

**Power discourses, social development and editorial cartoons: a Botswanan case study**

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## DECLARATION

I, Kesalpa Senuhula, hereby declare the dissertation my own independent work, except where otherwise stated. The dissertation has not previously been submitted at any other university. All sources are acknowledged, giving explicit references.

  
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Date: 29/04/19

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## **ABSTRACT**

Botswana is considered to be one of the better welfare states, though it has selective social development, and a close connection between the economic and political elite, offering potential power conflict. However freedom of expression for political and social critique are said to be under threat in Botswana. The research focuses on the period from 2008 to 2018 when the president of Botswana was Lieutenant General Sir Seretse Khama Ian Khama. It is also a period in which Botswana is seen (by the outside world) as a model for democracy in Africa and is characterised by many changes. Commentary on and critique of these changes often occur in editorial cartoons. The primary aim of the study was to construct a possible analytical model for editorial cartoons, and then to analyse and justify a selected number of editorial cartoons from Botswanan newspapers that make commentary on emerging issues around Botswanan social and economic development. The study develops an analytical system which is applied to interpret the choices made in the cartoons.

To accomplish this, the study first provides an exposition of Scott's theory of hidden transcripts (1990; Munro 1997). Specifically, the project presents Scott's notions of onstage and offstage discourses, suggesting that the cartoon is a method of entering the concerns of the powerless into the onstage discourse where powerholder and powerless meet. Having set the power model of analysis, the dissertation demonstrates how power relations manifested in the history of social and economic development in Botswana. It then presents important approaches that are instrumental in the creation of editorial cartoons such as historical/contextual events, cartoon theory, metaphor, metonymy and satire.

Using these theoretical frames the interrogates what analytical and creative dynamics can be used to inform a visual system, such as editorial cartoons, that comments on contradictions between social and economic development claims/promises and actions, as they manifest in a particular country. The dissertation therefore presents Scott's theory and related theories on power. It then outlines the dynamics of social and economic development as a construct, and the role of editorial cartoons as modes of critique. By triangulating these dynamics, the project then analyses selected Botswanan editorial cartoons using this triangulated model in search of meaning, and therefore, by extension, the efficacy of the model. The research found that, by using Scott's concepts of onstage and

offstage discourses to outline the power dimensions evident in social development issues in Botswana, editorial cartoons that engage with potential contradictions in the political space can be effectively analysed, and therefore, extension be used effectively by editorial cartoonists.

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## CHAPTER 1

### 1. BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

#### 1.1 Background on Botswana and media

Hillbom (2012:1) points out that since 1930s, Botswana has experienced a state structure characterised by natural resource dependency, lack of economic diversification, a dual society, selective social development and a close connection between economic and political elite. Justice Kavahematui of the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper reported on the 24th October 2014 that the ruling Botswana Democratic Party is criticised by the opposition for leading an economy that has an improved gross domestic product but has high levels of unemployment and economic inequality. However, in Africa Botswana is considered to be one of the best examples of welfare states because it has well-grounded policies used to care for the disadvantaged members of the community. The categories that receive social grants in Botswana include people living with HIV and AIDS, the orphans and the vulnerable children, the elderly, the poor and the destitute, people with various disabilities and the students from poor and needy families (Kang'ethe 2014:1).

One of the most apparent effects of democratisation at the beginning of the 1980s and in the 1990s was the growth of the press. Before this period, only newspapers and few magazines were published and many magazines started publishing in the mid-1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Even though these magazines were regarded as part of a new and free press, with minimal government intervention, this was not always the case. Most of the governments in Africa started to tighten what was already a strong hold on the press with disturbing penalties that inhibited the development of the notion of unrestricted press. Lack of freedom of the press has been one of the most vital and dominant issues in Africa (Olayeni 2002:1). Botswana is not an exception. In his argument that Botswana is not as democratic as it is thought to be Matlosa (1997:133) quotes Professor Kenneth Good who lists some aspects that he considers as disturbing democracy in Botswana. Amongst them is the control of information meant to restrict public opinion on important policy issues. He adds that this includes oppression of private media. Maundeni (2008:9) argues that there are no laws in the constitution of Botswana that guarantee or promote media freedom. He also states that there have been occurrences of censorship from the side of the government and there are no laws granting the media and the public the right to access official information. Recently Konopo reported in the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper dated 7 May 2015 that officers from the Botswana corruption watchdog had raided the *Botswana Gazette* and arrested its manager, editor,

journalist and lawyer in what he feels appears to be a continuing effort by Botswana government to clamp down on the private press. Furthermore, he states that the arrest comes eight months after the arrest of the editor of *Sunday standard*, Otsa Mokone, under sedition charges causing veteran journalist Edgar Tsimane to escape to South Africa in fear for his life. The escaping of Tsimane is confirmed in a *youtube* video titled '*Botswana journalist accuses government of repression*' by *eNCA* (a South African news channel) published on the 13th September 2014 in which he says "media freedom and basic human rights are under threat in Botswana". In the video, he also informs the public that they have a pending case in high court in which the government is attempting to prevent them from writing about a corruption exposé of the director of Directorate of Intelligence and Security Services (DIS). Konopo also states that the image of Botswana as a bastion of press freedom and good governance continues to be injured mainly since president Ian Khama took office in April 2008. According to Konopo, Botswana ranks partly free in the Freedom House rankings but show a major descent when matched with preceding rankings. It is also his feeling that Mokone and his arrest make it clear that freedom of expression is under attack in Botswana. One of the developments that came with the growth of the media was political cartoonists starting to give essential evaluation and assessment of the governments seemingly without fear of retribution (Olayeni 2002:1-2).

According to article 19 of *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948), "freedom of opinion and expression is the right of every individual to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". In the researcher's opinion, examples given above are evidence that freedom of expression is being reduced in Botswana. This reduction did not occur to journalism only but was also seen in the arts especially in editorial cartoons. Tshireletso Motlogelwa of *Mmegi* newspaper wrote an article entitled *Unmasking Selefu* dated 15 June 2012, in which she narrates how veteran cartoonist Simon Seisa used to disguise as Selefu when signing his cartoons. The article states that Seisa remained unknown because he was a civil servant and any controversial cartoon could be harmful to his career. In a *Botswana Gazette* newspaper dated 10 April 2013, a report by Modiri Mogende entitled *Getting into the mind of Albert Lekgaba* states he had politicians and political parties criticise his work but he takes it all in his stride. It also quotes him saying, "I have been personally threatened, I have had lawsuits threats". Lekgaba feels what he does is necessary because people in power sometimes deserve to be ridiculed to keep them in check and to remind them who they are accountable to. According to this article, in 2011 he became the first artist to record the proceedings of the court of appeal in Botswana. However, this historic move was cut short by the court security that took away his equipment and arrested him. Fortunately, he was later

rescued by the court president Ian Kirby. Despite the effort to silence them, Botswana cartoonists continue to create cartoons responding to the actions of the government. Below is a cartoon that was created by Mbi Moalosi in response to the arrest of Mokoni.



**Figure 1.1.** Mbi Moalosi. Untitled. Retrieved from *Botswana Guardian* dated 25 March 2016

Given this short introduction, it is clear that cartoonists attempt to capture and comment on the social situation (and social development in a society). Tentatively, then, one may ask how this occurs, what mechanisms they use to decide upon what to comment on, and how they go about making that commentary effective. Furthermore, how is this done using the visual as well as the verbal cues of cartoons, and what is the source of such visual and verbal cues?

## 1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Botswana has not attracted much scholarly attention especially in relation to Visual Arts. Hoogvelt (2002:17) asserts that in the early days of independence to Neo-colonialism radical literature about Africa then was concerned with transnational class alliances that organised Africa's subordinate position in the world and provided a conduit for the transfer of Africa's wealth to the centres of the world capitalist system. Chazan et al (1999:15) state that early African politics were written mostly from a modernisation, or political development perspective. However, they also mention that early studies of African politics had a tendency to favour domestic rather than external explanation for political occurrences but did not give any example to fortify this statement (1999:15). Kofi (2005:117) tells a story of how he once came across a book entitled *Vanishing Africa* and as he was flipping the pages, he found himself blurting out: "This person must be African. No European no

white can make such beautiful pictures of Africans". (The worst part about Kofi is that he misleads his readers by saying Gertrude Mongella was Botswana's foreign minister when in actual fact she is a Tanzanian politician). In another instance, Osei-Hwede (2001:1) wrongfully stated that Ian Khama joined politics with the title of Major instead of saying Lieutenant-General. The above statements were sufficient to make the researcher believe that the cause of these problems is lack of sufficient and reliable academic discourse on matters pertaining to the country Botswana.

Though Robinson (2013:188) discusses Botswana as a role-model of a country's success and Coles (2011:77) argues that Botswana stands out as being democratic, some are pointing out its flaws. The South African newspaper *Mail and Guardian* dated 22 May 2015 contains a report by Joel Konopo which affirms that Botswana rarely makes headlines. Above that he argues that the recent arrest of journalists on vague charges not only violates the principle of freedom of expression but also risks worsening an already adversarial relationship between government and the media. Botswana has many skilled practising artists who do not appear in the local and international media as well as in the academic discourse. Their quality work often ends up in private spaces resulting in their work which could contribute to the field of arts being unknown.

### **1.3 THE RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY**

The theme of the study is interrogation of pictorial comment on Social issues in Botswana. It was chosen because of the researcher's knowledge of art and how art can engage with and comment on a society, as well as researcher's growing interest in politics. The researcher was also prompted by Jeong's argument (2008:59) that messages containing metaphors can be persuasive and using metaphors help recipients to better structure and organise the message as metaphors have appeared to be common in Botswana's editorial cartoons. Being a citizen of Botswana and a resident of Gaborone influenced the researcher's location of the study. Ryder (1987:22) says art is a self-actualising agent in society. Brook (1980:87) acknowledges the Marxist view of the purpose of art as an instrument of pre-directed socio-political or ideological change. However, he states that in his opinion art's role is providing a vehicle for speculation and intimating the natural order or pointing to the mystery of the universe. He feels that the things he stated do not seem to transcend 'societal concerns' at all, but on the contrary, to fulfil a most fundamental societal need. The above-mentioned roles are achieved by making a visual record of people, places and events of their time and place. It is the researcher's observation that artists have been documenting and creating what is already known. An earlier observation of the purpose of an artist as noted by Marx and Engels (1974:110) was that artists are responsible for rendering concrete ideas, perceptions, opinions and concepts. Following the above purpose of an artist the researcher intends to not only document but



to create new ideas, perceptions, opinions and concepts which will include even looking into the future using what exists as a basis. The researcher shares these same sentiments with Jana Brandova that cartoons are worthy of analysis and thinks that they can be regarded as a reliable critique of a country and in this case contemporary Botswana (2011:1). This is also motivated by Mellville (2011:3) stating that Africans are the only ones who can truly save Africa, but the rest of the world can help. Critically, Scott's theories open up this debate of comment engagement as reflected in cartoons on Botswana.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND AIMS**

Main question: What are analytical and creative dynamics used to inform a visual system that comments on contradictions in Social development claims/promises and actions as they manifest in a particular country?

Main aim: The aim of this project is to develop a system of creative and analytical tools that can be used to present a commentary on the contradictions in social development claims/promises and actions as they manifest themselves in a particular country. In other words, the main aim is to analyse and justify a series of cartoons that comment on the emerging social development manifestations in Botswana by developing an analytical system that will inform the visual choices made.

Sub question 1: What are the dynamics used by James C Scott's theory to explain the contradictions and actions inherent in social development interactions as they manifest between policy developers and implementers on the other hand, and the recipients of such policies and implementation on the other hand?

Sub aim: This sub-aim sets out to explain Scott's theory of power interactions so that the theory can be used to analyse the choices made in the development of social commentary type visual cartoons.

Sub question 2: What are the power dynamics at play in Botswana that specifically engage with the motions of Social development in the country?

Sub aim: This sub-aim sets out to provide an understanding of the power and social context of Botswana so that this context can be used to explain the choices made in the development of social commentary type visual cartoons as this commentary applies to the Botswana situation.

Sub question 3: What are the dynamics of cartoons that are used for commentary?

Sub aim: This sub-aim sets out to document the history, theory and creative underpinning that are at play in social commentary cartoons, so that these arguments can be used to substantiate the choices made in the body of social commentary cartoons that are produced.

## **1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In this research a Qualitative research approach will be used. Marshall (2010:78) defines it as any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of qualification. Merriam (2009:13) states that Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world.

### **1.5.1 Metaphor identification**

The following criteria which were used by Bounegru and Forceville (2011:213) will be adopted to identify a metaphor:

- An identity relation is created between two phenomena that, in given context, belong to two different categories.
- The phenomena are to be understood as target and source, respectively, they are not in the context reversible.
- At least one characteristic or connotation associated with the source is to be mapped onto the target domain, often an aligned structure of connotations is to be so mapped.

## **1.6 DATA COLLECTION**

Data will be collected through participant and non-participant observation and document analysis and artwork analysis (Bhatti 2008:82). The document analysis and artwork analysis as ways of collecting data will be adopted in line with Bhatti's statement for the purpose of this study. Data will be collected from editorial cartoons linking certain social developments issues dated from 2008 until 2015 because this is the period of the current president Khama's reign. Cartoons will be taken from *Mmegi*, *Botswana Guardian*, *The mirror*, *Weekend Post*, *The Voice* and *Sunday Standard*. These newspapers were chosen because of their wide circulation and diverse reader demographics. Another reason for choosing these newspapers is that they also have electronic archives which are accessible to the public. Though their head offices are in Gaborone, they cover the whole country. Thus, document analysis and artwork analysis will be conducted to engage with how cartoonists

created pictorial comment on social development in Botswana. This will allow the researcher to obtain the insights and understanding of the visual arts in relation to social development in Botswana based on the perception and experiences of the artists. The intention of the study is to gather the truth about the creation of pictorial commentary on social development in Botswana.

### **1.7 DATA ANALYSIS**

In this study, the materials collected will be mostly text based, consisting of transcripts of interviews that are in the public domain, field notes and other written documents as well as pictures. The methods used in data analysis will enable a definition and application of Scott's concepts which will involve understanding the creation of pictorial comment on Social development in Botswana.

### **1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Lichtman (2010:53) states that in layman's terms ethics and ethical behaviour mean doing what is right, treating people fairly, not hurting anyone. Lichtman (2010: 66) defines ethical behaviour as a set of principles, rules, or standards governing a person or profession. Wienclaw (2015a:1) describes ethics more in the context of research by saying it refers to a code of moral conduct regarding the treatment of research subjects that is subscribed to by the members of a community. Gibbs (2007: 101) emphasises that the key to ethics is to minimise harm or cost and maximise the benefit. According to Lichtman (2010: 66) major principles of ethical conduct that the researcher should do no harm, that privacy and anonymity of participants must be protected, that confidentiality of information must be maintained, that informed consent of participants needs to be obtained (including assurance that participation is voluntary, with the opportunity to withdraw from the research), that inappropriate behaviour must be avoided, and that data must be interpreted honestly with no distortion. Wienclaw (2015a:1) sensitises the researcher on how questions can bring bad memories and difficulties that can be harmful to subjects. She also emphasises that it is important to ensure that the information obtained from the research subject is complete and accurate. Thus, these ethical considerations will be adopted and used in this study especially on the side of the artists and any other participant that might provide relevant information because the above ethical considerations do not apply on the tracer element who is Khama, simply because he is a public figure.

Cartoons are in the public domain and will be treated as such, from an ethics point of view.

## 1.9 CHAPTER DIVISIONS

Chapter one of this study outlines what the study is about. It introduces the research topic as well as the theoretical framework (Scott's theory of hidden transcripts) used in the study. In this chapter the research problem is defined, the research questions and the aims of the research as well as the methodology to be used are stated. The chapter also gives a rationale for the study. Some of the important features of this chapter are discussions of data collection, data analysis and most importantly the ethical considerations. Furthermore, this chapter defines all important terms of the study. Lastly it states the structure of the study.

Chapter two entails the definition of power, bases of power and other aspects relating to power such as authority, discourse, positionality and power models. It also includes the discussion of Scott's theory of hidden transcripts (offstage and onstage transcripts) as well as metaphor and metonymy. The chapter takes an in-depth look at Scott's theory discussing the following subtopics in their sequence: Scott's theory, hidden transcripts, the onstage discourse of the oppressor, the offstage discourse of the oppressor, the onstage discourse of the oppressed and the offstage discourse of the oppressed. This chapter contributes to the knowledge and understanding of Scott's theory fundamentally because it will provide the theory that will be used to analyse Botswana editorial cartoons (as seen in chapter 5), and to understand the dynamics of social development (as seen in chapter 3) in Botswana.

In chapter three social developments in Botswana are discussed. The historical background of Social development and the current situation of Social development in Botswana are discussed in this chapter. It also discusses the dynamics of power in Botswana. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to provide the context that offers an understanding of Social development with particular reference to Botswana so that this can be used to explain the choices made in the commentary work, as appears in chapter 5.

The key content of chapter four is cartoons. This chapter presents a history of social commentary cartoons as a context for cartooning. The chapter presents a theoretical understanding of the cartoon making process. One of the important roles of this chapter is to examine the satire, metonymy, metaphor and cartoon genres as these are all important tools for social commentary and also because these fall within the workings of Scott's model. It will also demonstrate how metaphor and metonymy might begin to assist in operationalising Scott's model through cartoons. Furthermore it entails the discussion of the role of an artist with respect to cartoons and then applies this to Botswana situation.

In chapter five several editorial cartoons by different cartoonists from Botswana newspapers namely *Botswana Guardian*, *Mmegi*, *The Voice newspaper*, *Weekend Post Newspaper*, *The mirror newspaper* and *Sunday standard* are discussed in this chapter. These Botswana cartoons are analysed through the lens of Scott's theory of 'hidden transcripts'. This chapter uses interest in Botswana's editorial cartoons to demonstrate how these are used as social commentary and to test the effectiveness of Scott's model in explaining cartoon creation and analysis.

Chapter Six concludes the study. It offers a summary of the study, the conclusions reached and the findings made, and proceeds to make recommendations with regard to the creation of pictorial comment on social development in Botswana. It points out the shortfalls in the study, and recommends further developments.

The next chapter entails an in-depth discussion of power outlining bases of power and power models. It also gives a clear explanation of Scott's theory distinguishing hidden transcripts from public transcripts as well as discussing the offstage of the powerholder, onstage of the powerholder, onstage of the powerless and offstage of the powerless.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2.1 Introduction

Chapter two entails the discussion of Scott's theory of hidden transcripts (offstage and onstage transcripts). Because Scott's work is steeped in the notions of power, the chapter begins with a description of the dynamics of power. Following this the chapter provides an in-depth description of Scott's theory by discussing the following subtopics in their sequence: Scott's theory, hidden transcripts, the onstage discourse of the oppressor, the offstage discourse of the oppressor, the onstage discourse of the oppressed and the offstage discourse of the oppressed. This chapter presents Scott's theory fundamentally because it will provide the theory that will be used to analyse Botswana editorial cartoons (as seen in chapter 5), and to understand the dynamics of social and its tensions with economic development (as seen in chapter 3) in Botswana.

### 2.2 Power

De-Moll (2010:10) cites Bonucchi (1985) and Miller (1991) who argue that the word 'power' was taken from the French *pouvoir*, deriving from Latin *potestas* or *potential* meaning 'ability'. They also explain that ability originates from *potere*, which is Latin for *to be able*<sup>1</sup>. De-Moll elaborates that power has no verb form and therefore appears simply to exist in the world. Barker (2008:10), however, asserts that "power is understood in terms of the processes that generate and enable any form of action, relationship or order". He acknowledges the contribution made by other scholars, namely that it is regarded as pervasive at every level of a relationship.

Barker sees power as a force that holds the social together and potentially subordinates one group of people to another. According to Barker as much as power is limiting it is also allowing (2008:10). This point is affirmed by Lukes (2007:60). Several definitions of power are given in De-Moll's dissertation (2010:10): power refers to the potential of social sanctions to be enacted; power is the ability to mobilise resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet; the ability to get things done the way one wants them to be done; power is the influence over people,

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<sup>1</sup> It is difficult, in what follows not to turn to physics as a metaphor to explain the notion of power, as it appears to correlate with the notions of 'potential energy.' This is offered simply as a 'potential insight.'

processes, and/or things; and power is the ability to control resources and people. Beare (2012:63) agrees with one of De-Moll's definitions saying power is one's ability to ensure that people do what you want even though they are not willing to do it. (In this it appears that the 'power of persuasion by argumentation' is not part of Beare's definition). He adds that this can be achieved by the use of threats of sanctions and other forms of punishment. Though some definitions relate power to resources, Lukes (2007:59) argues that power must not be equated to resources. He mentions that some sociologists often make a mistake of identifying power with wealth or status, and those doing military analysis often measure it with military forces or weaponry. His example to prove that it is a wrong approach to equate resources to power is United States failing to exercise power over Vietnam and Iraq, despite the resources it had. In this sense resource power can only be seen as a 'potential' that does not necessarily lead to an 'actual' success. A book entitled French and Raven (1959:151) describe power as the ability to influence human behaviour.

Though Van Wyk (2007:65) acknowledges that it is arguable whether power is an end or means, she mentions that it is an initial step towards a goal, giving an example that a state may need to reach a particular goal and therefore has to employ power in some way as a means to attain that end. However there are other definitions in line with her explanation such as that power "is that opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's will even against resistance and regardless of the basis on which this opportunity rests" (Patterson 1982:1). Alternatively, it can be seen to be the dynamic that allows for control of, or control over something or someone. Lukes (2007:59), who seemingly simply defines power as the capacity to bring about outcomes, asserts that the word 'power' is centred in the field of semantics that includes authority, influence, coercion, force, violence, manipulation, strength and others. Lukes' statement is supported by Kant (2004:75). In Kant's words, "power refers to the ability to enforce compliance by using means which range from influence, persuasion and manipulation to coercion and the use of physical force". Kant adds that the idea of power is related to the one of authority. Power deals with capacity to do or act. Strength and use of force are often connected to power. De Moll (2010:10) also backs the above argument by saying one of the terms that is in most cases linked with power is authority though in most of the socially oriented definitions of power, control, ascendancy and capacity take prominence (De Moll 2010:10). Thus it can

also be seen as the capacity of those that have power to force on those who do not have power a form of compliance to achieve a goal that is set by those who have power. However Lukes states that 'power' labels a potentiality that may never be actualised. Therefore it can exist and not be used.

Lukes (2007:59) points out those words like authority, influence, coercion, force, violence, manipulation, and strength are used on a daily basis but scholars still debate their meanings. He argues that the contexts that are brought to the debate are important because they can bring major consequences. Giving an example of the word "power" he says that, during elections, voters may vote for someone who they believe is "strong" and further explains that what amounts to "strong" will be determined by their perception of "power". The argument made by Lukes implies that the common general concept of power is socially influenced (and therefore, by implication, contextually bound) – a point supported by De-Moll (2010:10). De-Moll asserts that power exists in a group and it derives from the relationships between group members. She adds that it exists for as long as the group exists and there cannot be power if the group does not exist. Power is an important dynamic in ensuring a coherent, orderly worldview and maintaining a sense of belonging in groups, which is necessary for survival (2010:11-14). French and Raven assert that the exercise of power is common among human beings though power can be perceived as evil or unjust.

In the corporate world power can either be communicated upward or downward. When the company's leadership influences the junior members of staff, it is downward power. When the junior members of staff are the ones influencing the decisions taken by the leadership, it is upward power. When the citizens of a country are the ones influencing a decision taken by the parliament, it is power upward. But when the parliament or the president is the one influencing a decision it is power downward. The example can be reduced to smaller groups as may be encountered in a village setup. When the chief is using power to influence a decision, it is power downward and power upward is when the villagers use power to influence a decision taken by the chief. This use of power does not need to include the use of force or threat.

Lukes (2007:60) accentuates that generally, power is the capacity to advance an individual's interests and affect the interests of other people, negatively or positively. He elaborates by



saying it can be empowering, transformative, increasing others' resources, capabilities and effectiveness, giving examples like when an experienced employee is nurturing an apprentice, teaching, parenting and therapy.

De-Moll (2010:11) categorises power into two saying there is *power-over* and *power-to*. Power-over involves the control that a person can have over another. One can think of a situation where an army commander instructs his juniors to contribute a certain fraction of their salaries to raising funds for the incentives of the army leadership or when a school principal forces all students to cut their hair. Power-to speaks of the control that a person has over another's thoughts, feelings and behaviours. Power-to is mostly connected to empowerment. De-Moll describes empowerment as a concept that primarily serves to assist the powerless to experience more 'power-to' so they can be less on the receiving end of 'power-over'. An example of power-to is when a leader in a society inspires and teaches members of the society how to do backyard gardening to uplift them from poverty. Members of the society will earn a living from their gardens and stop relying on government handouts.

Lammers, Stoker and Stapel (2009:1543) scrutinised various definitions of power and came to the conclusion that a monolithic power concept is too restrictive, hence they argue that the definitions of power imply that there are two types of power, being social power and personal power. A short explanation states that social power is power over other people and personal power is freedom from other people. It is their observation that there is a group of definitions that describe power as an individual's ability to influence others and make them do things they would not do otherwise. This is a case where power refers to exercising control over other people. It is also referred to as social power. The power of the teacher over students is an example of social power<sup>2</sup>. They also observed that there is another group of definitions that refer to power as the ability to do and acquire what you desire, without other people's influence. This type of power is about one's ability to ignore other people's influence, to determine one's own endings and personal independence. It is the one that is called personal power. This is the power possessed by the president of the

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<sup>2</sup> It should, however, also be noted that this social power is brought to bear to influence and encourage the development of personal power (or empowerment through education). Balancing this duality in a classroom situation can be problematic, is contextually bound, and socially accepted.

ruling party as he can advance his interests as the party leader during and after elections despite the influence of the opposition or what other members of the party want. One can think of a situation where a president brings a compromise list to an elective party congress and cancels the scheduled elections. In that case candidates had amassed support from those who are eligible to vote but that still does not influence the decision of the president as he imposes his preferred people. This reflects the independence of the president's thoughts and decisions.

Another point raised by Lammers et al (2009:1544) is that there is a speculation that power has two elements, namely responsibility and self-interest and they have different effects. When two people are involved in a relationship, they start looking at how much the relationship costs them and how much are they benefiting from the relationship. Each person makes the same sort of judgement looking at the existing internal standards and starts weighing options by looking at other possible alternatives as well as the possibility of being alone. The internal standards of a relationship determine how attractive it is, and how long will it last. If being in relationship is more beneficial than being outside, both members of the group or those involved become more dependent on the group. The more they are dependent, the less power they have (De-Moll 2010:14). Contributing to the discourse on power dynamics, Lukes (2007:59) speaks about how in social and political contexts people often want to know how to locate power asking questions like: who has power? Who can exercise it? And who has exercised it? Who has more and who has less? Continuing his discussion he states that people often want to assess power asking questions like: who is affected? In what ways are they affected? According to him such questions influence people's decisions in a power play.

### **2.3 Five bases of power**

Sharp (2010:18)<sup>3</sup> explains powerholders need the help of people and without people they cannot secure and maintain the sources of power. French and Raven (1959:151) list and explain the bases of power. Sharp also discusses the bases of power referring to them as sources of power. French and Raven (1959:151) divide and explain the basis of power as follows:

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<sup>3</sup> In the discussion that follows, the notion of power is only interrogated as it is seen to operate between people.

### **2.3.1 Legitimate Power**

Legitimate power is also known as 'positional power'. It refers to the power a person has because of their position and duties in an organisation. This is an official authority given to the person in the position. In most cases, legitimate power comes with an office and a uniform, if it is an organisation with a uniform (French & Raven 1959:153). This source of power is understood by Sharp (2010:18) as 'authority'. Affirming Sharp's argument, Beare (2012:63) argues that authority is a form of legitimate power and those who acknowledge it do so because they believe that the one using it has the moral (and legal) right to do that. He further explains that that type of moral right is called legitimacy. In conclusion, Beare gives an example of a government saying it exercises power with legitimate authority once people have agreed that it was chosen in a proper way and have accepted it. Sharp explains it as the people's belief that the rule is legitimate and their moral obligation is to obey it. When one is promoted to be the Commander of the Botswana Defence Force, for example, they assume the duties of a commander thus taking up the legitimate power of a commander. They will definitely get the uniform of a commander and will be shown the office. Furthermore, the notion of 'promotion' is (or should be) connected to capability (or empowerment) and therefore the promotion is seen as legitimate.

### **2.3.2 Referent Power**

Referent power is understood as the power or ability of someone to appeal to other people and develop trustworthiness. This power relies on the charisma and interpersonal skills of the one in power. Under this power concept one's personal traits make people admire them, leading to interpersonal influence from the powerful to the powerless. The powerless desire to be identified with those personal qualities and will be happy to be an accepted follower. For example someone who admires President Ian Khama's personal qualities and who desires to be like him, will be happy to be an accepted member of the Botswana Democratic Party. This power may be abused when someone who is admired by the people rises to power. This person may have personal advantage when placed in this situation over the organisation's position. An example of this is when Ian Khama joined the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) and was running for elections. It appeared as if he was the one gaining popular support and not the party he was representing. It is never sufficient for the

powerholder to use referent power alone when they want permanence and reverence. It needs to be used together with other sources of power (French & Raven 1959:154).

### **2.3.3 Expert power**

French and Raven (1959:155) describe expert power as the power that comes from someone's skills, knowledge or expertise and the organisation's need for that knowledge and those skills and expertise. The duo argues that this power is different from others because it is specific and limited to a particular field that the powerholder is an expert in. In essence when one has the knowledge and skill, people find it necessary to listen to you. They develop trust and respect you and your ideas, and accept that these will be valuable to them. This leads to people taking you as their leader (1959:155). In the Botswana government Minister of Finance and Development Planning Kenneth Mathambo is a good example of someone with expert power. He is learned and he is an expert when it comes to issues of finance as he states that he also acquired a lot knowledge from his predecessor Baledzi Gaolatlhe (Mooketsi 2010:1). Tentatively one can argue that his expertise caused the president to call him as a specially elected member of parliament even after he announced that he will not be part of the 2014 parliament.

### **2.3.4 Reward power**

According to French and Raven (1959:152) reward power is about someone's ability to discuss and issue material rewards like benefits, time off, promotions, salary increment and responsibilities. They add that though this power is obvious it can be fruitless if it is not used properly. Abusers of this power base often get in trouble and face disciplinary charges. There is always a high possibility of people doing what the powerholder expects them to do because they want to be rewarded. One great disadvantage of this power is that the powerholder's control is always limited (French & Raven 1959:152). For example in the teaching profession in Botswana, an Assistant teacher is supervised by Senior teacher 1 who does not have the power to increase the assistant teacher's salary or promote them but can only recommend that they be promoted. Even the head master needs to consult the regional office for some decisions. The duo also states that his power gets reduced when people do not value the rewards and when the powerholder runs out of rewards. Furthermore they argue that another disadvantage of reward power is that for the reward

to be effective it has to be bigger or better than the previous one and if they are given regularly people become satisfied and it becomes less effective because the expectations for, and the earning of, the reward are in conflict (French & Raven 1959:152).<sup>4</sup>

### **2.3.5 Coercive power**

In their explanation of coercive power French and Raven (1959:152) mention that is when negative influences are used. Demoting and withholding the rewards of an individual as well as threatening to do so are some of the things that one with coercive power can do. Those without power will obey the one with power because they desire to get the valued rewards and they will continue to obey the powerholder because they fear that the powerholder will withhold the rewards (or worse). It is taken as the most obvious and not very useful because it breeds resistance from those who are oppressed. Some of the common apparatuses used under coercive power include punishment like demoting and giving undesirable assignments and threats like threatening to fire someone, threatening to demote, threatening to deny them privileges, and even the threat of imprisonment. When over-used, coercive power leads to a poor leadership style, so one must not rely on it alone (Raven & French 1959:152). This is the power that a Headmaster will use when threatening or even denying a teacher an opportunity to go for further studies in the teaching field in Botswana as they have the power to recommend who can go upon applications. Another example may be when a defence force commander sends one of his juniors on an undesirable trip to do undesirable duties like digging a hole.

### **2.4 Sources of political power**

Sharp (2010:18) classifies sources of power into five different categories namely: human resources, skills and knowledge, intangible factors, material resources and sanctions. He goes further by describing the categories and explains that human resources as a source of power refer to the size and the significance of a group of people obeying, cooperating and providing assistance to those in power. On skills and knowledge he elaborates that they are provided by the cooperating persons in order to ensure that the powerholder is able to perform specific actions. Sharp states that the intangible factors are psychological and ideological factors that may persuade the powerless to obey and help the powerholder. As

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<sup>4</sup> An argument can be made that this type of power is the basis on which bribery works.

for material resources, Sharp mentions that they are about the amount of control or access the powerholder has over things like property, natural resources, financial resources, the economic system, and means of communication and transportation, and so forth. He concludes by arguing that sanctions refer to punishments and threats used on those who are not cooperative and do not obey the powerholder in order to ensure that the submission and cooperation that are required for the rule to exist and achieve its goals.

It is Sharp's opinion that these bases of power depend on the recognition of the powerholder, on the submission and obedience of those without power, and on the cooperation of the powerless and the institutions of the society. This is not always the case. When those without power are fully cooperating, obeying and supporting the powerholder, the availability of the required power basis increases, thus increasing the power capacity of the powerholder. And if the powerless withdraw the support and institutional cooperation, the availability of the basis of power is reduced; as a result weakening the powerholder's power, and ends up potentially dissolving the power base (as in a revolution). This can be done by the society and institutions of the society engaging in the struggle by psychological, social, economic, and political weapons. They come in different forms like strike, non-cooperation, boycotts, disaffection and people power (Sharp 2010:19, 30).

## **2.5 Power and discourse**

Foucault, as cited by De-Moll (2010:11), states that power is a function of discourse and has meanings attributed to those taking part in the discourse. De-Moll quotes Foucault saying "power is not an institution, and not a structure: neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with: it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society". This view connects power to strategic needs. According to Smith (2012:10) the discourse of power occurs between two groups of people who are the powerful<sup>5</sup> group and the powerless group. The groups think differently because they have different social status and therefore have different needs and wants. They are made up of people each with their own common background and thinking. Thus these differences lead potentially to the emergence of conflict that is overt or covert.

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<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that, although the terms 'powerful' and 'powerless' are used, they do not indicate the only two options – this has been argued, above – but are used to indicate a continuum, and to indicate relationships. Indeed, the difference between the two, in context, might be extreme or very small.

The discourse of power relations in the past was given attention by Marx and Engels with particular reference to the working class and the capitalist, using Marxist theory. According to Barker (2008:12), Marxism is a theory that emphasises the historical specificity of human matters and the changeable character of social formations whose main structures are situated in the physical circumstances of reality. Marx and Engels made an effort to uncover the bourgeoisie (oppressor) or capitalist's exploitation of the working class by demonstrating how they are exploited for their labour or labour power. Barker (2008:190) explains capitalism as a system of production premised upon the private ownership and the control of the means of production. Marx and Engels elaborate that in simple terms the bourgeoisie are the owners of the means of production and they are in need of cheap labour power. They try by all means to pay the smallest amount of wages, for example, while the workers demand to be paid more. In this case the capitalist (oppressor) depends on the oppressed for labour and the worker (oppressed) depends on the capitalist for the salary. Subsequently this causes a conflict which will lead to a power struggle.

Marx and Engels's critique can be taken as a clear indication that when one group or a member of group uses power over another group or member, a power struggle takes place causing conflict and, subsequently, tense power relations are created between them. The employers and the management behave in a particular way when negotiating and differently when they are in their private spaces. It can be concluded that power differences affect discourse.

## **2.6 Discourse/ negotiations language**

Gomes and Martin (1996:205) define discourse as "a set of linguistic devices and rhetorical structures that characterise the speaker's repertoire". They adopt Woodbury's explanation of rhetorical structure saying in a language it "consists of prosodically and intonationally signalled phonological phrasing along with whatever other significant formal features consistently pattern or interact with it (minimally surface syntactic constituency, typically also the system of sentence adverbs and conjunctions, further intonational features, and patterns of parallelism and repetition". They stress that under the rhetorical structure or approach it is important for the one taking part in discourse to pay attention to the role of each and every linguistic feature in the development of the whole discourse organisation. It

also takes into account that grammatical features at different levels may intertwine creating a customary rhetorical style (Gomes & Martin 1996:206). Lazar and Lazar (2004:224) cite Foucault (1972) who asserts that discourse encompasses “statements related to a particular field, made known in concrete ways across time and space, by so doing creating and structuring a certain order of reality.” The duo state that according to Foucault, discourse cannot be ascribed to certain individuals in history. However they argue that individuals in positions of authority or who are powerholders in institutions serve as main figures in the inauguration of the emergence of specific forms of knowledge and truth. Gomes and Martin (1996:206) claim that those involved in a discourse must have ways to control the multiple perspectives that may develop in the process because when several messages and several roles are brought into one discourse moment the resulting conflict can affect discourse development.

Gee (2011:34) categorises discourse into two: “Discourse” with a capital “D” and discourse with a little “d”. He says that “Discourse” with a capital “D” refers to associations that are accepted by a particular society such as ways of using a language, of thinking, valuing, acting and interacting, in the “right” places and at the right times with the “right” objects. According to Gee one can use the associations mentioned above to identify himself or herself as a member of a particular group. He gives an example of an example of a “Good cook” and explains that for them to be recognised as a good cook, they have to master using recipes, utensils, ingredients and also show that they value things like presentation of food and combinations of tastes. Another example could be for one to be recognised as a member of a particular political party; they have to know the chants, slogans, and songs, dress in the colours of the party, uphold and respect the values of a party and show understanding of its mission. “Recognition” is fundamental to Discourse. For someone to have successfully pulled off a Discourse, they must have combined language, action, interaction, values, beliefs, symbols, objects, tools and places in a way that can make people see you as a person engaged in certain activity. Discourses are embedded in a mixture of social institutions and usually involve things like books, magazines, different types of buildings such as classrooms, laboratories and objects. Gee points out that people enact discourses that existed long before they became part of those discourses and those discourses will continue to exist even after those people have left. These discourses are



ever-changing but people normally don't know the history and don't see the changes, therefore one can say they don't know what they mean when they act and talk.

Gee (2011:34) explains that "discourse" with a small "d" refers to language-in-use or stretches of language such as conversations and stories. (The matters raised around rhetoric, above, also refer here). Perez-Fragoso (2011:131) cites Gee (2001)'s argument that language is not uniform, but rather it is made of various styles, registers and social languages. Ariel (2009:5) argues that discourse and grammar often work together and all of them bring limitations to the expressions of the one speaking. She explains that the purpose of grammar is to specify a set of language-specific codes, characteristically limited to sentence level units. It assists the speaker to construct the sentence properly, and then they are linked together by a different set of discourse principles forming a coherent part of discourse. Adding to the discussion above, Ariel (2009) draws from the above argument that discourse is the product of the use of grammar and particularly natural contexts. It includes several statements that are in an organised manner. It is informed by global principles like relevance. Ariel indicates that discourse limitations are global. They relate to the coherence of text and interpersonal relations. Furthermore, grammatical limitations are local because they relate to the possible versus the impossible in structures within a language. However they are all used in natural discourse. During the discourse, speakers are obliged to adhere to the limitations of the two concurrently. When people are interacting via a conversation, there is a possibility of language change occurring. Discourse involves language which is a tool used together with other tools like grammar to pass the message. Phillips (1998:849) utters that language is not a transparent medium through which already-formed ideologies, identities and attitudes are expressed. He continues by claiming that it constructs socially shared representations of the world and constructs individuals as subjects.<sup>6</sup>

As will become clear, below, discourse becomes a central way in which power is negotiated in particular situations whether those who have power and those who do not, meet.

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<sup>6</sup> Although this discussion seems specifically to refer to written and spoken language as discourse, the principles can be applied in the consideration of cartoons as discourse. This will be explored in the relevant chapter.

## 2.7 Power and positionality

Merriam, Lee, Kee, Ntseane and Muhamad (2001:411) relate power to positionality. Affirming that positionality brings power, Lammers et al (2009:1543) say that certain positions bring more social power while others bring more personal power. They give an example of independent artists having personal power because they make independent decisions on what to create and when to create it. One can also think of a street vendor as someone with personal power because they also decide what to sell and when to sell it. The position of an army officer gives him social power over his subordinates because they take his commands. Another example is that of a member of parliament for a particular constituency having social power over his constituents because of his position. However they clarify that most of the power positions encompass both social and personal power. As it was stated earlier in this discussion, where Barker (2008:10) and (Lukes 2007:60) argued that as much as power is limiting it is also allowing using positionality as a power vehicle to demonstrate how one's position can be permitting or restricting. They argue that it is controlled by where one stands in relation to the other adding that these positions have the potential to change. Merriam et al (2001:412) use the terms 'insider' and 'outsider' to further substantiate their argument. They raise a point that the cultural identity that people relate to outsider and insider status is often outweighed by factors such as education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race, or sheer duration of contacts.

According to Merriam et al (2001:412) there are four possible positions when one is focusing on the insider/outsider variation. These positions are as follows:

- *The indigenous-insider* is the one who can speak with authority about his or her group, endorsing the unique values, perspectives, behaviours, beliefs and knowledge. An example of an indigenous-insider can be where President Ian Khama is talking about the government of Botswana or a member of the Bahurutshi tribe talking with authority about the Bahurutshi people.
- *The indigenous-outsider* is the one who seems to demonstrate a lot of cultural integration into an outsider or oppositional culture but remains connected with his or her original indigenous group. An example of an indigenous-outsider is a

Botswana citizen who stayed in South Africa for a number years or a member of the ruling party (BDP) who has been an ambassador in Zimbabwe for some years.

- *The external-insider* is the one who does not accept much of his group but endorses those of another group, thus making himself or herself an 'adopted' member. An example of an external-insider is a member of a tribe that is considered to be the minority who rejects the values, perspectives, behaviours, beliefs and knowledge of his or her tribe but endorses or takes up the ones of a tribe that is considered to be majority to be accepted.
- *External-outsider* is the one who is socialised within a group different from the one he or she is from. An example of external-outsider is a frequent visitor to Botswana or a short-term resident.

## **2.8 Other models and rules of power relations**

Van Wyk (2003:22) states that power distribution within a system affects the way in which a system works. Van Wyk explains that this is determined by the number of major power poles. The patterns of the power models can be classified into unipolar, bipolar, tripolar and multipolar systems.

### **2.8.1 Unipolar system**

In a unipolar system there is only one major power holder. This major power holder may dominate through the economy and the military in order to enforce matters affecting the system. The roles of the power holder include settling disputes and conflicts between subordinate units. The powerholder ensures that the subordinates do not attain greater autonomy or form opposing power. The ones without power or the oppressed strive to reduce the authority of the powerholder or the oppressor. An example of this system is when the president or a particular political party is governing a country. In that case the president of the country who in most cases is also the president of the ruling party is normally the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and can use them to enforce issues he or she wants in place. The president can easily control the economy because everyone obeys him or her. Another important role of the president is to settle disputes, thus the

doors of the office of the president are always open to the public. Yet such a position is authoritative, and, if not kept in check, can become dictatorial.

### **2.8.2 Bipolar system**

Under the bipolar system, there are two powerholders with almost equal power. (There is a possibility of the existence of neutral actors but they are not strongly powerful enough to be threats to the oppressors or the powerholders). One significant characteristic of this model is that the two powerholders are hostile to one another. Some of the rules in this model include eradicating the other powerholder even by the use of force or war and increasing power by recruiting new members and making sure the other powerholder does not get new members. In the political spectrum of Botswana there were two major powerholders in 2015 namely Botswana Democratic Party and Umbrella for Democratic Change (which is a coalition of Botswana Movement for Democracy and Botswana National Front). However there was also a minor powerholder by the name of the Botswana Congress Party (BCP) and individuals who were independent candidates in the 2014 elections. The two major powerholders do not tolerate one another they compete for new members and often make efforts to destroy one another. Such efforts and negotiations lead to the minor powerholder BCP joining the UDC, a change that might lead to BDP losing elections in 2019.

### **2.8.3 Tripolar system**

The main characteristic of this system is that it has two hostile powerholders who dominate the system and a third powerholder who may be having good relations with the two powerholders. The third power house maintains a good relationship with the two powerholders and does not allow the relationship to be hostile. It also has to safeguard that the two dominant powerholders don't develop good relationship. An example of the relationship between Botswana, Britain and China can be used to explain this system. Britain and China are two hostile powerholders and Botswana (being a third party) is on good terms with the two. Botswana also has to be careful about the relationship that might develop between Britain and China.

#### **2.8.4 Multipolar system**

The multipolar system is complicated by the several powerholders in the model. This system has at least four powerholders. It can be seen as a system which allows balance of power because the power holders stop each other from trying to be dominant thus promoting peace, order and stability within the system. The most important thing under this model is to be against any powerholder who is trying to extend their power and to increase your power through negotiations or war. Powerholders also have the mandate to lead negotiations with other powerholders during conflicts because they may need one another in future. One relevant example is of the public service unions of Botswana. There is a public service federation known as Botswana Federation of Public Service Employees Union, made of six trade unions: Botswana Public Employees Union (BOPEU), Botswana Teachers Union (BTU), Botswana Sector of Educators Trade Union (BOSETU), National Amalgamated, Local and Central Government and Parastatal Workers Union (NALCGPWU) which is also known as Manual Workers Union (MWU) and Botswana Land Boards, Local Authorities and Health Workers Union (BLLAHWU) (Makgala & Malila 2014:19, Makgala & Zibani 2010:244). Each trade union is a powerholder although they are affiliates of one trade union. Though the Unions do not have an equal number of members none of them dominates the federation because other unions will not allow it. In that case the power is balanced allowing the federation to maintain order and be stable. The unions take part in negotiations during conflicts to make sure that disputes are settled and they do not lose member unions<sup>7</sup>.

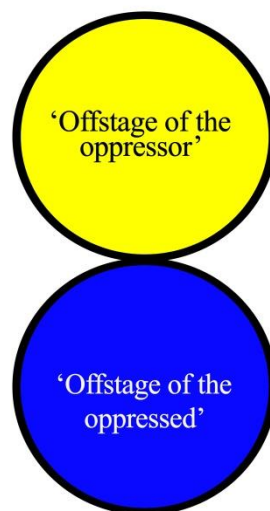
#### **2.9 Scott's theory**

The underpinning theoretical frame for interrogating the social spaces of and for social development is drawn from Scott's theory explained in the book entitled *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden transcripts*, which was published in 1990. The model or frame divides society into two environments (termed, in this explanation, the environment of the 'oppressor' or the dominant – those in power), and the environment of the 'oppressed' or the subordinate – those who have less or no power. Each of these environments is subdivided and is revealed through public transcripts and hidden transcripts. Public

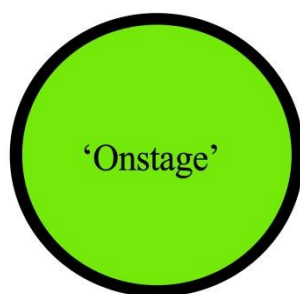
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<sup>7</sup> In the South African situation an attempted multipolar power situation can be seen in the so-called Tripartite Alliance between the African National Congress (ANC), COSATU and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

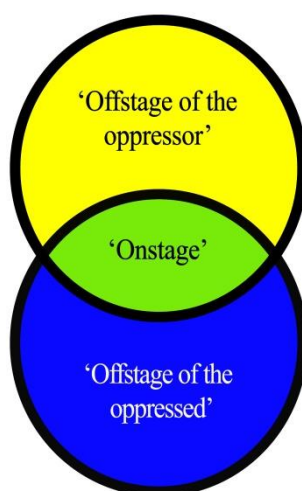
transcripts record the interaction between the oppressor and the oppressed in what Scott calls the 'onstage space'. Hidden transcripts reveal the interactions that occur privately, away from the other, in what Scott calls the 'offstage space'. Botswana is a democratic country where the expectation may be that everything may always be onstage or the above mentioned division of society may not exist. However, it does exist and this is acknowledged by Munro (1997:24) who mentions that democracy confines individuals to groups who agree and groups who disagree, with the majority holding control over the minority. Munro (1997:18) states that there are instances, spaces, discourses and plans which are framed as being "onstage", where discussions occur between groups of people with dissimilar power, and "offstage" moments, spaces, discourses and agendas where consolidation, strategizing, and commiseration happen. Furthermore, Munro (1997:46) says that the dominant/oppressor and the dominated/oppressed each have a lively discourse offstage. According to Munro the offstage is seen to be closer to the truth. This configuration, which appears to be contrary to the ideal democratic setup, has drawn the researcher's attention. Scott's concepts can easily be explained with the use of the models below.



**Figure 2.1.** Illustration of two divisions in a society.



**Figure 2.2.** Illustration of an ideal democratic setup.



**Figure 2.3.** Illustration of Scott's model.

### 2.9.1 Hidden transcripts<sup>8</sup>

Scott (1990:4) terms the discourse that takes place in “offstage spaces”, that is, in spaces where the other does not have access to as the ‘hidden transcript’. He states that the transcript is not new because it is made of those offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears in the public transcript. Munro (1997:24) states that Scott’s concept of hidden transcripts of the oppressor and the oppressed being offstage gave him an opportunity to theorise what is decoded as being offstage for one text may be decoded as being onstage for another<sup>9</sup>. Munro sees the hidden transcript as a social

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<sup>8</sup> Transcripts can be seen as the recording of specific discourse moments or events.

<sup>9</sup> Munro’s doctoral work is based on the theoretical work of James Scott, but his application is to resistance theatre in South Africa. Nevertheless, the researcher will demonstrate the applicability of the theory to social comment in all its forms and, here, specifically to the visual as demonstrated in the cartoon.

construct which was caused by power relations among like-minded people, or those who are in similar situations. Its life-span depends on how long it is practiced, expressed and endorsed inside the offstage social spots. Thus it has no reality as pure thought (as opposed to context-bound thinking). The social sites of the hidden transcripts are those locations where the oppressed can freely express themselves.

Hidden transcripts occur well and freely when they are expressed in an isolated social spot where the regulation, scrutiny, and suppression devices of the dominant are less able to reach and when this isolated social setting is made of close friends (for example) who have common experiences of domination (Munro 1997:34). In short the offstage space fosters a transcript of people saying what they would like to say without shaping what they say to avoid trouble from the dominant, or rebellion from the subordinate.

### **2.9.2 Public transcripts**

Scott (1990:2) uses the term 'public transcripts' as a short-hand way of describing the negotiated interaction between subordinates and those who dominate. In his elaboration on the term he states that the 'public transcript' in this instance refers to actions that are said publicly to the other party in the power relationship. Furthermore, he explains that the transcript is used in its juridical sense of a complete record of what was said (to which one can add what was done). Included in the complete record are non-speech acts such as gestures and expressions. Scott also acknowledges that the public transcript is unlikely to tell the whole story about power relations but it will reveal the discourses, potentially. (This is made more apparent when the power difference is greater). Speculatively it can thus be argued that cartoons place the offstage in the onstage.

### **2.9.3 The onstage discourse of the oppressor**

The onstage discourse of the oppressor occurs from the view of the dominant or oppressive force. This discourse occurs in the shared public domain where the oppressor and the oppressed meet. It is a discourse in which the oppressor has to persuade the oppressed to do as the oppressor wants or at least not do anything that will disturb the equilibrium of the public space. Here the oppressor brings into the public space the agenda that has been refined in the offstage space of the oppressor to favour the goals of the oppressor. The way



the discourse occurs is determined by the oppressor to convince the oppressed that what is taking place is 'right and natural'. On the other hand, the discourse the oppressed presents to the oppressor is managed according to the expectations of the oppressed. Thus whatever the oppressor meets in the public space has already been worked out by the oppressed to create the impression that the oppressed wish to create (Munro 1997:54-56). A case in point is when the director of the Directorate of Public Service meets the workers and persuades them to continue working when they are threatening to put down the tools. The director is pushing the agenda of the government (and is in this case the oppressor) and will bring a well prepared speech which will attempt to convince the workers or the oppressed that it is wrong to go on strike. This will allow the oppressor's agenda to continue without disturbance working towards achieving their goals. (As will be seen, the oppressed have strategies in place to respond to this attempted act of persuasion).

#### **2.9.4 The offstage discourse of the oppressor**

This is the space in which the oppressor's discussions take place, away from the presence of the oppressed or subordinate. In this space the oppressor is free from the pressure to control or constantly manipulate the discourse to achieve specific results as would have been the case in the public space. Here the oppressor is free to plan, express and share the opinions that the oppressor has of the oppressed. The oppressor even has the opportunity to explore, argue and consider possibilities for strategies and implementation in the public space (Munro 1997: 56). For instance when the president meets his cabinet in a private space to discuss issues of social development, they are free to express themselves because the oppressed is not present so all of them work towards one goal. If they decide to develop a certain village for a particular purpose (it may be to give the public the impression that they are doing something), they will all freely participate in strategizing what developments must be done to achieve the goal they are trying to achieve.

#### **2.9.5 The onstage space of the oppressed**

The oppressed's hope is to use the space to grow, to acquire property, to be secure and move forward, and limit or challenge where possible the actions of the oppressor. The oppressed enter the space mindful of the needs and desires of the oppressor and borders they must not cross. The peer group pressures continue as the oppressed challenge the

oppressor and also test the restrictions imposed on them by their own group. Everyone is aware of what is expected of the other and they are all aware of the consequences that may follow if they do not do as expected. Continuous limit testing is used to negotiate the tension in the discourse and it relies on the levels of obviousness visible. The oppressor will avoid showing his 'true' intentions and the oppressed will avoid showing his 'true' feelings. If they do, the oppressor will seem to be unavoidably self-seeking or not ideologically natural/neutral and for the oppressed it might affect his dreams of survival and dignity. As a result, both parties use 'dishonest' or manipulative methods to deceive one another in such a way that one appears not to be aware of others' dishonest behaviour.

Speculatively it may be argued that the cartoonist sets out to reveal the deceptions and dishonesties at playing in the onstage space. Arguably, too, it is the cartoonlike (non-real) properties of the cartoon that allow the cartoonist to critically comment on what is said in the onstage space. An example relating to this discourse is when the public service negotiating team which is the oppressed meets a delegation from the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM) which is the oppressor or powerholder in this case. The oppressed come to the negotiations with the hope of winning the discussions and perhaps demonstrate some sense of growth to their followers. However they are always careful that they do not break the law and they always stick to the oppressor's expectations even though they are presenting the needs and the desires of the oppressed. They are also mindful of their conduct in the presence of one another and are all aware of the consequences that might follow. The oppressed will continue to do limit testing on the oppressor. For example in 2016 the oppressed kept on demanding a 16% salary increment and threatening to strike forever when government or the oppressor said it could only afford 3% increment. The oppressor held meetings to try and persuade the oppressed to go back to work without clarifying why is it impossible to give the oppressed what they wanted.

It should be noted that there are occasions when the oppressed "speak truth to power" in the onstage spaces, and this occurs when there is nothing more to lose or when the solidarity is of such a nature that a massive upheaval can occur. When this occurs it forms the basis of a revolution.

### 2.9.6 The offstage discourse of the oppressed

The oppressed can still find space and time to conduct their business safely even during the times of oppression. They use the “offstage of the oppressed” to develop the communal, solidarity, a sense of strategy to counter oppression, a sense of the “peer group pressure”, and a place to dream of, and to conduct (theoretically) what life would be like if there were no oppression. In this space the oppressed come up with new ways of subverting oppression, and share them. They also strategize and rehearse the systems of bypassing the obstructing of progress all in one spirit of shared suffering and common problems. Clever parodies and music are developed and they are used as a form of entertainment and solidarity. Their practitioners see it as way of contributing to the struggle by sharing and uplifting the spirits of their peers. The experiences of the community influence the cultural artefacts, thus rendering them to a specific historical (ethnic, national and class) moment and locating them in a particular history (Munro 1997:61). During the 2011 industrial action in Botswana when public servants were demanding the 16% salary increment, the public servants who are the oppressed in this case held private meetings building solidarity that resulted in majority of the public servants being part of the strike after the government told them that it would not increase their salaries and they must continue working. The oppressed came up with slogans like *re tshwere moono*, meaning “we support the idea” and *tsena monna tsena, tsena mosadi tsena* which translates to “come on woman come on” and prompts men and women to join the strike. Several encoded songs of solidarity were also composed that were only understood by those in the offstage of the oppressed and not by the government senior officials or the oppressor. Public servants came up with nicknames and gestures that were used to call or refer to senior government officials as well as the president. Letsididi (2014:1) affirms that President Khama has nicknames such as *Lekgoanyana* (which translates to “a young white person”) and *Tshetlha* (which is name of the colour of a lion, normally used when praising it) and also states that the president acknowledges the nicknames. An editorial from *Mmegi* dated entitled “Khama’s brush with death” explains that his nickname Tshetlha refers his amazing talent of playing with lions. One *Youtube* video entitled “Botswana, Mother of all strikes 16% Demand; Unions” about the 2011 industrial action that occurred in Botswana shows workers doing gestures that signal President Khama’s afro hair style, former Vice-President Kedikilwe’s big stomach and

Finance minister Mathambo's bald head as they sing while awaiting a court judgement at the industrial court. The nicknaming of government officials and the use of gestures in the video are evidence of the encoding that occurs as part of the hidden transcripts in the offstage space of the powerless who are the workers in this case. This reflects the use of tropes in the actual resistance by the powerless in the 'offstage space of the powerless' and the 'onstage space of the powerless'.

## **2.10 Summary**

In this chapter power is defined as the ability to get things done the way the powerholder wants them to be done. It is concluded that it is the influence or ability to control or influence human behaviour. One can achieve power by using sanctions and other forms of punishment. The chapter emphasises that power is not wealth or status. Among the factors entailed in power there is authority, influence, coercion, force, violence, manipulation, strength, persuasion, physical force, control and ascendancy. The perception of power is socially influenced. Therefore the powerless members of the society admit that a particular individual has power basing on the society's concept of power. Power exists within a group and in most cases a group of people, thus for it to exist there must be a group. It can be communicated upward or downward. Power is not always evil because it can be used to empower the powerless. It can be divided into power-to and power-over. As it exists in a group power can also be classified into social power and personal power. There are five bases of power and they are as follows: legitimate power, referent power, expert power, reward power and coercive power. However political power can be sourced from human resources, skills and knowledge, intangible factors, material sources and sanctions. Discourse of power takes place between two groups who are the powerholders and the powerless because their interests differ. Discourse can be divided into "Discourse" with capital "D" which refers to associations accepted by a society or recognition and discourse with a small "d" referring to the language in use. People are identified by the language they speak. Authority is divided into traditional authority, charismatic authority and legal authority. An individual's position can be limiting or permitting. The positions are varied as: the indigenous-insider, indigenous-outsider, the external-insider and the external-outsider. Models of power are classified into four as unipolar system, bipolar system, tripolar and multipolar system.

Scott's theory divides the society into the space of the powerholder and the space of the powerless. In each of the spaces there is the 'hidden transcripts'. Public transcripts occur during the encounter between the powerholder and the powerless. Public transcripts are said publicly to the other party and are sometimes accompanied by non-speech acts. Hidden transcripts occur in private spaces of the two where they are free from the other. The onstage space of the powerholder is the public space where the powerholder meets the powerless to try and convince the powerless to agree to the interests of the powerholder. In the offstage space of the powerholder, the powerholder has discussions, plans and explores ideas and strategies freely because the powerless is not present. The powerless come to the onstage space with the hope to win but mindful of the group's expectations and the powerholder's needs. The powerholder and the powerless are not honest to each other in this space as they try to manipulate each in effort to achieve their goals. The offstage space of the powerless is used by the powerless to build solidarity among members of the group and to strategize without the interference of the powerholder.

Chapter 3 uses Scott's theory as an underpinning theory to understand the dynamics of social and economic development in Botswana. Furthermore it studies social development and looks in depth at its play in the history of Botswana and the current situation in the country. It also considers other related aspects as they are outlined in this chapter such as power, discourse, positionality and authority. Scott's model will also provide the basis for the interpretation of the cartoons on social and economic development in Botswana. This will be tackled in chapter 5.

## **CHAPTER 3**

The purpose of the previous chapter was to outline the theoretical model offered by James C Scott as a way of interrogating power positions where there is an unequal distribution of power.

### **3.1 Power dynamics**

#### **3.1.1 Introduction**

The purpose of chapter three is to consider the nature of social development as a concept and then to apply this to social developments in Botswana. The historical and theoretical backgrounds of social development are considered, and then the current situation of social development in Botswana is discussed in this chapter. Critically, the difference between social development and economic development (or terms that coincide with these) are presented, specifically because of the interwoven nature of the two approaches as seen in the colonial and post-colonial situation in Botswana<sup>10</sup>. Scott's model, as presented in the previous chapter, will assist in demonstrating how the two senses of development have become 'confused,' 'used' and 'abused.' To do this the nature of power and its dynamics (as presented in the previous chapter) will be applied to the Botswanan situation. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to provide the context that offers an understanding of social development with particular reference to Botswana so that this can be used to explain the choices made in the analysis of selected cartoons, in chapter 5.

#### **3.1.2 Social development<sup>11</sup>**

Midgley (2013:1) argues that "social development" refers to government policies and programmes concerned with the social aspect of development, such as reducing poverty, increasing literacy, combating malnutrition and improving access to health and education. An earlier point stated by Paiva (1977:327) says that social development used to be understood to be referring to the psychological processes of growth in the family system or environment. However he also acknowledges that it is currently used in reference to

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<sup>10</sup> In colloquial terms, this is the notion contained in the idea that if there is a problem in society "throw money at it." It is also the situation where there is an assumption if economic infrastructure is provided, development of the society will automatically follow.

<sup>11</sup> The nature of 'development' constantly changes in the literature, and is defined in different ways, as shall become evident throughout this chapter.

development processes at all levels, within and between countries, especially relating to measures for economic welfare. According to Veenhoven (2012:4), the term “social development” is used rhetorically to lessen attention towards “economic development”. This is evident in Ruth Wienclaw’s definition (2015b:4) of “economic development” which describes it as the sustainable increase in living standards for a nation, region or society. Wienclaw further explains that more than mere economic growth, economic development is sustainable and positively affects the wellbeing of all members of the group through such things as increased health, education, environmental protection and per capita income. In essence, the two definitions emphasise the improvement of education, health and wealth to positively impact the socio-economic structure of the society. Veenhoven (2012:1) also states that the common assumption in this context is that social development will add to human happiness more so than economic development does. As will become clear, however, the nature of such development is often defined and implemented from the position of power.

Central to the debate is the different starting positions to development. One approach seems to argue that, if a community is socially uplifted then economic development will follow. The alternative approach seems to argue that once economic development occurs, then social development will follow. Given this tension between the approaches, as will be demonstrated, policy development by a government will change and adapt.

What one can gather from the discussion above is that the purpose of social development is to empower the society, and the control for such development lies in the hands of powerholders (or those that have reached a particular level of satisfaction) in the society. They decide when and how they develop the poor or the powerless members of the society. The powerful members of the society also decide to what extent they develop the poor members of the society. It seems to be evident even in the case of Botswana that those in power develop the poor in such a way that they (will) continue to have power over them. An example of this can be the provision of scholarships and jobs, as the government sponsors most citizens for their first degrees and mostly in courses that the public service needs manpower for. In that case the citizens rely on the powerholder which is the government for scholarships, then they come back from their studies to rely on the government for employment. Thus those who are empowered continue to obey those in power. In this

sense, and following Scott, it would appear that programmes are put in place to “recruit” those without qualifications (in this case) into their dominant midst.

According to Wienclaw (2015b:1), Pre-Industrial societies developed from nomadic familial units to more extended villages and towns as they were enabled by technology to move from hunting and gathering societies to horticultural and eventually agrarian societies. Malema (2013:2) asserts that at the time of independence in 1966 Botswana was one of the poorest countries (in terms of so called ‘development’) with a predominantly agrarian economy. Wienclaw continues to say that the arrival of the Industrial revolution led to the society going through a continuing change as jobs and populations became more centred on products of technology. This caused a shift from extended to nuclear families and the connected development of social institutions to take the place of the extended family in various occasions. Society continues to change and develop as Post-Industrial technology necessitates the society to reconsider elementary concepts. Arguably, following Scott, it can be suggested that as this all occurred, the separation of powers between labour and control mechanisms became formalised, and, consequently, elements of the adversarial became evident.

Veenhoven (2012:4) indicates that social development is measured using five ISDs – “Indices of Social Development”: a) civic activism; b) participatory voluntary associations; c) harmony among groups; d) harmony among individuals; and e) gender equality. In Paiva’s view (1977:327) the main concepts of social development are four and they are as follows: structural change, socio-economic integration, institutional development and institutional renewal. Responses to questions on life satisfaction available on the *International Journal of Wellbeing* are used to measure average happiness (Veenhoven 2012:335). Defining happiness, Veenhoven (2012:10) says that this “is the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of his/her own life-as-a-whole favourably”. He continues by explaining that in simple terms it is how much one likes the life one leads. In 2010 comparisons across the nations were done and they reflected that civic activism and gender equality seem to add a lot to happiness, possibly because of economic development. Nevertheless, more involvement in associations and less conflict among individuals go together with more happiness (human flourishing). Intergroup conflict seems not to be linked with happiness. Thus it is not everything that is identified as “social development” that adds to happiness.



Some of the things identified with “social development” work negatively, some positively and some do not affect happiness at all (Veenhoven 2012:1).

Social development as a topic has been given some attention by some scholars but very little was done with regard to Botswana and nothing according to the knowledge of the researcher was done in relation to the arts (with specific reference for this study to social cartoons) in Botswana. Veenhoven (2012:1) writes about social development and happiness in nations. Rindermann, Sailer and Thompson (2009) address the topic *The impact of smart fractions, cognitive ability of politicians and average competence of people on social development*. Kang’ethe (2014) explores the social gaps in Africa with examples from South Africa and Botswana. Hillbom (2012) argues that Botswana’s socio-economic development is better understood as the efforts of a development-oriented gate-keeping state rather than a developmental state. This conclusion is useful because it accentuates Scott’s notion that those in power will ‘steer’ the development they deem necessary, and keep out that which they do not. Molutsi and Holm (1990) did research on developing democracy when civil society is weak (that is to say, where the offstage of the oppressed is potentially fragmented). In his study entitled *Multi-Partyism in Africa: The case of Botswana*, Wiseman (1977:70) argues that Botswana maintained an exceptionally steady governmental system against a background of considerable economic development. In addition, Robinson (2013) states that Botswana stands out for its amazing economic record and has experienced very rapid economic growth and living standards since 1966. Robinson’s conclusion suggests that he argues from a position that economic development and social development are, indeed, effectively intertwined in Botswana. However, by not discriminating between those in power and those not, Robinson’s conclusions might be questioned. It can then be posited that the role of cartoonists is to support such questioning.

There are several cartoonists from Botswana who have been addressing social development issues, namely Albert Lekgaba, Simon “Selefu” Seisa, Lesole Ntshole and Billy Chiepe among others. These cartoonists produce cartoons for well-known newspapers in Botswana like *Mmegi*, *Botswana Guardian*, *The Voice* and *Sunday Standard*. The above-mentioned cartoonists document social issues and make some commentary, which appears not to be specifically guided by any scholarly framework. Many of these cartoonists and selected relevant cartoons from them will be analysed in Chapter 5.

### 3.1.3 Power dynamics in Botswana before colonialism

The bulk of what follows in this chapter deals with the development of political power in Botswana from pre-colonial times to the present. Although the chapter traces predominantly the political landscape it must be understood, drawing on the previous sections, that the engagement around the pursuit of political power revolves in many cases around the notions of promise of reward (or actual reward) for support, or the fear of removal of that reward or promised rewards if support is not forthcoming. These rewards are almost always clustered around the promises of social development (perhaps seen most clearly in identity and nationalist agendas, but also in health, education, and peace and safety) and the promises of economic development (linked to health and education, but more obviously in terms of the access to the accumulation of wealth and with that stability and the access to a better life). Given this, it would seem obvious to claim that negotiations that happen around power in the onstage and offstage spaces would use the prospects of social development rewards (and the withholding of these) and promises of economic development as ‘bargaining chips’ in the negotiation. Thus, although the negotiations are around attaining power, such power is directly connected to the idea of gaining power so as to bring about social and economic change (or to defend against threats to such social and economic change). Given this, the rest of the chapter will trace these changes in political power with this understanding of social and economic development as the matters used to discuss power.

Botswana was ruled by chiefs and they were normally referred to as *dikgosi* (Setswana for ‘chiefs’). In Tswana culture a *kgosi* was a hereditary leader thus he was not elected to the position. In their communities they were known to be extremely powerful before colonialism (Dingake 2011:3). This statement is supported by Picard (1985:9) who enlightens that Tswana tribes were ruled by hereditary chiefs. Dingake (2011:3) continues to argue that they used to be leaders, judges, guardians and law-makers, amongst others. The *dikgosi* were the dominant members of the community in the economy. They held tribal land authorities and they were the ones who had the power to allocate it to individuals who were normally members of the tribe. They had the biggest ploughing fields and they used them to feed their families and members of the community during drought. Their duties (as mentioned above) made them extremely powerful and that was reinforced by the

Batswana's respect for law. The respect for the law was significant because children were taught to respect the law while they were still young. Even the chiefs respected the law and policy discussions were held at the *kgotla*, which is an assembly of males. However, some adults, like uncircumcised males and subservient groups like the Basarwa, were not allowed to be part of the assembly. The chief and his advisors (his uncles and village elders) were responsible for coming up with the agenda of the *kgotla* meeting and made sure that they controlled the meeting based on the decisions that were taken in a closed meeting before the *kgotla* meeting is held. Thus one purpose of the *kgotla* was to legitimise what the chief and his men agreed on in a closed meeting. Some chiefs would not bring to the people of the community the matter they know the people would not like (Dingake 2011:3-4).

The chiefs had multiple sorts of power over their tribe. Batswana were not against chieftainship being hereditary<sup>12</sup>. In fact it was their culture and they supported it. Therefore the chief, by virtue of his position and duties had legitimate/culturally legitimised power over his tribe. He entered the "offstage of the powerholder" (the pre-*kgotla* meeting) procedurally and was accepted by the powerless as the powerholder. That gave the chief the authority to control the "offstage of the powerholder". As stated in the paragraph above the chiefs had the skills and knowledge that was outstanding. Their expertise lay in leadership, judging and law-making amongst other matters, which gave them 'expert power'. Those in the "offstage of the oppressed" seemingly did not have skills and responsibilities of that calibre. Thus they remained powerless, having to revere the chief for their whole life. The chiefs were also in control of the natural resources such as land. They allocated land anyhow they wanted giving themselves big ploughing fields that gave them enough yield to the tribe. Therefore the chief as the powerholder had 'reward power' as members of the tribe had to respect him in order for them to become eligible to be rewarded with things such as land and food. The chief had 'referent power' over the tribe and his advisors. These people admired the chief as he had charisma and was appealing to them. They trusted him, protected him and were happy to be identified with him. This was also especially true of the advisors. The advisors were part of the powerholders thus they had access to the "offstage of powerholder". In that space they were responsible for duties

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<sup>12</sup> The community acknowledged that the hereditary nature of the position, and the person in it, had been legitimised by the ancestors. This further 'source of power' added to the smooth running of the community.

like coming up with the agenda for *kgotla* meetings. Moreover, they had the obligation to ensure that they direct the meeting, which took place in the onstage of both powerholder and the powerless, in such a way that it did not affect the decisions taken in the offstage of the powerholder. Those from the “offstage of the oppressed” had to obey those from the “offstage of the oppressor” when matters were brought “onstage”. The function of the *kgotla* or purpose of bringing issues to the “onstage” was to legitimise what was discussed in the “offstage of the oppressor”. However some chiefs and their advisors or powerholders avoided bringing into the “onstage” matters that they know members of the tribe or the oppressed would not agree with, support or, in the worst case scenario, disobey.

### **3.1.4 Background on ethnicity and power in Botswana**

In 1885 some missionaries who lived in Botswana advised the chiefs of some Tswana speaking tribes to go to London and ask for protection against the invasion of the Germans from the West and the Afrikaner from the South and the East. However the British government was reluctant to take action, only responding in 1891 by sending Charles Warren who led a few soldiers in a mission to declare Botswana a British Protectorate. It was only after this visit that Botswana existed as a political entity. Gyimah-Boadi (2004:161) affirms the statement above made by Dingake (2011:3) that previously the various Tswana speaking groups lived each with autonomy under their individual chiefs. Furthermore Gyimah-Boadi explains that this led to the declaration of the country as a British Protectorate being a threat to autonomy by those chiefs who were not part of the group that went to London (Gyimah-Boadi 2004:161). The tribes that were recognised by British authorities in the Chieftainship Act in 1933 as major tribes were the Bangwato, Barolong, Bakgatla, Bakwena, Batawana, Bangwaketse Balete and Batlokwa. All of these tribes speak dialects which are not so different from one another and together the dialects are known as Setswana language. Their cultures and history are similar (Nyathi-Ramahobo 2008:1). Picard (1985:10) emphasises that the tribes that were recognised by the colonisers were all Tswana speaking. However, he argues that they were not in total numerically superior to all tribes that were not recognised. Though the numbers he gave were estimated in the 1980s, these other tribes stand as follows: “the Ngwato were about 280 000, Ngwaketse 98 000, Kwena 98 000, Tawana 59 000, Kgatla 44 000, Maletse 20 000, Rolong 16 000, Tlokwa 5 600”

and he further states that the San were about 30 000, the Kgalagadi 14 000 and the Kalangas were about 120 000.

The information provided above implies that at the beginning the power model that was in place in Bechuanaland was the multi-polar system. This is because there were many powerholders who were the chiefs of the different tribes mentioned above as well as other tribes that were considered as the minority tribes. Each chief focused on his tribe and his territory. The Boers and the Germans interfered and became the powerholders reducing the Tswana chiefs and their tribes to being the oppressed. These outsiders' objective was to invade Bechuanaland and extend their power to dominate the powerless Tswana tribes. Each one of them wanted a uni-polar system and wanted to be the only powerholder. In protest to this, the missionaries as the external outsider of the Tswana society utilised their authority and advised the Tswana chiefs in the "offstage of the oppressed" to go to Britain to ask for protection as the British were another powerhouse. The British responded by sending Charles Warren and his soldiers, an action that changed the power model in place to a tri-polar system because there were now three powerholders namely: the Boers, the Germans and the British. The trio came "onstage" and Warren and his soldiers overpowered the Boers and the Germans. Warren's victory gave legitimate power to Bechuanaland as it started existing as a political entity under the name Bechuanaland Protectorate. The eight tribes that were considered to be major tribes regained their power after they were recognised by British authorities in the Chieftainship Act, restoring the multi-polar system power model (although it should be pointed out that the multi-polar model only applied to the chiefs and tribes, as they were still under the 'control' of the British power base in the form of a 'protectorate'). As a result, the chiefs that did not go to London felt their autonomy was under threat. This created a new setup of power dynamics placing the chiefs who went to London as the powerholders and those who did not go as the oppressed. The setup was a bit of a contradiction of the statement that was made in the previous chapter that the size and the significance of a group gave power to the powerholder, as some groups that were the minority were recognised by the colonial authorities when some that are the majority are not recognised.

The British found it necessary to establish a British Protectorate so that they could easily 'supervise' Tswana chiefs. The Tswana tribes were ruled by the British government through

their chiefs (Gillet 1973: 179). Adding to the statement above, Picard (1985:1) mentions that Tswana chiefs were protected from the German and Boer. Du Toit (1995: 126) asserts that Botswana has always prevented state hegemonic challenges. In his explanation, he gives as examples the 1934 Native Administration Proclamation which made the political subordination of chiefs to their Respective District (British) Commissioners and the 1934 Native Tribunals Proclamation which was setting the limits for operating procedures for the customary courts. The two Proclamations were challenged by two chiefs namely Bathoen II and Tshekedi Khama in 1935, who asked if the colonial masters are eligible to prescribe on issues that have been covered by the customary law and tradition and whether the proclamations were not compatible with the rights of the Ngwato and Ngwaketse because they had signed the treaties of protection as Kingdoms to make them equivalent to the *sovereign peoples*. They lost the case and it was made clear that the colonial authority has the ultimate authority.

In the “offstage of the powerholder” who is the coloniser, it was found essential to establish Bechuanaland as a British Protectorate. The powerholders also decided to rule Tswana tribes through their chiefs. The British were able to extend their power to Bechuanaland putting in place the uni-polar system as the power model to follow. Though the chiefs were empowered, they also saw the need to empower the powerless only to a certain level and to take some of the powers from them. This was achieved by making them subordinates of their respective District commissioners and their powers were also limited by the Native Tribunals Proclamation that was imposed by the powerholder. Two members of the oppressed group brought their concerns regarding the imposed limits to the “onstage” but they lost.

The chiefs of the 8 tribes that were considered to be major had control over the land in their reserves and over their subjects. Part of their communities was made of large communities who came seeking refuge, and some of the migrants were the Khoisan (Gyimah-Boadi 2004:161). Though the recognised tribes make a significant fraction of the country’s population, the Ngwato and the Tawana are inferior to the tribes they rule in terms of the numbers. Nyathi-Ramahobo (2008:1) points out that as much as Botswana is well known for adhering to the rule of the law, which Du Toit (1995:125) agrees with, respecting human rights and being governed very well, its law allows discrimination basing on ethnicity,

language and culture. The intention at the time of independence was to create cultural assimilation giving Tswana ethnic groups supremacy leading to Botswana being a mono-ethnic state like in many British colonies. To fortify her argument Nyathi-Ramahobo (2008:1) states that discriminating laws are in a) Sections 77 to 79, 15(4)(d), 15(9) of the Constitution; b) Section 2 of the Chieftainship Act and c) The Territories Act. Some citizens have been upset by these laws and they have been expressing their concern since 1969.

The chiefs of the eight tribes had power as they were in control of natural resources and were leading big groups made of the powerless who are members of their tribes and migrants who are seeking refuge. The majority of the migrants were normally from the tribes that were not recognised by the colonial authorities. The size and significance of the group meant more but the Ngwato and Tswana are less in numbers than the tribes they rule. This is a result of the government as the powerholder trying to force cultural assimilation in Botswana. The powerholder decided in the “offstage” of the powerholder to pass laws that give some Tswana speaking groups a type of power position, in order to try and turn Botswana into a mono-ethnic state. The laws were brought “onstage” and they angered some of the powerless.

Nyathi-Ramahobo (2008:1) further argues that this colonial arrangement still affects citizens of the country today giving advantage to the 8 Tswana tribes who benefit from the privileges linked with their official recognition when the other 38 tribes are suffering culture and language loss, poverty and not appearing on national matters. She feels that the process of recognising other tribes is too slow and believes that the then President Ian Khama has a new vision and quotes him saying “my government’s position is that our arts, culture and heritage must be celebrated nationwide so that we can all truly enjoy our unity in diversity”. However she thinks it needs to be backed up with action.

As it stands right now, those who are from the eight recognised tribes are the ones who are represented in national meetings and that means they are the only ones who meet the powerholder or the oppressor in the “onstage space”. Therefore, the minority who are part of the powerless and are also from the “offstage of the powerless” are not represented so the constitution or the powerholder denies them the right to present their issues in national forums in person as they are represented by some of the recognised tribes’ chiefs. As stated

by Nyathi-Ramahobo (2008:1) some members of the society who are from the oppressed tribes are discontented about this issue as it results in their culture and language disappearing because now they speak the language of the recognised tribes and even follow their culture, ignoring their own culture. Furthermore the oppressed are easily affected by poverty because they do not take part in national matters as the constitution does not allow them to be part of the “onstage”. Their issues are normally presented in the “offstage of the oppressed” and usually end there without getting attention from those who are from the “offstage of the oppressor”<sup>13</sup>.

### **3.1.5 Background on social welfare and community development programmes in Botswana**

Botswana has a well-organised way of doing things backed up by a good support structure that is cooperative and substantial in each community, especially in rural areas. These structures include the members of the wards (close relatives), the elders, headmen of the ward and the chief. Thus, it is not easy to come across someone who is homeless and abandoned, starving, abused or without protection (Ferguson-Brown 1996:68). Furthermore, the customary courts organised during the colonial era ensured that cases of assault, insult, seduction, adultery, and damage to property remained low (Picard 1985:11). This also made it hard for government departments to encounter such cases. Nonetheless, under the colonial government, only one post was created to address social issues and it was the Social Welfare Officer under the Department of Education. This appointment was made in 1946 and it was the only one until 1964 when the colonial government decided to appoint six people as assistants (Ferguson-Brown 1996:68).

This situation demonstrates how those in power (chiefs and headmen) were organised and had the interests of those in the “offstage of the powerless” (members of the ward or tribe) at heart. They used the “onstage” to win the trust and support of the members of the ward. This means that in the “onstage of the powerholders” the chiefs and the headmen sold themselves to the public by presenting ideas that the public agreed to. Furthermore in the ‘onstage of the powerless’ those without power presented their ideas and they were easily

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<sup>13</sup> Speculatively it can be argued that, in side-lining these tribes the purpose of the government is eventually to shut down the ‘offstage spaces’ of this group of powerless tribes. Scott suggests such a purpose in all likelihood will not be fulfilled.



accepted by those in power. The powerless were mindful that they must present ideas that can be accepted by the powerholder and the powerholders were similarly mindful that their ideas must not cause any abrasion between themselves and the powerless. One can also gather that the “onstage” was chiefly dominated by the headmen. It is also a tentative explanation of why there was little or no resistance from the powerless or members of the ward. The power model used during this time in the country is the multi-polar system because there are several powerholders who are the headmen of the wards and the chiefs of different tribes. There was a balance of power as no headman was extending his power or dominating another headman’s ward. This helped to promote peace, order and stability in the country because headmen were able to focus on taking care of the members of the wards without disturbance from outsiders. However, it later ran parallel with the unipolar model when the government started employing public servants such as the Social Welfare Officer who was under the Department of Education. This was effective because the headmen’s domain was the wards and the Social Welfare Officer’s domain was the Education Department, thus there was no extension of power to one another’s domain<sup>14</sup>.

However, in time, that led to the officials combining their work with duties such as supporting organised youth groups, cases of poverty or serious need, linking the society with government policies, public relations and adult education, which still exists under Department of Social and Community Development though it now has more development and legislative duties. The Social Welfare Officer responsible for youth in a district assists most of the organised groups though most of them are classified as part of the voluntary sector. Thus, social work in Botswana developed from government service and not from charitable movements like in its coloniser environment (Ferguson-Brown 1996:69).

The first Social Welfare Officer post that was created did not have a duty to develop the community. Nonetheless an improvement was made in 1964 when four of the six assistants were given duties of community development and that was seventy-nine years after Botswana was declared a British Protectorate. The British Administration in Bechuanaland neglected social work the same way it neglected aspects of development and Botswana was seen as passage route from the coast to the Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Southern

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<sup>14</sup> It can be argued that education could also fall under the domain of the tribe and headman, but in reality it did not initially work out that way in Botswana.

Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Later there was the *Bechuanaland Protectorate Plan 1963-1968* which was about community development but focusing on encouraging self-help. The public saw the community development programme as something that was meant for rural areas. However, there was in fact no social welfare programme designed for rural areas because it was believed that the tribal law covered the needs of the people. The public also felt that there was no community development plan for urban areas but only a budget to help in cases of hardship and rehabilitation in shantytowns. The colonial government had earlier introduced the concept that social welfare was for urban areas and that community development was for rural areas which was meant to make a difference to the development of the services provided by the government (Ferguson-Brown 1996:70).

The narrative above reveals that in the “offstage of the powerholder” who is the coloniser they were not keen to develop or provide services to the powerless who are the members of the society or ordinary citizens. A tentative explanation to this may be that the powerholder’s primary role was to protect the powerless and not necessarily to develop them. This is evident in the numbers of the public servants they brought to the “onstage” during the encounter of the powerless and the powerholders. In the “offstage of the powerholder”, the powerholder intended to differentiate the development of the service provided to the powerless in urban areas from the service the powerholder provided to the powerless in rural areas thus dividing those in the “offstage space of the powerless”. Those from the “offstage of the powerless” entered the “onstage space of the powerless” as one hoping to get services without being divided. However, the powerholder succeeded in separating the powerless who came from urban areas from the powerless who are from rural areas.

Social work kept on growing, especially in terms of Community Development. Following independence Botswana published its first development plan entitled *The Transitional Plan*, which recognised the importance of Community Development in Botswana and was committed to growing the Community Development Department which had been formed under the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Ferguson-Brown (1996:70) cites *The Transitional Plan 1966* which states that there was 100 community development staff. Two of them were assisted with a mobile Home Economics unit that allowed them to embark on

a national training programme teaching sewing, knitting, home sanitation, child care and nutrition.

At this stage, there was a new powerholder, which was the government of Botswana and not the colonial masters<sup>15</sup>. Decisions taken in the “offstage of the powerholder” were to increase the public service and to equip the powerless with skills they needed for survival. It can be argued that it was in the best interest of the powerholder because they empowered the powerless with such skills and knowledge that do not allow the powerless to rise to the level of the powerholder<sup>16</sup>. However, this was the intention of the powerholder in the “onstage of the powerholder”. The ideas brought “onstage” by the powerholder were accepted by the powerless as the expectation of the powerless in the “onstage of the powerless” was to be empowered. Lack of resistance may have resulted from the powerless accepting that the government has legitimate power over them. In this process power was communicated downward and the power model framing the scenario is the unipolar power model.

1965 was a year of extreme drought that led to the United Nations distributing food free of charge through the World Food Programme. The drought stretched to 1966, and the Community Development Department suggested that community development programmes be done in exchange for food. The idea became solid in March 1966 when an agreement of a Food for Service/Work scheme was signed in Rome. In Botswana the programme attracted 30 000 volunteers who completed 320 projects before the end of March 1967, while another 500 projects were still in progress. The projects that were done with this programme include 250 miles of tarred road, 360 acres of land cultivated, 100 teachers’ houses, 40 dams and 30 classrooms built. When the Food for Service/Work came to an end in September 30 1967, pending projects were taken over by the Community Development programme (Ferguson-Brown 1996:70). ‘Food for Work’ was a wise professional opportunism by the powerholder which benefited the state but it left the oppressed or the powerless being inspired by food rewards and not by the commitment to

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<sup>15</sup> To what extent the new government copied the offstage procedures of the colonial forces is an interesting debate, but one not taken up here.

<sup>16</sup> There are possible parallels here between the Apartheid/colonial government’s decisions on ‘Bantu Education’ in South Africa, as well as the Biblical/missionary description that certain people are to be “hewers of wood and drawers of water” (Joshua 9:21 or 23).

the development of the country and the long term advantages to the community. Ferguson-Brown (1996:71) mentions that the social workers believed that the 'Food for Work' scheme made the culture of self-help vanish country wide, as the powerless wanted to rely only on those food rewards.

This approach to development is an example of a power-downwards approach. The reason for this is that the decisions are developed by powerholders in the "offstage of the oppressor" and they come to the "onstage of the oppressed" as final decisions not allowing for intervention or the oppressed to present what they planned in the "offstage of the oppressed". The powerless are forced to accept the developments even though they are not their main priority because they are in need of food provided by the powerholder. Subsequently the 'Food for Work' programme was evaluated by those in the "offstage of the oppressed" who noticed that the problems encountered by the programmes were mainly because of lack of experience and also saw the need for a power-upward approach. It shows that the government as powerholders used their legitimate power and reward power to decide that the powerless members of the society will work for food they desperately needed during the time of drought.

In 1971 Botswana had 60 Community Development Assistants and 13 Assistant Community Development Assistants. The Community Development Assistants had completed a ten months certificate in Tanzania and Zambia (Ferguson-Brown 1996:72). It was the only training they went through and they were expected to supervise other members of staff. What one can gather from the information above is that the power-holder developed the powerless only to a level that allowed them to serve the power-holder and continue to depend on the powerholder for a salary and survival. It is obvious that the decision to do so was taken in the "offstage space of the powerholder". The powerholder entered the "onstage" space knowing that in the "onstage of the powerholder" their agenda is to acquire skilled labour that can serve the government while in the "onstage space of the powerless" the idea was to acquire skills and knowledge so that they can get employed by the government and earn salaries that will (seemingly) make them independent. Power continued to be communicated downwards as the powerholder continued to be the one directing the 'development' trajectory while the unipolar power model was still in place.

According to Du-Toit (1995:134), the Accelerated Rural Development Plan (ARDP) is the first major policy that was used by Botswana government to deal with a backlog in rural infrastructure. It started in 1973 and ended in 1976. The budget for this programme catered for rural and village roads, primary schools, village water supplies, rural health posts and clinics and rural administrative buildings. This programme covered 27 larger villages and 195 smaller villages. Construction was done in proportion to the population in all regions. The developments brought by ARDP benefitted the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) which had been ruling since independence in 1974 as it regained the support it lost in 1969. It can therefore be argued that the nature of Social Development had a different motivation to actual development, namely to gather votes.

Botswana continued to spend extensively on infrastructure, especially the telecommunications infrastructure. There were 2096 telephones in 1966 and by 1987 they had installed 12 511 telephones. In 1966 the only tarred road was 25km long and by 1992 it was extended to 2000km (Du Toit 1995:134).

Urban areas were developed in the same manner. The government prioritised developing rural areas and it provided services in urban areas at cost recovery and did not subsidise them like it did in rural areas. In 1971 the government saw the need to institute three parastatals, namely the Botswana Housing Corporation (BHC), the Botswana Power Corporation (BPC) and the Water Utilities Corporation (WUC) to run developments in urban areas (Du Toit 1995:134).

Du Toit's discussion is a proof of how the powerholders always organised themselves in the "offstage of the powerholder" and were always smart enough to come "onstage" with ideas that impressed the powerless (but did not undermine or challenge the powerholder's position). Therefore the discussion does not reflect any form of resistance from those without power but focuses on the achievements and progress of development created by those in power over the years.

### **3.1.6 Power dynamics in economic development of Botswana**

The population of Botswana is approximately 2 million. It was colonised by Britain and won its independence in 1966 without a popular struggle. Seretse Khama became the president

and his vice-president was Ketumile Masire. The duo established an open, multi-party system in Botswana (Southall & Melber 2006:52). It remains a democratic country (in various degrees of an understanding of what constitutes democracy) to date. By the time of independence Botswana was one of the poorest countries in Africa with wealth measured almost entirely in cattle (Carroll & Carroll 1997:445). Gyimah-Boadi (2004:160) adds that the majority of the citizens were poor, with 90% living in poverty (as defined by the United Nations). She also states that the country was disadvantaged by the colonial government which neglected it for some time, leaving it with questionable political viability. The neglect of development of institutions, infrastructure, and services by the Colonial government is emphasised by Du Toit (1995:119) who also continues to mention that it left Botswana with an unattractive foundation for democratic politics at independence. Thus Botswana became vulnerable and had to rely on the greater Southern African regional economy. Its economy grew miraculously after the discovery of minerals, especially diamonds (Carroll & Carroll 1997:445-467). This is affirmed by Picard (1985:13). Du Toit (1995:119) asserts that the good thing is that the Colonial government did not destroy most of the Tswana Kingdom institutions. Though Botswana's population is divided (as has been argued, above) into 8 Tswana tribes that make up 80% of the population and 20% of the minority tribes, it managed to succeed in economic development. Currently Botswana is categorised by the World Bank as a middle-income country (Carroll & Carroll 1997:445-467; Southall & Melber 2006:51). Nyathi-Ramahobo (2008:1) asserts that Botswana became one of the fastest growing economies because of good economic policies.

During their reign as powerholders Seretse and Masire 'allowed' multi-partyism in Botswana and that gave the powerless members of the society an opportunity to present their ideas and also challenge the powerholders. Thus the "onstage" space was broadened by the powerholder, leading to the empowerment of the powerless. This also reflects that the powerholders knew from the "offstage of the powerless" that when an idea such as this one is presented in the "onstage of the powerholder" it will help to win the trust of the powerless as the ones who can selflessly develop the country, an approach that was neglected by the former powerholders. Following what the colonial government did when they were the powerholders, Seretse's government also allowed traditional leadership to continue to have a portion of power, though the government was the main powerholder,

placing the system in a unipolar power model. In all these occurrences power was communicated downwards as it always came from the one above or the most powerful (the government) to the one below or the less powerful (ordinary citizens). This implies that power was communicated from: the colonial masters to the chiefs, from the chiefs to the tribes before independence, and after independence it was communicated from the new government to the chiefs and from the chiefs to the tribes. As such one can conclude that the use of reward power has always been evident in the history of Botswana's power dynamics as it is traceable from the times of the colonial government to the times of the democratic government of the country.

Though the opposition is continuing to grow, the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has won all general elections that were said to be fair with fundamental freedom being valued since 1966 (Carroll & Carroll 1997:468; Southhall & Melber 2006:51). However, the BDP has on several occasions been accused of ignoring democratic norms. Carroll and Carroll (1997:445) cite an example from Holm and Molotsi (1992:79) where the government threatened newspaper editors and prosecuted opposition politicians for what they advocated for in political debates. Furthermore, they state that bureaucracy also dominates (Carroll & Carroll 1997:468), shifting power locations from the people to the administration of power.

As argued above, the government as the powerholder continued to communicate power in a downward direction using coercive power in the "onstage space of the powerholder" to scare those who are from the "offstage of the oppressed". In this case, examples of those who are from the "offstage of the powerless" are the media. When the media publishes information that shows disapproval of government decisions or ridicules the leaders, those in power punish them by arresting them and sometimes even confiscating their equipment, as outlined in chapter 1. This helped the powerholder to control information that those in the "offstage space of the powerless" bring into the "onstage". By doing so BDP as the powerholder was able to remain the 'people's favourite' (perhaps, therefore, by coercion and fear), winning general elections starting from 1966 at the time of independence to date. Arguably this came about because some of the 'hidden transcripts' of those that were not in power, that could have been converted into 'public transcripts' by the media, but these remained 'hidden transcripts' as the use of the coercive was in play.

Carroll & Carroll (1997:470) argue that Botswana has good governance because of:

. . . (1) the fact that talented political leaders were personally committed to democratic government and to economic development; (2) the creation of a competent, politically independent state bureaucracy with personnel policies based largely on merit, but with a composition that is reasonably representative of their societies; (3) the development of a public realm that is capable of imposing at least modest checks on actions of the state and that is characterised by a balance between universalistic and particularistic norms and by a pragmatic recognition of the important representative role of tribal/ethnic organisations and institutions.

Contributing to the argument about the success of Botswana Du Toit (1995:119) rules out cultural homogeneity as one of the things leading to democratic success, saying the marked predominance of Setswana is a sign of a potentially explosive condition of cultural dominance. He further argues that ethnic homogeneity does not exist even in Tswana groups where tribal affiliation determines who the voters will elect. This is confirmed by Picard (1985:10) who further states that this is affirmed by BDP being deeply rooted in the Bangwato and Batkwena tribes where they get many votes. Picard also shares the same sentiments with Du Toit about cultural homogeneity, saying cultural unity does not exist in Botswana and labelling it as a myth. Du Toit (1995:119) also expected the country to go through unsteadiness because he explains that economic success of Botswana came along with unsettling powers that normally occur when a country is quickly modernised like: “rapidly increasing population and urbanization, increasing socio-economic inequality within the rural sector, between the rural and urban sectors, and within society overall; and the inability by the formal sector of the economy to absorb the new entrants into the labour market”. However, he believed that the large amounts of revenue generated by the country would benefit the country in future. He points out that the country’s modernisation had not (at the time of writing) produced many autonomous indigenous bourgeoisie that could really affect democratization and that most of important middle class occupations are still in the hands of the state.

In essence, the details given above explain that the success of Botswana government is brought about by the fact that the powerholders or those in the “offstage of the powerholder” are brilliant and committed (or appear to be brilliant and committed) to social development as well as democratic development through the use of those without power or those who are from the “offstage of the powerless” in the bureaus. This suggests that the



powerholder and the powerless meet in the “onstage of the powerholder” which may be seen to be formalised in the bureaus, where the powerless are employees of the government and have the mandate to ensure that the powerholder’s agenda is carried out successfully (under the guise of ‘administration’). This engagement of the powerless by the powerholder brought economic success which led to economic difference between those in the “offstage of the powerless” and those in the “offstage of the powerholder” growing. Furthermore, it is argued that there are political divisions (along tribal lines) in the “offstage of the powerless,” whereas government had intended to create cultural assimilation (perhaps to cement political power). The powerholder wants the powerless to be one group but some of the tribes resist the existing government and prefer to support opposition leaders who are from their tribes. Therefore those in power enjoy the support of their fellow tribesmen as the policies of cultural homogeneity have not really proven to be successful in adding value to the democracy of Botswana. This argument reflects that in the process of these developments the government was the only powerholder and it used reward power communicating it downward. Such reward power was ‘disguised’ as coherence and assimilation, it can be argued.

After independence, Botswana saw the need to establish capable bureaucracies so it relied on colonials for senior technical posts. The government of Botswana vowed that it would not compromise competence over nativism. Botswana later succeeded in localising the bureaucracies, reducing the percentage of foreign senior public servants from 24% to almost 0% (Carroll & Carroll 1997:473). Writing in 1997, Carroll and Carroll note that the Botswana government ‘gave’ the public service autonomy, leaving the appointment of few senior public service posts like the secretary to the cabinet to the discretion of the president. Members of all groups in the society are eligible to apply to all other posts, as the recruitment is based on merit and they have the right to appeal any appointment. The bureaucracies also adhere to the bureaucratic values of service and their leaders as well as political leaders do not use the state to amass wealth for themselves. The protection of the state is enforced by the civil service code (Carroll & Carroll 1997:473-474).

It was realised in the “offstage of the powerholder” (that is, the government) that Botswana needed powerful bureaus to help run the country efficiently. However those in the “offstage of the powerholder” found it important to ensure that the bureaus employ skilled labour so

that quality in service delivery is not compromised<sup>17</sup>. As a result the powerholder employed some foreigners for senior public service posts and later employed more of those without power (citizens) on the basis of merit. This activity brought the powerless citizens to the “onstage space of the powerholder” where they serve the bureaus that were formed potentially to serve the interests of the powerholder. By doing this, power was transferred from foreign public servants to citizens of Botswana who were the powerless to this point, but the government remained the main powerholder when the scenario is placed in Scott’s model because the government is the employer and only empowers citizens to be at the level of employees. Thus the citizens remained as part of the “offstage of the powerless” and still look up to the government as the powerholder. Once again the powerholder uses reward power to ensure that its agenda is continued and power is communicated downward. The use of the unipolar power model is maintained.

Botswana’s basic law was based on the effectiveness of the executive, so Seretse found it necessary to make the office of the president more powerful. Thus, greater power was centralised from that time (Southall & Melber 2006:52). A flaw has been pointed out that there is bureaucracy that considers itself to be elite and it often makes the mistake of consulting groups *after* finalising the decision. The cabinet of Botswana has the power to overrule the bureaucracy in an encounter over an interest (Carroll & Carroll 1997:475). Nonetheless, Du Toit (1995:121) comments that the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) government and its autonomous bureaus have been successful in delivering public goods such as roads, schools, watering facilities, clinics and others without centring on regional or tribal basis, ensuring, it would seem, that there is no excludability. This helped to ensure that the state is seen as a neutral and ‘inclusive’ body and not an ethnic one.

In the case above, Seretse existed as the main powerholder because he was the president. After seeing the need to do so he then came to the “onstage of the powerholder” with the intention to escalate his power, and succeeded. This was a decision that was made in the “offstage of the powerholder” and it was brought to the “onstage” as a finalised idea and

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<sup>17</sup> It can, of course, be argued that this realisation was based not on the desire to see Botswana successful, but to present this ‘honourable’ position in the onstage of the powerless, so that the impression is created that this is “for the good of all.” This argument, however, it should be noted, is difficult to substantiate. Nevertheless, the rest of this paragraph can be effectively read through this lens of ‘impression management’.

only to be implemented and not to be discussed<sup>18</sup>. Other powerholders who are bureaucrats in this case also had tendencies of not consulting those who are from the “offstage of the powerless” when making decisions, though the power equilibrium did not always favour them as the cabinet was more powerful. However the powerholder has succeeded in providing services and developments to the powerless and this led to those in the “offstage of the powerless” accepting the powerholder’s decisions. (In this dynamic one can begin to see the role of cartoonists beginning to emerge, as their task would become pointing out the contradictions in such a process. This is taken up in Chapter 5).

The party system in Botswana is more institutionalised than that of many developing countries. The primary role of party structures is to mobilise support for the party leaders. Local level party activists are all over the country; thus the party leaders have the mandate to satisfy them and the followers (Carroll & Carroll 1997:475). This implies that in the “offstage of the powerholder” the party leaders as the powerholders have legitimate power to organise the party structure in such a way that they can ‘make’ those without power in the structures of the party recruit more followers. Therefore, the role of those without power within a party structure is to ensure that those with power are supported. This occurs in the “offstage of the powerless,” though the idea was presented by the powerholder to the powerless in the “onstage of the powerholder”. To elaborate more, one can say the powerless members who are in structures of the party persuade the powerless members of the party or society in the “offstage of the powerless” to support those who have power in the party structure. However, they ‘appear’ to set out to attempt to hold the powerholders of the party accountable to their needs and wants. Thus the leaders of the party come to the “onstage of the powerless” mindful that they have to satisfy (or, seen from the offstage discussions of the powerholders, to appear to satisfy) the powerless who are activists as well as the ordinary supporters. The power model demonstrated above is the unipolar system because there is only one major powerholder who is the party leader. The party

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<sup>18</sup> An argument can be made, here, that Seretse ‘created’ a ‘one person offstage position’ as president, making meetings with his executive a type of ‘onstage’ moment. In this way, the president made decisions, which were then simply ratified in the onstage of the executive. The task of the executive, then, became an offstage space for deciding how to execute the decisions (and how best to present these executions in the onstage space of the general public) made by the president in his offstage space, and not to engage with those decisions (for fear, as in any onstage space, of retaliation from the powerholder or president, in this case).

leader in this instance makes sure that his or her subordinates acquire more support for him or her, and the subordinates do not gain power.

Molotsi and Holm (as cited in Carroll & Carroll 1997:478) emphasise that Botswana did not have a bourgeoisie in 1966 and that the bourgeoisie continued to be insignificant and not potent even up to the beginning of 1990s. This led to the society being weaker, allowing the bureaucracy to be in total control of policymaking (under the patronage of the government, inevitably). They share the same sentiments with Du Toit who earlier made the same argument (1995:119). In addition to that Picard (1985:13) enlightens that in the 1970s a significant number of Botswana were migrant workers in South Africa and many of them came back to Botswana in the 1980s because of Apartheid in South Africa and the quick growth of mining in Botswana. Thus this could be a tentative explanation of why the bourgeoisie was insignificant in Botswana in the 1960s and only became significant in the 1990s.

What the above is explaining about Botswana is that those in the “offstage of the oppressed” were not strong economically because they were mostly unemployed. It also reflects how the powerholders who are in the form of bureaucrats ‘oppressed’ the powerless citizens in their encounter in the “onstage” and this idea or strategy came from the “offstage of the powerholder” during the times of policy making. This situation has been in existence since the times of independence. The economic growth of the powerless was slow until the early 1990s. Thus, what Molotsi and Holm, as well as Du Toit are implying is that the lack of economic strength led to those in the “offstage of the oppressed” being weaker.

The country’s elite find it important to consult tribal customs and institutions when making policies, because they hold them accountable. Even the public service created advisory councils that include members of these groups. The common procedure of meeting is through the traditional tribal gathering (originally a meeting of all adult men but currently it includes women) to discuss issues brought to the table by the chief (Carroll & Carroll 1997:479). Du Toit (1995:120) refers to these meeting as *Lekgotla* assemblies and explains that their main purpose was to seek consent and consensus on participation and consultation. Government officials do get opportunities to explain their programmes and

sell their ideas but they cannot continue if the chief and the tribe disagree. The local government is often mainly constituted by the tribe in the area. The authority and independence of the local government is restricted by the central government. However the local government also attempts to keep the central government in check (Carroll & Carroll 1997:479).

In the current Botswana, tribal chiefs have lost much of their powers and now the state is influential in policymaking and consultations can now occur even after the policies are announced or implemented. However the elite's commitment to democracy allows (or appears to allow) citizens to hold the government accountable, and this is not common in other African countries. Consultation and accountability are promoted by the politicians' fear of losing votes in the next election (Carroll & Carroll 1997:479).

Carroll and Carroll (1997:479) imply that the legitimate power of the chiefs is reduced while that of the government is being increased as it now the one that is making influential decisions in the country. The duo indicates that many decisions are made in the "offstage space of the powerholder". This somehow makes the chiefs to be part of the powerless as they participate in the offstage of the powerless and come to the "onstage of the powerholders" with hope to benefit from the government. Thus the government of Botswana remains the main powerholder under the current situation, placing the power scenario in a unipolar power model. Furthermore, they indicate that though the government as the powerholder communicates power downwards it is sometimes communicated upwards because the powerless are allowed to hold the government accountable.

### **3.1.7 Power play in Botswana multipartyism**

According to Ngongola and Montsho (2010:153) the first party to be formed in Bechuanaland was Bechuanaland Protectorate Federal Party which was formed in 1959 by Leetile Disang Raditladi. They further explain that the party was against the common practice of unelected chiefs representing the people and had few supporters. In 1960 the Botswana People's Party (BPP) was formed by two Tswana migrants from South Africa namely Phillip G Matante (former Pan Africanist Congress, or PAC, member) and Motsamai Mpho (former African National Congress or ANC, member). This followed their return home

after the Sharpsville massacre and their parties (ANC and PAC) being banned in South Africa. Their idea was to introduce militant nationalism to Bechuanaland where nationalism in Botswana was mild, as described by Picard (1985:1). The colonial authorities had to respond to this. Though the party had support from the ANC it failed to frame the anti-colonial battle against the whites and it ended up splitting into two in 1963 (Ngongola & Montsho 2010:153; Picard 1985:1,3).

The narrative above reflects what occurred in the “offstage of the powerless” during the last years of the colonial period when the powerholders were the colonial government and the chiefs. It tells that those in the “offstage of the powerless” who in this case were a few ordinary citizens led by Raditladi and Matante disapproved of the idea of unelected chiefs being given the power to rule the people of Bechuanaland. The decision that was taken in the “offstage of the (this group of the) powerless” was to form a militant party to counter this arrangement that was created by the powerholders. Therefore they wanted to bring the idea of democracy to the “onstage”. The powerless were not strong enough to challenge the powerholders, though they had the support of the external powerhouse in the form of the ANC, and ended up dividing in to two. Initially the power model interference that was reflected by the situation was the bipolar power model but later the interference of the ANC changed it to be the tripolar power model. This is one of the few situations where power was communicated in an upward direction as it came from the powerless in the “offstage of the powerless” to the powerholders as they met the powerless in the “onstage of the powerless.”

The breakdown of Botswana People’s Party or BPP led to the rise of Seretse Khama, who had a senior post in a trainee minister system. Seretse became the best candidate when the colonial authorities were looking for a partner to deal with the BPP. In 1962 he formed the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) which was opposing the BPP. Its ideology was to introduce radical nationalism. In 1965 the BDP dominated the Legislative council, winning 28 of 31 elected seats. He became the first president of Botswana in 1966, winning elections with little effort of mobilisation (Picard 1985:1). BDP leaders Seretse and Masire were also leading cattle men and they were very influential livestock producers in the country. As stated above, the duo introduced a multiparty system which promoted freedom of speech and association as it was required by liberal politics (Southall & Melber 2006:52). According

to Letshwao (2011:103), this happened at a time when the majority of African countries abolished opposition parties. Letshwao (2011:103) quotes John Wiseman (1977:78) explaining that a multiparty system was maintained in Botswana because the country's elite was committed to multiparty democracy, especially Seretse Khama. Botswana became a multiparty state holding elections every five years (Nyathi-Ramahobo 2008:1). The statement above is affirmed in the *EISA Technical Assessment Team Report (2010)* which states that since independence Botswana has conducted elections ably with adherence to both country's electoral law and general democratic-electoral practices. Picard (1985:11) adds that Seretse became the favourite of all main groups in the society. The groups included the 'colonial masters' (because he agreed with their ideas) (this is affirmed by the *EISA 2010* report which states that the Botswana political system is a mix of the British parliamentary system and elements of the presidential system)<sup>19</sup>, cattle ranchers (as he was one of them though majority were white), the educated Tswana elite (as he had studied with them abroad), and the traditionalists (because he was a chief). In this sense, Seretse had access to and support from the offstage spaces of the colonial regime, the wealth creators, those who considered themselves educated by Western standards, and the tribal leader cluster. This made the BDP powerful even after the birth of the Botswana National Front (BNF), which was formed by Kenneth Koma in 1965 (Ngongola & Montsho 2010:154, Picard 1985:11).

The main powerholder with legitimate power was the colonial government which needed someone from the "offstage of the powerless" to oppose the BPP which was newly formed and was gaining power. This divided the powerless into two when Seretse became the one from the "offstage of the powerless," chosen by the powerholders to oppose the BPP as he shared same sentiments with the powerholder. As those in the "offstage of the powerless" split into two, the BDP was formed and that meant that the powerless are now not united but rather opposing each other in the "offstage(s) of the powerless" instead of building solidarity. The BDP, whose ideology was radical nationalism under the leadership of Seretse and Masire won elections and subsequently became powerholders. Their wealth helped them to be influential over the powerless members of the society. As powerholders in the

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<sup>19</sup> Speculatively it may be argued that the 'colonial masters' also accepted Seretse because he had studied in Britain and because he was married to a British (white) woman.

“offstage of the powerholder”, Seretse and Masire found it necessary to ‘give’ the powerless equal opportunity to participate in politics by introducing multipartyism in Botswana, thus creating the (or an) “onstage space”. The newly created “onstage space” promoted freedom of speech. Therefore, those from the “offstage of the powerless” were free to express themselves in the “onstage space”. During that time Seretse as the powerholder continued to amass support from almost all influential members of the “offstage space of the powerless” and that made him more powerful. In all instances power was communicated downward as it started by coming from the colonial government to ordinary citizens and later from the new leadership of the BDP to ordinary citizens.

More political parties were formed after independence. The *EISA 2010* report mentions that the number of votes in 2004 and 2009 reflect that the BPP has been reduced to one of the smallest parties in Botswana. Christopher Clapham, as quoted by Letshwao (2011:103) argues that the BDP accepts opposition parties because their chances of winning are very low. Furthermore, Letshwao indicates that the same sentiments are shared by Kenneth Koma who has been the leader of the BNF for a long time. However it is evident that opposition parties have always acknowledged their weakness and have been trying to overcome it. Letshwao (2011:105) asserts that one of the strategies the opposition is using in an attempt to unseat the BDP is through forming collaborations, though they have not been successful. Letshwao follows the track record of coalitions of the opposition and gives an example of the People’s Progressive Front (PPF) which was a merger of the BNF, BPP and Botswana People’s Union (BPU). According to Letshwao, the people of Botswana had envisaged that this coalition was going to remove the BDP from power during 1994 elections. However the coalition collapsed before elections because the BNF claimed that its members did not mandate it to join the merger. Another example given by Letshwao is of the Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM), which was formed by the same parties and died the same way, as well as the Botswana United Action (BUA) that followed the footsteps of the BAM before the 1999 elections. In elaboration of the above statements, Letshwao clarifies that the BAM, BNF and BPP signed a memorandum of agreement in 2005 to be used during 2009 general elections. Nonetheless, they failed to reach consensus on the model of cooperation and that led to the BNF pulling out of the agreement. It is reported in *African Democracy Encyclopaedia Project* that the Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD), BNF



and BPP formed an electoral alliance and ran under the banner of the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) in 2014. Elections occurred on the 24<sup>th</sup> of October and they were the last general elections. As it is reported by *Daily News Online* dated 26 October 2014, the BDP secured 37 seats and remained in power, followed by the UDC with 17 seats and lastly the BCP with three seats. All independent candidates lost their elections.

According to the information above the ruling BDP is the main powerholder and that means the power model at play is the unipolar power model. The BDP remains the powerholder even though more parties were formed. The discourse that took place in the “offstage of the powerholder” led to the powerholder assessing the possible harm that the powerless who are opposition parties could cause but found it harmless. Due to that assessment the powerholder tolerated the powerless and did not worry much about what may be happening in the “offstage of the powerless”.

The history told above indicates that on several occasions the powerless met in the “offstage of the powerless” to engage each other in discourse that will assist them to oust the BDP from power. The central idea throughout the years was of the formation of coalitions. The idea was always welcomed by those in the “offstage of the powerless” but was never effective enough to remove the BDP from power because of the disagreements that used to emerge when elections are close. The internal conflicts of those in the “offstage(s) of the powerless” resulted in the BDP holding on to power without any interruption. Furthermore, those in the “offstage(s) of the powerless” were divided because some preferred to be independent candidates and that put all those who belong to the “offstage of the powerless” at a disadvantage. In this scenario power was communicated downwards because the powerholder is the one who dominates, using legitimate power over the powerless.

### **3.1.8 Presidential succession in Botswana**

According to *EISA Technical Assessment Team Report (2010)* since independence Botswana had four presidents. It further explains that Sir Seretse Khama was succeeded by Sir Ketumile Masire who was succeeded by Mr Festus Mogae. Mogae kept the tradition by passing on the mantle to Lt Gen Seretse Khama Ian Khama. The report concludes by stating that many people were not happy about this decision (2010:2). Literature reflects that there

is evidence of autocracy in the governance of Botswana. The first step to autocracy is traced back to October 1972 when Seretse Khama was not happy with constituency and parliamentary debate and the constitution was changed to cater for the indirect election of the president. This came after Masire lost elections against Chief Bathoen Gaseitsiwe of the BNF in the Kanye constituency in 1969 and after losing again in 1974, Seretse introduced a requirement that a chief must have resigned from chieftainship for minimum period of five years before he can be a parliamentary candidate. Festus Mogae favoured Lieutenant General Ian Khama (Seretse's eldest son) by choosing him to be the vice president, a decision that was considered personal and secretive (Southall & Melber 2006:53). Southall and Melber (2006:52) emphasise that the 1980 and 2008 presidential succession were done without consultation of the public and they favoured people with no popular constituencies. Under the leadership of Mogae, Ian Khama continued to enjoy benefits that stirred controversy such as unprecedented sabbatical leave and the piloting of Botswana Defence Force (BDF) aircrafts. In October 2004 Mogae fully exercised his power by announcing his nomination of Ian Khama as vice president and promised to dissolve the parliament if it rejects that re-nomination on three occasions. Mogae kept on assuring people, especially BDP members, that Ian Khama did not have the authoritarian intentions he was accused of holding (Southall & Melber 2006:53). Nasha (2014:96) points out that Ian Khama was said to be someone who can bring discipline to the BDP and break factions, as Mogae had planned.

In a nutshell, those who had the opportunity as powerholders to be presidents used their legitimate power to hand over power without a struggle as it was always well planned from the "offstage of the powerholder" and accepted by those in the "offstage of the powerless". However, in the case of the latest president, many people from the "offstage of the powerless" were not happy about the handing of power to President Ian Khama. This handing over was a result of an autocratic decision taken by President Mogae in the "offstage of the powerholder". The narrative shows that autocracy has always existed in Botswana politics as it was used by the first president Seretse Khama to disqualify Bathoen from being a parliamentary candidate and to pass power to Masire. It is evidence that those in power were making decisions in the "offstage of the powerholder" and brought them to the "onstage" for the public or the powerless to accept. Powerholders did not see the need to consult the powerless or to bring the ideas to the "onstage" so they can pick up the

opinions of those in the “offstage of the powerless”. Though some members of the society who are in the “offstage of the powerless” were not happy about some actions of the powerholder, they did not do much to show resistance. One can assume that they were weak and did not have the strategies and resources to express themselves in the “onstage” or they feared the possible use of coercive power by the powerholder. In all the instances explained above, there was one powerholder and that meant all scenarios were placed in the unipolar power model with power being communicated downwards as it was from the presidents who were the powerholders to the public who were the powerless.

### **3.2 Summary**

Social development is the process of improving the education, health and wealth of members of society, especially the powerless members of society, to ensure that they enjoy ‘better’ living conditions. Normally the powerful members of the society are the ones who determine social (and economic) development in the “offstage of the powerholder” and make it happen as they bring it to the “onstage”. However the fact that they do it in the way they want shows how they continue to dominate in the “onstage of the powerholder”. This ensures that the powerholder is always obeyed by the powerless when they meet in the “onstage space”. The primary role of social development is, or should be, to empower the powerless. One can use the five indices of social development to measure social development.

Social development can add to human happiness. Powerholders in most of the Botswana rural societies are chiefs who have organised their societies into seemingly well organised structures that reduce cases of social issues. However as the country developed, other powerholders emerged in communities in the form of public servants, changing power models that existed in communities and the society in general. The transfer of power through power plays kept on occurring as the powerholders changed from chiefs to colonial masters and from colonial masters to Botswana government after independence. Before the colonisers declared Bechuanaland a British Protectorate chiefs maintained peace and tranquillity in the society. Later, when power was in the hands of the colonisers, few services were provided to the powerless and economic development was extremely limited (until the discovery of diamonds). However more developments and the provision of

services came after independence when the powerholder was the Botswana government. During these three different periods, the powerholders were able to strategize in the “offstage space of the powerholder” and bring to the “onstage” ideas that were tolerated and accepted by the powerless who always came to the “onstage” with the hope of benefitting (whether socially or economically) from the powerholder. That also led to the powerless having no reason to resist what the powerholders put on the table thus making the “offstage space of the powerless” less functional. Alternatively seen, however, with power so centralised, to act against the powerholders ran the risk of the loss of social and economic development possibilities. The chronicles of power play in social development of Botswana show that the direction of power was usually power-downward as it continuously came from the powerholders down to the powerless. Though most of the powerholders got the base of their power from legitimate power, the use of reward power (in the form of promised or materialising social or economic development) by different powerholders is also evident in the history of the social development of Botswana. Another common type of power that appears throughout the history of Botswana is reward power, again seen in the form of social and/or economic development.

In all of this there is an uneasy relationship between using power for good, and using power to maintain power. The ‘weapons’ used by those in power to stay in power can be seen to revolve around the promise and use of social and economic development. However, when one has multiple and shifting bases of power, how these ‘weapons’ are used has the potential to lift out contradictions in the society. How these contradictions are dealt with by those without power depends on the level of the centralisation of power, the lack of power by the powerless, and the spaces in which such contradictions might be presented for engagement.

Editorial cartoons can bring what is happening in the social development of Botswana to the attention of the people in the “onstage space” and they challenge power dynamics that occur in the country. They emphasise that if you have two sets of power sometimes they will work together and sometimes they will work against each other. It can be argued that, in most cases the areas of bargaining in the offstage spaces (and then in various onstage spaces) is either around political power, or around access to social and economic development. (In many cases these are interlinked). The notion of “bargaining” opens up a

fruitful area for comment on and criticism of both the sides represented in the bargaining and the matters over which they bargain. Cartoonists are ideally placed to engage in these acts of comment and criticism. Therefore, the next chapter discusses cartoons (with particular emphasis on editorial cartoons, which is the domain of comment and criticism), looking at their historical development and the dynamics involved in creating them. These dynamics are then brought to bear to analyse selected Botswanan editorial cartoons, using the dynamics of power (as presented in chapter 2 and used extensively in this chapter), the engagement of social and economic development in Botswana (as argued in this chapter) and the dynamics of editorial cartoons (from the next chapter) as the strategies for engagement.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The purpose of the previous chapter was to outline the tensions that exist between the dynamics of social development and economic development, and how, in Botswana, these tensions have played out in the power negotiations that took place. The reason for providing this outline was to set the stage for an analysis of selected editorial cartoons in Botswana that comment on these tensions and the power dynamics at play in these tensions. Thus, in the chapter that follows this one, these selected cartoons will be analysed using Scott and others and their understanding of the workings of power, with the specific Botswanan manifestations of that power as it is found in the government's use of social and economic development. To achieve this, however, a clearer understanding of editorial cartoons needs to be interrogated.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to present a theoretical understanding of the cartoon-making process with specific reference and emphasis on the dynamics at play in cartoons that engage with social commentary. To achieve this, the chapter sets out a brief history of the origins of the cartoon, and then proceeds to document key characteristics of a cartoon. Following this, the chapter interrogates the notions of metaphor, metonymy, caricature and satire as dynamics that assist in meaning-making for cartoons. After a short overview of the different genres of cartoons, the chapter moves to intertwining the dynamics of cartoons and Scott's model of the discourses of political and social power, that were presented in chapter 2 of this study. This will be undertaken to develop a system of interrogation for meaning-making for cartoons that engage in social commentary. The reason for the chapter, therefore, is to develop such a system of interrogation that can then be applied to the cartoons emanating from Botswana that engage in social commentary and that straddle the governing time of President Khama. This application will take place in chapter 5.

### **4.2 Origins of the Cartoon**

Brandova (2011:2) notes that the term 'cartoon' carries several meanings. Brandova explains that the word comes from the Italian "cartone" and the French "cartoon", both meaning 'cardboard'; it denotes for a picture or drawing to be transferred (in the same way

a garment pattern might be transferred to the cloth of the garment). Keane's definition (2008:848) does not differ from Brandova's definition, though he does not mention which language the word 'cartone' is from, and prefers to use the phrase 'stout paper' instead of 'cardboard'. In this definition there are suggestions of the modern day poster. In addition, Brandova states that *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines the term 'cartoon' in a similar way, saying that it is a sketch or drawing initially used as a pattern for graphic forms, which progressively became a pictorial parody employing caricature<sup>20</sup> and humour, and which currently is mostly used for passing on pictorial commentary and for social comedy and wit in magazines (Brandova 2011:2). However, Kemnitz (1973:82) notes that the word "cartoon" meant a preparatory drawing for painting and it got its meaning from *Punch Magazine* in the 1840s and has been growing as the forms of cartooning increased.

Johnson (1937:21) argues that cartooning grew out of caricature. She points out that this division appears to have taken place in the seventeenth century bringing into being two developments that occurred at the same time: caricature, which she defines as a distorted representation of a person, and cartooning which she explains as more or less the distorted representations of issues<sup>21</sup>. Caricature was later defined by Kemnitz (1973:82) as "the technique of exaggeration or distortion of features," suggesting that features that would typify or make identifiable, were selected (for recognition purposes) and then distorted (for commentary purposes). He explains that caricature is used by many political cartoonists though sometimes it is absent from social and foreign affairs cartoons. In his opinion caricature is a technique of cartooning. According to Johnson, cartoons started in Holland which had many good artists. She asserts that artists were free to express themselves in Holland at that time and that made cartoons flourish in Holland's atmosphere of political freedom. Hoffman and Howard (1997:271) add that in American history editorial cartooning as a profession became popular because of the freedom to caricature politicians and to make visual comment on social and political issues<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> The nature of 'caricature' is attended to, below.

<sup>21</sup> The coming together of person and issue will become cardinal in the development of cartoons that comment on social issues, and will be very important for the application of the analysis to the Botswana situation.

<sup>22</sup> Speculatively it can be argued that the freer the society, the greater the freedom to caricature or comment on that society and the leaders/people in that society. The converse might also be true – the greater the

### 4.3 Characteristics of cartoons

Bourdon and Boudana (2016:189) list the following as characteristics of a cartoon:

- It makes use of a *specific trope* (a significant or recurrent theme, a motif). For example, Jonathan Zapiro Shapiro (a South African cartoonist) uses a shower on the head of (ex-President) Jacob Zuma each time he draws him<sup>23</sup>. The shower helps those following Zapiro's cartoons to easily recognise the character as Zuma. Therefore the cartoon only presents essentials for easy recognition and to pass the message. It omits unnecessary details of an object or character and thus may be seen to operate as a caricature.
- It is in the form of *visual medium*, thus it is potentially more ambiguous than text is. This means that a cartoon allows more than one interpretation or does not have an obvious interpretation. Therefore each viewer can get a different message from the same cartoon.
- It has the liberty of *exaggeration and distortion*, thus it is normally not judged on the basis of completeness of facts. One of the common ways of exaggerating is by the use of metaphor and this is affirmed by El Refaie (2003:77). Another way is by the use of metonymy. (These two terms are extensively expanded upon, below. However, in simplistic terms, the cartoon relies on speedy recognition of that to which it refers, but is then created in such a way as to 'point to' or evoke, an extended or second reality).
- For *journalistic material* (editorial cartoon), normally it is never clear who is responsible for the cartoon because above the cartoon there is an editor, or newspaper owner and even the collective entity that can be held accountable by the critics. The editor may exclude or advise the cartoonist to exclude what he thinks is not important or offensive. This is evident in a Youtube video entitled *Zapiro shares his favourite shower head cartoon of 2014* which was published on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July

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rigidity of hierarchy, the less room there will be to comment. Alternatively, as this dissertation will argue, the greater the oppression, the more cartoonists have to use 'offstage' strategies to make comment.

<sup>23</sup> The shower trope originated from an event where Zuma declared that he had had unprotected sex with a person who was HIV positive, and then he took a shower, assuming that this would prevent possible infection. This was revealed in a court-case concerning the potential rape (for which Zuma was acquitted) of the person who became known as "Khwezi." Khwezi has recently died after spending the time from the trial to her death in exile. It may, therefore, be speculated that the shower head becomes a caricature for, at best, stupidity on the part of Zuma, and at worst, a sense of self-centeredness.



2014. In the video he is interviewed by a news channel called News24 and tells a story about him being asked to change some text in his cartoon entitled “Nkandla speak vs actual meaning”. He says that initially he wrote “president-thief,” implying that the president is a thief and was asked by the editor to write “president-crook” because the editor felt the original was too offensive (and potentially more literal and less metaphorical, one might add). Zapiro also explains that legal advisors are also involved in the process of creating or approving a cartoon. This may be seen to be in line with the notion of ‘editorialism’ and not necessarily journalism, where the latter provides comment (usually in line with the approach of the newspaper’s vision, for example) and the latter sets out to ‘report accurately.’

From these descriptions it becomes evident that cartoons rely on visualisation, on easy recognition, and they emphasise key identifying markers and do so for a particular purpose – to provide some form of editorial comment. A number of methods are evident in this move from recognition to comment, and these include the dynamics of metaphor, metonymy, satire and parody. The next sections engage with these dynamics.

#### **4.4 Metaphor**

El Refaie (2003:77) argues that metaphor is common in editorial cartoons. Wiid *et al* (2015:6) mention that metaphor is used by cartoonists to communicate meaning. They further explain that these cartoonists make use of stereotyped characters in a fictional hypothetical environment (for example when the portrayed character is not a recognisable public or ‘famous’ figure but needs to represent a grouping) and narrative to express existing characters and happenings in an abstract way (the depiction of groups of people or social trends). This creates a metaphoric relationship between the two meanings (that is to say, the representative of the grouping and social setting which is being commented on) forcing the viewer to map properties from a more tangible or realistic area of reality onto what is presented, in its less tangible or more imaginative area (Wiid *et al* 2015:6). Feinstine (1982:47) states that the word ‘metaphor’ was taken from the Greek *metapherein*: *meta* -- involving change, and *pherein* -- to bear or carry. This is affirmed by Glucksberg (2001:3). Feinstine (1982:47) continues to say, “in other words, a change occurs when attributes ordinarily designating one entity are transferred (carried over) to another entity”.

Harrison-Barbett (1990:289) asserts that art is a form of language thus what is applicable in language can be applied in art, suggesting that, whereas the metaphor may be originally a language issue, it can also be used as a concept in the visual world. Thus, though Feinstine is explaining metaphor in terms of language, it can be easily transferred to visual terms because the principles are the same. With that in mind visual metaphor can be understood to be referring to when an image of an object is replaced or represented with image of something (else) it brings to mind. This is also supported by Serig (2006:231) who argues that definitions of visual metaphors stand in relation to linguistic ones. Affirming the above argument El Refaie (2003:87) explains that most of the visual metaphors exist in language thus the cartoonist at times just expresses what is prepared by language though they often add other elements such as the background which might remain unimportant to the viewer. For example, in language, one can say “Tom is a lion” meaning that Tom is aggressive and he behaves like a lion (which is aggressive) though Tom is a human being. An artist can take the same metaphor and draw Tom as a lion, and that will be understood to mean that Tom is aggressive like a lion. The image of Tom as lion is not what the viewer would expect to see when looking at the image. Rather, the viewer expects to see a proper image of a human being. El Refaie (2003:80) states that Forceville (1994, 1995, 1996) analysed visual metaphor using billboards advertisements and came to the conclusion that visual metaphor refers to when there is a replacement of an expected visual element by an unexpected one. Using the metaphor “your brain is a computer” as an example to explain the argument above, one may not expect the word ‘computer’ but rather something else. If the same metaphor comes in a visual form, it might be a profile depiction of a human being’s head with a computer instead of a brain and that will also surprise the spectator.

According Wiid *et al* (2015:6) a metaphor can be categorised into two, cross-referencing domains, namely, a literal (or real) primary subject and a figurative secondary subject. Glucksberg (2001:8) says “literal meaning is basic and has unconditional priority”. He also mentions (arguably) that it is (or may be) context free. Thus the literal meaning of an expression does not change irrespective of the context in use. He distinguishes figurative meaning from literal meaning by saying “figurative meaning is derived from the literal and can be discovered by discovering the nature of the metaphorical for the literal”. This statement implies that for one to interpret a metaphoric expression he or she needs to

recover the original expression that was substituted by the metaphor. In the above example: “the brain is a computer” the brain can be interpreted literally as an organ of the body, and computer can be interpreted literally as a machine that makes calculations (for example), but when the two literal meanings are juxtaposed, the result is a figurative explication of the workings of the brain (often, therefore, referred to as ‘the mind’).

In an attempt to explain metaphor Bounegru and Forceville (2011:212) argue that in a metaphor there is a “topic” or a “target” and a “vehicle” or a “source” to which the target is metaphorically compared. Taking “love is a battlefield” as an example, they state that love is the topic or target (one is trying to explain what love is like) and battle field is the source or vehicle (where one is using something that one can have knowledge of, in this case the chaos and conflict of the battlefield). Wiid *et al* (2015:6) further explain that when there is target the viewer is prompted to choose some of the connotations of the vehicle and connect the appropriate ones to the target; by so doing they change the properties of the target. This explanation implies that the target is real and the vehicle is figurative. Applying Glucksberg’s theory, one can simplistically say the target is literal, the vehicle is (or may be) literal but the act of ‘transference’ makes the vehicle figurative. To further explain the arguments above one can use the metaphor ‘Sarah is an elephant’. In this example ‘Sarah’ is the target and is literal while ‘elephant’ is the vehicle (from which the transference is to occur) and is figurative. Since Glucksberg has argued that in order to interpret a metaphoric expression one needs to recover the original expression that was replaced by a metaphor, one might need to look at the characteristics of an elephant and will understand ‘Sarah is an elephant’ to mean ‘Sarah is a big lady’ (or clumsy, or confrontational, and so on, depending on the figurative transference that is ‘desired’ or ‘made’).

Bounegru and Forceville’s explanation divides metaphor into two but Feinstine offers a more elaborate explanation. In Feinstine’s elaboration of the term metaphor, he mentions that I.A. Richards in 1936 proposed four terms useful for understanding metaphor: topic, vehicle, ground and tension. An example of the metaphor, “My life is a plate of spaghetti” was given. In this metaphor “Life” is the topic, that about which something is being asserted; “plate of spaghetti” is the vehicle, that which is used to form the basis of transfer by comparison, by substitution, or as a consequence of interaction (Feinsteine 1982:26). The

ground is what the two have in common; tension is their dissimilarity<sup>24</sup> (Feinsteine 1882:26). Though Feinsteine's elaboration is in textual or literary terms, it can be visualised to say that, if an image of spaghetti is used to represent Life, then that "image of spaghetti" will be the vehicle and "life" will be the topic.

El Refaie (2003:84) cites Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who argue that the referent of a metaphor is often likely to be an abstract concept and the figurative term in most cases is taken from the domain of basic human experience. This means that metaphor only works when there is recognition. Thus there has to be transference. For example, someone from the rural areas in Botswana who does not know much about Western food may not understand the expression "My life is plate of spaghetti", simply because they do not know what spaghetti is. However, the same person may easily understand the metaphor "my life is bucket of mophane worms" because they can easily recognise the target (Life) and the source (bucket of mophane worms). Put another way, and drawing on Richards (above), for this Botswanan reader/interpreter of the metaphor, the *tension* (not having access to the *ground*) is too great for interpretation, but in the latter metaphor, the *ground* is far more accessible. By the same argument, for a person from Britain, for example, the opposite would be true and the British person would not be able to interpret the mophane worm metaphor 'accurately' or to find a similar meaning to the Botswanan interpreter. This also applies in visual metaphors. One has to recognise the target and the source in order to understand the metaphor. Therefore, the artist is obliged, in creating the right metaphor for the right recognition, to work through the 'common ground' and to eliminate, where possible, the 'size' of the tension. The cartoonist strips away unnecessary details (where 'unnecessary' might refer to that which might create 'tension') of a character or object to make it easily recognisable<sup>25</sup> for the viewer.

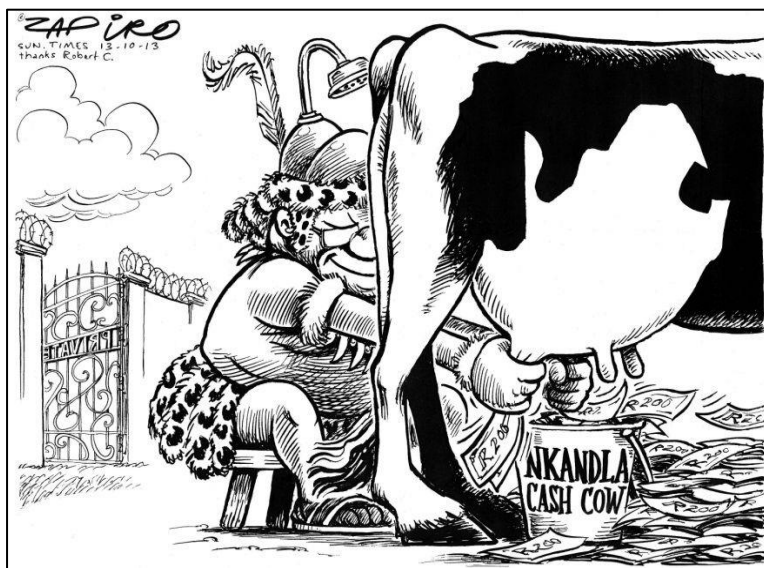
Metaphor has been a subject of many 20th century scholars. Some of them in their efforts attempted to define metaphor (Aldrich 1968, Carroll 1994, Hausman 1989, Kennedy 1982). Feinstein (1985) attempted to interpret artworks that use metaphors. The term metaphor

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<sup>24</sup> Speculatively, the different 'readings' of what might be seen, by different offstage readers, as being the ground, and what might be the tension, will play out in the social commentary cartoons. In fact, one of the tasks of the cartoonist is to decide on what is the most effective ground, and in what ways the tension might create 'noise' in the reading and understanding of the cartoon.

<sup>25</sup> The notion of 'ease of recognition' (which plays out in the ground-tension debate) also plays out in the 'throw-away' nature of the cartoon – emphasizing the 'carton' idea of the historical meaning of cartoon.

was also used to categorise and describe (Dake & Roberts 1995; Dent 1987; Dent & Rosenberg 1990; Kogan, Connor, Gross & Fava 1980; Mc Quarrie & Mick 1999; and Morgan & Reichert 1999). Serig (2006:231) confirms the above-mentioned contributions on the discussion of metaphor. For the purpose of this dissertation, metaphor becomes useful because it sets the lived experience of a community as one part of the metaphor, and then uses a created image to “reform” that version of the lived experience so as to comment on that lived experience. The following (figure 4.1) is an example of visual metaphor used by a cartoonist.



**Figure 4.1.** Jonathan Shapiro. *Nkandla cash cow*, Retrieved from Sunday Times, 13 October 2013

The cartoon entails the image of Jacob Zuma (the shower head is the trope) in Zulu attire milking a cow. The udder of the cow presents part of the South African map on the skin of the cow and it is cash that is coming out of the teats, instead of milk. Zuma is smiling, expressing the joy he is experiencing ‘milking’ South Africa of the cash. In the background there is a wall and a gate labelled ‘private’. *Sunday Times* (published on 31<sup>st</sup> of March 2016) entitled “The Nkandla saga as told by Zapiro in cartoons” states that the cartoon above was done by Zapiro in response to the fight to force Jacob Zuma to pay back the taxpayer cash that was used at his homestead in Nkandla, Kwazulu Natal, South Africa. According to this article the fight started seven years prior to the cartoon, and only culminated in March 2016 after the Constitutional court ordered Zuma to pay back the money. The money that the

Constitutional court said Zuma is liable to pay was said to be used for security upgrades. It is stated in two articles of *Mail and Guardian* dated 27 July 2016 (entitled “Constitutional court confirms Zuma must pay back R7.8 million for Nkandla) and 12 September 2016 (entitled “Zuma pays back the money-but where did he get the R7.8 million?”) that the cost of the improvements that Zuma was liable for amounted to R 7.8 million. The improvements included the pool, culvert, amphitheatre, cattle kraal, chicken run and visitor’s centre. The Constitutional court felt that Zuma benefited unduly because the upgrades are not related to security. The total amount that the state used on Zuma’s home is R246 million (Dayimani 2015:1; Makhafola 2016:1; Makatile 2016:1; and McCann 2016:1).

The cow’s udder depicts a map of South Africa thus it can be seen as a metonymy (see below) for South Africa. There is a bucket labelled ‘Nkandla cash cow’ which serves as a metonymy for the Nkandla homestead project. The metonymy for the protection Zuma has is the big wall with barbed wire at the top and a gate written ‘private’ behind him. The picture shows Zuma milking the cow as a metaphor for Zuma using the state’s money for his own benefit. It even exaggerates by showing the money not falling into the bucket and that can be read as a metaphor for Zuma misusing/wasting the money.

The cartoon portrays Zuma as the topic and milking the cow as the vehicle. The ground that is in the metaphor above is that Zuma is benefiting. The tension is that in reality Zuma is taking advantage of the protection he has and misusing the money, and the metaphor depicts him milking a cow instead of depicting him benefiting unduly from public funds or spending state money. What is literal with the picture above is the topic Zuma who is literally misusing public funds. What is figurative is that he is protected by a wall and milking cash out of a cow’s udder.

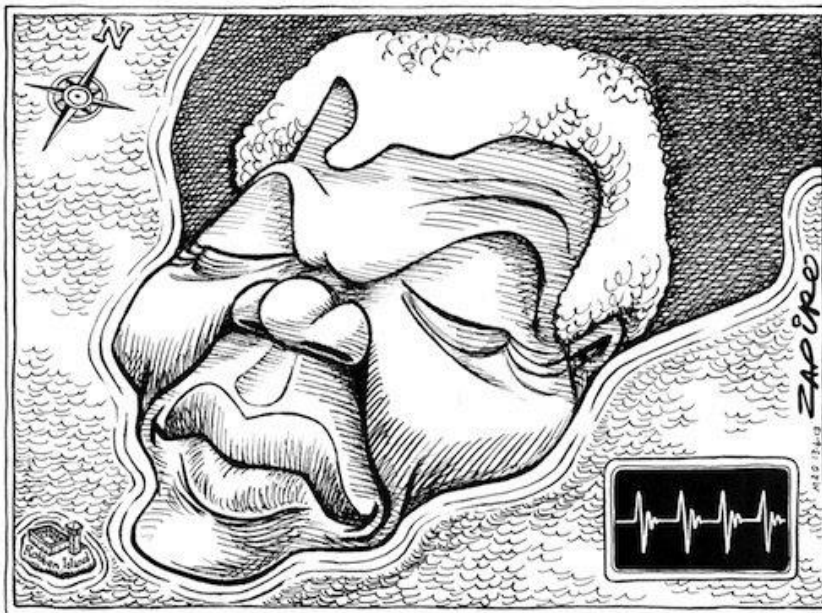
#### **4.5 Metonymy**

Though Lodge (2015:1) is arguing that the English and American critics who have been part of structuralist criticism have not sufficiently recognised the importance and possibility of a metaphor and metonymy distinction, some scholars have given it an attempt. In their book Radden and Kovecses (1999:17) are against the description found in standard dictionaries which states that metonymy is a figure of speech which uses the name of one thing for that of something else, claiming that such definitions imply that metonymy operates on names

of things and it merely includes the substitution of one thing for another assuming that the two are related. They assert that metonymy has always been defined in conceptual rather than purely linguistic form. Panther and Radden (1999:1) acknowledge that metonymy is a cognitive phenomenon that may be even more fundamental than metaphor. The duo start by accepting that the common understanding is that metonymy is a conceptual process in which one conceptual entity, the 'target', is made mentally reachable by means of another conceptual entity, 'the vehicle' *within the same idealised cognitive model* (ICM) (as proposed by Lakoff in 1987). The principle implied here is that metonymy is a reversible process which allows either of the two conceptual entities related to stand for the other. They also state that Beatrice Warren finds metonymy as an abbreviation device and apart from finding the embedded referring item, its understanding includes finding a relation. Their observation is that metonymic relations are less demanding and effortless when compared to metaphoric relations of the same attributes. However, they mention that the use of a metonymy as a cognitive phenomenon shows its conceptual status, though Panther and Thornburg (2003:18) argue that metonymy appears to be on par with metaphor concerning its conceptual importance. In their attempt to define metonymy the latter duo started by identifying the properties of a metonymy and they list: "metonymy is a conceptual phenomenon, metonymy is a cognitive process, metonymy operates within an idealised cognitive model". Upon the findings stated above they conclude by saying "metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, *within the same idealised cognitive model*" (Thornburg 2003:18, emphasis added).

Like other scholars mentioned in this discussion Kotze (2005:119), also says "metaphor is whereby one domain of experience is understood in terms of another". In addition, he states that one can define metonymy in the same way. However, Kotze points out that the difference is that for metonymy the two domains of experience form part of the same cognitive model. In his elaboration he gives an example of a symptom of an emotion being used to refer to an emotion itself and argues that the process is metonymy. In essence, Kotze implies that a metonymy simply results when one thing is used to represent a large group of (similar or directly/cognitive related) things. This sentiment is shared by Moss (2007:243) who views a metonymy as an organisational principle that realises the function

of reduction. She explains that it allows a large concept or idea to be effectively conveyed through a reduced single image. In Velasco's terms (2000:52) in metonymy there is a domain-subdomain relationship. In short, and as it will be used in this dissertation, something is selected to refer to, or, more particularly, to represent, a much larger grouping that have similar conditions. An example is when President Ian Khama is used to represent the Botswana Government. Therefore, Kotze's, Moss' and Velasco's elaborations of metonymy will be adopted as they are in support of one another. The picture below (figure 4.2) is an example of visual metonymy.



**Figure 4.2.** Jonathan Shapiro. *A living Mandela*, Accessed October 2018 <<https://www.pinterest.com>>

The cartoon was done at a time when Mandela was very sick. Mandela is drawn as South Africa on a graphic representation of a South African map. The picture also includes a cardiogram monitor reading and the sea that Mandela appears as if he is drowning. It is a metonymy because it depicts the former president of South Africa Nelson Mandela as South Africa. The cartoon implies that South Africa is not well and is dying as Mandela dies – Mandela 'stands in for' the South African nation and all in it (and is thus metonymic), and for the state of being of the South African nation, where the latter is a metaphorical interpretation. The cardiogram, as a representation of the heartbeat is metonymic of Mandela's entire condition (where the symptom represents the entire health situation of



Mandela) but also functions metaphorically where physical health (the vehicle) is figuratively compared to the social, political and economic 'health' of the nation. Commenting on people's response to the cartoon, Finnan and Nick Champeaux (2013:1) quote Shapiro saying "something of SA will go when he goes, because Mandela and his generation of comrades were the architects of democracy and they represented values that ANC is now losing". Tentatively, one may assume that Shapiro shares the same sentiments with the duo as he depicts the whole of South Africa drowning as he (Mandela) drowns.

The purpose of cartoons very often is to comment on situations and people, by foregrounding contradictions, anomalies and stupidities that occur in life, society, politics and related public events. To do this two of the abiding processes that use metonymy (to locate the comment) and metaphor (often to point out the contradictions) are satire and parody.

#### **4.6 Satire**

Bal, Pitt, Berthon & Des Autels (2009:231) argue that satire is the use of ridicule, irony or sarcasm to lampoon something or someone. In a more elaborate attempt Harris (2005:1) describes satire as "the literary art diminishing or derogating a subject by making it ridiculous and evoking toward it attitudes of amusement, contempt, scorn or indignation". She distinguishes it from the comic, saying that comedy evokes laughter mainly as an end in itself, while satire derides -- that is, it uses laughter as a weapon against the butt (the person that the cartoonist jokes about) that exists outside the work itself<sup>26</sup>. Harris also asserts that practitioners of satire justify it as a corrective of human vice and folly. She adds that the common purpose of satire is to ridicule the failing rather than the individual, and to limit its ridicule to corrigible faults excluding those for which a person is not responsible. In Weisgerber's opinion (1973:159) the purpose of satire is to enlighten and correct. Weisgerber also argues that the standards of the satirist are at all times moral in order to please the public. In other words, the satirist attacks human failings from the point of view of a moral position that is accepted by the general public. He further explains that satire is

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<sup>26</sup> Speculatively, however, it should be noted that this is a simplistic definition as it can be argued that comedy relies on the exploitation of human weaknesses (for example) but is dealt with in a reasonably sympathetic (and forgiving) manner, where satire's intention is to wound. Nevertheless, the devices used to attain laughter are very similar.

connected to the society and the satirist makes expressions about people and their flaws. This argument is central to this dissertation, as it suggests that the editorial cartoon satirically engages with the oppressor/the powerful, as they blunder about attempting to deal with the oppressed and their situation.



**Figure 4.3.** Jonathan Shapiro. *Zuma's ice bucket challenge*, Accessed October 2018 <<https://www.cagle.com>>

The cartoon above portrays Julius Malema together with two other members of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) (the tropes of the red overalls and the mining helmets identify the EFF as a political party) holding a bucket and pouring ice water onto Zuma (again, the shower trope identifies Zuma). Zuma is standing in front of the podium and it appears as if the action of the EFF members catches him by surprise. The picture does not show any other objects in the background except the chair which may be suggesting that Zuma is busy working and not just relaxing because he is not sitting on it.

The EFF was persistent in trying to ensure that Zuma is answerable to his actions (Dayimani 2015:1). According to a report by News24 dated 13 January 2015, EFF promised that it will make sure that Zuma pays back the money he used on Nkandla security upgrade.. Gqirana (2016:1) affirms this by saying EFF took the matter to court in order to force Zuma to implement the Public Protector Thuli Madonsela's recommendations. The EFF leader (Malema) is quoted by Mokhafola (2016:1) as saying "We are not going to agree to any settlement that still undermines the office of the Public Protector". This followed the Public Protector's decision that Zuma must pay for upgrades that are not related to security at his

homestead. As stated in the discussion of an example of a metaphor cartoon (above), *Sunday Times* dated 31<sup>st</sup> March 2016 indicates that the case was taken to the Constitutional Court where it was settled. Thus Zapiro did the cartoon above to satirise the situation explained in this paragraph.

EFF members pouring ice water onto Zuma is a metaphor for EFF haunting Zuma with the “pay back the money” campaign. (The metaphor is also drawn from the English idiom of “pouring cold water on someone’s ideas” which suggests that one is attempting to extinguish that idea in some form or another).<sup>27</sup> This can also be seen as a metaphor for the disturbance that EFF is causing to Zuma because he is depicted standing in front of a podium and that implies that he was busy with one of his duties when EFF stepped in. The cold water is a metonymy for the torture Zuma is going through as EFF continues to be consistent in trying to make him pay and accountable for his actions. The three EFF members are a metonymy for the rest of the EFF membership who are in the fight to make Zuma accountable. Furthermore the two members who are helping Malema hold the bucket are a metonymy for the EFF membership that supports Malema in trying to hold Zuma accountable.

As has been established, the shower head attached to the Zuma character is a metaphor for his potential wrong doing (as seen through the eyes of the cartoonist). The construction hats and red clothes are a metonymy for the EFF, while their choices of these clothes and garments reveal a metaphor that connects the policies of the EFF with the working class.

Satirically, therefore, using metaphor and metonymy as strategies, the cartoon ridicules the person who is in the highest office of the land, namely the Presidency. The man in the Presidency is shown to be weak and ‘human’ and has done things that should be ridiculed.

#### **4.7. Uses of cartoons**

In Johnson’s observation (1937:21) the initial cartoons were in the form of personal caricature, and people found those exaggerated drawings of a person’s physical deformities extremely humorous. In the middle of nineteenth century, cartoons appeared to have

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<sup>27</sup> There is a tradition in American Football that, when a side has won a competition, a bucket of energy drink is poured over the winning side’s coach. For an American, therefore, viewing this cartoon, the interpretation could indeed be the opposite of what is ‘intended.’

moved a step away from personal, physical caricature and this was significant in America. Cartoons became more subtle and intellectual with occasional attacks on the individual, suggesting more and more, as argued above, that metaphor and metonymy as cartoon tactics became more prevalent. According to Brandova (2011:2) cartoons have become part of contemporary culture. Emphasising the importance of cartoons in the society Brandova articulates that besides the funny jokes and crude humour cartoons provide a critical commentary on long term and immediate social and political problems. Furthermore, she explains that when cartoons satirize a particular issue, it acknowledges the issue's importance.

Though Brandova is pointing out the importance of cartoons she also mentions that they are not regarded as meaning-bearing and noteworthy by the academics and the general public. In her opinion if scholars and critics approach cartoons with the assumption that the medium is not capable of cultural critique, they set out on the wrong interpretive course from the beginning and this reduces their chances of full appreciation of the medium (Brandova 2011:2).

As pointed out by Trimble (1976:10) cartoons can be used for other purposes like: (1) safety messages – he believes that cartoons can send a message to make the worker work safely better than words of warning as shown in figure 4.4 (2) service reminders – service providers may overlook a troublesome problem in minutes but they will not miss it if it brought to their attention in the form of cartoon. Figure 4.5 is an example of cartoon used to prompt the Water Utilities Corporation (WUC) to provide water in Botswana and stop putting in place troublesome laws limiting usage of water, or, in this case, seeming to change accepted human practice; (3) operating tips – cartoons can be used to direct someone on how he can easily do something, as Figure 4.6 demonstrates; (4) attention flags – they can be used to draw attention to things that could be passed over, as demonstrated in figure 4.7; and (5) interest holders – they can be used to compete in advertising because they easily attract the viewer's attention, as shown in Figure 4.8. This is affirmed by Kemnitz (1973:81) who says that cartoons are often extremely interesting. Another important role of cartoons is being used to illustrate books – as Kemnitz (1973:81) has mentioned, since 1906 historians have used cartoons for illustrations. Figure 4.9 shows an example of cartoon used as an illustration for history, with particular reference to the scramble for Africa.



**Figure 4.4.** Safety message cartoon. Accessed October 2018 <<https://workspirited.com>>

The cartoon in Figure 4.4 entails two standards and universally used ‘wet floor’ warning signs<sup>28</sup>, text and a cartoon character. The background and foreground is sky blue and does not show any other detail. In the foreground the cartoon character is depicted slipping and falling over because of some water that is on the floor. This can be understood as a metonymy for all accidents that may occur or happen to people because of the wet floor. The cartoonist did not see the need to represent or portray all kinds of possible accidents but preferred to use one. Spectators can easily get the message from the cartoon character before they even read the text. Furthermore, the character is presented simply, by the twisted mouth accentuated metonymically the shock that the character is undergoing. This is emphasised by the waving arms of the character. The marks indicating the movement of the legs can be seen as part of cartoon language demonstrating movement, but are based on the metonymic staggering of the movement. This is accentuated by the drops of water hovering around the foot of the character.

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<sup>28</sup> The contents of the warning signs contain the stick figure metonyms of danger, and are common and therefore the *ground* is shared. The metaphoric use of the triangle is evident. It should perhaps also be noted that the stick figures are male figures. However, reading the “absence” of female figures suggests a *tension* in the metonym that “slows down” the interpretation and therefore runs counter to the speed of interpretation or recognition of the cartoon (or warning).



**Figure 4.5.** Mbi Moalosi. Service reminder cartoon. Retrieved from Botswana Guardian, 11 September 2015

Figure 4.5 shows an ordinary man in a green jacket, with a toilet-paper roll in his hand. The toilet paper becomes a metonym of the notion that the man wants to use the toilet. A WUC (Water Utilities Corporation) guard/official stands in front of the toilet stopping him and telling him to use the hole that is by the side of the toilet. (A toilet is also known as a “water closet” or WC). There are no other unnecessary details in the background and the foreground except the ones mentioned above. Metonymy in this case is the man who represents all water (closet) users and the guard/official who is representing the staff of WUC. The presence of the club can be seen as a metaphor for the enforcer attitude of the official/guard, and, in turn, of the WUC. The toilet is used as metonymy for all water using facilities and the WUC lock on the door of the toilet is a metaphor for the rules that stop people from using water using facilities. Lastly the hole is a metonymy for all other alternatives put in place by WUC so that people reduce their daily use of water.

The satire present is because the cartoonist has selected the most basic (and private) human functioning to illustrate the ‘strangeness’ of the approach to water conservation taken by the WUC. This is accentuated by the suggestion that the ‘hole” be used, which can be interpreted as a step backwards from ‘civilisation.’ Thus the satire suggests that, in the process of ‘moving forward’ the strategies used seem to take the community backward. This is perhaps added to by the fact that the toilet-seeker wears a suit (suggesting some form of wealth) and the character’s receding hairline, which is a metonym for an older man. The

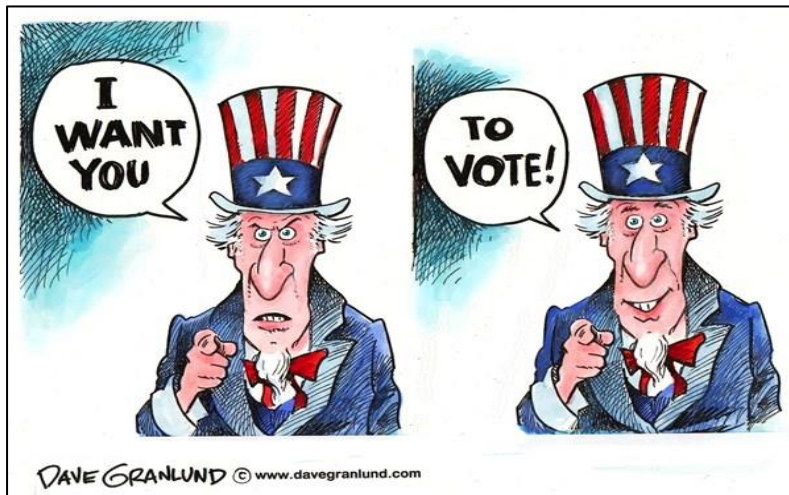
clothing of the two characters are in contrast, with the guard perhaps being seen as a 'prison warder.' The size of each character's stomach is open to various interpretations, too.



**Figure 4.6.** Cartoon used to direct people on how to do something, Accessed October 2018 <<https://www.pinterest.com>>

This cartoon in Figure 4.6, set in a sequence of panels that tells a story, illustrates the instructions on how to make a 'watermelon keg'. Instruction number 1 shows a man hollowing out the inside of a watermelon. In instruction number 2 he is fitting a tap on the watermelon. Instruction 3 illustrates him pouring some vodka into the water melon and lastly, instruction number 4 portrays him pouring some liquor from a watermelon keg into a glass. The cartoon is very simplified, not showing the background and omitting many details of the character (except in the last image where he is wearing a shirt and hat). In this cartoon, the vodka being poured into the water melon keg is a metonymy for all alcoholic drinks that the keg may be used for. Another metonymy is in instruction number 4 where the character is used as a metonymy for all those who will be consuming the alcohol from the watermelon keg. This is demonstrated by the fact that the man in the last image has become 'dressed' in a jacket and hat. The downward droop of the mouth is metonymic of failure.

The purpose of the sequence rests on the idea that kegs for alcohol are normally made of wood, and that, in the preparation of a drink, fruit juice is often added. Thus the purpose here is to demonstrate that certain type of thinking (like IKEA thinking) the two different ways of doing things would become one, thus saving time (for example). Thus this type of series of events becomes a metaphor for a particular brand of creative thinking (and human folly).



**Figure 4.7.** Dave Granlund. 2012. *Uncle Sam wants you to vote*, Cartoon used to draw attention Accessed October 2018 <[www.davegranlund.com](http://www.davegranlund.com)>

The cartoon above is an election poster and it uses Uncle Sam as an attention flag. It is in two border frames; one showing Uncle Sam with a serious face pointing at the spectator and saying “I want you” and the other showing him with a smile and saying “to vote”. The cartoonist uses United States of America flag colours to dress Uncle Sam, with some black cross-hatching and blue in the background added to make the text stand out. Flags are inevitably metonyms for a country or nation, and metaphors that draw attention to the attributes of that country. According to *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the term ‘Uncle Sam’ originated from Samuel Wilson who was a business man in Troy, New York. He was popularly known as “Uncle Sam”. He supplied the army with beef during the war of 1812 and the barrels of beef were stamped “US” to show that they are a property of the government. Apparently that label made the nickname “Uncle Sam” popular in United States, leading to the 1961 Congress recognising Wilson as the namesake of the national symbol. Granlund uses Uncle Sam as a metonymy for USA government.



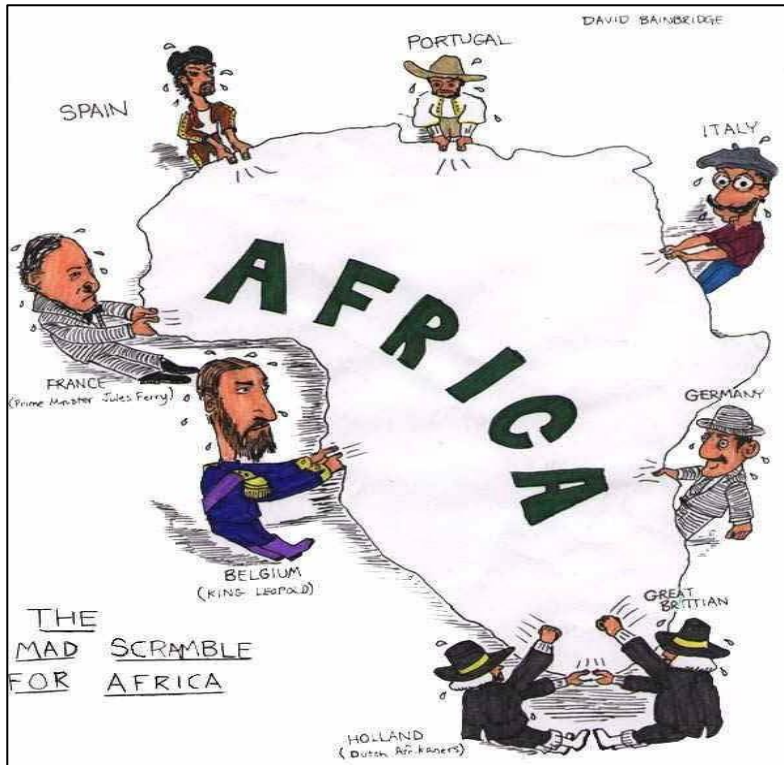
However, the cartoon reveals two more dimensions. The first frame refers to the recruitment campaign used to recruit American soldiers for World War 1. The pointing finger and the text support each other, as do the eyes of the character looking directly out of the frame. The metaphor of loyalty and patriotism suggested by the flag is combined with the metonym of direct address which speaks to direct involvement of each American. The second frame removes the warlike nature of the first frame by using the metonym of the smiling face. The war implications of the first frame are replaced by the democratic implications of the text in the second frame. Yet putting the two frames next to each other comments on the tensions between war and democracy (it can be suggested).



**Figure 4.8.** Richard Williams. 2011. *Rolo Advert*, Cartoon used in advertising, Accessed October 2018 <<https://www.dailymail.co.uk>>

The cartoon in Figure 4.8 is highly simplified, showing a boy and a girl sitting on a bench drawn in contour lines only and not coloured or shaded. The boy is holding a Rolo chocolate up to the envy of the girl. (The cartoonist poses the boy metonymically, as if the chocolate is a ring, such as an engagement ring). Her love for the chocolate and her desire to have it is exaggerated by the use of a pink heart shape drawn up between their heads. The use of the heart is a metaphor for the girl's love for Rolo chocolates. There is also a bold red text saying "Rolo" which emphasises the theme and the product being advertised by the cartoon. The advertising campaign seems to suggest that Rolos can bring about true love. The heart, the

pose of the boy, the clothing worn by the girl, and even the location on a park bench draw on a kind of sanitised image of love.



**Figure 4.9.** *The mad scramble for Africa*, Cartoon used for illustration in History, Accessed October 2018 <<https://www.pinterest.com>>

Figure 4.9 can be seen as a political cartoon, and moves the argument closer to the notion of social and economic development, as argued in the previous chapter. The current political borderlines of Africa mostly came into being thirty years after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. The borderlines were created by the Europeans to benefit social, economic and political desires of Europe, with little regard for the social, economic and political development of Africa and the people(s) of Africa. Only a few of the current borderlines existed before the Berlin Conference, and they included Algeria and Morocco in the North, Basutoland for protection against the boers, around South African Republic (Transvaal) and the enclave of Walvis Bay in the South. In the five years after the Berlin Conference, European power holders made agreements amongst themselves and they made borderlines covering the whole of Africa. The borderlines defined European spheres of power. The

German sphere was predominantly in the East; the British sphere was in the North while the Portuguese sphere was in the South. The agreement, for example, seemingly arbitrarily separated South West Africa (now Namibia) from Angola. In Equatorial Africa, Congo Free State defined the French sphere from and Spanish sphere. While in the West of Africa, French Ivory Coast, Siera Leone was defined in relation to Liberia and The Gambia while Portuguese Guinea was distinguished from French territory.

At the turn of the century almost the whole of Africa was divided the way it is today except the Angola/Portuguese borderline because they were failing to reach agreement. In the North East the borderlines were created to divide the British, French and Italian spheres. The Ethiopians defeated the Italians and built their own Empire at Adowa. In the 1890s Congo established itself and in West Africa the French created their border lines that covered Liberia, Siera Leone and later Ivory Coast, Guinea and Senegal. By 1914 the division of Africa was complete.

The cartoon works on a number of levels. The act of pulling the continent apart connects with the image of the continent as a sheet or blanket (visually) being stretched. The metaphor suggests that Europe saw Africa as 'blank slate.' Thus the stretching acts as a metaphor for the various tugging actions. Significantly, the cartoonist is required to find a way of 'representing' each nation and this is done metonymically both in terms of the representatives and in the way they are depicted. The Portuguese are represented by the sombrero, the Italians by the beret, Germany by the hamburg hat, the Dutch by the typical black and white clothes, collars and hats, the Spanish by the matador hats, and so on. In essence clothing has been used metonymically for easy and quick reference to countries.

#### **4.8 Genres in cartoons**

In his book, Farrington (2009:8) asserts that some of the categories that used to be popular in the past now face challenges in the ever-changing market, especially traditional comics and editorial cartoons that are usually encountered in newspapers. He states that some cartoons that were not popular in the past are now popular. His list of cartoons that have gained popularity includes webcomics, editorial cartoons on the internet, graphic novels and comic books. Farrington observes that many cartoonists' work can be easily identified

because they maintain one genre (Farrington 2009:8). Categories of cartoons as classified by Farrington (2008:8) include comic strips, gag cartoons and editorial cartoons.

#### 4.8.1 Comic strips

Kemnitz (1973:82) asserts that comic strips are an offspring of joke cartoons. Farrington (2009:8) argues that comic strips are a satirical look into the lives of the characters that inhabit them. Wiid, Grant, Mills and Pitt (2015:4) explain that comic strips are in the form of a continuous storyline in a series of border frames. He also points out that, usually, comic strips reveal the understated reality about our own lives in their observations and perceptions into the world around us. Similarly, Farrington (2009:8) says comic strips have the longest continuing run of popularity among cartooning genres mainly because people like to follow their favourite characters. He continues by stating that comic strips used to be common in newspapers and are now available on the internet, as newspapers face market challenges. At the turn of the 20th century modern comic strips were originally made to attract readers to newspapers and they were there long before other forms of entertainment media like radio, movies and TV became popular (Farrington 2009:8). The purpose of comic strips is summarised by Trimble (1976:10) who notes that their messages form, attract and hold the reader. Thus the reader understands the cartoon immediately and wants to see what else the cartoon has to offer, and then they relate to the message and even treasure it. Below is an example of a comic strip.



**Figure 4.10.** Tebogo Motswetla. *Funny Mabijo International*, Accessed October 2018 < <https://africacartoons.com>>

This comic strip depicts Mabijo (the main character in white dotted shirt) in a flight with other passengers. The pictures only show the interior of a flight and next to Mabijo is a lady in orange telling Mabijo that she is excited to visit Botswana. As the conversation goes on she refers to Botswana as darkness saying “Where!?! in this darkness!!?”. In essence Motswetla uses textual metaphor in this cartoon in response to the electricity crisis that covered the country, referring to Botswana as “darkness”.

The stripped down presentation of the cartoon from frame to frame allows for quick reference. Almost all the characters (including Mabijo) have the same facial presentation, thus drawing attention to the words in the speech bubbles. Basically only two things change: the orientation of the potential visitor, and the orientation of the middle frame that is ‘tilted’ to provide the metonym of flying. The reference to “the dark city” is difficult to follow if one is not aware of the electricity problems in Gaborone. This is a case of the *ground* of the situation only really being open to those who are ‘in’ the situation. As a reference to what will be presented in the next chapter, it can be suggested that the tension between having the social development that delivers air travel, on the one hand, but cannot keep something as basic as electricity going, on the other, speaks to the tensions between national and international priorities in the Botswanan government. As such, the image of what image Botswana wishes to present to the world is satirised.

#### **4.8.2 Gag cartoons**

Another genre of cartoons listed by Farrington (2009:10) is gag cartoons, which are also popular and though they look similar to comic strips they are different. He argues that they are different from comic strips because they don’t have a regular set of characters or story lines and they are normally single panelled. According Farrington (2009:10) each new cartoon is a new gag or punchline delivered in a single box. Adding to that he says “one of the advantages they have over comic strips is that they are marketable to publications and websites that want a light-hearted joke of the day feature that a strip with characters may not fulfil”. It is Farrington’s opinion that gag cartoons are more general and universal which makes them suitable for the market (2009:10). Kemnitz (1973:83) refers to gag cartoons as joke cartoons. He says they have been important in history because they mirror social issues. According to him joke cartoons have often been unnecessary graphic illustrations of

verbal jokes until the twentieth century but lately the trend is that they try to mix the verbal joke with the visual joke, or they are purely visual jokes. Figure 4.11 is an example of a joke cartoon.



**Figure 4.11.** Rob Middleton. 2015. Gag cartoon, Accessed October 2018 <[www.madcatcartoons.com](http://www.madcatcartoons.com)>

The gag cartoon above shows simplified images of three cats and a dog. One cat is drawn facing a dog and appears to be in a love affair with the dog. The other cats are facing the spectator and discussing the love affair that is going on between the other cat and the dog saying, “It’s never going to last”. The cartoon does not show any other details in the background and the foreground except the shadows of the cats. It can be understood as a metaphor of two people with two totally different characters, backgrounds, or cultures being involved in a relationship and friends of the other being judgemental of the relationship. Once again the shape of the heart is used as a metonymy for love. It exaggerates the love that the two animals have for one another.

### 4.8.3 Editorial cartoons

Editorial cartoons are described as “a unique form of visual communication designed to convey a particular opinion in a form that is concise and easy to understand by the public. They are mostly one illustration in one border frame” (Wiid *et al* 2015:4). Wiid *et al* (2015:4) utter that though they are sometimes called “political cartoons”, it must be noted that political themes are only a subset of a wide range of topics addressed by these cartoons. According to Wiid *et al* (2015:4) some of the other topics addressed by these cartoons

include social and cultural news, scandals, downfalls, disasters, and economic turmoil. Hoffman and Howard (2007:271) say that in the past editorial cartoons have been able to uncover corruption, offer criticism of the power holders, support and/or question policies, and generally present another, alternative, and generally challenging point of view of the situation at hand to the public. In this sense they offer an analytical opinion that sets out to undermine a situation that is deemed correct by those who hold power.

Farrington (2009:9) claims that editorial cartoons are a popular and sometimes controversial form of cartoons and are used to express a political or social viewpoint. Connors (2005:479) argue that editorial cartoons give the reader or the spectator an opinion about a politician because the cartoonists refer to events that allow the readers to understand the message easily. These cartoons can ruin or build a politician's image and this is common during the year of elections when politicians are battling to win the support of the voters. Connors (2005:479) asserts that editorial cartoons can be used as a simple form of carrying a complicated message to the voters, though most of the politicians usually take them as simple jokes. Sometimes they use symbols that require the spectator to understand them in order to have a clear understanding of the cartoon. Sometimes the cartoonist uses reference to popular culture to help the viewer understand the suggestion being made because they already understand those references (similar to the ground for a metaphor, for example) and can easily relate to them.

According to Farrington (2009:9) editorial cartoons emerged at the same time as the modern newspaper became popular. In addition, he states that early editorial cartoons were also used to attract newspaper readers and these cartoonists were 'media celebrities' of the time. He asserts that for many decades before the arrival of television, editorial cartoons were a form of entertainment for readers. Farrington (2009:9) emphasises how editorial cartoons were important when they first appeared, stating that they were very powerful and that they even influenced the political elections and reforms. He also acknowledges that they continue to play a vital role in the whole history of political discourse. According to Farrington (2009:9) editorial cartoons have been evolving over the last century and are still popular today, however the new ones face challenging market realities. He argues that usually editorial cartoons were connected to print journalism and lately newspapers are experiencing market challenges so editorial cartoons are on the

internet. Editorial cartoons on the internet presently are done in full colour and some are even animated (Farrington 2009:9).

Kemnitz (1973:82) refers to editorial cartoons as “opinion cartoons” and also emphasises that they appear on an editorial page. In addition to that he states that they can be divided into three categories, namely (1) those dealing with domestic politics, (2) those dealing with social themes and (3) those dealing with foreign affairs. He says the categories he provides are thematic because the techniques differ according to the subject matter. Political cartoons rely on the spectator’s recognition of characters, subjects, and events represented, thus they have to be specific. Such recognition depends on a shared ground and a lack of tension (to use the metaphor terms). Normally caricature is used to boost identification but sometimes stereotypes are used. Techniques of political and social cartoons as well as national symbols can be used together in cartoons dealing with foreign affairs. This type of cartoon passes the message quickly and this can result in people not reading the editorials but rather just grasping the opinion expressed in the editorial cartoon as it happened in the past when fewer people could read fluently. Though it is mostly done in ridicule, editorial cartoons have been used to build up resistance to the policies of the powerholders and also for propaganda. It is an effective medium for suggesting those things that one cannot say through printed words. (In this sense, “cannot” refers both to not being able to say, and not being allowed to say, something) They are used to attack those in power and Kemnitz believes it is not easy to sustain that in any other medium (Kemnitz 1973:82-85). Speculatively it is as if the ‘cartoonness’ of the cartoon deflects the realistic attack on opinions, people and policies.

#### **4.9 Understanding editorial cartoons**

In Schnakenberg’s point of view (2010:32) cartoons are like puzzles that need to be identified, interpreted and understood and this can be enjoyed by all viewers of cartoons. Wiid *et al* (2015:4) state that editorial cartoons make use of visual metaphors and sometimes text to express issues at hand. Connors (2005:481) says “to decode the cartoon, one must be somewhat familiar with the literacy or cultural source to which it refers”. Editorial cartoons address in parallel what is in editorials and opinion columns so they are a safer (and quicker) way of expressing one’s feeling, as compared to news reports which are



based on facts and are supposed to be objective. Sometimes the cartoons require viewers to be informed about other current events in order to understand the cartoon. Traditionally, those featured in editorial cartoons were in most cases to be ridiculed. These cartoons are also part of the political humour that constitutes political messages to be received by the voters (Conners 2005:480). However Wiid *et al* (2015:5) point out that it is not always necessary to include elements of humour but must be easily interpreted by the viewer. They are supported by movements that endorse their lawfulness in political arena media (Conners 2005:480). Presidential candidates are normally the most featured characters in editorial cartoons. Kemnitz (1973:86) says those investigating cartoons must look at the areas of investigation he is providing such as: the artist, the means by which the cartoon reaches the public, their language and symbols, their relation to other means of communication, their intended function, and their audience. He says the abovementioned areas of investigation can help the investigator to establish how popular attitudes relate to the cartoon. "In a single frame, cartoonists must define a situation, represent characters, diagnose causes for a given conflict or tension, construct and convey a particular perspective and moral judgement of that situation, and often suggest a resolution" (Wiid *et al* 2015:5).

Adding to the argument above Wiid *et al* (2015:5) cite Greenberg who states that an editorial cartoon can be analysed using the following dimensions:

- 1) "Narrative: What is the essential story line of the cartoon?"
- 2) "Domestication: How does the image bring distant events closer to home?"
- 3) "Binary Struggle: Which characters are portrayed in a binary struggle?"
- 4) "Normative Transference: Who is portrayed in the cartoon as the loser?"

Editorial cartoons will become central to the study. Figure 4.12, below) is an example of an editorial cartoon, and is one that created much debate when it appeared. As all cartoons do, it relies on a shared ground, which, in this case, is an understanding of how justice is metaphorised (as a woman, blind so as not to be influenced, and carrying the scales of justice). Furthermore, it relies on knowledge of the history of Zuma (see the events of Kwezi, documented above). It also relies on a ground that allows for the identification of Gwede Mantashe (the Secretary General of the African National Congress at the time), Julius Malema (the chair of the African National Conference Youth League at the time), and

the chair of the largest trade union organisation – COSATU. The fourth figure is the chairman of the Communist Party in South Africa, namely Dr Blade Nzimande. Finally, it relies on knowledge that these three organisations had formed a tripartite alliance in the politics of South Africa.



**Figure 4.12.** Jonathan Shapiro. 2008. *Rape of Lady Justice*, Accessed October 2018 <<https://www.toonsmag.com>>

The cartoon above shows the then leader of African National Congress (ANC) Jacob Zuma unbuckling his belt and opening his trousers. In front of Zuma there is a woman being held down by the leaders of ANC, ANC Youth League, South African Communist Party (SACP) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). There are no details depicted in the background and there is only a symbol of justice lying next to the lady in the foreground. According to Van Hoorn (2008:1), Zuma had several charges facing him and he wanted to be discharged and the members of the tripartite alliance wanted the charges dropped, claiming they were just a political plot to ruin his reputation. In response to that, Zapiro's cartoon shows a metaphor of Zuma preparing to sexually abuse the lady Justice system as identified by the band she is wearing. She represents the South African justice system which is being abused by the president of the ANC. Metonymy is employed by using figures which are leaders in the tripartite to represent different organisations that make up the tripartite as well as the ANCYL: Julius Malema as a metonymy for ANCYL, Gwete Mantashe as a

metonymy for ANC, Blade Nzimande as a metonym for SACP and Zwelinzima Vavi as a metonymy for Cosatu.

Thus, metaphorically, Justice is represented by a woman, the scales are metaphors of the balance of right and wrong, and the depiction of a potential rape becomes a metaphor for abuse of power.

#### **4.10 Summary**

The term 'cartoon' refers to a sketch or a drawing which uses caricature and humour and is used as social comedy/satire especially, in print media (the focus of this study). It is made based on specific tropes. Because the cartoon is ambiguous it allows exaggeration and distortion. Identifiable features are exaggerated for viewers to recognise and they are distorted to enhance the comment. Exaggeration can be done by employing the use of metaphor and metonymy. Some of the important dimensions that can be used to analyse cartoons include the narrative, and the social, economic and political context being commented on. The three categories of editorial cartoons include gag cartoons, comic strips and editorial cartoons. Editorial cartoons bring what is happening in the social development of a country such as Botswana to the attention of the people and the cartoons comment critically on the power dynamics that occur in the country. They emphasise that if you have two sets of power sometimes they will work together and sometimes they will work against each other. The role of newspapers is to point out contradictions between the powerful and the powerless, however they seem to only provide information of what is going wrong. Other purposes of cartoons include being used to send safety messages, service reminders, operating tips, attention flags and interest holders.

The next chapter analyses selected Botswana editorial cartoons addressing the social and economic development that occurred during President Khama's tenure, using Scott's theory as well as concepts that were discussed in this chapter such as metaphor, metonymy and satire. The further purpose of the chapter is to interrogate whether the notions of onstage and offstage discourses are effective methods to analyse editorial cartoons.

## CHAPTER 5

The previous chapter defined and discussed cartoons, providing the historical background and explaining the different types of cartoons and distinguishing the rest from editorial cartoons (which this study focuses on). It also defined and considered the role of metaphor and metonymy in editorial cartoons in general. The chapter, when considered with the chapters on social and economic development and on the role of power in society, prepared the way for the analysis of selected Botswanan cartoons. This is the purpose of this chapter.

### 5.1 Introduction

Several editorial cartoons by different cartoonists from Botswana newspapers namely the *Botswana Guardian*, *Mmegi*, *The Voice*, *The Mirror* and *Weekend Post* are discussed in this chapter. These Botswana cartoons are analysed through the lens of Scott's theory of 'hidden transcripts'. This chapter uses interest in Botswana's editorial cartoons to demonstrate how these are used as social commentary and to test the effectiveness of Scott's model in explaining cartoon creation and analysis. The chapter looks at editorial stories that occurred during the period of President Khama's presidency, analysing them through the scrutiny of the power play, power models in existence, discourse, positions of authority and specifically Scott's theory as stated above. It continues to describe the composition of the cartoon and compare the details mentioned above with how they are portrayed by local cartoonists in aforementioned Botswana editorial cartoons. Furthermore it looks at other aspects that may be seen to be essential to the creation of a cartoon, such as the use metaphor, metonymy and satire. This is line with the recommendation made by Wiid et al (2015:5) that it is essential to know and understand very well the narrative behind the cartoon before analysing it.

## 5.2 The analysis of cartoons

### 5.2.1. *Ipelegeng* labour intensive programme



**Figure 5.1:** Lesole Ntshole. *Ipelegeng* program. Retrieved from *The Mirror*, 11 August 2013.

#### 5.2.1.1. Situating the *Ipelegeng* program cartoon

This editorial cartoon is one of Lesole Ntshole's cartoons done for the *The mirror* in 2013. It is a pictorial comment on a labour intensive programme known as *Ipelegeng* which was introduced by the government and spearheaded by President Ian Khama.

#### 5.2.1.2. Description of *Ipelegeng* cartoon

In the composition of the cartoon there is a figure that resembles President Khama holding a whip with his left hand and a plough (which is pulled by poor-looking and chained men) with his right hand. The president is depicted wearing a red shirt which is the colour of the ruling party. Those who are pulling the plough appear to be tired with their tongues hanging out. They appear to be walking (or pulling) in unison as they all have their right legs out front and the left legs behind (in a seemingly staggered 'military' formation). Each one has a different coloured shirt and pair of pants on.

Two other characters are observed in the bottom right hand corner (with them only visible from the waist up) talking about what is happening and discussing it. The blue-shirted figure notes in a speech bubble "I did not know that slavery still exists in our time." In the

sequence reading left to right the yellow shirted character, with his hand to his chin, notes: “Shhhhh! DIS [sic] will kill us. That’s not slavery, but [sic] Ipelegeng program.” One is drawn to the difference in language usage between the two. The plot of the scene is in a ploughing field and therefore a place of agriculture. Though the cartoonist used a ploughing field as the background, he did not make a detailed drawing of the objects in the field. He simply drew some lines on the ground to show that it is a newly ploughed field. There are poles fencing the field and a horizon line made of green trees against a blue sky. The figures are more detailed when compared to the background.

### **5.2.1.3. Social and economic development comment made by *Ipelegeng* cartoon**

In a document entitled “*Ipelegeng* programme” which was published in “Government Portal” by the Ministry of Local Government in 2011 it was stated that that the primary objective of *Ipelegeng* is to create temporary employment and provide relief while doing important developments that the government has planned for. The document also stipulates that the programme targets unskilled citizens who are above 18 years of age who are unemployed and may be on welfare grants supplied by the state. The wage stated in the document is P400<sup>29</sup> per month for someone who has worked six hours per day for 20 days. Another document entitled *Final report for the review of Ipelegeng Programme* mentions that *Ipelegeng* employees are always hopeful that the government will increase their salaries and hire them permanently. Emphasising that the salaries are too low, the document asserts that for those in urban areas the wages are enough to buy food only. Malema (2013:60) points out that *Ipelegeng* was conceptualised as a poverty (and therefore economic) eradication strategy. He further states that able-bodied people were removed from the destitute programme and enrolled in the *Ipelegeng* programme. Miers (2008:2) states that free persons are supposed to be protected from physical abuse and have a range of political rights which include freedom of speech, of religion, association and freedom from arbitrary arrest embodied in the concept of the rule of law. These are conditions connected to social development. In another discussion, Kopytoff and Miers (1979:4) argue that a free man can at least choose occupation and employer. This does not seem to be the

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<sup>29</sup> Four hundred Pula, which is the currency of Botswana. In current terms this equates to about R450.00 in South African terms, but, at the time the cartoon was produced and the program instituted, the equivalent was very similar. In dollar terms this was very close to two dollars a day.

case with the oppressed as portrayed in the picture above. Ntshole seem to be saying *Ipelegeng* participants are not free.

Significantly, the tension between the roles of social grants for survival (as seen in the argument in the relevant chapter on social development) seems to be set up against the notion of economic development (in the same chapter). Furthermore, the 'agricultural' topic is placed in the ploughing of fields and not in cattle as the staple farming practice of Botswana. This may emphasise the role of labour (the men are the cattle used for ploughing) in the commentary.

#### **5.2.1.4. Power relations relating to introduction of *Ipelegeng***

The narrative above implies that in the "offstage of the powerholder" there was Discourse (with capital "D") that occurred between government officials who had the mandate/allocated power to come up with a programme that will help the government to eradicate poverty in a way that emphasises 'productive labour' as opposed to 'hand-outs' in terms of social grants. They came up with the idea of *Ipelegeng*. It is in this space where they decided that the powerless (able-bodied but poor members of society) who are benefiting from social grants must be removed from those programmes and be registered for *Ipelegeng*. As such the narrative that inspired the creation of the cartoon above is based on a commentary on the "offstage of the powerholder". The idea was brought to the "onstage of the powerholder" (in the form of the documentation of and rationale for the programme) and it is clear from the narrative that the powerless had little or nothing to say about the decision as they only come to the "onstage" with hope to be uplifted from poverty.

A Unipolar system is the power model that seems to be in existence with regard to what is described in the paragraphs above. This is because President Ian Khama appears to be the sole powerholder. He has legitimate power as the president and as leader of the *Ipelegeng* programme. As the powerholder and leader of the programme he is part of the decision that all those who are benefiting from social welfare grants such as the destitute programme be registered in the *Ipelegeng* programme. From the powerholder's point of view, this may be a strategy to ensure that poor and powerless people work for the little wage they get from the government and not just benefit freely. This also reflects the

powerholder's use of reward power on the powerless members of society. The strategy benefits the government as it helps to keep the government wage bill low. However, and critically, it must also be mentioned that social grant schemes are financed from taxation, and therefore, by reducing the expenditure from the tax base, the government either had the opportunity to use this money elsewhere, or had the opportunity to reduce taxes. The former would benefit the country and the latter would benefit the wealthy. Such discussions would take place in the offstage of the oppressor (the government).

Nevertheless, the scheme as it was, in the view of the powerless, may be seen as a way of ensuring that those who are powerless rely on the government for employment and it exploits them by paying them low wages. This is part of the cartoon's critique. Therefore one can also argue that President Ian Khama as the major powerholder in this situation is using *lpelegeng* to ensure that the powerless do not attain power and depend on his government for his entire period of power. In this instance power is communicated downward because it comes from the president who is spearheading the programme and passes through government officials ending up reaching the powerless and poor members of the society. This power can also be defined as 'power over' as the president is using his power to control or make the poor members of the society serve his government the way he and his government wants, with very little if any consideration of the feelings or ideas of the powerless. Above his legitimate power there is reward power which makes the powerless believe in him because of the 'benefits' they get from his government, and coercive power because those without power fear that he will punish them by ensuring that they do not get any assistance from the government. Taken to its conclusion there is a suggestion of 'work or die' in the program, which is what the cartoon is suggesting. Significantly, the power position manipulates the concept that economic development will lead to social development, as opposed to the social grant concept which suggests that social development will lead to economic development.

President Khama is acting as an 'indigenous-insider' in this case. He is a former ordinary member of society and now he is in power. He knows how ordinary members of society or those without power behave when they are around the powerholders and how they react to decisions taken by the powerholder. He has observed the previous powerholder (whom he also served) providing social benefits to the powerless and has seen the impact it has on



the government and on the society. Therefore as an 'indigenous-insider', he has the authority to take decisions that he thinks will do little or no harm to the powerless and the government. He is an 'indigenous-insider' both to the oppressor (with his long experience in government, the influence of the British system of social welfare, his father's influence, and, perhaps most significantly as a wealthy cattle farmer) and, perhaps it can be argued, he lays claim to the 'indigenous-insider' because he is Botswanan. The cartoon points to the gap between these two positions.

Thus the cartoon constructs Ntshole's view of what is happening "onstage" and "offstage" of the powerholder as well as the "offstage of the powerless" with regard to *Ipelegeng*. Ntshole uses text to enhance his message of what is happening in the "offstage of the oppressed". The "onstage" and the "offstage of the oppressor" are only reflected by the visual aspects of the cartoon. What follows attempts to explain how this is achieved.

Ntshole used a metaphor of slavery in practice in his pictorial comment to portray what is happening in the "onstage of the powerholder," as perceived through the eyes of the oppressed. (This is one of the primary functions of editorial cartoons, it may be argued). Miers (2008:1) points out that 'slavery' is arguably the most misused word in the English language. However she acknowledges that it has become a metaphor for extreme inequality, for subordination, deprivation and discrimination. She concludes that there is the 'classic' or 'chattel' slave, the Marxist wage slave, the sex slave, and the late twentieth century contemporary slave. Thus Ntshole may be implying that those in the "offstage of the oppressed" see *Ipelegeng* programme as contemporary slavery (with an element of Marxist wage slave because there is a small wage involved, but one that is too small to live off and therefore very little opportunity to develop. As such, the government gets to manipulate labour, which is typical of a Marxist critique). Within the African context this is doubly problematic, given, firstly the exporting of slaves to be of 'service' to the West, but also, secondly, because of the history of colonialism in Africa itself. As such the selection of the metaphor of slavery becomes significant. The depiction of slaves being used to pull a plough by the president is a metaphor for cheap forced labour that the poor and powerless members of the society are subjected to by the powerholders who are the president and other officials of the government. In this metaphor the use of cheap forced labour by the government is the target and the source is the portrayal of slavery.

Turning to the analysis of the cartoon as metaphor, the source of the metaphor is an agricultural one. In the farming situation, the plough would be pulled by cattle/oxen and steered by the farmer, who would both control the direction of the plough, and control the oxen by means of a whip. (It is interesting to note that, in the cartoon, there is no reference made to the reins that would normally be used to steer the oxen. This might be a shortfall in the metaphor, but it might also simply be a visual problem in that, including the reins would clutter up the visual aspect too much). The ground of the metaphor is that the powerless are forced to work (as cattle, and, in case of pushing the metaphor too far, ploughs are normally pulled by oxen, which are 'emasculated cattle') for the powerholder and the tension is that in the target the powerholder gives the powerless no other choice but to work for *Ipelegeng* and get a small salary while in the source the president is using the powerless as slaves to pull a plough when ploughing. The chains on the feet of the slaves depicted in the cartoon are a metaphor that emphasises that they are not free. In this metaphor lack of freedom to choose the employer or the job they want is the target and the source is slaves with shackles on their feet. The ground in this metaphor is that the powerless are not free and the tension is that in the target the powerless are forced to take jobs they are offered by the government and in the source the powerless are pulling a plough and they are bound with chains and shackles so that they do not escape.

The cartoon portrays President Ian Khama as a metonymy for the government that is rolling out the *Ipelegeng* programme and using its reward power and coercive power to ensure that the oppressed do what the government wants. For representation of power the cartoon uses the metonymy of a whip. Another metonymy is of the work *Ipelegeng* workers do which is represented by the plough. The six slaves pulling the plough are a metonymy for *Ipelegeng* workers across the country. Ntshole used torn clothes worn by the slaves as the metonymy for poverty and hardships the poor and oppressed go through in their lives. Lastly the two men observing and whispering as the powerholder abuses the powerless are a metonymy for other members of society who are not involved in the programme but judging it from outside (see below).

The "offstage of the oppressor" is characterised by emphasis on power. Power is defined by Patterson (1982) as the opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's will even against resistance and regardless of the basis on which this

opportunity rests. The oppressor is depicted as bigger than the oppressed in size and holding a whip, which helps him to force the oppressed to do his will.

Ntshole also saw the need to show what is happening on the “offstage of the oppressed”. In this space two young men who do not look as poor as the ones who are pulling the plough are observing and seem to be sympathising with those pulling. In the discourse taking place ‘offstage’ of the oppressed which Scott (1990:4) calls the ‘hidden transcript’, one of the young men (the one wearing a blue shirt) says to the other wearing a yellow shirt, “I didn’t know that slavery still exists in our time!” and the man in yellow responds by silencing him saying “shhhh.....DIS will kill us! That’s not slavery but *Ipelegeng* program!” .This conversation reflects how the oppressed are afraid to be heard by the oppressor expressing their opinion that *Ipelegeng* is tantamount to slavery. Significantly, the contributor on the left uses language that is grammatically correct, whereas the one on the right uses a dialect. The use of the dialect has two functions. Firstly, within the analysis it points to the idea that this form of economic development does not lead to social development (as seen through ‘correct English’ language usage as a marker for development), but perhaps more importantly, it connects to the language that might be used (and celebrated) in the “offstage of the oppressed”. In this way, the cartoonist seems to place his commentary squarely in the court of the oppressed as a mark of identification with them. (It seems clear that the ‘broken English’ is not used in a derogatory way, otherwise both would speak in this way).

The cartoon portrays President Khama as the only power holder with a whip which he seems to threaten to use to punish the slaves or the powerless. Therefore the power model that is reflected by the cartoon is the unipolar system. The whip emphasises his ‘power over’ the powerless or the workers of *Ipelegeng*. He uses it to ensure that the powerless do not respond to his commands the way he does not want. Thus it is an instrument that helps him to make sure the powerless remain the powerless and he remains powerful. President Khama is also depicted having legitimate power as he is in a position that allows him to control the workers. They are shown obeying him and having accepted him as their controller. Another form of power that is evident in the cartoon is coercive power as the president is using punishment on the powerless to get things the way he wants them. Ntshole reflects the communication of power in his cartoon as ‘power downward’.

Looking at the discourse with capital “D” that is occurring in the cartoon one can pick up that the use of poor people or the powerless for labour without paying them or paying them very little is not acceptable in the society. This is shown by the use of two other characters who are observing the president as he is abusing the powerless. One of them is surprised and refers to what is happening as slavery. This shows that some members of the society who are not enrolled in *Ipelegeng* program disapprove what the government or the powerholder is doing to the powerless. Therefore the society does not value some of the ideas that the government uses to interact with the poor. Similarly those who are observing know that it is not acceptable to criticise the government in public hence they are portrayed whispering.

As depicted in the cartoon, the two characters who are discussing what the government is doing to the powerless may be seen as the ‘external-outsiders’. The reason for that is that they are not part of the poor members of the society but they are now in the same space, as they are also depicted in the same ploughing field and able to see what is happening. This gives them the authority to comment on the decisions and actions of the government. The inclusion of the two characters shows that the cartoonist acknowledges that there are other members of the society who are involved in the discourse relating to *Ipelegeng*.

The artist uses satire and parody to criticise the government. As it is stated above, President Ian Khama is used to represent the government and the artist uses him as the focal area of the composition. Exaggerated proportion is used to show emphasis on the figure. This is evident in the size of head and the size of the shoes he is wearing. (There is no doubt that the artist increased their size intentionally to make the figure look funny because he has shown that he can draw a figure with accurate proportion in other cartoons). Emphasis is also drawn to the feet of the slaves which are also exaggerated. The aim of the cartoonist might have been to emphasize poverty of those who are working for *Ipelegeng* as they are depicted bare-footed. Satire is also used in the way the trousers of the slaves are depicted torn to show poverty as well. Another ‘amusing’ thing about the cartoon is the way he emphasised the fatigue of the slaves by drawing them with their tongues out and their hands hanging to their knees.

In conclusion, this editorial cartoon works effectively because it sets up the tensions between the oppressor/powerholder and the oppressed/powerless; it comments on that tension visually through use of the slavery metaphor; it locates the commentary within a specific Botswanan situation (the Ipelegeng program); it uses satire and parody (the agricultural metaphor) to make its point; it opens out the tension between social development and economic development; and, significantly, it positions itself on the side of the “offstage of the oppressed”, as seen in the commentary from the side of the two ‘speaking’ characters in the cartoon and the critically harsh inclusion of the whip on the side of oppressor.

## 5.2.2 The control of prostitution and HIV/AIDS by Botswana government



**Figure 5.2:** Lesole Ntshole. Sex workers and homosexuals. Retrieved from *Weekend Post* dated 9 November 2010.

### 5.2.2.1. Situating “Sex workers and homosexuals” cartoon

Lesole Ntshole made the “Sex workers and homosexuals” editorial cartoon for the *Weekend Post* in 2010. The cartoon comments on the Botswanan government’s approach to sex workers, homosexuals and its effort to combat HIV and AIDS.

### 5.2.2.2. Description of “Sex workers and homosexuals” cartoon

Ntshole’s cartoon portrays President Ian Khama wearing military pants, boots and a vest. He has a swastika arm band on his left arm. He is depicted holding a gun with his right hand

and pointing it at a prostitute on his right. The prostitute is wearing high heels, stockings, a purple mini-skirt and a pink top labelled “foreign sex workers”. The president is drawn stepping on a man who is labelled “homosexuals”. The man is wearing brown shoes, blue trousers and a purple t-shirt. His tongue is out and his face shows that he is feeling pain. On the left side of the president there is another prostitute who is celebrating. She is wearing high heels, a brown skirt and white top and is labelled as “local sex workers”. To the far left there is a male figure which resembles the former minister of health Reverend Dr Seakgosing. He is wearing grey shoes, navy blue trousers and a sky blue, long sleeved t-shirt labelled MoH<sup>30</sup>. The minister is carrying a box labelled “solutions on how to control HIV/AIDS”. The cartoonist did not draw any details on the background but focused on the characters mentioned above to present his message. There are three speech bubbles in the cartoon, one coming from President Khama and two coming from the prostitute labelled “local sex workers”. When read in sequence from the left to the right, the speech bubble from President Khama notes “I hate you for dismantling my plans on poverty alleviation!!!” and the two that are from the sex worker note “Yipeeee that’s what I call the 5Ds”<sup>31</sup> and “I will be able to keep all the profit to myself” .He used a gradation of blue, pink and purple in the background. On the foreground he created a ground with brown and its shades.

### **5.2.2.3. Social and economic development comment made by the “Sex workers and homosexuals” cartoon.**

Though the cartoon above is addressing three issues which are the control of prostitution by Botswana government, homosexuality and the control of HIV/AIDS, the analysis of the cartoon will mainly be on the control of prostitution as images addressing it are the focal area of the cartoon and they certainly dominate the composition. Yet, by placing foreign sex workers and homosexuals as being threatened, and placing the local sex worker in a jubilant mood, the cartoonist connects all three to both the Botswanan situation and to the combating of HIV/AIDS. Dube (2014:1) reports that many of Zimbabwean women who came to Botswana some years ago when Zimbabwe’s economy contracted, joined prostitution. He also states that a recent report released by Botswana’s Ministry of Health (MoH) shows that there are more than 1500 Zimbabwean sex workers in Botswana. However, the survey

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<sup>30</sup> MoH on the T-shirt of the minister is an abbreviation for Ministry of Health.

<sup>31</sup> As will be discussed, below, the 5Ds refer to Delivery, Democracy, Discipline, Dignity and Development.

conducted in 2012 and 2013 focused on three centres namely Gaborone, Francistown and Kasane. The survey reflects that Gaborone as the capital city of Botswana had 1200 Zimbabwean sex workers while 300 operated in Francistown and Kasane has 100 Zimbabwean sex workers while others were scattered in different urban areas in Botswana. Dube (2014:1) points out that the number of sex workers altogether in the three towns numbered 4153. He also adds that the majority of these sex workers say they are taking this profession for financial gain as they are unemployed. Lastly Dube mentions that Botswana came up with a campaign that prostitutes would either be detained if they were locals, or deported if they were foreigners for their disorderly and indecent behaviour (Dube 2014:1).

The cartoonist places foreign sex workers and (all) homosexuals as seen by the government as major threats to the economic development or fabric (social development) of Botswana because they are seen as major challenges to the spread of HIV/AIDS. Therefore, the cartoonist suggests, the government has set in motion a heavy-handed process of deporting the foreign sex workers (women) and 'stamping out' homosexuality in Botswana. In this way, the cartoonist argues, the government sees the removal of the social evil of foreign sex workers and homosexuals as a way towards economic development. The cartoonist then makes two comments, namely that the government does not suggest that local sex workers might not spread HIV/AIDS in society (as they are excluded from the approach), and secondly, that economic development is not seen as a way of combatting the problem. Furthermore, the box containing what appears to be a policy on the combatting of HIV/AIDS is carried by the Ministry of Health, still sealed. In this way the cartoonist places the tension between social development and economic development as the possible problem area to be interrogated.

#### **5.2.2.4. Power relations relating to "Sex workers and homosexuals" cartoon**

The activities that occur in the process of sex workers practicing prostitution may be categorised as Discourse with capital "D". Also the response of the government to prostitution when it was introducing strategies to reduce it may be seen as part of Discourse with capital "D". Discourse with small "d" occurred when the ministry of health was reporting on the statistics regarding prostitution.

The narrative above tells that some poor Zimbabwean and Botswana ladies who are the powerless in this case were feeling the scourge of poverty. This led to them in the “offstage of the powerless” resorting to prostitution (which they would practice in both the offstage and the onstage of both the powerless and the powerful) as a means of survival. In order to stop prostitution in the country the powerholder (the government) decided in the “offstage of the powerholder” to come up with some HIV/AIDS intervention strategies, amongst them being deporting foreign prostitutes, crushing homosexuality. The powerless and the powerful meet in the “onstage” when the powerless is taken through the legal procedure. In the “onstage of the powerholder” the powerless have to comply to avoid getting more charges on top of being charged for being disorderly and exhibiting indecent behaviour. Therefore the powerholder enters the “onstage space” knowing that the powerless will be obedient in responding as the powerholder wants.

The cartoonist suggests that there are a number of powerless groupings here that might have their own offstage spaces, namely, foreign sex workers, homosexuals and local sex workers. The cartoonist also suggests that the government’s approach would divide the offstage spaces and create a situation where the local sex workers would ‘profit’ from the ‘removal’ of the other offstage spaces. Furthermore, the cartoonist also suggests that the actions of the president (in using force) has the potential to divide the “offstage of the powerholder”, between the force of the president and the policy on combatting HIV/AIDS, as represented by the Ministry of Health.

The government of Botswana possess legitimate power and is the main powerholder according to the narrative above. The narrative does not reflect any sense of power from the prostitutes nor homosexuals but reflects the economic development decision taken by the government stop foreigners from practicing prostitution in Botswana will contribute to the economic development of the local sex workers. Therefore the power model that frames the narrative is the unipolar power model. However it can also be argued that at some point the power model changed to bipolar power model as the government was divided when it came to handling prostitution and homosexuality in the country when the president used force and the Ministry of Health used policies. There is also reflection of the use of coercive power by the government as it threatens to detain and deport foreign



prostitutes. Power is communicated downward in this scenario because it comes from the government which is the powerholder to the prostitutes who are the powerless.

As it is stated above the cartoon by Ntshole makes a pictorial commentary on prostitution in Botswana and efforts made by the government to reduce it. He depicts the president as the major powerholder. The president is in the middle of the composition and is portrayed using coercive power to punish the powerless homosexuals and foreign sex workers. It is obvious that he derives the authority to do that from his legitimate power brought about by his position as the president. Though the minister is not the major powerholder he is portrayed having expert power because he is coming up with solutions needed by the government to control HIV/AIDS. There is pictorial evidence that the two of other characters have no base of power. However, the local sex worker seems to suggest a change in power base brought about by the possibility of economic development. The situation in the picture reflects power that is communicated downward as it is from the president who is the powerholder to the powerless foreign prostitutes and homosexuals. It can also be defined as 'power over' because the president is using a gun to make sure that foreign sex workers obey him and he also uses his body strength to oppress homosexuals.

The cartoonist uses pictures to show what is happening in the "onstage" and text to show what is happening "offstage". In the "onstage of the powerholder" the one in power is using force or violence to attack foreign prostitutes and homosexuals. Also shown "onstage" are local prostitutes celebrating the possibility of economic development for themselves, and Reverend Dr Seakgosing bringing solutions on how to control HIV and AIDS.

In the "offstage" of the powerholder there is an implied public transcript in the form of text which says "I hate you for dismantling my plans on poverty alleviation". It is a public transcript because it is presented in a public or in the presence of the powerless. This text is used by the artist to reflect the powerholder's dislike for foreign prostitutes because he believes they affect his effort to fight poverty. In the document entitled "Botswana inaugurates 4th president" which was published by Botswana government on the 22 October 2009 it is mentioned that Khama reminded the Batswana that there are significant challenges such as poverty, unemployment, HIV/AIDS and securing the nation's competitive and comparative advantage in today's global image. In this way Khama places the

combatting of HIV/AIDS not as a social issue, but includes them in notions of economic development. Thus Ntshole reflects this in the “offstage of the powerholder”.

The “offstage of the oppressed” shows that the ones without power are divided into two groups. One group is made of the homosexuals and foreign sex workers and the other is made of local sex workers. Ntshole portrays the first group being defeated by the one in power. Foreign sex workers are depicted as being threatened with a gun by the one in power and raising their hands up showing that they are giving up. Some of the ‘hidden transcripts’ are the gestures expressed by those without power (foreign sex workers and homosexuals) such as facial expressions. The foreign sex worker looks terrified by the gun-pointing. Also the homosexuals are expressing their acceptance of defeat with their tongue hanging out and their hands showing no action of defence. Another group of those without power consists of local sex workers. They are represented by a celebrating prostitute who appears to be very jubilant and active. Part of their ‘hidden transcript’ is the text that says “Yipeeeee!!! That’s what I call 5Ds!!! Now I will be able to keep all the profit to myself!” The text emphasises the celebration of the local sex workers. In this text local sex workers talk about the 5Ds which were introduced by president Khama during his inauguration in 2009. The government press release entitled “Botswana inaugurates 4th president,” dated 22 October 2009 explains that 5Ds stand for Delivery, Democracy, Discipline, Dignity and Development. The 5Ds reveal the tensions and possible contradictions between social development (democracy, Discipline and Dignity) and economic development (Delivery and Development). The 5Ds were intended to be used by the president as a road map for the nation’s strategy going forward. This is affirmed in the 2013 state of the nation address by president Khama where he states that the 5Ds are about ensuring that all Batswana gain the skills and opportunities they need to achieve a dignified life. Ntshole’s cartoon shows that the local sex workers decoded the 5Ds as they were initially encoded by those in power as a tool to assist developing the country and now used by local sex workers as a tool to make more profit (thus emphasising economic development and not, particularly, social development).

In the occasion that is represented in the picture above the Discourse with capital “D” occurs when the president is expressing his disapproval of prostitution as an economic evil. In this discourse he appears to be targeting and taking action to stop prostitution and

restore the moral (social) values of the society. His thinking is reflected by the actions he is taking which appear to be in contrast to the 5Ds. The discourse with small “d” reflects his anger or determination. This is evident in the language he is using as he says “I hate you for dismantling my plans on poverty alleviation!!!” which emphasises the thinking that economic development will lead to social development. Another discourse with capital “D” taking place is when the local sex worker is celebrating. In the discourse with small “d” she jubilantly says “Yipeeeee!!! That’s what I call 5Ds!! Now I will be able to keep all the profits to myself.” In other words, the drive towards socially challenged occupations are commented on as potentially leading to the prospect of economic development. Adding this discourse to the composition helped the cartoonist to emphasise the confusion of local sex workers as they wrestle between economic and social development.

Though Ntshole is not clear in his pictorial comment whether he supports the president or sympathising with the sex workers he still found it necessary to use satire to give it a complete quality of a cartoon. To achieve satire in the cartoon he uses exaggeration and distortion. The figure of the prostitute near the president has exaggerated buttocks, lips and eyes. Her arms are also long and the skirt is extremely short. The size of the head of the president is exaggerated and the body is skinny. Distortion is used to make the head of the homosexual look ‘amusing’. His facial features, such as the lips, teeth, eyes and the tongue, are exaggerated. The size of the shoe is also very big. The homosexual is in an awkward posture raising his buttocks up and has a funny facial expression with eyes wide and by sticking out his very long tongue. Exaggeration is also used to satirise the celebrating local sex worker. This is evident in the face of the character as the lips and the teeth are extremely big. The way the sex worker is celebrating also shows some exaggeration because she is flying in the air and her legs and arms are all over the space. Lastly the minister has a distorted body structure making him look funny. However all these add together to enlighten the society about the decision of the government to deport foreign sex workers and to detain those who are citizens of the country.

Satire is also achieved through the use of metaphor. Several metaphors can be picked from the cartoon above. The visual metaphor for President Khama’s government using law enforcement or excessive power to arrest and deport foreign sex workers is shown by depicting the president pointing a gun at the foreign sex worker. In this circumstance, the

government arresting and deporting foreign sex workers using the forces is the target, and the image of the president pointing a gun at the foreign sex worker is the source. What may be regarded as the ground of the metaphor is that both in the source and the target the powerholder is using force to arrest and control foreign sex workers. While the metonymic tension is that the government is using the police and the soldiers to arrest and deport foreign sex workers while in the source the president is personally using a gun to arrest one of the prostitutes. The oppression of homosexuals by the government is expressed with a visual metaphor showing the president stepping on the neck of the homosexual. The government oppressing homosexuals is the target and the president stepping on a homosexual in image is the source. The tension of the metaphor is that in the story that inspired the cartoon the government is oppressing homosexuals or does not support them and in the cartoon the president is stepping on one of them. As for the ground of this metaphor, both in the target and the source the president is using power over homosexuals and they all reflect the cruelty of the powerholder on homosexuals who are the powerless in this case. Another metaphor that appears in the cartoon above is of the minister carrying box of solutions on how to control HIV/AIDS. It is a metaphor for the minister coming up with ideas that can assist the government to fight HIV and AIDS. The minister introducing new ideas to fight HIV and AIDS is the target and the minister carrying a box of solutions on how to fight HIV and AIDS is the source. The tension of the metaphor is that in the former the minister is literally introducing tactics on how to fight HIV and AIDS or sharing his ideas with the government and in the latter he is simply walking into the scene carrying a box of solutions. The ground of the metaphor is that in both the target and the solution the minister is bringing solutions.

The cartoonist uses the president as the metonymy for the government of Botswana. He is the leader of the government therefore the cartoonist found it suitable to choose him or his image among other government officials to represent the government. The prostitute wearing a top on which is written "foreign sex workers" is the metonymy for prostitutes who are not citizens of Botswana. For prostitutes who are citizens of Botswana, Ntshole uses the prostitute wearing a top on which is written "local sex workers" as the metonymy. The homosexual whom the president is stepping on is the metonymy for homosexuals who are oppressed by the government. As it is previously argued that the artist used the

president as the metonymy for the government, he also applied the same principle regarding the MoH. Therefore Minister Seakgosing in this composition is the metonymy for the MoH.

In conclusion this cartoon is effective because it reflects the tension that exists in the “offstage of the powerholder” between the president as the main powerholder and other powerholders who are government officials such as ministers. This tension is reflected by showing how the two differ in terms of handling sex workers and fighting society ills such as prostitutions and HIV and AIDS. The cartoon reflects the president as someone who believes that if prostitution and homosexuality are defeated by the government the economy will grow without being disrupted. However the minister is portrayed as someone who believes that for the economy to grow health safety precautions must be taken by those in sex industry. Furthermore it also reflects the tensions that exist in the “offstage of the powerless” as it shows how the local sex workers differ from foreign sex workers. The local sex workers see an opportunity for economic growth when foreign sex workers are deported and foreign sex workers see a loss of opportunity to sustain themselves economically. The use of metaphor and metonymy emphasises the use of power and the tension that exists between the powerholder and the powerless. The cartoon also reflects how those in the “offstage space of the powerless” perceive the decision of deporting foreign sex by reflecting it as job creation for local sex workers.

### 5.2.3 Criticism of President Ian Khama by former leaders



**Figure 5.3:** Lesole Ntshole. Masire endorses UDC. Retrieved from *The Voice newspaper* dated 20 August 2014

#### 5.2.3.1. Situating “criticism of President Ian Khama by former leaders” cartoon

This editorial cartoon was done by Lesole Ntshole for *The Voice Newspaper* in 2014. The cartoon is Ntshole’s comment on how former presidents feel about President Khama.

#### 5.2.3.2. Description of “criticism of President Ian Khama by former leaders” cartoon

Ntshole reacted to a particular series (presented in the next section) of events by creating the editorial cartoon above. The cartoon entails the image of the leader of Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) Duma Boko holding an umbrella labelled “UDC” with his left hand and a paper on which is written: “VOTE HITLER OUT OF POWER”. He is wearing a yellow jersey and black pants. In front of him there is a pedestal with oranges and apples on top. On the front side of the pedestal there is a pasted paper on which is written: “FOR SALE \*FREE AND PROSPEROUS BOTSWANA WITH NO CORRUPTION”. The former president of Botswana Masire is depicted standing next to Boko and talking to him. His left hand is shown throwing away a car jack. He is wearing a red jersey, black trousers and black shoes. There is a speech bubble over Masire’s head written: “THE WRITTING (sic) IS ON THE

WALL..... YOU ARE THE TRUE MESSIAH". To the far right of the picture there is an image of President Khama looking at Masire and Boko over his right shoulder and carrying a box on which is written "5Ds". The box has two skulls of human beings in it. The president is also wearing a red jersey, black pants and black shoes. There is another pedestal in front of the president with a white paper on which is written: "OUR MANDATE, \*CORRUPTION,\*HIT LIST,\*MORE SOLDIERS WILL RULE". The president's shirt has a swastika sign on the right sleeve. There are some simplified buildings in the background which may represent shop windows, and a bit of a colourful sky is visible on the horizon of the city-scape. Above the president's head there is an exclamation mark and a question mark.

### **5.2.3.3. Social and economic development comment arising from "criticism of President Ian Khama by former leaders" cartoon**

The cartoon above was in response to the story in which the BDP was caught by surprise as they heard comments made by two former presidents, namely Masire and Mogae. This happened when the campaigns for the 2014 general elections were heating up. The first to make comments was Masire, at the funeral of the former Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) secretary general Gomolemo Motswaledi where he almost endorsed UDC. He gave the impression that Motswaledi and some members of his party have vision and he encouraged mourners to follow them. Masire said this to the mourners present, some of whom were diehard supporters of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) who are still angry that in 2010 the Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD) pioneers left the BDP causing the first ever breakaway party from BDP (Gabathuse 2014:1). Masire's endorsement was affirmed by an article entitled "Masire endorse UDC" published by *The Voice Newspaper* (15 August 2014). The article further mentions that his main message focused on rediscovering the ideals of democracy unity and nation-building. Gabathuse (2014:1) adds that Motswaledi was in the structures of the BDP until 2010 when they formed the BMD. Masire was open about how he used to relate to the two and called them "his sons"<sup>32</sup>. The former president was full of praises and encouraged UDC followers to stand for what they believe

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<sup>32</sup> One should be aware that there are two possible meanings to the "his sons" reference. Firstly such a reference might be biological, but, more appropriately, this might be reference to an African tradition of vast, extended families that are communal rather than biological. A general reference to "sons of the soil," for example, illustrates this latter idea. Nevertheless, this latter description also may interpret to place Masire in the offstage discourse (the offstage community) of the UDC.

in. This led to some supporters of the BDP saying Masire is out of order and might affect the BDP in a year of elections. Though Masire is entitled to his opinion, some youth used social media to condemn and attack him. Apparently no one was happy that Masire expressed his love for young UDC leaders. Masire remained unapologetic about his statement and owned what he said (Gabathuse 2014:1). Otlogetswe (2014:1) asserts that Masire's views have always remained core BDP values of democracy. Gabathuse (2014:1) states that about two days after Masire's speech, Mogae addressed an African Leadership Forum Panel Discussion in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and called President Ian Khama a dictator. He argued that Khama's government had lost direction and was relying on a dictatorial approach to governing. Mogae said that the Khama regime did not respect the rule of law and that there was lack of transparency. Some supporters of the BDP accused Mogae of trying to 'rule from the grave' (as he had retired from politics, at that time) (Gabathuse 2014:1).

As is depicted in the cartoon it is clear from the story above that the former presidents and President Khama started disagreeing about issues relating to social and economic development in a space that did not have any powerless people. They did not solve the issues that led to their disagreements and that caused former presidents to use other forums to express their displeasure about the way President Khama was doing things. The tensions grew as these divided those without power into two groups because some were criticising the former presidents for voicing their views while those who are from the opposition were happy that the former leaders shared same sentiments with them.

#### **5.2.3.4. Power relations relating to “criticism of President Ian Khama by former leaders” cartoon**

Though the narrative is mainly focusing on what happened in the “onstage space” one must not overlook the fact that it implies that the whole scenario started in the “offstage of the powerholder” when the former presidents started having disagreements with the President Khama. All the “onstage” and the “offstage” of the both groups have been placed in the public domain or the “onstage”. In the “offstage of the powerholder” which is the BDP, a tension arose from discourse between President Khama and the former presidents on how social and economic development must be delivered to the people. It appears that this was



sparked by Masire and Mogae's observation (as the external-insiders of the government) of the way Khama as the powerholder uses his legitimate power and relates to those in "offstage of the powerless". This reflects the occurrence of Discourse with capital "D". It is clear that the duo do not approve it as they find it not democratic. They believe the best approach to delivering to those in the "offstage of the powerless" is through a democratic process. However President Khama as the main powerholder differs with them as he seems to be using oppressive methods to control those who are in the "offstage of the powerless". Masire and Mogae couldn't battle it in the "offstage of the powerholder" anymore and that also reflects the unipolar power model exists within the ruling party and the fact that power is always communicated downward. Masire and Mogae resorted to interacting with those in the "offstage space of the powerless," thus leaving the "offstage of the powerholder" and interacting with the powerless in the "onstage". As that occurred, another discourse that can be classified as discourse with small "d" started between the former powerholders and the powerless. Masire expressed his views to the powerless and in particular the external-outsiders of the ruling party at a funeral and further praised and motivated them. He expressed that he supports their ideas but also avoided to provoke the major powerholder by mentioning anything negative about him. The youth of BDP who exist in the "offstage of the powerless" brought Masire's issue to the "onstage" through social media. They expressed their views in the "onstage of the powerless". In this space the supporters of the powerholder condemn Masire for praising the opposition and endorsing it when the elections are close. By doing so, they bring to the attention of the public the feeling of those who are in the "offstage of the powerless" and also reflect what has been going on in the "offstage of the powerholders".

In another instance Mogae also used the "onstage" to express his opinions about President Khama. During a discussion at the African Leadership Forum Discussion, Mogae accused President Ian Khama of being dictator, not respecting the law and running a government that does not uphold transparency. In response to this, the supporters of the powerholder during the "onstage discourse of the powerholder" expressed their dissatisfaction concerning the statement made by the former president and accused him of trying to use legitimate power of the president though he is no longer the president.

The cartoon shows Boko selling fruits as a metaphor for the opposition presenting new ideas that can benefit the country. The action of the opposition selling ideas to the public is the target and the image of him selling fruits is the source. The ground of the metaphor is that in the target Boko is selling some fruits and in the source Boko is bringing something new that can benefit the nation and bringing this to the attention of the public. As for the tension, in the target Boko as the leader of the opposition is campaigning on behalf of the opposition making its manifesto known to the electorate. Masire throwing away the car jack is a metaphor for him condemning the ruling BDP, as the jack is the symbol of the party. In this metaphor Masire attending a funeral of a member of the opposition and praising the leadership of the opposition is the target and him talking to Boko the street vendor and calling him the messiah while throwing away the jack is the source. The ground of the metaphor is that in both the target and the source Masire supports the opposition.

On the other hand the tension of the metaphor is that in the target Boko is campaigning and in the source he is selling fruits in the street. Another metaphor that is easy to notice is of the president carrying a box of human skulls and looking at Boko and Masire. It speaks to the way the president is noticing Masire's relationship with the leaders of the opposition. President Ian Khama getting information about the friendship of Masire and opposition leaders as well as the statements he made at the funeral are the target and the source is him walking away with a box of human skulls and looking at Masire talking to the Boko. The ground of the metaphor is when the president becomes acquainted with the relationship of Masire and the opposition. Whereas the tension of the metaphor is that in the target Khama is receiving information about what Masire said at the funeral and in the source Khama is literally looking at Masire as he talks to Boko. Lastly, Boko extending his hand to accommodate Masire under his umbrella is a metaphor for opposition parties accepting Masire in their gatherings or at the funeral. The target of the metaphor is when Masire is being accepted in a gathering of the opposition and the source is when Boko is covering Masire with his umbrella. The ground of the metaphor is that in both the target and the source Masire is being accepted or even given the necessary attention. The tension of the metaphor is when in the target the opposition is allowing Masire into its space and paying attention to what he has to say and in the source Masire being accommodated under the opposition leader's umbrella.

The cartoonist also used metonymy in the composition of the cartoon to enhance the message he is sending. This helped him to make a less detailed cartoon but still pass the message. Boko is used as the metonymy for leadership of the opposition parties that formed an alliance called the UDC. One can assume that Ntshole used Boko as the metonymy for the leadership of the opposition because he is the president of the opposition. The umbrella he is holding is a metonymy for the opposition alliance party which he belongs to and is campaigning under its banner hence he is portrayed covering himself with the umbrella. The reason for this may be that the umbrella is a symbol for UDC hence Ntshole found it suitable to use it to represent the party. Apples and oranges on the pedestal in front of Boko are metonymies for ideas he is selling to the public. Since Masire is not the only one who made negative comments against the president, his image in this cartoon may be seen as the metonymy for all former leaders who are against the way President Khama as the powerholder is delivering to those in the “offstage of the powerless” running the country. For the mere fact that the car jack is one of the symbols used by the BDP, Ntshole used it in his cartoon as a metonymy for the party. The use of human skulls as a metonymy for the 5Ds that were introduced by the president, perhaps implying that the 5Ds are dead or useless (or that the way Khama is attempting to introduce them is not working). Once again Ntshole uses the swastika as a metonymy for the dictatorial government Botswana is under the leadership of President Khama. The question mark and the exclamation mark above the president’s head are a metonymy for the shock and uncertainty the president has because of the comments by his predecessors.

Ntshole summarises what is happening in the narrative above by reflecting what is happening in the “onstage”. He reflects the interaction of the powerless who are opposition parties and the powerholders who are the ruling party in public space which is the form of a shopping area with street vendors. In the picture Boko is depicted as the powerless street vendor selling some fruits, most probably to other powerless members of the society. Masire, who is one of the powerholders, came to Boko’s vending place, turning it into an “onstage space”. As one of the powerholders Masire praises Boko and calls him the messiah and throws away the symbol of the powerholder’s party showing that he does not support what the powerholder is doing anymore. He compares the leader of the opposition to the messiah in a statement which he says “THE WRITING (sic) IS ON THE WALL... YOU ARE THE

MESSIAH". Therefore in this cartoon the artist makes use of textual metaphor as well as visual metaphor to enrich his visual comment. This discourse is also evident in the messages on the papers pasted on pedestals.

Their communication is in the form of 'public transcripts' because someone who is passing by can hear the message though Masire intended to pass the message to the powerless unaware that the major powerholder is behind him and can hear what he is saying. President Khama who is the major powerholder appears to be surprised by the action of Masire as one of the powerholders. Loyal members of BDP do not expect someone who has led their party to be seen having conversations with the opposition especially in the public. This may have been the reason why the artist used the exclamation mark and the question mark to emphasise the astonishment on the side of the powerholders. Some of the hidden transcripts include the facial expressions on the image of Boko and that of Masire. Boko's face shows that he is looking into Masire's eyes, concentrating on what he is saying and showing that he does not want to miss a word said by the powerholder.

The major powerholder is depicted carrying a box of skulls labelled 5Ds and passing to his table to sell them. Ntshole reflects the ideas that the powerless and the powerholder had in their "offstage spaces," in the form of text. The text on the pedestal of the powerless that reads "FOR SALE, \*FREE AND PROSPEROUS BOTSWANA, \*BOTSWANA WITH NO CORRUPTION" and the one Boko is holding with his right hand that says "VOTE HITLER OUT OF POWER" reflect the ideas of the powerless and what the powerless brings to the "onstage of the powerless". On the other hand the text that says "OUR MANDATE, \*CORRUPTION,\*HIT LIST, \*MORE SOLDIERS WILL RULE" reflects the agenda of the powerholder and what the powerholder offers to the powerless in the "onstage of the powerholder". However in the editorial cartoon he depicts them being sold to the public in the "onstage," therefore they are no more 'hidden transcripts' but rather 'public transcripts'. Ntshole may be implying that the ideologies of both the powerholder and the powerless are now in the public domain which is the "onstage".

To satirise the president, Ntshole exaggerates the size of the head and remarkably his hairstyle. It can be argued that the presidential hairstyle is one of the tropes in the creation of the cartoon and helps the viewer to easily link the image in the cartoon with the physical

appearance of the president. Satire and parody are evident in the way he portrayed the president carrying a box of skulls instead of depicting him in an office or any working space reinforcing the implementation of the 5Ds. Ntshole's great ability and creativity in satirising is seen the way he converted the 5Ds into human skulls. As much as it is funny, it also sends a strong message to say the 5Ds are not effective though the president is still upholding them. One would expect to see Masire and Boko in a funeral set up but in order to satirise the situation Ntshole depicts them in a street, with Boko selling fruits as Masire praises him. Masire also has exaggerated features such as the head and the feet. Another creatively satirised situation is of Masire being set against the BDP as it is shown by depicting Masire throwing away a car jack.

It can be concluded that the cartoonist succeeded in expressing the tension that exists between the powerholder and those who were in power before regarding the implementations of the 5Ds in developing the society. Though other tools that were said to be instrumental in the creation of a cartoon such as the use metonymy, exaggeration and others were effective, this was mainly achieved through the use of metonymy. These were used to reflect the agenda that the powerholder intends to use for social and economic development. They were also used to reflect the reaction of the former powerholders and how they behave in the "onstage" when they are with other powerless members of the society. The cartoon clearly shows how President Khama responds to the actions of the former powerholders by reflecting as someone who looks puzzled. Lastly it shows the reactions of the opposition to the actions of the former presidents showing the opposition leader covering the former president with an umbrella showing that they agree to what the former president is saying.

#### 5.2.4. Masisi and Molefhi's battle to succeed President Ian Khama



**Figure 5.4:** Mbi Moalosi. Untitled, Retrieved from *Botswana Guardian*, March 24 2016

##### 5.2.4.1. Situating “Masisi to succeed President Ian Khama” cartoon

Moalosi made this editorial cartoon in 2016 for the *Botswana Guardian*. The cartoon comments on Vice President Mokgweetsi Masisi's interest in succeeding President Khama.

##### 5.2.4.2. Description of “Masisi to succeed President Ian Khama” cartoon

In the cartoon above President Ian Khama is depicted sitting on the chair with his arms on the desk. He is smiling facing forward with his eyes wide open as if he is admiring something in front of him. The president is wearing a red jacket, a white shirt and a red tie. The colours of the president's clothes are among the three colours of the ruling party which are red, white and black. The cartoon also portrays Masisi in BDP colours (black jacket, white shirt and a red tie) standing behind the president and holding his chair with the left hand. There is a speech bubble from the mouth of the vice-president which says “100% sure, *fa a suta ke a se kotama*” which can be directly translated to English as “100% sure, once he moves I am seating on it”. The background is painted blue and does not have any other details.

### **5.2.4.3. Social and economic development comment made in “Masisi to succeed President Ian Khama” cartoon**

The interpretation of this cartoon relies extensively on an understanding of the context in which the cartoon appeared (as many Botswanans, confronted by this cartoon would carry and take sides on, at the time that it appeared). The cartoon above was done prior to the BDP 2017 elective congress in which the new party chairman was to be voted for. An anonymous reporter from the *Sunday Standard* reported (20<sup>th</sup> February 2017), in an article entitled “Nonofo Molefhi, Kgalema Motlhanthe and a lack of political convictions,” that Nonofo Molefhi, the Member of Parliament for Selibe Phikwe East and minister of Infrastructure, Science and Technology, had an ambition to be BDP chairman and the president of Botswana. The reporter says that Molefhi thinks he can win the chairmanship of BDP and the country’s presidency using his unique strategies. According to the report, one of the strategies is not disclosing that he intends to contest for the position of chairman until the elections are close. The advantage of this, as stated by the report, would be that in this period other candidates would be availing themselves for battles against each other and judgement or criticism by the public. By waiting until the last minute, the article says, Molefhi runs a risk of being considered by the public as a reluctant candidate and denying himself the support of those who were willing to campaign for him. It foresees Molefhi being seen as a wrong candidate and subsequently a political clown. However it acknowledges that Molefhi’s trademark is playing his cards close to the chest and further argues that his planning may not be enough and will be too late. In one of the articles that followed later Lute (2017:1) reports that Molefhi is battling against BDP’s centre of power as he is trying to replace Vice President Mokgweetsi Masisi as chairman of the party. Masisi’s followers have figured out that his battle is about the country’s presidency and not necessarily the party chairmanship. Kgamanyane (2017:1) acknowledges the battle for BDP chairmanship and points out that it was getting tenuous. Masisi was blessed when President Khama appointed him to be the vice president of the country after 2014 general elections. This was followed by Khama endorsing Masisi to be chairman of the party. However some members of BDP feel that Masisi does not need to be the chairman of the party because soon he will be the president of Botswana and BDP. Some members understood that Masisi wanted to use the Tonota BDP congress to gain more support and control of BDP structures

before a special congress that could be used to remove him from the presidency of the party (Kgamanyane 2017:1).

The soft-spoken Molefhi, as described by Lute (2017:1), had stated that he had nothing personal against Masisi though he was standing against him for chairmanship of the party in July 2017. He emphasised that he was driven by their campaign message which says “we want to consolidate our organisational structure and diversify our resources as a party”. In order to justify his decision to challenge the party chairman Molefhi said that the constitution of the party allowed any member of the party interested in any position to stand for elections and he is only exercising his right as a member of the party. Molefhi said he was asking for votes from all BDP members because his campaign is not secret and it is lawful. Molefhi served for two terms as Member of Parliament for Selibe Phikwe East. Though it is not yet publicised, loyal members of his constituency believe that he will not contest during 2019 elections (Lute 2017:1).

Mmeso (2016:1) argued that Masisi is confident that his presidential ambitions were coming true. He added that all new members of the party are on Masisi’s side. In the report published on the 20<sup>th</sup> February by *Sunday Standard*, it was stressed that Molefhi’s followers were frustrated by his strategy of delaying to declare that he intended to contest the elections. Kgamanyane (2017:1) reported that Molefhi’s allies lost the Maun East and Maun West constituencies during elections that were held to elect delegates that would be eligible to vote at the party’s congress in Tonota. One of the allies confirmed the defeat saying the Masisi faction used food hampers to persuade voters to vote for them. He added that the leadership of the party gave voters the impression that the Molefhi faction was trying to break the party. Masisi’s campaign coordinator in the North West district, Reaboka Mbulawa, said those allegations were not true. He emphasised that candidates were free to campaign whenever there is an elective congress (Kgamanyane (2017:1). This might have given Masisi more confidence that he stood a better chance to win hence the cartoonist responded by making the cartoon above.

In short, Masisi appeared to want to claim the chair of the presidency based on the economic support from Khama, whereas Molefhi wanted to claim the position based on the social support of the constitution and the community.



#### **5.2.4.4. Power relations relating to the “Masisi to succeed President Ian Khama” cartoon**

When the narrative above is analysed using Scott’s theory, in the “offstage of the powerless” Molefhi who is the powerless knew that he had an interest in contesting for elections but decided to keep it as the “hidden transcript” of the powerholder. By virtue of being a member of BDP and being regarded as an ‘indigenous-insider’ within the party, Molefhi had a right to contest for the chairmanship of the party. His strategy was to announce or bring it to the “onstage” when elections were close so he could surprise another indigenous-insider Masisi who was, or appeared to be, the minor powerholder (chosen in the offstage by Khama) in this situation. One of the powerless’ ‘hidden transcripts” was that he intended to be the president of the country and not only the chairman of the party. “Onstage”, one of the significant ‘public transcripts’ is when President Ian Khama, who is the major power holder in the unipolar power model of the party and also an indigenous-insider, was showing that he supported Masisi by choosing him to be the vice president of the country. Another ‘public transcript’ is when the president was endorsing Masisi to be the chairman of the party. This reflects the use of reward power and how it is communicated downward by the major powerholder in the “offstage of the powerholder”. The selection of Masisi by the major powerholder might have been influenced by the fact that Masisi has expert power. President Ian Khama claimed for himself the authority as an ‘indigenous insider’ and the legitimate power as the president of the BDP to choose among other ‘indigenous-insiders’ of the party who must be the vice president. The same position gave him the authority to endorse Masisi who is also an ‘indigenous-insider’ for the chairmanship position. This showed approval that was planned and finalised in the “offstage of the powerholder” and must have helped Masisi to gain more support from the powerless as the president (major powerholder) already had the majority of the supporters from the “offstage of the powerless”. While in the “offstage of the oppressor”, Masisi knows that the purpose of his campaign is to gather support and control a future that may be used to take him out of the presidency.

Molefhi, on the other hand, used his referent power in the “offstage of the powerless” to make the powerless believe that he has nothing against the powerholder. This happened because of the trust they had in him and possibly his interpersonal skills. He intended to use legitimate power once he attained the position of the chairman to achieve the goal of the

powerless' campaign which was to strengthen the structure of the party and to diversify its resources. This would be an effort that would require his expert power as it involved his skills or expertise. When justifying his decision in the "onstage" to challenge the powerholder, it becomes clear that he is using his legitimate power to attempt to take power, but he is also using the rules of discourse, accepted by both the offstage of the powerholder and the powerless, that can be used in the meeting in the onstage of the two groups (at the conference), namely the rules of constitutionality (and not, as might be argued, patronage, in the case of Masisi).

It is in the "onstage" where Molefhi as an indigenous-insider publicly said he does not have any personal grudge against Masisi and further explained to the powerless and powerholders within the party or other indigenous-insiders that he has a right to vote. Molefhi made it clear to the public that he is requesting for votes from all those who are eligible to vote and he is not making it a secret. These are the 'public transcripts' that are evident in the story above. In the "offstage of the oppressed", Molefhi promised his constituents/supporters that he would resign from his ministerial position if he won the elections. This was an idea that was encoded specifically for his supporters, and consequently the constituents were able to decode it and realise that it means his ultimate goal is to be the president of the country and not the chairman of the party. Molefhi therefore used the double discourse of the "onstage", which could be interpreted in one way by the powerholder, and another way by the powerless (if they had access to the "alternative code" from the "offstage of the powerless"). Indeed, this is the strength of the cartoon, as it speaks actually to the non-present (or offstage) position of Molefhi (which the viewers of the cartoon would know about. This matter is taken up in the satire, below).

The seriousness in Masisi can be seen as a metonymy for his determination to be the chairman of the party and the state president. The look on Masisi's face that seems to be saying, "What? Are you still here?! Get out" shows that he is in a hurry to be the president and that can be regarded as metonymy for his impatience. The look is also a metonymy for Masisi's ungreatfulness to be Khama's subordinate. Also the smile on the president's face is metonymic of the comfort and joy he is enjoying while in the office. He is facing forward and smiling, therefore one can assume that it is metonymy for his happiness to leave the office to go and enjoy a better future. Alternatively, it can be read as a sense of satisfaction that

his succession plans seem to be working. The dual interpretation suggests a sense either of achievement in leaving Botswana in safe hands that can carry on his work, or in a sense of smugness because he has maintained control by “appointing” his successor. Masisi has his right arm resting on his waist and that can be seen as a metonym for the confidence he has.

The fact that Masisi is depicted standing behind the president is a metaphor for his support and subordination to the president. In this metaphor subordination and support are the targets or topic and standing behind the president is the vehicle or source. The ground of the metaphor or the similarity in the metaphor is that in the target President Khama is in the forefront as it is in the structure of the executive of Botswana and after him it is Masisi who is the vice president. The tension of the metaphor is that in the source, Masisi is just standing behind the president when in the target he is doing a lot of work that is related to the office of the president. Masisi is holding a chair with one and that is a metaphor for the fact that he stands a better chance to be the president once President Khama steps down. Masisi being in better position to win elections is the target and Masisi standing by the chair and holding it with one hand is the source. The ground of the metaphor is that in the target Masisi is closer to being a president and in the source he is closer to the chair of the president and holding it with one hand. The tension is that Masisi in the target Masisi is eyeing the position of the chairman and the presidency of the state and he is a better candidate because he was endorsed by the president and already his faction is doing well winning elections for delegates who are going to vote in the congress but in the source he is just standing by the chair and holding it with one hand.

In this cartoon Moalosi comments on what is happening in the “offstage of the powerholder”. He depicts President Khama as the major powerholder and Masisi as the minor powerholder. The cartoon suggests that though President Khama and Masisi are in the same space of the “offstage of the powerholder” they do not disclose everything to each other or there are some hidden transcripts that exist in the discourse that occur in the “offstage of the powerholder” that are not meant for some members of the “offstage of the powerholder”. This is evident in the fact that the president is portrayed facing forward and not facing the one he is with in the office. The president is not even communicating with his subordinate as if he does not consider him or recognise his presence in the “offstage of the powerholder” but expressing some hidden transcripts in the form of facial expressions such

as a smile and a focus gaze. The gestures on the president's face show that he is thinking of something but does not want to disclose it to the vice president. On the other hand the vice president is depicted standing behind the president with a serious face of determination looking down at the president. The cartoonist did not depict vice president talking but rather thinking that when the president moves he takes over. This is another example of 'hidden transcripts' that exist in the offstage of the "powerholder" that are not exposed to the other member of the "offstage space of the powerholder".

In conclusion Moalosi has succeeded in making a pictorial comment on the vice president's desire to become the next president. Furthermore, he was able to reflect or to bring to the "onstage" or the public domain (of the readers of the newspaper) the type of discourse that occurs in the "offstage of the powerholder". This is evident as he reflects that those in the "offstage of the powerholder" do not communicate their intentions to each other verbally but they communicate with their actions. Moalosi's editorial cartoon may be implying that those in the "offstage of the powerholder" do not always recognise each other as it should be the case. He does this by reflecting president Khama who is the major powerholder not recognising the presence of his immediate subordinate though they are in one space.

### 5.2.5. The deal between the Basarwa leader and the Botswana government



Figure 5.5: Selefu. Civil service job, Retrieved from *Mmegi* dated 22 January 2016

#### 5.2.5.1 Situating “the deal between the Basarwa leader and the Botswana government” cartoon

This editorial cartoon was done by Selefu for *Mmegi* in 2016. It is a social comment on the deal struck between the Basarwa<sup>33</sup> leader Roy Sesana and the Botswana government.

#### 5.2.5.2 Description of the deal between Basarwa leader and government cartoon

The composition of the cartoon shows the image of Sesana leaning forward and extending his hands to receive a bowl of food from an enormous hand labelled “government.” The hand is sticking out from the end of the sleeve-buttoned shirt and a pin-striped suit. The hand is vastly larger in proportion to the other figures in the cartoon. The bowl of food is labelled “civil service job”. The contents of the bowl are not clear, but appear to be pieces of food. Sesana is wearing a jacket and a tie. His face is old and twisted in what might be a smile, a grimace, or a sneer. He has one drooping eye-lid. On his head he is wearing his traditional Basarwa headband with cut horns. Behind this, there is a figure of a white man<sup>34</sup> who seems to be surprised/shocked/horrified by what is happening in front of him. Around

<sup>33</sup> The term “Basarwa” is Tswana and it refers to the San. They are the earliest inhabitants of the Kalahari (a desert in Botswana) and have always been part of Botswana society despite their nomadic historic nature.

<sup>34</sup> Facial features such as straight hair, thin lips and pointed nose give the impression that the cartoonist was striving to portray a white man.

the figure's arms are some gesture lines suggesting the movement of the hands towards and away from either the ears specifically, or the head. The figure is wearing a white t-shirt labelled "SI" which stands for Survival International. The cartoonist did not draw any other details in the background. Rather, he selected details that were enhancing the message sent by the cartoon and in the process omitting some details such as the lower part of the white man's body and what would have been a gigantic figure of the government, if drawn in proportion to the body. He also decided to crop Sesana's body showing only the upper body as well as the body of the figure giving Sesana the bowl of food, by showing only the hand.

### **5.2.5.3 Social and economic development comment made by "the deal between Basarwa leader and government" cartoon**

The Basarwa were living in a self-sufficient way in their ancestral land in Kalahari. They were hunter-gatherers. Their lifestyles and settlement patterns kept on changing as time went on to include arable, pastoral agricultural and other commercial activities which affected wildlife conservation and preservation (Mbao and Komboni 2010:60). According to Taylor (2003:225) the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) was established in 1961 by the British to protect the vegetation and animal and human inhabitants, and to provide sufficient land for use by residents. This Reserve includes vast areas that were/are the Basarwa ancestral land. Taylor (2003:215) argues that there is inequality that is surrounded by lack of democracy affecting the Basarwa. It implies that the treatment of Basarwa has always been controversial and their removal from CKGR by the government is given as an example. According to Mbao and Komboni (2010:60) this dilemma prompted the government to conduct a study investigating the situation in CKGR with the intention of providing information that will inform the decision on environmental protection and wildlife conservation as well as the social and economic development of the Baswara community. However they did not provide any further information regarding the study. They say the findings of the study reflected that human settlements were quickly developing into permanent, settled agricultural communities and that the residents had mostly abandoned their culture. The duo also mention that because the settlements had seemingly no potential for being economically viable, viable sites were to be identified outside CKGR and the Basarwa would be persuaded, but not forced, to move. The government adopted a policy that dictated that the social and economic development of human settlements in the

reserve be frozen (Mbao and Komboni 2010:60). Taylor (2003:225, 2005:7) states that in October 1986 the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Moutlakgola Ngwako, announced the government's decision to remove Basarwa communities from the CKGR. Furthermore he argues that about 2200 of the Basarwa people agreed to move because they wanted to take advantage of incentives such as free settlement, grazing land and compensation for loss of possessions.

According to Taylor (2003:225) the government put pressure on the Basarwa communities and the pressure was intensified in 1996. He says the Basarwa were harassed by the government for years and subsequently evicted from their ancestral land during 1997-2002. Taylor (2003:224) states that on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 2002 the government decided to stop services that were given to the Basarwa who remained in CKGR. This showed the growing effect and use of the bureaucracies by the government over the Basarwa. He also points out that the boreholes were closed by government officials who also threatened to burn their community huts. Taylor (2003:225) notes that the government's decision to stop water supplies and other services attracted the interest of other countries and that led to protests happening in London, Paris, Midrand and Milan. He explains that the protests were organised by a London-based Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), Survival International. Taylor also points out that the British House of Lords also questioned the treatment of the Basarwa in Botswana. This confirmed by Letsididi (2015:1) who reports that one of the House of Lords peers Lord Pearson of Rannoch whom he describes as a campaigner for the rights CKGR Basarwa has been raising questions regularly in the upper house of parliament. A remark by Taylor (2005:7) says NGOs were seen as the enemy by the government and they stopped providing food and water to those who remained in the CKGR.

After some time about 200 Basarwa returned to their ancestral land and ended up in miserable migration camps. In the new camps Basarwa were unable to hunt or gather therefore they relied on government handouts and support. Furthermore, there were no jobs, no grazing for the goats and cattle and alcoholism was common because residents have nothing to do. One of the activists says the government has the notion that the Basarwa were created to be underdogs and to be exploited. Taylor (2005:7) asserts that initially the government argued that the reason for the removal of the Basarwa from CKGR was to permit more effective wildlife conservation. He adds that this led to the critics

thinking that the Botswana government valued wild animals more than it valued the Basarwa. Subsequently the reason for the removals changed to stress that services could be provided in better way if the Basarwa were outside the CKGR (Taylor 2005:7; Marobela 2010:137). The Basarwa rejected the government's reasoning because there were speculations that the evictions were motivated by the government's intention to mine diamonds on Basarwa's ancestral land (Marobela 2010:137).

Pheage (2016:1) describes Roy Sesana as the face of Basarwa's struggle against the government of Botswana, a struggle that lasted for a number of years. He says Sesana is an outspoken leader who became prominent after he and others formed the First People of Kalahari (FPK) with the assistance of John Hardbattle. The organisation was meant to promote and protect Basarwa culture as they believed it was being attacked by government civil forces. Sesana's name became popular as time went on because of his courageous character and perseverance during this struggle. He was easily recognised by his people because he was always leading the protests (Pheage 2016:1).

At the time that the cartoon was created, the revered leader of Basarwa did something that had his people curious about what he is doing with the government. Some saw him as a sell-out. This came after Sesana made a deal with the government so that it supplied the CKGR with water. Furthermore he was employed as a community facilitator by the Government (Pheage 2016:1). The *Sunday Standard* (dated 18 January 2016) reported that Sesana would join the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development as a project officer. It also explained that Sesana would be based in Molapo, which is his place of birth and the largest settlement in CKGR. According to the newspaper, the said position would allow Sesana to take part in restoring essential services that were stopped by the government in 2002. The newspaper states that the government intended to assist the Basarwa in staying in the CKGR and to start and run a cultural tourism project in both Molapo and Mothomela. The *Sunday Standard* suggests that the idea excited Sesana as he believed some Basarwa must hunt for commercial purposes. Sesana received a mandate to mobilise Basarwa staying in CKGR to undertake tourism businesses. However some people still trust Sesana and believe he stands for what is good for the Basarwa living in CKGR. To fortify this, Pheage quotes Thitse who argues that Sesana was carrying out his duty of liberating Basarwa from their daily tussles. Thitse explains that Sesana consulted the Basarwa and met President Ian



Khama regarding their needs. He added that Sesana has the interest of the Basarwa at heart, therefore he needs to be given support and people must appreciate that at the time the government was willing to provide services to the people of CKGR. This suggested that the Basarwa were confused because the issue of Sesana's employment was not made clear to them (Phegae 2016:1).

Though it has some doubts, Survival International (SI), which is known for defending the rights of indigenous people globally, accepted the deal between Sesana and President Khama. According to Pheage (2016), one of the SI campaigners, Rachel Stenham, says it is good that now the government intends to work with the Basarwa after abusing them for many years. However she expressed the organisation's worry that the government may be making empty promises ahead of independence celebrations. Stenham argued that the government is ignoring the most crucial thing which is the court ruling that says all CKGR Basarwa have the right to go back to the CKGR. She wants to know when the government will give the Basarwa the right to hunt using sustainable methods and complains that the government only drills boreholes in tourist areas. Therefore the boreholes do not benefit residents of CKGR. However she also believes that Sesana will bring these issues to the attention of the president (Pheage 2016:1). Stenham's argument is in line with the one made by Arthur Albertson the ecologist (Winters 2014: 288). After doing some research he came up with a management plan that allows Basarwa to stay in CKGR. His research reflects that Basarwa have been living harmoniously with wild animals allowing the animals to increase in numbers. In Albertson's view, had the government implemented these strategies they would have made a positive impact in sustaining development and conservation. Albertson and Glen Williams the lawyer met Margaret Nasha who was the minister of Local Government to discuss the proposed plan and she was not prepared for the meeting. Later the minister presented it in a press briefing as a plan on how to use resources in CKGR. However the minister is accused of having missed the section which says "it acknowledges the presence of the people in the CKGR and empowers them to use their zones sustainably". Somehow this affirms Stenham's sentiments that the government is ignoring the fact that nothing is prohibiting the Basarwa from going back to the CKGR (Winters 2014:288).

One of the prominent people among the Basarwa who is sceptical about the employment of their leader is Jumanda Gakelebhone who is the activist and spokesperson of Basarwa.

Gakelebone worked with Sesana for a long time as an interpreter and advisor (Pheage 2016:1). One of the most important moments outlined by the 18<sup>th</sup> January 2016 *Sunday Standard* is that Gakelebone was Sesana's interpreter when he was giving his acceptance speech of the Right Livelihood Award in Sweden in 2005. He expressed his worry that Sesana as a public servant will have to adhere to the Public service Act (2016:1). It is argued in *Sunday Standard* article that Sesana, who was born around 1950, is too old to be hired by the government as the retirement age is 65. However the government needs him because he has credibility with residents. It also explains that Gakelebone would have been a potential candidate but was elected to be the New Xade's councillor during 2014 general elections.

#### **5.2.5.4 Power relations relating to the deal between Basarwa leader and government cartoon**

This narrative places Sesana as the indigenous-insider of the legitimate leader of the powerless. As the leader of the Basarwa (who are the powerless in this case) he spearheaded the establishment of FPK in the "offstage space of the powerless". The primary purpose of FPK was to protect and promote the culture of the powerless. As the leader of the powerless, Sesana was popular in the "offstage of the powerless" because he led the powerless during protests. However the powerless started doubting his loyalty when he started having agreements with the government as he had meetings in the "onstage" with the powerholder. In the "onstage of the powerholder" Sesana seems to be advancing the interests of the powerless and managed to convince the powerholder to provide the necessary services and developments. Some in the "offstage of the powerless," however, started labelling him as a sell-out because they did not expect him to make any agreement with the powerholder. The government as the powerholder managed to calm the leader of the powerless in the "onstage of the powerless" by employing him. As an employee of the powerholder Sesana now had to facilitate the provision of the powerholder's services to the powerless. Consequently, he was in a position that does not allow him to participate in resistance activities that the powerless may want to perform. This reflects that from the "offstage of the powerless" the powerholder had an agenda to calm the leader of Basarwa down by enticing him with a job opportunity and providing services to his people. Here the narrative reflects the use of reward power by the powerholder. The terms of employment

of Sesana were not clear to some of the powerless. His age did not allow him to be a government employee but it looks like the powerholder preferred him because of his referent power over the powerless. Nevertheless Sesana was glad that services are now being provided to the powerless and was willing to negotiate for more, such as the right to hunt for commercial purposes. Sesana was also willing to go to the “offstage of the powerless” and persuade the powerless to join the tourism business. His actions divided the powerless as some trusted him and some did not trust him. Sesana continued to meet the powerholder in the “onstage” and the powerholder was always willing to provide what the powerless needed. Survival International (SI), which is part of the powerless because it is in solidarity with Basarwa, accepted the deal between Sesana and the powerholder though it had its doubts, thinking that the powerholder was only trying to win the hearts of the powerless because the elections were close. SI decoded that some of the hidden transcripts of the powerholder is to ignore the judgement of the court that says Basarwa must go back to CKGR.

Selefu uses the figure of a white man, labelled SI, as a metonymy for the SI officials and possibly for other stakeholders such as lawyers, researchers and Basarwa community who are against and surprised by the deal done by Sesana and President Ian Khama’s government. The facial expression of the figure can be seen as the metonymy for different reactions expressed by those who do not support what the government and Sesana did. The enormous hand labelled government is a metonymy for government officials who are involved in making the employment of Sesana possible. Sesana is wearing a traditional head band with cut horns that act as a metonymy for his reduced power. His smile is definitely a metonymy for his appreciation of the offer. A bowl of food is used as a metonymy for the benefits or rewards that Sesana will be entitled to once he agrees to take the offer of the government.

In the cartoon above, the government giving Sesana a bowl of food is a metaphor for the government offering him something to help himself with and, to be specific, a job with a salary. The target of the metaphor is when the government is offering Sesana the post of a community facilitator and the source of the metaphor is when the government is giving him a bowl of food. The tension of the metaphor is that in the target the government offers Sesana a post and in the source is handing some food to him. What can be seen as the

ground of the metaphor is that in both the target and the source the government is giving something to Sesana. Sesana receiving a bowl of food is a metaphor for him accepting a job offer from the government. In this case Sesana accepting the job is the target and the source is when Sesana is extending his hands to receive the food. The tension of the metaphor is that in the target Sesana is accepting a job offered by the government and in the source he is accepting the food from the government. Sesana benefiting from the government is the ground of the metaphor.<sup>35</sup>

In this editorial cartoon Selefu comments on what is happening in the “onstage” as the powerholder, which is where the government (presented, significantly, in the standard British clothing of the pin-striped suit, thus pointing to colonial decision making still being used in Botswana, for example) meets Sesana the powerless. The bases of power that the cartoon puts at play in the “onstage” are legitimate power and reward power that the powerholder uses to put the powerless under control. He does this by depicting the government using its position of power and ability by offering Sesana the meal he desperately needs. The emphasis of the powerholder’s power is done by exaggerating the size of the hand that is used to represent the government.

As the cartoon reflects, Sesana came to the “onstage” space with dire hunger and hope to be helped by the powerholder, hence the cartoonist portrayed him with blunt horns. This emphasises that the powerless is harmless in the “onstage space”. In the “onstage of the powerless” Sesana wants to be provided with something that will satisfy his hunger. One can also argue that the cartoon implies that from the “offstage of the powerless” Sesana knew that he has to go to the “onstage” alone so he can benefit the way he wants. On the other hand the cartoon may be implying that the powerholder also gave it a thought in the “offstage of the powerholder” and concluded that the powerless must be given an offer he won’t refuse and that came in the form of food. The powerholder enters the onstage of the powerholder with the intension to provide something that will put the powerless under control. The cartoon shows that the powerless accepts the food with pleasure and that surprises other powerless members of the society who are in solidarity with Sesana. The

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<sup>35</sup> Although there may be no direct reference to this, the bowl of food could also metaphorically refer to the Biblical story in Genesis 25 where Esau sold his birth right to his brother Jacob for a bowl of lentils (also referred to as a ‘mess of pottage.’) In this sense the very small handout given to Sesana is not comparable to the large amount of esteem the Basarwa may have lost.

cartoonist emphasises the reaction of the powerless by the use of facial expression and gesture lines suggesting the movement of the hands to the head. They are able to see this because it happens in public or “onstage” as Selefu depicts it, happening right in front of the figure labelled SI. Therefore the discourse that occurs in this cartoon can be classified as ‘public transcripts’.

What is more amusing about the cartoon is that the cartoonist relates the deal between Sesana and the government to offering him the food he cannot resist. His face shows that he finds the food attractive and delicious that he seems unable to resist. The cartoonist also exaggerated some body features of the two figures. This is evident in the size of the heads and the hands of the two figures. Selefu also exaggerated the size of the hand that is giving Sesana the food, possibly to emphasise the importance of the government. Humour is also seen in the faces of the two figures especially the figure labelled SI which seems to be very surprised. He emphasised this by drawing the mouth open and some wavy lines on the sides of the arms. Furthermore Sesana’s ear and the other figure’s hands are distorted and simplified to make them look hilarious.

It can be concluded that this cartoon has successfully reflected and given the cartoonist’s opinion regarding the discourse that occurred between Sesana as the powerless and the government as the powerholder. The cartoonist reflects towards the “onstage” (the public who are reading the newspaper) that the government is silencing Sesana by giving him something to live on. He further reflects that those who were in favour of Sesana in the “offstage” of the powerless are not impressed by the deal between Sesana and the government. Therefore Selefu criticises the powerholder for using the “onstage” encounters with the powerless as an opportunity to silence the powerless from demanding certain developments by “bribing” the leaders of the powerless.

### 5.2.6 Khama Sesana cartoon



Figure 5.6: Selefu. Khama Sesana, Retrieved from *Mmegi* dated 25 January 2016.

#### 5.2.6.1. Situating “Khama Sesana” cartoon

The “Khama Sesana” editorial cartoon was also done by Selefu for *Mmegi* in 2016. The editorial cartoon is a follow-up social comment on the deal between Sesana and the government.

#### 5.2.6.2. Description of “Khama Sesana” cartoon

The same narrative that influenced the creation of the previous cartoon also influenced the cartoon above. In this cartoon there is an image of the president wearing blue trousers, a red shirt and grey sleeveless jacket. He is holding a saw with his right hand and the horns in his left hand. There is a text bubble pointing to his head which says “Su!” (Meaning “here they are”). In front of the president there is an image of Roy Sesana and Margarete Nasha (the minister of Local Government) shaking hands. Sesana is wearing black shoes, grey trousers, a blue shirt and a grey sleeveless jacket. He also has some San jewellery on his neck, spectacles and is wearing a San cap. Nasha is depicted wearing a pink shirt with a peach handbag on her shoulder. There is a text bubble coming from Nasha saying “Roy! O di shagile?” (Meaning “did you cut them?”). Behind the president there is a green sign board on which is written “CKGR.” Besides the signboard there are no other details in the background except the sand dunes that appear in the middle ground. The three figures are

in a happy mood wearing smiles. Selefu avoided including other people who are implicated in the story.

#### **5.2.6.3. Social and economic development comment made by “Khama Sesana” cartoon**

This cartoon also comments on the narrative that inspired the previous cartoon. However it focuses on the success of the government in calming the Basarwa leader.

#### **5.2.6.4. Power relations relating to “Khama Sesana” cartoon**

Considering the fact that the plot of the cartoon is in the land of Basarwa as it is labelled with a green sign indicating the CKGR, one can argue that Sesana is/was an indigenous-insider. As it is mentioned above he is part of the Basarwa tribe and the cartoonist was considering this fact about Sesana’s position when using his image as the focal area of the composition. Selefu show this by placing Sesana in the centre of the composition. The other two characters who are President Ian Khama and Nasha are external-outsiders as they are from outside the community of the Basarwa and specifically from the government. Thus the cartoonist did not centralise the figures but rather placed them on the sides of the character that seems to be the most important, namely the Sesana figure. He wanted Basarwa to remain the important part of the visual comment so he used Sesana’s position to bring the cartoon closer to the tribe. Looking at the fact that the dialogue that is shown in the picture is between the president and Nasha it can be argued that the image of Sesana was not necessary. However his position as the indigenous-insider led to him being the focal point of the composition. One can imagine how it would appear or the message it would send if the cartoon did include the image of Sesana.

Selefu uses Nasha as metonymy for government officials who are welcoming Sesana to the public service. The saw being held by the president is also a metonymy for the government officials being used by President Ian Khama to ensure that Sesana joins the government and is under control. The cartoonist uses the horns as a metonymy for Sesana’s power to battle government. Selefu used the image of the president as a metonymy for the government as he is the leader of the government and the artist chose him to avoid depicting all members of the government. Once again the artist’s use of metonymy in this composition helped him to make a pictorial comment without using many figures that would have been in the composition had he not used it.

A metaphor of the president using a saw to cut Sesana's horns is depicted in foreground of the composition. The president is shown holding a saw in one hand and holding Sesana's horns with the other hand. In this one the president, having dehorned Sesana, is the source, and the target is that the government has managed to put Sesana under control by employing him, thus making him subjected to be ruled by the Public Service Act. The ground of the metaphor is that the president has managed to put Sesana under control by reducing his power. What can be seen as the tension of the metaphor is that in the target the president put Sesana under control by employing him and in the source he dehorned him with a saw. The cartoonist used Nasha and Sesana who are all smiles shaking hands as a metaphor for the public service accepting Sesana. The target of the metaphor is that government officials are now working with the humble Sesana or he is part of them and the source is that Nasha and Sesana are shaking hands and smiling at each other. The tension of the metaphor is that in the target the tamed Sesana is joining the public service and in the source he is coming with no horns, smiling and shaking hands with the minister. The source of the metaphor is that in both the target and the source, Sesana and the minister are now being a team.

The cartoon shows how the powerholder interacts with the powerless in the "onstage space". The cartoon portrays President Ian Khama as the major powerholder, Margarett Nasha as the minor powerholder and Sesana as the powerless so the power model that is reflected by the picture is the unipolar power model. The three are depicted meeting at CKGR which according to the narrative is the "offstage of the powerless". The fact that the cartoonist depicted it as the meeting place of the powerless and the powerholder changes it from being the "offstage of the powerless" to being the "onstage". The cartoon shows the minor powerholder who, upon meeting the powerless in the "onstage," is surprised that the powerless has no horns. The depiction of Sesana without horns is an emphasis of his loss power. While the minor powerholder is still surprised that the powerless is so harmless, the major powerholder comes and tells her that he was the one who took his powers away. This is depicted by showing the minor powerholder surprised and asking Sesana if he has cut his horns and the major powerholder declaring them. The major powerholder is portrayed as someone who uses coercive power in the "onstage" as he is depicted as having cut Sesana's horns which is tantamount to reducing his power. It can be argued that the major



powerholder's authority to cut Sesana's horns is derived from legitimate power as the president. It can also be understood that the president is reducing the powerless' referent and expert power by cutting the horns. The cartoonist shows that the powerholder is using "civil servant" as a tool to lessen Sesana's power in the "onstage of the powerholder". In this power struggle, power is communicated downward as it is from President Ian Khama and the most powerful in the composition, to Sesana who is just an ordinary citizen and the less powerful. It can also be seen as 'power over' because the picture show that President Ian Khama has control over Sesana as he can ensure that he is less effective and harmless by dehorning him with a saw as it is shown in the cartoon.

To satirise the situation, Selefu puts the characters in a totally different situation whereby the minister meets Sesana in a desert and seems to be surprised that Sesana cut his horns. The minister is asking Sesana "*Roy o di shagile?*" which translates to "Roy! Did you cut them?" It is a statement that implies that Sesana has been dehorned. While the minister is still surprised the president comes with a saw showing the minister the horns and saying "*su*" which "here". He made it more amusing by using exaggeration of body proportions of the characters. The heads of the three figures are exaggerated.

Here Selefu is mocking Sesana for agreeing to take a job offered by the government and being silent about the grievances of Basarwa. Further he exposes to the public that there is lack of communication in the "offstage of the powerholder". Selefu seems to be saying if communication was well carried out in the "offstage of the powerholder" the minor power would have known about the major powerholder's intention to dehorn the powerless before they came to the "onstage". This reflects that the major powerholder does not inform the minor powerholders about his plans and actions and that the minor powerholders learn about the major powerholder's actions when they are already in the "onstage" or public domain. (A similar argument can be made that the Khama figure did not inform the minister of Local Government of his intention to dehorn the leading figure in the minister's area of concern. This suggests that even in the "offstage of the powerholder", the president does not confide in his ministers).

### 5.3 Summary

Stories in the narratives above show that most of the decisions that affect social development are taken in the “offstage of the powerholder” and not in the “onstage” as it is supposed to be the case. Some of these decisions hinder the expected developments and breed some form of the resistance and discourse in the “offstage of the powerless”. The discourses are often taken to the “onstage” by the cartoonist, where the powerless meets powerholder and this causes power play that is observed and brought to the “onstage” by the media and cartoonists. Most of the powerholding characters draw their legitimate power from their official positions and this evident in the stories that were narrated above and in the creation of cartoons. However other forms of power are also evident in the stories and the cartoons especially coercive which is usually reflected in the “onstage”. It is common that those who respond to power take the authority from their position and in most cases as internal-insiders. This seems to have been observed by the cartoonist as they portray scenarios that reflect it. The use of exaggeration to satirise the characters dominates in the cartoons discussed. Metonymy is used to simplify compositions of cartoons so that they do not include unnecessary details that would not add value to the composition. Use of metaphor is common and it is highly utilised to make the cartoons interesting.

The next chapter summarises the contents of this research project. It also gives the conclusion and the findings of this study. Furthermore it gives recommendations regarding the creation of editorial cartoons using Scott’s model and the application of other important tools such as metaphor, metonymy and satire.

## **CHAPTER 6**

Chapter six concludes the study. It offers a summary of the study, the conclusions reached and the findings made, and proceeds to make recommendations with regard to the analysis of pictorial commentary on social and economic development in Botswana as these are found in selected cartoons. Such recommendations particularly refer to the usefulness of the Scott model on power negotiation for such an analysis. It points out the shortfalls in the study, and recommends further developments.

### **6.1 Summary**

The economy of Botswana depends mostly on natural resources and has a selective social development which is linked to the political elite. Though it has a high rate of unemployment and economic inequality it is amongst the best welfare countries in Africa. As the country continues to develop the press also grew significantly though there are signs of a lack of freedom of the press. There are reports that some journalists and media workers have been arrested and threatened for what they have reported on. The major descent in freedom of media occurred during President Ian Khama's presidency. As the media grew, political cartoons also became popular. There is evidence that Botswanan cartoonists also are not free to make visual commentary as they get threats and sometimes get arrested forcing them to devise means of getting their work known by the public. Thus this study focuses on cartoons that address social and economic development in Botswana. It demonstrates the applicability of Scott's theory of offstage and onstage transcripts to the analysis of editorial cartoons addressing social and economic development in Botswana. The study defines social development as government policies and programmes concerned with the social aspect of development. However, literature suggests the interwoven nature of social development with economic development, and the tensions that exist if the one is used to attempt to enhance the other.

Editorial cartoons are defined as pictorial commentaries using caricature and humour which, in present day, are used for making pictorial critique through the use of social comedy. There are key elements that the cartoonist employs in the creation of editorial cartoonists such as: visual metaphor, metonymy, satire, exaggeration and distortion. Visual metaphor is defined as when an image of an object is replaced with the image of something it resembles

in some way. A metaphor has a target (that is, what is to be described) and a source (which is that which is being used to describe the target) as well as its ground (or what is shared between the source and the target) and tension (which refers to that which differs between the source and the target). Metonymy in simple terms is defined as when one thing is used to represent a large group of things. Satire is the use of ridicule, irony or sarcasm to lampoon something or someone. Cartoonists use it as a weapon to attack the failings, particularly of those in power positions.

Scott's theory is the theoretical framework used in this study to engage with power differences. This theory metaphorically divides the society into two spaces labelled the "offstage of the power holder" and the "offstage of the powerless". What occurs in these spaces is called the 'hidden transcripts'. They can be seen as expressions that are done without the fear of the reaction of the other because they take place when the one doing them is free or unconstrained by the presence of representatives from the other 'stage' – the transcripts capture what goes on that needs to be 'hidden' from the other power space. Thus in the offstage spaces the discussions are about the use or abuse of power, but undertaken in a safe environment. They include gestures and other expressions that are not verbal or textual.

When the powerholder and the powerless meet, they do so in an onstage space. Each approaches the "onstage space" from their own, particular, offstage space. Thus all that occurs in the onstage space is negotiated around the implementation of power decisions. The greater the power differences, the less actual and 'honest' commentary takes place. In other words, the public transcripts that capture what is discussed in such a situation are not a true reflection of what is actually felt about the other. Alternatively, the smaller the difference, the greater the opportunity to safely critique the other, and therefore the more honest and accurate the public transcripts are. In a democratic country like Botswana one would expect to find no or little "offstage space" and more "onstage space" when underpinning the setup with Scott's theory, but this is not the case.

This dissertation argues that one of the roles of the editorial cartoonist is to place the hidden transcripts of the powerless into the public transcript (of newspapers, for example) present in the shared onstage space, as a form of critique of the decisions made in the

“offstage of the powerholder”, and then attempted to be implemented in the “onstage of the powerless”. The dissertation engages with and analyses a number of Botswanan cartoons that make comment on social and economic development issues introduced into the Botswanan domain through the lens of the power differences, and then also through the mechanisms of the cartooning.

## **6.2 Findings**

Scott’s model is one of the important models that can be used to analyse cartoons because it opens up what occurs in the “offstage of the powerholder”, the “onstage of the powerholder” the “onstage of the powerless” and the offstage of the powerless. Therefore the model reflects the ‘hidden transcripts’ of the powerholder as well as the ‘hidden transcripts’ of the powerless. Furthermore it reflects the both the public transcripts of the power and the powerholder as it exposes what occurs in the “onstage spaces”. The role played by the cartoonist is to bring the cartoon to the public or to turn it into a public transcript. The cartoonist reveals the contradictions that occur between the powerholder and the powerless. The model reflects what is said or done by whom and the reasons for those actions. The study also reflects that Scott’s model can also be used successfully together with metaphor, metonymy and satire as the three enhance the meaning relayed by through the use of Scott’s model. The ground and the tension of the metaphor become useful in highlighting the tensions between the powerholder and the powerless in the onstage space. In this contradiction the powerless often agree with the metaphor saying that’s what it looks like while the powerholder disagrees and argue that it is not like that. Satire that is usually achieved by the use of metonymy and caricature or distortion. Caricature helps to make metonymic connections and enhances the comment or criticism made by the cartoonist. The triangulation of cartoon, Scott’s model and social and economic development as well the observation of metaphor, metonymy and satire offers interesting theoretical exploration of editorial cartoons and also enrich the model.

### **6.3 Shortfalls**

The shortfalls of the study include the fact that only Botswana editorial cartoons that were created during the era of President Khama as the president of Botswana were selected for the study. The study sampled only six editorial cartoons therefore the findings of the study may be different if more cartoons are used for the same purpose. Furthermore the analysis or rather the observation and interpretation of cartoons was not dealt with thoroughly as the study uses Scott's theory as the main theoretical framework supported by the use of metaphor, metonymy and satire thus omitting the observation of other important aspects such as art elements and principles. There was lack of prior studies as Scott's theory has never been applied to the analysis of editorial cartoons in Botswana therefore there was little information previous studies that was used as the basis of the study.

### **6.4 Recommendations**

It is evident in the analysis of Botswana editorial cartoons done in chapter 5 of this study that Scott's theory of hidden transcripts is applicable and is a useful tool that can be used to analyse editorial cartoons of Botswana. Therefore it is quite obvious that the same theory can be used as one of the principles to create a composition of a cartoon, to locate the characters and to ensure that the message is more elaborate and clear. This will assist cartoonist to easily create compositions that reflect and allow the cartoonist to comment on what occurred in both the "offstage of the oppressed", the "onstage" and the "offstage of the oppressed". This theory will be handy to the cartoonist in terms of boosting their creativity as it will require though not forcefully the artist to address visually details of the theory such as 'hidden transcripts' as they were in some examples of the cartoons analysed in chapter 5 mostly evident in facial expressions and body postures. However it is still necessary to consider other known properties and guidelines that are used to create an editorial cartoon such as: exaggeration and distortion as they were used to satirise the president and other characters, visual metaphor as well as textual metaphor to emphasise the message, metonymy to simplify representation of objects and characters as well as to reduce the number of details in a composition, discourse with capital "D" and discourse with small "d" to determine what is being acted out and acceptable as well as what is being said and how is it said, basis of power to understand where the power was derived from in

the narrative and how it can be portrayed in the cartoon, models of power for the purpose of understanding who must be created as the powerholder and who must be created as the powerless, the direction of the communication of power to figure out who is communicating power and who is in the receiving end as well as if it is power to or to power over to determine if its mere communication of power or does it have an element of oppression. All these are proven to be critical principles to be considered in the creation of an editorial cartoon and it has been clearly proven beyond reasonable doubt that all of them can be harmoniously incorporated in the creation of one composition and be used to create a more interesting composition with a stronger message. With the use of these guidelines Botswana editorial cartoonists with their visual commentary will reflect social development and the era of President Ian Khama more effectively.

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