frame the San women as insignificant, if not non-existent.

If gender imbalances weigh among the most dominant 21th century debates in Africa and the world at large, if The Namibian National Gender Policy of 1997 advocates equality between men and women in all spheres of public life, if for example, great strides have been made as evidenced by the number of women ministers, women parliamentarians, permanent secretaries and many other senior public figures, one can safely argue that this acute silence by the print media on the issues affecting San women and their social advancement is thus ideologically motivated. The media in Namibia is supposed to be people's voice, not to delete out certain people as if it considers them not to be full beings.

5.5.5 The forgotten children

Apart from few news stories that glossed over the issue of San education discussed above, the fate of indigenous San children remained absent in the Namibian print media. Concerns of child labour, high mortality rate, among others, have been raised by sources outside the media.

The Namibian constitution requires the state to ensure that 'children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter vocation unsuited to their age'. While Article 9 prohibits slavery and forced labour, the Children's Act 33 of 1960 makes it an offence for any person who has custody of a child to ill-treat, neglect or abandon that child in such a way that unnecessary suffering or injury to that child's mind or body is likely to result.

Despite the fact that the Namibian Constitution and international instruments oblige Namibia to protect children's rights, San children in Namibia are as discriminated against as their parents. Due to extreme poverty, San children are prepared to engage in any form of employment in order to survive. This scenario makes them vulnerable and exposed to circumstances with potential to hamper their development. All these matters are not of any serious concern in the print media since it has remained largely silent on issues affecting San children.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter summarises this whole study. It also draws conclusions and highlights specific additions to scholarship this study might have established. It outlines some of the challenges and limitations encountered during the study. By way of recommendations, this chapter outlines what other scholars in the same area may wish to explore further with respect to the representation of San people of Namibia in the media.

6.1 Conclusion

This study has shown that the depiction of the San people of Namibia through the print media tends to be generally inadequate. Haphazard reportage (usually event-driven) or Afghanistanism, as shown through reports on little but valueless acts of charity, has not only augmented San misery, but also fostered a perennial dependency syndrome among the San and tampered with their identity and self-determination.

Both content and critical analysis of the Namibian print media have demonstrated that a certain language has been and is still being used in the media to legitimise the existing negative perception of the San people of Namibia as second class citizens. This study has found the media failing to resist the ideologies embedded in particular conventions. The main thrust and methods employed by this study have shown that the Namibian print media continue to view the San from the point of view of the old derogatory terms. The same media ultimately continue to value and uphold their own institutional values and do not seek to uphold and support San identity.

Indeed, as has been alluded to in the discussion, the process of news gathering, production of quality information, elimination of distortions and suppression is not an easy undertaking. This vindicates some of the ambiguities and contradictions at the heart of journalism; a scenario that has resulted in journalists concentrating or dwelling on event-driven reportage both to boost newspaper business and to cover big names. This study has, however, shown that journalists need to deviate from event-driven reportage and instead strive for a balance between their ethics and the sources of their stories.

As the study has unveiled, uninformed discourse, which is removed from those places where the San people of Namibia are fighting for survival, has been a major limitation on the part of the media. Over time, the print media in Namibia conceptualised certain frameworks of operation as natural, normal and adequate and this may have had adverse effects on the San's perennial search for who they are and where they belong.

The study has also shown that a large number of Namibia San communities do not have access to land. Ever since the colonial times, the onset of Namibia's safari industry meant the displacement of San people of Namibia from areas where the modern day conservancies are found. The continuation of this displacement even after independence, being perpetuated by fellow Namibians means that there is still disrespect of San land rights – a scenario aggravated by the print media's failure to support the San through balanced reportage.

As a result, the San remain Namibia's perennial wanderers. This is why they occupy no significant economic or social positions and remain largely excluded from national structures. As a consequence of such discrimination, they have experienced cultural erosion and invisibility as Namibian citizens. Their rights to land have remained glossed over by the

media maybe erroneously because of their nomadic history.

The inadequate provision of social services to the San in areas like the health sector, the prevalence and lack of adequate awareness about the HIV/AIDS pandemic, high levels of poverty and other social ills like immorality can thus be laid on the threshold of this lack of recognition, discrimination and invisibility. As shown in the examples provided in this study, this is what the Namibian print media failed to articulate when they dwelt on symptoms without causes or straightforward and implementable solutions.

Little has been said by the Namibian print media about gender imbalance and the empowering of San women (one of the most recent and burning topics throughout Africa). This omission is systematic and not an isolated phenomenon and as shown in this study; this omission has been defined and explained by various scholars in other settings in the world. This research has also shown that San children experience different challenges compared to other ethnic children. The print media's silence about this issue also means lack of recognition which in turn means invisibility on the part of San children.

Educational facilities remain generally inadequate and sometimes inaccessible to most San children, especially those in rural areas of Namibia. The Nyae Nyae School Project, the Education Act of 2001, the San Development Programme, the Ombudsman as provided for in the Namibian Constitution, and the introduction of mobile schools and clinics to respond to these groups' traditional practices and culture are examples of commitment by the Government of the Republic of Namibia and a serious effort towards improving the wellbeing of San people in Namibia. However, the Government's efforts need reinforcement and that can only be made possible through a proper dissemination of

information where the media plays a pivotal role. A thorough study of the San related stories in this study has shown that little of these government projects and programmes are mentioned and critically discussed in the stories.

While Namibian constitutional and legislative provisions provide formal protection for all, the study found that access to justice is still a major challenge for many San people. The study has found that the print media align themselves with the powerful and authoritative members of Namibian society, leaving the San with little to no hope of any form of just coverage.

As non-journalistic writers have written, no other ethnic group suffers relocations and evictions like the San. Due to the scattered nature of their settlement and nomadic history, coupled with lack of territorial power, the San cannot claim collective land rights and they can be moved from their ancestral locations to other places as the administration or any invader, as has been demonstrated in the discussion wish, without consultation or compensation.

Despite the fact that the Namibian print media has acknowledged and generally accepted that the San are marginalised, live in dire conditions which are debilitating and pernicious, specific details on the cause of their plight and what needs to be done are conspicuously absent. Mere repeated mentioning of their suffering may not change anything.

6.2 Addition to scholarship

No other scholarly work known to this researcher has employed content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA) in such depth to unveil the manner in which San people living in

Namibia and issues related to them had been covered by the Namibian print media. Apart from the fact that CDA remains a unique theory in Namibian scholarship, the manner in which the media portray San in Namibia was an area that had not been covered by previous studies especially in a way of questioning some worldviews commonly taken for granted as common-sensical if not ideal. Consequently, this study might go a long way in offering a background to upcoming scholars endeavouring to critically examine the language of the media and their manipulative power vis-a-vis the weak members of society.

6.3 Recommendations

The Namibian print media must go out of their way to cultivate a consciousness over the San through positive representational strategies and reportage and not dwell on portraying them as perennial victims who will never stand without government aid and charity. If the prevailing discourse has the power to govern and condition people, under the veil of naturalised ideologies, denaturalisation of such discourse must be the primary role of the media, not only the critical discourse analyst. Stereotypical labels like ‘San girl’, ‘San chief’ ‘San community’ ‘San farmer’ must be removed from news discourses for they carry with them negative attributes.

If Namibia is serious about tackling poverty, about incorporating all indigenous local groups in the mainstream of its economy, its media must address the underlying causes and review the derogatory and discriminatory ways of reporting the San people, a move that may positively influence the thinking of decision makers in both planning and implementing a sustainable development agenda.

Another aspect that is absent in the typical media stories dealt with in this study is respect of

the San history and culture, and absence of the feeling and worldview of the San as articulated by the San themselves. The foregoing discussion has pointed out that in Namibia, alienation and marginalisation are among the main causes of San peoples' problems. The print media need to encourage full and adequate participation of the communities concerned so that San communities reflect on their own their own needs and aspirations if Vision 2030 is to be achieved. There is need for the media to help in the recognition of minority rights by showing that diversity can unite a nation.

This agenda needs to be implemented in an equitable manner, in the order of priority and need, in total respect of the people's history, culture and present worldview, as seen and adjudicated by the San. There is need to take care of the most vulnerable and empowering rural communities and help them to work towards self-reliance. As the preceding discussion has revealed, the San are the most dispersed ethnic group in Namibia. A process of reunification, pioneered by the media might be a pre-requisite to the San's quest for identity. This relocation might not be necessarily physical but psychological through conscientisation in which only the media can play a pivotal role.

Vulnerable children of the San communities, especially in rural areas and dispersed squalid settlements, should be targeted by the media to address their particular needs which are not always similar to those of other children. Educational materials on indigenous peoples' issues should be produced for broader use within the education system. Training for teachers in indigenous areas should be increased with a view to eliminating discrimination against indigenous children in the classroom.

Protection of indigenous peoples' rights requires positive action by the media to safeguard

them. Through balanced reportage, the media should help legislators to promote special measures to address discrimination and enactment of specific laws to prohibit and to punish discrimination. This can only be possible if the media promotes and exercise full coverage on the San people.

The San situation is, as this study has shown, aggravated by the inability of the San to protect their rights because of poverty, a lack of formal education and their remote location. The media should, (not through symptomatic reportage), constantly inform both public and private sectors to prioritise capacity-building, collaboration and co-ordination, and fund organisations working towards the eradication of disease among the minority San.

Instead of brushing aside the San's need for economic empowerment through portraying them as people 'in harmony with nature', the media need to promote mechanisms for the consultation and participation of San people with respect to the Land Reform Programme as well as in respect of conservancies and national parks, if they really mean to promote the San's opportunities to pursue their traditional ways of life.

The media need to encourage an urgent translation of government policies on the protection of San people into a normative and legislative framework to ensure consistency and continuity and thereby defining specific rights and obligations capable of enforcement. This can be achieved through a neutral representation of all citizens regardless of their social strata.

Obfuscating and omission of information equals to misinformation. The print media need to promote full consultation with the affected people and prioritise articulating and informing the affected people about government policies and their timely procedures, as well as give

constant feedback to the people and to the government to show the level of development or failure and incompatibility of any policy.

REFERENCES

- Aday, S. (2009). The frame-setting effects of news: An experimental test of advocacy versus objectivist frames. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 83, 767–784.
- Adichie, A. (2013) *The Danger of a single Story*. University of Oregon, www.media.uoregon.edu/channel/archives/5742 accessed 14 January, 2015.
- Akpabio, E. (2009) *Framing them in order to hang them? Content analysis of the reporting of Zimbabwe and Zimbabweans in Botswana Print Media*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Sheraton Boston, Boston, MA. Retrieved from http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p375144_index.html
- Anaya, J. (2005). Indigenous peoples' participatory rights in relation to decisions about natural resource extraction: the more fundamental issue of what rights indigenous peoples have in lands and resources. *Ariz. J. Int'l & Comp. L.* 22, 7.
- Ang, I. (1990). Culture and communication: Towards an ethnographic critique of media consumption in the transnational media system. *European Journal of Communication*. 5(2-3), 239-260.

- Appelbaum, S.H., Hébert, D., & Leroux, S. (1999) Empowerment: power, culture and leadership-a strategy or fad for the millennium?. *Journal of Workplace Learning, 11*(7), 233-254.
- Avison, S., & Meadows, M. (2000). Speaking and Hearing: Aboriginal Newspapers and the Public Sphere in Canada and Australia. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 25*(3).
- Avison, S. & Meadows, M. (2000) "Speaking and hearing: Aboriginal newspapers and the public sphere in Canada and Australia." *Canadian Journal of Communication, 25*, 34-66.
- Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. (2003). *Social research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bandora, M (2014). Namibia lacks capacity, not money for socioeconomic development, UNDP, www.na.undp.org, accessed 30 June, 2014.
- Battistoni, A., & Taylor, J.J. (2009). Indigenous identities and military frontiers: Preliminary reflections on San and the military in Namibia and Angola, 1960-2000. *Lustopie, 16* (1), 111–131.
- Bell, J. (1993). *Doing your Research Project: A Guide for First-Time Researchers in Education and Social Science*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Biesele, M., Gordon, R.J., & Lee, R.B. (1986). *The past and future of !Kung ethnography: critical reflections and symbolic perspectives. Essays in*

honour of Lorna Marshall. (Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung. In Biesele, M., Robert, G. & Richard, L. (Eds.). Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Biesele, M., & Hitchcock, R.K. (2008). Writing in the San/d: Auto ethnography among Indigenous southern Africans. *Collaborative Anthropologies, 1*, (201-205).

Cottle, S. (2000). *Ethnic Minorities & The Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. UK, McGraw-Hill Education.

Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches (3rd Ed.)*. London: Sage Publications.

Crystal, D. (1987). *Child Language, learning and linguistics (2nd Edition)*, Edward Arnold.

Dan, V., Mchombu, K. and Mosimane, A. (2010). Indigenous medicinal knowledge of the San people: the case of Farm Six, Northern Namibia. *Information Development 26: 129*.

Davis, M.B. (2007). *Doing a successful research project using qualitative or quantitative methods*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

De Vreese, C.H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal + Document Design, 13(1)*, 51-62.

Dieckmann, U. (2007). *Hai||om in the Etosha region: A history of colonial settlement, ethnicity and nature conservation*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographienne.

- Dijk, V. (2000). "Racialised othering: British newspapers representation of asylum seekers" in Baily, Olga Guedes, and Ramaswani Harindranath (2005) *S. Allan Journalism: Critical issues*: 274-286.
- Entman, R.M. (2004). *Projections of power: Framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Entman, R.M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of Communications* (57) ISSS.
- Fairclough, N. (1991). *Language and Culture*, Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis of social research*, New York, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Foucault, M. (2003). *Society Must Be Defended: Lecture at the College de France, 1975-76*. New York: Pan Books Limited.
- Frederick, H. A. (2009). Place-power-prognosis: Community-based conservation, partnerships, and ecotourism enterprises in Namibia. *International Journal of the Commons*, 4(1), 78-99.
- Gerbhardt, F. (1976). The Socio-Economic Status of Farm Labourers in Namibia. *South African Legal Bulletin*, 4, (1 & 2).
- Gerber, L. (2010). *Sociology* (7th Edition). Person Education Canada.
- Gordon, R. (1992). *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass*. Oxford: Westview Press.

- Gordon, R., & Douglas, S.S. (2000). *The Bushman myth: The making of a Namibian underclass*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Gunther, A.C. (1992). Biased press or biased public? Attitudes toward media coverage of social groups. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 56 (2), 147-167.
- Haifiku, M. (2013, May 15). Include San in Academic World – Pohamba. *New Era*. Accessed from <http://allafrica.com/stories/201305151059.html>. on 14 January 2014.
- Happer, C., & Philo, G. (2013). The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 2013, 1(1), 321–336.
- Hitchcock, R., Ikeya, K., Biesele, M., & Lee, R. (2006). ‘Introduction’, Updating the San: Image and reality of an African People in the 21st century, Senri *Ethological Studies*, 70. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Jeursen, B. (1995). Recuperating the San. *Critical Arts*. 9 (2).
- Jones, B.T.B., Davis, A., Diez, L., & Diggle, R.W. (2013) Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and Reducing Poverty in Namibia. *Biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation: Exploring the evidence for a link*, 191-205.
- Kitzinger, J. (2007). ‘Framing and frame analysis’. In Devereux, E. (2007). *Media Studies: Key issues and debates*. London: Sage.

- Kothari, C.R. (2011). *Research Methodology, Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International.
- Larsen, M.B. (2007). *Media Ownership and Legislation in the Republic of Namibia: 1990 – 2007*. Windhoek: Media Institute of Southern Africa.
- Lee, R.B. (2003). *Indigenous rights and the politics of identity in post-apartheid southern Africa. At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States*. The University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor.
- Longden, C. (2004). (Ed.). *Undiscovered or Overlooked?* New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do Critical Discourse Analysis: A multimodal approach*. London: Sage.
- Maho, J.F. (1998). *Few people, many tongues. The languages of Namibia*. Windhoek: Gamsberg MacMillan.
- Marcello, M., & ter Wal, J. (2005). The Criminalisation of Ethnic Groups: An Issue for Media Analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 6(3), Art. 9, Retrieved from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs050391>.
- McCarthy, M. (1991). *Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- McCombs, M.E., Shaw, D.L., & Weaver, D.L. (1997). *Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda-Setting Theory*. Mahwah: N.J. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McCombs, M., & Ghanem, S. I., (2001). The Convergence of Agenda Setting and Framing. In S.D. Reese, O. Gandy, & A. E. Grant (Eds.). *Framing public life*. (67 -82).Mahwah: N.J.: Erlbaum.
- Niall, O. (2011). *Youth unemployment and employment policy: A global perspective*. Retrieved from https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/23698/1/MPRA_paper_23698.pdf
- Patton, M.Q., (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods (3rd Ed.)*. London: Sage Publications.
- Pushparaj, A., (2012). *An Essay on the Role of the Media*. Accessed from www.publishyourarticles.net/eng/.../an-essay-on-the-role-of-media.
- Reese, S. D. (2007). The framing project: A bridging model for media research revisited. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 148-154.
- Renkema, J. (2004). *Introduction to Discourse Studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Richardson, J.E. (2007). *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sarantakos, S. (1994), *Social Research*. London: Sage.

- Sowman, M., & Cardoso, P. (2010). Small-scale fisheries and food security strategies in countries in the Benguela Current Large Marine Ecosystem (BCLME) region: Angola, Namibia and South Africa. *Marine Policy*, 34.6, 1163-1170.
- Stubbs, M. (1983). *Discourse Analysis: The sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*, University of Chicago Press.
- Stubbs, M. (1996). *Text and corpus analysis: Computer-assisted studies of language and culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Suzman, J. (1995). *In the Margins: A Qualitative Assessment of the Status of Farmworkers in the Omaheke Region. Research Report Series, No. 1*. Windhoek: Farmworkers Project, Legal Assistance Centre.
- Suzman, J. (2000). *Things from the Bush*, Basel: P. Schlettwein Publishing.
- Suzman, J. (2001). *An Assessment of the Status of the San in Namibia*. Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre.
- Sylvain, R. (2002). "Land, Water and Truth": San Identity and Global Indegenism. *American Anthropologist*. 104 (4).
- Tavakol, M., & Dennick, R. (2011). Making sense of Cronbach's alpha. *International Journal of Medical Education*, Vol. 2 (53-55).
- Toolan, M. (2002). On the centrality of stylistics. *The European English Messenger*, xi, 1, 19-25.

- Van Leeuwen, S.T. (2008). *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Analysis*, USA, Oxford University Press
- Wallace, M. (2014). *A History of Namibia: From the Earliest Times to 1990*. London: Hurst Publishers.
- Wiersn, W. (1995). *Research methods in Education: An Introduction*. (6th Ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Winterfeldt, V., Fox, T., Mufune, P., & University of Namibia. (2002). *Namibian Society*. Windhoek: University of Namibia Press.
- Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2010). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, London: SAGE Publications.
- Wolfdaart, D. (2001) Namibia: A Case for a Gradual Transitional Bilingual Language Programme. *Windhoek: Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture*.
- Wyckoff- Baird, B. (2000). Shifting the power: decentralisation and biosafety conservation, University of Michigan, Biodiversity Support Program.
- Yule, G. (1996). *The Study of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zere, E., Mandlhate, C., Mbeeli, T., Shangula, K., Mutirua, K., & Kapenambili, W. (2007) Equity in health care in Namibia: developing a needs-based resource allocation formula using principal components analysis. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 6.1(3).

APPENDIX A

THEMATIC CATEGORISATION	CODE	2012	2013	TOTAL
Ecotourism	ET			
Socio-Economic Issues	SEI			
Cultural Issues	CI			
Marginalisation	M			
Identity	I			
Educational Advancement	EA			
Health	H			
Social Mobility	SM			
Justice and Law	JL			
Political Issues	PI			
Representation	R			
Land	L			
Socio-Economic Empowerment	SEE			
Exploitation	E			
Unemployment	U			
Gender Equity	GE			
Poverty	P			