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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

GRADUATE SCHOOL IN HUMANITIES

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MASTERS IN THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

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do hereby declare that I empower the University of Cape Town to produce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents of my dissertation entitled

Reporting Africa: Between the Basarwa and Botswana State

in any manner whatsoever.

__________________________________________  _______________________
CANDIDATE'S SIGNATURE                   DATE
ABSTRACT

This study investigates media reporting of the Basarwa court case, focusing specifically on the reporting of the case by two national newspapers; Mmegi/the reporter, a privately owned newspaper in Botswana and the Botswana government owned Dailynews, on the one hand, and the Survival International (SI) News Website, on the other. The Basarwa court case refers to the case instituted by the Basarwa community in protest against their relocation from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve by the Botswana government. This court case is used in this mini-dissertation as a site from which to interrogate the ways in which local and international, Western media report Africa and the priorities and interests that determine their respective framing of the stories they report. The three media present a particularly good site to do this because of their extensive and consistent coverage of the case.

The study thus addresses questions such as: what were the vital interests and priorities that guided the framing of the stories in each of the publications? Are the voices of the Basarwa heard in these reports? What impression of the Basarwa do the reports convey? What impression do the reports give to readers about Botswana’s democracy and its relationship with the minority? In short, what picture of the Basarwa and of Botswana do the reports paint? The notion of frames and framing is significant to this study because it captures and exposes the way in which news events become stories.

The study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter defines the basis and relevance of this research. It begins with a brief background of the Basarwa court case, and then discusses the research question/problem, the lead questions, the rationale for the study, and so on.

Chapter two traces the events that led up to the court case and the response to the relocation by the International Non-Governmental Organisation, Survival International. It begins with an introduction of the three sets of participants: the Government of Botswana, local activists (the Basarwa), the global activists (Survival International) with their different contextual perceptions and backgrounds, the available discourses, meanings, and norms, as used and appropriated by each of the three sets of participants.
Chapter three outlines a theoretical framework by reviewing the theoretical literature which serves as the background for this framework and helps explain and contextualise the content analysis methodology adopted for this research.

Chapter four analyzes the data collected using the Hansen content analysis method and discusses the interpretation of the data. The findings are presented in three categories and each category is divided into four sections. The first section explains the focus of articles published in the *Dailynews, Mmegi* and *SI News Website* and specifies the main actors of the articles.

Section two looks at the impression projected about Botswana’s democracy in the articles and photographs published in each publication. Section three discusses the use of “tricks” or appeal to mobilize hatred. Section four is a summary of the results of each publication.

Chapter 5, the conclusion of the study, draws together the findings of the research and discusses them more broadly by placing them within the context of the broader issue of the media representations of Africa.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My appreciation is extended to all friends and relatives for their helpful comments and mentoring capacity on some specialist issues. Special thanks are extended to my family for their continued support. I am particularly indebted to my supervisor and lecturer Professor Harry Garuba, who provided the inspiration and much information for the carrying out of this mini-dissertation. I could thank you a million times but that wouldn't measure up to the good you have done for me. The project has also benefited from information provided by some staff of the Botswana's Department of Information Services. I wish to acknowledge their immeasurable dedication on this project. Finally I would like to thank everyone I did not mention who contributed in this project, please don't take it personally.
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Reporting Africa has always been a contentious issue. The history of reporting on African in the modern period began with explorers and travellers who wrote reports about the continent for a European audience. These reports, as has been extensively shown in the literature about the stories and narratives of exploration, were not only biased but failed to take into consideration the opinions and voices of Africans themselves. From the earlier explorer’s reports to the most contemporary news reports about Africa, the question of engaging with a historical context, of allowing the voices and opinions of Africans themselves to be heard, and of giving agency to local people, has remained an issue that writers and scholars have continued to debate.

This mini-thesis joins this debate in a different manner by using as a case study three different ‘publications’ reporting the same court case but doing so from different perspectives. The court case in Botswana that was instituted by the Basarwa against the government in protest against their relocation from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve provides a good example whereby news reports on Africa presented from three different perspectives can be studied. The perspectives under scrutiny are those of Dailynews a local government-owned newspaper, Mmegi/The Reporter, an independent but locally-based newspaper, and lastly, that of Survival Independent (SI), an international non-governmental organization which fights for the rights of indigenous people and whose website, Survival International News Website, runs news stories. Each of the three perspectives seems to frame their reporting of this case in a particular way and therefore draws upon, or attempts to refute, a particular image of Africa. The focus of this work will be on these reports and what the different approaches adopted by each of them are.

The Basarwa court case is a particularly important one. Reports on it in the Survival International news website have been framed within a discourse of indigeneity that feeds into recent efforts to save so-called First Peoples – such as the Aborigines, the Maori, Native American, etc. – from the ravages of modernity and the exploitation of the State and of ‘Big Capital’. The deployment of this discourse which is sometimes incongruous in Africa where many groups claim some kind of indigeneity or the other becomes problematic. The case in a sense, therefore, exemplifies the imposition of a Western discourse upon an African setting. This discourse may, of course, not be fully compatible with an African viewpoint and thus can easily be seen as continuing a tradition of negative Western images of Africa. On the other hand, the government-owned newspaper approaches the story from a government developmental discourse which tries to emphasize the role of the government in bringing improvements and better services to the people. Somewhere in the middle is the locally based independent newspaper which attempts to balance the unqualified Indigenous People’s Rights discourse of SI and the developmental discourse of the government newspaper by adopting an approach that recognises the legitimacy of each position, but not in an absolute sense. This work will be examining the news report from each of these three sources to determine whether or not the selection of stories, the framing of the
stories, their placing within the pages of the paper, the positioning of the actors, etc. are directly related to the agendas of the owners of the media. In short, this study examines the way Basarwa court case stories were treated and framed in two of the national newspapers, *Mmegi/The Reporter*, a private newspaper in Botswana, the Botswana government owned *Dailynews* and in the external *Survival International News Website*. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to define the basis and relevance of this research. The chapter begins with a brief background, and then discusses the research question/problem, hypothesis of the study, rationale of the study and finally the significance of the study.

1.1 Background

In 2002, the Botswana Government relocated a group of Basarwa, also known as the San, from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) to new Xade, a village bordering the Game Reserve. The relocation led to the longest court case in Botswana's history. It was a case that highly polarized and publicized the dispute between the Government of Botswana, the indigenous Basarwa and an international non-governmental organization, Survival International (SI). It attracted considerable international media attention with many voices being raised locally and internationally, challenging or questioning the nature of Botswana's democracy, which is currently viewed as an African success story.

The Basarwa were forcibly removed from CKGR in order to make way for the exploration of diamonds and other minerals. They were threatened in a number of ways and were subjected to traumatic stress as the Government declared that it would stop rendering social services to them should they continue with their rebellion. In fact, the Basarwa as a marginalized group do not receive many social services from the Government and the Government's contention has been that they need to move so as to develop settlement structures that would make it feasible and easy for the State to render those much needed social services. The move was seen as a gross violation of the Basarwa's human rights and a violation of international law. SI argued that unless they got their land back, the Basarwa were unlikely to survive as a people. The Government denied this claim, emphasizing the public ownership of Botswana's mineral wealth and highlighting improved access to services such as water, education and health care in the new village.

SI claimed Botswana's diamonds were 'conflict diamonds because money from diamonds had funded the evictions and the 'relocation camps' of the Basarwa. The Basarwa called the new locality, 'places of death.' SI's aim, it was argued by Kenyon Kristi, was to bring the country's economy to its knees. SI's strategy drew the attention of the Government to a point where a website devoted solely to disputing its arguments and reports, was created. As the drama unfolded it became clear that none of the parties was willing to bow out. The case was thus taken to the high court for adjudication.

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1 Kristi, Kenyon, “Minority groups” http://uk.oneworld.net/guides/botswana/development (January 2007)
3 Chulime. Bugalo “BNF Leadership's Sweetheart is at it again.” *Mmegi/The Reporter* (3 January 2007)
After several delays and a successful appeal a final verdict was reached in December 2006. The court found the eviction of the Basarwa from the CKGR to be 'unlawful and unconstitutional'. The credibility of Botswana's democracy was questioned, while the Basarwa took to the streets in mass celebrations.

1.2 Research Question/Problem

This study examines how the Basarwa court case has been covered in a Government owned newspaper, a local private owned newspaper, and the international media. The key term is 'bias' which in this study means the extent to which newspaper or publication content is framed systematically to be favourable to a particular set of interests. Thomas E. Nelson, Zoe M. Oxley, and Rosalee A. Clawson in their work *Toward a Psychology of Framing Effects* define framing as the process by which a communication source constructs and defines a social or political issue for its audience.4

In response to the question, 'why does 'bias' occupy so much space in the news framing?' John Street notes:

> The answer lies in the way in which bias is tied to fundamental assumptions about 'power' and 'democracy'. It is assumed that, in a democracy, no one group or set of interests is systematically preferred over another and that the information available to citizens is accurate and impartial...What makes 'bias' a problem is the thought that the media can, if they distort the representation of the world, skew and thwart the democratic process. If the media systematically promote some interests and misinform the citizens, the democratic process itself will not operate effectively. In identifying biases, critics of the media are voicing a fear that misrepresentation or partiality has important consequences for the way people regard themselves, how they are regarded by others, the outcome of political processes and the practice of democracy.5

This study examines whether in the three news services coverage of the court case 'bias' contributed to the framing of the stories in each of the publications. The case, especially the verdict, raised a number of questions about Botswana's democracy. Above all, Botswana's diamonds are now characterized as 'conflict diamonds', a label that might affect their market in the future. This study examines questions such as: What historical events led to the present inter-ethnic situation in Botswana? What modes of representation of the Basarwa were adopted by the media reports? What was the broader context in which the coverage of the Basarwa court case was made?

The revival of interest in the coverage of an African state that has always been featured as the paragon of peace and democracy in Africa threw into question the most basic narratives and most fundamental ways in which information is configured through the African and global media. Street argues that because journalists present themselves as unbiased, or is required to appear to be unbiased; this makes bias a matter of political concern.

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4 Nelson, Thomas E., Oxley, Zoe M. and Clawson, Rosalee A. *Toward a Psychology of framing effects*, Political Behaviour 19 (September, 1997), 221
4

The leading questions include: what picture of Botswana did the reports of the three news services project? ; is the voice of the Basarwa heard in the reports? What impression did the reports give to the readers about Botswana’s democracy and its relationship with the minority? And to what extent did the reports assist in solving or perpetuating the dispute between the Basarwa and the Government?

The focus of this analysis is the relationship between a minority group and the nation state as constructed by the media reports in the Basarwa court case. More precisely, it seeks to look at the way Basarwa case stories were treated and framed in two of the national newspapers, Mmegi/The Reporter, the Dailynews and the external Survival International news website. Both the Botswana Dailynews and Mmegi/The Reporter are widely read and very influential in Botswana. Current technological advancements have made it possible to have both papers online have massively increased readership and accessibility.

The focus on the nature of a relationship implies that there are different parties to be considered. The Government of Botswana is seen in this study, in both its constitutional role of defining the policies of a sovereign state and also in representing the majority views. The second party is the Basarwa people who are in the minority and the third category to be considered is the intervention of international and local non-governmental organizations. I consider Ditshwanelo, the Botswana Centre for Human Rights, and Survival International, to be the prime representatives of this category.

The study considers how the court articles analysed each of these three categories of actors with their different contextual perceptions, backgrounds and values. The agenda of each party would be traced by studying their historical and contemporary contexts as presented in Mmegi, Dailynews and Survival International News websites. As such, it is hoped that this study will ultimately contribute positively or at least act as a base for Botswana journalists’ assessment of their news coverage.

1.3 Hypothesis of the Study

A supportive hypothesis has been set for verification in this study. The assumption is that Botswana, an African state that has earned a certain reputation as a ‘shining example of African democracy’ and is often described as an ethnically homogenous country, is painted differently in international media reports on the Basarwa case. The international media disputes the homogeneity of Botswana. It declares that Botswana’s diamonds are ‘conflict diamonds’ in order to draw local and international attention to the presumed injustices existing in Botswana’s democracy as brought to the fore by this case. The media framing of the Basarwa case adds a new dimension to the representation of Botswana as a peaceful country: a dimension that forces a rethink of the peacefulness of Botswana. Above all, it has triggered a re-thinking of the whole concept of the indigenousness of Basarwa.
The hypothesis of this study is that ownership of media or newspapers influences the framing of articles they publish. The notion of ‘frames’ and framing are ideas deliberately intended to expose the ways in which news becomes stories. The assumption is that media uses propaganda bias in their coverage. Propaganda bias, according to John Street, 'involves where an article is reported with deliberate intention of making the case for a particular policy or a point view, without explicitly stating this'. This study examines the evidence from these newspapers to validate or invalidate this hypothesis. In looking at the manner in which ownership shapes editorial content, we need to draw attention to the commercial interests and the organizational structure of the local privately-owned, government-owned and international, NGO-owned media.

The general belief of most scholars is that media organizations exist to make money, but as per Street’s argument this is not necessarily the media’s only motivation, and their performance cannot be condensed to the cash nexus, because that would limit the complexity of these institutions. The argument advanced by scholars here is that media are not simply machines either for reporting events or for making profits; they are also bureaucracies with their own internal political orders, to borrow Street’s words.

According to Street’s argument, the way power is distributed within the media organizations has profound repercussions on the kind of product they make. He argues that structural reorganization of any media business, whether in the public or the private sector, involves more than the implementation of a theory of organizational behaviour. According to him media has an effect on the coverage provided by the newspapers, and it determines the distribution of power within the business and whose decisions count. ‘Both dimensions - the commercial interests and the organizational structure - are crucial to understanding the way that the media cover, and relate to, politics’.

Privately-owned Publications

Privately-owned newspapers such as Mmegi/The Reporter depend upon advertisers for their income. As a result of this political influence of advertisers may be identified in the kinds of stories that they publish. Street’s argues thus:

The media outlet has to be attractive to advertisers, and a measure of this attractiveness is the ability to reach a particular market. If the paper can show that it has a readership from a certain social category, advertisers who want that market will use such an outlet. This type of relationship will dispose the paper or programme maker to address some topics and not others. And, to this extent, advertisers set an agenda for the media, which is political insofar as it recognizes certain interests and excludes others.

This coverage may result in a general shift away from ‘hard’ news to human interest stories in order to create an environment that encourages its readers/viewers to consume. Insofar as advertisers are important to the

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7 Ibid: 142
8 Ibid: 142
revenue of a newspaper, they will have an indirect effect upon coverage of the news. The need to attract advertising revenue leads to a tendency to marginalize some news stories. In this case not only ownership interests shape the news coverage, but corporate power leveraged through advertising also represents a counterweight to the influence of owners.

**Government-owned Publications**

Every state exercises some control over what journalists write or broadcast. Sometimes this control is blatant. Sometimes it operates in more subtle ways. All forms of public communication, in fact, are subject to an element of regulation.

The Botswana government induces self-censorship among the journalists who report for the *Dailynews* by requiring them to abide by a strict code of conduct that includes the injunctions not to 'damage national unity' or 'spread rumours'. Breaking the code could lead to the suspension or dismissal of the reporter. This study will examine if this technique and device that states use to manage the news, those who report it, and overall ownership interests, shape the news coverage of the *Dailynews*.

*Dailynews* as a public service paper is partly funded by government and only a little percentage of funding is provided through advertisers. As result, advertisers are not necessarily important to the revenue of the paper. Thus they do not have a direct effect upon coverage of the *Dailynews* stories.

**Internationally-owned Publications**

According to John Street, the political importance of international or globalized media can be measured in a variety of dimensions. He notes:

Firstly, globalization can describe the power and reach of the new media conglomerates. Secondly, it can point to changes in the ways in which national governments and nation states operate. Thirdly, it can be identified in the shifts in the way citizens of those states view themselves and others.⁹

Street further argues that governments, the United Nations, relief agencies and the like have all used the presence of global media to shape political agenda and policies. The international media, like the government and private media, frame articles in their own interests. This has an effect on the powers of national governments, the formal sites of legitimate political power, to regulate media in the name of whatever political interests those governments claim to represent. The second effect is on the cultural politics of identity, on the way in which the 'people' are constituted and reconstituted in global networks. These two aspects of globalization are nicely captured in the Basarwa court case stories.

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⁹ Ibid : 163
The court case played a decisive role in shaping the reputation of the Botswana Government and the way citizens constitute and reconstitute their identities in relation to others within their locality and then to global networks. The international media’s framing of the story decided which people, places, perceptions, and hard facts to include and which ones to exclude in their coverage plan. As a result, the country had been criticised by the United Nations (UN) Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination for its treatment of a minority group.

1.4 Rationale

This study arose out of a personal interest in trying to understand how the Basarwa case was portrayed in the international and local media. The frame chosen by the media under discussion to cover this case raises questions about the democratic nature of Botswana and the development of diversity of public opinion. Botswana is one of the oldest democracies in Africa which is proving to be functioning well and has always stood out as a model for the rest of Africa.

Botswana has had the highest rate of per-capita growth of any country in the world in the last 35 years. This occurred despite adverse initial conditions, including minimal investment during the colonial period and high inequality. Botswana achieved this rapid development by following orthodox economic policies. How Botswana sustained these policies is a puzzle because typically in Africa, “good economics” has proved not to be politically feasible.  

Given the success of its democracy, it is imperative to critically analyse the reports of a court case that may have helped to create question marks about this democracy. The Botswana Constitution guarantees ‘the Protection of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms of the Individual, whatever his or her race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex.’ Botswana has a comparatively good human rights record, and there is no discrimination in any formal laws or regulations.

The government media tend to project these good images of Botswana. The international media, on the other hand, considers the Basarwa position as problematic, because reports portray a different picture in contrast to the ‘good’ record. The Basarwa court case to date raises vehement hostilities particularly among the Basarwa at the very thought of what happened.

The cultures, lifestyles and general quality of life of the Basarwa as indigenous peoples have attracted the attention of researchers. Many books have been written trying to defend the indigenous Basarwa. Saugestad

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says in order to understand the events surrounding the status of the Basarwa in Botswana, the recent debates on the status of indigenous peoples in democratic states provide an essential context.\textsuperscript{12}

The primary rationale for this study, therefore, is that both local and international media framing of the Basarwa court case resulted in articles which favour one view of the world over another, providing sustenance for one set of interests while undermining an alternative view. As Street argues, 'to call some account biased is to challenge its validity and see it as failing to be truthful, impartial, objective or balanced, terms which appeal to slightly different ideals.' Media framing, therefore, becomes part of a wider debate about the position of the Basarwa in Botswana, and how their rights as citizens are promoted and protected by the international and local media.

1.5 Significance of the study

This work is significant in three ways. Firstly, the information collected and presented provides first-hand data, which is indispensable to an understanding the media coverage of the Basarwa case. Secondly, it will be useful to researchers who intend working on a similar subject or project in future. Lastly, this research has never been done before with reference to the Basarwa court case, hence it adds new literature and opens new dimensions regarding questions of framing discourses and news reports about Africa.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid :30
Chapter 2

The politics of relocation and the participants’ perceptions

This chapter traces the events that led up to the court case instituted by a group of the Basarwa protesting against relocation from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve and the response to the relocation by the international non-governmental organisation (INGO), Survival International. I begin with an introduction of the three sets of participants: the government of Botswana, local activists (the Basarwa), the global activists (Survival International) with their different contextual perceptions and backgrounds, the available discourses, meanings, and norms, as used and appropriated by each of the three sets of participants.

2.1 Botswana Government

The main challenge Botswana faced at the time of independence in 1966, according to Saugestad was to create a united and unitary nation-state... out of the "diversified Bechuanaland Protectorate, trying to apply an old western concept of nationalism to the context of new African states with mostly arbitrary boundaries. In this process, 'ethnicity' has been linked to 'tribalism' and has been seen as anathema to unified national development."13

Another major test the country faced was rural development, and the critical issue that needed urgent attention was, and still is, poverty alleviation. In an effort to achieve rapid social and economic development, as well as promoting social justice, various policies, programmes and strategies, were formulated to address development issues in the country. These include, among others, the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP).

Saugestad adds that the challenge for many new nations at that time, however, was that in order to set up a new political entity and empower it with shared meaning, the state has to build on those cultural symbols and traditions that are most readily accessible, and that express a specific meaning to people. She explains that a directive hypothesis is that in an effort to create new national symbols and, at the same time, to avoid such cultural symbols or emblems becoming linked with particular tribes or with ethnicity in general, Botswana chose to elevate the culture and language of the Batswana to a new national, neutral standard. 'In effect, this "Tswana" has become the dominant symbol for the whole Botswana nation, and has been presented as the image of a non-racial, culturally homogeneous state'.14

Economically Botswana was among the seven poorest countries in the world at the time of independence. As the country's national coffers began to swell after the discovery of huge gem diamond deposits, economic growth began to transform a nation once among the poorest in the world into the richest per capita in Africa.

13 Ibid :28
14 Ibid :28
Although it took some time for the wealth to trickle down and for public spending on infrastructure, healthcare and education to have an effect in Botswana, these benefits are now being experienced. Within Botswana’s established elite and growing middle classes, there is a strong sense that 40 years ago their parents were a ‘tribal’ people locked into a social economy in which cattle meant everything. It is with this strong sense among Batswana themselves of having developed from a state of primitive penury to modern affluence, and of a realisation that the poor people as a group that has benefited least from Botswana’s new found prosperity, that Botswana Government has sought to address the issue of the Basarwa poverty and development. Development is, therefore, one of the major principles on which Botswana is founded.

2.2 The Basarwa

'The presence of the Bushmen disrupts this homogeneous picture of Botswana,' writes Saugestad. She notes:

...that once the indigenous people of all southern Africa, they remain a distinct social category. They are in a curious way both visible - in the beautiful Anthony Bannister-type glossy photographs - and invisible, as a dispersed economic underclass, squatting at the margins of Botswana society.\(^\text{15}\)

The Basarwa are, as they themselves note with some resentment, a people known by many names. The names range from the San, Bushman to the Setswana translation of Remote Area Dweller, Ba Tengyanateng, which translates as 'those who live deep inside the deep'.\(^\text{16}\) The term does not only refer to the Basarwa but literally also to the Bakgaladi residing in the same area. Saugestad says the latter term was introduced in the 1970s and was intended as a neutral term, but has always been deeply resented by those to whom the term has been applied. In Botswana the official term is the Basarwa. They are also known as San, a term popularly used in Namibia. San is also preferred in anthropological literature. Bushmen (or the gender-neutral Bush People,) is also widely used. In my discussion, I will use the term 'Basarwa'.

According to the Botswana government, speakers of Khoisan languages in Botswana are collectively known to themselves and others as the 'Basarwa', though many of their dialects are quite different from one another. The Government official website states that it has usually been the Basarwa, more particularly those living in the western Kgalagadi Sandveld, who have continued to be the targets of old fashioned racial stereotyping as ‘Bushmen’ by outsiders who seek to project an image of the so-called 'Bushmen' as some sort of exotic race living in splendid isolation from other people, as subsistence hunter-gatherers. They are portrayed as isolated hunter-gatherers, who have somehow been cut off from the rest of Botswana. Unfortunately, images such as those contained in apartheid-era books like *The Lost World of the Kalahari* by Laurens van der Post and films like Jamie Uys’s *The Gods Must Be Crazy* seem to have become entrenched in the popular culture of some parts.

\(^\text{15}\) Ibid :28
\(^\text{16}\) Ibid :28
of the world, particularly, in the developed countries of Europe and North America. In the on-going ethnicity discourses in Botswana the Basarwa are often portrayed as lacking agency and commonly perceived as rendered powerless, 'influenced' and often derailed by 'others'. In this way, the Basarwa find themselves in-between, tossed from one player to the other, namely, the Botswana Government on the one hand and international and local non-governmental organisations on the other. In the next section I focus on Survival International.

2.3 Survival International

Survival International (SI) is a London-based non-governmental organization supporting tribal peoples worldwide. According to its website, it was founded in 1969 after an article by Norman Lewis in the United Kingdom's Sunday Times highlighted the massacres, land thefts and genocide taking place in Brazilian Amazonia. 'Like many modern atrocities, the racist oppression of Brazil's Indians took place in the name of 'economic growth." The general discourse in which Survival International's concerns with the Basarwa are articulated is the discourse of the rights and self-determination of 'indigenous peoples. SI was invited to assist the Basarwa in the fight against the Government by First People of the Kalahari, a local organisation that has been spearheading the campaign against the relocation of the Basarwa from CKGR. One of the Basarwa activists, Jumanda Gakelebone, says President Mogae 'should stop accusing SI because it was his arrogance that forced' the Basarwa to invite SI to help them fight their case. The SI website notes:

We provide a platform for tribal representatives to talk directly to the companies which are invading their land. We also disseminate information to tribal peoples, using both community radio and the written word - telling them how other tribes are faring and warning them about the threats posed by multinationals. In this way, we give them access to the information they need to make their voices heard.

Survival International also plays a major role in ensuring that humanitarian, self-help, educational and medical projects for tribal peoples receive proper funding. Its involvement with the Basarwa of the central part of Botswana dates back to 1976, when it raised thousands of pounds to fund both a handicraft centre to provide an income for adult 'Bushmen', and the construction of a primary school hostel for the Basarwa children. Survival International played a leading role in the case of the Basarwa by fully financing the Basarwa. At a broader level it has been argued by many scholars that such kinds of pressure from donor countries disable Africa. The force is most subtle because sometimes it comes in the form of offering solutions and is therefore difficult to deal with – or to resist. International media seem to be part and parcel of such pressures.

18 Survival International. 'About us' http://www.survival-international.org/about
19 Chippa, Legodimo. 'Basarwa Vow To Fight Beyond Court Case'. Mmegi/The Reporter 4 December 2006)
20 Survival International. 'About us', as above.
Helge Ronning in his essay *The Unholy Alliance* notes:

Since the end of the Cold War, international NGOs have become important policy makers in many of the crises-ridden parts of the world. When the superpowers pulled out aid, agencies went in. "Their activities and interpretations have tended to shape the understanding of the conflicts, offering international journalists 'access' to seemingly impenetrable and complex issues. The NGO analysis, in many cases, has become the accepted truth."21

Ronning further argues that often the only way for media personnel to get into the disaster or conflict areas is by courtesy of an aid organization. 'They travel on their planes, in their convoys and with their officials as guides and primary sources. The reporters get powerful stories, dramatic pictures. The NGOs get their message about the suffering through millions of viewers and readers in the North, which again generates millions of dollars for NGOs and their operations.'22

I share Ronning's fears that this symbiotic relationship between the international media and the NGOs is a serious threat to the principle of independent journalism and critical challenge to fundamental journalistic ethics. As far as he is concerned journalists in these situations seem to forget the basics of journalism, such as questioning the partiality of their sources, securing the views of more than one informant and so on. According to him the political judgments of relief agency workers are often coloured by one particular perspective, yet such workers are often quoted as the 'true and objective' voice.' Their judgments are seldom questioned or offset by other sources. Since this kind of 'disaster journalism' is a form of action reporting, the point is to relay the story back home as it happens in its most graphic horror, and this implies that analytical questions are not asked.23

In the case of SI there is a section in the website which is devoted to the publications of the Basarwa stories. The section, 'SI News Website', presents the information as a news agency or newspaper would. This means that SI has reporters who cover issues of Basarwa in a news form. Throughout the case the SI acted as the voice of the Basarwa. For most statements made by Government concerning the Basarwa Survival International had a counter statement in place written in a news form. They issued what they believed was the true version of events. The section also re-published the Basarwa articles published by other international media. This is the reason why in this study this SI News Website would be compared with the two local newspapers so that general claims about reporting Africa can be made.

Though SI is an advocacy group which should not usually be held to the 'objectively' standards and criteria of journalism, the organisation has been acting as a 'spin doctor' in covering the Basarwa court case. 'Spin

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21 Ronning, Helge. 'The unholy alliance: international media and the NGOs.' *Rhodes Journalism Review.* (December 1999 :42
22 Ibid :42
23 Ibid :42
doctoring', according to John Street, refers to the activities of a number of individuals. 'It refers to the 'gate keeping' of journalistic access, granting or denying interviews, as well as to the briefing of interviewees on what to say and what not to say.'24 He further explains that 'spin doctoring' also consists of the glossing of stories or speeches to journalists, pushing particular lines or interpretations. In short 'Spin doctoring' is being economical with the truth. Street explains:

It means creating good photo-opportunities, or making sure that journalists and photographers are in the right place at the right time. It involves the writing of the speeches, and of the accompanying press releases, and it extends to pressuring or persuading journalists, through threats and flattery, to represent your client favourably.25

It is the role that SI plays in informing both the journalists and world about the Basarwa that makes it important to consider its news website in this study.

2.4 Establishment of CKGR

In the subsequent paragraphs I attempt, first, to outline the historical context within which the CKGR was established by the British colonial government. This should assist in examining the validity of the perspectives of the three parties' in the articles published by Mmegi, Botswana Dailynews and the SI news website. The next five sections map out the events that led to the relocation of the Basarwa from CKGR. The aim is to provide a historical context to the question of relocation to the CKGR which is the central issue in the current news reports and the court case itself:

In 1961 the then colonial government of Bechuanaland, now independent Botswana, set aside Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve, CKGR, to 'protect wildlife resources and reserve sufficient land for traditional land use by hunter gatherer communities of the Central Kgalagadi'.26 George Silberbauer, who worked as the Basarwa Survey Officer in the Central Kalahari during the 1960s, was tasked with considering how this could be done.27 He spent five years preparing for and executing his formidable task, learning the Seserwa (Basarwa language) Gwi, as well as spending months travelling and living in the Central Kgalagadi doing his research. Among many of his recommendations was the crucial need to establish the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve so that the Basarwa, leading the traditional hunter-gatherer way of life, could be allowed to continue to live in the Reserve, and to hunt and to gather bush foods and materials freely. According to Sandy Gall in his book, The Bushmen of Southern Africa: Slaughter of the innocent, Silberbauer was well aware that the idea of giving the Basarwa exclusive rights to the Reserve would be open to criticism, and had his answer ready:

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25 Ibid: 147
The retention of the Bushmen in the Reserve would appear to be a reversal of the policy of economic advancement advocated for the rest of the Bushmen of Bechuanaland. The resolution of this paradox is that it is not intended to preserve the Bushmen of the Reserve as museum curiosities and pristine primitives, but to allow them the right of choice of the life they wish to follow.29

His view was received by the British administration of the day as being in the best tradition of enlightened colonial rule. As a result the CKGR, located in the eastern part of the Ghanzi District, was established as a game reserve under the Game Proclamation in the High Commissioner’s Notice on February 14, 1961. The Proclamation was superseded by Botswana’s current Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act, No. 28 of 1992 which maintained the CKGR as a game reserve. The Game Reserve was established to protect wildlife resources and provide sufficient land for traditional use by hunter-gatherer communities of the central Kgalagadi. According to Louiza Odysseos in her essay, ‘Activism and webs of meaning: rethinking the relationship between the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve’, ‘game reserve’ was, amongst other things, intended to ensure that there was sustainable numbers of game for the Basarwa to hunt.29

The Botswana Government home page reveals that 3000 people, the majority being Basarwa, were found to reside inside the Central Kalahari Game Reserve when it was gazetted as a game reserve in 1961. Their settlements were comprised of small multi-ethnic and multi-lingual communities. According to a study conducted by P. Sheller in 1977, residents of the CKGR were made up of three groups, namely, the G/wikwe, the G/naakwe and the Bakgalagadi.

The G/wikwe, were in the majority at 47%. They lived a strictly traditional hunter-gatherer life, hunting wild game and gathering veld foods on foot, using bow and arrow, spears and snares. They moved in accordance with the availability of both game and veld foods, neither planting crops nor owning any livestock or property. It was, however, observed later [1985] that a small number of them owned a few goats and had a garden where they grew melons.

Besides the Basarwa living in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, a small number of the agro-pastoral Bantu people, the Bakgalagadi, kept goats and donkeys, and engaged in farming on a small-scale. They also hunted and gathered. ‘According to the informants, Silberbauer expelled the Kgalagadi people from the reserve, and even shot their donkeys, with the reason that they should keep out of the reserve, which was only for the Bushman...’30 As a result the Basarwa who owned domestic animals became cunning. They established a camp for their livestock about 4 km away from their residential camp, and hid them there from Silberbauer.

As indicated in this discussion, while it appears as though the Basarwa supposedly had the liberty to run their

29 Odysseos, Louisa ‘Activism and webs of meaning: rethinking the relationship between the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve’. Durban: Centre for Civil Society 2004: 8
lives the way they wanted, their social structure and way of living was tampered with, causing a lot of hostility.

2.5 Fact-finding Missions

Following an awareness of emerging land use conflict, the Government commissioned a study in 1985 to investigate the situation inside the CKGR with a view to providing information that would facilitate decision making on environmental protection and wildlife conservation on the one hand, and the socio-economic development of the affected communities on the other. The mission report stated that;

...the people residing inside the Game Reserve had largely abandoned their traditional, nomadic hunter-gatherer way of life i.e. hunting on foot with bows and arrows, in favour of a sedentary lifestyle and hunting with horses, dogs, traps, spears and occasionally guns and vehicles brought from outside the Game Reserve. Hunting on horseback was the most common as horses could outrun all the animals except the hartebeest. Often all animals in the herd were killed after being chased on horseback and maimed with spears. The meat was then cut and dried (biltong) and sold to a fledging market of non-residents who frequently visited the reserve. 31

2.6 Independent Researchers

The findings of the Government mission were consistent with what had already been reported by various independent researchers over many years. For example, a Himeji-Dokkyo University anthropologist, Masakazu Osaki, reported in his study ‘Reconstructing the Recent History of the Gui and Gana Bushmen’ that a study on the Kgalagadi hunter-gatherers often causes controversy between traditionalists and revisionists. 32 The traditionalist view is that the hunter-gatherer society has maintained its cultural originality by keeping no contact with other neighbouring peoples. On the other hand, the revisionists insist that the hunter-gatherers came to being because they were left out by development, and consider their lifestyle as a new phenomenon of the past century. 33 While such controversy is not the discussion here, the traditionalist considers the hunter-gatherer society as a closed system; they did not assess the society’s contact with other peoples. Osaki explains that when he started his research in 1982, the waves of modernization had lapped over the interior of the Kalahari Desert.

The traditional bow and arrow hunting of the Xade people had been replaced by the use of horses. On horseback, they could chase and kill big game, such as gems bock, eland and wildebeest. ‘Through the process of change, they began to purchase handicrafts, buy and sell meat obtained by hunting, and worked in

32 Masakazu, Osaki. As above:27
wage labour, and set up stores within the cooperative association. They rapidly became enmeshed in the national economy.\textsuperscript{34}

Another anthropologist, James Suzman, observed in his 2003 overview 'Kalahari conundrums: relocation, resistance and international support in the Central Kalahari Botswana' that when Silberbauer sank a borehole at Xade for his own use in 1961, he inadvertently set the ball of change rolling. The year-round availability of water in Xade enticed many Basarwa from their dry season camps thus inverting a seasonal aggregation and dispersal pattern that had persevered as long as anyone could remember. It also opened their eyes to the benefits of modernity. Silberbauer was, of course, aware of this and went to some lengths to ensure that they could only access the water at Xade while he was there.

With easy water Xade's population grew rapidly. By 1980 it had become a permanent settlement and two years later the Government built a school and a health centre there. Game avoided the area, veld foods were over-utilised and the people grew increasingly reliant on state aid. Residents of Xade also realised that with permanent water they could keep livestock. As other water-points were established during the 1980s the residents of the CKGR brought more goats, donkeys, dogs and horses into the reserve. Horses and dogs were particularly prized since they radically increased hunting efficiency and range. Osaki reported that, during his stay in Xade between September and February in 1982/3, of the 91 large ungulates killed by hunters only one of these was brought down by a traditional bow and arrow. Likewise, year-round access to potable water allowed the Xade population to experiment with cultivation. With support from agricultural extension services some managed small harvests of sorghum, maize meal and cowpeas. By 1985 it was reported that almost all G/wi planted gardens. In so doing the Basarwa demonstrated that not only were they unafraid of change but, if it were appropriately delivered, they were willing to embrace it. Earlier attempts by both Government and independent investigators to identify residents who were strictly traditional hunter-gatherers proved difficult as people had aggregated into mixed groups, a clear indication that Basarwa (Gana and Gwi) were prepared to transform without coercion.

Anthony Giddens in his essay 'Living in a Post-Traditional Society' identifies two directly connected domains of transformation of new agenda for social science concerns. Each domain matches the progressions of changes which, while maintaining their origins with the first development of modernity, become predominantly acute in the current era. He notes:

On the one hand there is the extensional spread of modern institutions, universalized via globalizing processes. On the other, but immediately bound up with the first, are processes of intentional change, which can be referred to as the radicalizing of modernity. These are processes of evacuation, the disinterring and problematizing of tradition.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34} Osaki, Masakazu, As above :27
Gidden argues that ‘few people anywhere in the world can any longer be unaware of the fact that their local activities are influenced, and sometimes even determined, by remote events or agencies. The phenomenon is easily indexed, at least on a crude level’. 36 The orders of transformation did not spare Basarwa. As part of the social world they faced a new agenda. As per Giddens’ argument, capitalism has for centuries had strong tendencies to expand, for reasons documented by Marx and many others and after the Second World War the model of expansionism begun to modify. ‘It has become much more decentred as well as more all-enveloping. The overall movement is towards much greater interdependence.’ 37

Government’s conclusion was that the development of permanent settlements in the Game Reserve coupled with the new hunting and herding activities of the residents were inconsistent with wildlife conservation in the CKGR. It is also appropriate at this point to reveal the governance dynamics of the Republic of Botswana for this may depict why the Basarwa’s claim for differential treatment or exemption from the government’s policies of modernisation and development is difficult.

2.7 Denying the Basarwa the Status of ‘Indigenous’

The Government claims that Botswana does not have indigenous minorities. It argues, rather, that all citizens of the country are indigenous.' Botswana is inhabited by many different ethnic groups that occupied the geographical areas of present-day Botswana at different times in history’. 38 According to the Government, historical developments have led to Botswana developing as a united nation. Botswana has enshrined in her constitution the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals. Every Botswana citizen, irrespective of race, colour, religion, gender, political opinion or place of origin, is protected by the constitution and guaranteed these rights and freedoms. The Constitution further ensures that the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms by any individual does not prejudice the rights and freedoms of others and the public interest. 39

Odysseos argues that denying the Basarwa the status of ‘indigenous’ is used to ensure that development-related policies are not variably applied to the Basarwa as a distinct cultural group. The Government justifies the rejection of the Basarwa’s indigeneity on the grounds that it has always tried to ‘avoid ethnic identification in its programs; since in its democratic perspectives, this is reminiscent of the kinds of terminology used by those espousing apartheid (separate development). 40 In its ‘documents and policies the government consistently talks of the Basarwa, not as a distinct ethnic and indigenous group, but as ‘poor citizens or

36 Ibid: 56.
37 Ibid: 57.
39 Ibid.
welfare-needing Remote Area Dwellers (RADs), like any other poor rural Batswana.\textsuperscript{41} Since 1978, the Government of Botswana prefers to use the term 'remote area dwellers', 'defined on the basis of their spatial location (remote areas outside villages), socio-political status (marginalized), and socioeconomic status (impoverished and subject to discrimination).\textsuperscript{42}

Granting 'Bushmen' full ownership of the Central Kalahari would establish a precedent that would lead to the collapse of Botswana's communal land tenure system. Botswana has three systems of tenure, namely, tribal or communal land (74%), state land (23%) and freehold land (4%). Communal land is the tenure system where the majority of citizens or the bulk of the population still derives their economic well-being. Land Boards have been mandated to carry out tribal/communal land management which involves land allocation, land use planning and listening to grievances. In this regard, Land Boards receive and process applications for new allocations, register existing rights formerly allocated by Dikgosi and authorise change of land use and transfer of rights. Under the communal land tenure system, applicants are allowed to identify pieces of land for residential, commercial, industrial, recreational or agricultural use. An application is then submitted to the Land Board for processing and thereafter the Land Board can proceed in two ways: either ask for technical input from a technical body called District Land Use Planning Unit or immediately dispense with the application. The applicant will then be informed of the outcome in writing, whereupon he/she can accept the outcome or take the matter up with the Land Tribunal if aggrieved by the Board's decision.

In allocating land, the Land Board may issue a certificate of customary land grant or a common law lease. A customary land grant entitles applicants user rights as opposed to property rights but in the case of common law leasehold, the leaseholder can use the land for collateral purposes. Common law leases range from 50 years for commercial, industrial, civic & community use and 99 years for residential use. Freehold land is found mostly along the borders of Botswana with South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Management of freehold land is the prerogative of the land holder, except for planning issues. State land and protected areas comprise all urban areas, national parks and reserves, and some pockets of former crown lands found in the Central and Ngami land districts. The Department of Lands is responsible for state land. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) falls within this tenure system.

As per Suzman's observations, Survival International's devotion to the International Labour Organisation's Convention on the Rights of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ILO169) of 1989 as the moral foundation to their campaign raises some other difficult questions. Suzman argues that indigenousness per se can claim no superior authenticity as a basis for special rights than blueblood, white skin or red hair. As Ingold wonders,


how can some persons claim to be more indigenous than others?" Equally problematic, indigenous human rights narratives establish inheritance substance as the principal determinant of status with respect to place, thereby rendering other measures like capital distribution, equality of opportunity and need only secondary importance. To muddy the water further, asserting indigenousness on the basis of inherited substance is in most instances an impossible task. "In southern Africa, for example, there are few people who cannot lay claim to being of partial Khoisan ancestry somewhere along the line."

The following section briefly explores the conception of the relationship between the local and the global publications, as it occurs and is transformed within the reasons for the relocation of the Basarwa.

2.8 Decision to Relocate

Directed by the findings of the 1985 fact-finding mission and the new challenges presented by the lifestyle changes that Government had to contend with as well as its obligation to provide social amenities to all citizens of Botswana, Government decided in 1986 that, "the boundaries and the status of the CKGR should be maintained as at present; The social and economic development of old Xade and other settlements in the Reserve, should be frozen as they had no prospect of becoming economically viable". The use of the words 'be frozen' because they had 'no prospect of becoming economically viable', according to Gall 'seems perverse if not downright discriminatory, since the Reserve was not created with economic viability in mind but, as we have seen, to enable Bushmen to lead the life of their choice in the place of their choice - their ancestral homelands'. The local government ministry further ruled that 'viable sites for economic, social development should be identified outside the Reserve, and the residents of the Reserve encouraged - but not forced - to relocate at those sites. Gall argues that those four words, 'encouraged - but not forced', have caused endless argument. 'Imposing a 'freeze' on all development in the reserve sounded like 'forced' rather than 'encouraged', unless it was the kind of encouragement Voltaire satirises in Candide.'

To Gall the original, liberal British policy of guaranteeing the 'Bushmen' the right to live their lives on their ancestral lands in the Central Kalahari in their own way, was cancelled by the stroke of a pen. A transformation and lifestyle change that was taking places among Basarwa was not adequate to warrant the relocation. According to Gall, Basarwa were pushed out of the Reserve by a 'decision that seems to have been born of cynicism and greed: cynicism in its total disregard for previous commitments;

44 Ibid: 6
46 Gall, Sandy As above: 169
47 Ibid: 169
and greed on the part of the Tswana ruling class who saw the chance of turning the vast empty spaces of the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve into highly lucrative mining or tourist concessions. 48

In 1996, however, the Government resolved to pursue its relocation policy more uncompromisingly. Following the partial construction of two resettlement areas outside the reserve’s southern and eastern boundaries, Government officials set about 'persuading' people living in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve to move out. James Suzman in his ‘Kalahari conundrums: relocation, resistance and international support in the Central Kalahari Botswana notes that although the Government maintains that the relocations were entirely voluntary, evidence suggests otherwise. A fact-finding mission conducted by the Botswana Centre for Human Rights, Ditshwanelo, suggests that where phantom carrots did not entice people out of the CKGR, the District Commissioner reportedly threatened them with the stick. 49 Some households reported being offered vastly inflated compensation if they complied, whereas others reported being threatened with arrest or violence. For most, however, it was the Government’s insistence that they would terminate all essential services in the CKGR that was the deciding factor. The decision to terminate services inside the CKGR was, according to government homepage, taken after it became apparent that with only 17 people from two related families remaining inside the Game Reserve, the continued provision of services was uneconomical and unsustainable. ‘It should be noted here that Botswana is a vast and sparsely populated country making the cost of providing infrastructure and social services expensive.’ 50 However, it could be counter-argued that if sparse population warrants, forced relocation of the citizens must take place. Botswana has a population of a little over 1.6 million in excess of a land area of 581 730 square kilometres, the average population density is three persons per square kilometre.

Those people remaining in the reserve area were to find ways to access services at areas nearest to them. They had to collect food rations and pensions or otherwise go and access services from the settlements adjacent to the Game Reserve. For its part, the Government has been proactive in making sure that the children are not deprived of education. ‘The children benefit from boarding facilities and are transported to and from the Game Reserve at Government expense during school holidays.’ 51

Within a year Xade lay deserted and only a handful of people remained in other villages. Indeed, rather than liberating them to enjoy the economic benefits of Botswana’s prosperity, resettlement simply increased the extent to which the Kgalagadi people were dependent on Government. Worse still for these communities,

48 Ibid: 169
50 Government of Botswana. ‘Decision to terminate services’
51 Ibid
the rapid change in circumstances led to a deep sense of collective alienation that was in turn expressed through their boredom, anxiety and despondency.

2.9 Resistance to the Basarwa Relocation

In response, an alliance of local NGOs formed a ‘negotiating team’ led by the Central Kalahari peoples’ community organisation, First People of the Kalahari. Assisted by a Cape Town based lawyer, they challenged the relocation of people from the reserve. The negotiating team made little measurable progress despite securing a meeting in early 1998 with the outgoing President, Sir Ketumele Masire. Not long after this the Department of Wildlife and National Parks entered into discussions concerning the future of the CKGR with members of the negotiating team. In 1998 the Department presented to the Government a new draft management plan for the CKGR drawn up on the basis of their informal dialogue with the negotiating team. Suzman says this plan, if implemented, would allow the Basarwa and Bakgalagadi to remain in the Central Kgalagadi. They would also benefit from any possible tourism developments that might occur there. Although not perfect, the plan had considerable merit. 52

Suzman further argues that at the very least it was a major step in the right direction and would have secured for the people of the CKGR a far stronger position from which to bargain for further special considerations. To him the plan offered a good platform for community development and ‘it did not require anyone to suffer the trauma of dislocation’. 53 The Government demonstrated its willingness to proceed with this plan when in March 2000 it published a new set of regulations for game reserves that paved the way for the plan’s implementation. 54 The negotiating team supported the plan in principle and was optimistic that a satisfactory resolution was imminent. A copy of this plan was subsequently leaked to the South African press where it was hailed - somewhat prematurely as it turned out - as a ‘stunning victory’ for the San. 55 However, the negotiating team was not the only party actively supporting the cause of those relocated from the CKGR.

According to Suzman, Survival International, a London based NGO that campaigns on behalf of ‘indigenous and tribal people had launched a high profile European campaign aimed at forcing the Botswana Government into granting the Basarwa ownership of their ancestral lands. SI positioned itself as the overriding voice on the issue in the international media. ’While there is some doubt as to the effectiveness of Survival’s letter-writing campaign, there is little denying that they dramatically raised the profile of this issue 56 , Suzman notes that, unlike the negotiating team, Survival’s Director-General,
Stephen Corry was apathetic towards the management plan in spite of not being party to the negotiation process or of being fully aware of the plan’s contents at the time. He opposed it because it did not grant the Basarwa’ exclusive ownership of the Central Kalahari in accordance with the International Labour Organisation’s 1989 convention concerning the rights of indigenous people, a convention so inappropriate to post-colonial Africa that no African country has seriously considered ratifying it.57

Apparently unaware that granting the Basarwa full ownership of the Central Kalahari would establish a precedent that would lead to the collapse of Botswana’s communal land tenure system, Corry concluded that negotiations were a flawed strategy and branded the plan as ‘slap in the face’.58 Survival persevered with their vigorous campaign. They organised vigils for the San in European capitals, picketed the Botswana High Commission in London, protested at the UN Racism Conference and posted advertisements in the international media. Extremely concerned that Survival’s belligerent affectation might undo all the advancement already made during negotiations and compel Government to close ranks on the issue, the Botswana Centre for Human Rights, the representative of the negotiating team, publicly distanced itself from Survival’s campaign. This did not appease the Botswana Government which, much to the distress of the negotiating team, ceased negotiations and dumped the innovative management plan in favour of one that excluded local populations almost entirely. In a thinly veiled reference to Survival’s campaign Government sources reportedly suggested that this was done ‘to show that a sovereign and democratic Government would not be pushed about by ill-informed do-gooders ignorant of the realities of contemporary African life’59. As much as it is impossible to verify the allegation directed at ‘ill-informed do-gooders’, it is certainly plausible in the context of Setswana political culture.

Survival’s campaign was clearly not intended to create a platform for negotiation between Government and discontented Basarwa. To borrow Suzman words, ‘rather it was aimed at fuelling the righteous indignation of Survival International’s membership in Europe and America, a constituency that displays little incredulity when told of evil-doings on the Dark Continent.’60 Their campaign material was typically overdramatic, ran roughshod over dissenting opinions and displayed Survival’s naïveté about the main constraints involved. ‘Invoking theories of cultural purity now largely discarded in Europe by all save the far right’61, they claimed that the relocation programme would destroy the Basarwa culture. The fact that the Central Kalahari has been the site of profound social and cultural change over the past

57 Suzman, James. ‘Regional assessment of the status of the San in Southern Africa. Legal Assistance Centre 2001
58 Weekly Mail and Guardian 6 September 2001
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid
40 years evidently escaped their notice. They also claimed the Government’s actions were ‘a racist crime against humanity’ and an exercise in ‘ethnic cleansing’. Suzman notes:

In a region where the dust clouds kicked up by the colonial enterprise are years away from settling, European interventions in domestic affairs tend to be viewed with suspicion. When these interventions are seen to be based on a morally solipsistic Eurocentric worldview and grounded in hysterical half-truths, they are viewed as unwanted interference. Such sentiments are felt particularly acutely in post-colonies attempting to assert an indigenous – for want of a better word – national identity forged on an indigenous ethical code.

Most Batswana pride themselves on their country’s record of good governance and stability and many had expressed sympathy for those relocated from the CKGR. Suzman notes, nevertheless, that this sympathy was shrunk by what was seen by most as an unfounded attack by a malevolent foreign force on their national integrity. Survival’s implied parallels to the situation in Rwanda or the Balkans through using terms like ‘ethnic cleansing’ led many to suspect that Survival had a hidden agenda by means of which they intended to damage the reputation of one of Africa’s best governed states. At the same time Government officials began to conflate the agenda of the Kalahari peoples with what they considered to be Survival’s agitation. As a result Government invective towards leaders of the Kgalagadi peoples like Roy Sesana became increasingly bitter. It was against this background that the Botswana Government chose to persevere with its resettlement agenda.

Odysseos explains that naturally, the government does not represent this programme of relocation as ‘eviction’ or ‘persecution’. She argues that the government justifies its relocations of the Basarwa within distinct but related discourses and constellations of meaning, the primary of which being the discourse of modernisation. She notes:

All the discourses are enclosed within a larger understanding of ‘Botswana’ as a sovereign state, able to exercise control over meanings and references within its territory. For the most part, these meanings and discourses cohere together to promote a vision of the government and of Botswana that is progressive and modern.

According to Odysseos the first discourse, that of modernisation, is the one that acts as a box for all the others. All sets of connotation that Botswana uses to depict and validate its policies and treatments of the

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63 Suzman. James, Kalahari conundrums: relocation, resistance and international support in the Central Kalahari Botswana Cambridge: University of Cambridge African Studies Centre, 5
64 Ibid :5
65 Mphinyane, S. Kennrick, J. Barnard. A. (Eds) "The dirty social scientist: whose advocate, the Devil’s or the people’s?" In Africa’s indigenous minorities: First Peoples or marginalised minorities. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Centre of African Studies, 2001
66 Ibid.
67 Odysseos. Louiza Activism and webs of meaning: rethinking the relationship between the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. Durban: Centre for Civil; Society 2004: 11 Y
68 Ibid p11
Basarwa must be understood within the larger discourse of Botswana's thriving modernisation, as evident in its much-praised economic and political success story: its careful management of its natural wealth of diamonds and other minerals, its political stability and progression within its regional context, 'all these help to frame the remainder of the discourses at play in the eviction of the Bushmen from the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve.' Therefore, of all the meanings the government has available to it to justify and explain the Basarwa’s relocation, it predominantly uses the discourse of modernisation, which had been prominent in sociology, development studies and political science in the last 40 years. 'Indeed, such is its reliance on this discourse that domestic commentators and organisations take it as an article of faith that 'the drive to modernity' motivates the government's renewed desire for the relocations'.

The President of Botswana, Festus Mogae, argues that '[o]ver the years people have been encouraged to move out of our game parks and reserves... to give themselves and their children the benefit of development'. Odyseos admits that 'indeed, since 1986 the government has encouraged the resettlement of the Basarwa, but it was not until October 2001 when the decision was taken to remove all residents from the CKGR'. When the Minister of Local Government, Margaret Nasha, was asked why this policy was now pursued so strictly, she responded as follows:

Do you allow a section of the population to continue living in the manner they are doing and not accessing information, not accessing education for their children and health facilities that every other Motswana has free access to? As a government we had to say "no, that is not right".

Therefore, we can see that the relocation policy is sometimes framed in terms of equality of 'opportunities' granted to the Basarwa by the state or in terms of the Basarwa 'empowerment'. As Clifford Maribe, assistant director of the research and information division in the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Botswana, stated '[i]n as much as Basarwa have to preserve their culture, they must also be granted that opportunity to prepare for their own sustenance in the 21st century and beyond. The government's website seeks to promote this view, suggesting that 'the relocation exercise is intended to alleviate poverty within the CKGR. Minister Nasha claimed in September 2002 that the relocations were 'also meant to empower and develop Basarwa because researchers and studies even by foreigners have urged governments of countries where Basarwa were found to empower them'. Suggesting that the relocations were meant to allow the Basarwa to exercise their citizenship rights on par with all other citizens: 'the issue of the Basarwa is a-human rights issue' she told News-Carte Blanche of South Africa. Despite all, questions still need to be answered why Basarwa were
compelled to move in order to be developed because a counter-argument, would yield that development should come to the people and not otherwise as is the case with the Basarwa. Interesting to note additionally is that no other group of people in Botswana have been forced and threatened to move, yet their areas have been developed which of course defeats the logic of ‘relocating towards development.’

Within the discourse of modernisation and empowerment, education is a particularly powerful move for the government: ‘in the past, the children from the reserve were separated from their parents and sent to school hundreds of kilometres away’. The government claims that this was not acceptable as ‘all children need parental love’, justifying in this way the need for relocating all residents of the CKGR to prevent the separation of children from their families.76 Roy Sesana of the First People of the Kalahari (FPK) thinks that the government’s emphasis on education is negated by the fact that years of educational programmes have had little result in the political reality of the Bushmen, who are still discriminated against, not even being represented in the House of Chiefs or Parliament.77 Minister Nasha retorts, however, that the campaign against the evictions is that which results in keeping the Bushmen away from the mainstream, and away from politics: ‘We want councillors, Basarwa councillors to represent their own people in government. For people to represent themselves and represent themselves convincingly, they have to have the right and access to education’.78

According to Odysseos the Basarwa resist this notion of modernisation and its implications. One of the 17 Basarwa who remained in the CKGR despite the evictions asks ‘if they really want us to modernise why don’t they bring the schools and development to us in our ancestral lands?’79 But some challenge the ‘drive to modernity’ altogether. Daoxlo Xukuri of FPK argues that, ‘Government relief is another way of killing a person; in the Reserve we knew how to provide for ourselves’.

Alice Mogwe of Ditshwanelo explains that ‘[t]he government gives but does not empower. Its progress is based on dependency’. As the IRIN News report argues, the Bushmen have gone ‘from being resourceful to being dependent’ and all ‘[i]n one move’.80

Not scared off by their critics, yet still baffled by the intractability of the Botswana Government, Survival International then turned their guns on Botswana’s diamond industry. They thought a campaign against diamonds might gain them the influence necessary to force Government to break down. Diamonds are, after all, the livelihood of the Botswana economy. Survival pointed to the presence of a De Beers prospect and exploration concession in the CKGR as the ‘real reason’ behind the relocation. Shockingly, they did this in

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76 Carte Blanche [MTN (pay channel) Television Report] (February 2002) http://www.international.org/bushman_films.htm
77 Ibid
78 Ibid
full knowledge of the fact that De Beers had no plans to mine the prospect and that legislation concerning subsurface minerals and prospecting licensing has no legal bearing whatsoever on the land rights of people in the Central Kalahari. Let us hypothetically say that if De Beers were to mine their prospect at Gope they would only require use of an area no larger than 25 km², a tiny snip of the vast Central Kalahari Game Reserve. Survival International’s apparent revelations of prospecting concessions in the CKGR were not nearly as dramatic as they made out.

Most of the mineral-rich southern Africa had been carved up into prospecting and mining concessions by the beginning of the 21st century. Prospecting licences were first granted in the CKGR area in 1961 and prospectors were based at Gope in the CKGR from the mid 1970s onwards! But Survival International clearly felt that the ends justified the means. At least the hidden hand of a mining giant makes for more seductive copy. The Botswana Centre for Human Rights, Ditshwanelo, the representative of the negotiating team, publicly distanced itself from Survival’s campaign. In a press release the NGO notes that “the issue of diamond mining in the CKGR has long been presented by Survival International as a reason for the relocation by the Government of the Basarwa. It is a convenient tool for those who wish to find a simple, easily identifiable motive with which to attract international support."  

Ditshwanelo explains that there is no convincing proof that the removal of the Basarwa is certainly to make way for diamond mining. ‘To focus on this issue and to attack tourism, which is essential to the economy of Botswana, is not only to alienate those who have the power to help achieve the aims of the Basarwa, but it also draws attention away from the fundamental issue; namely development.’ Ditshwanelo argued that the merits of relocating the Basarwa in the name of development must be investigated critically and comprehensively in harmony with a rights-based approach to development.

Survival’s bungling intervention notwithstanding, the Botswana Government’s choices and actions remain at the root of the problem. While they have good cause to assert their autonomy in the face of an international media blitz coordinated by a foreign NGO, doing so at the expense of the desires of the CKGR population whilst simultaneously jeopardising the reputation of the diamond industry on which Botswana’s prosperity hangs is hardly cause for praise. It appears that the Government of Botswana has not taken on board the implications of the ongoing crisis.

This section has enumerated the events that led up to the court case instituted by the Basarwa objecting to their relocation from the CKGR and the response to the relocation by the Survival International. The chapter

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81 Ditshwanelo. ‘International publicity on the Basarwa’
http://www.ditshwanelo.org.bw/index/Current_Issues/Minority/INTERNATIONAL%20PUBLICITY%20ON%20THE%20H ASARWA.htm

82 Ibid
also introduced the three sets of participants: the Government of Botswana, local activists (the Basarwa), the
global activists (Survival International) with their different contextual perceptions, and backgrounds, the
available discourses, meanings, and norms, as used and appropriated by each of the three sets of participants.
In the following chapter I explain the methodology adapted for this research and also look at the
theoretical framework and literature review.
CHAPTER 3

Methodology

This chapter starts with a theoretical framework and literature review which will serve as the background for an explanation of the methodology adopted for this research. It is worth recalling that this study seeks to find out how the media reported the Basarwa High Court case and to place this in the context of reporting Africa in the media. This study will thus be using the reporting of a specific court case – that of the Basarwa in Botswana as a case study. A case study is a method employed for investigating characteristics of a subject matter thoroughly. According to Judith Bell case studies may be carried out to follow up and to put flesh on the bones of survey or can guide a survey and be used as a means of identifying key issues which support further investigations. Bell notes that organizations and individuals have their common and their unique features, as a result case study researchers aspire to spot such features, ‘to identify or attempt to identify the various interactive processes at work, to show how they affect the implementation of systems and influence the way an organization functions’.

This study therefore relies typically on content analysis. Texts from Mmegi/The Reporter, The Dailynews, and the Survival International News Website (website for an international non-governmental organization which fights for the rights of indigenous people) shall be analysed using Anders Hansen’s content analysis method. The way the media or press chooses news will also be analysed.

3.1 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Critical selected media reports which constitute the primary objects of this research will be analysed within the functional theories of information dissemination. These theories are informed by the discourse notions of truth, reliability, representativeness, trustworthiness, relevance, together with ‘public interest’, ‘public sphere' partisan, inadequacy and ‘social responsibility’. Karl Erik Rosengren notes, ‘National and international mass media offer all of us a never-ending flow of pictures of the world surrounding us’. Rosengren however

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85 Ibid :10
admits that some of these pictures are obviously fictitious and notes that the value of those types of picture resides precisely in the fact that they are fictitious. 87

According to Rosengren, in order to study mass media news about the world, we need two sets of data, namely data about news, and we need data about the world. He notes that the two sets of data should be as independent as possible in the sense that they should ideally stem from two different types of sources. He identifies the two data as intra media data and extra media data. 88

Rosengren explains that if we combine intra and extra media data, we will arrive at two types of new knowledge:

In the first place, we may use the two sets of data to evaluate the news: how true, reliable, representative, trustworthy, relevant, to state a few, are media stories about the world when compared to reality as defined in terms of extra media data? Secondly, we may use the two sets of data to explain, and thus better understand, certain characteristics of the pictures of the world offered by mass media. 89

Every individual looks at media to be informed. ‘The media hold responsibility for the interpretation of the events they report, and their interpretations, in turn, define the understanding of events by readers and viewers.’ 90 I find this to be in accord with Diawara’s theory of globalized information network and deem it very fascinating to examine.

It is generally assumed that the media report the ‘facts’, but I argue that there are no such things as facts without interpretation. As Edward Said posits, all knowledge that is about human society, and not about the natural world, is historical knowledge, and therefore rests upon judgment and interpretation. This is not to say that facts or data are nonexistent, but that facts get their importance from what is made of them upon interpretation’. 91 It is the medium that gives the reader a meaning to current events and not only that they also identify for the reader those events that are important.

According to Cole Campbell, frames of a report are sometimes as simple as metaphors, sometimes as complex as analogies. Frames of reports or issues serve to make the unfamiliar more familiar—and to make the familiar a bit more exotic, understood in a different perspective. 92. Campbell argues that likewise the frame of a story determines its meaning. ‘And frames—master narratives in particular, but resilient metaphors

87 Ibid : 235
88 Ibid : 236
89 Ibid : 236
as well—recur over and over again in story after story. In order to determine the agenda of a media story, the examination of the frame of each report is of paramount importance to study.

To understand why reportage of Africa is so inaccurate, one must begin with basic facts. As Wilson Rutayisire mentions, the international media has served to sustain Africa's anxieties rather than being a source of constructive information on Africa. He argues that coverage of Africa in the international media is inadequate. Secondly, reports on Africa are by and large made out of context thereby obscuring circumstantial data by omission. Thirdly, much of the information on Africa describes it without analysis or with highly superficial and simplistic backgrounds. My study, therefore, seeks to address ways in which the media can better adhere to journalistic ethics by reporting more insightful and relevant news.

According to Rutayisire, if you judge Africa by international media coverage, you would think that if there are no intensive atrocities, then Africa is dead. He argues that Africa is devoid of news during peacetime and this type of coverage is not only unfair to Africa, it denies Africa the right to be covered comprehensively by being portrayed as a continent of people who are incapable of taking charge of their own destiny. The European and American public, on the other hand are drilled into believing that Africa is a continent to feel pity for, contribute to its humanitarian emergencies and finally forget it between one disaster and the next. ‘Nothing good should be expected out of the continent is the negative impression reporting on Africa gives as of now.’

Rutayisire further notes with regret that there is what he calls ‘excessive Afro-pessimism air the international media’ arising out of deep-seated paternalistic prejudices that Africans cannot do anything for themselves other than exacerbating already bad situations for them. To him this is the reason why the media on Africa is always full of calamities. If it is not war or conflict, it is famine or other forms of extreme phenomena.

This study was carried out to investigate further the reporting of the infamous court case and to find out if the media considered this issue from an appropriate perspective. Did the foreign journalists who covered the Basarwa case come to Africa with their minds set on what they understand about the relationship between the Botswana government and Basarwa? Wilson Rutayisire in his work, *Rwanda: reporting Africa*, says some of the international journalists even manifest extreme ignorance of a situation. ‘They should shed off this we - know - it best mentality first, and come prepared to learn and discover new and alternative

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93 Ibid
95 Ibid
96 Ibid
appreciation of a situation.’ This leaves us with the question: ‘Did they come to Botswana and look for few facts and fit them in their mindset and build a story hurriedly for the next publications?

Peter J. Schraeder and Brian Endless note in their essay ‘the media and Africa: the portrayal of Africa in the New York Times (1955-1995)’ that Americans maintain what can be called a National Geographic image of Africans. ‘The mention of Africa typically conjures up stereotypical images of lush jungles and wild animals, poverty and famine, corruption and "tribal" warfare, and deadly diseases, such as the Ebola and AIDS viruses.’ They argue that these stereotypical images are further reinforced by the nature of media coverage, which, when it does focus on Africa, usually concentrates on the sensationalist and often negative aspects of the continent.

Local media in Botswana have until recently tended to ignore the situation of the Basarwa, unless there has been a conflict on which to report. Seeing the court case as a media-worthy conflict, coverage has been fairly extensive, but comments have been stereotypical, and implying an ‘otherness’ to the Basarwa.

Kevin Cavanagh in his work, ‘Freeing the Pan-African News Agency’ argues that, African intellectuals, enthusiastic for the continent to develop its own media voices, claim that the overbearing pressure from the 'imperialist' agencies - whose articles are often written by non-Africans - inflicts western values and perception on African readers and viewers. ‘They claim that the inevitable message, subliminal or otherwise, is that African culture is inferior to that of the West.’ According to Cavanagh, the Pan-African News Agency, Pana, was created for this specific function of countering ‘what African leaders decried as the negative, distorted coverage of the continent by western news organisations being beamed back to Africa and out to the rest of the world’.

This seems to be the position of the local media in Africa, to function as a defence force. In its endeavour to meet the aspirations of the people of Africa, the local media provided information to the service within African states. Through the work of the local media the voice of Africa is supposed to be heard proclaiming and defending the interest of the nations and people of Africa.

Hachten notes in his article, ‘Muffled drums’, that the media in Africa are viewed by African leaders as instrumental ‘in furthering the aims of nation-building and modernization as well as for supporting the government itself’. Hachten's position is a popular posture adopted by African leaders. He added however, that ‘they were to be instruments of the government - or, more to the point, of the political

97 Ibid
100 Ibid :353
101 W. Hachten, Muffled drums .Ames, IA: Iowa Univ. Press 1971: 45
leadership. However, he failed to grasp the fact that even in the United States the media perform their function in keeping with the ideology of the nation.

There is a vast literature on Basarwa communities in Botswana. Examples of this extensive literature include Sandy Gall’s, *The Bushmen of Southern Africa: slaughter of the innocent*; Anthony Giddens’s *Living in a post-traditional society: in reflexive modernization: politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order*; James Suzman’s *Kalahari conundrums: relocation, resistance and international support in the Central Kalahari Botswana*; Robert K. Hitchcock’s *Kalahari communities: Bushmen and the politics of the environment in Southern Africa*; Robert Gordon’s *The Bushman myth and the making of a Namibian underclass*; and Sidsel Slaugstad’s *The inconvenient indigenous: remote area development in Botswana, donor assistance, and the First People of the Kalahari*.

Like all other documents of this kind, their effects are hard to measure. The reports, however, provide an instrument that may throw light on how writing about the Basarwa has for centuries been dominated by outsider perceptions, moving from contempt to exoticism and essentialism to the current buzzword of ‘rights based’ approaches.

This study locates itself in relation to this background; my study therefore becomes very important in that it may bring new picture in the understanding of Botswana’s and international media reporting with specific reference to the Basarwa case.

### 3.2 Content analysis

The major purpose of content analysis in this study is to identify the framework and ideas of the texts and the photographs published in the two local newspapers and SI news websites. Andres Hansen defines content analysis as any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages.

According to Bernard Berelson, content analysis can be relied upon if through a sample, the findings are valid when applied across a representative of a whole and if a systematic analysis of a sample permits the identification of specific characteristics. This means that the content to be analysed is selected according to explicit and consistently applied rules.

The basic goal for content analysis is to change a verbal un-quantitative document into quantitative data. Content analysis is used among other things to determine the presence of certain words, concepts, themes, characters, or sentences within texts or sets of texts and to quantify their presence in an objective manner.

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102 Ibid.
The aim of content analysis is to determine the influences or effects of such words or themes on social and cultural issues. As Hansen notes, content analysis is a method for analyzing texts. It is not a theory. As a method, it provides no pointers to what aspects of texts should be examined, or how those dimensions should be interpreted.

3.3 Advantages of content analysis

Content analysis offers several advantages to researchers. According to Payne & Payne in their work, *Key concepts in social research*, it looks critically or directly at a communication through texts or transcripts, hence it focuses on the central aspect of social interaction. It allows researchers or scholars to use both quantitative and qualitative analysis. It further provides insight into complex models of human thought and language use. When done systematically it is considered a good research method based on facts as opposed to discourse analysis. Content analysis is unobtrusive. According to Lee in his work, *Unobtrusive methods in social research*, unobtrusive measures are research measures that do not require the researcher to intrude in the research context. Individuals or respondents are not asked to respond to surveys or interview situations nor does the researcher directly observe them. Direct and participant observation requires that the researcher be physically present. This can lead respondents to look good in the eyes of the researcher hence become biased. Unobtrusive measurement, therefore, reduces possible biases that result from the intrusion of the researcher.

Signorielli notes that content analysis developed to become a significant component in the armoury of studies of international media flows, carried out within wider disputes and concerns about a ‘New World Information and Communication Order’, and about cultural imperialism, development communication, globalization, transnational information and image flows.

Lee further argues that the investigator or researcher takes the communications that people have produced and asks questions about those communications. Because of this direct operation on a record of the communication, content analysts can cross-examine what is a central aspect of social interaction. According to Rubin & Berger quantitative assessments can be made about the relationships between society, politics and culture, and comparisons can be made. For instance, the same individual on the same topic can compare the degree of attention of certain concepts given by one communicator to that of another or by a communicator at a different time.

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108 Rubin, R and Berger, A. 'Two explanation of content analysis' [http://www.uiowa.edu/~adclass/research/content-analysis.html](http://www.uiowa.edu/~adclass/research/content-analysis.html) (February 2007)
3.4 Disadvantages of content analysis

Content analysis has its own disadvantages both theoretical and procedural. Amongst them, it is extremely time consuming during research. It can also be difficult to code or computerise and therefore is subject to errors particularly when used to attain a higher level of interpretation. Payne & Payne state that content analysis is often devoid of a theoretical base or attempts to liberally draw meaningful inferences about the relationships and impacts implied in a study. It is inherently reductive particularly when dealing with complex texts.¹⁰⁹ The use of content analysis in this research is to focus on the content of the media and those who produced the message. For example, the underlying attitudes, biases and response or effects on message receivers.

Notwithstanding its weaknesses, content analysis is the most appropriate research method for this study. Content analysis can be applied to examine any piece of writing or occurrence of recorded communication, detect the existence of propaganda, identify the intentions and can describe attitudes and behavioural responses to communications.

The aim is to determine the influences or effects of such words or themes on social and cultural issues. According to Lawrence Neuman, texts can be defined broadly to include newspaper headlines and articles, historical documents, speeches, or any occurrence of communicative language. Researchers quantify and analyse the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer, the audience, and even the culture.¹¹⁰

This study measures ‘propaganda techniques’ or material designed by the three parties involved in the Basarwa case, to influence attitudes on this controversial issue. As Berelson explains, a basic point in the use of content analysis is to expose propaganda techniques in the selection of subject matter as well as in the propaganda tricks used.

The analyses of the themes used by the opposing sides in the Basarwa case will assist me in illustrating if propaganda were used in the media reports of the Basarwa case. Did the three parties involved in the Basarwa case use ‘tricks’ or ‘appeals’ to mobilize hatred against each other, to preserve the friendship of allies, to preserve the friendship and if possible to secure the cooperation of neutrals, and to demoralize each other?

¹¹⁰ Neuman, Lawrence W. *Social research methods*. London: Allyn And Bacon Press 1994; 262
3.5 Media choice of news

My discussion below takes into account the role of journalism in covering socio-economic and politically sensitive issues such as that of the Basarwa. Journalists have a news and editorial perspective through which they present their opinions and tell their readers what events are most important. They do this by choosing what to report and what to omit, what to editorialize and what to ignore. Their attitudes are also reflected by the positioning of items on the page and how they are reported, as well as by the actual content of editorials.

John Street says hard choices have to be made about what to include and what to exclude in a publication. These decisions are about the ‘importance to be given to a story, and they are reflected in the item’s place in the running order or its place in the paper or on the page. Inevitably these decisions involve judgement about the issue and/or the people involved. The convention of journalism is that what appears on the front page is the most important of the day’s news.’

In order to detect this type of bias this study looks at the placement of stories selected for in Mmegi/The Reporter, the Dailynews, and Survival International News website. The assumption is that mass media exercise influence. It is this thought that lies behind bans on cigarette advertising and complaints about unfair coverage of Africa. In all of these instances, the presiding idea is that media products influence media consumers.

3.6 Use of photographs in publications

News photographs exist primarily as a means of selling newspapers or publication materials. The assumption is that they do this by appealing in many ways to the reader. Many news photographs try to reflect the feelings and responses of the people photographed. The feelings and emotions of people photographed are assumed to be expressed on the faces.

Routine events may yield good photographs if the camera snapped people in action. ‘Good pictures speak for themselves. While making selection of news pictures, the prime consideration should be the context in which the picture is being used’. This study analyzes photographs published by the three publications to see if the pictures have information related to the story with which it is used. Animation is one of the prime qualities of a good news photograph examined here.

A photograph that is used in a newspaper is supposed to reflect the mood of the moment. There are times when a file photograph is selected. K.M. Shrivastava argues that the selected pictures should depict the right mood that you also find in the story illustrated by that photograph.

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113 Ibid:206
According to Shrivastava, like words, pictures also have meaning. He advocates that there are occasions when symbolism could be effective to impart meaning. Sometimes comparison provides meaning to pictures. He claims that:

Only a photographer with a keen news sense will be able to catch decisive moments of history with his camera. In every event there is sequence of action of which only a few moments are at the climax and only one of them is really decisive. The nearer the photograph is to that moment, the better news photograph it is.\(^\text{114}\)

This study will analyse the Basarwa photographs published by the three publications by looking at the way they are framed and their possible communication objectives. First the study will analyze what each photograph has recorded. In analyzing how meaning is constructed in the photograph, I will consider the codes of technical representation such as camera angle, cropping and focus. The study will also look at the codes of content such as body language, body position colours and clothing. In the analysis of the photographs the study will use qualitative interpretation.

3.7 Simple random sampling

A simple random sampling was done to collect information for this research work. It is the basic sampling technique used to select a group of subjects (a sample) for study from a larger group (a population). Each individual is chosen entirely by chance and each member of the population has an equal chance of being included in the sample.

For the purpose of this study, out of the 56 Dailynews articles, (the population) published between January 2005 and June 2007 placed in a basket; 28 copies were randomly chosen for evaluation. The same process was applied to Mmegi/The Reporter for comparison and SI News website page 28 stories (sample) were chosen from each publication because the sample constitutes about 50 percent of the selected articles respectively.

Every newspaper in the sample had a 50 percent chance of being selected using this method. The figure represents the sample size \((n)\) and the population \((N)\) and it becomes a simple matter of mathematics. That is \(\frac{n}{N} \times 100 = 50\%\) which translate to \(28/56 = 50\%\). This means the result would give at-least a sample that is representative of the whole as much as possible.

This was done in order to avoid biases when selecting newspapers for analysis; hence every newspaper article had a chance of being selected. The methodology is simple and easy to apply when small populations are involved and is used frequently in media content analysis.

3.8 Data gathering and analysis

A newspaper picked at random was read to collect information or data needed for this study. The Basarwa court case-related stories were selected, analysed and recorded. The analysis includes the number of front-page stories and their length, the focus of each story accompanied by photographs.

Analysis of protagonists in each article is done to determine whether they were quoted directly or merely referred to, then divided into three categories for the purpose of clarity and comparison, these being Results: *Dailynews* 2005-2007; Results: *Mmegi/The Reporter* 2005-2007; and Results Survival International News Website 2005-2007. These main categories were further sub-categorised for easy identification of relevant stories or articles such as Other News Stories, Feature, Editorial, Letters/Opinion, or Advertisement, which fall under the main themes respectively. Stories were again read and contents summarised.

For content analysis to have any merit, coders must have a high level of inter-coder reliability. According to Payne & Payne inter-coder reliability is achieved when coders are found to be coding the records in the same way. This can be tested by having a second coder to record the same records. In the case of this study, a modified Hansen’s coding schedule which is very similar to a survey questionnaire will be used (see Appendix One). It contains a listing of variables which are to be coded for each article. Hansen’s coding schedule is modified so that it may be not only relevant but be computable to this study. Hansen notes that coding consists of applying a content coding schedule in the particular sample. In this study coding schedule had to be completed for each article in the sample. ‘In practice, coding is a matter of (a) reading through each article, and (b) filling the coding boxes on the coding schedule with the appropriate codes (numbers) for each individual article.’

The first phase analysis involved an examination of position, length, focus, or narrative structure, of the selected articles on which I focused. This phase is what David Deacon and his associate authors call ‘the formal staging of news text’. According to their, argument what is centrally concerned here is ‘the ways in which a text is assigned an identity and role within a boarder structure, within an overall assemblage and ordering of various types of discourse as these are mobilized across the daily output of a written medium of public communication’. In this study this examination would be done by filling the first eleven coding boxes in the coding schedule for each article analyzed. The second stage of analysis is the study of my sample news text.

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The second stage of analysis is what Deacon and his associate authors refer to as the study of sample news text's thematic structure. This involves a movement through the pyramidal structure of the news text and between its various constitutive stages of narrative instalment. In doing this I would try to identify the key underlying conception or proposition which, although formally undefined, nevertheless informs the text as a whole and imparts to the text its relative coherence by interlinking its component parts. This examination would be done by filling coding boxes in the coding schedule that address the framing of the articles, the actor's use of "tricks" or appeals to mobilize hatred, solution suggests.

3.9 Research design

This study applies quantitative research method. The research includes the qualitative theoretical and empirical work on media policies, regulations, the role of the media in a democracy, and the analogy of photographs. It considers primary policy documents and secondary literature works on Botswana media policies and regulations covering the Basarwa court case.

The strength of this study is that it assesses 'propaganda techniques' or material designed by the three parties involved, to influence attitudes on this controversial issue of the status of Basarwa. In a normal discursive environment a communication strategy may be employed that aims to accomplish some specific goal. Given its military implications, the term strategy is usually perceived as having characteristics of both aggressive positioning and thoughtful defence. According to King, the term may be viewed in a communication context, as symbolic warfare. In using this rhetorical paradigm, an argumentative strategy might be viewed as discourse involved in the clash of reasoning supported by emotional appeals and designed to induce compliance.

Rita Kirk Whillock's argument is that a rhetorical strategy is different from a stratagem. Webster's third new international dictionary of English states that: 'a stratagem is an artifice or trick in war for deceiving and outwitting the enemy, a cleverly contrived trick or scheme for gaining an end'. Hate speech or words is an example of such a stratagem. 'Rather than seeking to win adherence through superior reasoning hate words seek to move an audience by creating a symbolic code for violence. Its goals are to inflame the emotions of followers, denigrate the designated out-class, inflict permanent and irreparable harm to the opposition, and ultimately conquer'.

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117 Ibid: 176
Why would an unscrupulous rhetoric evoke appeals to hatred in the Basarwa issue? The answer is simple: *to win*; to drive their point home. The campaign of each protagonist employs hate words that people are willing to listen to and respond to their case.

The limitation to the study is that it is only a review of documentation and not an account of the actual presence of the researcher during the period being studied. Taking into account the fact that this is an original study, lack of other studies might be a limitation, especially when it comes to comparing and contrasting scholarly ideas, particularly because this was a court case that was the first of its kind since the inception of Botswana’s democracy.
CHAPTER 4

Data analysis and discussions

This chapter analyses the data collected and discusses the interpretation of the data. The findings are presented in three categories and each category is divided into the four sections. The first section explains the focus of articles published in the Dailynews, Mmegi and SI News Website and specifies the main protagonists in the articles. Section two looks at the impression of Botswana’s democracy projected in the articles and photographs published in each publication. Section Three discusses the use of ‘tricks’ or appeal to mobilize hatred. Section Four is a summary of the results of each publication.

4.1 Data analysis and interpretation

Each publication’s data is analyzed on three year bases (2005 -2007) under four sections. The first three sections consist of one topic and the fourth gives a summary of the results of the category

Category 1: Results Dailynews 2005-2007

Section 1: the focus of articles and the main protagonists in the Dailynews
i. Basarwa CKGR court case focus (Dailynews)
ii. Basarwa as the main actor (Dailynews)
iii. Botswana Government as the main actor (Dailynews)
iv. Survival International as the main actor (Dailynews)

Section 2: Projection of democracy and photographs in the Dailynews
i. Framing of the article in the Dailynews
ii. Are the Dailynews articles illustrated by a photograph?

Section 3: Use of ‘tricks’ to mobilize hatred in the Dailynews
i. Does the Dailynews suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana Government?

Section 4: Summary of Dailynews results

Category 2: Results Mmegi/The Reporter 2005-2007

Section 1: the focus of articles and the main actors in Mmegi
i. Basarwa CKGR court case focus in Mmegi
ii. Basarwa as the main actor in Mmegi
iii. Botswana Government as the main actor in Mmegi
iv. Survival International as the main actor in Mmegi

Section 2: Projection of democracy in the Mmegi articles
i. Framing of the articles in Mmegi
ii. Are Mmegi articles illustrated by a photograph?

Section 3: Use of 'tricks' to mobilize hatred in Mmegi
i. Does the Mmegi suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana Government?

Section 4: Summary of Mmegi results

Category 3: Results Survival International News Website 2005-2007

Section 1: the focus of articles and the main actors the SI News Website
i. Basarwa CKGR court case focus (SI News Website)
ii. Basarwa as the main Actor (SI News Website)
iii. Botswana government as the main actor (SI News Website)
iv. Survival International as the main actor (SI News Website)

Section 2; Projection of democracy in SI Website News’ articles and photographs
i. Framing of the article in SI Website news
ii. Are the SI Website News articles illustrated by photographs?

Section 3: Use of tricks to mobilize hatred in SI News Website
i. Does the SI News Website article suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana Government?

Section 4: Summary of SI News Website results
4.2 Results Dailynews 2005-2007

4.2.1 The focus of articles and the main actors in the Dailynews

In the articles that were selected from the 2005 Dailynews the longest story that was published is of 968 words while the shortest is of 76 words. The words used in all the articles total 3382. Only 13% of the analyzed articles are published on the first page as a lead story and 74% are placed either on page 2 or other inside pages of the Botswana Government daily (See Table 1) This implies that the Dailynews in the articles analyzed, perceived the majority of the articles as less important. The only article that is placed in the front page is a news release from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation explaining the Government’s efforts to facilitate the burial of Xokoro Duxee, an 81 year old woman who had refused to relocate from CKGR. Of all the stories published in the Dailynews in 2005 only 13% were in the form of feature articles.

The type of Article published (Dailynews 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Results percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lead story</td>
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<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other news story</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature article</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisement</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

Basarwa CKGR court case focus (Dailynews)

From the Dailynews articles selected in 2005, only 13% focused on the Basarwa court case. In another 13%, the Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing. The Basarwa Court Case is used as a metaphor in 24% of the articles, while 50% of the articles fall under the category of ‘Other’. This implies that Dailynews in its 2005 coverage of the Basarwa CKGR case focuses on facts other than the court case. In most of the articles the coverage is on the debate in Parliament on the President’s state of the nation address. Members of parliament accused SI for spearheading an anti-Botswana campaign around the world. 121 That clarifies why 50% of the articles do not focus on the court case. (See Table 2)

The 2006 results of the Dailynews confirms that 40% of the articles focused mainly on the Basarwa court case. In 40%, the court case is mentioned only in passing and in the remaining 20% the articles do not focus on the Basarwa Court case. The 40% of Dailynews articles focused more on disputing SI allegations against Botswana. For example, in one of the articles entitled. Mogae rejects SI demands, President Mogae is quoted as saying:

Survival International demands that “we should return the Basarwa to the game reserve unconditionally and that should there be any mining in the park in future they will represent the residents of the park in negotiations with the mining. “If we do not agree, they say, they will intensify their malicious campaign to destroy our diamond industry and De Beers is scared stiff and wants us to capitulate. They have told us point blank that people in Europe and America will believe a European NGO rather than an African government. After all African governments are known to be bad, black, dictatorial and corrupt.”

In 40% of the articles the Basarwa case is mentioned in passing because it is no longer news. The court case had been going on for a long-time at the time. (See Table 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Focus</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is main focus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Focus</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is main focus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3

In the 2007 *Dailynews* articles selected the results illustrate that 50% of all the articles, the court case is mentioned only in passing while 20% indicates that the Basarwa case is secondary focus. In 10% of the articles, the court case is used as a metaphor or a signifier. In the last 20%, the articles are not focused on the court case. The focus of the paper is rather on how the Government intends to implement the court ruling of the case. Some of the 2007 stories explain or reveal developments that the Botswana Government is undertaking for the Basarwa. For example, in one article the President Festus Mogae makes an announcement that Lobatse Beslag, the Basarwa headman in New Xade, has been appointed to *Ntlo ya Dikgosi* (the House of Chiefs).\(^{123}\) According to Botswana’s governing system the supreme legislative authority is Parliament., consisting of the President and the National Assembly. However, where tribal and customary matters are involved, Parliament is obliged to act in consultation with the *Ntlo ya Dikgosi*.\(^{124}\) Another article gives coverage of UK Members of Parliament who visited the new settlements areas of the Basarwa. This explains the 50% articles where the court case is mentioned only in passing. (See Table 4)

*Basarwa CKGR Court Case focus (Dailynews 2007)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Focus</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>in Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is main focus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4*

The analyzed publications from the *Dailynews* did not have any editorial, opinion or even letter from the publication that wrote about the Basarwa Court Case, this is an indication that explains the attitude of the *Dailynews* towards the coverage of the Basarwa case. The paper did not consider the story as a serious issue nor did it even deem it worth publishing.

**Botswana government as the main actor (Dailynews)**

2005 results explain that in 62% of the articles analyzed the Botswana government is quoted directly. This implies that *Dailynews* acted as the mouth piece for the government of Botswana. In 25% of the articles government was referred to but not quoted either directly or indirectly. (See Figure1)

\(^{123}\) Chamo, Leatile, ‘Beslag heads for *Ntlo ya Dikgosi*...’ *Dailynews* 13, 22 January 2007: 4

In 2006 *Dailynews*, Botswana Government is quoted directly in 90% and is quoted indirectly in 10% of the articles analyzed. The results show that the *Dailynews* is a Government mouthpiece. The paper was used to explain government position about the Basarwa and even to count attack the SI campaigns.

![Botswana Government as main Actor](image1)

**Figure 1**

![Botswana Government as main actor](image2)

**Figure 2**

2007 the results show that in 70% of the articles analyzed, the government or representatives of the government are quoted directly. These quotes include a verbatim statement made by the president of Botswana, ministers or top Government officials. In 20% of the articles Government is quoted indirectly. (See Figure 2.)

*Survival International as the main actor (Dailynews)*

The results show that in 38% of the articles analyzed, Survival International was quoted directly, while in 13% they were quoted indirectly in the 2005 articles. (See Figure 3.)

The 2006 results are as follows: in 10% of the articles analyzed, Survival is quoted directly and indirectly in 10% of the articles. In 40% it was referred to and not quoted directly or indirectly. (See Figure 4.)
In all the 2007 publications analyzed, Survival International is never quoted, either directly or indirectly. In 20% of the articles, Survival International is only referred to and not quoted. In the remaining 80% of the articles, Survival International is not mentioned. The implication is that SI has not said anything that is worth quoting. (See Figure 5.)
4.2.2 Projection of democracy and photos in the *Dailynews*

The impression created about Botswana's democracy and its relationship with the Basarwa

In the analyzed articles the impression created about Botswana's democracy and its relationship with the Basarwa is that in 87% of them that Botswana is democratic, while in 13% of them Botswana is considered undemocratic. (See Figure 6.)

![Pie chart showing the distribution of opinions on Botswana's democracy and relationship with Basarwa.](image)

**Figure 6**

As far as the impression created about Botswana's democracy and its relationship with the Basarwa is concerned, the Botswana Government is shown to be very democratic in 80% of the 2006 articles. In an article titled 'Get proper picture of CKGR issue' the *Dailynews* attributed President Mogae's calling upon the European Union ambassador to Botswana to scrutinize the issue of the Basarwa relocation from CKGR in order to get a proper perspective. The implication here is that Botswana as a democratic country has nothing to hide. Anybody can check press statements against realities on the ground to question whether 'ethnic cleansing' and 'genocide' appropriately describe what happens.

The results indicate that in 80% of the 2007 articles Botswana is projected as a very democratic state. 20% of the articles project Botswana as unfair to the Basarwa. (See Figure 7.)

*Dailynews* notes:

If President Festus Mogae had his way, all the residents of New Xade would remain forever at their new place of abode and lead a better life instead of going back to the primitive ways of life inside the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve (CKGR). "My wish is that while we continue with dialogue, you should stay here and work hand in hand with the government for the betterment of your lives just like the rest of the Batswana....." 125

The word dialogue is used by the president as a sign of good democracy. The aim of the article is to show the readers that the Government cares for the Basarwa and wants them to lead a better life.

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125 Lottie Chano, Stay, Mogae pleads. *Botswana Dailynews* (19 January 2007) p1
Botswana's democracy and its relationship with Basarwa (Dailynews 2007)

Figure 7

Framing of the article in the Dailynews

50% of the articles analyzed are pro-Government, while 25% are pro-Basarwa, while the remaining 25% are well-balanced, meaning they did not favour the Basarwa, the Government or Survival International. (See Figure 8.)

The framing of the articles published in 2006 indicate that 70% of the articles are pro-Botswana Government, that is, they are presenting the Botswana Government as a victim of circumstances while 30% of the articles were pro-Basarwa and a mere 10% were balanced. In an article titled “Get proper picture of CKGR issue” president Mogae is noted as saying “Botswana has been at the receiving end of a spate of attacks from British based non-governmental organization, Survival International, because of the relocation of about 1000 Basarwa from the game reserve.”

Figure 8

Framing of the article (Dailynews 2005)

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126 Aupa, Mokotedi. “Get proper picture of CKGR issue”. Botswana Dailynews (6 February 2006) p1
In 70% of the 2007 articles, the results are pro-government while the remaining 30% are well-balanced articles, that is, they don't support government. Survival International or Basarwa. In most articles the Dailynews unfolds to the readers the good things that government is doing or is planning to do for Basarwa. The paper notes:

Mr Mogae announced that although nurses were in short supply throughout Botswana, there would be one for New Xade comes April. Electricity bought from Namibia would have spread to New Xade and other settlements in the region before the end of the year. The Ghanzi-New Xade Road, which undergoes regular maintenance, would also soon be turred because it was government's commitment to develop Botswana.

Are the Dailynews' article illustrated by a photograph?

75% of the articles analyzed are not illustrated by a photograph while 25% are. The photographs published show Africa as a developing and progressive continent. The Basarwa are not shown by the photography to be a community living in a poverty-stricken land.

50% of the articles are published with photographs while the other 50% are not. Most of the photographs are of President Mogae and diplomats (see, for example, photographs 1 and 2). None of the pictures portray the Africans negatively. The leaders of Africa are as well dressed as the diplomats.

40% of the 2007 articles are illustrated by a photograph and most of the photographs are of well-dressed Basarwa that do not hint to any suffering. 10% of the photographs are of Botswana in a conference and the 10% are of other Basarwa with a government lawyer at the high court. All the photographs give the impression that Africa is a place of development and progress.

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127 Ibid: 1
4.2.3 Use of 'tricks' or appeal to mobilize hatred and solution in the *Dailynews*

74% of the articles entail that the main actors in the story use tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred, the majority being against Survival International. (See Figure 9.) In an article headlined ‘Blair must reprimand Corry’, one of the members of Botswana Parliament was quoted as saying: ‘Blair must be told to call Corry to order if he still likes him because we are sick and tired of unfounded campaign against us. We have our own domestic problems that we could be addressing instead of running around countering Corry’. The use of the word ‘if he still likes him’ implies that if Corry does not stop his campaign, the MP might force him to. This is a hate speech. (See Figure 8.)

![Figure 9](image_url)

In the 2007 articles the results show that 70% of the articles indicate that the main actors on the articles use tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred against Botswana and Survival International. In majority of the articles president Mogae and his top officials incite the international community to hate St. The paper notes:

Another condition that Survival International has set for Botswana, Mogae said, is that if ever there is going to be mining in the park at any stage, and then government should recognize them as legitimate representatives of Basarwa in the negotiations ensuing. They have even told De beers mining company that they are legitimate spokespersons for Basarwa,” he said. Mogae said it is impossible to meet the demands because mineral rights in Botswana belong to the whole nation rather than a given community.129

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128 Tsotleo, Rebono. ‘Blair must reprimand Corry.’ *Dailynews* 15 December 2005: 3
129 Tsotleo, Rebono. ‘Mogae enlists help of new envoys.’ *Dailynews* 27 July 2005: 1
The aim of the words used here is to appeal to other countries to see SI’s campaign against Botswana as not only unfair but as undermining the independence and democracy of Botswana. (See Figure 10)

![Figure 10](image1)

In 50% of the 2007 articles it is unclear whether the Government daily used tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred. 20% of the articles however, indicate that the actors use tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred. In the final 30%, the actors did not use tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred between the concerned parties (See Figure 11)

![Figure 11](image2)

*Does the Dailynews suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana Government?*

50% of the 2005 articles show that the Government daily proposes suggestions which could remedy the situation between the Basarwa and Government. 25% of the articles do not suggest any solution to the dispute. 25% of the articles are unclear. The paper notes:
Government should re-strategise how it handles the relocation of Basarwa from Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve (CKGR) given the fierce publicity battle with Survival International. The MP for Kgalagadi North Obakeng Moomakwa, said in his contribution to debate on the state of the nation address that "it is about time we have their welfare at heart. We must try and win them back from Survival International."

2006 results illustrate that 10% of the articles suggest a solution to the dispute while 50% are unclear on whether there is a solution to the dispute. The majority of the articles suggest that there can be no solution to the dispute while the SI campaign is still on. (See figure 13)

In 50% of the 2007 articles it is not clear whether there is a solution to the dispute. 20% of the articles suggest a solution to the dispute and in the last 30% of the article, there is no solution to the dispute. (See Figure 13.)

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Does the article suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana government? (Dailynews 2006)

Figure 13

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Does the article suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana Gov. (Dailynews 2007)

Figure 14

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*Tswiao, Rehume. "Strategies relocation from CKGR." Dailynews. 6 November 2005.*
4.2.4 Summary of *Dailynews* results

The study has shown that *Dailynews* did not regard most of the articles about the Basarwa as very important news stories as the paper used only a few of them in the front page. (See Figure 14.) The reason may be because of the negative attitude of the *Dailynews* towards the Basarwa, or simply because the stories were not newsworthy. The research also shows that *Dailynews* gave Government more space by quoting its top officials directly more than the Basarwa. (See Table 5.) The implication is that the *Dailynews* silenced the Basarwa in their publications, making them appear unable to represent themselves. I argue that this is an undemocratic and a very subjective way of handling news, and it constructs a new way of perceiving Botswana. However, the fact that the *Dailynews* is a Government-controlled paper means that it is not surprising that the Basarwa are not fully covered by the paper.

The perception painted about Botswana by the *Dailynews* here is that its Government dictates to its people or looks down upon the Basarwa. That explains why the Basarwa are referred to more than being quoted. SI is quoted more than the Basarwa maybe because of their role of campaigning against the Botswana Government. The *Dailynews* identifies SI as the enemy of Botswana on the basis of the fact that it was advocating for the Basarwa contrary to the government wishes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Mmegi</em></td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dailynews</em></td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI Website News</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5*

The study has established that the *Dailynews* portrays the Botswana government in their dealing with Basarwa issue as democratic. (See Table 6) The paper also demonstrated subjectivity by publishing more articles that are pro-Government. The photographs used to illustrate the stories depict well-dressed people. (See Photo 6 and 7.) Even though some of the photographs were file pictures, they are relevant to the stories that they are illustrating. Most of the photographs are of top Government officials. The study also confirms an imbalance in the use of photographs in the *Dailynews*. Very few the Basarwa photographs were given space in the *Dailynews*. 
The study further proved that the actors in the *Dailynews* used tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred. Making *Dailynews* texts seem to be reinforcing relations of control. By giving space of more than 50% to articles that proposes suggestions for CKGR issue is a sign that the *Dailynews* acknowledges the dispute between Government and Basarwa. (See table 7) In all the reports analyzed the *Dailynews* tries to defend Botswana’s democracy. The paper indicates that the spectrum and barometer that is used to measure Botswana’s democracy remains the same yet the manifestations in the Basarwa case indicates that the yardstick for measuring democracy has to some degree changed.
The type of Article published (Mmegi 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of article published</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Results in percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lead story</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other news story</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature article</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisement</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

For 2006 articles analysed, the longest is 666 words and the shortest is 348 words. 60% of the articles published by Mmegi in 2006 are placed in the inside pages of the newspaper. The total word count used in the 10 articles is 4941. 20% is letters to the editor, 10% were editorials and the remaining 10% are feature articles. None of the stories were published as a lead or a front page story.

The longest story published in 2007 is 1315 words while the shortest had 176. The total number of words used in the 10 articles is 7475. None of the stories that are selected were published as a lead story. 50% of them are published on the inside of the newspaper. 10% of the articles are feature stories. The remaining 40% are letters to the editor. In three years only one story was placed in the front page. This implies that the Basarwa stories are not sufficiently important to be in the lead, but the issue needs to be examined in feature form.

Basarwa CKGR court case focus (Mmegi)

13% of the articles directed their focus on the Basarwa court case, 35% used the court case as a metaphor or a signifier, and 24% of the 2005 articles mentioned the court case in passing. In Mmegi the articles selected highlight the major issues of the Basarwa which made them to take Government to court. The land acquisition, according to Mmegi, remains one of the major issues. In another article Mmegi reveals how one of the CKGR campaigners caught the Government off-guard. In one article Mmegi publishes the Botswana Council of Church’s accusations aimed at SI. This explains why the majority of the article used the court case as a metaphor and therefore the implication here is that the Basarwa court case is not the main news of focus, rather the solution for the dispute is. (See Table 9.)
**Basarwa CKGR Court Case focus (Mmegi 2005)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Focus</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Results in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is main focus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 9*

In 2006 *Mmegi* focus results show that 40% of the articles used the case as their main focus and in 30% of the articles the case is mentioned in passing while in 10% it is used as a metaphor or a signifier. In 10% it is secondary focus and in the last 10% it is unclear or unknown. What is revealed in *Mmegi* is that the CKGR relocation case loses hype. The paper notes that the case is proceeding without the huge attendances and media hype once associated with it. In another article *Mmegi* covered the Basarwa issue by approaching the issue at other angles such as interviewing Government's chief spokesperson, Clifford Maribe. In the editorial *Mmegi* focuses on explaining to its readers its position on the Basarwa relocation issue. The paper notes:

> In the government enclave, SI has come to symbolize all that is evil about foreign meddling. Given its unorthodox campaigns that are characterised by outrageous misinformation about a non-existent 'Basarwa genocide', we are bound to sympathise with the government. On numerous occasions, we have - as a news organisation - made our position clear in relation to SI or any other body that resorts to dirty campaigns to achieve its goals. For the record, we are against such unethical conduct.

> However, we are also equally concerned about government's touchiness on the matter. It borders on the irrational. We are concerned that government is increasingly equating any divergent view on the CKGR with lack of patriotism. In fact, it is equated with being in cahoots with SI. This thinking of 'you are either with them or us' is not helpful.

*Mmegi*, in this article, wanted to position the paper in a neutral position and gives the court case less attention because it is no longer news. (See Table 10.)

---

In 2007 *Mmegi* took yet another perspective: 60% of the articles indicate that the Basarwa court case is a secondary focus. In 30% of the articles, the Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing. In 10%, the court case is the main focus. This change of focus could be attributed to the fact that *Mmegi* wrote more about the Government stand on the CKGR issue after the court ruling on the case (See Table 11)

---

### Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Focus</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is main focus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The Basarwa as the main actors in *Mmegi*

The results indicate that in 37% of the 2005 articles, the Basarwa are quoted directly while in 63% articles either directly or indirectly. The results show that *Mmegi* allowed the Basarwa to speak for themselves. (See Table 12.) For example in the article headlined ‘CKGR dispute delays woman’s burial’ *Mmegi* quoted one Solomon Phetolo as talking about the burial of a body of an 80-year Mosarwa who died in CKGR, saying: ‘How can someone tell us how we should bury our people? This is disheartening and we do not even know the mortuary they have taken her.’ they are referred to and not quoted.  

In the 2006 *Mmegi* articles the Basarwa are quoted directly in 10% of the articles while in 80% they are referred to and not quoted either directly or indirectly. Even though *Mmegi* interviewed the Government’s chief spokesperson in one of the articles, the paper did not achieve equilibrium by interviewing the other two

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parliers (SI and the Basarwa). However the publication gave the Basarwa space by publishing a press statement from FPK. In the article titled "Basarwa asked President Mogae to accept their wish and allow them to go back to CKGR."  The statements notes:

First People of the Kalahari, on behalf of the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, is now appealing to the whole world that the government of Botswana is not respecting its own court rules. We the Bushmen have won our court case and our right to go back to our ancestral land. But yesterday on January 18, President Mogae with Minister Venson (one of the government witnesses in the court case) addressed a meeting at New Xade resettlement camp and was still asking people not to go to the CKGR.

Does Mogae think the promise of more developments in New Xade will stop us from going home? We have suffered the pain of this long court case and that proves we really want to go back to CKGR. He has offered us developments in New Xade but we want our land. Now that we won our case it is the time for the government to understand this.  

In the above statement the paper gave the Basarwa space to appeal to the world. The Basarwa are the main actors here.

**Table 12**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quoted or Referred to</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quoted directly</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quoted indirectly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to but not quoted</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 30% of the 2007 articles the Basarwa are quoted directly. In the remaining 70% of the articles the Basarwa are referred to but are not quoted directly or indirectly. (See Figure 15)

![Figure 15](image)

---

134 FPK. President Mogae should accept our wish, Mmegi/ The Reporter, 7 August 2006.
135 Ibid
Botswana Government as the main actor in Mnegi articles.

In 24% of the articles, the Botswana government is quoted directly. In 50% of the articles the Government is referred to and not quoted either directly or indirectly and in 13% is quoted indirectly. Mnegi gave Botswana Government less of a platform than it gave the Basarwa. The fact that the Government is quoted less implies the bias of the Mnegi towards the Basarwa. (See Table 13.)

Botswana Government as the main actor (Mnegi 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quoted or Referred to</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quoted directly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quoted indirectly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to but not quoted</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13

The results show a change in 2006. The Botswana Government is quoted directly in 50% of the articles, in 20% of the articles it is quoted indirectly, while in 30% the government is referred to and not quoted at all. (See Figure 16.)

2007 shows an increase in the articles that referred to the Government as an actor, but not quoted, this being up to 60% of the articles. In 10% of the articles the Government was quoted indirectly while it was quoted directly in 20% of all the articles analyzed. The former Minister for Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, Pelonomi Venson, is quoted testifying in court in court SI news notes: “When questioned on the government’s reasons for the evictions, minister Venson made the comment, “Our main focus is for an integrated society. We want to promote that integration”.

Figure 16
Survival International as the main actor in Mmegi

Survival International as an actor is quoted directly in 25% of the articles and referred to but not quoted either directly or indirectly in 37% of the articles. This shows how Mmegi tried to achieve a balance between the three parties. The SI quotations are about allegation of torture by government. It could well be that it is quoted directly because the paper cannot prove the validity of the allegation as facts. The Mmegi notes:

The Director of SI, Stephen Corry, implored the government to move faster with negotiations and show Basarwa and the whole world that they have changed heart. He said Basarwa have been tortured and are scared by government officials each day. He said it would be more important to make living conditions in CKGR bearable. "There are armed guards firing over the poor people's heads and have wounded two people," said Corry. [13]

The paper was supposed achieve balance in this story by investigating the validity of Corry's allegation of the Botswana army killing Basarwa but Mmegi published the story without verifying the facts, therefore not achieving this balance. (Figure 17.)

![Graph]

**Figure 17**

Survival International as a main actor is quoted directly at 10% in the articles published by Mmegi articles. showing a decline in comparison to the 2005 results. SI is referred to and not quoted in 40% of the articles. The remaining 50% is referred to as other. The paper gave SI spaces by publishing a letter from SI's director Stephen Corry. The letter headlined 'Mogae is sometimes right' explains how Mogae is badly advised in the CKGR debate. Corry disputes all Mogae's view about SI. Corry notes:

When reported in the Dailytimes (20 March 2006) the President did not accurately describe Survival International's position and I would like to put the record straight. We are not asking for an unconditional return of Basarwa to CKGR, merely that former residents who want to return should be allowed to do so, to live there, hunt and gather and keep small cultivations and goats for their food.

It is only in this article that SI is reported verbatim. (See Figure 18.)

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[13] Sefaka, Tudjman. "Meddlesome SI caused relocation mess - cleric." Mmegi/The Reporter. 25 November 2005. It is this correct, the headline does not seem to make any sense, there seems to be a punctuation mark missing here.
In 2007 Mmegi quoted SI in 30% of the articles. Survival International is quoted directly while it is referred to in 30% of the articles. In the final 40%, Survival International is not mentioned at all. (See Figure 19.)

4.3.2 Projection of democracy in the Mmegi articles

The impression projected about Botswana’s democracy and its relationship with the Basarwa

74% of the articles imply that Botswana is very democratic while 13% indicate that Botswana is not democratic. The final 13% suggest that the Botswana Government is unfair to the Basarwa. (See Figure 20.)

As to the impression projected about Botswana’s democracy and its relationship with Basarwa, 30% of the articles indicate that Botswana is democratic in the 2006 articles; this is a decline in comparison to the situation in 2005. 50% indicates that Botswana is unfair to the Basarwa: this shows an increase by 37%. 10% indicates that Botswana is undemocratic. 10% of the articles indicate that Botswana is unfair to Survival International and the remaining 10% project Botswana as discriminatory. (See Figure 21.)
In 2007 results show that 50% of the articles indicate that Botswana is very democratic while 20% show that Botswana is undemocratic. In another 20% the articles show that Botswana is unfair to the Basarwa. In 10% of the articles Botswana is shown to be discriminatory. In summary the results show that Botswana is 51% democratic.

Framing of the article in Mmegi

The outcome, when considering how the Mmegi articles were framed in 2005, shows that 38% of the articles were in favour of the Basarwa, which in turn means they were biased against the Botswana Government. 49% of the articles were well-balanced and unbiased while 13% were pro-Government. None of the Mmegi articles analyzed were pro-Survival International. (See Figure 22.) In terms of balance in the articles, Mmegi reports the perspective of both SI and the Government in each story. For example, in an article headlined 'Govt, Basarwa in public war', the paper reports:

The British based NGO, Survival International, yesterday posted a statement on the internet in which it alleges "a full-scale crackdown on Bushmen": ‘The leaders of the Bushmen organisation - First People of the Kalahari have been arrested and imprisoned.'
They were among a group of 28 Bushmen, including seven children, who were seized by police as they tried to enter their ancestral homeland, the Central Kalahari Game Reserve," Survival International's statement says. "Their fate is now uncertain." Survival International says with the reserve scaled off, all hunting banned, Basarwa's radio transmitters confiscated, no water allowed in and armed wildlife guards in "every Bushmen community" those still holding out in the reserve have little means of survival.137

In the same article the paper presented the Government version of the same incident and it notes:

On the same days, the President Festus Mogae's press secretary Jeff Ramsay circulated another statement that reports the same incident from government's perspective. Ramsay's statement says "a small number of people, instigated and incited by Roy Sesana and Lumanda Gakelebone, held a demonstration at New Xade" with intent to force their way into the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). "The demonstration in New Xade was lawful and in their right, hence the police allowed it to proceed. Despite an intensive house to house campaign in New Xade by Roy Sesana and his friends over many days, the demonstration largely failed as it attracted no more than 35, including 7 children, out of the more than 2000 residents of New Xade. What was unlawful and the police could not allow was an attempt by the demonstrators to forcibly enter the Game Reserve."138

The two versions of the same story not only give the story a balance, but also help the reader to draw his/her own conclusions from it.

In the 2006 publications of Mmegi, the framing of the articles analyzed, the results show that 10% are pro-Basarwa, 20% are pro-Government while 30% are well balanced and 10% are pro-Survival International. Only 30% of the articles are fair to both parties. (See Figure 23.)

---

Figure 22

Framing of the article (Mmegi 2005)


137 Fid. 2
4.3.3 Use of 'tricks' to mobilize hatred and solution in *Mmegi* articles

60% of the articles are pro-Government and 30% are pro-Basarwa. The remaining 10% of the articles that *Mmegi* published in 2007 are pro-Survival International. (See Figure 24) the article reads:

Had Survival International (SI) not interfered with the first round of negotiations between the government and Basarwa, the issue of relocation would have been dealt with effectively, the coordinator of Botswana Council of Churches (BCC), Father Benjamin Molako stated.

He blamed SI for blowing things out of proportion. "They even carried out a bad campaign that is likely to affect our economy. If you de-campaign our diamonds, it might bring the economy down to its knees. Diamonds are our livelihood," he said. He believes that the negotiations would have yielded positive results if SI stayed out. He pointed out that NGOs have always been part of the negotiations to ensure that human rights were not violated.139

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The statement made here about SI is a negative one. The aim is to make Batswana view SI as an enemy who is trying to bring their economy down under the pretext of helping the Basarwa. That view would lead Batswana to hate SI. (See Figure 25.)

Actors in 60% of the 2006 *Mmegi* articles use tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred between the Botswana Government and Survival International. Corry’s letter, headlined ‘Mogae is sometimes right’ implies that President Mogae does not have the right advisors. The words used in the letter mobilize hatred negative sentiments against Mogae. In the article headlined ‘Govt faces tough media battle on CKGR *Mmegi* reveals to its readers that the Botswana Government, which now finds itself with its back against the wall with an increasing number of dissenting voices from within its borders, including the two main opposition parties, seems to have dug its heels even deeper about its handling of the Basarwa issue. The paper implies that the government seems to be losing the battle but it is not willing to give up the fight. (See Figure 26) The article quotes the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation saying: ‘the Government will continue to muster all the willpower and resources at its disposal to fiercely and resolutely fight Survival International’s malicious and obnoxious propaganda’.

![Figure 26](image1)

![Figure 26](image2)

---

In 70% of the 2007 *Mmegi* articles the actors used tricks. Survival international is portrayed as an enemy of Batswana. In 30% of the articles it is not clear whether illusions were used to mobilize hatred or not. In a letter to the editor Bugalo Chilume writes:

Stephen Corry's Survival International (SI) is a self-styled champion of the rights of indigenous people around the world. However, it shies away from vigorously confronting Western nations over these rights presumably to avoid offending the establishment that includes captains of industry upon which SI relies for its own survival through donations. However, when it comes to developing countries it becomes a different ball game altogether, as this country has recently experienced. 141

*Mmegi* gave Stephen Corry space to reply to Chilume in order give a balance to the discussion. Corry writes:

Chilume betrays his low opinion of the Basarwa, characterising them as not capable of making their own sensible decisions - which they undoubtedly are. If he is right, and Survival really wanted to manipulate the situation for its own gain, why have we consistently and repeatedly made it clear that we have never had any requirement whatsoever to be part of any negotiations the Basarwa might have with government? They are perfectly able to represent themselves in any and all negotiations. 142

Both Chilume and Corry use tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred.

**Are *Mmegi* articles illustrated by photographs?**

62% of the articles published are not illustrated by a photograph while 38% are illustrated by one or two photographs. The only photography of Basarwa that *Mmegi* used is that of the leader of the Basarwa organization First People of the Kalahari, Roy Sesana, putting a buck’s horns on his head and donning a jacket made of an animal skin. His clothing is a mix of traditional and modern clothing. In one of the photographs Sesana is seen with the Sidney Pilane, an attorney who represented the Government in the Basarwa case. The implication is that tradition fighting for recognition is lawful in a modern Botswana (See photographs 1 and 2.)

Photo 3 shows a group of the Basarwa walking outside the High Court one of them is talking on a cell phone. They are well dressed like any Motswana with T-shirts bearing the logo, *I love CKGR*. The implication of the *Mmegi* pictures of the Basarwa is that like any other Motswana they have also been seduced by modernity.

60% of the articles are illustrated by photographs. The pictures used include one of the three judges who are presiding over the Basarwa case, as well as Roy Sesana, Mogae and Basarwa dancers. All the photographs used are file pictures which means they are not necessarily related to the story they illustrate. None of the pictures portray the Basarwa negatively.

141 Chilume, Bugalo, 'BNF leadership's sweetheart is at it again'.
142 Corry, Stephen 'Chilume, reserve your Survival's hostility for Basarwa evictors'. 23 January 2007
Does a Mmegi article suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana Government?

In the 2006 articles, 62% came up with suggestions which could be a solution to the dispute between the Government and the Basarwa while the remaining articles did not suggest or imply any solution to remedy the problem. Tadueiso Setsiba in her article ‘FPWW prepares to Mediate CRGR Relocation’ notes:

FPWW is an international organisation that aims to empower indigenous people. It believes that the people can be empowered by giving them the responsibility to care for game reserves and benefit as employed guides and selling their crafts to tourists. ‘They cannot be empowered by removal from the land which belongs to their grandfathers.’

Solution suggested here is empowerment of Basarwa not to move them from the land which belongs to their grandparents. The implication here is that CRGR belongs to the Basarwa which is true in a sense. However, this might be misleading because CRGR according to Botswana laws remains state land, no tribe or group of people own land in Botswana.

[141] Setsiba, Tadueiso. ‘FPWW prepares to mediate CRGR relocation’. Mmegi/The Reporter. 28 November 2005: 2
40% of the articles published by Mmegi in 2006 suggest a solution to the dispute to the matter between Government and Basarwa while 50% do not mention any. *Mmegi* made the following suggestion as regards the Basarwa dispute:

We regard the CKGR as a critical issue that calls for urgent attention. This is basically a case between government on the one hand and the Basarwa (as represented by the First People of the Kalahari) on the other. We note that several local and credible organisations such as the Botswana Christian Council (BCC), Botswana Council of NGOs (BOCONGO), and Ditshwanelo have long offered to facilitate dialogue between the two parties. We sincerely still believe it is not too late to initiate this all-important dialogue.144

Corry own suggestion in respect of the dispute was: ‘As always, the dispute could be over by tomorrow if the government said -and meant- that the Basarwa were free to return to their homes in the CKGR. The solution remains in the President’s hands as it always has.’ 145 (See Figure 27)

In 2007 50% of the articles indicate that there is a solution to the dispute. One of the solutions suggested comes from FPK who said President Mogae should accept their wish. 30% of the articles suggested no solution to the ending of the dispute. *Mmegi* notes:

High expectations of an amicable resolution, at least from those outside the circle of the belligerents in the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve (CKGR) issue that were pinned on President Festus Mogae’s visit to New Xade last Friday were summarily quashed. From the first note of his address it became clear that governments hardened stand on the CKGR issue had not softened even a little.146

In the remaining 20% of articles any assessment as to whether a solution to the dispute was offered or not is unclear. (See figure 28.)

**4.3.4 Summary of Mmegi/ The Reporter results**

The study has shown that *Mmegi* gave the Basarwa stories more space in comparison to the SI News website and *The Dailynews*. (See Figure 13.) The reason may be that the paper has more pages in it and it is not a Government controlled newspaper. Only 18% of the articles published were placed on the front page. (See Table 14) This is an indication that the paper either marginalized the Basarwa or their dispute with the Government.

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144 Editorial. 'CKGR is no measure of patriotism.' *Mmegi/The Reporter*. 15 November 2006.
Does the articles suggest any solution? (Mmegi 2006)

Table 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
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<td>40%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
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<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 27

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>Mmegi</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dailynews</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI Website News</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15

The study verifies that instead of reporting more on the Basarwa court, Mmegi published stories that gave the background of the dispute between the Government and Basarwa. The paper in their coverage of the Basarwa focused more on finding the solution to the dispute than the coverage of the court case pieces.

Mmegi, unlike the Dailynews, gave the Basarwa much more space by getting their voices heard through their quotations even though in less than 30% of its articles. (See table 15.) In all the articles analyzed Mmegi is trying to assume a neutral position. Mmegi criticises both the government and SI on the way they handle the Basarwa issue. A private paper can criticise Government without fear of been victimized although the Government at times can put in firm measures regardless. This shows the existence of some kind of freedom of press in Botswana.
Does the article suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana Gov. (Mmegi 2007)

Figure 28

The research demonstrates that according to Mmegi articles, the Government's dealings with the Basarwa are democratic. The percentage that supports this finding is just a little above 50% which implies that the Government is not totally democratic in the way they deal with Basarwa issue. This also implies that even though the paper tries to place itself in a neutral position, it at times sympathized with the Government. In all its reports Mmegi does not confirm any support of SI. Mmegi used articles with actors that used appeals to mobilize hatred, but unlike the Dailynews the paper gave each participant space to reply.

This study shows that Mmegi illustrated most of its articles with photographs. The most used photograph of the Basarwa is that of Roy Sesana, the leader of the Basarwa organization – First People of the Kalahari. The photo depicts Sesana putting a buck’s horns on his head and wearing a jacket made of an animal skin. His clothing is a mix of traditional and modern clothing. All the photographs depict well-dressed people who seem to be living comfortably in a progressive, prosperous country. Even though Mmegi indicates there is a dispute between the Government and Basarwa and critique the Government's way of handling the issue, the paper does not imply that the country's democracy is declining.

4.4 Results Survival International News Website 2005-2007

4.4.1 The focus of articles and the main actors (SI News Website)

Of the news stories selected for this study from the SI News Website the longest story was published in 2005 and is 379 words long while the shortest is one of 146 words. In total, the chosen articles are 1810 words long. All the stories analyzed were used as main stories. No feature articles or editorials were chosen for analysis. The longest 2006 article consisted of 375 words while the shortest is of 113 words. The words used in the 10 selected article totals 2284. All the stories are lead stories or main stories. No editorials or feature articles were selected. From the articles that were published in 2007 on the Survival International website,
the longest story is 860 words long while the shortest one is 176 words long. The total number of words in all ten articles adds up to 2652.

*Basarwa CKGR court case focus (SI News Website)*

In analyzing the focus on the Basarwa CKGR court case in 2005 publications, the results confirm that in 38% of the articles, the court case is used as a metaphor or as a signifier and 25% of the articles focus on it primarily. Most the articles reveal how the Government ill-treats the Basarwa.

In an article headlined 'Bushman leaders beaten in custody,' SI News notes that Basarwa leaders arrested on 24 September were beaten in custody by policemen including the superintendent of the district police station: 'They were arrested as they attempted to transport water and food to their relatives in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.' 147 Another article notes;

Two Kalahari Bushmen are journeying to Britain, Sweden and Germany on a desperate mission to stop the Botswana government from arresting, shooting and torturing their people and starving them off their land. The two Bushmen will be in London from 29 November to 2 December, before travelling to Sweden to accept the 'Alternative Nobel Prize' for 2005.148

The implication here is that the court case focus is no longer the main news, rather the campaign against Botswana seems to be the main news. (See Table 16.)

*Basarwa CKGR court Case focus (SI 2005)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Focus</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is main focus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 16*

In the 2006 articles, results show that 50% of the articles used the Basarwa case as their main focus. The majority of the articles are focusing on the proceedings and arguments made during the court proceedings, 30% of the articles use the court case as signifier, while 10% mention the court case only in passing.10%

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mention the court case as a secondary focus. In one article SI News Website focuses on the actions taken by the Government against the media. In an article headlined, 'President Office bans Bushman TV interview', SI news reports to its readers that the office of the President of Botswana ordered Botswana Television not to air a scheduled programme containing an interview with the Basarwa leader, Roy Sesana. In other articles the focus was on the President’s visit to promote his country’s diamonds. (See Table 17.)

**Basarwa CKGR Court Case focus (SI 2006)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Focus</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is main focus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 17*

In 2007 some changes as the results occurred, indicating that in 50% of the articles the Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing. The case is used as a metaphor or signifier in 30% of the articles. In 10%, the court case is secondary to other issues while in the remaining 10% the court case is not mentioned. The focus changed because now the case was over. It is the implementation of the court ruling that is now news. One of the articles notes:

Botswana’s High Court ruled in December that the Botswana government’s eviction of the Bushmen was “unlawful and unconstitutional” and that they have the right to live on their ancestral land inside the CKGR. The court also ruled that the Bushmen have the right to hunt and gather in the reserve, and should not have to apply for permits to enter it.

This is what might have changed the focus. (See Table 18.)

**Basarwa CKGR Court Case focus (SI 2007)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Focus</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is main focus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 18*
24% of the articles selected from the Survival International News website quoted the Basarwa directly in 2005, while they are referred to and not quoted directly or indirectly in 38% of the articles. (See Table 19.) The only Mosarwa quoted directly is the leader of FPK, Roy Sesana. Some of the quotations are not attributed to any specific Mosarwa. For example, in an article headlined ‘Bushmen attack the BBC Radio programme as not true’, the article notes: ‘The Bushmen said, “Survival has proved it is working for us and we have benefited a lot from their help. Unlike Kuru and Ditshwanelo, Survival is an organization which does actually support the people of CKGR.” ‘The Mosarwa quoted here is nameless. For an article to be credible its sources must be attributed. If not, the article’s validity remains questionable.

**Table 19**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Focus</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Results in Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is main focus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2006, 30% of the articles quoted the Basarwa directly, with the leader of the First People of the Kgalagadi, Roy Sesana, being frequently quoted and also the Basarwa who were testifying in court. In the remaining 70% of the articles, the Basarwa were referred to and not quoted directly or indirectly. In an article titled ‘Tragedy of mother’s death highlights growing AIDS crisis’ Tumelo Sebelegangwana is quoted saying to SI: ‘I want to go and be buried in my home in Molapo (in the Reserve). I am sick now, I am about to die...Here in New Xade there are different kinds of diseases that we do not recognize...’ The fact that in the majority of the articles Basarwa are not quoted implies that someone is talking on behalf of the Basarwa.

In 60% of the 2007 articles Basarwa are referred to but not quoted. It is only in 30% of the articles where Basarwa are directly quoted while in the remaining 10% they are not mentioned at all. SI News website quotes the Basarwa to demonstrate that they can speak for themselves. Jummanda Gakelebone of FPK is quoted in one of the articles saying: ‘ The court said we could go back to our land, but now we see that the government is doing everything it can to stop us. Why else would it stop us using a borehole that nobody else

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is using? Without water we cannot live in the Kalahari. The most used quotations are those that discredit the Government. (See Figure 29.)

![Figure 29](image)

**Botswana government as the main actor (SI News Website)**

The results show that in 25% of the articles the Government is quoted directly while in 13% it is quoted indirectly. In the remaining percentage, the Government is referred to only, and is neither quoted directly nor indirectly. All articles selected are subjective; government is only quoted directly where statement made put it in bad light. (See Figure 30.) In 60% of the 2006 articles, the Botswana Government was referred to as an actor, but not quoted. In 10% of the articles, the Government was quoted indirectly while it was quoted directly in 20% of all the articles analyzed. The former Minister for Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, Polonomi Venson is quoted testifying in court. SI News notes: “When questioned on the government’s reasons for the evictions, minister Venson made the comment, “Our main focus is for an integrated society. We want to promote that integration.” (See Figure 30.)

![Figure 30](image)

In 80% of the 2007 articles the Botswana Government is referred to but not quoted. It is quoted directly in only 10% of the articles. In the remaining 10% there is no mention of the Government. The SI News website reports on the acts of the Government without quoting. For example, in an article titled ‘Water ban - Bushman leader travels to London’ the News Site notes: ‘The Botswana government has banned the
Kalahari Bushmen from using their own water as UN World Water Day approaches on 22 March. The fact that the Government is not quoted in any of the articles implies that according to the SI News website the Government has not said anything worth noting. (See Figure 31.)

Survival International as the main actor (SI News Website)

Here results show that in 37% of the articles SI is quoted directly while in 38% it is referred to and not quoted.

Survival's director Stephen Corry is the most quoted. For example in an article titled 'Bushman woman starved to death in government blockade'. Corry is quoted as saying: "We fear for the lives of those Bushmen still resisting eviction. More and more organizations are sure to take up this cause if this campaign of starvation and violence continues." (See Figure 33.)

In 20% of the 2006 articles, Survival international was quoted directly and only referred to without any quotation in 20% of the articles. In the remaining 60% of the articles, Survival International is not
mentioned, although at the end of each article, the contact person specified uses Survival International’s address. SI’s director Stephen Corry is the quoted in 20% of the articles. (See Figure 34.)

![Figure 33](image1)

![Figure 34](image2)

In 70% of the 2007 articles, Survival International is quoted directly while in 10% it is referred to but not quoted. In the remaining 20% of the articles, Survival International does not feature. Corry is quoted in all of the 70% articles. The following is one such quotation:

“In spite of the court ruling, the Botswana government still wants to keep the Bushmen off their ancestral lands. Only a few are allowed back without permits and even they cannot hunt, cannot get at their water, and cannot have their small herds of goats. In other words, they can go back so long as they don’t eat or drink.”

60% of the quotations are used a conclusion of the articles. That implies that SI News Website is the mouthpiece of SI.

4.4.2 Projection of democracy in SI News Website articles

The impression projected about Botswana’s democracy and its relationship with Basarwa

On the Survival International News Website in 2005, the impression projected about Botswana’s democracy and its relationship with Basarwa in 75% of the articles reflects it as undemocratic and in 25% of the articles shows it to be democratic. SI News accuses the Government of killing, unlawfully arresting and ill-treating the Basarwa, therefore it is undemocratic and unfair to Basarwa. For example, in an article titled ‘Bushman leaders have been beaten in custody’, the publication states:

The police started throwing teargas and firing shots at the Bushmen as they attempted to enter the reserve. One Bushman was shot in the jaw and is understood to be seriously hurt. The Bushmen were unarmed. In total, twenty-eight Bushmen were arrested and spent four days in prison. They were released yesterday on bail. They face charges of ‘Unlawful assembly’ and if convicted, could be imprisoned for up to one year. Seven of those detained were children, including a seven-month old baby. 153

According to this article the Basarwa had not done anything wrong or unlawful that they should be shot at by the police. Only an undemocratic government can do that to its people.

In the 2006 articles, the results indicate that 70% of the articles describe Botswana as a highly undemocratic country and that it is discriminatory when it comes to Basarwa. 10% of the articles indicate that Botswana is unfair to the Basarwa which means the Government ill-treats the Basarwa. (See Figure 34.)

In 60% of the 2007 articles, the government was considered to be unfair to the Basarwa. In the remaining 40%, Botswana is shown to be undemocratic. In an article headlined ‘UN Human Rights Committee to examine Botswana,’ SI News reports: ‘Survival has submitted a report to UN Human Committee detailing the Botswana government’s failure to implement the December ruling in the case of Basarwa’. 154 This implies ‘that the Government is undemocratic. One of the stories notes:

A Reuters report published on CNN yesterday cites the government's treatment of the Kalahari Bushmen and the banning of 17 people including Survival International staff as evidence of Botswana's 'eroding democracy'.
'The government's handling of a high-profile legal battle with the San Bushmen - Africa's last hunter gatherers - has added to the concerns about its commitment to democracy and minority rights,' reads the report. 155

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154 Ibid
The impression projected here is that Botswana’s democracy is eroding. The implication is that the Basarwa issue is just one example of a number of undemocratic issues that are eroding the Botswana democracy.

**Framing of the articles in SI News Website**

In the framing of the articles published by the Survival International News Website in 2005 the results show that 62% of the articles are pro-Basarwa which means they were opposed to the Botswana Government and in favour of the Basarwa.

In 2006, 70% of the articles are framed in such a way that they are pro-Survival International and only 30% are pro-Basarwa. (See Figure 34.) None of the articles recognize the efforts of the Botswana Government in a positive way. The stories are not well balanced as they are biased and in favour of Survival International and to a certain extent the Basarwa. For example in an article titled ‘Tragedy of mother’s death highlights growing AIDS crisis’ the article states:

> Botswana has one of the highest HIV/AIDS rates in the world. The Bushmen in the Reserve were barely affected, but it is an increasing problem since relocation. Tumelo's family was evicted from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in 1997. Her sister and her mother have also died in New Xade. Another sister is now caring for the three orphans left by Tumelo, plus four children of her own...
> Survival's director Stephen Corry said today, 'The tragedy of Tumelo's family is repeated again and again across the Botswana government's resettlement camps. This is no surprise removing tribal peoples from their land has always had disastrous consequences for their health. The government can't claim ignorance, because it has been warned repeatedly that this would happen.'

The relocation from CKGR to New Xade started in 2002 not 1997 as the article states. This is the language SI uses in its campaign against the Government’s decision to relocate the Basarwa.

The 2007 articles are framed in such a manner that 50% of them favour Survival International, 40% of them favour the Basarwa and 10% are well balanced. None of the articles published on the news website favour Botswana’s Government. The implication is that the Basarwa and SI are victims. In some of the articles the SI news site attempts to reframe some of the articles published by the Dailynews. In an article titled ‘Lord Jones does not question Survival’s integrity’, the SI News website notes:

> The Botswana government-controlled paper the Dailynews had reported Jones as saying that Survival was, 'telling the world misleading information,' and 'peddling untruths to solicit funds from donors' in its campaign to support the Kalahari Bushmen. Jones, however, has now said, 'My views on this issue... appear not to have been accurately

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recorded by the *Botswana Dailynews*, and that his comments 'have been greatly distorted.'\(^{129}\)

The implication here is that *Dailynews*, like the Botswana Government cannot be trusted, as the paper distorts information at its disposal. The same article quotes Stephen Corry saying: ‘Survival International has a 38-year track record for accurate and honest work supports the human rights of tribal people. Our reporting and analysis of the Bushman issue has been rigorous in its accuracy...’\(^{125}\)(See Figure 36.)

![Figure 35](image1.png)

**Figure 35**

Botswana's democracy and its relationship with Basarwa (SI 2006)

![Figure 36](image2.png)

**Figure 36**

Framing of the article (SI 2007)

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*Are SI News Website's articles illustrated by photographs?*

All the articles published by SI News Website are illustrated by a photograph of either an old Mosarwa, or a Mosarwa child. Each photograph portrays Botswana as a land of poverty and crisis. One photograph of a half-naked child leaning against a tree with a cup hanging on the tree trunk is used in majority of the articles as a logo. The picture does not have a caption only a quotation attributed to an unnamed Mosarwa. The background of the photo is the blue sky. The fact that a child is used indicates a sense of helplessness. The implied narration is that the Basarwa are poor, helpless and are have-nots who need help from those who

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\(^{130}\) Ibid
have. (See photograph 2). The old man in the second picture is also naked. His right hand is covering his mouth as if he is told not to say a word to anybody although he has a great deal to say.

The pictures used are file photos which means may have been taken months or years before the article was written. The photographs show the perception of Africa as a land of endless suffering, poverty and crisis.

4.4.3 Use of 'tricks' to mobilize hatred and solution in SI Website News articles

Did the actors use 'tricks' or 'appeals' to mobilize hatred?

In all the articles selected, the actors used tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred. Survival International used tricks to mobilize hatred between the Basarwa and the Botswana Government. In the article headlined 'Bushman woman starved to death in government blockade', SI News reveals that the post-mortem report of Mosarwa woman Quresi Duxee, has confirmed that she died of dehydration, starvation and shock in the CKGR.159 The article explains that the Basarwa who have tried to bring food and water to relatives in the reserve were arrested. The aim of the article is to discredit the Government and expose its cruelty towards the Basarwa. In another article headlined, "Thrown out for wearing a t-shirt: Oxford Union does a Walter Wolfgang", the news website notes:

Botswana's President Mogae had been invited to give a promotional talk to the Union about the state of democracy in his country, but was met at every turn by students and

159 Ibid
others protesting at Botswana’s persecution of peaceful Kalahari Bushmen, who have been thrown off their ancestral land.\textsuperscript{160}

The implication is that there is nothing democratic that can be learned from the Botswana authorities because of their persecuting the peaceful Basarwa. The protesters were mobilizing hatred for Botswana government. The 2006 results show that in all the articles the actors used trick or appeals to mobilize hatred. All the articles encourage the reader to hate the Botswana Government for its actions against the Basarwa. This is an appeal to the readers to support the Basarwa in their campaign against government. The articles also appeal to the economic world to discredit Botswana’s diamonds as Blood Diamonds.

In 70\% of the 2007 articles tricks and appeals were utilized to mobilize hatred while in 30\% of them it is not very clear. ‘Twenty-one Gana and Gwi Bushmen have been arrested by Botswana police for hunting on their ancestral land.’\textsuperscript{161} These are some of the words used to mobilize hatred for Botswana government. If you are hunting in your ancestral land why should you be arrested? This is a question a normal reader can ask. (See Figure 37)

\textit{Does the SI News Website article suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana government?}

62\% of the 2005 articles suggested solutions that could solve the Basarwa and the Botswana Government while 38\% did not indicate a solution to the pending problem. The only solutions that SI’s articles suggest are that the government should allow the Basarwa to return to CKGR and let them hunt freely.

2006 results show that in 60\% of the articles, the Survival International news website does not suggest any solution to this dispute between Basarwa and Botswana’s Government. Only 20\% of the articles do suggest some kind of action that could alleviate the problem at CKGR. In 20\% of the articles it is not clear whether or not they suggest a solution. (See figure 38)

In 60\% of the 2007 articles there seems to be no solution to the quarrel between the government and the Basarwa. 20\% of the articles imply that there may be a solution to the issue and in 20\% of the articles it is not clear. (See figure 39)


\textsuperscript{161} “Bushmen arrested for hunting despite court judgment” SI News Website (16 July 2007) http://www.survival-international.org/news/1064
4.4.4 Summary of SI News Website results

The study has shown that SI News Website gave less than half the space Dailynews or Mmegi gave to the Basarwa court case articles. The focus of the News Website was more on the way the Government of Botswana ill-treats the Basarwa. The SI publication coverage disputes the ethical homogeneity of Botswana.

The study reveals that even though SI claims to be supporting the Basarwa in their fight for CKGR and against the Botswana Government, the voice of the Basarwa is not heard much in the SI News. (See Table 15.) The Basarwa are quoted directly in less than 50% of the articles. This implies that, whether deliberately or not, SI assumes the voice of the Basarwa. Research also proves that the SI News Website quoted the Botswana government in less than 20% of their articles. This implies that the Government was silenced and pushed to the periphery in the website news coverage.

The study shows that of the three publications the SI News Website used more appeals to mobilize hatred than the other two publications. The declaration of Botswana’s diamonds as ‘conflict diamonds’ because money from diamonds had funded the evictions and the ‘relocation camps’ of the Basarwa by SI, seems to have worked well for the SI campaign against the Government. This campaign has had a very negative impact not only on the Government, but also on the Botswana public, who - unlike the international audience - can check press statements against realities on the ground.
The framing of the SI News Website articles which accuse the Government of killing, unlawfully arresting and ill-treating the Basarwa makes the reader view the Botswana Government as undemocratic and unfair to the Basarwa. This observation added a new dimension to the previous representation of Botswana as a peaceful country; a dimension that forces a rethink of the peacefulness of Botswana. The study has shown that all the articles published in the SI website were illustrated with photographs of the Basarwa. The majority of the images depict the Basarwa half-naked and most people photographed are old people or children. All the photographs are file pictures, which means they may have been photographed two or three years before their publication. This is an indication of the lack of progress and development in Botswana. The picture constructed about Botswana by the use of these photographs is that it is a land of poverty and crisis.

My argument is that the standard of objective reporting in the SI News website - on which comment could properly be based - has therefore been generally low. At times it has even been slanted, throwing in a sentence out of context, seizing on a word ill-used, preferring a story about failure or fear to a story of achievement or endeavour, stressing every day by the angle of clash of personality, rather than the angle of common purpose and dogged advance.

SI seems to have launched a campaign rooted in some complex of superiority, conducted with a persistent paternalism, designed to show that the people of Africa were unfit for self-determination, incapable of controlling themselves and enjoying freedom, inherently unaware of (or indifferent to) the dignity of man.

The study shows that in the Basarwa issue, SI becomes symbol of fundamental decency of international aid. It is portrayed as modern day saint, possessing an immense knowledge of what it is doing and of the Basarwa of whom they are assisting in their battle with Government. For example the Basarwa are encouraged to hunt illegally in CKGR and when they are arrested for breaking their country’s law, SI portray their arrests as an element of suffering and makes them the passive recipients of SI charity. The research has also shown that according to the SI News Website, the Government is very undemocratic and unfair to the Basarwa.
CHAPTER 5
Conclusions

This chapter restates the hypothesis of this study and explains how it has been met. The chapter discusses the broader issue of the media representation of Africa. The section also provides a mapping of the meanings, discourses and norms by which a Government of Botswana-owned publication, an international NGO-owned news website, as well as a privately-owned local newspaper covered this court case, and of their justification for bias in reporting. The recommendations that are drawn are based on the conclusions.

5.1 Objectives of this research

The research was carried out and compiled based on the following hypothesis: that ownership of the media influences the framing of articles published. The notion of ‘frames’ and ‘framing’ are ideas deliberately intended to expose the ways in which news becomes stories. The assumption is that the media use propaganda bias in their coverage.

The court case in Botswana that was instituted by the Basarwa against the Government in protest against their relocation from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve provides a good instance through which to study the question of reporting Africa from three different perspectives: the perspective of a government-owned local newspaper, Dailynews, that of an independent but locally-based newspaper, Mmegi/The Reporter, and lastly, that of a foreign NGO which runs a website on which appears news stories, this being Survival International’s news website. The focus of this work is on this reporting and what each case tells us about the different approaches adopted by each of them. This study has shown that both local and international media framing of the Basarwa court case resulted in articles which favour one view of the world over another, providing sustenance for one set of interests while undermining an alternative.

The study has shown that the publications were biased in their reporting of the Basarwa court case and as a result did not give a true picture of the Basarwa issue. The three publications framed their contents systematically to favour different sets of interests.

The study has argued that SI News Website reports of the Basarwa seek to exacerbate ethnic anxieties, perhaps with the aim of cultivating grounds for the sustenance of a political crisis which ultimately could result in a humanitarian one. Yet there is no reason why this media agent cannot get true information on Basarwa since it could be well represented in the CKGR if what was primary was reporting the truth.

The unusual paradox of SI photographs of the Basarwa is also revealed. On the one hand most of them depict ethnographic subjects entirely characteristic of their place, the CKGR. Yet, on the other, they demonstrate an
unexpectedly idiosyncratic sensibility, an image rarely typical or typifying, images of the Basarwa, even for those familiar with them. These pictures - which, when viewed together with the texts they accompany compose an obviously important archive. This will, at first blush, seem surprising: bemused half naked children gazing quizzically at the camera lens, peaceful portraits of Basarwa secure in their own surroundings, lithe figures casting comely shadows, and traditional rural landscape of stark beauty. Such images reveal an emotional engagement and an aesthetic impulse that Willemien le Roux and Alison White in their book, *Voices of the San*, expressed in the words: 'their (the Basarwa) dwellings blended in with their environment, and their subsistence lifestyle made little impact on nature'. In other words, the presence of the Basarwa in the CKGR does not transform the vacant wilderness into a productive field of factories and cities. For SI, in sum, the enduring value of these photographs lay primarily in the fact that they offered an unadorned pictorial record of everyday life among the Basarwa in this era: nothing neither more nor less. This is the life style of the Basarwa that SI is fighting to preserve or conserve.

The *Dailynews*, on the other hand, tries to defend Botswana’s democracy. The paper indicates that Botswana’s democracy remains the same yet the manifestations of this in the Basarwa case indicates that the yardstick for measuring democracy has to some degree changed.

The study explains that the *Dailynews* tried to justify Government claims that Botswana does not have indigenous minorities. It argues, rather, that all citizens of the country are indigenous. Botswana is inhabited by many different ethnic groups that occupied the geographical areas of present-day Botswana at different times in history.

Historical developments have led to the Batswana developing as one united nation. Botswana has enshrined in her constitution the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals. Every Motswana, irrespective of race, colour, religion, gender, political opinion or place of origin, is protected by the constitution and guaranteed these rights and freedoms. The constitution further ensures that the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms by any individual does not prejudice the rights and freedoms of others and the public interest. The *Dailynews* as a Government publication gives prominence to the unity of Batswana.

*Mmegi/The Reporter*, as a private publication, depends upon advertisers for its income. As a result of this (potential) political influence of advertisers, the paper opts for ‘human interest’ stories at the expense of hard news such as the Basarwa court case. This is done in order to create an environment that inclines its readers/viewers to consume. The advertisers’ importance to *Mmegi* has an indirect effect upon the coverage of their news. In order for *Mmegi* to survive, it needs to attract advertising, something that, in turn, forces the paper to marginalize some news stories. On the CKGR issue *Mmegi/The Report* shows its stance in an interesting way.

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Sometimes the paper takes a pro-Basarwa stand but on the other occasions (recognizing its readership's distaste for SI's propaganda) it takes an anti-SI position, while not necessarily endorsing the government's line.

The study shows that the three publications' framing of the Basarwa case added a new dimension to the previous representations of Botswana as a peaceful, democratic and united country; a dimension that forces a rethink of the image of Botswana. Above all, it has triggered a re-thinking of the whole concept of the 'indigenousness' of the Basarwa. This means the analysis conducted confirmed this hypothesis.

5.2 Importance given to the Basarwa court case stories

The study confirmed that of the articles published in the two local newspapers analyzed, few were published on the front page. Here the implication is that in the majority of the articles were not deemed sufficiently important to merit front page prominence. In the SI News website every article was placed on the front page.

In order to examine the way Basarwa court case stories were treated and framed in the three publications, the study examined the focus of articles under the following headings: the Basarwa court case focus; the Basarwa as main actors or protagonists; the Botswana Government as the main actor; Survival International as the main actor; and the impression projected about Botswana's democracy and its relationship with the Basarwa.; the framing of the article; the use of tricks or appeals to incite hatred; and impressions portrayed conveyed? by photographs published with the articles. The sub-headings were used to explore the ways in which each publication handled the new stories.

5.3 Basarwa court case focus

Most of the articles in all three publications did not focus on the court case. This implies that instead of focusing on the facts of the court case, each publication brought in other facts that assisted them to push their own agenda. Only 18% of the Dailynews articles were focused on the Basarwa court case, 8% of the articles in Mmegi were focused on the Basarwa court case, while 25% of SI News Website focused on the court case.

5.4 Basarwa as main actors

In a court case initiated by a group of Basarwa, one would expect them, the Basarwa, to be the main actors, quoted directly many times in the articles. The survey of the number of times they were quoted in the articles shows that all three publications quoted the Basarwa in less than 30% of the articles selected. This means that in the reporting, the Basarwa were displaced from their own stories: Their voices were muted and agency was accorded to the other actors.
5.5 Botswana Government as the main actor

The study shows that the Botswana Government was quoted directly more in the Dailynews than in any of the other publications. It was quoted in 74% of the articles in the Dailynews while it was quoted in 48% in Mmegi articles and less than 20% in SI news website. This implies that Dailynews publication owned by government accorded more centrality to the Government position.

5.6 Survival International as the main actor

The analysis conducted confirmed that both the Dailynews and Mmegi articles quoted Survival International as the main actor in less than 25% of the articles. SI News Website quoted SI directly in 43% of the articles. This implies that SI News Website articles accorded more centrality to the position and views of SI. The SI News website reflects the popular misconceptions that the local press is trying to dispel about Africa. The first is that attitude which sees in the problems of post-independence Africa a proof that Africans are incompetent and cannot govern themselves. This view was one which ignored the long history of many of the problems of economic development which so limited the options of many African governments. The second view is that Africa is a violent continent. Because the topics of interest in the international publication are stories with characteristic of familiar Africanists across the disciplines: frequency of coverage, dependence on crisis reporting (famines, coups and disasters), of race and impact on policy.

5.7 The projection of democracy and the relationship with the Basarwa

The impression projected about Botswana’s democracy and its relationship with the Basarwa in all the articles published by the SI News website, indicates that it is declining. Their reports rumble on to emphasise how undemocratic Botswana leaders are. The SI News website also sought to endorse the view that Africa is a violent continent and Botswana is part of Africa so to describe it as a ‘shining star of democracy’, is not only questionable but untrue.

The study has argued that International NGOs such as SI are becoming fully-fledged new missionaries for the 21st century. It is the NGOs that oversee a multi-billion dollar ‘industry’. This industry offers cosmetic assistance to prettify the excesses of an unjust equilibrium of payment problems the root cause of organisational problems that have overwhelmed Africa since independence. This makes reports on Africa by international media agencies appear to be mere public relations exercises for this new humanitarian industry. Dailynews, on the other hand, indicates that Botswana’s democracy is very much alive, while Mmegi seems hold the middle ground.
5.8 Use of tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred

The study shows that rather than seeking to win loyalty through superior reasoning the three publications used hate words to move their audience by creating a symbolically coded form of violence. Their goals were to inflame the emotions of the readers, denigrate the designated out-class, inflict permanent and irreparable harm to the owner of the opposing publication. The figures show that of the three publications, SI News Website used more tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred against the Botswana Government (90%) and 62 % of Dailynews articles used tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred against SI. Mmegi also used tricks or appeals to mobilize hatred against both Government and SI in 72% of its articles.

5.9 Aim of the research

The aim of this study was not to criticise the reporting of the Basarwa case without reason, but to ask if news reporting on Africa is insufficient and imprecise. This was achieved by examining certain concepts, and methods in which issues were framed in the Basarwa case reports. The aim of the research was fulfilled.

This study has shown that there is a battle being waged in Botswana in which opposing positions are solidifying increasingly. The battle is being fought in the media, on the internet, in the courts, in Parliament, and in peoples' hearts and minds. The main weapons used are language, words, lawsuits, voting patterns, and cultural valorization of the Basarwa as a minority group. International organisations have strategically used for employing what Niezen has termed the ‘politics of embarrassment’, to publicise cases and gain support. However, despite the increasing stridency of Basarwa rhetoric in Botswana no shots have been fired and no blood spilt. According to SI articles ‘ethnic cleansing’ and ‘genocide’ appropriately describe what happened in the CKGR.

The SI ‘s reporting of what happens in CKGR as ‘genocide’ I think proves Ronning’s point that as cynical as it may sound, disasters or conflicts are good for the NGO business – they are a key source of income generation. ‘To put it misanthropically, there seems to be an increasing need for new crises to maintain the organizational levels and apparatus of the aid organizations’. Ronning, Helge. ‘The unholy alliance: international media and the NGOs. Rhodes Journalism Review December 1999:42

The bloodless war in Botswana, according to the above analogy, does not make good business so an additional element is needed. This made the ‘ethnic cleansing’ and ‘genocide’ rhetoric necessary, as it promotes the NGO business. As for Mmegi, the Basarwa news articles are not human interest stories and, therefore, do not attract advertisers something which forces the paper to marginalize some news stories.

As Jacqueline S. Solway explains in her work, ‘In the Eye of the Storm: The State and Non-Violence in southern Africa (Botswana)’ Botswana is no utopia but it is a country distinguished for its singular lack of violence in Southern Africa in which virtually every other country has witnessed severe instances of acute violence in the post-colonial era, and on a continent scarred by some of the most intractable and horrific violent episodes. The results of this study demonstrate that SI News Website implies that the Botswana Government is unable to solve its domestic problems and therefore is very undemocratic and unfair to the Basarwa.

The study confirms that the *Dailynews* and *Mmegi* provided more space for the publication of the Basarwa articles while the SI News Website wrote only short stories without a background to give the reader more information about the Basarwa case. The only background provided is located elsewhere in the SI’s website. These findings appear to confirm the observation by other scholars that the international media has served to continue Africa's anxieties rather than be a source of useful information on Africa.

All articles published by SI’s News Website do not have a by-line. It is not clear if the stories in the SI publication are written by freelance journalists or not. However, judging by the number of articles published, SI might have been able to put together enough freelance relationships with the elite Basarwa (making them to be what is known as their 'stringers living in CKGR.

The campaign against the Botswana Government’s way of handling the Basarwa as reported in the SI News Website made the publication forget the relatively small but important achievements of the Botswana Government and its attempts to provide the Basarwa with education, as well as the developments carried out at New Xade, for example. All the articles on the SI News Website illustrate an attitude which sees in the problems of post-independence Africa a proof that Africans are incompetent and cannot govern or solve their problems themselves. This view is one which ignores that granting the Basarwa full ownership of the Central Kalahari would establish a precedent that would lead to the collapse of Botswana’s communal land tenure system.

SI News Website coverage failed to note that Botswana has three systems of tenure, namely, tribal or communal land (74%), state land (23%) and freehold land (4%). Therefore no group or tribe owns land in Botswana. This study indicates that the reporters who covered the Basarwa case for SI News Website had their minds set on what they understand about the relationship between the Botswana Government and the Basarwa. This leaves us with the question, did they look for few facts, fit them in their mindset, build a story and hurriedly for the next publication? This question can be answered only by further research.

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165 Solway, Jacqueline S. ‘In the eye of the storm: the state and non-violence in southern Africa (Botswana).’ *Anthropological Quarterly.* Summer, 2003, 76: 486
The study also indicates that even though the two local newspapers note the conflict between the Botswana Government and the Basarwa, they do not describe Botswana's democracy as declining. The picture they paint is that the solution of the Basarwa problem can best be found through negotiations between the Basarwa and the Government. SI News Website, however, implies that the Government is unable to solve its domestic problems and therefore the international community must assist them.

Both Mmegi and Dailynews illustrated their article with up-to-date photographs that do not portray the Basarwa negatively, while SI used mostly file photographs that are not even relevant to the story they are illustrating.

5.10 The media representation of Africa

The media coverage of the Basarwa court case does not seem to add a new phenomenon to Manthia Diawara’s theory of a globalise information network which he says characterizes Africa as a continent sitting on top of infectious diseases, strangled by corruption and tribal vengeance and populated by people with mouths and hands open to receive international aid. Often, media reports carried out on any African state lack proper research and correct analysis. The international media, in most cases, distorts the truth. The Government-owned media, on the other hand, tries to act as a defensive force by disputing the international media reports.

Grievances about Africa's media image have been expressed for years, and for long little seemed to change. Corrupt governments, civil wars, famine, and squalor and have continued to dominate the headlines and to paint a grim image of Africa. The recent media fixation on the Basarwa court case in Botswana is but one in a series of this one-dimensional coverage.


In the early 1960s, the anarchy in Katanga (the then Zaire) dominated the news and defined Africa. In the late 1960s it was the Nigerian civil war and the consequent misery in Biafra that did so. In the 1970s, the real and
conjured eccentricities of Uganda's Idi Amin became the African news. Political conflict in Zimbabwe and South Africa dominated much of 1980s, until the starvation of Ethiopians eclipsed everything else.

While these events justified the press attention they received, their coverage to the near exclusion of non-crisis, modern African life has left a severe information gap and perpetuated a historical image problem. Scholars have acknowledged the poor coverage of Africa, educators have condemned it, and journalists have acknowledged it. Yet no one seemed to be able to do anything about the problem.

The mal-coverage of African countries became a major issue in international affairs from the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s to date, debated during sessions of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The UN agency issued proclamations and set up ‘band-aid’ programmes to help developing countries improve their own media infrastructure, but there has hardly been any improvement in the coverage of these countries.

Furthermore, the local media have failed to play their key role in denouncing the negative image that the international media project about Africa and failed to let the real voice of Africa be heard on the international news scene. As this study shows both the Dailynews and Mmegi/The Reporter failed to quote the Basarwa more in their reports. The study shows that Mmegi's reports on the Basarwa were watered down, largely due to the overbearing influence of making money through adverts.

5.11 Recommendations

The Basarwa court case is part of a wider debate about the situation of the Basarwa in Botswana and how their citizenship rights are promoted and protected. While both within the court case and in the public debate there are conflicting and competing representations of what does and does not benefit the Basarwa, this study has shown that the press has failed to give the reader a clear perspective on the Basarwa issues. Many questions are left unanswered. Some of the most salient perspectives can be summed up under the following points:

- Survival International has made a commitment to the Basarwa of the Central Kalahari to continue campaigning with them until the Botswana Government allows them to live on their land in peace. What is SI’s agenda in this issue? How much money has SI raised through the Basarwa case and who are the beneficiaries?
- The reader knows very little about the Draft Management Plan which was prepared by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, based on consultations with the Central Kalahari communities and FPK. This plan many believe that it can settle the CKGR issue.
- The justifications for relocation are given as economic and ecological considerations. The media has not given the reader enough information to form a view on these issues.
• SI News Website's coverage of the Basarwa case is not only different from that of the local media coverage. In fact the campaign waged by Survival International which the website is promoting has had a very negative impact not only on the Government, but also on the Botswana public. The local media failed to question whether 'ethnic cleansing' and 'genocide' appropriately describe what happens in CKGR.

• Does the Government have an obligation to restore services to the residents who decided to return to CKGR?

• The voice of the Basarwa needs to be heard in the local papers

• Do the Basarwa need a different development model from the notion of modernity and 'improving their lives'. (Is there any need for such kind of improvement?)

• The inheritance of the historical relationship between dominant Batswana groups and the Basarwa subordinates provide some of the key to an understanding of the current situation in Botswana. While many Europeans, in the Van der Post tradition, may see the Basarwa as the last representatives of values and lifestyles that have long been lost in western civilization, the average Batswana see the Basarwa representing a not very distant past of physical hardship and material scarcity from which the Batswana and their Government want to disassociate themselves with. This view was not fully covered in the local media yet it could assist the reader to form a view about the Basarwa issue

The above questions and points can be answered only if many newspapers express fierce opinions from all points of the ideological compass. And from that clash, the reader would form his/her view.

My recommendations are:

• That newspapers should publish more interpretive stories of the Basarwa issues, showing these in full context. Such stories must become a standard part of every major newspaper covering the issue. Isolated facts are not good enough. A thoughtful report needs context.

• For the press to adequately cover the Basarwa issue, they need a correspondent who has a clear and personal understanding of these issues. Most of the reporters who covered the Basarwa issue live in Gaborone more than 1000 km from CKGR and are ignorant or know very little about the Basarwa issue. What we read in the local newspapers about the Basarwa is articles written by outsiders. This is what led to lack of depth in reporting, and only a sporadic and predictable coverage in the SI News Website.

• Seemly, in the majority of cases, the world press is served by foreign journalists who pay short visits to the various parts of Africa and on whom the world’s verdict on Africa may rest. The news agencies often rely on such journalists or reporters, who may not themselves know enough or physically be able to cover the area assigned to them to be able to interpret the African scene.
• The result is that news coming out of Africa is often, if not always, related to the already biased and prejudiced mind that keeps asking such question as – is the news in question pro colonial masters? Very few, if any, of the world’s press ask such logical and simple questions as- is this pro-African?
• A full time correspondent living in New Xade would give the reader a better picture of the Basarwa court case. In his/her articles the Basarwa would appear as regular persons, who stand out with their own history and individuality. If this leap of imagination can be sustained, much can be learned in the Basarwa issue.
• More interviews of the Basarwa on their issues would go a long way in getting their voice heard.
• Further research in the press coverage of the Basarwa issue by Batswana scholars would help to find settlement for fair media reports of Africa.

In summary, the study has shown that Government, local private and NGO owned publications’ reports on the Basarwa court do not seek to give a true picture of the Basarwa issue. Each publication’s reports are written in line with the publication owner’s agenda. SI News Website, for example, seeks to exacerbate ethnic anxieties; possibly with the intent to further its own agenda of claiming to represent indigenous people and therefore attract more funding by painting a dire picture of the Basarwa, so as to cultivate a justification for the sustenance of a political catastrophe which ultimately could end in a humanitarian crisis. Yet there is no reason why all these media agents cannot get accurate information on the Basarwa since they could be well represented in the CKGR if what was primary was the reporting of the truth. The Dailynews, on the other hand, tries to defend Botswana’s national unity. The notion of national interest seems more appropriate to help explain the way the Government’s daily newspaper coverage is done. The assumption is that the local media in Africa select information accordance with their nation’s interests as they understand them or as they are communicated to them by government. Government-owned newspapers therefore disseminate only selected information about world events or, for that matter, those affecting their state’s foreign interests. They concentrate on the more salient aspects of developments. The result is that the government-owned newspapers also end up being economical with the truth.

The privately-owned Mmegi/thethe Reporter coverage which is business driven is also economical with the truth. If the media owners view their agenda primarily as a business they may then distort information and mislead the public in the pursuit of readers and ratings, since in that case the measure of their success is simply financial profit. Journalism is subordinated to entertainment, and the duty to inform surrenders to the need to please. Responsible and relevant reporting is not the priority in the business model.

These different agenda complicate the process of reporting Africa in various ways. Against the background of a long history of negative images and stereotypes about the continent, media reports used as case studies in this work show that the framing of stories about Africa still leaves much to be desired.
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## Content analysis coding schedule

**PRESS COVERAGE OF BASARWA COURT CASE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Newspaper/Website</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>Mmegi/Reporter</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>Dailynews</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Survival International News Website</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>2. DATE-MONTH-YEAR</th>
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<tr>
<th>3. Headline (Copy verbatim)</th>
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<tr>
<th>4. Reporter/Author (Copy name and designation, e.g. sports correspondent, if given. Verbatim)</th>
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<th>5. Article Length (number of words)</th>
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<th>6. Type of Article/item</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Main news story (lead story)</td>
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<td>2. Other News story</td>
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<td>3. Feature article</td>
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<td>4. Editorial</td>
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<td>5. Letter</td>
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<td>6. Advertisement</td>
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<td>7. Other</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>7. Basarwa CKGR court case focus</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Basarwa court case is the main focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Basarwa court case is a secondary focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Basarwa court case is mentioned only in passing</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Basarwa court case is used as a metaphor or sign/signifier</td>
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<td>5. Other</td>
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<tr>
<th>8. Basarwa as main actors</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Quoted directly</td>
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<td>2. Quoted indirectly</td>
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<td>3. Referred to but not quoted either directly or indirectly</td>
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<td>4. Other</td>
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<tr>
<th>9. Botswana government as main actor</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Quoted directly</td>
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<td>2. Quoted indirectly</td>
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<td>3. Referred to but not quoted either directly or indirectly</td>
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<td>4. Other</td>
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<th>10. Survival International as the main actor</th>
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<td>1. Quoted directly</td>
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<td>2. Quoted indirectly</td>
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<td>3. Referred to but not quoted either directly or indirectly</td>
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<td>4. Other</td>
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<tr>
<th>11. The impression projected about Botswana’s democracy and its relationship with the Basarwa</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very democratic</td>
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</table>
2. Undemocratic
3. Discriminatory
4. Unfair to Basarwa
5. Unfair to Government
6. Unfair to SI
12. Framing of the article
   1. Pro-Basarwa
   2. Pro-Government
   3. Well balanced
   4. Pro-Survival international
   5. Other
13. The report/article is:
   1. Relevant to Batswana
   2. Not relevant to the Basarwa case
   3. Relevant to the Basarwa case
   4. Other
14. Did the actors use ‘tricks’ or ‘appeals’ to mobilize hatred?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Not clear
   4. Other
15. Does the article suggest any solution to the dispute between the Basarwa and the Botswana government
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Not clear
   4. Other
16. Does the article portray Africa negatively or positively?
   1. Positively
   2. Negatively
   3. Not clear
   4. Other
17. Is the article illustrated by a photograph?
   1. Yes
   2. No
18. What impression does the photography portray about Africa?
   1. Land of poverty and crisis
   2. Well developed and progressive land
   3. Not clear
Reporting Africa: Between the Basarwa and the Botswana state

International NGO's perspective
Reporting Africa:
Between the Basarwa and the Botswana state

Local media’s perspective