

METAPHORS AND MEANING IN THE EDITORIALS OF THE NEW ERA
NEWSPAPER, 2016: A LINGUISTIC EXPLORATION

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ABSTRACT

Metaphors enrich a language and help people understand abstract or unfamiliar content. By linking abstract information to a concrete concept, it becomes easier for people to understand the information. This thesis is an investigation into the meaning of metaphors that appear in the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper. The purpose of the study was to examine the use and functions of different types of metaphors and how metaphors contribute to convey the meaning of the message in the editorials of the newspaper. The research also explored the various influences of cultural elements on metaphors. This research was qualitative in nature. The data collected were critically examined using the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), a tool that is used to identify metaphor in discourse. The study is informed by the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The investigation reveals that our thoughts and perceptions about target domains are structured in metaphors which are common in our everyday experiences. Furthermore, the study shows that a proper interpretation of a metaphoric utterance ultimately requires a reader's knowledge of mappings or correspondences between the literal senses of words used in their source domains and the distinct figurative meaning they have gained in the target domain. The research reveals that metaphors are common in newspaper discourse and contributes to the existing body of knowledge on Namibian newspaper discourse.

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DEDICATION

A special feeling of gratitude to my loving parents, who are my biggest inspiration.

DECLARATION

I, Naitsikile Ndategako Iizyenda, hereby declare that this study is my own work and is a true reflection of my research, and that this work, or any part thereof has not been submitted for a degree at any other institution.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation to the study

Metaphors are used in many different contexts to enrich language or to aid understanding something abstract in a more straightforward manner (Lindquist, 2009). According to Yob (2003), "...metaphor is employed when one wants to explore and understand something esoteric, abstract, novel or highly speculative" (p. 134). In written discourse, one of the areas where metaphors are used is a newspaper article. For example, "Fighting the poverty of hunger", "... Namibia edged a step closer to dealing poverty and hunger a killer blow", "... putting the final nail into poverty's coffin" are all metaphorical expressions that appeared in the *New Era* newspaper (Fighting the poverty of hunger, *New Era*, July 1, 2016). Metaphor, as a figure of speech, is associated with culture. That is to say metaphors acquire their associative meanings from the socio-cultural environments in which they exist. Culture plays a role in the configuration of conceptual metaphors, which are defined as mappings between two different conceptual domains (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013).

Newspaper editorials are a sub-genre of the newspaper genre (Bell, 1991), and are a particular type of writing that is important in news discourse. The intention of editorials is to influence the social perceptions of their readers by making use of various persuasive strategies and devices (Farrokhi & Nazemi, 2016). Thus editorials elaborate the opinion of the newspaper and make use of metaphors to enhance the understanding of this opinion. The *New Era* is one of four daily newspapers in Namibia. It was established in 1991 as a weekly publication, but was later published bi-weekly and then became a daily paper in

2004. The newspaper, owned by the Namibian Government, is published in English and five indigenous languages. Editorials in the *New Era* newspaper appear weekly to provide a summary or statement of opinion of a particular week's news events. Metaphors are ubiquitous in newspaper editorials and are instrumental in contextualising events in a brief but thematically inclusive, logical manner. Despite the frequent use and importance of metaphors as rhetorical strategies in newspaper editorials, according to the literature reviewed, the researcher found no studies regarding the functions and meaning of metaphors in Namibian English newspaper editorials. This study, therefore, seeks to explore the meanings of metaphors in editorials of the *New Era* newspaper, 2016.

1.2 Statement of the problem

A few studies have been carried out on the functions of metaphors in newspaper editorials. Reporting on the Nigerian Union of Teachers' strike in the privately owned Nigerian newspaper, *The Guardian*, Ezeifeke (2013) analysed metaphor as a strategic linguistic tool for the media. This study scrutinised metaphor use in articles in a specific newspaper which was privately owned in contrast to the newspaper in the proposed study which is wholly government owned. In addition, the study also focused on metaphors in articles, reporting on one specific issue, the strike.

In another study, Farrokhi and Nazemi (2016) implemented a comparative analysis on the rhetorical devices used in the editorials of the American newspaper, *The New York Times*, and the Australian newspaper, *The Australian*. The findings showed that the difference observed in editorials "can suggest the importance of language over national styles of writing with regard to moods and conventions of persuasion when it comes to editorials" (Farrokhi & Nazemi, 2016, p. 155). However, this researcher found no empirical research

on the meaning of metaphors in Namibian newspaper editorials. This study attempted to fill this gap in existing research by exploring the functions and meanings of metaphors in Namibian English newspaper editorials.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are to:

1.3.1 evaluate the different types and functions of metaphor in the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper;

1.3.2 explore how metaphors contribute to convey the meaning of the message in the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper; and

1.3.3 analyse the influences of cultural elements on metaphors in editorials of the *New Era* newspaper.

1.4 Significance of the study

The findings of this study will benefit a wide readership considering that newspapers are published regularly and are accessible to the masses. Metaphors are important to human psychology because they are of significant importance to human cognition. This study is important because it shows how the average reader processes and interprets metaphorical expressions in order to understand the editorial. The study further contributes to the existing limited body of literature on the study of metaphors in Namibian newspapers and the findings presented may be used as a reference for future research, especially in studying newspaper discourse.

The contributions of this study would be of interest to scholars in Language, Literature and Media Studies as well as to practising teachers and newspaper editors. The study will be conducive to language development as it shows that newspapers are a useful tool in learning and understanding different aspects of a language, particularly in this case, metaphors.

1.5 Limitation of the study

This study is limited in scope as it only focused on the meaning of metaphors in newspaper editorials. Any other kind of figurative language is outside the scope of this investigation. The study was confined to one newspaper, the *New Era* and was further limited to the 2016 editions of the newspaper that contain editorials, which only appear weekly. Since analysis is limited to the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper, the findings cannot be generalised to all newspaper sub-genres. However, focusing on the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper in 2016 allowed the researcher to make an in-depth study of the selected texts.

1.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the orientation of the study, definitions of metaphor, and the problem statement and research objectives. The chapter also provided the significance of the study, and the limitations faced by this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature that is relevant to this study in order to establish the necessary basis of the empirical examination that follows. The researcher presents this by providing a historical background of the concept of metaphor and its definition as provided by various scholars. In addition, the researcher has examined the meaning of metaphor as set forth by various scholars as well as the types of metaphors and their functions. Finally, the study revealed the universality of metaphors, exploring the influences of cultural elements on metaphor. The review is presented following the sequence of research questions (see section 1.3). The study is informed by the Metaphor Identification Procedure and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their book *Metaphors we live by*.

2.2 Definitions of metaphor

Metaphor has been traditionally studied and analysed within the framework of rhetoric, literary works and literary studies but it is also studied in cognitive linguistics (Al-Ali, El-Sharif & Alzyoud, 2016). Shaw, as cited in Fadaee (2011) argues that “a metaphor is an implied analogy which imaginatively identifies one thing with another. A metaphor is one of the tropes, a device by which an author

turns, or twists, the meaning of a word” (p. 21). Additionally, Galperin (1981) states that a metaphor is the relation between the dictionary and the contextual logical meaning based on the similarity of some properties of two corresponding concepts. In cognitive linguistics, a metaphor is not merely a figure of speech. It is defined as the understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain; “rather than to an individual metaphorical usage or a linguistic convention” (Grady, 2007). This study based its investigation of the functions and meaning of metaphor in newspaper editorials on the above definitions as they serve the purpose of the study to identify words and expressions classified as metaphor based on similarities as well as conceptual representations for metaphor.

2.3 Background: overview of theories of metaphor

In order to analyse the metaphorical language used in the newspaper editorials under investigation in this thesis, it is important to discuss the different philosophical approaches to metaphor. The three views that will be discussed here are the comparison view, the substitution view and the interaction view.

2.3.1 Comparison theory of metaphor

Traditionally, metaphor has been discussed as far back as 350 BC. Aristotle, in *Poetics*, defined metaphor as the “application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy” (as cited in Cameron & Low, 1999, p. 71). As ascertained by this definition, it can therefore be argued that when one uses a metaphor, he/she translates one word in terms of another and as a

result transfers certain qualities from one subject to the other. In this way one is able to describe concepts, which one would not be able to otherwise define so specifically using literal language. Aristotle (as cited in Taverniers, 2002) explicates his definition by distinguishing four ways in which metaphor can be used:

(1) The genus to species relationship, where a more general term is used instead of a specific term. Aristotle uses the example of *This ship of mine stands there* where *stand* (species) is a more general way of saying *is anchored* (genus).

(2) The species to genus relationship, where a more specific term is used in place of a general term. Aristotle's example is, *Indeed ten thousand noble things Odysseus did* where *ten thousand* (genus) is a specific term representing the more general *many* (species).

(3) The species to species relationship, where one specific term replaces another. Aristotle's example is, *Then he drew off his life with the bronze* and *Then with the bronze cup he cut the water*, where *to draw off* and *to cut* (species) represent *to take away* (species).

(4) Metaphor from analogy, which consists of substitutions between *x* is to *y* type relationships, for instance, to define *old age* as *the sunset of life*. One can speak metaphorically about the *old age of the day* or the *evening of life* (Taverniers, 2002, p. 5).

Aristotle's account of metaphor can be understood as comparison which is based on analogy (Ortony, 1979, p. 3). According to Aristotle (as cited in Katz, 1996), metaphor functions primarily as a stylistic device used for aesthetic reasons, mainly in poetry to articulate a concept in an expressive way. Furthermore, Aristotle (as cited in Semino, 2008) also noted the persuasive function of metaphor, seeing it as a

significant rhetorical figure used in political discourse. Aristotle's view of metaphor forms the basis of the comparison theory of metaphor. This approach sees metaphor as "a kind of comparison, a condensed simile" based on similarity (Martin & Harré, 1982, p. 90). The comparison view of metaphor states that when processing a metaphor, the properties of the target domain are aligned with those of the source (base) domain and then shared characteristics are identified (i.e. A is B which translates to A is like B). For example, in the metaphor *life is a journey*, the characteristics of the target term 'life' are lined up with those of the base term 'journey' and then we look for an overlap in the characteristics. One might say that life is similar to a journey because they both have a beginning and an end and other such characteristics as: the person leading a life is a traveller, his purposes are destinations, the means to achieving purposes are routes and progress is the distance travelled (Lakoff & Turner, 1989).

Scholars regarding the processing of metaphors as a form of comparison based on Aristotle's foundations include Richards (1936), Miller (1979), Ortony (1979, 1993), and Johnson and Malgady (1979).

2.3.2 Substitution theory of metaphor

The second major theory, the substitution theory of metaphor, suggests that, "metaphor is a way of saying what could be said literally" (Martin & Harré, 1982, 90). In other words, a metaphoric expression can be substituted by a literal expression that has the same meaning, in so far as a literal meaning exists. An explanation of this would be to say A is B presents some intended meaning of the form A is C. For example, the metaphoric expression, 'Tangeni is a dog' could be

substituted with the literal expression ‘Tangeni conducts himself in a manner exemplifying unbecoming behaviour’. The substitution view is linguistically based and states that metaphor is an inaccurate substitute for literal language and the accurate meaning is determined only by identifying the most suitable literal language to replace the metaphorical language. Trčková (2014) states that this view is a somewhat reductionist approach to metaphor because it overlooks that metaphor is a unique expression of meaning, all aspects of which cannot be accounted for by a literal substitute. Thus from a substitution perspective metaphor is a matter of deviant language as literal language is observed as natural and conventional. In consequence, metaphors may be seen as false because they make statements that cannot be proven by reference to objective reality. How can Tangeni be a dog? Such a metaphor can be considered accurate only in the “non-reality of the imagination” (Faulkner, (n.d.) p. 2). Furthermore a metaphor such as *life is a journey* would be considered a “rhetorical embellishment” (Faulkner, (n.d.) (p. 2.).

2.3.3 Interaction theory of metaphor

The principle feature of the interaction theory of metaphor is the interaction that occurs between two concepts. The metaphor is the result of the interaction between the two concepts of the metaphorical expression rather than the result of a comparison of characteristics or from a substitution of literal language. The interaction that takes place constructs new meanings. Credited to Black (1962), the interaction theory draws on Richards’ (1936) work, in which two significant terms were introduced: *vehicle*, the source domain meaning of a metaphor, and *tenor*, the target domain. In the interaction view, the target enforces a filter that screens and

limits the characteristics and meaning that can be carried over from the source. Accordingly, the source concept, as well as the target concept, is thought to undergo restructuring (Indurkha, 1992, 1994). For example in the metaphor *life is a journey*, the concept 'life' (target) sets up a filter that allows only certain characteristics of the concept 'journey' (domain) to reach and act upon its characteristics, thereby changing them. Black (1962) states that interaction produces a meaning for the metaphor that is too complex to be reduced to literal paraphrase. A metaphor does not express similarities: it creates similarity (Steen, 2007). Metaphors are based on semblance, not analogy, as in the comparison view. Essentially, the interaction theory views metaphor as the interaction between two semantic fields expressed by the target and source domains of a metaphor. The special effect of the interaction is displayed by the tension between the literal and figurative meanings thus creating new relationships between two concepts (Ferenczy, 1997).

2.4 The concept of metaphor

Scholars, claiming that metaphors have meaning, largely begin by accepting some version of the interaction theory of metaphor but utilise the resources of many different semantic theories (Kittay, 1998). For example, Kittay (1987) uses semantic field theory to explore the meaning of metaphors and creates a new understanding of the relation between metaphoric and literal meaning. The author emphasizes metaphorical interaction that "is intended to be more precise than previous accounts and to capture, through notion of semantic fields, the relational nature of metaphorical transfer of meaning" (Kittay, 1987, p. 176). Similar to Black (1962), Kittay believes that a metaphor is a cognitive device by which we conceptualise a

given domain (e.g. construction workers) in terms of relations held between items from another domain (e.g. bees). Kittay says about semantic fields,

Anything we may want to talk about, and which would require a set of related terms to talk about it, could serve as a content domain. The terms ‘red’, ‘blue’ ‘green’, yellow’ would be contrasts in the semantic field of colour. Terms such as ‘fishing’, ‘fish’, ‘trout’, ‘fisherman’ exhibit various contrasts and affinities within the semantic field of fishing. Examples of relations in a semantic field include synonymy: big, large; graded antonymy: hot, warm, cool, cold; hyponym: bird, robin; cyclical series: summer, winter, autumn, spring... (p. 34).

Furthermore, as metaphor operates through this conflict of semantic fields, it is “linguistically incongruous” meaning that violates certain rules of language, “the rules that govern the literal and conventional senses of the terms” (Kittay, 1987, p. 24). However, because metaphors are understandable, they must then contain meanings of a special metaphorical kind. Such meanings are determined mainly through linguistic context; the relationship between the metaphorical vehicle and the words in the text which surround it, either in reality or in an imaginative construction of such a text (Kittay, 1987). Though Kittay claims that metaphor is linguistically incongruous she acknowledges that a metaphor must always be interpreted in relation to a wider linguistic context (actual or constructible) as the case against this argument is to identify metaphors that do not sound linguistically strange. For example, ‘That man is a jackal’. The phrase is linguistically correct but its literal meaning is false as a man is not a jackal. Within such a context, Kittay argues that the metaphor will always produce a linguistic anomaly. Similarly to Black (1962),

Kittay posits that literal meaning is context-bound and relational, and so best understood in a theory that incorporates semantic fields.

Black (1962, 1979) advocates metaphorical meaning and supports the notion that metaphor is cognitive and irreducible. This notion has been subsequently supported by arguments and evidence collected by philosophers of science, cognitive psychologists, philosophers of language and linguists (Kittay, 1998). Black (1962) asserts that linguistic considerations can play an important part in framing and solving philosophical problems thus the author aims at building a “logical grammar” of metaphor (p. 25) and explains how this grammar defines what one uses or interprets as a metaphor. By this means, Black distinguishes between the *focus* and the *frame*. The focus of a metaphor is the word in a metaphor that is being used metaphorically. The rest of the sentence (those words which are not being used metaphorically) is called the ‘frame.’ For example, according to Black’s interpretation, in the following metaphor “Ndapewa is a rose”, “Ndapewa is” is the frame of the metaphor, and “a rose” is the focus of the metaphor as it is the word being used metaphorically. Black (1979) says that “in calling this former sentence a metaphor, we are implying that there is one word that is being used metaphorically” (p. 28). Black (1979) distinguishes between literal words of a phrase and the metaphorical words. He argues in favour of the idea that metaphors could be “cognitive instruments indispensable for perceiving connections that, once perceived, are then truly present” (Black, 1979, p. 39).

Where Black (1962) differentiates between literal words of a phrase and the metaphorical phrase, Davidson (1975, 1978) argues metaphorical meaning. He states that “metaphors mean what the words, in their most literal interpretation, mean, and nothing more” (Davidson, 1978, p. 30). Davidson explains that metaphor must retain its literal meaning no matter how strange that meaning. While Davidson’s

explanation may shed light on many faults previously made in theories of metaphor, according to Macha (2012), his theory on the meaning of metaphor has not been widely accepted. Davidson maintains that, “If we are to think of words in metaphors as directly going about their business of applying to what they properly do apply to, there is no difference between metaphor and the introduction of a new term into our vocabulary” (Davidson, 1978, p. 32). Hence, Davidson (1978) argues, if a new or extensional meaning to the metaphorical word is imposed, the process simply creates a new word in the vocabulary. If there is no connection to the original literal meaning of the word, the process simply gives a new literal meaning and establishes a condition to which this new meaning applies. Thus there is no formulation of a metaphor.

Levin (1977) makes use of componential semantics to explain metaphorical meaning. Componential analysis of meaning can be traced back to the work of Katz and Fodor (1963) and describes how semantic components help to define different lexical relations and grammatical and syntactic processes. Some properties of meaning can be shared by different lexical items. This means that it is possible for two verbs to share a semantic concept such as creation (build, make) or motion (fall, run). Levin treats metaphors as semantically deviant expressions and as such develops a set of rules revealing conceivable interpretations (construals) of a deviant sentence. Levin views the idea of metaphor as basically the interpretation of such semantically deviant expression as ‘the stone died’ (his model sentence). Componential semantics removes a selection of restrictions until the expression can go through the interpretation without difficulty. Levin (1977) suggests that the metaphorical language is left intact and instead readers should modify their conception of the world.

In the example, *The stone died*, the semantic feature of the verb “die” (cease to be living) leads to the selection restriction (+human) or (+animal) or (+plant) which is incompatible with the semantic features of stone, (+mineral) and therefore (-human). According to Levin (1977), the incompatibility between *stone* and *die* can be decoded by the notion of feature transfer either by transfer of semantic feature (+mineral) from stone into the selection restriction of ‘die’ or the transfer of the selection of restriction (+human) from the selection restriction of ‘die’ into the reading of stone (Kittay, 1987).

According to Levin (1977), deviant noun-verb structures can be construed in six ways. His goal is a theory of metaphor that propounds that

The rules devised for imposing interpretations on deviant expressions would then, like the rules for generating well-formed expressions, predict just which non occurring strings were possible and which were not possible. These rules, given their form and function in the grammar, would then define the notion 'possible metaphor' . . . We seek, that is, to ascertain the range (or a range) of interpretations that a deviant expression can support linguistically and we seek, further, to determine the various construal routes that the speaker/author or hearer/reader employs in arriving at this range of interpretations (pp. 32.-34).

Levin (1977) acknowledges that certain aspects of metaphor will unavoidably remain beyond the influence of his strictly semantic approach. He gives credit to Grice's (1975) analysis of metaphor in which pragmatic factors rather than semantic ones have the greatest weight.

Searle (1979) through the speech act theory claims that a metaphor is a feature of speaker meaning rather than sentence meaning. Based on Grice's (1975) framework of

metaphorical interpretations, Searle (1979) argues that metaphor is like other forms of indirect speech in expressing a distinctive speaker meaning. Searle adds that the difficulty in explaining how metaphors work is a special case of the general problem of explaining how speaker meaning and sentence or word meaning come apart, in other words, how to say one thing and mean something else (Macha, 2012). He states, “our task in constructing a theory of metaphor is to try to state the principles which relate literal sentence meaning to metaphorical speaker’s utterance meaning” (pp. 92-93).

Searle (1981) divides the interpretive process into three steps. First, the hearer must use Gricean reasoning to determine whether to look for a non-literal interpretation. Second, if the hearer has decided to pursue a metaphorical interpretation, he or she must use speech act theory to work out the probable speaker meanings. Searle lists eight principles with which the speaker’s utterances can produce meanings that are metaphorical. Third, when the hearer has generated various possible speaker meanings, the hearer must also use more principles or strategies to identify the exact meanings of the utterance in the situation (Reimer & Camp, 2006). Searle asserts “the utterance of an expression with its literal meaning and corresponding set of truth conditions can, in various ways that are specific to metaphor, call to mind another meaning and corresponding set of truth conditions” (Searle, 1979, p. 85). One can conclude then that the speaker meaning is essentially the metaphorical meaning.

However, there are arguments against this notion. In Lycan (2000), Cooper (1986) and Moran (1997) claim that if metaphorical meaning is only speaker-meaning, then it will be determined by and limited to the speaker’s intentions. Cooper says, “even a quite definite speaker intention does not finally determine the meaning of a metaphor” (p. 73). Furthermore, Moran says that “the interpretation of the light the metaphor sheds on its subject may outrun anything the speaker is thought explicitly

to have had in mind” (p. 264). Other arguments against Searle’s theory include Katz (1981) who suggests that the speech act theory lacks logic and coherence and thus should be replaced by at least two distinct theories; one that considers the “grammatically determined” literal meanings of sentence types, and the other that considers the “extra-grammatical information” speakers use together with their knowledge of the meanings of sentence types to produce speech acts (p 204). Similarly, Dascal (1981) as cited in Gibbs (1984) argues that Searle incorrectly presupposes that the literal meaning of a sentence literally used should sufficiently describe the intended meaning. Dascal adds that the total significance of an utterance depends on many factors including the literal meaning of the sentence used.

These arguments show that Searle’s Pragmatic Theory is not adequate in providing a thorough explanation on the status of literal meaning of metaphors.

In dealing with metaphor meaning, Black (1962) took creative, novel metaphors as the prime examples of metaphors and dismissed highly conventionalised metaphors as “dead”. As a contrast Lakoff and Johnson (1980) use these conventionalised “dead” metaphors as their prime examples. According to Pawelec (2006, p. 118), a dead metaphor is a lexical item with a conventional meaning different from its original meaning “or some previous meaning in the chain of semantic change” thus there is no need to consult the original meaning in order to understand a dead metaphor. Traditionally, dead metaphors contrast live metaphors. The distinction between dead and live metaphors is comparable to the distinction in cognitive metaphor theory between literal and imaginative metaphors. Traditional live metaphors are comparable to Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) imaginative or nonliteral metaphors. Traditionally, dead metaphors are lexicalised metaphors and can be compared to literal metaphors in cognitive metaphor theory which means that they

are known in most of the situations as “live” (Romero & Belén, 2005). From a traditional point of view, (Leech 1969; Searle 1981; MacCormac 1985) “live” refers to a non-conventional metaphor, an expression which is not lexicalised. Lakoff and Johnson change the sense in which it is said that a metaphor is “live”. The authors say

Expressions like ‘wasting time’, ‘attacking positions’, and ‘going our separate ways’ are reflections of systematic metaphoric concepts that structure our actions and thoughts. They are ‘alive’ in the most fundamental sense: they are metaphors we live by. The fact that they are conventionally fixed within the lexicon of English makes them no less alive (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p. 55).

2.5 The cognitive linguistic view of metaphor

2.5.1 The conceptual metaphor

In *Metaphors we live by*, Lakoff and Johnson (2003) argue that metaphor is a powerful conceptual tool essential to how we understand the world. Metaphor can also be seen as a conceptual *system* because different metaphors are related to each other in a coherent manner. For example, abstract concepts such as love and argument are not easily understood unless related to a directly perceivable referent such as LOVE IS MADNESS¹ and ARGUMENT IS WAR. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) state that “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action” and that “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think

¹ The use of small capital letters shows that the particular wording does not occur in language as such, but it underlies conceptually all the metaphorical expressions that are associated with it.

and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (p. 3). Metaphor is a kind of thinking or conceptualisation not limited to language; however, language provides a convenient way to observe how metaphor works. The two domains of conceptual metaphor are source domain and target domain. The source domain is the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expression to understand another conceptual domain, while the target domain is the conceptual domain that is understood in this way.

For example, ARGUMENT IS WAR is a conceptual metaphor with the following metaphorical linguistic expressions:

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on the target*.

(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980)

During the metaphorical processes the source domain corresponds to the target domain thus there is a mapping between the source domain and the target domain. The target domain A is understood in terms of the source domain B. For example, in the case of the conceptual metaphor mentioned above, ARGUMENT is the target domain and WAR is the source domain. Whenever WAR is mapped onto ARGUMENT, the two domains correspond to each other in a way which enables us to interpret ARGUMENT as a WAR (Kertész, 2004).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) distinguish between three different types of metaphors according to the cognitive functions they perform; Structural, Orientational and Ontological Metaphors.

2.5.1.1 Structural Metaphors

Structural metaphors are metaphors where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another. The source domain provides an extensive knowledge structure that is clearly delineated for the target domain. For example, the structural metaphor TIME IS MONEY can be illustrated by the following metaphorical expressions:

- You're *wasting my time*,
- He's living on *borrowed* time.
- How do you *spend* your time these days?
- I've *invested* a lot of time in him.

(Lakhoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 7-8)

According to Goss (1995), a structural metaphor “need not be explicitly articulated or defined but it operates as a guide to meaning and action in the discursive context within which it operates” (p. 137). Notably Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 61) point out that “Structural metaphors allow us to do much more than just orient concepts, refer to them, quantify them, etc., as we do with simple orientational and ontological metaphors; they allow us, in addition, to use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another”.

2.5.1.2 Orientational Metaphors

Orientational metaphors are those based on the spatial orientation; they organise a whole system of concepts in terms of physical orientation such as up – down, in – out, front – back, on – off, deep – shallow and central – peripheral. For example the

conceptual metaphors HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN are expressed by the following metaphorical expressions

- I'm feeling *up*.
- That *boosted* my spirits.
- Thinking about her always gives me a *lift*.
- I'm feeling *down*.
- I *fell into* a *depression*.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p. 15)

“Similarly, health, consciousness, having control, more, good, virtue, and rational are all up, while sickness, unconsciousness, being controlled, less, bad, depravity, and emotional thinking are all generally down” (Tomaszewski, 2003). As indicated in the examples, upward orientation often goes together with a positive evaluation while downward orientation with a negative one (Kövecses, 2010b). This notion is not arbitrary, it is somatically and experientially based and shows how the human embodied character accords physical orientations to otherwise intangible concepts. Brown (2003) adds

...whether the experience on which an orientational metaphor is based is directly emergent physical experience or one drawn from the social domain, the core metaphorical framework is the same in all of them. There is only one verticality concept ‘up’ We apply it differently, depending on the kind of experience on which we base the metaphor (p. 39).

2.5.1.3 Ontological Metaphors

An ontological metaphor is a metaphor in which an abstract concept, such as an emotion, activity or idea, is exemplified as something concrete, such as a person, an object, substance or container. For example the conceptual metaphor ACTIVITY AS A CONTAINER is expressed by the following metaphorical expressions:

- How did Jerry *get out* of washing the windows?
- *Outside* of washing the windows, what else did you do?
- How did you *get into* window-washing as a profession?
- I *put* a lot of energy *into* washing the windows.
- I *get* a lot of satisfaction *out of* washing windows.

(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 31)

Ontological metaphors give intangible things a sense of boundary and substance, so that experiences are conceived as objects or bounded spaces. As a result we are able to refer to a concept as an agent (We are *working towards peace*), to quantify it (It will take *a lot of patience* to finish this book), to identify aspects of it (I can't *keep up* with the *pace of technology*), or to identify causes (He did it *out of anger*) or goals (She went to London to *seek fame and fortune*). For example, if fear is conceived as an object it can be perceived as a possession. Thus we can linguistically refer to fear as *your fear* or *my fear*. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) assert that the ontological metaphor is the most abstract and powerful kind of conceptual metaphor. The authors claim that the most obvious ontological metaphors are represented by personification of a process where human qualities are projected onto non-human entities. For example:

- Life has *cheated* me.
- Love *speaks* through her words.
- Inflation is *eating up* our profits.
- Cancer finally *caught up* with him.
- Dreams *live* on.
- The computer went *dead* on me.

The above statements reflect non-human entities of life, love, cancer, dreams and computer qualified with human qualities such as cheating, speaking, eating, catching up, living and dying. Kövecses (2002) adds that “personification makes use of one of the best source domains we have – ourselves. In personifying nonhumans as humans, we can begin to understand them a little better” (p. 39).

In summary, by shaping our conceptual system, metaphors shape our reality by influencing how we look at the world and how we act on those observations. By focusing on certain features, metaphors can create an apparent similarity between two things (Tomaszewski, 2003). In the 2003 edition of the book *Metaphors We Live By*, the authors made some corrections in the Afterword, stating that the classification of metaphors as either structural, orientational or ontological was artificial since all metaphors are structural. The authors also emphasized the idea that metaphorical thinking is rooted in the body and argue that a large number of conceptual metaphors, such as ARGUMENT IS WAR, LIFE IS JOURNEY and HAPPY IS UP have been expressed in many other languages besides English Rosaldo (1980), working with the Ilongot language of the Philippines, Yu (1995, 1998), and Li (2010a; 2010b) analysed English – Chinese metaphors while Kovecses (2002) looks at the universality of metaphors in relation to Hungarian). However, recently,

linguists studying the conceptual metaphor have increasingly emphasised that a comprehensive metaphor theory cannot be built on ‘embodiment’ alone as there is too much “temporal and geographical variation in how humans conceptualise” (Forceville, 2006). It is important to complement embodiment with an awareness of the role of culture in meaning making.

2.6 Metaphors and culture

The study of conceptual metaphor has further been developed by Kövecses (2002, 2005). Similar to Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003) Kövecses (2005) argues that metaphor is not an exclusively linguistic phenomenon, but a multifaceted phenomenon that involves not only language but also our conceptual system, social-cultural practices, as well as neural and bodily activities. Kövecses (2005) explores variation both cross-culturally and within cultures in the use of metaphors. The author posits that if, as explained by cognitive linguistics, metaphorical expressions are bodily motivated, conceptual metaphors should be universals. However, Kövecses proposes a new theory of metaphor variation as he argues that the cognitive linguistic theory of metaphor set forth by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) has only attempted to account for the universality of particular metaphors. Linguistic metaphors may differ extensively cross-culturally but many conceptual metaphors seem to be potentially universal or near-universal.

Universality occurs because people across the world share some bodily experiences, even though they can be creatively explained in different ways (Johnson, 1993). Nevertheless, such potentially universal metaphors may exhibit variations in their specific characteristics because people’s perceptions differ from culture to culture.

Conceptual metaphors differ culturally and many are unique to particular cultures or sets of cultures because of differences in certain elements, such as social-cultural backgrounds, traditions, history, “or human concern that characterize these cultures” (Kövecses, 2015, p. 13). The word culture is used to mean “shared understandings that characterize larger or smaller groups of people” (Kövecses, 2005, p. 1). Such a group lives in a specific social, historical, and physical environment and as a result characterise their experiences similarly. Individuals who share a culture therefore, understand what other people say, identify objects and events in more or less the same ways, have the same value judgement and share a basic understanding of experiences.

Human beings experience inherently universal situations such as love and acceptance, the desire to dream or create and the need for food. Kövecses (2010a, p. 741) adds “being in a container, walking along a path, resisting some physical force, being in the dark, and so forth, are universal experiences that lead to image schemas of various kinds”. The author explains that the resulting image schemas (a recurrent pattern, shape and regularity), in this case, *container*, *source-path-goal*, and *force*, represent most of our experiences in the form of conceptual metaphors (Kövecses, 2010a). This reminds us of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who assert that experience cannot be disassociated from culture and therefore every conceptual metaphor carries a cultural load. This means that what determines the terms ‘target’ and ‘source’ is not only the placement of the metaphor at a conceptual level, but also its embodied nature. The cognitive linguistic view of metaphor suggests that the relation between the two terms of a conceptual metaphor is an immanent one. For example in the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, the target concept ANGER derives its meaning from the sensorimotor (i.e. bodily) experience contained

in the source domain HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987). Consequently, “the source is a more physical and the target a more abstract kind of domain” (Kövecses, 2006, p. 117). Hence, language is embodied or, more precisely, concepts are embodied.

Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) maintain that the mind is inherently embodied. The authors explain this “embodied mind” as follows:

Reason is not disembodied, as the tradition has largely held, but arises from the nature of our brains, bodies, and bodily experience. This is not just the innocuous and obvious claim that we need a body to reason; rather, it is the striking claim that the very structure of reason itself comes from the details of our embodiment. The same neural and cognitive mechanisms that allow us to perceive and move around also create our conceptual systems and modes of reason. Thus, to understand reason we must understand the details of our visual system, our motor system, and the general mechanisms of neural binding. In summary, reason is not, in any way, a transcendent feature of the universe or of disembodied mind. Instead, it is shaped crucially by the peculiarities of our human bodies, by the remarkable details of the neural structure of our brains, and the specifics of our everyday functioning in the world (p. 4).

According to the notion of embodiment, metaphors both construct and are constructed by bodily experiences. Yu (1998) points out that “bodily experience can only tell what are possible metaphors. Whether these potential metaphors are actually selected in a given culture is largely dependent upon the cultural models shared by

individuals living in this culture” (p. 43). In the same way, Strauss and Quinn (1997) explain that

what something (a word, an object, an event) means to somebody depends on exactly what they are experiencing at the moment and the interpretive framework they bring to the moment as a result of their past experiences. A cultural meaning is the typical...interpretation of some type of object or event evoked in people as a result of their similar life experiences... (p. 6).

In the same vein, Gibbs (1999, p. 162) argues that metaphor is as much “a species of perceptually guided adaptive action in a particular cultural situation as it is a specific language device or some internally represented structure in the mind[s] of individuals”. For example, ships and trains are important vehicles in Western culture and there are many metaphorical expressions reflecting them such as, all at sea, sail close to the wind, batten down the hatches or on the right track, off the rails, letting off steam. However, in China, the cart is the most common vehicle in everyday life and it is used more frequently in metaphorical expressions (Ying, 2007).

Smit (2012) explicates metaphor and sociocultural differences in languages by arguing that the kinds of metaphors used depend on the sociocultural situations that influence people’s lives. Smit (2012) uses the example of sea faring and the shipping industry as “largely alien concerns and interests to the people of the interior in a developing desert country such as Namibia” (p. 97). Therefore, metaphors such as ‘plain sailing’ or ‘a different tack’ may not be easily accessible to the Namibian reader, evidence that metaphor constitutes a crucial and inherent part of culture.

2.7 Functions of metaphors

There are two traditional views with regard to the study of the metaphor: the classical view and the romantic view (Saeed, 2007). The classical view considers metaphor as a matter of language, purely stylistic device used in a decorative manner to highlight hidden similarities between objects. In this view, metaphor does not relate to thought (Deignan, 2005). The romantic view of metaphors sees the metaphor as an essential part to thought and is part of our basic conventional way of experiencing the world (Saeed, 2007).

In literature metaphor functions first in a more practical function to provide the reader with a greater understanding of the concept, object, or character under discussion. Metaphors help the reader 'visualise' images and hence focus on important themes of the literary piece. This visualisation is often done by comparing one item to another item that may be more familiar to the reader. The second function of metaphor is entirely artistic. Metaphors are considered an effective way to create an image that is beautiful or profound by embellishing.

According to Radtke (2011), if one takes an overview of metaphorical research, there are three different approaches that highlight the function of metaphor. The author highlights these and lists them in the order of their historical time of prosperity:

1. According to the semantic approach, metaphor is a purely linguistic phenomenon.
2. According to the pragmatic approach, metaphor is a communication phenomenon (i.e. a phenomenon of language usage).

3. According to the cognitive approach, metaphor is a phenomenon of thought and mental representation, in other words phenomenon of knowledge (Radtke, 2011).

Similarly, Steen (2007) notes that the linguistic function of metaphor in language is to fill lexical gaps in the language system. To explicate this function, Steen suggests focusing on metaphorically motivated polysemy. “Polysemy is the conventionalized pairing of one form with more than one meaning which are related to each other, and metaphor is one popular candidate for motivating the relation between the senses” (Steen, 2007, p. 133).

In Denroche (2015), Steen (2007) further asserts that the communication function of metaphor is to “produce an alternative perspective on a particular referent or topic in a message” (p. 37) and explains that the cognitive function of metaphor is “to offer conceptual frameworks for concepts that require at least partial indirect understanding” (p. 37). Metaphor plays an important role in various discourses. As evident from the discussion above, the concept of metaphor has evolved through the ages and each age has contributed its own idea of function of metaphor (Patil, 2011).

2.8 Newspaper editorials

2.8.1 Origins and definitions

The origin of the newspaper editorial can be traced to England as far back as the 18th century. Writer and novelist Daniel Defoe is credited with creating the editorial when he was the first to write an editorial for the triweekly *Review*, which he founded in 1704 (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2014). An editorial is an article written by or under

the direction of the editor of a newspaper or magazine, or a statement broadcast on radio or television. Editorials give opinions on important social, political, economic, or legal issues of the day and intend to persuade readers to agree to a particular point of view. Also known as 'the leader' (leading article), an editorial is influenced by the policy and philosophy of the newspaper, ownership structure and the political environment in which the newspaper is operating. Furthermore, Vaughan (1994) argues that editorials are a "discourse genre comparable to each other because of the position they hold within their communities of readers" (p. 38) and their target is "the social cognitions of the readers" (Van Dijk, 1992. p. 244).

Duyile (2005) defines editorial as a "comment or an argument in support of a particular policy, an action, or an idea whether expressed or latent. It can be an argument exhibiting the logical reasoning of the newspaper using the thoughts of the proprietor for the purpose of persuading the readers (audience) to kick against an idea, policy or an action based on facts available" (p. 63).

Hoffman (2007) defines editorial as a "statement of opinion from an editor or publisher about you and your business. Media coverage generated by news staff" (p. 113).

2.8.2 Types of editorials in newspapers

Editorials are meant to influence public opinion, promote critical thinking, and sometimes cause people to take action on an issue. In essence, an editorial functions as an opinionated news story (Van Dijk, 1996). There are typically four types of editorials:

2.8.2.1 Editorials of explanation or interpretation

Editors often use these editorials to explain and give insight into the way the newspaper covered a sensitive or controversial issue. Explanatory editorials may explain a new policy or community structure. The main purpose is to inform and provide historical and geographical background information.

2.8.2.2 Editorials that criticise

These editorials constructively criticize policies, actions, decisions, people or situations. The editorial should examine all the evidence and provide solutions to the problem identified. Immediate purpose is to get readers to see the problem, not the solution.

2.8.2.3 Editorials that persuade

Editorials of persuasion use facts and argument to persuade the reader on issues that concern the community. From the first paragraph, readers will be encouraged to take a specific stand. The immediate purpose is to get readers to see the solution, not the problem. Political endorsements are good examples of editorials of persuasion.

2.8.2.4 Editorials that praise

These editorials commend people, organisations or community reactions for something done well. Editorials that praise are not as common as the other three types of editorials mentioned.

2.9 Related studies

Many scholars have explored the use of metaphor in specific contexts. The studies reviewed for this proposed research pertained to metaphor use in newspapers, including articles, editorials and headlines as these studies provide context for the this research. Few studies have been carried out on the use of metaphors in newspaper editorials.

Schultz (2012) investigated the use of metaphor and metonymy in two online newspapers, *The Sun* and *The Telegraph*, looking at the possible differences between the two. Using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory the study discovered a relatively insignificant difference between the two newspapers when comparing the total number of metaphors. The study showed no significant difference in terms of the use of metonymy. This study highlighted the frequency in which metaphors appear in newspapers corroborating that metaphors are an essential element of newspaper articles.

Ezeifeka (2013) analysed the strategic use of metaphors in the privately owned Nigerian newspaper, *The Guardian* to report on the Nigerian Union of Teachers' strike. The study utilized understandings of critical discourse analysis, conceptual metaphor theory and critical metaphor analysis to reveal "...the newspaper's

apparently inadvertent ideological solidarity with the power elite, hidden under the mask of metaphors in its attempt to act out its watchdog role in the teachers' case" (Ezeifeka, 2013 p.174). This study examined metaphor use in articles in a specific newspaper which is privately owned as a contrast to the newspaper in the proposed study which is wholly government owned. In addition, the study also focused on metaphors in articles reporting on one specific issue, the strike.

In another study, Farrokhi and Nazemi (2016) implemented a comparative study on the rhetorical devices used in the editorials of the American newspaper, *The New York Times*, and the Australian newspaper, *The Australian*. The study used Richardson's (2007) framework of rhetorical devices focusing on Hyperbole, Metaphor and Metonymy. The main focus of the study was to see to what extent language affects written conventions. The findings revealed that the editorials compared used the same rhetorical device categories and that metonymy was the most frequently used device in both editorials. Contrastively, metaphor was the least used device in the selected newspapers. The findings further showed that the difference observed in editorials "can suggest the importance of language over national styles of writing with regard to moods and conventions of persuasion when it comes to editorials" (Farrokhi & Nazemi, 2016, p. 155).

Bonyadi and Samuels (2013) conducted a contrastive analysis of headlines in newspaper editorials? The authors examined the kind of textual and rhetorical strategies from two newspapers, the American newspaper, *The New York Times*, and the Persian newspaper, *Tehran Times* and further examined how these strategies were used to spread the newspapers' preferred ideologies. With the use of the above mentioned newspapers, Bonyadi and Samuels explored the field of research in intercultural rhetoric analysis and EFL (English as a foreign language)/ESL (English

as a second language) studies. The study specifically looked at certain features of editorial headlines and their role in monitoring and directing readers' attention. Regarding metaphors, the results of the study showed the headlines in the *New York Times* favoured the use of metaphor and other devices such as metonymy, rhetorical questions and parallelism more than the *Tehran Times*.

The studies above show how metaphors in newspapers have mainly been examined for their rhetorical or ideological power. Krennmayr (2005) has contributed valuable research on metaphors in newspapers. The author presents a corpus-linguistic quantitative analysis of metaphors in a collection of British newspapers. The study consists of metaphors found in different sections in a newspaper and the analysis is based on a database of about 190,000 words hand-annotated for metaphorical language use. Krennmayr (2005) also criticizes Lakoff and Johnson (1980), claiming that they do not show how they identify conceptual metaphors and why mappings are processed the way they are. As a result of her research, Krennmayr suggests a tool for linguistic metaphor identification in news, specifically a procedure called Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP).

2.10 Theoretical framework

The study is informed by the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) and the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) also known as the cognitive metaphor theory (CMT).

2.10.1 Metaphor identification procedure (MIP)

The metaphor identification procedure is a practical, systematic, and reliable method for identifying metaphorically-used words in discourse. It was developed by Gerard Steen and five research assistants at the VU University in Amsterdam (Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, & Pasma, 2010). Its main function is to identify linguistic metaphors; metaphor in use (Pragglejaz Group, 2007). According to the metaphor identification procedure, to identify metaphors and metaphorical expressions the researcher must follow the following four steps:

1. Read the entire text/discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text/discourse.
- 3a. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
- 3b. For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:
 - more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste.
 - related to bodily action.
 - more precise (as opposed to vague).
 - historically older.

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

- 3c. If the lexical unit has a more basic current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

(Pragglejaz Group. 2007, p. 3.)

MIP was created to provide a reliable and accurate tool for the identification of metaphorically used words in different contexts (Alipoor, Sharifi, & Izanloo, 2016). The Praggelaz group show how to use MIP by applying it to a sentence from a news report. In this process, the group notes that when reading newspaper articles, expert knowledge is not a prerequisite to gain a comprehensive understanding of the meaning of text, a general world knowledge is enough. As a result “the contextual meaning of words can be established in the overwhelming majority of cases” (Steen et al., 2010, p. 44).

2.10.2 Conceptual metaphor theory

The conceptual metaphor theory has its origins in Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980, 2003) seminal publication, *Metaphors we live by*, and is one of the central areas of research in cognitive linguistics (Grady, 2007). The theory, modelled on Michael Reddy’s (1979) study of the conduit metaphor, has been developed and elaborated by Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Turner (1989), and other scholars such as Gibbs (1990, 1992, 1994), Way (1991), Steen (1994), and Kövecses (2002). All have made use of the theory in their

works. CMT simply explains a metaphor as something that is expressed in terms of another for rhetorical effect. CMT is accordingly “positioning itself as ‘contemporary’, ‘conceptual’, and a major pillar of the cognitive linguistics paradigm and proceeds to argue for the relationship between linguistic metaphors and human cognition” (Tay, 2014, p. 52) and for that it best suits this study. The main principle of conceptual metaphor theory is that metaphor functions at the level of thinking. “The concept that becomes understood (the more abstract or unfamiliar concept) is the TARGET domain. The other concept, which somehow facilitates understanding or discussion of the target is the SOURCE domain (the more concrete or familiar concept)” (Caruso, 2011, p. 1). Thus one conceptual domain, the target, is understood in terms of another (the source) by mapping conceptual elements within the two domains. These frameworks will provide the most appropriate answers to the questions raised by this study.

2.11 Summary

This chapter presented an overview of the concept of metaphor. It discussed the meaning of metaphors as put forward by different scholars as well as the types and functions of metaphors. In conclusion, the chapter related the seminal theories on which the study was based. The metaphor identification procedure and the conceptual metaphor theory were used to explain how metaphors are identified in text and their meanings are determined.

With specific reference to Namibia, the researcher did not come across any studies conducted on the use of metaphors in newspaper editorials, thus this study aims to contribute towards filling that gap by analysing the meanings of metaphors in the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper, 2016.

In the next chapter, the methodology applied in the study will be discussed in depth. The researcher will discuss all the procedures involved in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research Methodology is a systematic way of discovering results of a given problem, particularly, the research problem. According to Goddard and Melville (2004), research methodology includes answering unanswered questions or exploring that which currently does not exist in research. This chapter provides information on the research design for the present study. It also details the methods and procedures used for data collection and discusses the population and sampling techniques used. The chapter concludes with a description of the ethical considerations made during the study.

3.2 Research design

Kerlinger (1986) states that a research design is a plan, structure and strategy of investigation implemented to get answers to research questions or problems. Similarly, Parahoo (1997) describes a research design as “a plan that describes how, when and where data are to be collected and analysed” (p. 142). The research design for this study was exploratory in nature. It is exploratory because according to the literature reviewed by the researcher, no studies have been found regarding the use of metaphors and their meanings in Namibian newspaper editorials. The main purpose of an exploratory research is to investigate a new area of research or to make a deeper exploration when little is known about an area of interest (Polit, Beck & Hungler, 2001), in this case regarding the use of metaphors in Namibian newspaper

editorials. A qualitative approach was used as the study sought to conduct a linguistic analysis of metaphors in the selected newspaper editorials to obtain the meaning of the metaphors. This was the most suitable approach for this study as Holloway and Wheeler (2002, p. 30) refer to qualitative research as “a form of social enquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experience and the world in which they live”. The study was a desktop examination of the newspaper editorials. The researcher consulted works related to metaphor and newspaper editorials as these facilitated a close content analysis of the text.

3.3 Population

Burns and Grove (2003) describe population as all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study. The population of this study consisted of all editions of the *New Era* newspaper.

3.4 Sample

Holloway and Wheeler (2002) state that in qualitative research, the sample size does not influence the significance or quality of the study and note that there are no guidelines in determining sample size. This study made use of purposive sampling to collect the relevant data. Purposive sampling is “a method of sampling where the researcher deliberately chooses who [or what] to include in the study based on their ability to provide necessary data” Parahoo (1997, p. 232). The researcher intentionally chose one Namibian English newspaper, the *New Era* and selected only

the editions of 2016 that contained editorials. The editorials appear weekly in the newspaper, thus the sample contained 46 editorials from the *New Era* newspaper.

3.5 Procedure

The analysis is a desktop study and data was collected by consulting the relevant secondary sources including books, journals and online material pertaining to metaphors and newspaper editorials. First the researcher obtained copies of all the editorials published in the *New Era* newspaper for the calendar year 2016. The choice for this limited period is grounded on the aim of providing an updated account of metaphors used in the newspaper editorials. The researcher then searched the selected texts for metaphors using the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) as outlined by Steen (2007) as it is the most appropriate method for the identification of metaphor in language. The found metaphors were grouped into the categories of politics, economy and social issues (crime, land and poverty etc.) because editorials mainly tackle these issues and these are the main issues that made headlines in 2016.

Metaphors identified were analysed using the conceptual metaphor theory to discern their meaning. Metaphor is universal but its specific realisation in different languages and cultures is different (Kövecses, 2005). In addition, some metaphors are unique to a given language or culture thus the target and source domains of the selected metaphors were also examined for cultural influences.

3.6 Data analysis

The study employed content analysis to interpret and analyse the metaphorical expressions in the newspaper editorials. Content analysis has been defined as:

- “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278),
- “an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytic rules and step by step models, without rash quantification” (Mayring, 2000, p. 2).

The two definitions above demonstrate that content analysis emphasises a combined view of speech or texts and their specific contexts. Content analysis in a qualitative study such as this one consists of purposively selected texts, which can inform the research questions being investigated, and pays attention to the unique themes that illustrate the range of the meanings of the phenomenon rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts. The process of content analysis is a systematic procedure that can be lengthy and often requires the researcher to go over and over the data to ensure they have done a thorough job of analysis.

For this study, interpretation of data was conducted by the implementation of both the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) and conceptual metaphor theory (CMT). The researcher used the Collins online dictionary (<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/>) and the Macmillan’s English dictionary for

advanced learners (Rundell, 2007) to determine the basic meanings of the words. The tool for analysis, MIP, comprises four basic steps.

Step 1: Read the entire text /discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

Step 2: Determine the lexical units in the text/discourse (noun, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, proper nouns, articles prepositions etc). Compound words are treated as single lexical units because even though the interaction between the individual elements in the compound may involve metaphorical thought (e.g. stockbroker belt), the compounds as a whole represent only one concept in the real world.

Step 3: (a) For each lexical unit in the text, determine its meaning in context.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine its basic meaning

For the purposes of this study, basic meanings tend to be

- More concrete (what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste);
- Related to bodily action;
- More precise (as opposed to vague);
- Historically older.

(c) Decide if the basic meaning of the word is sufficiently different from the contextual meaning

(d) Decide whether the contextual meaning of the word is related to the basic meaning by some form of similarity

Step 4: Label the lexical unit as metaphorical

In order to effectively use MIP, one must consider the term ‘lexical units’, as different scholars may define lexical units differently. Semino (2008) notes that there are no unproblematic units of analysis when investigating metaphoricity. The author uses the example of the expression *a mountain has been climbed* to exemplify this. On the one hand it could be reasoned that the whole clause should be treated as a single linguistic metaphor as it provides a single metaphorical description of something that has been achieved. On the other hand, the expression can also be analysed word for word: ‘mountain’ could refer to problems that have to be solved, whereas ‘climbed’ could mean the process of dealing with those problems.

In agreement with Semino (2008), this study subscribes that decisions on the degree of metaphoricity can be made on individual words as well as in multi-word expressions. This includes both individual words, which refer to strings of characters with spaces on either side, as well as multi-word expressions that can be treated as single lexical units when the meaning cannot be retrieved from the words that compose them. Examples of this would be ‘of course’ and ‘all right’. The findings are then organised around key themes and the central objectives of the study and are used for the discussions and conclusions.

3.7 Research ethics

Research ethics are concerned with moral behaviour in research contexts (Wiles, 2012). The researcher undertook to maintain objectivity and integrity of the study by reporting the findings in full. In addition, the researcher valued the data collected and

reviewed by acknowledging sources used. The data collected were handled professionally and used for academic purposes only.

3.8 Summary

This chapter presented a description of the research design of this study, a qualitative, exploratory desktop research design. It highlighted the methodology chosen, data collection, ethical considerations and an explanation of the data analysis method used. The next chapter presents the findings of this study resulting from the data analysis. It discusses the data obtained and interprets the findings in relation to the research aim of this study.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis and discussion of metaphors in the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper and their meanings. The collected data are presented, analysed and interpreted according to the research objectives of the study (as outlined in chapter one) which were to:

- 4.1.1 evaluate the different types and functions of metaphor in the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper;
- 4.1.2 explore how metaphors contribute to conveying the meaning of the message in the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper and
- 4.1.3 analyse the influences of cultural elements on metaphors in editorials of the *New Era* newspaper.

The findings are presented according to themes emerging from data analysed. All the editorials analysed are given in an Addendum at the end of this document.

The study of metaphors was carried out in *New Era* editorials published between January and December 2016. The choice for this limited period is grounded in the aim of providing an updated account of metaphors used in editorials. After a first review of the editorials the researcher found that approximately 80% of the editorials discussed the topics of politics, economy and social issues; thus for the purpose of

analysis editorials were grouped into the above mentioned topics. The criterion for classifying editorials into one topic or another was based on the dominant idea in the specific editorial. It has to be noted, however, that some editorials fall into more than one category and, more often than not, these categories overlap. As a result the researcher determined the most prevalent themes within the editorial to determine which category it belonged to. Editorials classified under the topic Politics covered one of the following themes as a dominant idea in the article: the President, Hage Geingob, the Government of Namibia, political personalities (ministers etc), the Harambee Prosperity Plan, or political relations with other countries. Editorials classified as Economy included the following themes: the Namibian population (demography), Gross Domestic Products, inflation, trade, tax or the national budget. Editorials concerning social issues concern the following themes; unemployment, violence, poverty, land, labour, sports and struggle kids.

4.2 Types of metaphors per topic

Below is a table of the classification of metaphorical expressions according to topics found in the 46 editorials analysed from the *New Era*.

Table 1 Number of metaphors per editorial and topic

Number of Editorials	12	12	22	46	
Topic	Politics	Economy	Social Issues	Total	%
Metaphor Category					
Conceptual Metaphor	7	5	5	17	8
Metaphorical Expression	47	69	71	187	92
Total	54	74	76	204	100
%	27	36	37	100	

The table above provides an overview of the metaphors identified in the editorials analysed. Although Conceptual Metaphors appear in the three topics, seven of them are used in editorials concerning *Politics*. This result is an indication that the stronger type of assertion – *x is y* – is common in political news texts. The choice for conceptual metaphors in the examples cited is in keeping with the biased nature of editorial language, according to Van Dijk (1996), and the intention of manipulating the reader’s thoughts in a certain direction. It is linguistically more powerful and semantically more effective to say “Democracy is an expensive commodity” than it is to say “Democracy is *like* an expensive commodity”. The latter sounds weaker and does not convey the full idea with the emotion and intention of a conceptual metaphor. The same applies to “Electoral congresses are battlefronts”. These

conceptual metaphors found in political discourse serve the purpose of criticism and liability which is what readers encounter in editorials about politics.

A similar occurrence appears in the editorials of *Economy*, although not as marked as in *Politics*. So, to convey a strong, clear, deliberate criticism on an issue, the most suitable resource for that purpose is a conceptual metaphor with its full domain mapping. In the topic of *Social issues*, the use of conceptual metaphor is also not that prevalent since the need to convey powerful, definite concepts is not as persuasive as in *Politics*.

Most of the metaphors identified deviate in some way from the definition of conceptual metaphor given by Lakoff and Johnson (2003), however they do qualify for the category of 'metaphorical expression'. In these expressions, usually one word is used metaphorically while the others are not, as stated by Black (1962). The metaphorically used word – a noun, adjective, or verb – carries the metaphorical meaning turning the whole expression into a metaphor which, in turn, makes the whole statement become metaphorical. This statement, ultimately, spreads its meaning to the whole text and influences the meaning. When analysing the total number of metaphors used per topic, the researcher found that most of the metaphorical expressions were gathered from the editorials concerning *Social issues*. The use of metaphor is considerable in these editorials because social issues such as land, poverty, labour strikes are issues that affect the majority of the Namibian society directly, therefore, both the number of editorials dealing with this topic and the number of metaphors in them are greater. In the areas of *Politics* and *Economy*, metaphors are also quite frequent as both governments and the media have an urgent

need to convey their message effectively in order to take the readers – or consumers – in a specific direction.

4.3 Identification of metaphors

The Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) is specifically devised to be used for the identification of metaphorical expressions. This procedure focuses on the analysis of metaphorical expressions (linguistic metaphors) which are distinctively different from conceptual metaphors in that the former are seen as realisations of the latter. An interpretation done using MIP does not imply that the writer, speaker or reader will consciously recognize the words as metaphorical (Semino, 2008). What the procedure shows is that the particular use of a word can be analysed as being metaphorical when compared to its other relevant uses, and that it therefore has the potential to be recognized as being metaphorical.

In order to show how MIP works, an example selected from one of the editorials will be used to demonstrate the procedure.

Step 1: Read the entire text to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

To illustrate this, we will use one sentence from the editorial title *Time to stand up to struggle kids* (August 12, 2016) as an example:

We would not even dare touch on the merits of this group's demands, because if we do, we will dilute the essence of our argument, which is that anarchy cannot be tolerated – whether the demands are justified or not.

A reading of the whole article reveals that it is concerned with the unruliness of the struggle kids, a group of young adults born in exile. In this example, the general

meaning of the text concerns taking a stand and not giving in to the demands of the struggle kids.

Step 2: Determine the lexical unit in the text.

The degree of metaphoricity in the word *dilute* will be investigated.

Step 3a: Contextual meaning

In this context *dilute* indicates to make something less strong or effective, to make something weaker.

Step 3b: Basic meaning. The basic meaning of the verb *to dilute* is to make a liquid less strong by adding water or another liquid

Step 3c: contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be compared with it. One can understand the abstract effort of reducing and weakening an argument in terms of the physical action of adding water to a liquid to make it less strong.

Step 4: Metaphor or not? Label the lexical unit as metaphorical

Since the contextual meaning of *dilute* differs from the basic meaning, but still can be understood when compared with the basic meaning, we can conclude that the word *dilute* is being used metaphorically here.

4.3.1 Metaphorical Expressions in the Political editorials by Lexical Category

Table 2 Metaphorical expressions in the political editorials

Lexical Category	Topic	
	Domain	Examples
Adjectives	Physical/Material	cohesive national identity, impregnable principle, dark episode, healthy distance, fallen leader, towering political giant, choppy waters, crippling embargo, thorny issue, long-simmering and explosive situation, shining star, forward looking politics, rare privilege, smoking gun evidence
Nouns	Thing	Trajectory, vacuum, battlefront, march, Featherweight, heavyweight, commodity, yoke, course, giant, sea, galaxy, land of milk and honey, avalanche, battleground, issue, cross
Verbs	Physical action	build, squeeze, sail, speaks, cast, craft reconstruct, prevail, yield, unshackle rake, stomach defeat, prevail, ripped off, ties in, faced, charting, coined, carry, got off, glued on

There are different ways of expressing metaphorical meaning in the three topics analysed in this study. It can be noted that in the topic of politics metaphorical meaning is achieved mainly through nouns mapped onto the physical/material domain, of what was labelled as ‘thing’, in other words, something that is not alive.

The examples below illustrate this mapping.

Geingob was therefore justified in asking the deputy minister to apologise, given the **avalanche of transgressions** listed above (December 16, 2016).

In this expression, the transgressions listed are compared to an avalanche, to convey the image and idea of something of magnitude. It is taken for granted that the reader understands the cross-domain mapping between a way of thinking and acting – a transgression, – and witnessing the result of the action from an avalanche. An implied simile conveys this meaning that the transgressions act like an avalanche, as if they were one, as a way of showing the errors of the deputy minister.

From the SWAPO disunity which threatens the national **fabric of cohesion**, to the drought and poverty – we clearly cannot claim to be better off than our neighbours (October 14, 2016).

In this expression a concrete, very familiar word is used to convey the image for something that is strong and joined together. Most people would relate fabric to the clothing they wear to keep them covered and protected from the cold. So something that threatens this fabric of unity is something that can tear it apart.

In the topic of politics, nouns and adjectives carry the weight to convey metaphorical meaning both at word and sentence level. Metaphorical language is useful in political messages since it can both intensify meaning and very often provide the reader with a visual image. By turning an idea, concept, or action into an object, for example, crippling embargo, dark episode, impregnable principle, this idea can be said to have been reduced in status and importance because it has to be turned into a physical thing in order to be understood. It loses power or semantic weight by being downgraded in discourse. A portion of its neutral, original meaning is taken away in order to serve the purpose of the new meaning in this specific context.

In the example below, it is the adjective which performs the metaphorical function. These adjectives are positive, optimistic or pessimistic, negative. When positive, they point to a desired action or state; that is, something the government – its players (agencies, ministers) – should have done for the people’s well-being. When the adjectives are negative, they refer directly to flaws or shortcomings in political terms.

On the **thorny issue** of the struggle kids Geingob also recently took to a lot of flak, but in all fairness should be commended for devising a **pragmatic solution** to what was simply a **long-simmering and explosive situation** that has remained unresolved for some time (October 7, 2016).

Issues are described as being thorny, conjuring an image of something prickly therefore able to cause distress. The way this thorny issue is dealt with leads to the idea of a sensible and practical resolution that is able to resolve even an explosion. Long simmering implies that this situation has been slowly growing for some time.

Editorials serve different functions (see 2.8.2). Editorials on the topic of Politics praise or criticize and the most useful linguistic resources for criticism in a short text and limited space such as an editorial are nouns used metaphorically. Each editorial analysed contains between one and three metaphorical expressions, and the longer editorials can include as many as five. Table 2 shows that in the topic of politics, most metaphorical expressions are communicated through nouns which transfer meaning from the abstract domain onto the physical one.

Politicians and governments are expected to achieve. Therefore, the political arena is a realm in which things – material and non-material – are the issues to be experienced and assessed by voters, and, ultimately, by people in general. This confirms the idea presented by Steen (2007) who notes that the most important linguistic function of a metaphor is to produce an alternative perspective on a particular referent or topic in a message.

4.3.2 Metaphorical Expressions in the Economics editorials by Lexical Category

Table 3 Metaphorical expressions in the economics editorials by lexical category

Lexical Category	Topic	
	Domain	Examples
Adjectives	Physical/Material	deadly blow, astronomical amount of money, shoestring budget, umbrella body, fragile community, nagging glitches, stagnant economy, sound healthy investment, predatory corporate abuse, raft of price hikes, gaping abyss of inequality, weakening rand, incoherent trips, wasteful spending, bread and butter issue
Nouns	Thing	crumbs, drop in the ocean, horde, purse strings, tool, vehicle, tune, path, story, breathing space, taps, purse, the bottom line, baron, lords of life, our corner, new lease of life, cutting edge, captains of industry, trajectory, ground, shock therapy, invisible hand, fight, turbulent sea, captain, promised land, ground, path, living testimony
Verbs	Physical action	cut, faces, sits, dwarf, pumping, flew in, grow, capturing, to dress up, tighten their belts, shed blood, turn the tide, to bear fruit, wiping, injecting, pave the way, chew over, is driven, stand, pulling in, climbed to, cement, arrest, sail

In Economy, metaphorical expressions are expressed mainly through verbs which point to action, like the examples below:

The overhauling of the country's foreign policy earlier this year was aimed at **injecting** into this policy a new lease of life and a cutting edge to **pave the way** for proper economic engagement with nations that matter in the global arena (November 25, 2016).

The metaphorical expression written here in a proposition uses the principle of semblance as described by Ferency (1997). Restoration and rehabilitation of the policy are compared to the outcome of the action performed by a nurse when using a needle to administer medicine. The meaning of healing and renewed energy is conveyed successfully.

And at this time when every other department is required to **tighten their belts**, including health and education, why should the press be an exception? (November 18, 2016)

The metaphorical expression in this proposition uses personification and metonymy to convey the meaning of government employees and departments being obliged to follow a political decision. Consequences of financial decisions can be physiological and emotional experiences for people. They can impact people's wellbeing mentally and physically. The expression 'tighten their belts' conjures up an image of an person crushing his/her body by pulling a belt tight as a reference to spending less money. In the example below it is the noun phrase 'purse strings' that carries the metaphorical meaning.

Is it not perhaps time for those controlling the **purse strings** to be wary of avoiding falling into the 'endowment effect', which is when we consider

things to be more valuable when we own them, but disregard them when we pass them on? (April 08, 2016)

The metaphorically used words in the above sentence point to the idea of financial difficulties and economic pressure to spend less.

4.3.3 Metaphorical expressions in the social issues editorials by lexical category

Table 4 Metaphorical expressions in the Social Issues editorials by lexical category

Lexical Category	Topic	
	Domain	Examples
Adjectives	Physical/Material	dry, divided soul, screaming shame, warring parties, lukewarm investment, thorny, killer, decorated legacy, ugly strike, lightning speed, brighter tomorrow
Nouns	Thing	knees, war, fabric, appetite, soil, route, wine, monsters, storm, dogfights, life, vultures, sharks, a song, crossroads, mathematics, mother, avalanche, punching bags, business, the spine, final nail, cross, throats, a thorn in the flesh, streams of blood, shackles, flirtation
Verbs	Physical action	bring, sucking, swept across, hanging, bleeding, kicked off, got drunk, rear, pork barrelling, arrest, spell, battling, dished out, shoved, touches, dilute, drowning, edge close, dealing, hammer, inject, rein in, fuelled, hit, littered, battling, gasping, marry, smoke, shake off, left, hold on

In the topic of Social Affairs, metaphor is expressed mainly through verbs of action, as in the following examples:

It is our hope that the said law will help **rein in** racism and tribalism which have become regular content on Facebook and Twitter accounts of Namibians (March 04, 2106)

In this context, “rein in” indicates the action of pulling and controlling the issues of racism and tribalism, as if the two were concrete objects (i.e. draught or riding animals).

Yesterday, a group of learners held a demonstration at Ondangwa, in front of the town’s magistrate’s court, to decry the current atmosphere which has left their **futures hanging by a fingernail** (October 14, 2016).

The cross-domain mapping of this metaphorical expression occurs between the human body and the mind or soul. There is no actual hanging, but an insistence on an important issue for many Namibians. This insistence has the same impact, as if someone was hanging on a rail by their fingernails. In other words, they are barely hanging on which means that the future looks bleak or that they do not have one if they were to fall. The meaning here is conveyed successfully as it is a reference that everyone is able to make.

1.4 Prevalence of each type of metaphor in the editorials

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003) distinguish between three different types of metaphors according to the cognitive functions they perform; structural, orientational and ontological metaphors. The table below shows the frequency of the different types of metaphors in the editorials, grouped in the three topics, Politics, Economy and Social Issues.

Table 5 Prevalence of each type of metaphor in the editorials

Type of metaphor \ Topic	Politics	Economy	Social Issues	Total	%
Ontological metaphor	32	31	43	106	52
Structural metaphor	18	38	28	84	41
Orientalational metaphor	4	5	5	14	7

In all the editorials combined, ontological metaphors appear the most frequently, accounting for 52 percent of the 204 metaphorical expressions identified. Structural metaphors account for 41percent while orientational metaphors only account for 7 percent indicating that this type of metaphor is a rare occurrence in the *New Era* editorials. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 28), ontological metaphors occur naturally and so often in our thought “that they are usually taken as self-evident, direct descriptions of mental phenomena.” The authors’ further state that ontological metaphors are among the most simple tools we have for understanding our experience, thus it is not surprising that this category of metaphors occurs most frequently in the newspaper editorials. It can be noted that one editorial can contain all three types of metaphors.

4.3.4 Ontological metaphors

The ontological metaphor’s function is to give an abstract concept a new category with physical features. Events, activities or something abstract are seen as entities or concrete substances. For example, concrete words representing things such as

objects, substances, persons and containers are used to substitute for abstractions like activities, emotion and ideas. Using ontological metaphors helps describe the objects clearly so the reader can understand the sentence/phrase immediately. Consider the following example:

We need men and women of this nation to **shake off the shackles of self-pity** and stand up to be counted (July 08, 2016).

This sentence is extracted from the Editorial title *Nations are not built by crybabies*. The article is about the many issues the Namibian nation faces and how the country should conduct itself to avoid falling into the same misfortunes as its neighbouring countries. An ontological metaphor is used in the sentence. It is easy for the reader to understand that the source domain in the sentence is *shackles* and the target domain is *bondage*, the condition of not being free because you are strongly influenced by something or someone. Self-pity is abstract. It is an emotion or state that expresses self-absorbed unhappiness over one's own sorrows. Shackles are a pair of restraints connected together by a chain, used to fasten a prisoner's wrists or ankles together. Cognitively, readers can find that the shackles and bondage share some similarities. First, both involve being restrained. Second, both are a burden one would want to break free from. Therefore, it can be said that the use of the metaphorical expression '*shackles*' gains its effectiveness when it makes the abstract concept '*bondage*' become easier to understand.

4.3.5 Structural metaphors

Structural metaphor means that the abstract intangible target domain is understood by means of the structure of the concrete tangible source domain. This kind of metaphor allows the reader to understand the target domain through the elaborate structure of the source domain.

For example:

In what may be a Freudian slip, *The Namibian* admitted on Friday that their frustration with the Cabinet directive to **close the taps** is mainly about the effect it will have on their **purse** (November 18, 2016).

In the example above government's spending is compared with water. Structurally, the motion of water (pouring water somewhere) is like the action of spending money on something (giving money away). Thus, the directive from cabinet to stop spending is similar to the action of closing the tap thereby preventing water from flowing. The metaphorical expression *close the taps* also indicates how frustrated *The Namibian* newspaper would be as the controlled government spending would affect their *purse*, in other words their budget.

4.3.6 Orientational metaphors

Orientational metaphors are centered on spatial relations. These metaphors are rooted in people's physical and cultural experience and involve the mapping of a simple spatial structure onto a complex non-spatial structure (i.e. the interaction between human beings and nature: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-

peripheral). The target domain is expressed by the words involving oppositions. The upward orientation is usually used to convey a positive evaluation of an object while the downward orientation indicates a negative valuation of the object. The following example is a clear illustration of an orientational metaphor.

They attempted to dress up this base consideration though with pretensions to media ethics and the broader public interest (November 18, 2016).

The main content of the editorial titled “On *The Namibian’s* sense of entitlements”, is about the cabinet’s decision to redirect government and parastatal advertising through its state-owned enterprises. The article describes *The Namibian* newspapers dissatisfaction with Cabinet’s decision not to use private media houses such as itself to advertise government services and activities. The article also states why cabinet has taken the directive such as reducing the reliance of public media institutions on State subsidies.

In the example above, the article claims that *The Namibian* tries to **dress up** their frustrations with cabinet by claiming obstruction to media ethics and public interest. The editor used the phrase “to dress up” to describe the newspaper’s frustrations. In the above phrase “to dress up” does not mean to put on clothes rather it describes the process of making someone or something appear fancier than it actually is. Thus the base consideration is dressed up with pretensions to media ethics and broader public interest. The metaphorical phrase **to dress up** is an upward orientation.

The tool used in this study (MIP) is aimed at identifying metaphorical language in discourse. The steps it includes served this purpose well for the first stage of the analysis. It allowed the researcher to select and organize information saving valuable time. Additionally, this tool proved to be reliable when tested with the group of

editorials used in this study. However, for analysis of conceptual metaphors, it was necessary to refer to the concepts set forth by the authors included in the literature review of this research. Firstly, the authors that make up the theoretical framework of this study – Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003) and subsequently, those researchers who studied and defined the elements which play a role in the construction of metaphorical meaning. Their concepts were essential both for the understanding and the analysis of metaphorical language.

4.4 Metaphors grouped by their source domains

As many as seven different groups of conceptual metaphors were identified in the editorials analysed. According to Lakoff and Johnston (2003), the source domain is the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions and the target domain is the conceptual domain that is understood as a result of the source domain. Table 1 below shows all ten groups, as well as examples of metaphorical expressions from each source domain as identified in this study. Within the editorials, the various source domains are described with various mappings that help explain and interpret the target domains. The target domains belong to either the topics of Politics, Economy or Social issues (including elements of corruption, tribalism and food).

Table 6 Categories of source domains identified

	Source domains	Examples of metaphorical expressions
1.	War	We are already battling high debts as announced recently by the Bank of Namibia...
2.	Journey	Namibia remains on the trajectory ...
3.	Sport	Negotiations kicked off ...
4.	Human body/Health	Namibia remains on the trajectory to recover from the current slump.
5.	Nautical/water	Economic diplomacy can turn the tide .
6.	Animals (includes the five sub-classes, mammals, birds, fish, amphibians and reptiles)	Crooks are vultures .
7.	Cooking/Food	Threats dished out by some employees...

4.4.1 War

The use of war as a metaphor is a long-standing and rhetorical trope. ARGUMENT IS WAR is a classic example of a conceptual metaphor that structures the way we think and talk about arguments (Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Most Namibians are familiar with the concept of war, as Namibia has gone through several periods of conflict in its history, especially with reference to the liberation struggle. It is thus not surprising that ‘war’ as a source domain appears in the editorials analysed in this study.

4.5.1.1 POLITICS IS WAR

Politics has something to do with power. It consists of social relations involving authority or power. When one talks of the governing political party, one says that party is in power. Politics contains many different elements including politicians, political parties and politic events. Political power can be conceptualized as physical force. The source domain concepts of war (including battle and conflicts) are often mapped onto the target domain concepts of politics, since these two domains share some similarities. War in the literal sense means a conflict in which military forces of two or more countries take part. The figurative meaning of the word is any kind of active hostility or contention between living beings, or of conflict between opposing forces or principles.

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR can be illustrated by the following mappings.

a) Elective congresses are battlefronts

The concept of an elective congress (political election) can be understood through people's experience in a war. The process for each party to prepare a political election can be conceptualized as the process of preparing for war, since both human resources and financial resources are taken into account in these two activities. The intense competition among different parties in a political election is like a battle in a war.

- i. The power **struggles** in the ruling party, and indeed the opposition have often threatened our peaceful co-existence (November 4, 2016).

- ii. That's why elective congresses of our political parties are often **battlefronts** because whoever emerges is destined for ministerial and other positions (November 4, 2016).
- iii. These **fight**s are never about a burning desire to get into a position where one can effect change for the betterment of society (November 4, 2016).

Example (i) shows 'struggles' indicates effort, difficulty and lack of success in achieving power. Just like war, these struggles threaten the peaceful coexistence of people in society. In the example (ii), the word 'battlefront' shows that the contest between the different parties is quite fierce. When politicians take part in elections, they do so with the goal of emerging as victors. This victory is evident in the positions that they acquire. Example (iii) indicates these fights could indicate heated debates or fights for votes on the campaign trail. In addition, the fights, much like in war, are often never about the bigger picture (the betterment of society) but rather about immediate power since the aim of the competition is to contend for the domination of the nation.

b) Political strategies are war strategies

Commanders in a war will use different strategies to ensure victory. Undoubtedly, politicians also adopt policies and use strategies to win the elections.

- iv. With another elective congress set for next year, the **perennial manoeuvres, mechanisations and jostling** for positions are about to start – if they aren't already in full swing (January 29, 2016).

In war, a manoeuvre is made with skill and tact. Politicians also have to use diplomacy and precision when strategizing. The prototypical meaning of

mechanisations is ‘a mechanized system or process now uses machines instead of people or animals’. In this context it is likened to war referring to mechanized army units that use tanks and other armoured military vehicles; these are perhaps compared to the means of technology used today.

c) The outcome of politics is the outcome of war

The consequence of a political election can be understood via the terms of war.

- v. Historically such activities have claimed countless **casualties** in the party – which has often led to deep-seated divisions in the party, or even defections (January 29, 2016).
- vi. As a result, even ordinary citizens start dealing with each other with suspicion and caution, because the seeds of hatred have been planted and watered from the top, especially by those who cannot stomach **defeat** (January 29, 2016).

A casualty refers to someone who is killed in an accident or war. In example (v) the casualties refer to members of the party who defect as a result of the party’s manner of operation and also to the voters that have been lost. The war term defeat means failure to win or succeed. In the context of example (vii) candidates are unable to handle the loss of an election.

Politics is often conceptualised as war because it involves violent competition. In a political election, two or more parties will engage in a fierce contest in order to win the election. Different parties hold different political stands and political ideas. Parties will fight with each other through speeches on the campaign trail to gain their own interests. In the process of election, each politician or party will make use of all

efficient strategies or tactics in order to win the election. In this sense, the process of political election between two or more parties is like a war between two or more armies.

4.4.2 Journey

4.5.2.1 POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

This conceptual metaphor derives from the universal metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY and can thus be interpreted as POLITICAL LIFE IS A JOURNEY. LIFE IS A JOURNEY has been cited in many linguistic works dealing with conceptual metaphors, for instance: Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Kövecses (2003). This conceptual metaphor involves a series of mappings from the domain of a journey onto the domain of life. For example, journeys have beginnings and endings as does one's political life, one can encounter obstacles and challenges in one's political career just as we experience problems in life and our life objectives are presented as destinations. In the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, politicians are conceptualised as travellers on course to reach their political goals. According to the conceptual scheme of this metaphor, politicians are expected to choose a route that will eventually lead to the social and economic prosperity of the whole country. To achieve that, they are expected to avoid obstacles that may result in making the country ungovernable. Hence, choosing an appropriate route is one of the most important steps in the political journey. Johnson (1987) claims that people in many cultures conceive life as an ongoing journey with its various destinations, paths to destinations and impediments to motion.

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY is illustrated by the following mappings:

a) Politicians/society as travellers

- i. This march, however, should not be an **endless walk** towards **infinity** (November 04, 2016).
- ii. Recently, the country climbed ten places on the world transparency index – another sign that this country is **on the right path** (April 29, 2016).
- iii. The criticism was made regardless of the fact that Geingob stressed that “the HPP does not replace any national development **roadmap**, but aims to complement the long-term national goal for prosperity” (October 7, 2016).
- iv. Namibia, as President Geingob likes saying, is **on the march** (November 04, 2016).
- v. Namibia remains on the **trajectory** to recover from the current economic slump (December 09, 2016).

In examples (i - v) the metaphorical expressions paint the picture of people on a journey. Namibia is a marching and walking nation, walking along a specific path and the roadmap provides a sense of direction, a guide of where to go. The political leaders are represented as those who guide their followers safely, until they arrive at the nation’s ultimate destination.

b) Political decisions are movement

- vi. Namibia is **on the move** and we cannot have dissidents causing anarchy at a time when we all need to **pull in one direction** to develop our country

from all fronts, with accelerated effort in true Harambee spirit (August 12, 2016).

Movement on a journey is a positive attribute as this implies that decisions are consistently being taken to ensure progress. The phrases ‘on the move’ (vi) and ‘pulling in one direction’ suggest a progressive and well-coordinated movement towards a political objective.

c) Political purposes as destinations

vii. We must craft our own destination and **reach it** in the shortest time possible (November 04, 2016).

viii. The President should remain steadfast in his **course** and should not be distracted by sinister attempts to undermine his work by individuals whose distortions will surely not carry the day (October 7, 2016).

The conceptual mapping of politics as a journey represents long term purposes that define a better future for the people as they advance in the journey to nationhood. When a destination is reached it is often a sign of accomplishment. In example (vii) there is an appeal to arrive at the destination within a short time period in order to achieve success. In example (viii) the President is the leader of the nation and he should not veer off the path when leading the nation. This situation can be likened to someone on a journey headed to a specific destination. If they are distracted and get off course or head in another direction, they will not reach their destination.

a) Political problems as difficulties

- ix. We complain at every new idea and initiative and cannot handle criticism. We are too pessimistic and are **afraid to traverse new trajectories** (August 12, 2016).
- x. Government and teachers are at **crossroads** regarding clashing perspectives on the educators' salary hike (September 09, 2016).
- xi. When we take things cheaply and without an iota of pride and seriousness, we risk becoming another banana African republic – and that is a **route** we cannot afford to take (March 18, 2016).

Examples (ix - xi) show that politicians are expected to choose a route that will eventually lead to the social and economic development of the country. Taking a journey means not being afraid to embark on new experiences. The decisions that need to be taken often result in a traveller finding himself at a crossroad.

For POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, it is observed that all correspondences between the source and target domains are related to the concept of traveling on paths, trajectories and routes. In other words, the journey has a starting and ending point; the travellers can walk or leave the path if they are afraid or come across obstacles on the way to their destination. Similarly, 'politics' is conceptualised as a journey because the career of a politician has starting and ending points and politicians endeavour for the country as a whole to agree on legislature and move in one direction. In addition, the metaphor of "journey" is common in political discourse because journey is a domain that most people are familiar with. Politicians are seen as leaders, the masses as followers. This imagery depicts a picture of movement on a journey. The metaphors of movement increase persuasion because they conceptualise any political activity so

that it is referred to as a journey with a positively evaluated destination (Semino, 2008). Metaphors of “journey” suggest to people that politicians are aware of where the party, the state or they themselves really want to go.

4.4.3 Sport

4.5.3.1 POLITICS IS SPORT

Competition among opponents is an essential aspect of the sports metaphor. In this metaphoric representation, politics is perceived as a contest, a race or some sport between political opponents, where winners and losers eventually emerge. The political situation in Namibia also presents a situation in which political actors recognise political contests as a race between opponents. Victory at the polls corresponds to winning in a competition and the office won in an election corresponds to a trophy won in a competition.

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS SPORT can be illustrated by the following examples:

- i. Following one of the countless assassination attempts on his life Castro lightly brushed off these attempts, saying had these CIA-funded attempts on his life been an **Olympic event** he would have easily scooped a **gold medal** (December 02, 2016).

The biggest sporting event in the world is the Olympic Games. To achieve a gold medal at these events means that one has competed at a global event against other countries and won. In the example above, the assassination attempts are likened to an Olympic event at which Fidel Castro won the highest honour by evading the CIA.

a) Politics is boxing

- ii. Yesterday Namibia edged a step closer to dealing poverty and hunger **a killer blow**. (July 01, 2016)
- iii. The **fight**s featuring the ruling party **in one corner** and AR in the other have reached childish levels (July 08, 2016).
- iv. Economically speaking Cuba is a **featherweight**, but politically and in terms of ideological consciousness, arts, science, self-sufficiency and defiance of imperialism, it is a **heavyweight** that belies its tiny landmass (December 02, 2016).

Politics contains many different aspects, such as politicians and their roles, elections and political events. Government is included in the list, too, and sometimes metonymy is used to refer to the government, for example Namibia. When a boxing metaphor is applied, it usually aims at the actions or events that the government (the politicians) is involved in. In the metaphorical expressions above political situations are exemplified via boxing metaphors. In example (ii) one envisions poverty and hunger being knocked out with ‘a killer blow’. This means that poverty was dealt a blow that ensured that it would not regain an advantage or get up again. In other words, Namibia was successful against poverty. In example (iii) the ruling party and AR are in the boxing ring standing in their corners waiting to fight. This metaphor is used to show that the two are on opposing sides. In example (iv) a country’s stature is referred to using boxing terms. Featherweight is a weight in boxing that is between bantamweight and lightweight (i.e. of insignificant weight). In the context of the example it refers to a state that is not sufficiently competent to compete at a higher level. So economically, Cuba cannot compete with bigger world economies.

However, politically, Cuba competes with other countries as it has the expertise. Heavyweight is one of the heaviest categories in boxing.

a) Politics is soccer

- v. And these negotiations **kicked off** as far back as April (October 14, 2016.)
- vi. This threatens our very existence as a people and Namibia's standing as an exemplary **player** in the world of political stability (July 08, 2016).

The soccer term 'kick off' refers to the beginning of the game. Similarly, in example (v) the term is indicating the start of negotiations. Example (vi) refers to Namibia as an exemplary player. In a soccer match there are 22 players, eleven per side. The reference to Namibia as a player indicates that Namibia is in a political event (game) of some sorts.

It can be seen that the popular sports in the Namibia, boxing and soccer take the role as source domains in the metaphorical expressions above. The close, logical relationship between the source domain – SPORT and the target domain – POLITICS becomes clearly exemplified. Borrowing sport terms to express and deliver political messages makes the messages more relatable to the average Namibian who partakes in sport, either as a player or spectator.

4.4.4 Human body/Health

4.5.4.1 ECONOMY IS A HUMAN BODY

Economics is defined as “a social science concerned chiefly with description and analysis of the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services”

(merriam-webster.com). It looks at large and small scale transactions in everyday business matters, whether for people, small businesses, or large corporations. In daily life, people pay close attention to their physical and mental health. In the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS LIFE individuals personify economic activities. This means that the transfers of meaning take place from the human body (source domain) and its parts to the economic field (target domain).

The conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A HUMAN BODY can be illustrated by the following mappings:

a) An appropriate condition of an economy is a healthy condition of the human body

- i. In general Namibia **is in good shape** and optimism for the future remains high (April 29, 2016).
- ii. Both these countries have low levels of debt exposure, in particular foreign debt, and both form part of a handful of African economies that can boast **healthy investment grade ratings** by international rating agencies, such as Fitch and Moody (July 15, 2016).

When a person is keeping fit and doing well it is said that he/she is in good shape. The same can be said of an economy. In example (i) 'Namibia is in good shape' implies that the country is strong and not experiencing any problems. In example (ii) both Namibia and Botswana are seemingly declared fit as they boast 'healthy investment grade ratings by international rating agencies', just as a doctor would declare a patient healthy.

b) An inappropriate condition of an economy is an illness

- iii. Despite the **crippling US embargo**, Cuba still has one of the highest rates of literacy, of the best healthcare systems around and Cuban life expectancy is among the highest in the world at 78.4 years (December 02, 2016).
- iv. Treasury has had **sleepless nights** thinking of introducing new tax regimes to help arrest the spiralling poverty in the country (February 05, 2016).
- v. What we witnessed was a good commitment to austerity, in recognition of how the current global financial **squeeze** affects Namibia and the fact that public money is not to be thrown around aimlessly as though political leaders own it (December 09, 2016).

Examples (iii - v) describe negative conditions that have damaging results. In example (iii) ‘crippling’ describes how the US-imposed embargos impacted the Cuban economy because economic trade between the two countries was no longer possible. ‘Sleepless nights’ in example (iv) can be described as insomnia, a condition when one cannot sleep because of psychological issues, when an individual is continuously awake trying to deal with issues. In dealing with the new tax regimes, Treasury is constantly working on the problem and does not rest. The basic meaning of squeeze is to apply pressure to something typically with your fingers or hands. Squeezing or being squeezed too hard can be painful. In example (v) the global financial squeeze refers to a period in economics when borrowing is difficult and profits decline due to increasing cost or decreasing revenues thus negatively impacting the Namibian economy.

c) Economic measures are medical treatments

- vi. He has also been critical of the doctrine of **economic ‘shock therapy’** applied to places such as the former Soviet Union (May 13, 2016).

Shock therapy is a form of treatment given to mental patients administered by electroconvulsive therapy or by inducing physiological shock. A shock is usually something fast and unexpected. In example (iv), economic shock therapy refers to the drastic treatment applied to the economy to solve the problems.

d) Recovery of an economy is recovery of a patient

- vii. But when such savings occur at the highest end of the spectrum, such as the Office of the President, our hopes for the future remain intact with the belief that if this momentum is maintained, Namibia remains on the trajectory **to recover** from the current slump (December 09, 2016).
- viii. True, there is a lot that needs to be done in order to **save** public money (December 09, 2016).
- ix. The overhauling of the country’s foreign policy earlier this year was aimed at **injecting** into this policy **a new lease of life** and a cutting edge to pave the way for proper economic engagement with nations that matter in the global arena (November 25, 2016).

Examples (vii), (viii), and (ix) point to an economy that was sick and is now on the road to recovery. Example (iv), implies that after receiving treatment (an injection of a new lease of life), through the foreign policy, the economy is able to engage in proper economic activities. An injection is usually administered to prevent an ailment or help a patient recover.

In Namibia, keeping strong is well praised and people exercise to keep fit and healthy. This tendency in human life is used to conceptualize other concepts like economy. The economy is healthy or strong if it keeps developing normally and smoothly. Metaphorically, aspects of the economy are understood as features or parts of the body. These parts can become ill and then may affect the whole body. As long as the parts work well, the economy works well, thus the general well-being of an economy is understood in economic terms as its economic health. The economy can suffer injuries or become ill but it can also receive medical treatment allowing it to recover from its ailment. If the treatment is effective, the economy, just like a patient (human body) will recover, if it is not, the economy will collapse.

4.4.5 Nautical

The historical significance of the sea is quite prominent in the English language. This dates back to the exploration era. The English language gained many additions during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when British naval and merchant ships travelled the seas(<http://www.see-the-sea.org/nautical/naut-body.htm>). In modern times ships play a less important role, and they tend to be powered by engines rather than sails. Yet many expressions derived from sailing remain embedded in the English language. Although Namibia is a dry country, it is bounded by the South Atlantic Ocean on the west, and has two harbour ports that have gained economic strength since independence in 1990. One needs to keep in mind that English is the official language in Namibia. Thus it is not surprising that seafaring metaphors appear in the *New Era* editorials.

4.5.5.1 ECONOMY IS THE SEA

The conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS THE SEA can be illustrated by the following mappings:

a) Economy is a ship

- i. Such measures form part of the austerity steps taken by the Geingob administration which is undeniably **sailing the rough seas** of financial difficulties experienced in the entire region (December 09, 2016).

b) The state budget is the ocean

- ii. Unsurprisingly, portfolio minister Jerry Ekandjo has – and rightly so – described the budget allocation to sports as **a drop in the ocean** (April 08, 2016).

c) President is captain

- iii. He survived hundreds – indeed 637 – assassination attempts, to be precise, and **navigated** his country **through the choppy waters** of a crippling five-decade long trade and economic embargo instigated by Cuba's overbearing neighbour North America, a mere 90 miles away, that felt slighted by the fact that Castro overthrew US-supported despot Fulgencio Batista (December 02, 2016).
- iv. There's no reason to pull back and wait for the President to **sail the ship alone**. This is **a turbulent sea** that requires support for the **captain to sail** us through to the promised land of prosperity (February 5, 2016).

In examples (i), (ii) and (iv), the economy is likened to a sea but in a negative manner as the sea is rough, turbulent and has choppy waters. In all these instances, the economy under discussion is going through financial difficulties. In example (ii), the budget allocation for sports is a mere drop in the ocean. This means that it is a very small portion of the overall budget. In examples (iii) and (iv) the President is the captain, navigating the ship, through the rough seas, just as he would direct the economy. Example (iii) refers to Fidel Castro while example (iv) refers to Hage Geingob.

d) Businessmen are captains

- v. While addressing **captains of the industry** in Botswana at a business seminar, Geingob challenged the business community in both countries to get involved in mutually beneficial projects (July 15, 2016).

The basic meaning of ‘captain’ is the person in command of a ship. In example (iv), the industry leaders are referred to as ‘captains’.

e) Economic problems are bad weather conditions

- vi. **Closing the taps** on the ‘soft subsidies’ to the private sector press provides them the perfect opportunity to prove to all and sundry how effective they are in the market and how easily they can cope without the benefit of State largesse in the form of hundreds of millions of dollars annually in advertising revenue (November 18, 2016).
- vii. We cannot solve existing problems by dishing out food to families while the economy is **stagnant** (November 11, 2016).

- viii. We could pinpoint an **avalanche** of problem areas that contributed to our substandard performance at this event – but topping that list would arguably be our **lukewarm investment** in sport (November 19, 2016).

When the tap is closed water no longer flows from it. To close a tap is a measure used to save water, especially to prevent drought. In example (vi) the metaphorical expression refers to the core trade-offs that policy makers face. Once the ‘soft subsidies’ stop flowing, the private sector press will go through a monetary drought ;it is unable to cope without the State’s aid. In example (vii) the economy is stagnant which means that, like water, it is standing still and has no flow. Stagnant water often results in unsanitary conditions.

In the analysis of ECONOMY IS NAUTICAL a metaphorical understanding of the economy relies on several source domains that have to do primarily with the sea, water and the weather. Economic issues and performance are understood through perceptions relating to weather conditions: bad weather means negative performance; good weather is positive. Politicians guide the economy, just like captains direct ships. Smit (2012) claims that seafaring metaphors are unfamiliar to Namibians, however it is evident from the examples above that nautical related metaphors are quite familiar to Namibians as they appear in the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper.

4.4.6 Animals

The PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS was first put forward by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). As animals are part of our world, they are naturally a suitable source domain and a

vehicle in the conceptualization and construction of metaphors related to people, as people use their knowledge of the natural world in constructing a meaningful social existence. By means of this metaphor, we are able to understand human characteristics in terms of corresponding animal characteristics.

The conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS can be illustrated by the following mappings:

a) Human behaviour is animal behaviour

- i. Local consumers – tragically – do not have advocacy groups to advocate for our rights and protect us from **predatory** corporate abuse and daylight fleecing (May 20, 2016).

The word ‘predatory’ is used to describe an animal that preys on other animals. In example (i) corporate abuse is referred to as being predatory because it is exploitative and preys on local consumers.

- ii. If anything; NUST should be knocking on Treasury’s door to justify why it needs a fatter purse instead of **barking** up the wrong tree – namely the students (January 22, 2016).

Barking is an action attributed to a dog. In example (ii), the phrase ‘barking up the wrong tree’ alludes to hunting dogs barking at the bottom of trees where they mistakenly think their prey is hiding. Thus NUST is likened to the dog barking while the students are the wrong tree.

- iii. The situation is aberrant, and they **soar** at many levels of government and state-owned enterprises (April 15, 2016).

Birds of the air soar. They maintain height in the air without flapping their wings. Example (iii) illustrates that ‘they’ are rapidly climbing levels within government and state-owned enterprises without necessarily putting in effort or doing any work.

- iv. It is symbolic of our nations divided soul and the unity of our country is being sacrificed in the unnecessary tribal **dogfights** that are fast becoming a daily occurrence (June 03, 2016).

In its literal sense a dogfight is just that, a fight between two dogs, often illegally organised. In the example above (iv) ‘dogfights’ is used metaphorically to refer to violent struggle between the different tribes. The actions of people are understood in terms of the activity of animals (dogs).

- v. Limbo’s remarks in particular, where he wished a German-style extermination order against another tribe, which he called ‘**cockroaches**’, are among the worst we have seen in independent Namibia (June 03, 2016).

Cockroaches carry a negative connotation. To liken a person to a cockroach is derogatory and conjures up images of unwanted, disgusting pests. During the Holocaust and Rwandan genocide, victims were referred to as cockroaches. This was dehumanising as it implied that people should be squashed (killed) like cockroaches.

b) Corrupt people are animals

- vi. There are **vultures** whose forte has always been to take cruel advantage of the destitute, the needy, the infirm, the elderly, orphans and the weaklings in general. **Vultures** have become commonplace (April 15, 2016).

Vultures are animals that prey on the weak or dead. Thus when an individual(s) is likened to a vulture it is often in a negative manner. In example (vi), the vultures are scavengers, corrupt individuals who take advantage of the weak.

- vii. It is because of the **nocturnal** dealings of these crooks, these stone-faced, shameless **sharks** that we have the current land 'crisis' that recently reared its ugly head at Walvis Bay, where the restless landless were involved in riotous behaviour (April 15, 2016).

Sharks are known for their greed and hunting instinct thus in the example above (vii) the shameless sharks are corrupt individuals who are greedy. Furthermore, their dealings are nocturnal (nightly) activities that no one witnesses. Although sharks are not a common occurrence in Namibia, the coastal town of Lüderitz in the south is linked to Shark Island, and thus most individuals would be able to make the shark reference, if not through Shark Island, then from television programmes. Around the town of Walvis Bay, many people are involved in the fishing industry and would be familiar with sharks.

- viii. They hate the poor, they hate those not related to them because how else would one classify this sheer cronyism, this patronage, this **pork barrelling?** (April 15, 2016).

Pork barrelling refers to government spending that benefits constituents of a particular politician in exchange for support at the polls. This individual who is involved in pork barrelling is often seen as someone who is greedy and has forgotten their original investment strategy to focus on securing unrealistic future gains. This is similar to what Namibians call ‘tenderpreneurs’. On the other hand, one might think of pigs in a barrel when one hears the term ‘pork-barrelling. Pigs on the farm often overindulge in feed, after all, they do eat anything and everything. Thus pork barrelling can also be a synonym for ‘fat’.

Within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002) show how relevant characteristics of animals and animal behaviour (source domain) are mapped onto people and institutions (target domain). ANIMAL metaphors are common in many languages, which proves that “the domain of animals is an extremely productive source domain” (Kövecses 2002. p. 17) in the process of metaphorisation. Animal metaphors are common in most cultures. Most people will relate to the use of animal metaphors without question and readily identify themselves and others with animals.

4.4.7 Food, cooking and eating

Mappings onto the FOOD domain are very distinctive because food/eating is a universal concept, whether there is reference to food in abundance or its scarcity. Thus, the ordinary lay-man is able to relate to metaphors of food. These metaphors are usually culturally specific, often because of the techniques used to prepare food and the types of food available to people.

4.5.7.1 MONEY IS FOOD

- i. Treasury has delivered yet another deadly blow to the country's sports fraternity after the line ministry announced **crumbs** amounting to N\$38.6 million for all 50 sports codes affiliated to the Namibia Sports Commission (NSC) (April 08, 2016).

In the example above (i), the portion of the state budget allocated to sports is referred to as 'crumbs'. Literally, a crumb is a small piece of bread that is left over after eating. It is often too small to be eaten. In the context above, the sports fraternity has received very little funds, mere crumbs.

4.5.7.2 IDEAS/ISSUES ARE FOOD

Ideas are amorphous. They are of course not food but we can use our concept of food to structure our concept of ideas. In this case, the source domain FOOD enables us to make sense of another experiential, abstract target domain IDEAS. This conceptual metaphor is exemplified through the following mappings and expressions.

- ii. Let us remind ourselves that our elected politicians should articulate and speak out on **bread and butter issues** that affect the people who voted for them even if these issues do not directly affect them, because of the perks and privileges accorded to parliamentarians and high-ranking policy makers (May 20, 2016).

Literally, bread and butter are food stuff. To refer to bread and butter issues means the basic source of income or basic needs of life, issues such as food, shelter, and clothing.

a) Considering is chewing/ cognition is eating

- iii. Before **we chew over** this subject, it is worth mentioning that the weight of chicken sold in shops consists of at least one-fifth water, which is apparently injected to make the chicken succulent and tasty, but also to add to its weight (May 20, 2016).

The action of chewing involves biting and working food over and over again until it is easy to swallow. This can be compared to thinking about something, going over and over a matter in your mind until a decision can be made. In example (iii) there is a need to think about/consider or ‘chew over’ the subject, which is the price of chicken.

b) Interest in ideas is appetite for food

- iv. The youth in particular have shown little **appetite** for national day events such as Independence Day and what it truly means in the broader sense (March 18, 2016).

An appetite is a desire to eat. Lack of appetite can be described as a lack of interest in something as there is no desire for it. Thus, when the youth have little appetite for national day events, it means that they have little interest.

4.5.7.3 ACTION IS COOKING

- v. By compelling the State departments and parastatals to firstly use government news agencies as an outlet for advertising, Cabinet is merely responding to the public outcry to **trim the fat** and is simply directing public resources to the sustenance of public institutions – as it should be (November 18, 2016).

Literally, trim the fat means to skilfully remove most of the fat from a piece of meat because the fat is unwanted or unneeded. In the context above cabinet needs to ‘trim the fat’, cut down on the non-essential spending of funds.

- vi. On the thorny issue of the struggle kids Geingob also recently took a lot of flack, but in all fairness should be commended for devising a pragmatic solution to what was simply a **long-simmering** and explosive situation that has remained unresolved for some time (October 07, 2016).

Simmering is a food preparation technique where the food cooks on low heat over an extended period of time. In example (vi) the situation is long simmering, so it has been brewing and getting worse for quite some time.

- vii. We do not even dare touch on the merits of this group’s demands, because if we do, we will **dilute** the essence of our argument, which is that anarchy cannot the [sic] tolerated – whether the demands are justified or not (August 12, 2016).

viii. Threats, as **dished out** by some government officials towards teachers, would only further strain relations and fail negotiations (September 09, 2016).

The action 'to dilute' usually refers to adding water to a liquid to make it weaker. If the essence of the argument is diluted it means that the argument will be made weaker thus losing its strength and effectiveness as in example (vii).

In example (viii) the action of serving food is used to describe that action undertaken by some government officials. Literally, to dish out means to distribute food. In the context above 'dished out' is used to mean 'handed out' or 'gave out' threats. The government officials made threats.

One of the issues that seems important to linguists who have studied metaphor is that of meaning. This chapter analysed the data collected and interpreted the information according to the emerging themes that transpired. The following final chapter will provide the discussion, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion and the conclusions drawn from findings presented in chapter 4. Conclusions of the findings are made based on the conceptual metaphor theory and the research questions posed in Chapter 1. Finally the chapter also looks at recommendations regarding this study.

5.2 Discussions

One of the issues that seems important to linguists who have studied metaphor is that of meaning. They focus on questions such as “What is the meaning of a metaphorical expression?”, “Is the true meaning of a metaphorical statement the literal meaning of the words themselves? Or does the statement mean what the writer wanted it to mean?” Searle (1979) believes that metaphorical expressions mean what the speaker intended them to mean. The researcher has shown in the preceding chapters that there is a lot more to metaphor than mere linguistics. Metaphor reflects the way we think, it has the power to frame our thoughts, and it may be used as a communicative tool, both within and between disciplines.

5.2.1 Metaphor identification procedure (MIP)

The tool used in this study, the metaphor identification procedure, provided a suitable instrument for the analysis of metaphorical expressions. Previous scholars describing the phenomenon of metaphor have usually turned to introspection, when they needed examples, for example, Lakoff (1987), Kövecses (2003) or they have cited literary works of art, namely Turner (1987). MIP highlights the importance of context in the identification of metaphors. This characteristic of the method has turned out to be very beneficial for this study, since the editorials often used clusters of metaphorical expressions in one editorial and the metaphorical meaning can be identified only if one minds their context. In summary, the Pragglejazz Group (2007) provides a clear method of identification of metaphors that can be used for newspaper articles amongst other forms of literary works.

5.2.2 Conceptual metaphor theory

When discussing conceptual metaphors, it is important to realize that they very rarely appear in speech or writing (Deignan, 2005). As such, conceptual metaphors could be seen as existing only at a level of thought, requiring metaphorical expressions (linguistic metaphors) to become identified and understood. The term linguistic metaphor refers to the realisation of conceptual mappings, and their meanings are often described in two terms: *topic* and *vehicle* (Deignan, 2005). The vehicle is a symbol for the literal meaning of a word, whereas the topic represents the word in its metaphorical meaning.

Following Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and the Contemporary (Cognitive) Metaphor Theory, it is evident that thoughts and ideas are physiologically embedded in the brain. They are not just abstractions of untraceable events that happen in the mind. Thus we are able to understand, relate, analyse, and store information as well as being able to retrieve it when it is necessary. One of the ways the mind stores and processes information is by using language. This part of human experience is so important that it is almost impossible for us to imagine the acquisition of knowledge – cognition – without language.

The appeal that metaphors and metaphorical language have to us is grounded on the fact that, in most cases, those conceptual metaphors that we regard as new, are actually using pre-existing conceptual mappings and are just adding connections as a network of circuits that link to form an organised whole. Likewise, according to this theory, understanding language that uses a conventional conceptual metaphor should take about the same time as understanding non-metaphorical language.

Furthermore, the mind cannot exist without the body and, conversely, a body without a mind is simply non-human. The body is the home of the mind. Tomaszewski, (2003) reminds us that the body is the concrete, physical support for the mind – its ground reference. By being embodied, intellectual and linguistic perception makes the brain as well as the body react. When we encounter a metaphorical expression in an editorial, our mind and body perceive it and react to it together and in a natural way, as if it was literal language found in an ordinary type of text, like an instruction or objective description.

The ability to produce metaphors that create meanings and accurate visual images lies on the linguistic and mental richness a person has. In other words, the more words, concepts, images, and ideas a person has, the richer and more resourceful his

mind will be. This linguistic and intellectual richness (creativity) is achieved by both being exposed to and using the language at different levels. The embodiment of metaphor and language includes the interaction of different human elements such as all the senses and the culture, as Gibbs (1999) points out. When we hear a spoken message or read a message from a printed page, our perception with both senses is a “feeling of the body” as we hear and see. This is the way we construct reality in the mind. The various conceptual metaphors identified in the editorials provide evidence of this.

The expressions from the vocabulary of:

- (1) war – strategy, win, defeat, fight, battle, battleground
- (2) journey – path, roadmap, goal, route
- (3) sport – kick off, heavyweight, gold medal
- (4) human body – healthy, recover, crippling
- (5) nautical/water – charter, sail, turbulent seas, avalanche, turn the tide
- (6) animals – vultures, sharks, pork-barrelling, barking, soar and
- (7) food – chew over, long simmering, appetite, dilute

form a systematic way of talking about the aspects of target domains such as politics, the economy, the president, corrupt individuals and processes such as thinking. Winning a political election can be understood through the concept of winning a war. Fighting for votes can be understood through the concept of fighting for territory or treasure in a war. This result is supported by Lakoff and Johnson (2003) who summarize that metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical

concepts in a systematic way and people can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to understand the metaphorical concepts.

The editorials analysed reveal that our thoughts and perceptions about target domains are structured in metaphors which are common in our everyday experiences. The analysis shows that a proper interpretation of a metaphoric utterance ultimately requires a reader's knowledge of mappings or correspondences between the literal senses of words used in their source domains and the distinct figurative meaning they have gained in the target domain. This study reveals that metaphors are common in newspaper discourse and draw attention to the role of language as a symbolic system which functions in the construction of reality.

5.3 Conclusions

From this research we can conclude that metaphors are being used in editorials from the *New Era* newspaper in the three topics analysed. In Politics and Economy the main objective is to criticize and judge decisions, actions, and shortcomings of politicians and policymakers. In the area of Social Issues, this phenomenon is also evident but to a lesser extent and with a lower frequency. It is possible to predict that *New Era* editorials will continue to use this metaphorical type of language and discourse when dealing with the topics analysed.

The study of metaphor is by no means finished. On the contrary, there is still much to be discovered and analysed. In the realm of newspaper editorials research has just begun. This study provides an updated and current contribution through the analysis of the metaphors and metaphorical expressions used in the editorials of the *New Era* newspaper 2016. This specific kind of research has not been done until now. As

stated by Van Dijk (1996) editorials use language in a way that persuades, convinces, and often manipulates readers for ideological purposes, either financial, political or social. Metaphors and metaphorical expressions serve this purpose well by conveying ideas that the mind can take in fast and easily. One of the aims that metaphors achieve, particularly in editorials about Politics, is to show and highlight negative political decisions or events. Also, in the topic of Economy, metaphorical expressions are used for enlarging potential threats for people and calling their attention towards current financial issues mainly in Namibia. In Social Issues metaphorical expressions are used almost as much as in the other two topics and with the same purpose, yet the degree of negative criticism is a little bit milder.

5.4 Recommendations

The shortcomings of this study have to be taken into account for future research. It must be pointed out that only three topics were included in the study. As mentioned before in this research, these topics make up approximately 80% of editorials of the *New Era* newspaper. The total number of editorials for the research was 46 and the time period covered was January to December 2016. For future research a larger corpus including more topics is suggested. For example, editorials dealing specifically with environmental issues, the arts, education, the land crises, or important figures can be analysed. These topics make up about 20% of editorials published and in this study are grouped under the topic Social Issues. By including all topics a richer and more complete scope of analysis could be achieved.

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APPENDIX 1

List of *New Era* editorials analysed

Topic: Politics (12)

Date	Title
January 29	A united SWAPO is good for Namibia
April 22	Country needs a Harambee secretariat
March 11	Challenges of constructing a democratic developmental state
July 22	AU passport a monumental milestone
July 29	Charting Namibia's future in the world
September 16	US trip has its positives
September 30	NPL: Govt must come to the rescue
October 07	Light will prevail over darkness
October 28	ICC should carry its cross
November 04	Wanted: Namibia's own Mcebisi Jonas
December 02	Fidel Castro was one of a kind
December 16	Geingob has been more than fair

Topic: Economy (12)

1. February 5	Implementation is buzzword for 2016
2. February 12	2016: a year of multiple challenges
3. February 26	Pro-growth budget caters for all
4. April 08	Sports budget cut disheartening
5. April 29	Counting our blessings one by one
6. May 13	Standing on the shoulders of giants
7. May 20	High price of chicken symptomatic of deeper problem
8. July 15	Joint ventures and a regional approach to capital-intensive projects
9. November 11	Let's do this again, Mr President
10. November 18	On <i>The Namibian's</i> sense of entitlement
11. November 25	Economic diplomacy can turn the tide

12. December 09	There's modesty on Geingob's foreign trips
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Topic: Social Issues (22)

January 15	2016: Survival guide for Namibia
January 22	#FeesNUSTfall to support poverty eradication
February 19	Govt deserves praise for averting water crises
March 04	Heed President's call on tribalism
March 18	March 21 is not for backyard barbecues
April 01	Answers needed on vandalised mass houses
April 15	'Vultures' to blame for land mess
May 06	Marry Cassinga and genocide into one
May 27	Windhoek: a thirsty, leaderless city
July 01	Fighting the poverty of hunger
June 03	Tribalism: Punish the Culprits
June 10	Water crises: How did we get here?
June 17	So sorry, dear African child
June 24	Social media and the rights of the child
July 08	Nations are not built by crybabies
August 05	And the winner is democracy
August 12	Time to stand up to 'struggle kids'
August 19	Lessons from Rio de Janeiro
September 09	Teachers, we need urgent consensus
September 23	'Struggle kids' help commendable
October 14	The scary implications of the teacher's strike
October 21	Time to mend the relations

APPENDIX 2

Sample editorials analysed



NEWSPAPER FOR NAMIBIA

Established in 1991

Editors telephone: (061) 273 300 • Email: newsroom@newera.com.na

A united Swapo is good for Namibia

There is a saying in Swapo that when the party sneezes, the entire Namibia catches flu. It is a statement crafted to at best display the depth of influence the party commands across all socio-political boundaries in the country.

The opposition often interpreted that statement as mere arrogance on the part of the ruling party, but realistically Swapo commands thermal power-like strength across all spheres in the country.

With another elective congress set for next year, the perennial manoeuvres, machinations and jostling for positions are about to start – if they are not already in full swing.

Historically, such activities have

claimed countless casualties in the party – which has often led to deep-seated divisions in the party, or even defections. Such defections have often polarised relations in the party and the government it is leading. When relations in a ruling party or government are acrimonious, the delivery of services to the common man becomes the first casualty.

Disunity, especially in the context of Swapo politics, has often led to perceptions of victimisation, tribalism and regional exclusion. Sometimes such perceptions have lacked credibility, but for the common man on the street, this is swallowed hook, line and sinker as the ultimate truth.

As a result, even ordinary citizens

start dealing with each other with suspicion and caution, because the seeds of hatred have been planted and watered from the top, especially by those who cannot stomach defeat at such congresses.

Last year during the primaries leading up to regional council and local authority elections, we observed with great concern the cut-throat manner in which candidates and their supporters gave little regard to party unity, so that they can occupy key positions.

True, this was also observed in opposition parties, but because they command little significance and influence in the eyes of many voters, their own squabbles remained unheralded.

It is, therefore, disunity in Swapo that carried more weight of destruction – hence the need for all its members and leaders to remain united, democratic and tolerant enough to accept the outcomes of the upcoming congress, including the processes of initial selection of congress delegates.

Disunity also weakens the party, mind you. The average voter has demonstrated that Swapo must remain strong and in power – not only for its liberation struggle credentials, but also for its now massive experience in governance.

Liberation movements, especially those of Southern African origin, are somewhat despised, particularly in the West. Their often hard-line stance

on issues such as self-determination, autonomous control of natural resources and radical views on how Africa should be ruled, does not sit well with those who want to loot Africa's resources.

Many conservatives, who constitute the majority of the Namibian electorate, therefore, want Swapo to remain strong and united to face the challenges facing the country and the world today.

To them, Namibia is a much safer place with a united Swapo in power. It is thus incumbent upon Swapo to remain united and with a functioning internal democracy so that the party can continue to defy the odds and survive the test of time – in the interest of every Namibian.



NEWSPAPER FOR NAMIBIA

Established in 1991

Editors telephone: (061) 273 300 • Email: newsroom@newera.com.na

Country needs a Harambee secretariat

If President Hage Geingob's Harambee prosperity plan is to succeed, government would need to do something radically different from how we handled similar developmental programmes in the past.

When former president Hikepume Pohamba announced the Tipeeg project some years back, he also announced an ad hoc committee, which was to coordinate the activities of the programme.

Whether that committee ever met – let alone coordinated the said activities remains a national mystery. Tipeeg was in principle a great idea, but whether it yielded its intended fruits remains a matter of heated debate.

We, therefore, need a radical departure from the manner in which

such is to be done. In East Africa, the Kenyan government has created a Vision Delivery Secretariat (VDS) for its Vision 2030 development plan. The VDS provides strategic leadership and direction in the realisation of the Vision 2030 goals to ensure the timely implementation of the flagship projects. The secretariat is managed by a director-general and secretariat members, under the overall guidance of the Vision 2030 delivery board that plays a policy-making and advisory role.

The Kenyan example is worth considering – especially in implementing the Harambee Plan here at home. What we also need is a secretariat whose members' sole preoccupation is to monitor implementation, challenges and other

aspects related to Harambee.

In other words, these are officials who wake up every morning to do nothing else, but monitor the progress of Harambee and or identify obstacles and inform the relevant offices, including Cabinet, timeously.

There is no lota of doubt on just how brilliant a plan Harambee is – on paper at least. But it is the practical implementation of the plan that would not only retain the confidence of the masses in President Geingob's administration, but also unshackle us from the stranglehold of poverty and underdevelopment.

The National Planning Commission has often been shouldered with the task, such as monitoring progress of new developmental plans, but perhaps they are overwhelmed with piles of

other duties that they often seem to lose track of such responsibility.

We cannot afford to go the same way with Harambee. The broad criteria that we need to use for identifying successes of Harambee will be to implement observable development achievements and that outcomes that are sustainable and offer the potential for scaling up. For this, we need a fulltime monitoring body. Achieving shared growth in post-stabilisation Mozambique, Tanzania's successful transformation to an open market economy, Uganda's decades of strong growth and Botswana's sustained economic progress through prudent macro-economic management, institutional development, and good governance, were all a result of better coordination of developmental plans.

Cabinet ministers need to provide the President with weekly update on what Harambee activities the ministries - or agencies under their ministries - have carried out the previous week.

In this way, bottleneck would be detected and addressed timeously. Harambee should not remain a rallying call for naught. It cannot be another opportunity for tenderepreneurs to rake in million for no tangible work done! Liberate Namibians from the yoke of destitution.

Our clarion call, therefore, is that government should approach Harambee differently and with redoubled sense of commitment. We want to be a different-looking society by 2019, we must do things differently.



NEWSPAPER FOR NAMIBIA

Established in 1991

Editors telephone: (061) 273 300 • Email: newsroom@newera.com.na

Challenges of constructing a democratic developmental state

President Hage Geingob this week met editors from various media houses and discussed, not so much issues related to government programmes, but how relations between the two parties could be improved.

Dismissed by some as an attempt to coerce the media into becoming puppets of the presidency, the occasion was - to the contrary - characterised by a frank, but fair exchange of views between the president, prime minister and editors.

President Geingob started off his presidency on a similar note - having held so many press briefings at which scribes were afforded opportunities to ask any questions related to the governance of the country.

The meeting at State House on Monday was therefore simply a continuation of his perpetual engagement with the media, as he continues to refine his strategy to make government more transparent.

Perhaps the one single biggest result of that engagement was a mutual sense that everyone that lives in Namibia has a natural obligation towards making this country a better place.

If you like, the meeting chartered the role of the media in building a Namibian society - complementing what government is already doing.

The aim was to develop greater cohesion between the media and government, so they can move towards a common agenda and development language.

Prime Minister Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila, speaking at the same occasion, emphasised the need for an objective presentation of the Namibian reality.

Greater cohesion between the media and government does not mean the press will now ignore the bad and the ugly in our society. If anyone had hoped this would be the case, they are grossly mistaken.

What the media is likely to do going forward is that they will strive to be more objective and less sensational, but will present the true state of our nation - even if it means making the powers that be uncomfortable.

By ignoring the bad and the ugly in our society, the media would be failing spectacularly in its broad mandate of informing

and educating. It is a mandate no one can tamper with.

Good governance and accountability, which President Geingob has made the pillars of his Harambee Prosperity Plan, cannot be achieved in the absence of vibrant and critical media in the country.

The press is there to drive effective and dynamic communication between policymakers, politicians and their constituent populations.

That role cannot be fulfilled unless there is commitment by all and sundry to maintain the value of free and fair media, and of expanded, networked journalism.

The PM made a valid observation that media houses need specialist reporters who can provide

authoritative coverage of complex issues, such as budget analysis and other subjects.

She said being a graduate of journalism does not make one an expert on every subject, a point that the country's editors must start pondering if the level of journalism in this country is to reach new heights.

It's a glaring weakness that is evident in almost every media house in this industry and Kuugongelwa-Amadhila was spot on in her observation.

Democracy is an expensive commodity and so is peace and stability. The media is an important catalyst of both, and depending on how the might of the pen is used, it could make or break these important pillars of which our country's future rests.

Wetherefore urge that Monday's face-to-face engagement with the president should not be the first and last of its kind. Continuous engagement would enhance trust and the sense of common responsibility between government and the media to build a better Namibia.



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AU passport a monumental milestone

The unveiling of African passports at the opening ceremony of the 27th Ordinary Session of Assembly of the African Union (AU) in Kigali, Rwanda is monumental and a turning point for our quest for continental integration.

Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, the chairperson of the African Union Commission, handed two representational African passports to President Paul Kagame and to the chairperson of the African Union, President Idriss Deby of Chad, and this gesture was more than ceremonial.

The move to launch the African passport was reached during the Summit in January this year, with the AU deciding that the passport would be launched in Kigali, starting with the heads of state and government, foreign ministers, and

the leadership of the representatives of the AU executive councils.

Indeed this significant step serves to underline the political will and importance African leaders attach to the free movement of goods and services and to economic and political integration in the African context. Integration would facilitate seamless mobility of Africans and ease trade and other barriers that have previously obstructed intra-continental trade to the disadvantage of all Africans.

Underneath the African soil is a staggering array of minerals, namely, platinum, coltan, gold, diamonds, uranium, cobalt, copper, zinc, silver, bauxite, vermiculite and others just too numerous to mention.

Most importantly Africa has a sea of people expected to expand to 2.8

billion by 2060. Africans should benefit from the potential social and economic benefits that will result from population growth. But this benefit could elude us if we do not judiciously implement the right policies and plans of action.

Time and again we have been reminded this is Africa's moment but alas a starvation of pragmatic, forward-looking policies and an individualistic approach resulted in the African dream being deferred.

Africa has political temerity and a galaxy of intellectuals and scientists both on the continent and in the diaspora who could come in handy to guide us to our promised land of milk and honey. The good news is that with the right policies and actions Africans can accelerate the region's transition to smaller families, healthier and better-educated

youth, and an expanded job market if policymakers make the right decisions as was the case last Sunday in Kigali.

The benefits of having an integrated African economy outweigh by far the benefits of having small economic blocs that at most often comprise of four countries. Of course there are problems posed by such integration but we should find a way to circumvent these problems, for the benefits are just too tempting and there is no time for indecision and foot-dragging.

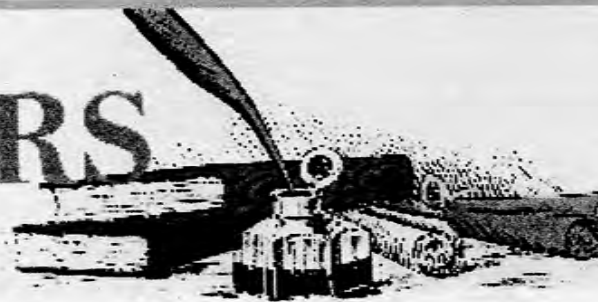
Regional integration is a must if Africa is to compete with other countries that have transitioned from developing to developed countries. Although Africa has been growing at unprecedented rates over the past decade, the continent's international trade remains low, pointing to an important source of growth

that remains unexploited.

This is very different from the path of Asia: trade in this region more than doubled between 1995 and 2010 whereas trade in sub-Saharan Africa has largely stalled at a mere 2 percent of world total. And despite efforts aimed at diversifying the export base, African exports remain highly focused on commodities – they account for over half of sub-Saharan exports compared to just about 10 percent for Asia and for advanced economies.

The Asian success story holds an additional lesson for Africa. By fostering regional integration, Asia was able to create regional value chains and thus become more efficient. The newly unveiled African Union passport will give us a ladder to reach greater economic heights.

LETTERS



which comprises a mixture of mud, sand and shelly gravel. Dredging is not a new or "world first" activity and has in fact been undertaken for more than 100 years in oceans around the world. Sediments recovered by dredging are deposited onshore and are typically used for landfill for coastal construction, shoreline

trawlers are registered to operate within Namibian waters. The demersal fishing trawler fleet operates along the entire length of the Namibian coast in water depths of 200 to 500m. The ocean area off Namibia is 580,000km². (FAO website country profile).

By comparison, for the project in question one dredger



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Charting Namibia's future in the world

Foreign policy experts, academics and various thinkers converged in Windhoek this week to hammer out what President Hage Geingob refers to as 'international relations policy', to replace parts of the country's seemingly worn-out foreign policy.

Geingob gave some strong hints of what the new policy would look like – if his keynote address earlier in the week is anything to go by. He hinted strongly at a radical departure from traditional diplomacy, practiced by many countries in the pre- and post-Cold War Era, to one that has changed in character and tone – and is in favour of economic growth and trade.

In recent years, Namibia has

seemingly adopted a 'Look East' approach – doing increasingly more business with China and India. The new policy must, therefore, formalise the country's dealing with emerging markets, but with emphasis on leverage so that such bilateral agreements are not swayed in favour of those nations at our own expense.

We have observed with concern that at times Namibia is ripped off in these dealings – with countries like China sometimes making it a condition that their citizens must be employed on projects their country does in Namibia.

This does not only keep Namibians at the periphery of the job market, but also denies them necessary skills when kept out of major

high-tech projects implemented in the country.

It was good to see President Geingob reiterating the country's long-standing stance that Namibia is a friend to all and enemy to none. This is a good strategy for any country that does not have significant influence on international affairs – politically and economically.

While dealing with emerging powerhouses, like China, Namibia must cling onto her relations with established economies like the USA, Britain and Germany – its single biggest donor nation.

The danger of overreliance on the West – especially for aid – is its perceived nature of perpetual confrontations, sanctions, threats

and demonisation of nations whose conduct is in conflict with the West's own interests.

The East has not had a history of dictating to especially Africans how to conduct themselves and this ties in with Geingob's recent perpetual call for a renewed sense of commitment to Pan-Africanism on the continent.

The way forward is to allow African countries economic independence and the freedom to run their own political affairs in the context of African interest – and Namibia's new international relations policy must speak to these aspirations.

In charting our new policy, we must be brave enough to put Namibia first and not tumble under fear of what the 'big brothers' of this world

would say about us. We should not play to the whims of other nations, who too have unapologetic foreign policies designed to benefit nobody but themselves.

Our international relations policy must have clear stances on SADC, the AU, the Commonwealth, the World Bank and IMF and other important regional and international players, who have a bearing on nations' domestic affairs.

Antagonism between international actors arises from the conflict of values and the pursuit of divergent national interests – which is exactly why Namibia must be clear and steadfast in defence of her values and interests, and must pursue those without an iota of guilt.

LETTERS



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US trip has its positives

A lot has been said about President Hage Geingob's trip to the USA, where he is to, amongst others, address the 71st session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Many have questioned the timing of the President's leaving the country for 24 days in what some consider a time of crisis, coupled with a looming teachers' strike and Fitch's downgrade of our economic outlook from stable to negative.

In their wisdom, the President should have cut his US trip short so that he attends to the problems at home. In fact, many feel the President should have just gone to deliver his speech on

September 21 and return home right away.

What have not come out of the critics' narrative, however, are the spin-offs the country stands to gain from the busy engagements of Geingob and his entourage in the USA – the global capital of investment and entrepreneurship.

On September 22, for instance, Geingob is scheduled to deliver a keynote address at the Namibia Investment Forum, which is a curtain raiser for the main investment conference in Windhoek in November.

Currently, the whole world has its eyes glued on Washington and New York. Therefore, any nation

that is worth its salt – and which has a sense of economic diplomacy – cannot afford to be absent from such occasions.

Just a few months ago, Namibia revamped its foreign policy. In fact, the policy has been re-christened to 'international relations' because in the global village we live in, nothing is foreign anymore.

This is the time to put to test this policy and see if it speaks to our nation's aspirations, or needs fine-tuning to perfect it towards what we really want it to be. America in September is the ideal platform to have our envisaged new policy tested.

From a global perspective, Na-

mbia is a small nation. A stable, democratic small country with a small population and a small economy.

Sadly, the world does not know much about us. In fact, the world would not come to us – at least not in the volumes we would want. The onus is therefore upon us to reach out to the world and announce our existence and all that we have to offer.

Therefore, the principle of the US trip and all that is lined up over its duration is good, if not exciting. It is now up to the team in America to make it count in real terms. Back home the nation expects tangible results and a quick manifestation

of the outcome of the ongoing engagements.

Whether the trip and its perceived length were necessary and justified would depend on its end results. Namibia needs marketing and investment. Namibia needs to grow its economy in order to stimulate jobs. Government cannot continue to be the answer to providing jobs – the private sector must come to the party.

Our pursuit of large-scale investment to create new markets and grow the economy has to gain considerable international attention and buy-in. The team in America must unlock the potential.



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NPL: Govt must come to the rescue

The United Nations Report on the International Year of Sport and Physical Education 2005 highlighted the benefits that sport can bring in building national identity, especially at the level of elite sport.

Sport can provide a positive image of the nation to the international community. Studies on specific cases have shown that sport, especially football, can positively contribute to strengthening national pride and forming a cohesive national identity.

President Hage Geingob's mantra of no one should feel left out of the proverbial 'Namibian House' is itself aimed at achieving the same end - forming a cohesive national identity.

Our domestic football league, the Namibia Premier League (NPL), which features footballers

and supporters from across the entire spectrum of our racial and tribal demographics, is on the verge of collapse.

This is after MTC, the main sponsor for years, withdrew its support following the league's failure to secure an additional N\$9 million as a top-up to the mobile company's N\$15 million financial injection.

Government remains the custodian of football in the country and institutions like NPL and the Namibia Football Association are fully owned by it.

Currently, more than 400 footballers and officials involved in the game face job losses because as a nation we failed to cough up a mere N\$9 million to rescue the sinking ship of Namibian league football.

Namibia, under the current

economic squeeze, cannot afford to lose more jobs. Our main pre-occupation must be to jealously guard existing jobs and create new ones.

Government cannot continue to look at sport as a mere pastime, but as an industry that could provide jobs, keep young people off the streets and deepen our unity as a nation.

Football teams are made up of players and staff from different political, ethnical and religious backgrounds who, by the common aspirations of their collective as a team, see each other as one.

When Alassane Ouattara's forces seized control of most of Ivory Coast in 2010 and ousted then president Laurent Gbagbo, a civil war erupted in that country. It was the country's most prolific footballer, Didier Drogba, who,

using his power and influence, called upon all Ivorians to quit the fight.

Drogba's call, coupled with Ivory Coast's good performance at the 2012 African Cup of Nations (they lost the final to Zambia), helped unite all Ivorians who eventually agreed not to fight each other any longer.

There are thousands of beautiful stories chronicling how sport has overcome conflicts and how it produced millionaires like Drogba, who went on to build hospitals and schools for their communities back home.

It therefore cannot be correct that the NPL situation has been left to somewhat sort itself out and for footballers and everyone involved in the game to fend for themselves in these trying times.

We have noted sentiments that

the private sector must chip in with sponsorships. Record after-tax profits announced by local commercial banks (N\$905 million for Bank Windhoek and more than N\$1 billion for FNB) recently ever sparked questions as to what the corporate world is doing to help in a situation like this.

The fact of the matter is that sponsorship is voluntary, especially in a free market like Namibia. We can knock on the door of Corporate Namibia but cannot compel them to fork out money.

We therefore call on government, through the ministry of youth and sport (and if necessary Cabinet) to seriously look at the league situation and provide urgent solutions. We can't move two steps forward and three steps back. That's not how nations evolve for the better.



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Light will prevail over darkness

The Ashanti people say one falsehood spoils a thousand truths. We would like to counsel the merchants of falsehoods, whose preoccupation is to distort the truth, to take heed of another African proverb that says ashes boomerang into the faces of those throwing them.

Alarmist armchair critics, who have chosen to see no good in whatever the Geingob administration does - for reasons known only to them - dabbled in gutter journalism by maliciously peddling all sorts of falsehoods imaginable with regard to President Geingob's recent trip to the United States of America.

Aided by social and other media, the detractors downplayed the importance of the trip, notwithstanding the fact it involved matters of State at the UN General Assembly (UNGA), where the President's presence was a must, as it was with other heads of State, given that one cannot just delegate

a junior official.

Geingob at the UNGA spoke on key policy matters, including climate change, gender parity, development financing, poverty alleviation, inclusivity and transparency. Are these goals not important?

The President also saw the need to market Namibia as a sound investment destination and we trust he did so to the best of his ability.

Why any sane person would suggest the President was paid for interviews conducted with the US media is beyond us.

The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, Bloomberg News, The Economist, Forbes and Reuters are reputable publishing houses guided by the highest standards. These are not Mickey Mouse media houses.

To put this in perspective, the Namibian government would have spent millions to get the same kind of coverage through advertising, as a free media interview is the most

cost-effective way to get one's message to a global audience, compared to the cost of advertising in major media.

To cast aspersions in the minds of the gullible concerning the planned phosphate mining project and make insinuations that Geingob sought to influence the process is an act of a demented mind, as there is no iota of evidence to support such unsubstantiated allegations dreamt up by self-appointed armchair critics.

There are already indications the visit was fruitful and that a big delegation of US businesspeople will attend the International Investor Conference planned for Windhoek in November, while New Jersey Chamber of Commerce has already indicated it will reciprocate the Namibian delegation's visit by visiting Namibia early next year under the theme: 'Namibia - Getway into SADC'.

The problem with some of his critics is that they have chosen to

see no good in whatever Geingob does for the country, no matter how well meaning.

Why should the President pay or be paid by anyone - not to speak of reputable news organisations - as alleged, to market Namibia as a favourable investment destination and as an oasis of peace, good governance and democracy.

When Geingob and First Lady Monica Geingos became possibly the first African presidential couple to publicly declare their personal assets some mischievous critics were at it once again and caused a hullabaloo with all sorts of ill-intended questions to attempt to cast a shadow of suspicion over that historic declaration.

When Geingob unveiled the much-acclaimed action plan to bring about prosperity for all, the Harambee Prosperity Plan (HPP), some critics again missed the point, saying the plan was a "duplication" of existing national development plans and Vision 2030.

The criticism was made regardless of the fact that Geingob stressed that "the HPP does not replace any national development roadmap, but aims to complement the long-term national goal for prosperity". At the launch of HPP the critics again conveniently chose to ignore the fact that the HPP was birthed after extensive consultative townhall meetings held by the President in all 14 regions.

On the thorny issue of the struggle kids Geingob also recently took a lot of flack, but in all fairness should be commended for devising a pragmatic solution to what was simply a long-simmering and explosive situation that has remained unresolved for some time.

The President should remain steadfast in his course and should not be distracted by sinister attempts to undermine his work by individuals whose distortions will surely not carry the day. For just as light prevails over darkness the truth will prevail over falsehoods.



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ICC should carry its cross

South Africa, Burundi and the Gambia have, in an unprecedented move, withdrawn their membership from the International Criminal Court (ICC). Many Africans fully support this move because of what has long been perceived as ICC bias against Africans.

Its detractors in Africa say ICC, despite being called an international criminal court, stands accused of seemingly persecuting, tormenting, harassing and belittling Africans and their leaders while others that stand accused of committing similar crimes against humanity have with impunity been left largely untouched by the selective ICC.

They cite the case of former US president George W. Bush and former British prime minister Tony Blair, who got off lightly after their hideous crimes and mass violation of human rights when the two

leaders spearheaded the invasion of Iraq in March 2003.

The ICC has been a thorn in the flesh of many African leaders, who believe it has adopted a prosecutorial policy of going after leaders whom it accuses of being responsible for political violence in violation of international law. This is seen as in stark contrast to the perceived hideous war crimes and mass human rights abuses committed by America and Europe in the many global hotspots.

America, a country that has one of the most active armies in combat across the globe because of its status as the self-appointed global cop, has committed countless atrocities wherever its army operates.

But we are yet to see an American general or politician being dragged to ICC. In fact, America has legislated against anyone suing its leaders or army for the atrocities committed by the US army.

Africans also wonder why not a single Israeli leader has ever been summoned by ICC to appear before this war tribunal for countless crimes against humanity and the senseless killing of unarmed Palestinian women and children by the Jewish state.

ICC brags about being founded on the Rome Statute to bring justice to the perpetrators of the worst crimes known to mankind, namely war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, especially in cases where national courts have been restrained from doing so.

Several UN investigations found smoking gun evidence based on confessions by members of the Israeli army, who admitted having indiscriminately used disproportionate force causing mass casualties among thousands of unarmed Palestinian men, women and children in what has been classified as war crimes and thuggery.

The scale of the devastation, in terms of mass civilian casualties and destruction of civilian residential properties in Gaza at the hands of the Israeli army, has been unprecedented but to date not a single Israeli general or politician has been held accountable by the ICC that professes it will bring justice for the victims of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Instead, ICC seems hell-bent on humiliating African leaders for fomenting election violence that pales in comparison to some of the war crimes being committed by non-Africans.

Early this year, Saudi Arabia indiscriminately dropped bombs on civilians in Yemen where it is involved in a military campaign and the ICC has yet to summon a single sheikh to account for those atrocities.

The recent decision by South Africa that is seen as a bastion

and a leading light for democracy, respect for human rights and rule of law is indicative of the fact ICC needs radical surgery and long-term chemotherapy to treat the cancer that is consuming this court.

Because how else would one explain the fact that since 2005 ICC has indicted 40 people and each of these indictees is an African?

ICC and its sponsors can fool some people at times but they should not be allowed to fool most people most of the time. Justice should be blind and a crime against humanity should be such whether it is committed by America, Britain, Israel, Saudi Arabia or Uganda.

Africans have been taken for a ride for too long. Indeed where there is justice all are brothers. In Africa, we have a saying: "there is no elephant that complains about the weight of its trunk" and ICC should carry its cross if all African states take their cue from South Africa.



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Wanted: Namibia's own Mcebisi Jonases

The scandal befalling neighbours South Africa currently, emanating from the report on alleged 'State capture' by the powerful Gupta family, has brought to the fore what seems to be impregnable principles by a few of that country's political leaders.

Deputy finance minister Mcebisi Jonas is, if the content of the report is anything to go by, by far the shining star in this otherwise dark episode, and perhaps it is time Namibia looked south for some inspiration.

It is alleged that Jonas declined the offer by the Guptas to be promoted from deputy minister to minister, a move which was to be accompanied by a cash injection of as much as N\$600 million.

It is difficult to imagine anyone, here at home, who would turn down such overtures in a country possessed by greed for money, power and influence.

Not many a South African would have turned down such offer either – so Namibians are not alone in this vacuum of principles.

Jonas is said to have angrily stormed out of the Guptas' home and immediately alerted key people to the scam, including President Jacob Zuma. He also issued a public statement to that effect, the report by former Public Prosecutor Thuli Madonsela states.

State capture has been rearing its ugly head in Namibia, to the extent that President Hage Geingob had to include his concerns about it in

his Independence Day speech back in March.

We must, as a matter of principle, create a healthy distance between government institutions (and leaders) and private business individuals. Government must at all times be seen to be neutral and not conspiring with the wealthy against the poor. It's a simple principle of integrity and fairness.

Who, in our midst, is principled enough to turn down a ministerial position? And, perhaps more seriously, who amongst us would turn down N\$600 000 or N\$600 million – both amounts allegedly offered to Jonas?

Here at home, we are so obsessed with positions, power and titles. MPs, when not called 'honourable',

take very serious offence.

The power struggles in the ruling party, and indeed the opposition, have often threatened our peaceful co-existence. People are burning the midnight oil caucusing on how to lay their hands on state contracts or, and, ministerial posts.

That's why elective congresses of our political parties are often battlefronts because whoever emerges is destined for ministerial and other positions. These fights are never about a burning desire to get into a position where one can effect change for the betterment of society.

Apart from the Jonases, we must cast our net wider so that we also search for our Madonselas – corruption fighters with balls of steel.

We cannot fight corruption while

having one eye on political expediency. When tackling corruption but are consumed by obsession for political correctness, such action is as good as nothing.

We must step up our quest for building strong institutions and a leadership that puts principles above narrow individualistic benefits. Leaders who crawl back into their tribal cocoons or circle of friends as soon as they assume powerful positions should be kept away from gatekeeping, lest the rest of the nation gets left out.

Namibia, as President Geingob likes saying, is on the march. This march, however, should not be an endless walk towards infinity. We must craft our own destination and reach it in the shortest possible time.

Fidel Castro was one of a kind

Today, Namibia starts three days of mourning in memory of the late Cuban revolutionary leader, Fidel Castro, who died a week ago in his native Cuba, oceans away from the shores of our country.

Economically speaking Cuba is a featherweight, but politically and in terms of ideological consciousness, arts, science, self-sufficiency and defiance of imperialism, it is a heavyweight that belies its tiny landmass. Fidel Castro, its fallen revolutionary leader was a towering political giant, and one of a kind.

He survived hundreds - indeed 637 - assassination attempts, to be precise, and navigated his country through the choppy waters of a crippling five-decade long trade and economic embargo instigated by Cuba's overbearing neighbour

North America, a mere 90 miles away, that felt slighted by the fact that Castro overthrew US-supported despot Fulgencio Batista.

Following one of the countless attempts on his life Castro lightly brushed off these attempts, saying had these CIA-funded attempts on his life been an Olympic event he would easily have scooped a gold medal.

Cuba's ideological stance and defiance of colonialism and racism could be attested in the historic battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola, when El Comandante sent thousands of Cuban troops to counter the heavily-armed South African forces, who wanted to stop the FAPLA offensive against Jonas Savimbi's SADF-backed UNITA forces at Jamba.

South African army generals also wanted to overrun

Swapo bases in Angola.

But with Castro having taken direct command of the air-led operation at Cuito Cuanavale the tide of the battle turned against the invading South African forces after one of the largest and toughest battles witnessed on African soil at the climax of the Cold War.

In a nutshell, the decisive battle of 1987-1988 and the hammer-blows dealt the SADF forces resulted in Namibian independence, following trilateral talks in December 1988. The negotiations in New York culminated in what became known as the Tripartite Accord between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, which led to the independence of Namibia from South Africa the following year.

After Namibian independence Castro sent Cuban teachers, engineers

and medical doctors to help with the reconstruction of Namibia and to this day we still enjoy the care and assistance of Cuban doctors here, thanks to Castro's immense generosity and foresight.

His sphere of influence was also far-reaching and like in Angola, Namibia and South Africa, he touched lives in so many ways.

In the case of Vietnam, the revolutionary icon was a pioneer in the international movement that supported Vietnam's struggle for independence and reunification, as well as its national reconstruction and development efforts.

As he was to our foremost political leaders, Hage Geingob, Hifikepunye Pohamba and founding president Sam Nujoma, Castro was a close and loyal friend to the Vietnamese people

and many others who, like us, will forever be indebted to him and the Cuban people for their immense sacrifices on behalf of the oppressed and colonised people around the world.

Many people on the African continent will remember Castro as a key ally to African liberation movements, such as Swapo, and as a selfless man who provided teachers, doctors and engineers, so that our underdeveloped societies could attain their inherent potential. Furthermore, the Cuban people have never demanded rewards in the form of diamonds, gold or other valuable assets, but helped without expectation of any material reward and went home with little more than the remains of their comrades and the moral satisfaction that they had sacrificed everything they

could to help defeat the apartheid regime.

In the 60s, 70s, and 80s many African liberation movements knew they had an all-weather ally in Castro, who lived by what he preached.

Despite the crippling US embargo, Cuba still has one of the highest rates of literacy, of the best healthcare systems around and Cuban life expectancy is among the highest in the world at 78.4 years.

"They talk about the failure of socialism, but where is the success of capitalism in Africa, Asia and Latin America?" he defiantly asked. With his passing these questions are again raised sharply.

Castro was also a modest man. At his request there are no streets or monuments named after him in Cuba.

The world rightfully mourns this selfless Cuban revolutionary.

May his indomitable soul rest in eternal peace.

Geingob has been more than fair

One of the leading Southern African revolutionaries, Samora Machel, famously said: "For the nation to live, the tribe must die". Machel, formerly a president of Mozambique, made the observation at a time when Africans butchered and burned each other alive – not for the commission of any crime, but because they differed in their ethnic affiliation.

Tribalism is one of the most disruptive influences confronting newly independent sub-Saharan African states and progressive leaders are hard at work to ensure the situation is arrested.

One such leader is President Hage Geingob, whose proverbial 'Namibian House' mantra was coined to help the country become one nation. As Geingob loves saying, once the wall of the Namibian House is plastered, its individual bricks would no longer be visible. What would be seen, he says, is one beautiful wall encompassing all its bricks that have now become a single unit.

The reason why Africa has, for long struggled to build nations is partly because tribes were seen as

more important than the nation itself. This way of thinking has seen leaders channelling national resources primarily to their tribesmen and women, their tribal kith and kin.

The ongoing debacle surrounding the fate of former deputy land reform minister Clinton Swartbooi is a result of President Geingob's rich understanding of the dangers inherent in Swartbooi's alleged remarks and particularly the platform and manner he chose to express them.

The Swartbooi saga has brought to the fore the true extent of tribalism in our country, judging from how communities, especially where he hails from, reacted to the current situation. Many did not care about the merits of the matter, but that he was one of their own.

It also brought to the fore the naivety of many a commentator who, whether by default or design, chose to ignore all facts and pursue a selective discourse to trivialise President Geingob's attempt to diffuse what could turn into a full-blown crisis in the country.

To all intents and purposes,

President Geingob did not violate the principle of free expression. In fact the apology he demanded from the deputy minister pertains more towards the manner, approach and platform that Swartbooi chose to vent his concerns, not the merits of his pronouncements.

Society must be orderly. The Ministry of Land Reform must be orderly and so too government in its entirety. The moment deputy ministers and their ministers start fighting and publicly brag about it as if it were an achievement, Namibians would start questioning whether these leaders are fit for public office.

The President, from our observation, was further disturbed by the fact that boardroom differences may have prompted the deputy minister to run to his own tribe to vent his supposed frustration, ignoring the established channels of communication.

Geingob was therefore justified in asking the deputy minister to apologise, given the avalanche of transgressions listed above. The President has been consistent on dealing with matters of tribalism,

evidenced by his instruction a few months ago that the governor of Omahake should apologise for the remarks he made in reference to Ovaherero people in that region.

When a deputy minister brags publicly that he does not report to his senior in the ministry, it clearly shows that egos have been placed above the land question, which Swartbooi was appointed to help solve.

Geingob has a responsibility to ensure he presides over a functioning government. Those who disrupt this process must be excused and replaced with those that are willing to help the President execute his mandate successfully.

Geingob has been as fair as he could possibly have been. In recognition that human beings are prone to error and can say things in heats of the moment, the President gave Swartbooi an opportunity to reflect and redeem himself.

The Head of State's instruction was blatantly ignored for over a week, but Geingob still availed the opportunity to meet Swartbooi in person to help him understand the instructions given to him.

As if ignoring the original instruction was not enough, we heard this week that Swartbooi behaved aggressively by slamming doors at State House as he stormed out of the meeting with the President, Prime Minister and others.

Presidential spokesperson Albertus Aochamub explained this week that Geingob's stern action does not mean the President disagrees with Swartbooi on the need to sharpen the focus of the land resettlement programme. The problem was that Swartbooi said he does not report to his immediate senior, Utoni Nujoma, but to the President.

"Nobody disagreed or questioned what he said about the land resettlement issue since it was already under discussion in parliament, and it was set aside to seek public consultations."

Readers will conclude that Geingob has been reasonable, fair and patient, but his fairness has been taken for granted, and his patience tested to the limit and Namibians of goodwill will no doubt respect the President's judgment in this critical matter.



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'Implementation' is buzzword for 2016

President Hage Geingob was in mean mood this week as he outlined plans for the year ahead – essentially reminding everyone that tangible results of his mission and vision would be fully observed this year.

It's a good message that raises spirits in the country and which should cement the nation's confidence in the President and his team.

If poverty, which is the biggest source of displeasure for the President, is to be practically addressed, implementation of key programmes would have to top this year's agenda.

The inequalities we have in the

country today are mostly inherited from the successive regimes of colonialism but an average Namibian today is only interested in how this would be resolved.

Indeed, inequalities are widespread and huge all over the country, be it in terms of income or overall quality of life.

Fighting poverty is a challenge that would require careful thinking. Stimulating economic growth, instead of handouts, is in our view the most realistic and sustainable tool to fight poverty.

Treasury has had sleepless nights thinking of introducing new tax regimes to help arrest the spiralling poverty in the country.

That commitment is a great source of courage, but more so if such taxes are channelled towards economic stimulus packages so that we create demand for products and services, and therefore create jobs.

True, social welfare is a critical component of fighting poverty. In fact many Namibian households are living testimony of how old-age pension, disability grants and other similar packages have lifted them out of basic poverty.

We should continue channelling resources towards these issues, but never lose sight of the bigger and sustainable picture of investing in the economy so that it grows to produce jobs for the masses.

It's important to keep in mind that the black population is still the one that is hit the hardest by the different effects of poverty in Namibia, although things are slowly getting better and a small black middle-class has emerged.

The extreme income inequality in the population is still considered a threat to social and political stability, which is why the issue is at the core of many policies undertaken by the government to date.

Enforcement of existing laws also needs serious attention this year. The exploitation of workers by greedy capitalist institutions continues unabated in our country,

despite dictates of the law to the contrary.

Slave wages can never lift families out of poverty, which then makes our pronouncements against poverty a nullity and futile exercise.

Also, public spending must be pro-poor in nature if the overall objectives are to be attained. President Geingob needs the support of all and sundry. What is at stake here is the welfare of our nation, not individual legacies.

There's therefore no reason to pull back and wait for the President to sail the ship alone. This is a turbulent sea that requires support for the captain to sail us through to the promised land of prosperity.



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2016: a year of multiple challenges

A subdued global economy with diminished demand for commodity prices and the worst drought in decades, it seems all gloomy and ominous for our economic outlook.

The fact our Dollar is pegged to a weakening South African Rand, that has taken a sustained pummeling against the dollar, combined with the fact that State coffers are far from the ideal levels have not helped matters and simply makes all citizens nervous.

The economic pendulum has since the beginning of 2016 swung in a direction never experienced in the bountiful times of yesterday.

The multi-faceted challenges remain formidable, manifesting in a weaker local currency, low export commodity prices, mounting student and consumer debts and an agricultural sector under siege.

South Africa, our largest trading partner, could retrench 32 000 miners and the throbb of the heartbeat of the global economic growth in China has grown even fainter.

Overall, there is little to cheer about and, if anything, Namibians would have to contend with a raft of price hikes on maize meal, meat, rice, sugar and even on water, because of the resultant

chain reaction from the drought and a somewhat stagnant economy.

We are told some unpatriotic civil servants are in the habit of devising self-enrichment schemes in the form of meaningless trips, surreptitiously designed to claim unjustified S&T (subsistence and travel allowance), while others defer their obligatory duties to work over weekends so they can line their pockets with 'overtime claims'.

Despite the government having set out clear benchmarks on service delivery, some officials seem to spend valuable time on meaningless,

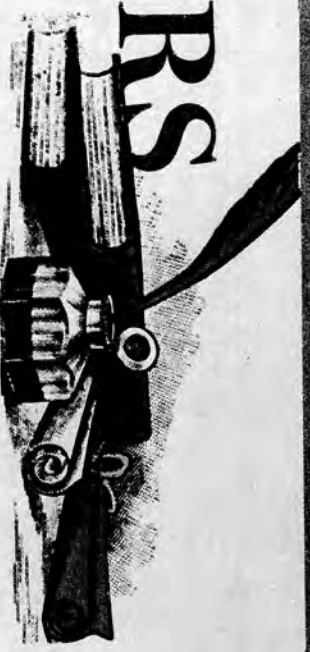
incoherent trips – all in the name of shamelessly pocketing S&T, at great cost to public coffers.

2016 should be a year like no other and those in positions of power should clamp down on wasteful spending on non-essential trips, ensuring government gets real value for its money. Otherwise, the recent pronouncement by President Hage Geingob that 2016 should be a year of delivery would be an exercise in futility, while the dreams of the highly expectant electorate would be deferred indefinitely. Despite these trials and tribulations, there is a glimmer of

hope that we can yet turn our fortunes around. Radical ailments need radical surgery. Period! We could still make substantial savings if government clamps down on non-essential trips and puts pragmatic control measures on overtime and S&T.

Of course, with smarter policies, political will and heightened public-private sector collaboration on many of these key social and economic challenges – and if we all pull in the same direction – we could still overcome these challenges and deliver much-needed prosperity across our country.

LETTERS



Why isn't the AU's counter-terrorism strategy working?

The cerebral liquidation of Christian faith

In his 1976 book, titled 'The Selfish Gene', British biologist, evolutionist, leftist and atheist Richard Dawkins argued that faith is a "blind trust" in the absence of evidence, and even in the teeth of evidence.

Building on Dawkins' argument and by a mere logical extrapolation, faith is defined as a trust, fidelity and confidence based on some degree of warrant, but not on a proof. Therefore,



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Pro-growth budget caters for all

The announcement in yesterday's budget speech that government will increase the old age pension grant by N\$100 to N\$1 100 per month will go a long way to addressing the plight of elderly citizens. Ten months ago senior citizens also had their monthly grants increased from N\$600 to N\$1 000 and the amount is set to increase again to N\$1200 in the 2017/18 financial year.

The amount of N\$1 100, which carries pensioners over the official poverty line, goes a long way to pay essential bills and afford bread and butter, particularly for those

senior citizens who do not have any additional source of income due to income disparities created during the colonial era.

The rate at which the monthly grants increase for these vulnerable members of society will indeed go a long way in poverty alleviation and more so will effectively shield senior citizens from grinding poverty and vulnerability.

Our government, under the able leadership of President Hage Geingob who has time and again said that no Namibian should be left out, deserves a pat on the back.

Government, by allocating NS7.2 billion to the health minis-

try, is also giving a further indication it is committed - not only by words but by deeds - to the social, physical and mental wellbeing of its citizens.

Government leaders are also obviously aware that Namibia cannot achieve the knowledge-based economy status without significant investment and this understanding is attested by it investing around N\$16,2 billion in the education sector in the coming year.

This will also assist students from poorer families to acquire the requisite academic training needed for a better future.

In fact, the Namibian govern-

ment, unlike its peers - not only in Africa, but even in other developing countries - puts a premium on education and this seems to have become the norm. It shows that we have leaders with education at heart.

Another allocation worth mentioning is the N\$500 million allocated for contingencies in the likelihood of unforeseen emergencies, of which N\$278 million is to mitigate the recurrent drought that has affected the country for the umpteenth time, putting both livestock and human lives at stake.

Government has also set aside N\$17,2 billion for infrastructure

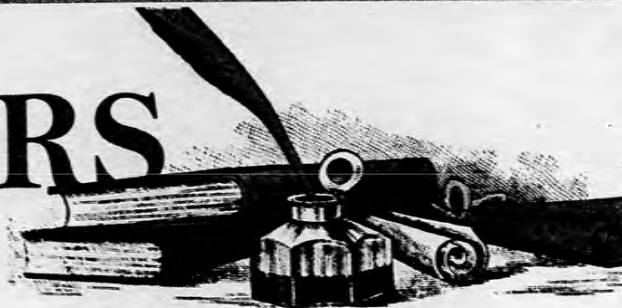
development, part of which will be used by the mass housing project to alleviate the critical shortage of houses among the working poor.

These infrastructure projects, among them roads construction and the expansion of the Port of Walvis Bay, will also go a long way to create much-needed jobs for our people.

This prudent budget indeed gives scope to maintain the provision of essential services and calls for greater resource prioritisation and quality spending that should be embraced by all government ministries, offices, agencies and SOEs.

Yesterday, South African President Jacob Zuma made a surprise announcement that he had decided to withdraw the 800-odd South African National Defence Force (SANDF) troops who have been participating in UNAMID - the hybrid United Nations/African Union peacekeeping mission in Darfur, Sudan - and its predecessor AMIS (the African Union Mission in Sudan) since 2004.

LETTERS



AU has given him de facto immunity for as long as he is president, against any repercussions for handling Darfur just as he sees fit.

It was of course precisely because of his alleged orchestration of gross human rights violations in Darfur by government troops and militia that the ICC issued an arrest warrant for al-Bashir for war crimes and crimes against humanity in 2009, and subsequently

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Sports budget cut disheartening

Lo and behold! Treasury has delivered yet another deadly blow to the country's sports fraternity after the line ministry announced crumbs amounting to N\$38.6 million for all 50 sport codes affiliated to the Namibia Sports Commission (NSC).

The shoestring budget allocated to the financially handicapped NSC clearly demonstrates that our leaders are yet to understand the importance of sport to any nation – both in social and economic terms.

Treasury has cut a significant chunk from the requested amount of N\$179 million, instead allocating a meager N\$38.6 million to the NSC, which is an umbrella body to 50 sport codes. Unsurprisingly, portfolio minister Jerry Ekandjo

has – and rightly so – described the budget allocation to sports as a drop in the ocean.

All sport codes are in dire need of administrative fees, to cover traveling expenses, participation grants, daily allowances for athletes and a horde of other expenses – let alone the hosting of august events. It appears in terms of sport Namibia is caught between the devil and the deep sea. The country faces a Herculean task to establish itself as a formidable sporting nation, and this is not how we are going to reach that goal.

Is it not perhaps time for those controlling the purse strings to be wary of avoiding falling into the “endowment effect”, which is when we consider things to be more valuable when we own them, but

disregard them when we pass them on? The dominant view is that many in the top echelons of decision-making have become emotionally attached to their misplaced perception on recreational funding and thus are systematically underestimating the real value of sports and the ultimate pitfalls of underfunding.

To probe this, one is obliged to combine logic and critical thinking by making comparisons with the astronomical amount of money local telecommunications providers MTC avail to a single sporting discipline annually. The country's elite league, the Namibia Football Premier League (NPL) is the chief beneficiary of a fairly handsome figure of N\$40 million in sponsorship monies over three years – more than the combined

paltry budget allocation of N\$38.6 million for all the sport codes. It doesn't make sense, does it?

Football alone sits with a total of seven national teams to cater for and one is left wondering how Namibia is expected to compete vigorously against nations whose sports budgets dwarf ours – a scenario that amounts to a playing field that is not level.

There is an urgent need to have the playing field leveled and one would humbly like to urge government to revisit its priorities with regard to core social responsibilities.

Sport is a vital tool and possesses the unequivocal potential to be fully utilised as the most essential vehicle of nation building, including the discouragement of racial and tribal tensions so prevalent amongst our

fragile communities.

Football received an annual budget of N\$80 000 for administration, in addition to the N\$8 million in participation grant. To many of our leaders, N\$80 000 is equal to their basic monthly income.

Authorities need to introduce hard and fast rules that would oblige corporate business to start pumping more money into sports and not only for the few selected codes, whose membership derives from the elitist clique.

In countries like football-mad Ghana and many other African nations, their respective annual budgets for football alone amount to more than triple the pittance allocated to the entire Namibia sport fraternity annually.



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Counting our blessings – one by one

More often than not, our government faces trash talk left, right and centre – literally – and many a time it doesn't deserve it.

In general Namibia is in good shape and optimism for the future remains high. We were particularly impressed that a Namibian delegation that was in New York for a UN event took advantage of the opportunity to seek audience with the world body's committee on sanctions to thrash out issues surrounding Namibia's relations with North Korea.

Namibia emerged victorious from that meeting when the UN committee made it clear that our

relations with the East Asian country were above board. In other words, we remain a sovereign nation that observes law – both local and international – and whose dealings could inspire others globally.

There is a deeper sense too that President Hage Geingob's Harambee Prosperity Plan has been embraced by almost all and sundry and it was nice to see First National Bank (FNB) also coming out this week to publicly say it supports the ambitious development plan. This is a sign of a Namibia pulling in one direction.

Recently, the country climbed ten places on the world transparency index – another sign that this country is on the right path.

In February, Namibia was one of 13 countries to be rewarded by the African Leaders Malaria Alliance for its fight against malaria.

It was stated that the country had shown commitment, innovation and progress in the fight against the disease. The winners are chosen by an independent awards selection committee comprising of leaders and experts in the areas of health and science. We are indeed a winning nation.

Our electoral system has been lauded internationally while our democracy and human rights records had even the tongue of US secretary of state John Kerry wagging in numerous official statements issued on various occasions.

It is a befitting recognition of the efforts that our country – its leaders and citizens – has made since independence in observing the importance of a functioning democracy and pluralism.

True, not everything is rosy and cosy. And all well-meaning citizens would nag and propose solutions when all is not well. That in itself is an indication of just how basic freedoms, such as that of expression, are safeguarded as part of the broader democratic dispensation.

A few days ago, Reporters Without Borders ranked Namibia again as Africa's freest media environment – a position we've clung onto for successive years.

There are so many good Namibian

stories that we ought to celebrate – but whether we do indeed celebrate these victories or not remains the question.

Who will celebrate our victories on our behalf when we seem too proud to express joy at our own achievements?

It is heart-warming to see Namibians working hard in different spheres of their endeavours – trying to make their own lives and indeed Namibia as a whole, better.

We have a consultative government which, as proven by townhall meetings countrywide last year, takes note of people issues and maps out ways to intervene – as witnessed with the invention of Harambee by the President.

What a good time to be alive!



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Standing on the shoulders of giants

The decision by President Hage Geingob to invite several eminent economic scholars to debate the state of the Namibian economy and the integrity of the Harambee Prosperity Plan has sparked widespread and lively debate about the economic path the country is on and, in particular, about how to bridge the gaping abyss of inequality that separates the rich and poor.

Surely, the entire initiative and debate is based on the open recognition by the Head of State that his administration faces a mammoth task in view of the fact that Namibia—despite the advanced constitutional and political rights enjoyed by its citizens—is one of the most unequal countries in the world in terms of income distribution.

Novice commentators had a field day this week in their assessment of the decision to

invite Nobel Laureate Prof Joseph Stiglitz and Dr Carlos Lopes (executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission) to discuss the results and prospects of Namibia's economy.

We should rely on the best achievements in science and economic theory to guide our plans and economic practice. To see further and more clearly what lies on the horizon we have to, as it were, stand on the shoulders of giants.

Stiglitz, a former chief World Bank economist, considered “a heretic” among mainstream economists, is widely regarded as a giant in his field.

His work has been highly critical of free market orthodoxy, neo-liberalism and the role of the IMF and the World Bank. He has also been critical of the doctrine of economic “shock therapy” applied to places such as the former Soviet Union.

Recent pronouncements by Minister for Economic Planning Tom Alweendo that the State must take a more active and interventionist role in economic life to address social and industrial needs is indicative of a definite shift away from the neo-liberal model, which prescribes that every problem must be left to “the invisible hand” of the market to solve.

Clearly the market has not solved the housing crisis and is indeed largely responsible for the exorbitant and obscene prices that have effectively excluded a large majority of the population—particularly young adults—from the prospect of ever owning a home. The market cannot be expected to solve the very problems it created.

President Geingob inherited a situation where, according to UNICEF, 24 percent of Namibian children are stunted in their growth

due to malnutrition. With the lingering drought and the spike in food prices on the world market, a purely free market approach to the nutritional needs of the people would be detrimental.

The idea of setting up food banks to assist the poor is clearly interventionist and an attempt to counter the dictates of the market, where currently only those who can afford may eat.

This is also true of the unemployment crisis in the country. It would be the height of folly to imagine that the unemployment problem—and the needs of unemployed people—can be addressed by market dynamics, which in the first place forced vast numbers of people out of meaningful productive life.

Youth unemployment (between the ages of 15 and 34), according to the National Statistics Agency's

report released in November 2014 stood at a worrisome 43.4% in 2014 and there is no indication of an decline in numbers of jobless since

Considering that there is no social welfare net or protection for the unemployed, this represents a massive loss of productive potential and a real risk to the future stability of the republic.

The calls for progressive taxation from scholars, like Stiglitz and Lopes for example, are a direct outcome of the realisation that there is no way one can tackle inequality and mass poverty without tackling the cause of it: the over-accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few—the one percent.

The hosting of the high-level seminar this week is not only a sign of the President's intellectual inclination, but also of his determination to open up and raise the level of debate.



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High price of chicken symptomatic of deeper problem

The price of basic foodstuffs and the rate at which prices are rising is cause for concern. It is clear that consumers are struggling to cope with rapidly escalating food prices, such the high and somewhat exploitative cost of locally sourced frozen chicken sold in supermarkets. As a key protein source, chicken has become very pricey, compared to beef and fish, and this has ruffled many a feather.

As usual, local consumer behaviour is characterised by docility. People seem to have taken the regular price hikes in their stride, without as much as a silent, impotent whimper. This (high and out-of-control inflation on food prices) is the price consumers have to pay for the lack of an effective and pro-active consumer lobby.

Before we chew over this subject, it is worth mentioning that the weight of chicken sold in shops consists of at least one-fifth water, which is apparently injected to make the chicken succulent and 'tasty', but also to add to its weight. We understand that food price inflation is driven mainly by demand and supply factors and in Namibia food inflation is reinforced by a shortage of locally produced staple food, as a result of the recurrent drought.

The prices also vary extensively across various parts of town: at OK Foods in Khomasdal 1 kg of chicken sells for N\$53.49 and a 1,5 kg bag goes for N\$75.99, while 2 kg sells for N\$95.49. At Woermann Broek in Hochland Park 1,5 kg chicken sells for N\$58.99 and premium portions

of 1,5 kg chicken sell for N\$66.49. At Checkers in Klein Windhoek, 1 kg of chicken is sold for N\$48.99 and 1,5 kg is sold for N\$58.99. At Pick n Pay in Eros it costs N\$53.99 for 1,5 kg of chicken and N\$65.58 for 2 kg, while some shops sell a 2 kg pack for close to N\$100.

So much for the so-called Infant Protection Status (IPS) under which Namibia Poultry Industries (NPI) was founded. When one looks at their prices it appears the chickens have come home to roost. By putting all our eggs in one basket NPI seems to have sold us a dummy, because what was promised back then is in stark contrast to the current reality on the ground. It smacks of a great rip-off. It is a good thing that NPI created much-needed jobs, but this should not

be at the expense of long-suffering consumers. Local consumers - tragically - do not have advocacy groups to advocate for our rights and protect us from predatory corporate abuse and daylight fleecing. Do we need to say more? Local poultry producers should not take advantage of the lack of a consumer lobby to willy-nilly hike the price of chicken. Those with the monopoly on chicken have failed the consumers. It is now priced beyond the reach of vast numbers of ordinary households, many of whom are weeping in silence, as anecdotal evidence shows that many people in historically deprived communities, such as Katutura, Donkerhoek, Havana and the wananchi in Okombaha and Mutjiku can no longer even afford

chicken. Existing consumer lobby are so ineffectual their rallies - if any - are one-man shows, which are o course the speciality of one Marth Lukato. Politicians seem cushioned against inflationary pressures and are apparently not feeling these price shocks. They, unfortunately seem detached from the lot of the common man and woman. But they should speak out and interrogate these issues.

Let us remind ourselves that on elected politicians should articulate and speak out on bread and butter issues that affect the people who voted for them, even if these issues do not directly affect them, because of the perks and privileges accorded to parliamentarians and high-ranking policy makers.



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Joint ventures and a regional approach to capital-intensive projects

President Hage Geingob's State visit to Botswana at the beginning of this week brought to the fore the sense of urgency with which the region needs to approach common developmental objectives.

While addressing captains of industry in Botswana at a business seminar, Geingob challenged the business community in both countries to get involved in mutually beneficial projects.

These cross-border projects include the construction of a railway line to export Botswana coal to the world markets via Namibia; the desalination of seawater for

human consumption and to sustain the needs of our businesses; the development of electricity-generating capacity for own consumption, as well as for exports; and the development of regional value chains in manufacturing.

Although the populations of the two countries are relatively small, it is precisely for this reason that embarking on joint national initiatives, such as water and energy security, has the potential to put both nations on a higher and sustainable growth trajectory.

Some projects that Namibia and Botswana have jointly undertaken over the past few years include the

Trans-Kalahari highway and the establishment of dry port facilities for Botswana at the Port of Walvis Bay.

During his visit Geingob suggested through our own resources, as well as tapping into our regional developmental finance institutions and global initiatives such as the Green Climate Fund, countries in the region must find solutions for the common challenges we face.

This makes sense, particularly for capital-intensive projects that have the potential to benefit more than one country in the region. In this regard a regional approach, either through joint ventures or bilateral agreements, can substantially

reduce the capital requirements for massive projects, such as a desalination plant or a gas-to-power plant to provide the countries involved with cost-effective solutions that share the inevitable risks of such massive investments.

However, in order to share the risk, all participants in regional initiatives should have sound democratic governance architecture in place, as is the case with Botswana and Namibia.

Both these countries have low levels of debt exposure, in particular foreign debt, and both form part of a handful of African economies that can boast healthy investment grade ratings by international rating agencies, such as Fitch and Moody

Namibia is rated as BBB posi-

tive and Botswana's Moody rating is at A2 with a stable outlook, in part because they have the highest import coverage on the continent and one of the highest in the world. Moreover, Botswana's growth trajectory over the past four decades has been phenomenal, which is a clear sign that the prudent and disciplined management of the economy has paid off.

Therefore, it is only logical that Geingob requested more trade with and investment from our eastern neighbour. During his visit Geingob specifically requested investors from Botswana to fully utilise the opportunities offered in Namibia to intensify cooperation between the two countries in year to come.



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Let's do this again, Mr President

This week's Invest in Namibia Conference was a real joy to watch. An initiative of President Hage Geingob, the conference brought together nearly 1 000 delegates, hundreds of whom flew from some of the world's leading economies, such as the USA, Germany, UK and others.

It was heart-warming to see President Geingob seated in most of the sessions and listening attentively to investors as they discussed what they have to offer a nation like ours.

Geingob's decision to lower himself to the level of sitting in sessions, where his ministers and their portfolio technocrats were in attendance, showed not only his humility, but how desperate he is to see this country grow from strength to strength economically.

He has been very hands-on as far as this conference is concerned, starting with the amazing work he did in the USA during the month of September by drumming up interest through media interviews and public lectures at high profile universities, such as Harvard.

Naysayers had a field day at the time, castigating the President for being in America for an extended period. We said, in our editorial of September 16, that the trip had its positives that the nation needed to be made aware of by the media. Unfortunately most of our peers in the industry were more concerned about the hotel bills incurred.

This is what we said at the time: "Whether the trip and its perceived length were necessary and justified would depend on its end results.

Namibia needs marketing and investment. Namibia needs to grow its economy in order to stimulate jobs. Government cannot continue to be the answer to providing jobs – the private sector must come to the party."

The conference, despite nagging glitches in terms of organisation, was hugely successful. New Era reported yesterday that deals worth billions of dollars were concluded or committed to. One deal alone – for a steel manufacturing plant signed between MK International of South Korea, Otavi Town Council and Otavi Rebar Manufacturing – was concluded to the tune of N\$3.4 billion.

Add other deals signed or where preliminary commitment was reached and we could be talking about billions more destined for

our economy. This would ease the burden on government, which in the first place should not have been the biggest employer in the country.

Government has cleared the path by putting in place top quality infrastructure, such as roads, rail lines and world class harbours. Indeed, Namibia is a good African story to tell. It is now over to the private sector, because fertile ground for growth has been paved for them.

Government has even gone a mile further to create attractive stimulant packages, such as relaxed laws for investors, both local and foreign, as well as lenient tax regimes to help businesses grow. In some case, tax holidays are imposed to give investors breathing space and to consolidate their stance in their market for their own revenue

generation and growth.

Invest in Namibia should therefore, become a regular instalment and not a once-off event, Mr President. This is because new investment opportunities will continue to pop up in this country and investors need to know. We should therefore, host this event every year of every second year.

When Namibian families have jobs, overreliance on government for basic services such as food would be reduced. We cannot solve existing problems by dishing out food to families while the economy is stagnant.

Let's grow the economy, create jobs and Namibians would take care of themselves. Government can then redirect its efforts to other priorities such as education and health.

On *The Namibian's* sense of entitlement

It was with a little amusement, but mostly disappointment, that we read the editorial in *The Namibian* newspaper last Friday, in which it flails about like a drowning man and rails hysterically against a recent Cabinet directive to channel State and parastatal advertising towards State-owned media outlets.

The *Namibian* has historically been outspoken against real and perceived wasteful government spending and this Cabinet directive should be seen as little more than a coherent response to the constant public demand for a reduction in wasteful spending.

In answering the tearful hysteria of *The Namibian* and others, we would like to offer a reasoned response and make the case for thrift in State spending without falling prey to the condescending abuse and name-calling our critics make themselves guilty of.

The *Namibian* has over the years – and justifiably so – often admonished the State-owned media, including *New Era*, of supposedly failing to cover our costs, of failing to break even or to generate a profit and of relying too heavily on government subsidies to finance operations.

We do take the criticism to heart.

In contrast, *The Namibian* boasts of how effective they are in the market, as the oldest English daily in the country. Yet it would not be wrong to say the red top has been able to achieve such hegemony over the past three decades partly by capturing millions of dollars in advertising revenue from public institutions.

In what may be a Freudian slip, *The Namibian* admitted on Friday that their frustration with the Cabinet directive to close the taps is mainly about the effect it will have on their purse.

They attempted to dress up this base consideration though with pretensions to media ethics and the broader public interest.

“Let us admit,” they wrote, “many of us, especially independent news organisations, would be very worried about the Cabinet decision to divert advertising to government-controlled media, because it could hurt our purse.”

This admission is sufficiently telling to reveal their main concern. It is not about principles or about media ethics, it is about profit.

That is the bottom line.

The private press barons have become utterly addicted to the easy money. Now that the constant supply is threatened they are

outraged, mad as hell and hysterical as a crack addict whose dealer has left town.

For the record, we have never requested privileged access to public information, as such information should be made public by any and every means possible.

Our commitment though is for that information to be reflected accurately, which is not always a priority for our friends in the private media.

We, however, agree that government must cut wasteful expenditure. And at this time when every other department and ministry is required to tighten their belts, including health and education, why should the press be any exception?

It has become a common refrain in the editorial pages of *The Namibian* over the years that many of the poor suffer from an undue ‘sense of entitlement’ – from students demanding free education, to hopeless young people born in exile and seeking help from the government for which their parents shed blood.

Yet, here we have a case of the wealthy press barons and the lords of life insisting they are entitled to a permanent ‘soft subsidy’ in the form of constant advertising

revenue from State institutions. Is this not an undue sense of entitlement – by those already privileged and empowered?

Government has no obligation to prop up the private interests of the local press barons.

Here is an example of government attempting to cut wasteful expenditure at a time when all other departments are asked to do more with less, but the capitalist press is more concerned about profits than their professed aim of pushing government to reduce wasteful spending.

By compelling the State departments and parastatals to firstly use government news agencies as an outlet for advertising, Cabinet is merely responding to the public outcry to trim the fat and is simply directing public resources to the sustenance of public institutions – as it should be.

It makes no sense for the State to pump hundreds of millions of dollars into the privately owned press every year, while failing to support its own public media houses with advertising – with the end result that the public media institutions (which are not commercial in nature like their private competitors) have to be bolstered yearly through direct

subsidies by the taxpayer.

The decision to redirect government and parastatal advertising primarily through *New Era* and the NBC should have several positive effects: by 1) reducing the reliance on public media institutions on State subsidies, 2) enabling public media houses to cover costs and therefore carry out their mandate more effectively, and 3) reducing the costs of official advertising by offering better prices and more conducive terms than the private sector.

Closing the taps on the ‘so subsidies’ to the private sector press provides them the perfect opportunity to prove to all an sundry how effective they are in the market and how easily they can cope without the benefit of State largesse in the form of hundreds of millions of dollars annually in advertising revenue.

This Cabinet directive aims to save vast amounts of money by redirecting scarce resources to public media institutions, such as NBC and *New Era*, and is thus a highly commendable move that should be applauded by all especially those who have made a career out of criticising wasteful spending in government.



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Economic diplomacy can turn the tide

President Hage Geingob has deepened his economic engagements abroad since taking office last year and his efforts are starting to bear fruit.

For far too long Namibia's diplomatic relations have been very much of political nature, which makes perfect sense because of where we are coming from as a nation. Many nations have been in our corner – wiping blood and sweat off our faces as we intensified the war against apartheid and colonialism.

It was, therefore, logical that for a calculated time after independence we needed to maintain political ties with nations that have been there with us when the rest of the world grabbed popcorn to watch as we fought the enemy in a bitter and bloody struggle.

But Geingob knows, and he has said this on countless occasions, that his mandate now is no longer to just to dwell on political correctness in the eyes of other nations, but to move the Namibian economy into high gear.

If there is one thing that Geingob has done with heart and finesse, it would be economic diplomacy. The overhauling of the country's foreign policy earlier this year was aimed at injecting into this policy a new lease of life and a cutting edge to pave the way for proper economic engagement with nations that matter in the global arena.

President Geingob also gave clear hints during the gathering to review the country's foreign policy that – without throwing our precious baby out with the bathwater – the revamped policy

would usher the country into a new economic direction. We have started to see the manifestation of that in recent months.

India, probably the fastest growing economy currently, made economic diplomacy an integral part of its foreign policy since independence. Scholars of diplomacy are in concurrence that the institutions of diplomacy have to work with a growing community of stakeholders, that diplomacy is becoming the business of managing networks and that public diplomacy is a key feature of the diplomatic arena.

We have witnessed the early successes of this diplomatic orientation earlier this month when the country held its Invest in Namibia conference, where hundreds of aspiring investors – local and international – came to

present their cases.

On the cusp of the 21st century, Namibian businesses need to start playing a more crucial role in advancing the country's economic interest at home and – we dare say – abroad. The private sector today is eager to see the State engaged more deeply in economic diplomacy so as to help access new markets for our goods and services.

The Invest in Namibia conference was government's way to help local private-sector players meet and greet with their foreign counterparts and conclude deals that can help the domestic economy grow. The diaspora engagement that Geingob is pushing is, therefore, a timely intervention.

The President is scheduled to meet his French counterpart,

Francois Hollande, in Paris France next week and will also address investors in that country. He will then head to London England, where he is scheduled to meet Queen Elizabeth and investors in that country.

The trip to Europe should therefore, be seen as an important window of opportunity for Namibia and her aspirations to attract top investment, which could in turn create wealth and jobs for Namibian families.

The fact that Geingob is personally taking the bull by the horns, instead of delegating his lieutenants to do the job is also highly commendable. Globally, Namibia is not too well known, so it requires a person of President Geingob's stature to draw the attention of those who are willing to listen to the Namibian story.



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There's modesty on Geingob's foreign trips

New Era had the rare privilege last week to accompany President Hage Geingob to London where he met investors, British government officials and the secretary-general of the Commonwealth, amongst others.

The President is often labelled as someone who loves grit and glam, and many imagine that his foreign trips are an opportunity for pomp and fanfare. Quite the contrary, actually.

We might not have accompanied Geingob on each one of his foreign trips, but our observation last week provides a crucial insight of what goes on during such tours.

What we witnessed was a good commitment to austerity, in recognition of how the current

global financial squeeze affects Namibia and the fact that public money is not to be thrown around aimlessly as though political leaders personally own it.

For starters, we noted that of all travelling ministers, only Deputy Prime Minister Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah was allowed to travel with a personal assistant. The rest of the ministers had to do all clerical work on their own.

In France, some senior members of the delegation were not booked into the cosy hotels of Paris. Many slept at the Namibian embassy's official residence, a practice that was replicated in Cuba when the President flew there for the funeral of fallen revolutionary Fidel Castro.

All those who travelled to Havana were squeezed into

the presidential jet, when they could have been booked onto chartered flights to the Caribbean nation. It was a working trip, not extravagance.

In London, some members of the delegation had to leave for Namibia as soon as their work there was done. Presidential economic advisor, Dr John Steytler, was among those who had to leave before the trip officially ended.

It came as a bit of a shock when we saw the 'hotel' in which ministers such as John Mutorwa were booked. The facility, which charges a paltry £75 per night, is as bad as they come.

Poorly insulated, the facility, owned by Middle East merchants, is as cold as ice and does not cut it as a hospitality establishment

based in London, dubbed by its faithful residents as a global financial capital.

Mutorwa was often seen up as early as 4 o'clock in the morning – with working documents in his hand. The agriculture minister is known to be a workaholic and hands-on, but the unbearable cold in his room could also have had a bearing on why he was often up so early.

There were no murmurs of discontent among the travelling entourage as to the conditions they were operating from because everyone seemed to understand fully that they were not in Europe for leisure but to represent the aspirations of this great nation.

Meetings with investors were held in small, affordable venues

to the extent that when one Namibian businessman arrived at one of the events a minute late, there was no seat for him. He followed the proceedings from outside the official venue.

Such measures form part of the austerity steps taken by the Geingob administration which undeniably is sailing the rough seas of financial difficulties experienced in the entire region.

True, there is a lot that needs to be done in order to save public money. But when such saving occurs at the highest end of the spectrum, such as the Office of the President, our hopes for the future remain intact with the belief that if this momentum is maintained, Namibia remains on the trajectory to recover from the current slump.



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2016: Survival guide for Namibia

The year 2016 is upon us, but its dawn has not been the most pleasing. From natural phenomena, such as lack of rain in most parts of the country to the merciless killing of women – and burning them – there has hardly been any reason to smile, just yet.

We are not pessimists, but realistically speaking, challenges such as drought and food security are likely to be felt if the current prospects do not improve.

It's a year that we may be required to fasten our belts as a country, control State spending and use every resource at our

disposal prudently.

Generally, 2016 seems set to be the toughest year in recent memory for the Namibian economy... and it's not as if 2015 wasn't hard enough for the country. The freefall of the South African Rand, to which the Namibian Dollar is pegged, will quite likely have an adverse impact on the local economy.

We saw, for example, the Chinese company that had scooped the controversial new airport tender arguing this week that the N\$7 billion it had quoted was due to a drop in the value of the local currency in relation

to the US Dollar, after they had initially planned to charge N\$4 billion.

Yet this is the year in which we hope to secure the crucial resources needed to secure additional electricity supply sources, amid a looming energy crisis.

It is the year in which we continue to desperately seek funds to not only revive the mass housing programme, but also build homes on the land currently being cleared and serviced to help arrest the urban housing crisis.

As a country, we must remain full of hope and the desire to

shake off anything that the world throws at us. We must dream on. We must remain resilient and show greater unity of purpose, so that we sail through the anticipated trials and tribulations. We must hope that commodity demand and prices pick up in the international market, that the Rand (and therefore the Namibian Dollar) stabilises, and hope that sufficient rain will eventually fall.

Irrespective, all these challenges require us to be politically prepared. All these situations require sober-minded leadership at all levels. In fact

'leadership' must be the buzzword in 2016. The first duty of any leader must be the welfare of their people and subordinates.

Divisiveness, regionalism and tribalism are vices that proved in the past to be at the centre of some of our failures as a nation. If we are a nation that learns from its mistakes, we cannot afford to have another flirtation with any of these. The entire nation must pull in one direction and support government's effort to better the lives of all citizens.

2016 should not go to waste. It cannot and should not be another year of 'business as usual'.

LETTERS

Veterans



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#FeesNUSTfall to support poverty eradication

President Hage Geingob has placed on top of his agenda the eradication of poverty in the country, branded a tall order by some and an impossible mission by others.

In almost every one of his speeches since March 21 last year, the President emphasised his determination to bring poverty to its knees. Geingob in fact – time and again – asked everyone in the country to make their own contribution towards this ambitious, but noble goal.

As one of the modalities towards achieving this, the President last year called for State-funded student loans to be transformed into grants in order to control debts and help young people build their wealth portfolios.

He gave a chilling example of how students are trapped in debt even before they graduate – a situation which he said has prompted many young professionals to remain in poverty even when they are employed.

It is our contention that poverty eradication is a war that must be fought holistically – meaning all institutions of the State – and indeed the private sector – must figure out how they would practically contribute towards that ambition.

Yesterday an unprecedented movement of student activism swept across Windhoek when students at the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST) embarked on protests against the 3.5 percent increase in

registration fees.

The last time Namibia witnessed a similar situation by students was in the late 1980s when a militant NANSO stood up to demand democratically elected student representative councils (SRCs) in schools. They fought against the militarisation in the education system, apartheid, colonialism, injustice and repression.

While details remain sketchy into what motivated NUST to increase its registration fees, it goes without saying that such decision is against government's clarion call for poverty eradication.

To be fair, having been elevated to university status, there would be added financial pressure on NUST, but such a burden should not be passed onto students and their

often struggling families.

If anything, NUST should be knocking on Treasury's doors to justify why it needs a fatter purse instead of barking up the wrong trees – namely the students.

A 3.5 percent increment may sound nominal, but for a pensioner in rural Namibia who helps fund her granddaughter's tuition fees, this is a substantial amount.

We must bear in mind that NUST had a registration fee increment in 2014 – meaning there was relief for only one year (2015) before students were slapped with a new hike again this year.

The ruling party Swapo, whose policies drive the lion's share of government programmes, promised in its 2014 election manifesto to explore avenues of

making tertiary education partially free, as a means to develop skills in key areas of development.

Against this background, we had expected public institutions of higher learning to devise strategies that would make such plans a reality, instead of sucking students' pockets dry.

It is our hope, therefore, that NUST and the ministry of higher education find a solution that would not disadvantage students.

The decision, whatever it is, must be populist in nature and supportive of government's poverty eradication agenda. This could mean asking Treasury to avail adequate budget allocation to NUST so that the students are spared the covert bailout responsibility.



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Govt deserves praise for averting water crisis

Water has become a scarce commodity not only for Namibia but for our neighbouring countries as well.

It is no secret that the City of Windhoek, in particular, has been facing a shortage of clean potable water since last year.

The prolonged drought has Namibia's dams and catchment areas empty, and a water shortage crisis has loomed over Namibia for months. The effects of the drought have seen the City of Johannesburg, in South Africa, run out of sufficient water to quench the thirst of over four million

residents. Johannesburg is now looking at ways in which it can satisfy the demand for water.

It was thus heart-warming to learn that the Namibian corporation tasked with managing this very scarce resource, NamWater, has made plans to pump water from Kombat to avert a water crisis in the central areas because of a paucity of inflows into the supply dams.

NamWater has plans to draw water from boreholes outside Grootfontein and pump it to the central areas, and should be commended for this bold initiative. The Ministry of Agriculture, Wa-

ter and Forestry of course with the blessing of central government also deserves praise. Had NamWater and central government not acted the consequences of a water crisis around the central areas would be too ghastly to contemplate.

Water levels in the storage dams supplying Windhoek have been dropping to precarious levels since 2015, and reached levels lower than after the devastating drought of 2013. The combined water levels in the three main dams providing the central areas with water are rapidly decreasing and the level of the Swakkoport

Dam stood at 14.8 percent this week. The water level is lower than this time last year.

The country still experiences a severe overall drought and predictions are that water in the dams will last until September.

Windhoek, Okahandja, Gobabis, Karibib and customers along the pipeline in Brakwater draw water from the same three supply dams.

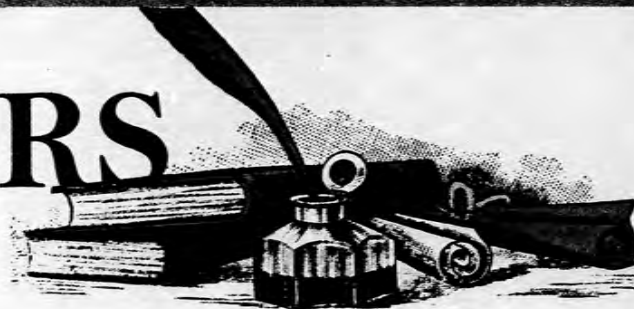
Indeed, the vast underground water deposits at Kombat, previously seen as a curse by the copper mining sector, are a godsend for the arid central areas of Namibia that could run dry by Sep-

tember. Water would be pumped from Kombat to Okakarara and eventually to the Omatako Dam and then into the Von Bach Dam, from where it will be supplied to the central areas.

Kombat mine, which shut down nine years ago, has come in to help solve the country's water shortage. New Era reported on the potential of Kombat supplying water to Namibia in June 2015.

Kombat is a wet mine, which was shut down in late 2007 after excessive flooding pushed production costs through the ceiling.

LETTERS



group, which has a presence in both Darfur and Eastern Chad, and is married to the daughter of notorious Janjaweed leader, Musa Hilal.

All this fighting has come at an enormous financial cost. 'I have always argued that Chad has been able to intervene militarily on so many fronts because the government has been able to divert oil money from

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Heed President's call on tribalism

Tribalism continues to be a serious concern in Namibia, and it is every citizen's duty to combat this growing scourge.

In a multi-ethnic society like ours, winning the war against tribalism requires the commitment of every citizen.

We must, however, hasten to state that the prevalence of ethnic diversity in our country is not to be blamed for simmering tribalism, but rather the use of identity politics to promote narrow tribal interests. Patronage too can add fuel to the flames of tribalism.

President Hage Geingob, speaking in Grootfontein earlier this week, reminded the nation about the dangers of tribalism. He urged all of us to condemn tribalists with the contempt they

deserve.

There are those who argue that tribalism is a result of arbitrary post-colonial boundaries that force different communities to live within artificial borders.

Maybe there is truth to this and authorities must step in to help arrest the situation. In Windhoek, for example, we continue to have – in Katutura – Wambo Lokasie, Herero Lokasie, Nama Teen, 'Herero Mall' and all these establishments that help people to be more tribally conscious than being nationalists.

Indeed, government has done little for 26 years to deal with such boundaries, created by the apartheid regime as part of its divide-and-rule tactics. Part of this strategy was to create animosity among native tribes so that they

do not join hands to wage a common war against the coloniser.

Sadly, we failed to rename those areas and residents have developed a tribal sense that only their tribe should live in those locations.

Instead, we have cemented a feeling that every ethnic community should have its own territory, which reinforces ethnic competition.

The advancement of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter has helped provide turfs for cyber tribal wars – including regular attacks on people like Geingob himself because of his tribal origins.

Perhaps this should be a wake-up call to our legislature to speed up the enactment of the mooted cyber law that will inject order

and restraint in the use of social media. It is our hope that the said law will help rein in racism and tribalism which have become regular content on Facebook and Twitter accounts of Namibians.

Kenya's 2007-08 post-election violence revealed the extent to which tribal forces can quickly bring a country to the brink of civil war. The confrontations were so deadly that even current president Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto were charged by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for those killings.

Tribalism is so rife in our country that even political parties, with the exception of one or two, are tribally constituted.

But in the absence of efforts to build genuine political par-

ties that compete on the basis of ideas, many African countries have reverted to tribal identities as foundations for political competition.

Leaders often exploit tribal loyalty to advance personal gain, parochial interests, patronage, and cronyism. Namibia cannot afford to sustain a society like that.

Talking about tribalism without pursuing a practical, sustainable intervention to combat it, is a waste of our country's precious time.

Multi-sectoral stakeholder must sit around the table and hammer out a nationwide strategy to solidify relations between all tribal groups and instil a spirit of patriotism that enables all of us to see each other beyond our tribal identities.



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March 21 is not for backyard barbecues

On the Namibian holiday calendar no day is arguably more significant than March 21, on which we celebrate independence and freedom from foreign occupation and colonisation.

It was on March 21, 1990 that we proclaimed to the world our separation from the colonial administration of white South Africa and our emergence as a new sovereign nation.

But as time passed, March 21 perhaps no longer carries the original significance and spirit in the eyes of many. It has – especially for the majority youth – become a day for backyard barbecues, blockbuster movies, leisure and consumption.

For black Namibians, such activities were obviously a privilege before 1990 and perhaps it could be argued that

people are enjoying, and making up for, what they were denied for successive generations.

However, the amnesia that engulfs March 21, especially its significance in the context of our history and politics, robs our country of a significant opportunity to reflect on the journey we have walked and whether we are where we thought we would be by now as a nation.

Twenty-six years on, freedom is no more about blacks being able to have a bite on a slice of white bread or moving from Owambo Lokasie to Nama Tien, without a pass document. It goes beyond indulging our basic appetites.

Independence means doing things that we always wanted to, for society's well-being without the dictates of

outsiders. Those are the types of reflections we should preoccupy ourselves with on a long weekend like this, because picnics and other intimate activities cannot be sustained in a society struggling on the socio-economic front.

We need to maintain the momentum of the past 26 years, so that we do not become a nation that got drunk on the strong wine of its own freedom.

The youth in particular have shown little appetite for national events such as Independence Day and what it truly means in the broader sense.

However, we are in no position to dictate to anyone how they should spend their independence holiday – after all, that would take us back to the dark episode when the masters dictated how private citizens must

live their lives.

But we encourage an enlightened society where people listen to Independence Day messages by those we have voted to lead us, analyse their pronouncements and make valuable comment where necessary.

That's the sober lesson we should all contemplate as we munch our rump steaks and sip our Windhoek Lagers this weekend.

Independence surely means not answering to someone else unnecessarily, determining your own schedule, values, and priorities, and not being a victim of anyone. But it also means jealously guarding our civil liberties and demanding accountability from our leaders at all levels.

It also means time to reflect on things we often take for granted, such as

political freedom, peace and stability. Some of our compatriots, especially those born after independence, were lucky enough to not have witnessed the atrocities and suffering our country has gone through – at least with the own eyes.

The gallant sons and daughters of the soil who fought for our independence – some dying at the front and many of the survivors currently in the evening of their lives – did this for all of us.

Their natural expectation is simple that preceding generations do their part in shaping the destiny of this great nation. When we take things cheaply and without an iota of pride and seriousness, we risk becoming another banana African republic – and that's a route we cannot afford to head into.



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Answers needed on vandalised mass houses

There has been a plethora of media reports lately about the shocking state of houses constructed under government's mass housing scheme.

The Namibian reported last month that about 30 houses constructed under this scheme at Walvis Bay have been vandalised.

Some houses, according to that report, are without doors while the windowpanes of others were smashed. In this edition we report on the state of mass houses at Keetmanshoop, where passers-by and street dwellers are relieving themselves in the houses when nature calls.

The irony in this story is that those relieving themselves in the houses are homeless people – the

very people the project is intended to help.

It is sad that after spending millions of public funds on these houses – a noble intervention by any measure – we are now allowing them to lie idle and be vandalised, instead of disbursing them.

Delaying giving out the houses to those who want and can afford them means vandalism will continue unabated and more public funds would be required to fix such damage.

True, some of these houses are not yet connected to services such as water and electricity supply, and therefore cannot be handed out to the masses who are tired of renting or living in shacks.

The fact that these houses are

still without access to water and electricity is, in itself, disappointing given the fact that the land on which they are built was identified long ago and is not serviced to date.

Part of the problem is that many local authorities are severely underfunded and can therefore not afford to service land on which mass houses are [to be] constructed.

Just over a week ago, the City of Windhoek publicly asked government to write off more than N\$500 million of its debts. One can therefore imagine what the situation looks like in remote town such as Oshikuku, where mass houses remain unoccupied – although this is partly due to non-affordability.

Both government and the National Housing Enterprise (NHE) have not really come out to announce what the disbursement formula for these houses is. In other words, who is to receive a house and when?

It is difficult to justify why houses stand empty in a country rocked by what is fast becoming a housing crisis of monumental proportions.

To all intents and purposes, these houses were constructed for occupancy – not for street dwellers to relieve themselves in and thieves to steal window and door frames *carte blanche*.

We did not commit N\$45 billion to this project to leave its products to the mercy of whoever cared to do

what they wished with the houses

We are not in agreement with those charging that mass housing is a bad idea. We sincerely believe it is a great and noble intervention by our government because we needed to act on this situation before it spiralled into a full-blown disaster.

But we cannot create excitement with big announcements and later leave houses in the state they currently are. We demand answers from the responsible custodians of this project as to why completed houses are not being availed to the needy and what is being done to protect houses from vandalism, and other sorts of damage, as evidenced in recent media reports. We resour case!



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'Vultures' to blame for land mess

There are vultures whose forte has always been to take cruel advantage of the destitute, the needy, the infirm, the elderly, orphans and the weaklings in general. Vultures have become commonplace. The situation is aberrant, and they soar at many levels of government and state-owned enterprises.

Most of them have amassed wealth not commensurate with what they officially earn. Their dealings are either underhand or nocturnal in nature. That is the way they have amassed their wealth. That is the way they have been operating. Society

also seems to have collectively resigned itself to these miscreants who should be removed from society where they have caused untold pain.

It is because of the nocturnal dealings of these crooks, these stone-faced, shameless sharks that we have the current land "crisis" that recently reared its ugly head at Walvis Bay, where the restless landless were involved in riotous behaviour. It is a screaming shame these nefarious activities have so much pervaded some village councils that you find members of one clan allocated ten or fifteen plots, while others are forever condemned onto the so-

called 'waiting' list.

Cases abound of land bought in the morning for a song and sold for several millions of dollars several hours later in underhand deals struck at midnight.

Regrettably, this has become a reality – absurd and sad as it is.

If you are lucky enough to be allocated land, you will find the same piece of land was oddly doubly allocated to a second or even a third person by these vultures camouflaged in dark suits and ties. They artificially create a land shortage so that they can in the end solicit bribes because it is the way

they operate - thriving on bribes.

It appears the only people these characters could serve without demanding a bribe are their brothers, their sisters, their cousins, their uncles, their aunties, their cronies and sidekicks. Exclusion has become the order of the day when it comes to allocation of residential land.

Despite these selfish charlatans claiming to represent government for the people, the opposite is true because they are there to feather their nests.

They hate the poor, they hate those not related to them because

how else would one classify this sheer cronyism, this patronage, this pork barrelling?

Our President Hage Geingob does not condone corruption and hates cronyism and the politics of patronage. That is why he initiated his widely commended Harambee Prosperity Plan (HPP) to ensure prosperity for all.

Improved access to serviced land and housing is a key component of HPP. It is the civic duty of each and every Namibian to expose this evil of corrupt land allocations and other evils that could potentially torpedo the HPP.



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Marry Cassinga and genocide into one

“Wipe out rebellious tribes with streams of blood and streams of money. Only following this cleansing can something new emerge,” Lieutenant-General Lothar von Trotha said upon arriving in Namibia, having mercifully butchered tribes in East Africa where he was stationed.

In light of this declaration, and its painfully successful implementation between 1904 and 1908, it would be fair to say calls by some Namibians to declare a national Genocide Commemorative Day, in honour of Namibians killed by German colonial forces during that period, are not illogical.

In recent weeks these calls gained momentum, with Swanu leader Usutuaije Maamberua particularly

raising the issue during President Hage Geingob’s State of the Nation Address on 5th April. The opposition leader also made the call afterwards during a recent parliamentary debate.

There are people in the ruling party Swapo and indeed those outside formal confines of political establishments who share the same view. Often than not, comparisons are drawn between the infamous Cassinga massacre of 1978 and the four-year genocide wave that scholars of this tragedy say killed about 90 000 citizens.

The Cassinga attack saw nearly 1 000 innocent Namibians being killed within hours of sustained attacks by forces of apartheid South Africa.

Of course our history as a nation

is littered with other incidents of a brutal nature for which no national days have been declared but in order to recognise the contribution by each generation to this country’s resistance against foreign occupation, we need to find a common denominator to the satisfaction of everyone.

Cassinga and the German genocide of Namibians have a lot in common, in that innocent citizens whose only demand was sovereignty and self-determination were mercilessly butchered like hunted animals.

It would therefore be wise and accommodative if we all consider calls for the Genocide Commemorative Day – to commemorate and honour the souls of those who perished in the biggest

killing spree in Namibian history.

But because Namibia is already battling piles of unproductive public holidays, we could also consider merging Cassinga with the genocide, so that both these sad episodes are observed on the same day.

This way we would promote unity in the country by recognising the efforts and suffering of all Namibians, instead of creating impressions that the suffering of certain generations are less important and therefore do not deserve special attention.

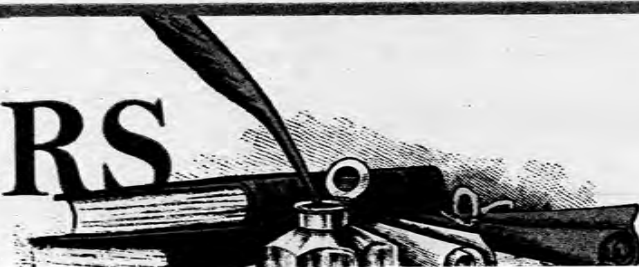
Perhaps creating another public holiday would be counter-productive and costly. Counter-productive in the sense that many businesses close on public holidays and costly because it would mean reserving resources to

commemorative events across the country. At this point in time, it is extremely difficult to comprehend the status quo where the country’s biggest killings in history seem to play second fiddle to events of similar nature, some of which are even of – numerically speaking – less magnitude.

Namibia is currently gasping for unity oxygen and there are things we can start doing in order to enhance national cohesion.

Recognition of each other’s efforts and respect for the contribution by each one of us to the freedom and independence of our country is a key catalyst in resolving some of the current impasses undermining our unity and threatening our co-existence.

LETTERS



African leaders can do better



NEW ERA

NEWSPAPER FOR NAMIBIA

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Windhoek: a thirsty, leaderless city

The 'jobs for the boys' shenanigans surrounding the recruitment of a new chief executive officer for the City of Windhoek are exacerbating a litany of socio-economic problems faced by the residents.

Windhoek - the administrative seat of government - has been without a *de facto* CEO since 2014 due in large part to cronyism, obviously fuelled by greed and the prospects of future favours from whoever is preferred by the political principals of the day.

Such principals have no regard for the plight of residents, including dwellers in the mushrooming shacks reported in New Era this week, let alone the looming water crisis the city faces. Who, in the absence of a

substantive city head, will save us from the current water crisis, which is expected to take its toll by August?

The City of Windhoek itself has gone public to announce stringent measures to save water. It said the situation is so dire that water rationing is a real possibility. Yet our politicians at the City seem to have placed their personal egos and self-interest at the forefront - not caring one iota about the implications of further delays in this process.

Evidently, patronage, rather than capability, has been the hold-up of the selection process. And that's a shame, because there are many skilled, competent, honest and conscientious Namibians from all races and regions who could be appointed to this position.

It is now clear as daylight that what has been missing in this process are authoritative interventions to arrest the politicisation and "patronisation" of the recruitment processes. Those involved have been allowed to behave as if they are a law unto themselves - with blatant impunity.

Unless the process is depoliticised and depatronised, this needless delay would continue unabated. Consequently, industries and the poor will pay the price when the realities of the envisaged water crisis hit home.

And when that happens, those in charge of this process would be asked to account, because this is a practical consequence of incompetent cadres being deployed

- who in turn have little regard for the residents' and country's plight.

Windhoek is becoming the joke of Africa, due to the very problem of crony capitalism that has engulfed the city. Those with friends in positions of influence may eat. Others must fend for themselves. What a city!

To put it bluntly, some of the people involved in this contentious recruitment process seem to lack values, principles or ethics. To them, public service is not a major concern, but accruing wealth at the expense of poor communities is what keeps them up at night.

The ruling Swapo Party dominates the City Council. With these shenanigans, the party's decorated legacy and good intentions are

heavily undermined by individuals, who appear to have little, if any, regard for anything other than their pockets.

Is it perhaps time an ultimatum is issued as to when the recruitment process must be concluded, so that life in the city can go on again, without quarrelling, manipulation and underhanded behind-the-scenes lobbying?

Windhoek needs water. It needs proper sanitation and dignified housing. The city needs to attract more investment and continue attracting rave international reviews as a top African destination. The city needs a leader - not a corruptible friend of powerful political principals - to help achieve such goals.

LETTERS



On the housing question



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Fighting the poverty of hunger

Yesterday Namibia edged a step closer to dealing poverty and hunger a killer blow when President Hage Geingob officially launched a food bank in Katutura.

A decade ago food banks hardly existed. They are a relatively recent phenomenon, whose development accelerated in the wake of the financial crisis of 2008. According to the European Federation of Food Banks, the idea started after John Van Hengel, from Phoenix, USA, saw a widow and her 10 children sifting for food through rubbish behind grocery stores in the late 1960s.

Action against hunger is recognised internationally as key in the fight against poverty and, therefore, other related social ills.

In Namibia, seeing children -

and even adults - going through hazardous rubbish in search of something to eat is now an everyday occurrence. They would walk from their shelters, mostly the streets and bridges, to affluent suburbs where the rich might have disposed unwanted and spoiled food.

This, therefore, means the rationale behind setting up food banks in Namibia is congruent with the very aim for which the world's first such bank was established.

True, food banks cannot be an end in themselves if government is really serious about putting the final nail into poverty's coffin. We must, therefore, ensure that while addressing hunger of the stomach, long-term sustainable solutions are being hammered out for the

lasting prosperity of our nation.

By 1992 food banks had spread across Europe, with centres set up in Spain, Italy, Ireland and Portugal. Between 1994 and 2001, food banks appeared in Poland, Greece and Luxembourg.

Since 2004, they have been established in the United Kingdom, Germany and Hungary. It is said that the UK - one of the wealthiest nations on earth - now has 423 food banks, from which 913 138 people have received three days' emergency food.

One of the questions that have popped up in recent months is how the food bank concept will be implemented in Namibia - and successfully.

In the UK, all food donated to the food banks by the public is sorted by volunteers. Frontline

care providers, such as doctors and social workers, identify people most in need. They are then given food packs with three days' worth of nutritionally balanced meals in exchange for a food voucher.

There is no reason why Namibia cannot take a leaf from the model used in the UK, as we juggle between various formulae to find one that best suits us.

Poverty is a growing concern in Namibia. In fact apart from social poverty, many Namibians suffer from what development economists now call 'hunger poverty'.

Food banks are one of the best ways to address the hunger problems before we roll out solutions for social poverty, which is often a result of unemployment and related ills.

The food system is fundamen-

tal for human life. It provides the energy and nutrition that people need as a basis for economic and social advancement. As we read this piece, there are thousands of Namibians who will go to bed without a meal tonight. Others suffer from hidden hunger, or malnutrition.

Namibia needs a food system that can provide every person every day, everywhere with nutritious and affordable diets delivered in a sustainable way.

To achieve these goals, we need action. And action is what we witnessed in Katutura yesterday when the president officially ushered the country into a new era of fighting hunger and poverty. The challenge now is to sustain this initiative and to ensure it serves its original and intended purpose.



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Tribalism: Punish the Culprits

If not dealt with decisively, tribalism will soon become part of the genetic make-up of our nation. What is most worrying about tribalism in Namibia lately is that it now involves senior public officials – ministers, governors, councillors and CEOs of local authorities and other establishments.

Yesterday we woke up to headlines of tribal remarks allegedly made by Bukalo Village Council CEO Martin Limbo – who essentially called for ethnic cleansing of one of the biggest tribes in Zambezi Region.

Prior to that, Governor of Omaheke Festus Ueitele caused a stir when an audio clip went viral of him making disparaging remarks about Ovaherero people – especially those residing in his region.

In December last year, Linyanti Constituency Councillor Cletius Sipapela was also caught up in

Urging private citizens to shun tribalism is one thing, but it is evident we need leadership on the matter. And leadership is about action and showing the way.

a tribal storm when an audio clip went viral in which he was heard lecturing youth from his tribe to loathe and plot against other ethnic groups in the region.

Add to this the well-publicised tribal remarks made by former Cabinet minister Kazenambo Kazenambo during a highly publicised confrontation with a local journalist some five years ago and the circle is almost complete.

There are countless examples of similar incidents – so the examples above are only the tip of an iceberg. What is sad is that these leaders seem not to be aware of the influence they command among their followers,

who might emulate and further spread the gospel of tribalism.

But perhaps what is more sad is that even with this overwhelming evidence of dangerous tribal tirades that threaten our national unity and the very existence of the nation, no action is ever taken against any of the culprits.

In other words, the Constitution is being violated with impunity.

There have arisen a number of schools of interpretation of this dangerous trend. Some see the issue in terms of class conflict; others, however, see it in terms of ethnicity. Whatever the interpretation, there is no justification for tribal chauvinism.

Once tribalism grips the

psyche of society, every action – including the State's developmental projects – is seen through tribal lenses.

In the tribal mindset, as with other forms of prejudice, truth and facts matter little. Logic is often suppressed and so is rationality. The dangers of tribalism thus also include the likelihood of physical confrontation.

Tribalism is the most discouraging example of a profound obstacle to the development of the country. It is symbolic of our nation's divided soul and the unity of our country is being sacrificed in the unnecessary tribal dogfights that are fast becoming a daily occurrence.

Urging private citizens to shun tribalism is one thing, but it is evident we need leadership on the matter. And leadership is about action and showing the way.

Limbo's remarks in particular,

where he wished a German style termination order against another tribe, which he called 'cockroaches', are among the worst we have seen in Independent Namibia. This is a case of inciting violence and possibly murder, depending on how things pan out.

As usual, this too will pass. Many of our leaders, especially those to whom these culprit directly report, are apologetic in their approach to matters like this. An example must be made, so that would-be tribalists would take a moment to rethink their plans.

It is sad to note that even people entrusted to lead society and national institutions are tenaciously loyal to such primitive ideas and still cling to this narrow sense of belonging.

Tribalism's only record of achievement is that of destruction and bloodshed. Namibia has to move fast to contain its spread or prepare herself to pay a heavy price very soon. Out of many people, we must continue with determination to build one unified nation.



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Water crisis: How did we get here?

Namibia faces an ecological crisis, unlike any other in living memory. The frightening fact that we are running out of water – and fast – should be sufficient cause for us all to sit up and pay attention.

Let us take stock of some of the salient and shocking facts that emerged this week: The three central dams that supply Windhoek and Okahandja are nearly depleted and currently hold only 11.1% of their capacity (Swakoppoort 10%, Von Bach Dam 20.5% and Omatako Dam 2.3%).

Goreangab Dam is 97.5% full, but due to excessive pollution the water is now utterly unfit for human consumption. Windhoek needs an estimated 33 million cubic metres (Mm³) of water a year, but faces a

deficit of 15.7 Mm³.

This dire situation is manifesting itself to a lesser or greater degree throughout the country. In destitute places like Uis, children have taken to begging for water from passersby. Who will accept responsibility for this situation?

Some will argue that here in the Namib we are always at the mercy of the vicissitudes of nature, in that we cannot prevent extreme natural events such as droughts, floods, and ecological disasters that result from a warming planet and changing climate.

But it would appear that we do bear some responsibility for the current crisis. To some extent the problems we face are largely man-made. They result from a failure to plan, a failure to think ahead and

act when we had the information, the time and the resources to do so.

We also heard this week that at least N\$24 billion is needed to augment the water supply countrywide. However, only N\$255 million is available for water supply projects in the country between this year and 2019.

Older readers will recall that shortly after its establishment in 1996 NamWater partly explained away its steep tariff increases on the basis that it would use the funds to construct a desalination plant at the coast. Some 20 years – and many price hikes – later the public is surely justified in asking: where is that plant?

The City of Windhoek says it now has only two supply options to meet the 15.7 Mm³ shortfall: a) abstract and pump water from the Okavango

River to the central parts, or b) desalinate water and pump it from the coast. The obvious problem though is that the expected time to complete such a project is between eight and ten years!

It would not be unreasonable to ask of the experts and officials in charge of water management when they actually realised that those were the only two options. Did they realise it yesterday? We assume not.

If the experts have known this for many years, why did they not do anything well in advance to prepare for the inevitable droughts and foreseeable water shortages with which the country has historically struggled?

The current water crisis is the clearest example of a man-made disaster, of a massive failure of

logic and imagination, of misplaced priorities and wastage, of the mortal threat that mediocre and insufficient planning poses to the life of the people and future of the country.

The Harambee plan has as one of its key targets the provision of potable water to 100% of the population. It is hard to see how Namibia will achieve this ambitious target with the same nonchalant outlook and the same people that led us to the brink of catastrophe in charge of our precious water resources.

One does not need to be an expert to know that securing an adequate water supply is a matter of the highest priority. After all, every child knows that water is life and without it civilisation must collapse.

It can no longer be business as usual.



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So sorry, dear African child

Yesterday Africa honoured its children in commemorating the horrific events that unfolded in South Africa on June 16, 1976. The day has been commemorated since 1991 when the then Organisation of African Unity (OAU) declared it in honour of the Soweto Uprising.

Catchy themes have been thrown around on this day each year, with the supposed aim of fuelling inspiration and hard work around the plight of the continent's future leaders. However, the true picture on the ground suggests we have a long way to go in order to speak with our heads held high that indeed we have succeeded in paving the way towards the proverbial Promised Land for Africa's child.

What we need to do now is look ourselves in the mirror and admit our contribution towards the deplorable situation the African child often finds herself in. Let us admit that Africa has a rapidly growing number of vulnerable children facing multiple violations of their rights.

Let us apologise to them for the hunger, ill health, violence and neglect, lack of access to education and opportunities for play, psycho-social support, spiritual growth and development.

Sorry, African child, for subjecting you to labour on our farms and for dragging you to warfronts.

Sorry, for forcing you into marriages with men quadruple your age and virtually making you sex

slaves of these bearded and balding monsters.

Sorry, that SADC only adopted this year a model law on eradicating child marriage – when this could have been done decades ago.

Sorry, for failing to provide you with decent shelter and, as has become the habit, concealing your birth by dumping you in pit latrines.

Sorry, that in Malawi and parts of East Africa, criminal gangs hunt for your body parts, especially if you suffer albinism.

Sorry, that in Central African Republic (CAR) you have been forced to carry machine guns to protect your villages from the war created by us – your elders.

Sorry, for revelations by a recent

academic study that in Namibia online content exposes 68 percent of you to explicit sexual content you did not wish to see.

Sorry, that in Zimbabwe the Harare Municipality embarks on mandatory HIV testing of pupils in all council-run primary schools, ignoring the trauma and stigma to which you could be exposed.

Sorry, that Nigeria - indeed the whole of Africa - has still not rescued your Chibok peers from the claws of Boko Haram, nearly three years on.

Sorry, that across the continent, you remain the key prey and targets of rapists and paedophiles.

Sorry, for our failure to protect you both at home and on the streets.

Sorry, for making you orphans

though our irresponsible behaviour, such as excessive drinking and risky sexual habits.

Sorry, for not affording you a chance to live with both you parents, because of escalating divorce rates – often the result of our insatiable desire to cheat on your mothers... and fathers.

You, the African child, deserve better. Maybe you should give us another chance to redeem ourselves.

In Namibia we are now providing you with free primary and secondary education. Maybe that's a sign of care and helps to ease the way to your future.

For what we have done and failed to do, forgive us, dear African child. Would you?



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Social media and the rights of the child

The country was shocked and dismayed this week by the publication on social media of obscene images of two small children. That someone would think it amusing or acceptable to publish pornographic images of pre-school children being subjected to horrendous abuse, is unthinkable. Indeed, we concur with the Media Institute of Southern Africa's Namibian chapter, which pointed out that publishing lewd images of children - indeed of anyone - is a criminal act, punishable by law.

Our Monday report on the case of the two missing girls that were being sought by the police was - despite our best attempts to withhold the tragic details of the case in order to protect the children - soon linked to the photos of the children and a paedophile posted online by

social media users. Readers were outraged.

There can be no doubt that the children, so cruelly exposed in the pictures posted online, have been doubly victimised: firstly, by the abuser who photographed and physically molested them; and secondly, by those who have the gall to publish such vile content on social media. The correct course of action for any reasonable person would be - on first encounter with such material - to report it to the Women and Child Protection Unit of the Namibian police.

No fewer than four cases of child rape and molestation were reported over the past weekend. The seriousness of the situation facing children in this country should not be under-estimated. As is often the case, last Sunday's police crime briefing left the newsroom staff

in a state of sombre despair, as we are obliged to report on a near-daily basis the most gruesome and unconscionable crimes committed against children in our country.

No doubt the new technology allows users to transmit data at lighting speed around the world, but in our hurry to break the latest news, sometimes we should pause to ask ourselves whether what we are publishing is ethical, decent, helpful, or even acceptable. Moreover, is it legal?

The information revolution has created a moral and legal dilemma - for practitioners of traditional media and new media users - about the moral boundaries and proper use of our newfound powers, particularly with respect to the rights of others.

In a recent incident, two boys were savagely attacked and killed

by dogs at Otjomuise. Some bystanders filmed the attack and posted it online, but could not explain why they did not put down their phones and try to help the kids being attacked.

A young woman was brutally murdered in the north - indeed her head was cut off by a boyfriend - and somebody thought it wise to publish a photo of the headless victim. Have we lost all sense of reason and restraint since the arrival of social media?

Many will agree that crimes against children, including rape, murder and deprivation, have reached epidemic proportions. Sections of society are calling for harsher punishments - even the death sentence - to be imposed on murderers and child abusers.

As for those who persist in publishing lewd and obscene material of children, we reserve no sympathy and call on the

law enforcement agencies to do everything in their power to bring such perpetrators to book, so that they will be known by the public and will not have the safety of distance and anonymity they enjoy behind their computer screens to shield them from prosecution. They should be dragged into the light to feel the heat of public scorn and condemnation.

Let us strive to build a country based on true equality, in which the happiness and health of our children is the most important indicator of our progress. Let it be said among all the nations, that the Republic of Namibia belongs to its children. We are merely the caretakers, the guardians, who hold this land and its riches in trust for our children, who are the true heirs of our democracy and bear the promise of a brighter tomorrow.



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Nations are not built by crybabies

Our nation has major issues but when looking at what is happening across our borders, it looks like we have a lot for which to be grateful – or even jealously guard.

The season of horror has reared its ugly head in neighbouring countries and while we pray for their well-being, it is perhaps time that Namibia starts thinking about how to avoid falling into the same trap.

This week our good neighbours Zimbabwe have been under smoke and fire as angry protesters took to the streets to express their anger at the state of affairs in the country.

In Zambia, ahead of a heated presidential election next month, clashes were recorded as tensions in campaigns pick up momentum, with operations of a daily

newspaper in that country being shut down.

In Angola, the country's president has gone on record bemoaning the declining economy, due in large part to global oil prices that have dropped in recent months. The country's biggest company and puller of foreign exchange, Sonangol, is said to be on its knees too.

Our 'big brother' South Africa continues to be a turf of violence – cemented recently by protests against the manner the ruling party ANC selected some of its mayoral candidates for upcoming local council elections.

The terror has sent fear and shock waves down the spine of the entire sub-region, with the international community watching in anticipation how we would

emerge from these difficult times.

Back in Namibia, thorny issues persist. From Swapo disunity which threatens the national fabric of cohesion, to the drought and poverty – we clearly cannot claim to be way better off than our neighbours.

But perhaps socially, we have been tranquil and relatively peaceful. For that, we are grateful to all Namibians for they are directly responsible for this relative calm.

We have built one of the most resilient democracies in the continent – maybe even in the world. We continue to surprise ourselves with our success in certain areas of development, such as our social safety nets which have been a key weapon against poverty.

But we perhaps are becoming

too drunk on the wine of our success so far, so much that lately there seems to be a lot of tension in the country. This threatens our very existence as a people and Namibia's standing as an exemplary player in the world of political stability and good governance.

Many Namibians today seem to have put their personal interest above that of the entire nation, and have, therefore, little regard for possible consequences of their actions.

To top it off, we have become a nation of whiners. We whine more than hungry puppies do, always snivelling while drowning in self-pity. We need men and women of this nation to shake off the shackles of self-pity and stand up to be counted.

We complain at every new idea and initiative and cannot handle criticism. We are too pessimistic and are afraid to traverse new trajectories. This is not how nations are built.

The fights featuring the ruling party in one corner and AR in the other have reached childish levels. It's draining – even taxing – the Namibians have to wake up to headlines of silly fights every morning. While this persists other national priorities become casualties of these cowardly confrontations.

There is an opportunity to emerge out of all this unscathed. But it would require humility, national interest at heart, wit and will to put these emotional fights to bed. We are a proven winning nation. We can't tumble now.



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And the winner is... Democracy!

Our democracy this week passed with flying colours the stern test of character related to the Namibian Citizenship Amendment Bill, which the National Council on Wednesday rejected as unconstitutional in principle.

Cabinet, as reported elsewhere in this edition, also upheld the decision of the Supreme Court, which ruled in favour of a foreign couple who wanted full Namibian citizenship for their minor child.

The Supreme Court's ruling came after numerous failed attempts by the Dutch couple to convince government – specifically the ministry of home affairs – to issue citizenship to their child.

In many a country, especially in autocratic regimes and some-

times emerging democracies, courts seldom break ranks with government on any matter.

But our judiciary proved again that it is indeed independent as is widely recognised worldwide. What was saddening, and a threat to our democracy and rule of law, was the attempt to amend the Citizenship Act to seemingly ensure that the Supreme Court ruling does not get implemented.

We have, in principle, no qualms about the principle of the new bill, which we see as a mere genuine attempt by government to prevent 'birth tourism' by foreigners giving birth on Namibian soil.

But the bill should have been introduced after the court order had been fully implemented. To

delay implementing a court order, so that a new legal requirement is introduced to deal with the matter that the court has ruled on, was a desperate measure which reflected badly on our country and its democratic strength.

But we won't dwell on that now. What matters now is that Cabinet recognised the importance of respecting the law of the land and that court orders must be complied with unconditionally – irrespective of who is at the receiving end of such ruling.

The law is bigger than all of us put together, and it was pleasing to note that Cabinet too has recognised this fact.

Another interesting, some would say exciting, development was when the National Council

– often seen as pushovers of the National Assembly – on Wednesday rejected the same bill and referred it back to the National Assembly.

Our institutions are many a time very politicised, so much so that they are too scared to differ with each other because they are dominated by people from the same political establishment. If it wasn't for this kind of collusion for political expediency, our democracy and institutions would have been far stronger than they are today.

We must usher our country into an era where clashes of perspectives – based on principles – do not create immediate impressions that one is anti-this or pro-that, as is often currently the case.

We must nurture a culture of frank debates and discourse if we are genuine about building strong policies and institutions geared towards making this nation the greatest in Africa and, one day the world.

While at it, we would still like to encourage Minister Penduker Iivula-Ithana and her team to go ahead and refine our policies related to immigration and citizenship, so that our country has total control over who becomes citizen and who does not.

The fact that Namibia is the country where foreigners could drag government to local court and win is another testimony that indeed we are an exemplary African democracy, from whom our peers can draw inspiration



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Time to stand up to 'struggle kids'

The 'struggle kids' - a reference to people, now adults, who were born in exile during the country's liberation struggle - have of late become, for the lack of a better word, a nuisance.

The scenes seen this week in the Brakwater area, with big boulders placed on the road and the nearby veld set on fire, were a timely warning that this group - if not soon reigned in - would soon bring this country to its knees.

Namibia is on the move and we cannot have dissidents causing anarchy at a time when we all need to pull in one direction to develop our country from all fronts - with accelerated effort in a true

Harambee spirit.

In fairness, government has paid special attention to the plight of struggle kids - to the dismay of other equally deserving young people, whose only fault is that they were not born outside the country.

But even with this special attention, the so-called struggle kids have often remained not only ungrateful, but unruly and anarchical too.

This week's violent protests were another perfect example of how the group continues to selfishly ignore the good things being done in its favour.

We understand that they were irked by government's attempt to relocate them from Brakwater to

a farm in the Omaheke Region, where they are to undergo training and receive a monthly allowance while on that training.

But being the selfish lot that they are, the group responded to this gesture in the most brutal of fashions - threatening innocent motorists and everyone else in their sight. This is anarchy of the highest order and Namibia cannot be taken hostage by anyone - struggle kids or not.

This nation has been built on a strong foundation of peace, stability and social order. It is these tenets, amongst others, that have carried us through the difficult times of severe drought, world economic meltdown, the Caprivi

secession attempt and many other tribulations, from which we emerged victorious.

Every Namibian, including members of this troublesome group, has the right to stand up and express their views. They, in fact, are very much allowed to take on the government if they feel left out. But all this has to be done within the ambit of the law.

What we saw this week - running battles and burning tyres - is not Namibian. We are better than that and have always tried, by and large, to be civil in our approach to demanding services from our government and its leaders.

We would not even dare touch on the merits of this group's demands,

because if we do, we will dilute the essence of our argument, which is that anarchy cannot be tolerated - whether the demands are justified or not.

Earlier this year, the same people were involved in blood confrontations with farmers in the Brakwater area, to the extent that some elderly people ended up being treated in hospital for injuries.

Another man, a bus driver commuting between Windhoek and the North, was also badly beaten by members of the same group to the extent he could not work.

Should we wait until someone is killed before we eventually rein in this unruly mob or what exactly are we waiting for?



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Lessons from Rio de Janeiro

Sport has a place in the heart of Namibian people. We are, from a fan's perspective, a sporting nation. This country has produced champions in different disciplines. Boxers Harry Simon, Paulus Moses and Paulus Ambunda have brought home world titles. Frank Fredericks won Namibia's first ever Olympic medal, while Elifas 'Safile' Shivute, Collin Benjamin and others excelled in Europe's big football leagues such as German's Bundesliga and the Scottish Premier League.

The performance of our leading sportsmen and women is a constant topic of conversation and probably the single area of national life taking up most discourse at various platforms.

High-profile national sporting success creates pride and helps

to promote our national identity, especially for a multi-cultural society like ours, while participation builds friendships, communities and a sense of achievement. Sport touches the life of almost everyone as a participant, administrator, coach or spectator.

Namibia's performance at the ongoing Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil has been appalling. We could choose to pinpoint an avalanche of problem areas that contributed to our substandard performance at this event – but topping that list would arguably be our lukewarm investment in sport.

Participation in sport is still strongly linked with individuals' social and economic circumstances and not everyone has an equal opportunity to enjoy the sport of their choice. Yet there has been great

stories of rags-to-riches involving Namibian sportspersons who – out of sheer determination and heart – excelled in their respective codes.

Elsewhere in the world, excellence in sport is strongly linked to support and affluence – something that generally lacks in our country.

Our athletes in Rio were whipping boys and girls of other nations. Our marathon runners finished out of the top 40, while our boxers were virtually punching bags for citizens of other nations.

True, in sport winning and losing are the most common results. In fact there is, generally speaking, no shame in losing a sporting match. However, what has happening in Rio is a trend – a trend of a losing streak.

Such a trend cannot be a result of sheer bad luck. It has its roots

in deeper issues befalling our administration of sport, including funding.

Funding of national sporting events remains a sole obligation of government and a responsibility of all of us. The private sector has no obligation towards investment in sport, but it has a responsibility to do so. Yet, blatantly put, such responsibility remains voluntary.

There is to sport a huge element of national pride. And perhaps that is the only lens through which we see the essence of sport. We hardly see the business and commercial side of sport. Sport is an industry – a billion-dollar industry in countries that make huge investments in this field.

Pumping money into sport should be seen as a long-term investment, whose fruits would be realised over

a sustained period of time.

Investment in sport must be designed in such a manner that it strives to deliver world-class result and performance at events like the ongoing games in Rio.

Over the past five years, the business of sport has become a £20 billion-a-year industry in the UK supporting some 450,000 jobs. But it has not always been that way.

Only 30 years ago, business and sport were rarely mentioned in the same breath. Football was beset by crowd trouble, old stadium and a lack of external funding. The Olympic games had suffered major boycotts, in 1980 and 1984 and potential bidding cities were deterred by the vast losses and legacy issues of previous hosts.

These are the hard lessons from which Namibia must learn.



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Teachers, we need urgent consensus

Government and teachers are at crossroads regarding clashing perspectives on the educators' salary hike.

It's marathon antagonism that has gone on for months and – from the look of things – it has now reached a point of emotional confrontations.

True, times are hard as has been the gospel of government on the matter. The successive three years of drought – or seven if you are in Kunene – means billions of dollars had to be diverted from their original expenditures to drought-mitigating activities.

This means many spending priorities have to be juggled with in order to ensure no citizen starves to death – as has been government's pledge throughout.

Teachers on the other hand

believe politicians suffered a temporary lapse in memory to give themselves a salary hike, amidst drought, and therefore believe what's good for the goose must be as good for the gander. This is their argument, not ours!

Now, we will not delve into the mathematics of the arguments of either side. What concerns us most is what is at stake in the event that this lack of consensus persists. Education is the mother of all professions, so goes the saying, and this should be a stern reminder to all of us about the implications of the looming strike.

The strike, if the current voting process ends in its favour, would take place during the most important semester of the academic year.

Grades 10 and 12 learners are

in the middle of preparations for their life-changing final exams that would dictate their destiny forever.

These innocent children are caught up in a socio-economic conflict that they have nothing to do with – something that the warring parties ought to have in mind at all times.

Already, the country has for a span of years struggled to arrest high failure rates among learners of those two grades and, we are afraid, it could get worse. Last year the pass rate was below 50 percent. Going a notch below this would spell a disaster.

As the negotiation teams forge ahead with their debate and machinations on the subject – they must at all times remind themselves of the duty both parties owe to the future of the Namibian

child.

They must do whatever is possible – a compromise from either side is one of the options – to ensure the innocent future leaders of this country do not pay a price for a crime they did not commit.

Government negotiators need to design packages that would entice teachers not to down the chalk. This simply means that where money cannot be availed in hard cash, other options are brought forth to offset whatever would have been the cash value.

Teachers and their unions too must look at the realities on the ground. Government's cash position is, for a number of reasons, not solid enough to accommodate some of the current demands.

This would mean in order to

meet such demands, government might be required to borrow money from somewhere. This would be untenable.

We are already battling high debts as announced recently by the Bank of Namibia and any added weight to this burden would only make the situation worse.

What is clear from where we stand is the need for compromise by both parties. Threats, as dishered out by some government official towards teachers, would only further strain relations and fail the negotiations. Simply put, keep threats out of negotiations.

Neither side must maintain a hard stance without willingness to listen to counter offers and proposals. If that's the case, the Namibian child, we dare say, will pay the highest price!



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'Struggle kids' help commendable

President Hage Geingob was again shoved into the spotlight this week after his leaked letter to Labour Minister Erkki Nghimtina became a social media sensation.

In the letter President Geingob requested that the Social Security Commission (SSC)'s Development Fund release NS11.3 million to facilitate the training of about 1 000 unemployed young Namibians, labelled 'struggle kids', who were born in exile during the country's liberation struggle.

Without substantiating their claims, armchair critics, backed up by the boo boys of Namibian politics, castigated Geingob and even pushed matters as far as claiming the request bordered on corruption and fraud.

The media, rather sensationally, even questioned why government "fast-tracked" the

setting up of a bank account in which this money was to be kept. Is it fast-tracking or efficiency that we have all along demanded from government?

Interestingly - and whether by default or design - the press, with the exception of this newspaper, failed to list expenditures involved in the training, such as the NS250 000 monthly bill in allowances to the trainees.

At a glance - considering some of these trainees would receive three meals a day in addition to training equipment and other logistical expenses - it would seem that NS11.3 million is a pittance.

Sensationally, some accused Geingob of using government money to solve Swapo problems, because, in the naivety of the faultfinders, government has no business helping desperate Namibians.

Yet, some of these charlatans

were the very same people who sang the chorus of criticism a year ago that Geingob did not care for the plight of the struggle kids, some of whom walked all the way from the North to meet the President in person to communicate the socio-economic challenges they face.

Citizens' right to demand accountability from their leaders, including the President, cannot be overemphasised. Geingob accepted the job knowing full well that each of his actions would be closely scrutinised to ensure it is above board and in the best interest of the country. Nobody said it was going to be a bed of red roses.

But lately, criticism against Geingob has reached ridiculous proportions and supersedes logic.

It has gotten to a point where we wonder whether the sustained

search for faults is directed merely against Geingob the man, or - we dare say - against Namibia as a whole.

Accusing the President of corruption for trying to immediately lift 1 000 people out of poverty is a slap in the face of our collective effort to make Namibia a better place for all.

True, citizens must continue to demand accountability from Geingob and his entire government. They must do so unapologetically and without fear or favour. But criticism should be well-meant and aimed at making Namibia a better place - not to score cheap political points or for the sake of expediency.

Many struggle kids lost their parents on the battlefield. Many were rejected by their families upon their return to Namibia from exile and have endured terrible circumstances as a result.

Many are now in their late 30s and early 40s, but even at that age they have not had even a bite at the national cake - a cake that their parents shed blood for. How can we be so cold that we scorn any attempt to help fellow Namibians?

Perhaps the biggest lesson government must learn from this episode is the importance of communicating key messages. The President's decision to help was, from our vantage point, taken in good faith. However, withholding such crucial information until it is leaked creates pandemonium, unnecessary fear and suspicion.

By withholding information that is clearly in the public interest, the government inadvertently provided ammunition to its adversaries and political opportunists. And, yes, the arm chair critics had a field day.



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The scary implications of the teachers' strike

Namibia yesterday woke up to something of revolutionary nature, after thousands of teachers took to the streets to protest against government's refusal to grant them an 8 percent salary increment they've been demanding for months.

This follows the High Court ruling on Wednesday night, which dismissed government's application that sought to interdict Nantu – the teachers' union – from striking.

Yesterday morning saw the announcement by the ministry of education that classes have been suspended for Thursday and today. Parents have been urged to bring their children to school on Monday – although there is no clarity on what would have changed by then.

At the same time we also learnt that the current examinations for Grades 10 and 12 have been suspended,

pending a return of the situation to normality.

But there was a huge problem in this regard. Yesterday, unconfirmed reports had it that the communication about suspending exams reached some areas very late – to the extent some schools went ahead with the normal examination routine. In other words, some learners wrote exams.

If these reports are anything to go by, the entire examination process has been thrown into disarray. This is because learners who wrote yesterday's exams can easily leak exam papers to those who did not yet write – throwing into serious doubt the credibility of the entire examination process.

Private schools too, which are not party to the strike, were also told to suspend examinations so as to ensure their learners do not leak exam papers

to their friends in public schools. The learners in both private and public schools have been preparing for this examination – and to be told they cannot write must have been distressing.

Yesterday, a group of learners held a demonstration at Ondangwa, in front of the town's magistrate's court, to *decry* the current atmosphere which has left their futures hanging by *fingerails*.

We will not here go into the merits, if any, or demerits of the teachers' demands. But *our hearts are bleeding* for the Namibian child that is caught up in this web of the fight between teachers and their paymasters.

What we know for sure is that the current impasse could easily have been avoided were it not for the egoistic approach that dominated the salary negotiations.

The whole process was dominated by hostility, threats and intimidation. That was as poor as it gets. Negotiations succeed when there is mutual respect – even when disagreeing on principles.

And these negotiations kicked off as far back as April this year. The fact that they went on for so long but still got us where we are today, where the nation's army of children are grounded and missing out on education and examinations, speaks volumes at how botched the process was from the word go.

We don't want to be the devil's advocate but we cannot see how this situation would be resolved when there are no counterproposals on the table.

The scenes observed yesterday across the country strongly suggest we are in for a rough ride. Blatantly

put, something needs to be done by either party. We don't see how teachers would just wake up one morning and decide to go back to class while the status quo of the negotiations remains.

The ongoing deliberations between government and Nantu must therefore realise, as a matter of superior importance, the need for teaching and examinations to resume.

History would judge either side harshly if children are ill-considered in the process and if their future is thrown into the wilderness as a result of failure to reach consensus between the parties involved. Our neighbour South Africa are up in flames with a situation similar to ours: it involves the education sector and was ignited by bread and butter arguments.

Whatever the outcome would be our prayer is that the fabric of our republic will emerge unscathed.



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Time to mend the relations

Government's announcement last weekend that it has reached consensus with Nantu and Napwu to all but end the ugly teachers' strike of last week, was unfortunately followed by nasty exchanges that threatened the spirit in which the agreement was reached.

Moments after the agreement was reached at State House, the teachers' union rushed to its headquarters to address a hastily convened press conference, at which it fired salvos in the direction of Education Minister Katrina Hanse-Himarwa.

Hanse-Himarwa would not take it lying down and she herself had something to say to Nantu's Basilius Haingura – much to the

chagrin of the watching public.

The spat between the two leaders left much to be desired and could go a long way in destroying what is left of the relationship between the institutions they lead.

If the two had anything to say to each other, they should have used the many meetings they had to sort out what now appear to be personal differences – and not a clash of principles, as the public was initially made to believe.

For starters, it was because of the two institutions' egotistic and hard-headed stance that classes were suspended for two days countrywide and important Grade 10 and 12 exams postponed.

This makes us wonder whether failure to reach consensus on the teachers' salaries was due to

genuine differences of principles between Nantu and the ministry, or what appears to be beef between the two leaders.

Haingura and Hanse-Himarwa cannot speak in conciliatory tones at State House, but get onto each other's throats moments after the adjournment of the meeting at which the landmark agreement was announced.

It is, therefore, our call that the two leaders deal with their differences maturely, so that when they meet again at a negotiation table in future – which is quite likely to happen – the focus will be strictly on the welfare of their respective constituencies and mandates.

Teachers, learners and government should no longer

get caught up in squabbles they have nothing to do with.

We will not go into the mathematics of their arguments and take sides as to who was right or wrong in this emotional confrontation. But quarrelling mere moments after they shook hands and proposed a toast to healthy deliberations in the future was untenable and undermines what the nation thought was a wage negotiation process where consensus was reached in good faith.

It is time for the ministry and Nantu to smoke the peace pipe for the sake of future relations and for the sake of our children's education. What happened last week – teachers downing chalk and chanting in the main streets

– was scary and, we dare say, un-Namibian. We are grateful though that consensus was reached.

In closing, we want to express our displeasure that President Hage Geingob has to unlock almost every dispute in the country. The President must nevertheless be commended for his wisdom and negotiating acumen, but it is time he is rested from some of these quarrels.

President Geingob's mandate is far bigger than sitting in on every meeting to resolve things that government institutions should be able to handle and amicably solve.

The President's humility to attend to things miles below his direct mandate is commendable, but perhaps it is time everyone else comes to the party.

LETTERS

Namibia's open-