Christina Haritos

COLONIAL MEMORIES AND POST-COLONIAL SILENCES

The Herero and Nama Genocide in German and Namibian Journalism

[transcript] Critical Studies in Media and Communication

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1 Introduction: Remembering (and forgetting) colonial genocide

In May 2021, the German and Namibian governments announced that they had reached an agreement on the Herero[1] and Nama genocide. For over six years, both nations had been negotiating events that took place between 1904 and 1908 in German South West Africa, or present-day Namibia. In a statement released by the German Foreign Ministry, the former foreign minister Heiko Maas declared, "We will now officially describe these events as what they are from today's perspective: a genocide." (Auswärtiges Amt, 2021). He also mentioned that Germany would officially apologize in the Namibian National Assembly and pay 1.1 billion euros as voluntary compensation to Namibia for the genocide.

The agreement between the German and Namibian governments came in the wake of growing awareness of and reparative demands for colonial crimes committed during the early 20th century. At the heart of these debates lies a fundamental question: Who can or cannot determine what we know about the past? This question has been amplified through protest movements such as Rhodes Must Fall or Black Lives Matter and addressed in actions such as the renaming of streets or restitution of cultural artifacts (Bosch, 2017; Jethro & Merrill, 2023; Rigney, 2022; Shigwedha, 2023). At first glance, the German-Namibian declaration of 2021 appears in line with many of these previous actions and debates: Here is a formerly colonizing nation finally acknowledging wrongdoings that occurred during its colonial past. At least, that's how Heiko Maas portrayed it in his statement above.

Nevertheless, the 2021 declaration was largely renounced by the Herero and Nama communities. Some of the main points of criticism were that the German government exclusively negotiated with representatives selected by the Namibian government and did not include legally binding reparations (Chiefs' Assembly on Genocide [Okandjoze Declaration], 2023). The widespread criticism following the announcement of the agreement in Namibia has led to an impasse on Germany's "gesture of recognition" (Auswär-

1 The terms Herero and Ovaherero are both used in the research and in journalistic reporting. The prefix "Ova" denotes plurality in the Otjiherero language. In the following, I will be using the term "Herero" and using the suffix -s to denote plurality, if necessary.

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tiges Amt, 2021): At the time of this writing, the 2021 agreement has not yet been officially signed and, therefore, has not yet been enacted. Instead, both nations are continuing to negotiate. In 2023, special rapporteurs from the United Nations criticized the lack of direct participation by the Herero and Nama in the negotiations as well as the lack of "effective reparative measures […] including an unqualified recognition of the genocide" (Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence et al., 2023, p. 1). Coming to terms with the colonial past seems as far away as ever.

The 2021 joint declaration points to blind spots that extend well beyond the German-Namibian negotiations. To begin, much of the political, academic and cultural debate on the recognition of German colonialism has focused on actions that Germany is or is not willing to take. In the words of the literature and memory scholar Sakiru Adebayo:

> "Most research grants and sponsored academic projects in the postcolonial memory field are channeled into how Europe needs to deal with looted artifacts and how it needs to decolonize its museums. While these conversations are very important and should continue to be had, they still position the colonial powers as the center of analysis and, as a result, play into the intransient violence of erasing colonial subjects." (Adebayo, 2023, p. 9)

The erasure of colonial subjects is not merely a question of ongoing epistemic injustice; concentrating primarily on the former colonizer also leads to a fundamentally short-sighted research perspective. From this point of view, the 2021 joint declaration can be presented as groundbreaking and novel.

Maas' statement is not the first time the German government has officially recognized the events of 1904–1908 or even offered compensation for colonial crimes. Following a German development minister's unofficial apology in 2004, the German and Namibian governments initiated a "Namibian-German Special Initiative Program" that provided 20 million euros for "communities that had suffered during the German colonial period" (National Planning Commission, n.d., p. 1). In 2015, the former president of the German Bundestag, Norbert Lammert, wrote a guest article recognizing the events of 1904–1908 as genocide (*Zeit*, 09.07.15), a stance that was officially confirmed by the German government in a press conference the following day (Bürger, 2017, p. 10). From this perspective, the 2021 agreement is part of a much longer pattern of interactions between Germany and Namibia that cannot be grasped by research that concentrates primarily on Germany's (re-)discovery of the genocide.

Moreover, the negotiations on the Herero and Nama genocide also point to a second blind spot. Much of the previous literature on traumatic memory is overwhelmingly focused on the Holocaust and has often followed the presumption that the perspectives of genocide victims can, at least in theory, be recovered and brought to public attention (A. Assmann, 2018b; Frosh & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 3; Kansteiner, 2004). This lens has also shaped the confrontation with colonial crimes, for instance through the establishment of truth and reconciliation commissions after independence (F. C. Ross, 2003). Yet, the Herero and Nama genocide complicates some of these underlying presumptions. There are no more living witnesses to the genocide, and much of the recorded knowledge of

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what occurred between 1904 and 1908 was collected and documented by former colonizers. The question of memorialization now fundamentally becomes a question of mediatization: Who can speak for and about victims who are no longer alive? Nowhere does this tension become more clear than in a question asked during oral interviews with descendants of Herero genocide survivors: "Can you tell us about your own family, not something you have heard on the radio?" (Krishnamurthy & Tjiramanga, 2021, p. 24). This question shows that the genocide has moved from the realm of oral, or "communicative," memory to the broader realm of "cultural" memory, defined through the collective circulation of the past through symbolic references that are no longer bound to the lived experiences of individuals (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, p. 120).

The construction of cultural memory in the absence of living witnesses is becoming ever more relevant in memory literature as the number of Holocaust survivors declines (cf. A. Assmann, 2018b; Zandberg, 2010). At the same time, the Herero and Nama genocide adds a post-colonial[2] power dimension to the process of mediated memorialization: Not only are there no more living witnesses, but indigenous witnesses were actively effaced from the historical record (Brunner, 2020, p. 13; Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 19; Spivak, 1988, p. 280). Given this imbalance, how can the past be constructed in ways that challenge existing power and knowledge constructions? Answering this question requires looking at the mediated spaces that determine where colonialism is remembered.

In recent years, there has been a surge of research literature exploring the relationship between memory and journalism (Hajek et al., 2016; Meyers et al., 2011; Pentzold & Lohmeier, 2022; Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014a). This research has shown that journalism is an essential institution for the preservation and proliferation of cultural memory, ritually reactivating past events for present audiences (Pentzold et al., 2022, p. 5). Moreover, prior studies have shown that recurrences to the past are an integral part of the practices by which journalism produces "reality" for its audience (Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014b, p. 1). Journalism therefore not only preserves but also continuously reshapes the past to fit present needs, desires and interests (Hömberg, 2012). Hence, journalism is a crucial medium for understanding how the Herero and Nama genocide is currently being (re-)constructed amid ongoing reparations negotiations in the present. However, much of the literature on memory and journalism has often focused on broadly commemorated events within defined national boundaries. To address this gap, it is necessary to expand previous research in communication and memory studies through a postcolonial theoretical lens. This can put a spotlight on moments that have not previously been at the center of public commemorations, such as the Herero and Nama genocide, while also considering how these memories move and are shaped between formerly colonized and colonizing nations. This research perspective also adds vital nuance to previous theoretical understandings of journalism and memory.

In previous research, journalistic coverage has often been equated with the presence of memory. By extension, a lack of journalistic coverage has often been equated with for-

2 In the following, a hyphen between post and colonial indicates that while the physical experience of colonial rule has ended, colonial patterns of exploitation and knowledge production continue to shape reality (cf. Wolff, 2021, p. 14). When referring to postcolonialism as a field of scholarship, no hyphen is used.

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getting (Kitch, 2018, pp. 179–180). This dissertation aims to challenge this core principle by going beyond the question of *whether* journalism reports on colonial genocide to ask *who* can make effective demands through memory production in journalism. Multiple studies have shown increased German journalistic coverage of the genocide over the past few decades, partially because of the ongoing German-Namibian genocide negotiations (Rausch, 2023b; Robel, 2013; Wolff, 2021). In this sense, the concept of "colonial amnesia" to describe Germany's current relationship to its colonial past does not quite fit (Bürger & Rausch, 2022). Rather than viewing the memorialization of German colonialism as a question of the absence/presence of knowledge, it is necessary to go deeper to ask how (post-)colonial knowledge patterns continue to normalize colonial perspectives in memory production.

Instead of amnesia, Ann Laura Stoler has suggested the concept "colonial aphasia" to describe the continuous disconnection between colonial pasts and the present, a process of memories "rendered irretrievable, made available, and again displaced" (Stoler, 2016, p. 12). This concept builds on a broader trend in memory studies away from broadly commemorated events towards the gray area between remembering and forgetting (A. Assmann, 2017; Hoskins, 2022; M. H. Ross, 2018). In this perspective, German and Namibian audiences are not completely unaware of the 1904–1908 genocide; however, the genocide has frequently been constructed in ways that make reparations unthinkable. For instance, in both Germany and Namibia, German colonizers are commemorated in monuments and street names that interpret the genocide as a successful war (Niezen, 2017; Zeller, 2016b, 2018). Merely removing the physical traces of these monuments does not remove their residue in cultural knowledge production. Memory scholar Astrid Erll has pointed out that these "implicit memories" can shape "stereotypes […] which are usually not explicitly known or addressed but […] shape perception and action in new situations." (Erll, 2022, p. 1)

Obviously, the search for "implicit" or "aphasic" memories poses concrete epistemological and methodological questions. How can the researcher look for potentially implicit (post-)colonial structures in journalistic texts? The concepts above offer a first clue: Rather than focusing on nonexistence, they ask how connections between the past and the present make alternative versions of memory (im-)possible. This centers on the actions, practices and performances that normalize certain perspectives in the retelling of the past. Communication studies offers a crucial lens into this process by showing how journalism produces, organizes and hierarchizes "true" knowledge in its coverage. Linking this research perspective with memory studies can provide useful insights into the connection between past knowledge and present power.

In addition, through the lens of postcolonial studies, this dissertation considers the memory construction of the Herero and Nama genocide as inherently entangled between former colonies and colonizers. Conrad and Randeria (2002) emphasize that (post-)colonial knowledge and power production is part of a relational process between former colonies and colonizers, even if this has historically not taken place on equal footing. Merely viewing one perspective does not provide the full picture in a postcolonial world. The Herero and Nama genocide is a memory that impacts both Germany and Namibia, as evidenced by the 2021 agreement. It is vital to view both perspectives together to understand how the genocide is strategically being constructed in journalism

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today. An entangled research lens also offers insights into the blind spots and restrictions that each perspective entails. Continuing to follow a national framework, as much of the prior research has done, can continue to entrench these blind spots. With this research perspective, my goal is not to compare how journalism in Germany and Namibia reports but instead to show how knowledge and power are produced and challenged through journalism between both nations. This can also show how the national boundaries of memory construction continue to be shaped and questioned by journalism. Therefore, the following chapters aim to show which arguments, sources and speakers can become visible in both German and Namibian journalism – and which cannot.

An analysis of entangled blind spots and silences in memory production must also consider the epistemological limitations at the core of this dissertation. I am a German researcher analyzing the Herero and Nama genocide at a German university, part of a long line of German academics who have published on the genocide over the past 120 years. This position both enables and limits my research perspective, as I will reflect at various points throughout this dissertation.

Research questions and dissertation structure

Given the research perspectives and interests outlined above, this dissertation asks the following overarching question: *How do German and Namibian journalism construct the Herero and Nama genocide as an object of cultural memory from 2015 until the present?* This research question broadly traces the time frame when the genocide negotiations between Germany and Namibia were covered in journalism, from 2015 until 2021.

The following sub-questions specify this broad research question by analyzing aspects of journalism's construction of cultural memory on the genocide:

- How does journalism delimit what can be said about the events of 1904–1908 in its coverage?
- How does this journalistic construction of knowledge shape who can speak for the interests of Herero and Nama individuals and communities in the present?
- Finally, how do these representative structures in journalistic memory production (de-)legitimize power relations between Germany and Namibia today?

The questions above aim to shed light on the mnemonic practices and strategies by which journalism produces knowledge about colonial genocide and, in so doing, reinforces or subverts existing power structures between Germany and Namibia. These questions will continue to be refined through theoretical and research literature in the following chapters.

For this, chapter 2 first discusses the Herero and Nama genocide as a historical event. It delves into the current historical literature to contextualize my research object. Then, it explores how the events of 1904–1908 have been commemorated within Germany and Namibia over the past 120 years. This research, and the gaps that result from previous disciplinary approaches to the genocide, forms the background for my ensuing theoretical chapters.

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Chapter 3 then introduces key terms from memory studies, specifically the idea of "cultural memory" by A. Assmann and Assmann (1994). This concept is useful for my research interest because it points to the mediated structures in which memory becomes a motivator for collective action or, alternatively, inaction. Using cultural memory as a springboard, I show how memory studies has often implicitly conceptualized the role of journalism in its key terms and concepts. Then, drawing on approaches from cultural and communication studies, I show how journalism shapes cultural memory through the circulation of knowledge between producers and audiences.

Chapter four builds on this theoretical groundwork to connect ideas of silence by Spivak (1988) with conceptualizations of 4 memory and forgetting. Spivak's work is particularly useful for uncovering the post-colonial power structures that silence indigenous voices in journalism. Rather than viewing silence as the inability to speak, Spivak instead conceptualizes silence as an inability to be heard – thereby placing a spotlight on the mediated structures that shape expectations and enable certain individuals to become legitimate representatives for indigenous interests (Spivak, 1996b, p. 292). To understand how this works in journalism, the chapter connects to the idea of "cultural citizenship" to show how journalism's production of the past is used to produce and hierarchize distinctions of belonging. This concept is helpful because it is used in both European and African communication studies (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014; Nyamnjoh, 2015). This enables me to draw out the colonial basis of journalistic memory production. With this background, I then propose a framework of mnemonic practices and analytical questions that will guide my methodological implementation.

The following chapter 5 outlines how I will answer my research questions using the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA). I begin by reflecting on CDA's use within communication studies and outlining its possibilities in uncovering (post-)colonial power structures in journalistic reporting. I also introduce my research material, which consists of four German newspapers, four Namibian newspapers, one German news magazine as well as one Namibian radio broadcaster and background conversations with Namibian journalists. Newspapers have been selected as the primary source for this dissertation due to previous research literature that has suggested that this medium has been important in shaping the discussion on the Herero and Nama genocide (Förster, 2010; Kößler & Melber, 2015, p. 14; Robel, 2013; Wolff, 2021). In my methodology chapter, I discuss this selection process and my material in more detail while also outlining the challenges of material collection and analysis.

The following chapters 6, 7 and 8 then provide an insight into my results and are guided by the research questions outlined above. Chapter 6 begins by outlining the formal structure of the memory discourse in German and Namibian journalism, focusing specifically on the timeline, rubrics, authors and topics of coverage. These results are then the basis for my ensuing in-depth analysis, which deconstructs the patterns of representation through which journalism produces the Herero and Nama genocide as an object of memory. Chapter 7 considers how mnemonic practices of remediation and connections to other memories in journalism shape the Herero and Nama genocide as a past event. Then, chapter 8 analyzes how these strategies shape the position from which various speakers can make demands for the past. The final chapter 9 connects these results back to my theoretical framework and discusses how my findings add to the understand-

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ing of journalism as an institution of (post-)colonial knowledge production. Lastly, the chapter also discusses the limitations of this dissertation and makes suggestions for future research.

It is important to note that this dissertation builds on work that was begun during my master's thesis (Haritos, 2019). The results of my master's thesis were published in the Journal of Global Communication (Haritos, 2021a) and the Journal of Namibian Studies (Haritos, 2021b). Aspects of this dissertation have also been published in *Forum Wissenschaft* (Haritos, 2023). These results will be considered and cited at various points in this dissertation. Given the time and material constraints of a master's thesis, I was only able to scratch the surface of a very complex topic, especially with my Namibian material. This dissertation builds on the research interest of my master's thesis while adding significant theoretical and material depth. This depth was also enabled by a six-week research trip to Namibia as well as a two-week research trip to the Basler Afrika Bibliographien in Basel. In this way, the following dissertation adds to the previous research literature on the Herero and Nama genocide and highlights the necessity of research beyond national boundaries to uncover the power structures underlying (post-)colonial memory production.

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2 Discursive context: The Herero and Nama genocide

What is the Herero and Nama genocide, and how has it been commemorated over the past 120 years? The following chapters draw on historical, ethnological and Africanist research to describe the events of 1904–1908 and their contested aftermath. In this way, I include a variety of discursive levels of knowledge production, from academia to literature. Rather than separating each of these areas, I show how they have been intertwined in the construction of knowledge about the Herero and Nama genocide. The first chapter 2.1 provides a brief overview of the events that occurred between 1904 and 1908 in German South-West Africa. Chapter 2.2 then traces how these events have been produced as objects of commemoration and historicization in Germany and Namibia. At the end of this chapter, I also consider what communication studies can add to the previous research literature. This will be the foundation for the theoretical concepts discussed in chapter 3.

2.1 Historical overview: German South-West Africa, 1904–1908

To understand the events that took place between 1904 and 1908 in German South West Africa (GSWA), it is first necessary to sketch the outlines of German colonialism. GSWA became the first German colonial "protectorate" in 1884, following the purchase of land by the German tobacco merchant Adolf Lüderitz (Conrad, 2016, p. 29). Yet, colonial imaginations long predated Germany's physical colonial empire, and visions of colonial discovery and adventure were an established part of Germany's cultural landscape well before the physical colonial encounter (Conrad, 2016, p. 19). In the words of Ciarlo (2011, p. 12): "In the world of text, 'the Colonies' posed an imaginative space onto which new social orders, fantasies of racial superiority, or desires for gender emancipation could be projected." This "imaginative space" often shaped expectations of colonialism in the metropole, which is important for understanding the development of events in GSWA.

GSWA stands out among German colonies because it was the only settler colony in the German empire. To this day, Namibia is the only former German colony with a German-speaking minority population (Conrad, 2016, p. 29). This added a source of conflict to the already-volatile conditions within the colony: Rather than merely obtaining fast wealth,

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a settler population seeks to permanently change the balance of power by placing themselves as the apex of a new social hierarchy that, crucially, places indigenous populations at the bottom rung (Mamdani, 2020). Interestingly, although German settlers are often imagined as farmers, an image conjured up by colonial ideals, this description only applied to 10% of the German settler population in the early 20th century (Häussler, 2018, p. 46). Instead, most German settlers were civil servants, soldiers, workers and tradesmen. The settler community was inherently dependent on colonial structures to survive in the newly established colony, contradicting colonial ideals of self-determination and frequently leading to tensions between the settler community and the colonial metropole (Häussler, 2018, p. 47).

Häussler (2018) points out that this precarious societal position meant that interactions between settlers, the colonial state and indigenous populations were often shaped by fear. This environment of fear was stoked by German-language newspapers in the colony, which often focused on (real or imagined) threats that the indigenous community posed to the settler community and the lack of support the settlers received from the metropole (Häussler, 2018, p. 33). For example, just a few days before the outbreak of the colonial war in January 1904, the *Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung* published an editorial entitled "On the current situation" ("*Zur augenblicklichen Lage*"), where the policies of the colonial governor, Theodor Leutwein, were criticized as too lenient towards the Herero and thus posing a threat to the German-speaking population (Häussler, 2018, p. 41).

Violence was omnipresent in daily settler life and foundational to the power position in which German settlers saw themselves. Any attempt of the German colonial state to curb this power was viewed as a direct encroachment of settler power (Häussler, 2018, p. 50). This omnipresence of violence is also visible in many of the testimonies of descendants of genocide survivors. Rather than a single event that began the war, many stories begin with individual skirmishes and deaths that took place in certain communities (Erichsen, 2008, p. 50; Krishnamurthy & Tjiramanga, 2021, p. 85). Some researchers have suggested that the war goes back to the "aggressive, erratic behavior" of a colonial officer named Zürn in Okahandja, a stronghold of the Herero (Häussler, 2018, p. 70, transl. CH; cf. Zimmerer, 2016b, p. 47). Samuel Maharero, the Paramount Chief of the Herero, apparently called the war *Ovita Ovita Zürn*, or Zürn's war (Erichsen, 2008, p. 47).

Nevertheless, the beginning of the colonial war with the Herero is typically pinpointed on January 12, 1904, when Herero attacked and murdered (overwhelmingly male German) settlers following a declaration of war by Samuel Maharero (cf. Häussler, 2018, p. 72; Zimmerer, 2016b, p. 47). The events of January 12 threw a match into the gasoline of fear in the settler community and ignited public debate in Germany through the reporting of German journalists and correspondents (Methfessel, 2019, p. 242). Social democratic and left-leaning newspapers, especially the Social Democratic-aligned *Vorwärts*, initially criticized the actions of German colonial settlers and soldiers, accusing them of brutality towards the indigenous communities (Methfessel, 2019, p. 269). These critiques were often based on the eyewitness testimonies of German-speaking missionaries. The perspectives of Herero individuals were almost never heard in German newspaper accounts, and most debate in the articles took place between different German representatives such as missionaries, colonial officials, settlers and

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politicians. In the pro-colonial press, there was often a focus on the atrocities of the Herero, who were described in childlike or animalistic terms and shown as a menace to the German-speaking population (Methfessel, 2019, pp. 270–271). Yet, despite these characterizations, most newspapers continued to downplay the war by referring to the actions of German soldiers in terms of punishment or as "operations" or "expeditions" (Zeigerer, 2016, p. 44). Rather than a military conflict, the colonial war was shown as a meeting of the "races" and as a juxtaposition of un/civilized groups (Zeigerer, 2016, p. 83).

In this context, the governor of GSWA, Theodor Leutwein, was forbidden from seeking peace negotiations without the explicit approval of the Kaiser (Zimmerer, 2016b, p. 49). A few months later, Lothar von Trotha was given command of the German colonial troops with the goal of definitively ending the war (Häussler, 2018, p. 105). Von Trotha explicitly sought to achieve this goal through extreme violence, aligning himself with some of the positions already held in the settler community (Häussler, 2018, p. 124). Von Trotha's assumption of command was also an attempt to bring the war closer to the standards of European warfare, specifically away from smaller skirmishes and towards a decisive battle (Häussler, 2018, p. 156). On August 11, 1904, both sides met at the Waterberg (Ohamakari), offering an opportunity for this decisive battle. Yet, the Battle of Waterberg did not quite bring the conclusive end to the war, even as it led to a second phase in the war. After the battle, large portions of the Herero fled into the Omaheke desert with German soldiers in pursuit (Häussler, 2018, p. 160). This stage of the war is characterized by "many small combat operations such as raids or ambushes," and many Herero were indiscriminately killed by German colonial soldiers or died of dehydration and starvation in the desert (Häussler, 2018, p. 190, transl. CH).

On October 2, 1904, von Trotha issued an order entitled "Call to the Herero people," which ordered the Herero community to leave the colony. In the proclamation, von Trotha threatens that if the Herero do not leave, "I will force them with the *Groot Rohr*. Inside German boundaries, any Herero with and without a rifle, with and without cattle, will be executed, I will no longer take women and children, [I will] drive them back to their people or fire on them." (Häussler, 2018, p. 190, transl. CH) In this proclamation, von Trotha's use of the word "*Groot Rohr*," for which there is no direct translation, stands out. Dunker (2018, p. 34) writes that while "*Groot*" is Dutch/Afrikaans for "big," there is no equivalent Dutch translation for "Rohr." Instead, this word simply means "pipe" in German. This combination of words would not have been familiar to the audience and instead represented a linguistic invention by von Trotha. Dunker (2018, p. 34) suggests that this is reflective of German popular literature at the time, which often used appropriated and imagined language to speak to indigenous populations. This word shows how imaginations of colonialism collided with the expression of power in the colonial encounter.

Von Trotha's proclamation was widely debated in German newspapers at the time (Zeigerer, 2016, p. 70). Interestingly, the actions at the Waterberg two months earlier had not drawn widespread attention – in fact, the main point of critique had been that the battle strategy failed and that part of the enemy had been able to flee (Methfessel, 2019, p. 277). Von Trotha's proclamation is a testament to an escalation of violence that had reached genocidal levels in the colony, which made such an order thinkable and sayable.

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The order was later withdrawn by Kaiser Wilhelm II. due to widespread criticism in Germany; however, colonial troops continued to attack Herero settlements and murder Hereros (Kreienbaum, 2019, p. 89).

At the end of 1904, the Nama, originally aligned with the German colonial forces, also began fighting against the German colonial forces. Kaptein Hendrik Witbooi's decision to begin fighting was linked to sentiments in the German settler community, made explicit through newspaper articles, that demanded the complete subjugation and disarmament of all indigenous communities (Methfessel, 2019, pp. 242–243; Zeigerer, 2016, p. 63). Again, von Trotha issued a proclamation to the Nama, calling on them to surrender by referencing the plight of the Herero: "I ask you, where are the Herero people today, where are their chiefs?" (Zimmerer, 2016b, p. 54, transl. CH) However, von Trotha's aims of swiftly ending the war were dashed, and he returned to Germany in 1905. Guerrilla warfare between various Nama communities and German colonial forces lasted until March 31, 1907 (Zimmerer, 2016b, p. 60).

Following the withdrawal of von Trotha's proclamations, German colonial soldiers began imprisoning Herero and Nama in a shift "from annihilation to concentration" (Kreienbaum, 2019, p. 89). This shift should not suggest that murder ended, but rather that the form that this murder took changed. The term "concentration camp" was first used in a telegram from the German Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow ordering von Trotha to establish concentration camps to hold the remnants of the Herero community (Zeller, 2016a, p. 65). The camps were later expanded to include the Nama. The German colonizers promised the communities mercy if they surrendered, which they did in mass numbers (Kreienbaum, 2019, pp. 89–90). In addition to interring large Herero and Nama populations to prevent them from continuing resistance, the camps provided forced labor and often functioned as an extended form of punishment (Kreienbaum, 2019, p. 103).

The combination of forced labor with interment blurred the boundaries between private business interests and military administration – fleeing Herero even surrendered directly to the privately operated Otavi railroad (Kreienbaum, 2019, p. 89). Camps were founded across the colony in larger towns, typically with railway access (Zeller, 2016a, p. 65). Due to a lack of adequate supplies and inhumane living conditions, these camps led to mass deaths among the Herero and Nama populations, especially on Shark Island in Lüderitz. For this reason, the end of the genocide is usually marked with the closing of the last camp on January 27, 1908, rather than the end of fighting in 1907 (Zimmerer, 2016b, p. 60).

The assessment of the events of 1904–1908 as genocide is largely undisputed in the current historical research. However, the arguments underpinning this assessment can differ slightly among different authors. Some authors focus specifically on the intent of genocide, which becomes especially visible in von Trotha's orders and the pursuit of Herero through the desert (Zimmerer, 2016b, p. 53). In this sense, von Trotha's proclamation is often termed an "extermination proclamation" or "orders to shoot" (Zimmerer, 2016b, pp. 52–53). Other scholars such as Häussler (2018) have argued that the emphasis on intent in the genocide definition draws attention away from the situational context and affective dynamics of the Herero and Nama genocide, which represented a string of events that escalated over time (cf. Kreienbaum, 2019).

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For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to note that genocide occurred and that it sustainably shifted the balance of power and knowledge production within the colony. The events of 1904–1908 effectively disempowered the Herero and Nama communities in the new hierarchy of the colony. They also produced new structures of dependent labor in the colony, restricting the movement of indigenous communities through a registration system and essentially binding them to the whims of employers (Zimmerer, 2016a, p. 34). The Herero and Nama genocide thus crystallized boundaries of citizenship and imaginations of belonging – both within GSWA and in Germany. To understand these effects in more depth, I will now consider how the Herero and Nama genocide has been memorialized in Germany and Namibia.

2.2 Memorializing and negotiating the genocide in Germany and Namibia

Already during the colonial war and genocide, German colonizers began to establish a certain interpretation of the events of 1904–1908. Soldiers' graves, which dotted the colony, provided spaces to (re-)interpret the past and portray the death of soldiers as a sacrifice to the German nation. In 1905, Germans in GSWA began an annual commemoration known as "Waterberg Day" at the site of a large cemetery for German soldiers – a ceremony that still exists to the present (Förster, 2010, p. 210). In addition to these gravesites, multiple monuments were erected to commemorate German military casualties in the colonial war. These monuments functioned to portray German military prowess and express claims to power in the colony (Förster, 2010, p. 209).

This function is particularly clear when considering the discussions that surrounded the *Marinedenkmal*, a 1908 war memorial commemorating the First Marine Expedition Corps. The statue shows a German soldier standing on top of a cliff. Below him lies a dead German soldier. The monument was initially destined for the colonial capital of Windhoek. However, the monument was deemed unsuitable because it showed a dead soldier, which could be construed by the indigenous population as a sign of weakness (Zeller, 2016b, pp. 193–195). Hence, the *Marinedenkmal* was erected in the port city of Swakopmund, whereas Windhoek received the *Reiterdenkmal*. This memorial only shows a single soldier riding on a horse, his gun pointed in the air (Zeller, 2016b, pp. 193–195). The colonial war had to be shown as an unequivocal German victory to suppress any remembrance of (successful) colonial resistance. The commemoration of the Herero and Nama genocide was a claim to power that not only reflected the self-perception of the colonizer but was also clearly aimed towards a colonized audience. Shigwedha (2023, p. 283) shows how two communities reference the memorial in their naming of the city of Windhoek:

> "Windhoek is known as *Otjirongo tjOkakambe* in Otjiherero praise songs, idioms, and stories; similarly, in the Oshiwambo language it is known as *Oshilongo shOkakambe*. Both versions allude to a city of a solid horse rider who never dismounted from the steel horse's back against all odds."

This example demonstrates the complex entanglement of the genocide's memorialization. It also shows how the construction of this colonial war became essential to the expla-

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nation and later the subversion of colonial power, which would shape subsequent commemorations of the genocide.

In Germany, the colonial war was a major discursive event that inspired a variety of cultural products such as popular novels (Brehl, 2016, p. 86). One of these fictional novels, "*Peter Moor's Fahrt nach Südwest*," or "Peter Moor's trip to Southwest," became an international bestseller, was translated into multiple languages and even became part of the German school curriculum for a brief period in 1914 (Brehl, 2016, p. 92). The plot largely removed the colonial context of the war and instead showed Germans fighting an existential fight against racially different "Others," which was used to construct a collective, racially homogenous imagination of "German" identity (Brehl, 2016, p. 90; Hermes, 2009, p. 262). In addition to these works of fiction, memoirs of colonial soldiers also enjoyed great popularity in Germany and played an important role as sources in the later historicization of the colonial war (Bürger, 2017, p. 56; Zimmerer, 2016b, p. 60). These memoirs continued to portray the genocide as a story of German heroism and relativized the genocide, echoing themes also found in colonial war memorials (Bürger, 2017, p. 57).

Apart from this initial memorialization by the colonizers, how did the Herero and Nama commemorate the events of 1904–1908? As Gewald (2016, p. 171) has pointed out, the genocide was a deeply traumatic event that disrupted many of the social structures at the heart of the traditional communities. He notes that, in rebuilding these structures, many Herero communities established mutual welfare organizations known as *otruppe* or *oturupa* (Gewald, 2016, pp. 171–172). These organizations often drew on German colonial military traditions and structures. Gewald (2016, p. 171) suggests that this could be because, after the genocide, surviving Herero children had often worked as servants in the German colonial army. In the aftermath of the war, "[t]he young Herero took on the names and titles of their former officers. They sent each other handwritten messages in German, issued military passports, pay books and instructions." (Gewald, 2016, p. 172, transl. CH) Perhaps most visibly, the Herero also began wearing the military uniforms of German and British colonizers, particularly at commemorative events when the community presented itself as a collective. As Förster (2010, p. 250, transl. CH) writes:

> "The appropriation of military practices should not only be understood as imitation but also as symbolic usurpation, as a parodic commentary and as a counterproposal. The *oturupa* is by no means a military or paramilitary organization but rather a civil society organization in which women and children are also active. To this day it forms one of the main networks within Herero society."

The organization of Herero society through *oturupa* shows the structures of hybridity and interaction that were strategically eliminated from German representations of victory following the colonial war.

The *oturupa* became prominently visible in commemorative practices on August 23, 1923, when the body of the former Paramount Chief, Samuel Maharero, was transferred from Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana) to Okahandja in present-day Namibia. Maharero had fled to Bechuanaland during the colonial war and had never been allowed to return, even after South Africa took over the colony (Gewald, 2016, p. 173). The burial became a crystallization point for the Herero community. To this day, commemorations

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around Namibia are held to commemorate the reburial of Samuel Maharero in what has come to be known as "Herero Day" or "Red Flag Day" after the colors of the Maharero/Tjamuaha Royal House (Zuern, 2012, p. 500). Similar commemorative patterns can also be found in the Nama community, which celebrated a church service in 1930 at the grave of Kaptein Isaak Witbooi that also commemorated his father, Kaptein Hendrik Witbooi, whose burial site is not known (Kößler, 2010, p. 238). Yet, many of these commemorations, at least at the outset, did not focus exclusively on the genocide, instead commemorating "historical victories and […] successful leaders" more broadly (Silvester & Gewald, 2010, p. xiii).

One of the first (and only) documented sources of indigenous testimonies on the events of 1904–1908 came in the form of a Blue Book published in 1918 by British colonial forces (Silvester & Gewald, 2010). The Blue Book documented crimes committed by German colonists against the indigenous populations of GSWA, with one section on "the treatment of prisoners during the 1904–1908 war" (Silvester & Gewald, 2010, p. xxv). The goal of the publication was to argue that Germany had been incapable of overseeing its colonies and that GSWA should permanently remain under South African rule following Germany's defeat in World War I (Silvester & Gewald, 2010, p. xv). These production contexts have shaped the assessment of the Blue Book as an unreliable and biased source. Nielsen (2017, p. 321), for instance, shows how British involvement in the 1904–1908 colonial war through the murder of Nama leader Jakob Marengo was minimized in the Blue Book. In addition, the book draws on a variety of colonial stereotypes and derogatory language, often showing the native population as childlike and thus requiring the protection of a colonial power (Silvester & Gewald, 2010, p. 52). Nevertheless, this book is one of the only primary sources where indigenous witnesses of the genocide are documented.

After the acquisition of the colony by South Africa, the Blue Book was declared a "war instrument" in 1926 and subsequently destroyed (Silvester & Gewald, 2010, p. xxxi). The reason for this destruction was aimed at fostering ties between white communities of Afrikaans, German, and English descent (Silvester & Gewald, 2010, p. xxx). Despite its destruction, the Blue Book's role in discrediting German colonialism had an impact on the memorialization of the colonial war and genocide, especially in Germany: Rather than showing colonialism as a successful military incursion, German colonialism was increasingly portrayed as a harmonious and nostalgic experience with largely positive interactions between colonizers and indigenous populations, and accusations of violence were dismissed as propaganda and lies, especially from the 1930s onwards (Bürger, 2017, p. 53). At the same time, German colonial monuments remained standing throughout Namibia and in parts of (West) Germany. This shows that changing conceptualizations of the 1904–1908 colonial war often did not eliminate previous structures and instead often drew on pre-established patterns. This is particularly useful for understanding the renewed confrontation with the colonial past in the 1960s.

Critical perspectives from the 1960s onwards

Critical perspectives on the Herero and Nama genocide arose in the confluence of three interrelated events throughout the 1960s: the growing independence movement in Namibia, competing legitimacy claims between East and West Germany, and a global

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student protest movement. In 1966, the East German historian Horst Drechsler called the events of 1904–1908 a "genocide" (Bürger, 2017, p. 94). Drechsler's book on German colonialism in South West Africa describes the genocide in terms of a Marxist-Leninist struggle between Herero and Nama communities and imperialist oppressors (Bürger, 2017, p. 113). His work played an important role for East Germany, which aimed to both differentiate itself from West Germany and position itself on the side of the Namibian liberation struggle (Bürger, 2017, p. 94). Yet, Bürger (2017, pp. 106–107) also shows how Drechsler's work often remained mired in colonial discursive structures, amplified through his reliance on colonial source material as well as popular literature. This was also true of East German popular literature on the genocide (Hermes, 2009, p. 265). Nevertheless, these works offered a reappraisal of what had, to that point, been a largely nostalgic perspective on colonialism. Moreover, Drechsler's work also shaped relations with Namibia: The resistance leader and first president of Namibia, Sam Nujoma, even wrote a foreword to Drechsler's book that was included in the second edition of the book in the 1980s (Bürger, 2017, p. 129).

In the same year that Drechsler published his monograph, controversy erupted in West Germany over a two-part documentary called "*Heia Safari*" that aired on the public broadcaster *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* (WDR) (Bürger, 2017, p. 158). The title of the documentary references a book written by Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, a former general of the German imperial army who came to widespread fame fighting the British in East Africa during the First World War (Bürger, 2017, p. 159). In this way, the documentary already sets itself up in dialogue with previous nostalgic or revisionist perspectives on colonialism. The documentary casts a critical gaze at German colonialism and calls the events of 1904–1908 the "first genocide of our century" (quoted in Bürger, 2017, p. 165; transl. CH).

Bürger (2017, p. 163) shows that the documentary built on East German research findings but did not credit these, enabling the filmmakers to suggest that this was the first critical engagement with colonialism. At the same time, as also became clear in the East German historicization above, the documentary also repeats many colonial discursive structures through its reenactments and by relying on colonial source material (Bürger, 2017, p. 165). This points to a larger conundrum in knowledge production on German colonialism that will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4 (cf. Struck, 2003, 2012). Nevertheless, the WDR documentary led to widespread controversy, and multiple complaints by groups of former colonial soldiers and administrators prompted the broadcaster to air a discussion between the filmmaker and various critics in 1967 (Bürger, 2017, p. 158).

This controversy is indicative of German knowledge construction on the genocide. Critical appraisals of colonial history increased throughout the 1960s, for instance through the dissertation of West German historian Helmut Bley, which was published in 1965 (Bürger, 2017, p. 191). This academic interest came together with student protests calling for a reappraisal of Germany's past, complete with the removal of a statue portraying the former German colonial governor Hermann von Wissmann in 1968 (Bürger, 2017, p. 179). Popular literature such as the 1978 book "Morenga," which describes a Nama leader during the colonial war, shifted the reader's perspective away from the victorious German soldier towards the doubtful German bystander (Göttsche, 2018, pp. 386–387). The colonial war was even included in school curriculum: "In the textbook 'Historical

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World Studies' from 1980, the 'Herero Wars' are discussed in more detail. A colonial apologetic excerpt […] is juxtaposed with a passage from Helmut Bley's monograph, which is introduced with the heading 'War of Extermination.'" (Bürger, 2017, p. 206, transl. CH) This juxtaposition shows how the genocide was constructed as an object of contestation and debate, often combined with fears that an acknowledgment of the colonial war and genocide could lead to the discreditation of West Germany through the argumentation used by East Germany (Bürger, 2017, p. 189).

As Bürger (2017) shows, the historicization of the Herero and Nama genocide must be understood as a process of larger transnational power struggles and knowledge exchanges between East and West Germany in the context of (changing) relationships with South Africa and Namibia. The examples above have demonstrated how increasingly critical perspectives towards the Herero and Nama genocide arose in both East and West Germany, even as these critiques relied on and reproduced colonial imaginations and power structures. What connects both East and West German historicizations of the genocide is often a personalization of the genocide on the figure of Lothar von Trotha, the primary enactor of the genocide (Bürger, 2017, p. 144). Moreover, both nations often constructed the genocide from an understanding that their current German state was not a successor to the former German colonial empire. Both East and West Germany attempted, in various degrees, to present themselves as potential partners to newly independent nations without the baggage of a long colonial history (Bürger, 2017, pp. 94, 175).

In Namibia, the construction of the genocide was also shaped by the independence struggle and the nascent national movement as well as interactions with East and West Germany. Krautwald (2022, p. 2) notes that "in 1960, Herero UN petitioners began to compare the war of 1904–1908 to the destruction of European Jewry to discredit South Africa's imposition of apartheid in Namibia." In this way, the Herero and Nama genocide was increasingly shown as a struggle of liberation against German colonizers (Krautwald, 2022, p. 15). For instance, Nama commemorations of Witbooi's death were renamed "Heroes Day" in 1980 in a symbolic nod to the larger liberation movement (Kößler, 2016, p. 186). A commemorative ceremony for the Battle of Waterberg within the Herero community, Ohamakari Day, also began in the late 1960s and connected the ongoing liberation struggle to show that the Herero community had been fighting against colonialism for over 60 years (Förster, 2010, p. 252).

Ohamakari Day also provides an interesting perspective to consider the change in memorialization in Namibia after achieving independence in 1990. In the early 1990s, the commemoration of Ohamakari Day was primarily an educational opportunity to teach students about the national liberation struggle (Förster, 2010, pp. 253–255). With time, however, the speeches at Ohamakari Day developed into a platform to emphasize specifically Herero concerns, particularly against the newly independent Namibian government, with speakers emphasizing the ethnic exclusivity of the struggles and casualties during the colonial war of 1904–1908 (Förster, 2010, pp. 259–262).

In addition to these commemorations within the Herero community, Namibia's official independence in 1990 saw a broader national effort to remove monuments that glorified colonialism, for instance by renaming streets. The duality of this effort can perhaps be seen in the two statues that were mentioned at the beginning of this chapter:

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Whereas the *Reiterdenkmal* was removed in 2009 (Shigwedha, 2023, p. 282), the *Marinedenkmal* is still standing at the time of this writing. Moreover, the *Reiterdenkmal* was removed to make way for the Independence Memorial Museum, which concentrates on the liberation struggle from the perspective of the ruling party, the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) (Zuern, 2012, p. 507). The removal of the statue was contested by both Herero and German-speaking groups, albeit from opposite sides of the aisle, who saw their history being expunged by SWAPO (Zuern, 2012, p. 507). This points to a broader trend in the construction of public memory in Namibia: Many national holidays and monuments, such as the Heroes' Acre outside Windhoek and the National Independence Memorial Museum in Namibia, remain focused on the SWAPO liberation struggle, with the genocide often being integrated into this narrative or, alternatively, not mentioned at all (Becker, 2011; Zuern, 2012).

Throughout the 20th century, the German-speaking community in Namibia continued to hold commemorations at the Waterberg. In 1978, the Paramount Chief of the Herero, Kuaima Riruako, was invited to the Waterberg as a speaker. As Förster (2010, p. 211) notes, the reason for this invitation was political and aimed at producing an alliance against the Ovambo-dominated SWAPO during the liberation struggle. More concretely, enabling Herero individuals to speak at this event gave the commemoration a sheen of reconciliation that could enable the memorial traditions at Waterberg to remain largely intact (Förster, 2010, p. 211).

The continued importance of Waterberg as a central mnemonic location was visible in the visit of Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul during the centenary of the Battle of Waterberg in August 2004. During this ceremony, which was attended by members of the Namibian government and traditional communities (Zuern, 2012, p. 512), Wieczorek-Zeul offered the first apology by a German member of government. Importantly, this apology was not an official statement of the German government but rather portrayed as the personal expression of Wieczorek-Zeul (Robel, 2013, p. 335). Following this apology, Germany and Namibia established a Namibian-German Special Initiative Program (NGSIP) in 2006 that would provide 20 million euros in aid to Namibia. The centenary of the Herero and Nama genocide also led to renewed academic and cultural interest in the topic. One typical example of this is a novel published in 2004 by Andrea Paluch and Robert Habeck, who is the current German Federal Minister for Economic Affairs and Climate Action. This novel describes colonial history through the history of a German family, with one of the family's daughters surprisingly being born Black after the end of German colonialism (Göttsche, 2018, p. 394).

In 2014, the German and Namibian governments began negotiating on a potential apology and reparations payments. In 2015, the German government officially acknowledged that the events of 1904–1908 constituted genocide. These government-led actions were preceded and followed by various lawsuits against German corporations and the German government. In 1998, the *Herero People's Reparations Corporation* (HPRC) under Herero Paramount Chief Kuaima Riruako filed a lawsuit against the German government at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague for reparations (Robel, 2013, p. 311). In 2001, the HPRC filed another lawsuit against German corporations, including the Deutsche Bank AG, for profiting from the Herero and Nama genocide (Robel, 2013, p. 312). Finally, in 2017, the Ovaherero Traditional Authority (OTA) and Nama Traditional

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Leaders' Association (NTLA) filed a class action lawsuit against the German government for inclusion in the negotiations as well as reparations (cf. chapter 6.1.1).

These events have been an integral part of commemorative events within the affected communities. For instance, Förster (2010, p. 266) shows that, from 2004 onwards, commemorative speeches at Ohamakari Day within the Herero community have increasingly focused on claims for reparation. Additionally, claims for reparation have also led to new commemorative activities, such as an annual march commemorating the genocide and calling for reparations in the city of Swakopmund, which has been occurring in various iterations since 2007 (Zuern, 2012, p. 509). Moreover, Zuern (2012, p. 504) has shown that debates on the restitution of human remains have often brought renewed attention to Shark Island, which had previously been a state-run camping ground for tourists and was declared a national heritage site in 2019 (cf. chapter 6.1.1). In Germany, renewed debates over restitution in museums, street renamings and statue removals have also led to a variety of exhibitions and debates on the topic of colonialism in recent years (cf. Zimmerer, 2019).

To summarize, the chapter above has sketched the complex background that shapes current memory debates on the Herero and Nama genocide. It has shown how the interpretation and construction of the 1904–1908 colonial war and genocide is shaped by changing power constellations within and between Germany and Namibia, ranging from colonial claims of landownership to questions of political legitimacy in newly independent and unified nations such as Namibia and Germany. Additionally, the examples above have demonstrated that the commemoration of 1904–1908 is by no means confined to national boundaries but has instead been shaped by interactions between Germany and Namibia. To this day, the negotiations between both nations continue to shape the expression of memory. It is important to note that, despite the mnemonic entanglement that is often emphasized in the research, most of the literature above comes from German-speaking authors. This is a blind spot that will continue to be reflected throughout the following chapters, particularly in chapter 5.1.

A question that arises from the chapter above is: How has journalism shaped the memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide? The examples above have indicated that the media played an important role in defining how the genocide was perceived as an event, both during 1904–1908 and in ensuing mnemonic debates. For instance, Förster (2010, p. 187) shows that the German-language *Allgemeine Zeitung* covered the annual commemorations at the Waterberg for decades and that commemorative speeches from Ohamakari Day were aired on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation's Otjiherero radio station Omurari FM (Förster, 2010, p. 259). However, in much of the previous research, German and Namibian journalism has often been used as a source rather than as an explicit subject of research. In other words, scholars draw on journalism to describe the positions of various communities or key figures without analyzing the production, reception or performance of journalistic products themselves. This makes sense given the disciplinary background in history or ethnology of most researchers analyzing this topic.

In recent years, however, German journalism has become an explicit topic of German-language research about the genocide, which I will consider in more depth in chapter 4.4. However, this perspective is still largely missing for Namibian journalism. A dis-

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ciplinary perspective from journalism studies can shed light on some of the implicit assumptions that have accompanied journalism's use in the previous research. To achieve this, it is first necessary to theoretically conceptualize the relationship between journalism and memory. What practices and strategies are at the heart of how journalism constructs the past? How does this shape which knowledge is (not) available about the genocide? To answer these questions, I now delve into the theory of cultural memory.

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3 Journalism and memory: First draft or final say?

To explore journalism's role in the (re-)construction of the Herero and Nama genocide, it is first necessary to clarify the role between journalism and memory. Journalism is often called "history's first draft" (Zelizer, 2021, p. 1215), a first record rather than a final account of what occurred in the past. However, as the examples in chapter 2 showed, journalism's role is more complex than merely providing the initial account of what occurred during the colonial war: It has also played a role in debates on the genocide or establishing interpretive frameworks at events such as the Waterberg Day.

Hence, the following chapters introduce and connect theoretical approaches from memory studies, cultural studies and communication studies to explore how journalism produces memory within and beyond national boundaries. To begin, chapter 3.1 clarifies key theoretical terms and concepts from the field of memory studies, particularly collective and cultural memory. Then, chapter 3.2 builds on these theoretical concepts to consider the role of journalism within memory production. Finally, chapter 3.3 discusses the previous research literature and outlines blind spots, especially regarding journalism's production of memory on colonialism.

3.1 Cultural memory: A theoretical orientation

In the past decades, scholars have typically theorized "memory" from disciplines such as psychology, history, or literature studies (Erll, 2017, p. 35; Olick et al., 2011, p. 41). Yet, as the following chapter indicates, memory studies offers numerous connection points for considering how memory is produced through journalism. To explore this, chapter 3.1.1 begins by defining memory as a social construction using Halbwachs' (1991) idea of "collective memory." Then, chapter 3.1.2 refines this very broad theoretical approach for my research interest using the concept of "cultural memory" by A. Assmann and Assmann (1994). Finally, chapter 3.1.3 considers the role that media have played in previous theorizations of memory, specifically drawing on the ideas of "remediation" and "premediation" by Erll and Rigney (2009). Throughout these chapters, I ask how "cultural memory" has been critiqued and expanded, with a focus on transnational or even global processes

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of memory production. From this basis, I reflect on how journalism studies can provide a useful perspective to previous theorizations of cultural memory.

3.1.1 Collective memory: The social construction of the past

Memory studies is premised on the idea that memory is not merely an act of individual recollection but rather part of a process of social meaning-making (Olick et al., 2011, p. 37). In the memory literature, this foundational understanding is often traced back to the works of Maurice Halbwachs (Olick et al., 2011, p. 16). A sociologist in the early 20th century and a student of Émile Durkheim, Halbwachs was particularly interested in the relationship between the individual and the social environment (Gensburger, 2016, pp. 402–403). From the examination of this relationship, Halbwachs (1991) postulated that memories are shaped by social interactions and memberships in particular groups. Our experiences often take place in social settings, which determines how we later recollect our past (Erll, 2017, p. 13). Individuals share their experiences with other group members through communication, in the process often coming to similar understandings of the past (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 12). Moreover, individuals draw on events that are well-known to other group members to make sense of and orient their own experiences (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 2). In this understanding, changing group membership also changes the shape or expression of memories (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 32). Halbwachs (1991, p. 25) notes that events that were experienced by the largest number of group members often become the most prominent in collective memory.

Halbwachs (1991, p. 14) uses the term "collective memory" to describe this relationship between the group and individual memory production. He writes that, for memory to become comprehensible in social settings, the individual must learn how the group perceives certain past events (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 43). To explain how the individual becomes aware of the group's assessment of the past, Halbwachs (1991) focuses primarily on personal interactions or conversations between individuals. However, when the group becomes so large that individual members cannot personally speak to each other, as in nation-states, he also notes that media such as books or newspapers become vital for conveying the social frameworks of memory (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 27). Anderson (2016, p. 44) has shown that this circulation of knowledge through newspapers and literature was essential to the formation of nations as "imagined communities" by enabling members of previously unconnected social groups to partake in a shared sense of time. Suddenly, people that had never met one another became aware that they were part of a larger audience all receiving the same information. This, in turn, enabled them to begin to imagine their own historicity as a group rather than as individuals experiencing different events in different places (Anderson, 2016, p. 63).

Yet, shifting the medium of interaction also shapes the temporal horizon of memory: "During my life, my national society has been theater for a number of events that I say I 'remember,' events that I know about only from newspapers or the testimony of those directly involved. These events occupy a place in the memory of the nation, but I myself did not witness them." (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 51) The shift from personal to mass communication, described in Halbwachs' quote above, is important: Rather than mem-

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ory only encompassing personal experiences, it can now also include events that may have occurred outside a person's lifetime or realm of experience.

However, this transition between the social frameworks of individual memories and a form of memory that is primarily social in origin remains ambiguous in Halbwachs' work. While he differentiates between "autobiographical" and "historical" memories, these descriptions concentrate primarily on the relationship between personal experiences and historic moments, which he contends are interrelated as they shape an individual's memory (Halbwachs, 1991, pp. 34–36). In this understanding, there is one "history" and multiple collective memories that relate to this history (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 31). Halbwachs stops short of explaining the processes of selection, power or hierarchy that exist in the production of the past. If everyone represents an individual perspective on collective memory, there is still a reason why some memories, such as the Holocaust, can become motivators of collective action while others cannot (Kansteiner, 2010, p. 4; Wertsch, 2021). Halbwachs' description of collective memory also does not adequately explain how traumatic or unpleasant memories could arise in collectives that may not even want to talk about what occurred in the past. In his telling, memories that are forgotten or are no longer present are often the result of altered group membership (Halbwachs, 1991, p. 32). From this perspective, however, it is difficult to explain exactly how events such as the Herero and Nama genocide could have reappeared.

To add clarity to the two processes that Halbwachs (1991) outlines in his social frameworks of memory, Olick (2013) offers a terminological distinction between "collected" and "collective" memory. "Collected memory" refers to the aggregate of individual memories in a group, for instance in a generational cohort or school class (Olick, 2013, p. 23). "Collective memory," in turn, goes beyond the individual and instead encompasses institutions and social processes that (re-)produce memory for the group (Olick, 2013, p. 29). Thus, collective memory relies on "technologies of memory," or tools "other than the brain," to enable and establish memory (Olick, 2013, p. 29). Memory here becomes a metaphor for social meaning-making about the past rather than a process of psychological recollection. For my research interest, I will specifically focus on these institutional processes of memory production while recognizing that collective memory does not exist separately from its constitutive groups and individuals.

Although Olick (2013, p. 29) highlights the importance of "technology" for collective memory, his use of the term is still quite vague. It leaves open the question: How do media bridge the gap between individual experiences and collective understandings of the past? This becomes especially important for the Herero and Nama genocide, where collected and collective memory are not in harmony but are instead often dissonant (cf. chapter 2.2). To shed light on this question, I now draw on the concept of cultural memory by A. Assmann and Assmann (1994). Cultural memory specifically concentrates on the strategic use of memory to shape collective identity and enable political legitimization (Erll, 2017, p. 24). This will provide me with the necessary analytical framework to consider the role of the media, and particularly journalism, in memory.

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3.1.2 Cultural memory: The institutional frameworks of memory production

With the term "cultural memory," Jan and Aleida Assmann expand on the social frameworks of memory established by Halbwachs (1991). From their respective disciplinary roots in Egyptology and English literature, A. Assmann and Assmann (1994) draw attention to the inherent relationship between collective memory and the culture in which it arises. They define culture as "the historically variable link between communication, memory and media" (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, p. 114, transl. CH). From their vantage point, culture has two primary functions. First, it establishes simultaneity and enables different group members to experience time together. Second, it creates continuity between different generations. Hence, instead of each new generation having to relearn key moments from the community's past, culture enables groups to anchor certain aspects of their joined memory in everyday institutions and practices of meaning-making (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, pp. 115–116). In this way, A. Assmann and Assmann (1994, pp. 119–120) differentiate between communicative and cultural memory. At first glance, this broadly mirrors the distinction already presented by Olick (2013). However, their focus on culture provides a targeted look into the mediated production and circulation of symbols underlying memory production.

In A. Assmann and Assmann's (1994) terminology, communicative memory involves events that were personally witnessed and are passed on in group settings of personal contacts, such as in families. It is stored in conversations, diaries, and private photographs, to name a few examples (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 28). Since it is bound to personal experiences as the source of its legitimacy, communicative memory is also temporally limited to the lifetime of individuals – roughly 80 to 100 years (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 25). By contrast, cultural memory encompasses the symbols, institutions and practices by which memory becomes part of culture and is preserved across generations (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 55). In contrast with communicative memory, the institutional organization of cultural memory means that its legitimacy comes from its claim of transgenerational stability rather than the personal experiences of group members (J. Assmann, 1995, p. 131). Thus, communicative memory could encompass the individual recollections of colonial soldiers and indigenous communities that experienced the Herero and Nama genocide. When aspects of these recollections are ritually circulated and take on group-specific meaning, for instance through Red Flag Day or in popular literature (cf. chapter 2.2), they cross the threshold from communicative to cultural memory.

Cultural memory is inherently shaped by exclusive selection processes, and only some moments are preserved and circulated among group members (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 52). Therefore, cultural memory is actively curated and constantly adapted to meet the needs of the group, "a victim of every new desired identity and every new present" (J. Assmann, 2011, p. 210). To shed more light on the selection processes and power struggles underlying cultural memory, A. Assmann and Assmann (1994, p. 121) further differentiate between the archive ("*Speichergedächtnis*") and canon ("*Funktionsgedächtnis*"). The archive describes all knowledge of the past that is saved, for instance in museums. While there might be an expectation that group members *should* visit museums to learn more about the collective past, it is generally understood that the archive

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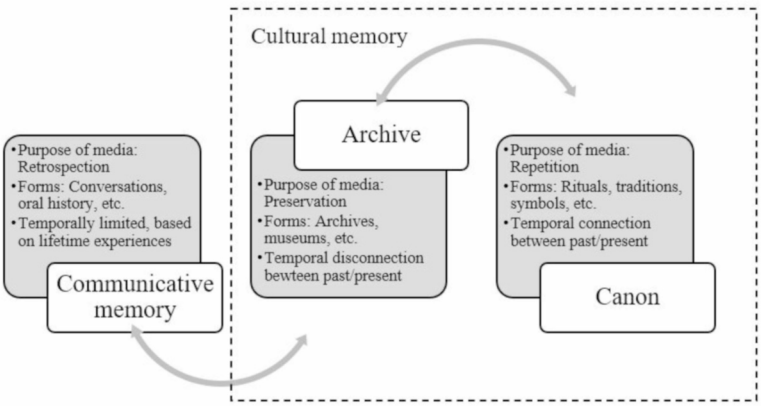
does not have to be common knowledge for every individual group member. In this sense, archival memories have a dual temporal structure: The past is viewed in contrast to the present, with a clear boundary separating the events that have occurred and the current reality (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, p. 129). At the same time, the archive represents the possibility of past events that could be incorporated into a society's canon (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, pp. 127–128).

By contrast, the cultural canon of society selects key events from the archive that are then symbolically condensed and ritually repeated and reactivated through festivals, ceremonies and memorials (A. Assmann, 2018b, pp. 56–58). Whereas archive separates the past from the present, canon actively connects the past to the present (A. Assmann, 2018a, p. 133). By symbolically reactivating and reviving past moments, canon serves not only as a reminder to the collective of what has occurred but also as a way of explaining the collective's actions and values in the present. By participating in rituals and ceremonies, individuals practice recognition and mimicry and thereby learn which emotions towards the past are appropriate (von Scheve, 2012, p. 70). The canon's inherent connection to the present also means that the boundaries of the canon are continuously shifting: New moments from the archive can come to the forefront, whereas moments from the canon can also recede into the archive. This constant tension between archive and canon reflects the struggles for power in the construction of collective identity (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 57).

Figure 1 depicts the subdivision of communicative and cultural memory, archive and canon according to Assmann. Each arrow depicts the selection processes by which memory begins to fulfill different societal functions and, in this way, reaches an ever-wider potential audience. The transition between communicative memory, canon and archive should not be understood as a unidirectional process but as a constant flow that is shaped by shifting power dynamics. These distinctions and aspects of memory are mutually reinforcing rather than mutually exclusive (cf. Leicht, 2016, p. 21).

Figure 1: Forms of cultural memory



Source: Own depiction based on A. Assmann (2018b, pp. 54, 58)

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Given its inherent connection with collective identity, A. Assmann (2018a, p. 138) writes that canon fulfills three main functions for society: legitimization, delegitimization and distinction. To begin, canon legitimizes the current shape of the collective by rooting it in a shared origin story. Moreover, canon can also legitimize present power relations by rooting them in seemingly age-old traditions and customs. By the same token, canon can also be used to delegitimize ruling power by pointing to memories that have previously been repressed by rulers (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, pp. 125–126). Finally, canon also helps to distinguish one collective from another, as members of one group have difficulty understanding the symbolic and cultural mnemonic landscape of another (A. Assmann, 2018a, p. 139).

This understanding of canon highlights processes of distinction between rather than within groups. A. Assmann and Assmann's (1994, p. 125) conceptualization of power delegitimization through critical or subversive counter-memory ("*Gegenerinnerung*") also rests on an assumption that previously suppressed memories are theoretically available in the archive. Interestingly, A. Assmann (2008) notes that archives reflect existing power structures in society:

> "We must acknowledge, however, that archives are selective as well. They are in no way all-inclusive but have their own structural mechanisms of exclusion in terms of class, race, and gender. These mechanisms, however, have in recent decades become the focus of critical attention, debate, and investigation, which are themselves powerful agents of change. Luckily, there is not only intentional but also accidental preservation when hidden deposits are discovered." (A. Assmann, 2008, p. 106)

In this understanding, Assmann notes that cultural memory cannot arise from nothing – some vestige of the past must remain to become remembered. Her answer to the structural asymmetries in archival collection and preservation is that previously "hidden depots" could reveal parts of the past that have previously remained undiscovered. Yet, what if the archival memory of past events has primarily been shaped through the perspective of colonizers?

This tension is visible in A. Assmann's (2017, pp. 155–156, transl. CH) explanation of the Herero and Nama genocide's reappearance in Germany, which she describes as "the emergence from forgetfulness" ("*das Auftauchen aus dem Vergessen*"). She writes, "It has been proven in many ways that ignoring, denying and erasing a traumatic history cannot be a sustainable foundation for a state under the rule of law ["*Rechtsstaat*"], because silence and denial simply do not resolve issues that have not been dealt with over time." (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 152, transl. CH) In this description, "ignoring" the Herero and Nama genocide is an aberration rather than a constituting factor for a nation-state like Germany. This reflects a European national perspective at the root of cultural memory that has often ignored the historical impact of colonialism in the construction of (national) identity and cultural memory (Rothberg, 2013, p. 364).

Furthermore, the current appearance of the Herero and Nama genocide is not a discovery of a "hidden depot" or previously suppressed archival material (A. Assmann, 2008, p. 106). As chapter 2 has shown and as A. Assmann (2017, p. 152) mentions, the events of 1904–1908 have not been completely obscured. Instead, they were overwhelmingly

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archived and publicly memorialized from the perspective of former colonizers. The explanation for the sudden recognition of the genocide also cannot simply be explained by the sudden recognition of victims' perspectives, as the Herero and Nama have continuously critiqued their absence from the genocide negotiations (cf. chapter 2). This raises the question: Is power delegitimization through the canon possible if the archive supports existing power relations?

To answer this question, it is necessary to consider the selection processes at the heart of cultural memory production. A. Assmann and Assmann, transl. CH (1994, p. 120) write that "[t]he transition from communicative to cultural memory is enabled by media." They elaborate: "Through the materialization of the media, the horizon of embodied, living memory is broken and the conditions for abstract knowledge and unbodied tradition are created." (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, pp. 121–122). This places media in an important position of being able to not only record what occurred in the past but also strategically select which past events will outlive their witnesses or be presented to a broad public. This is especially important for the Herero and Nama genocide, where there are no more living witnesses. Media now determine how and if this event will become available for present generations that might not have any personal connections to the events of 1904–1908.

At the same time, communication scholars have critiqued Assmann and Assmann's separation of communicative and cultural memory via different media sources (Pentzold et al., 2023). A. Assmann (2018b, p. 54) still roots communicative memory in personal networks and conversations, whereas cultural memory is shown as the purview of (mass) media. This separation has always been tenuous and is increasingly being challenged through digital communication platforms, which enable biographical memories to be presented to a wider audience (Pentzold et al., 2023, pp. 9–10). This critique is amplified by the fact that A. Assmann and Assmann (1994) maintain a very broad description of "media," from books to speeches, stone tablets and monuments. They also often list media such as books or films under examples of archive rather than canon, which is often associated with "rituals" or "symbols" such as national flags (cf. A. Assmann, 2018a, p. 151, 2018b, p. 58).

The specific media examples that A. Assmann and Assmann (1994) provide show that it is necessary to add theoretical nuance to the role of the media in memory production. Concepts such as "cultural memory" provide a useful first framework for considering the function that media play in hierarchizing different forms of memory. Yet, A. Assmann and Assmann's (1994) use of the term "media" still broadly focuses on the media as a source of preservation. However, this perspective cannot adequately answer how the media not only preserve memories but also produce frameworks by which the past is used to explain or legitimize the present. Hence, I now ask how memory studies has explicitly conceptualized the role of the media in memory production. I then discuss the benefits that a disciplinary perspective from communication studies can add to these considerations.

3.1.3 The (re-)mediation of cultural memory: Perspectives from memory studies

In their work, Assmann and Assmann primarily focus on the outcome of mediated memory production rather than on the strategies and practices by which these selections are made. To counter this relatively static view of cultural memory, Erll (2017, pp. 31–32) in-

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troduces the term "memory cultures" to highlight the dynamic and pluralistic processes of memory production. In this understanding, memory is "performative rather than […] reproductive […] as much a matter of acting out a relationship to the past from a particular point in the present as it is a matter of preserving and retrieving an earlier story" (Erll & Rigney, 2009, p. 2). The idea of memory as performative builds on the relationship between memory and culture outlined in the previous chapter while emphasizing the ever-changing practices underlying memory production.

Erll (2017, pp. 99–100) proposes that memory culture is produced at the intersection of a material, a social and a mental dimension. The material dimension comprises media that physically store memory, including "historiography, monuments, documents, photographs, souvenirs" (Erll, 2017, p. 100). The social dimension reflects the social practices and institutions that enact memory. Finally, the mental dimension encompasses the cultural codes and value hierarchies that make memory meaningful to society. Although Erll (2017, p. 100) places media in the material dimension of her model, she writes that media can also take on a social dimension insofar as individuals consume, interpret, and react to media. Scholars from media studies have previously critiqued this separation, even though they have continued to focus on the "social" and "material" rather than the "mental" dimension of media production and reception (Finger, 2017, pp. 71–72; Zierold, 2008, p. 161). Rather than trying to distinguish the media, and especially journalism, in one category, it is more helpful to consider how journalism's material and social dimensions are constitutive for and constituted by the "mental" dimension of memory production.

Erll and Rigney (2009, p. 1) offer a first glimpse at how the media could integrate all three dimensions of memory culture through their concept of "remediation." This term describes the circular processes by which the media (re-)use other media representations in their production of memory (Erll & Rigney, 2009, p. 4). In this sense, "media are more than merely passive and transparent conveyors of information. They play an active role in shaping our understanding of the past, in 'mediating' between us (as readers, viewers, listeners) and past experiences, and hence in setting the agenda for future acts of remembrance within society." (Erll & Rigney, 2009, p. 3) Remediation draws attention to the dual role of media in simultaneously shaping society's archive and its canon (cf. chapter 3.1.2): By drawing on previous constructions of the past, the media function as both archive and canon in the continuous reshaping of the past. Building on this idea of remediation, Erll also introduces the term "premediation," which notes that "media which circulate in a given society provide schemata for new experience and its representation" (Erll, 2009, p. 111). Here, the media are not only producing knowledge about past events but, in so doing, also producing the boundaries through which new experiences are anticipated and made meaningful to audiences.

The multifaceted position of journalism in p/remediation becomes visible in Erll's (2009) study of the 1857 Indian mutiny against British colonial rule. In an arc echoing the memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide, she shows how the British press initially played an important role in producing the "atrocity stories," typically focusing on the betrayal of Indian troops and the rape and mutilation of the British, that still shape memories of this event today (Erll, 2009, p. 113). At one point, Erll shows line-by-line how an 1857 British newspaper account of a massacre was remediated twenty years later in an Indian work of fiction that was written in English (Erll, 2009, p. 123). However, jour-

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nalism is only mentioned as providing the "first draft" of memory (Kitch, 2008, p. 312), and the rest of the study concentrates on how the mutiny is remediated in British and Indian memoirs, fictional novels and films (Erll, 2009). This reflects Erll's disciplinary background in literature studies and typifies a common preconception of journalism's role in memory studies: Journalism is shown as the basis for later memory work rather than conducting memory work itself (Zelizer, 2008b). Erll (2009) does not show how journalism remediates past versions of its own coverage. Moreover, showing journalism as merely one more medium next to books and films also neglects the different processes of production and reception that determine how a medium's content can become effective and take on meanings in society. The content and distributary potential of a newspaper, for instance, has a very different intent and purpose than a fictional novel or movie.

Neglecting these media-specific differences obscures the power structures that ultimately determine which memories are or are not remediated. This becomes especially important when memories travel across national boundaries, as Erll's (2009) study of the Indian Mutiny suggests. In recent years, a variety of theoretical approaches have described the transnational or even global spread of memories through media technologies. These approaches are particularly important for my research interest, since the transnational framework of the Holocaust has been used to explain why the Herero and Nama genocide is or should be remembered and rectified in the present (cf. Wolff, 2016). To understand the problems that have arisen from the implicit reliance but lack of explicit theorization of journalism in these frameworks, I now briefly outline these theoretical approaches before showing how journalism can theoretically be positioned in memory production.

Mediated memory production in global contexts

To describe memory in global frameworks, Erll (2011, p. 11) introduces the idea of "travelling memory," which outlines how memories are constantly moving and shaping one another across national boundaries. This already became clear in Erll's (2009) study of the 1857 mutiny, which showed how memory has been shaped within and between India and Great Britain. Remediation is a useful concept to track memory's travels, as it shows how the media draw on previous mediated representations to describe the past, frequently crossing boundaries in the process. With the words of A. Assmann and Conrad (2010, p. 2):

> "Until recently, the dynamics of memory production unfolded primarily within the bounds of the nation state; coming to terms with the past was largely a national project. Under the impact of global mobility and movements, this has changed fundamentally. Global conditions have powerfully impacted on memory debates and, at the same time, memory has entered the global stage and global discourse. [… I]t is impossible to understand the trajectories of memory outside a global frame of reference."

Memory's transnational travels are often rooted in the theoretically global reception of (new) media products (Erll, 2011, pp. 12–13): Films on the Holocaust or images of 9/11 can, in principle, reach a wide audience that surpasses the collective of individuals that ex-

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perienced this event. In the following, I unpack the relationship between memory and media at the heart of many of these theories to show where a perspective from communication studies adds crucial insights.

The seed for the idea of increasingly global cultural memories can be found in Landsberg's (2004, p. 2) concept of "prosthetic memory," where she writes that media, particularly novels and films, enable audiences to vicariously experience memories that did not personally involve them. This becomes possible because "mass cultural technologies have the capacity to create shared social frameworks for people who inhabit, literally and figuratively, different social spaces, practices and beliefs." (Landsberg, 2004, p. 8) Memory is "prosthetic" insofar as it is not personally experienced but can still become a part of how audiences view the world. Memories experienced in this way "do not belong exclusively to a particular group; that is, memories of the Holocaust do not belong only to Jews, nor do memories of slavery belong solely to African Americans" (Landsberg, 2004, p. 2). This contrasts with prior conceptualizations of collective and cultural memory, which suggest that the past must in some way have a relationship to prior group composition. Landsberg (2004, p. 25) suggests that memory consumed by a growing audience can produce "unexpected alliances across chasms of difference."

Landsberg's (2004) idea shows that changing technological potential in media products is often aligned with moral claims for how to make memory more inclusive: The ability of more individuals to discover or connect to memories from around the world is shown as a way for previously marginalized memories or perspectives to come to the forefront of memory. Another concept in this direction that is particularly relevant for the Herero and Nama genocide is the idea of "multidirectional memory" (Rothberg, 2009). This concept suggests that the production of cultural memory is not a competitive "zero-sum struggle" where the recollection of one memory automatically assumes that another will be forgotten (Rothberg, 2009, p. 3). Rather, the production of cultural memory is "subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing" across national boundaries, adding to instead of detracting from one another (Rothberg, 2009, p. 3). To exemplify this, Rothberg (2009) describes how memories of the Holocaust and colonialism have been connected to one another, from Hannah Arendt's "*The Origins of Totalitarianism*" to W. E. B. Du Bois' observations on the Warsaw Ghetto for the magazine *Jewish Life*. Although Rothberg does not explicitly theorize the role of media in-depth, he writes that "[w]hen we talk about collective Holocaust memory or about collective memories of colonialism and decolonization, we are talking primarily about shared memory […] that has been mediated through networks of communication" (Rothberg, 2009, p. 15).

However, by not exploring the strategies, processes and practices by which the media cover or connect memories, these concepts evade some of the (post-)colonial power structures that continue to shape memory production. This becomes especially clear when considering the travels of Holocaust memory, which is often at the center of many transnational or even global memory concepts and theories (Adebayo, 2023, p. 7). One example that illustrates this complexity is the Kigali Genocide Memorial, which commemorates the Rwandan Genocide. The museum contains multiple references to the Holocaust, "expressed for instance through paired pictures: […] measuring the noses of a Tutsi and a Jew; anti-Tutsi and anti-Semitic newspapers; or Tutsis' personal belongings

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left in haste and piles of shoes, widely recognized as one of the symbols of Auschwitz" (Wosińska, 2017, p. 193). These recognizable "symbols of Auschwitz" become possible through the circulation of memory through media – people must first recognize the "piles of shoes" before they can ascribe any meaning to them (Wosińska, 2017, p. 195). Furthermore, regarding the Kigali Genocide Memorial's connections to the Holocaust, Wosińska (2017, pp. 193–194) writes, "This is not very surprising given that its sponsor and co-organizer is the Aegis Trust, whose main office – called the Holocaust Centre – is located in Great Britain."

In addition, in his study on African genocide novels, Anyaduba (2021, p. 62) writes, "In trying to witness and make genocides occurring in the African postcolonies thinkable, African and non-African writers have appropriated cosmopolitanized memories of the Holocaust in ways resulting in the depiction of African genocidal suffering understood in Eurocentric terms". These examples raise a fundamental question: For whom are mnemonic connections made – and for whom are they not made? Erll (2011, p. 15) notes that "[n]ot each 'memory around the globe' will automatically become a veritable 'global memory'". However, the question of how and why some memories travel further or connect more than others is not centered in many of the theoretical concepts above.

This connects to the fundamental critique that has become clear throughout this chapter: A focus on media through technological possibility can lead to the presumption that the globalization of memory is a new process, enabled by new technologies (Landsberg, 2004, p. 3). However, as Erll's (2009) example of the Indian Mutiny and as historians such as Conrad (2013) have shown, memories traveling across national boundaries have deep roots in the colonial experience and have often helped to establish the very boundaries they transcend. To capture these processes and answer the question above, the research perspective must shift from *whether* to *how* specific media institutions such as journalism connect memories in their coverage. While concepts such as remediation and premediation draw attention to the dynamic processes of memory construction, a more media-centered perspective is needed to understand not only the processes by which society makes sense of media products but also by which media themselves reflect and shape the social structures in their production of memory.

To summarize, the chapters above have shown that journalism is often conceptualized as a "first draft" in memory production. However, previous literature has often neglected the various institutional amplifications or repressions that are required for individual testimonials to actively become part of cultural memory (Kansteiner, 2010). The absence of journalism in conceptualizations of memory production has had considerable impact on the claims of what memory can and cannot do, as shown in theorizations of memory's transnational or even global travels. This has occasionally led to generalizing concepts of an essential "memory" that has specific ("healing") qualities in and of itself rather than considering the specific actors and motives involved in creating competing versions of the past (Engert, 2009, p. 277). To escape this quagmire, Kansteiner (2002) has argued for methodological approaches from communication studies to draw attention to the institutional structures, producers, and audiences of memory construction. Beyond a mere methodological addition, however, a theoretical framework that connects journalism to memory is crucial for addressing many of the blind spots above. To this end, the following chapter 3.2 now combines perspectives from cultural and communication

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studies to show how journalism produces cultural memory as a discursive authority in society.

3.2 Journalism's production of cultural memory

This chapter connects journalism studies with memory studies to show how journalism produces cultural memory in society. For this, chapter 3.2.1 begins by using approaches from cultural studies to situate journalism as a (contested) discursive authority in society. This is particularly useful for connecting journalism with the theoretical concepts outlined above. Next, chapter 3.2.2 shows how objectivity functions as a discursive practice through which journalism outlines how statements about the past can (not) become effective in maintaining or contesting power.

3.2.1 Journalism as a (contested) discursive authority

Embedded within most descriptions of journalism lies a common expectation: journalism should provide orientation and guidance in a complex world (Arnold, 2009, p. 162). In the past, theoretical explanations of how journalism achieves this societal function have typically been rooted in Western historical experiences and norms (Arnold, 2009; Schudson, 2018; Vos, 2018; Zelizer, 2014). This means that much of the theoretical literature, both within and beyond communications studies, broadly relies on an idea of journalism supplying information to a well-defined audience of citizens with certain ideals of political participation – notwithstanding the persistent patterns of exclusion that belie these ideals (Fraser, 2007, p. 8). This normative underpinning is not limited to communication studies but has become a central part of journalism's self-description, leading to discrepancies between scholarly, professional, and practical descriptions of journalistic work (Zelizer, 1993, 2004). Defining what journalism is often becomes an exercise in comparison with a Western ideal rather than a description of societal function (cf. Mamdani, 1996, p. 9). Moreover, journalism's institutional claims of topicality and novelty have also hindered previous connections between journalism and memory studies: "A recognition of journalists' work as engaged with memory thereby proceeds by definition against journalists' own rhetoric of what they claim to do." (Zelizer, 2008a, p. 381) In a field concerned primarily with reproductions of the past, journalism often does not seem like an obvious research object (Olick, 2014, pp. 20, 23; Zelizer, 2008a, p. 379).

The following chapter addresses these challenges by describing journalism's role in society through its relationship with power. For this, I use approaches from cultural studies to locate journalistic work in the broader context of power and knowledge production in society (Dorer, 2002, p. 54). Cultural studies is a transdisciplinary project focused on critical cultural analysis through radical contextualization, critical self-reflection and political intervention to contest hegemonic power relations in society (Hepp & Winter, 2003, p. 11). Approaches from cultural studies have previously been used in journalism (Zelizer, 2004, p. 182) and memory studies (Keightley, 2008; Lohmeier & Böhling, 2021). Combining these two approaches helps me to analyze journalism's production of mem-

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ory as the organization and hierarchization of (un-)true and (un-)comfortable knowledge about the past.

In this perspective, "culture" is a historically structured pattern of symbolic meaning-making that encompasses all activities and interactions of everyday life (Fiske, 2003, p. 15). Compared to A. Assmann and Assmann's (1994) definition of culture (cf. chapter 3.1.2), cultural studies places a heightened emphasis on the actual "doing" of remembrance through everyday cultural practices (Lohmeier & Böhling, 2021, p. 3). Through their productive ability to shape how meaning is expressed in daily interactions, cultural practices are both constitutive for and constituted by existing social orders (Göttlich, 2008, p. 99). As such, culture is a site of constant struggle between different institutions and groups (Thompson, 1961, p. 33). Whereas cultural memory often views this struggle from a top-down perspective (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 36), cultural studies specifically analyze resistance to hegemonic knowledge structures (Hall, 2019b, p. 360). Thus, the research gaze shifts from the extraordinary to the everyday to question how memory is perpetuated and power is de/legitimized in routine social and institutional interactions (Hepp & Winter, 2003, p. 11). This is not to say that extraordinary moments of commemoration and ritual lose their significance. However, it expands the importance of these events to view how they impact collective meaning-making beyond one celebration per year.

Understanding culture in this way opens a unique vantage point for viewing journalism in relation to memory. Through the ritual of repetitive consumption, production, and societal appropriation of journalistic texts, journalism can be analyzed as a cultural practice in society (Lünenborg, 2016, p. 329). Its coverage serves to structure and explain everyday events in a way that ascribes meaning to them. In the words of Carey (1989, p. 20): "News reading, and writing, is a ritual act and moreover a dramatic one. What is arrayed before the reader is not pure information but a portrayal of the contending forces in the world." By addressing a general audience in its texts and achieving (or at least professing to achieve) broad reception, journalism signifies that its texts represent common knowledge and enables a collective process of meaning-making about the past (Meyen, 2013, p. 33).

The process of meaning-making in and through journalism is not merely an act of knowledge conveyance but rather of knowledge circulation. Hall (2019a, p. 258) conceptualized this circulation of knowledge with his en-/decoding model of television discourse: "In the moment when the historical event passes under the sign of language, it is subject to all the complex formal 'rules' by which language signifies". In this model, journalists encode information based on institutional structures, professional networks, organized routines, and technical infrastructures. Audiences then decode this knowledge based on their discursive position within society (Hall, 2019a, p. 259). Journalism is thereby understood as the constant process of knowledge circulation between producers and audiences.

This understanding leads to the important insight that the producer's initial intention is never fully realized in the audience's decoding (Hall, 2019a, p. 272). In other words, journalism's portrayal of cultural memory is the site of multiple points of interpretation. The boundaries of canon and archive remain permeable through subversive interpretive potential. While Hall focuses on the importance of class, researchers have also noted

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that gender, ethnicity, and racial identity, among other aspects, play an important role in defining how texts are produced, read, and understood (Eason, 1990, p. 211; Lünenborg, 2005, p. 52). This latter point will be considered in more detail in chapter 4.

Through the lens of cultural studies, journalism is not a finished product but rather an active process of symbolic collective orientation that occurs through the circulation of knowledge between audiences and producers. This understanding differs slightly from previous analytical approaches to journalism, which often separate processes of production, reception and the media text itself (Zelizer, 2004; cf. chapter 3.1.3). By understanding journalism as knowledge circulation instead of mere transmission, I can locate journalism's role for memory in the social frameworks of memory described in the previous chapter.

Many of the descriptions above rest on the assumption that journalism is one of the primary sources of information that group members use to learn about the world "out there." However, this understanding of journalism is increasingly being challenged. New technological possibilities, particularly the rise of social media, have fueled debates on journalism's changing (or waning) role in society (cf. Deuze & Witschge, 2018). This leads to the question: Does journalism still maintain the societal function outlined above? To answer these questions, it is necessary to consider how power is effectively negotiated, enacted and challenged through journalism, especially outside of heavily studied Western contexts. For this, I will now briefly outline the critiques against journalism's authority, which will help me to clarify my conceptualization of journalism in relationship to (post-)colonial memory production.

Journalism and the contested production of "truth" in society

From its inception as a field, scholars in cultural studies have argued that the overwhelming academic emphasis on "quality" media has privileged hegemonic (white, male-dominated) knowledge production in research (cf. Fiske, 2003). Hence, cultural studies focuses on "alternative" and popular sources of knowledge production, such as tabloids or reality television shows, to explore topics that remain unaddressed by mainstream journalistic production (Arnold, 2009, pp. 210–211; Zelizer, 2004, p. 198). A similar argument is also brought forward in African media studies, where scholars argue that the previous academic attention on "quality" media has reflected Western imaginations of what journalism should be, continuing to entrench colonial power structures within and beyond academia (Nyamnjoh, 2013).

These critiques point to an important blind spot that was outlined at the beginning of this chapter: Previous research has often equated Western experiences with definitions of journalism and journalistic practice. Journalistic practices of meaning-making in former colonies were thus often shown as "different" while continuing to normalize the practices and (self-)representation of journalism in Western nations (cf. Mutsvairo et al., 2021). On top of this, there is very little research on journalism in countries like Namibia, a challenge that will be reflected throughout this dissertation (cf. chapter 5.2.3).

As shown above, many critiques have built on a dichotomy between "quality" and "alternative" journalism. In previous research, this dichotomy has often reinforced a juxtaposition between traditional journalism as a reflection of hegemonic power and alternative journalistic practices or media outlets as resistance to power. This has led to the term

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"alternative media" often being used synonymously with participatory and/or emancipatory media, especially in the context of the Global South (Forde, 2011, p. ix). In this understanding, the "media" can refer to any number of objects, from "talking drums" to "folk songs" (Mare, 2020, p. 82). This reestablishes many of the critiques that have already been pointed out in chapter 3.1.3: The idea of the "media" becomes so wide that specific practices and their function in society can become lost. This can serve to essentialize differences between Western and non-Western experiences and obfuscate the role of power in knowledge production, especially regarding media access.

To underline this point, it is useful to briefly consider that communications research from Namibia suggests that digital media is not necessarily replacing but rather complementing traditional media consumption in a nation with an internet penetration of about 50% (Shihomeka, 2019, p. 64). Moreover, Cheruiyot et al. (2021, p. 1) write that "the dominant agenda-setting media in most African countries [are] either state- or privately run press" and identify this as a challenge to non-legacy media. Instead of distinguishing media as "quality" or "alternative," it is instead helpful to define journalism through its specific relationship to power. While it is necessary to critique the (post-)colonial power structures in the theoretical conceptualization of journalism, these power structures should not be ignored in the description of how journalism is practiced and consumed in both formerly colonizing and formerly colonized nations.

Therefore, rather than focusing on journalism as a static product, it is necessary to ask how journalism articulates and produces a particular relationship to power in different societies. Hence, building on Bach (2016, p. 46), I conceptualize journalism as a cultural discursive authority that formats and thereby produces knowledge in society. This definition of journalism builds on work by Foucault (1981, pp. 58, 61), who uses the term "discursive formation" to describe similarities in the construction of a set of statements (a "discourse"). When discursive levels such as journalism change the constitution of statements that make up a particular subject, such as the Herero and Nama genocide, they also shape the way this event can become meaningful and shape power in society (Foucault, 1970, p. 8).

Through a variety of practices and performances, journalism outlines a particular relationship to "truth": It purports that it is not merely interpreting but reflecting reality (Broersma, 2010b, p. 26; Hartley, 1996, p. 36; Zelizer, 2004, p. 24). For their part, readers are aware of these performances and use them to gauge the importance of various events for their decisions and actions in the present, particularly in relation to reigning power relations (Broersma, 2010b, p. 26). Audiences must understand these rules, if only to break them, to make effective claims for subjects such as the Herero and Nama genocide.

In this line of thinking, journalism's claim to "truth" and its production of truth go hand in hand. This societal function is mutually reinforced through journalism's institutional relationship to sources of power in society. In the words of Schudson (2018, p. 15): "What news items have the President or the Congress, governors or mayors, or corporate executives been forced by law or by public opinion to respond to?"[1] Through its

1 See Daniels (2018) for an examination of journalism's role in the criticism and eventual resignation of Jacob Zuma, the President of South Africa.

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practices of knowledge production, journalism is neither purporting to provide a historical (re-)enactment of the past nor a comprehensive explanation of the past. Rather, it is suggesting that it is only providing those pieces of the past that are "true" in the sense that the imagined audience needs them to understand and make decisions in a present shaped by power structures (Meyen, 2013, p. 51). It is precisely this function of journalism that makes it so crucial for understanding societal memory production, as the following chapters explore in more detail.

Linking journalism to the enactment and experience of power in society means that journalism can and does look different in various temporal, spatial and cultural contexts. Thus, the way a Namibian journalist might signify "truth" can differ from a German journalist, as will be explored in the following chapters. At the same time, journalism did not arise in a vacuum but was shaped by historical processes such as colonialism (cf. Zeigerer, 2016). These experiences have not only shaped the Namibian media system (Rothe, 2010) but have also shaped how "truth" is produced and circulated in German journalism today. Tracing journalism through its relationship to power can help to include regional differences without essentializing them or reinforcing national boundaries as the limits of journalistic practices.

There is no doubt: Journalism's authority is and always has been contested by different actors and sources of information (Forde, 2011, p. ix; Lünenborg, 2012, p. 448). Mass media are not the all-encompassing mode of public communication that memory researchers like A. Assmann and Assmann (1994) tended to assume. Instead, new practices of knowledge production and consumption are increasingly arising with digital media, while established practices such as the *radio trottoir* continue to hold significant subversive potential (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 209; Shihomeka, 2019, p. 65).

The question now becomes: How does journalism defend its societal position against these potential contestations? To answer this question, I now shift my focus to the practices and performances by which journalism signals a specific relationship to "truth," and thus to power. This will then enable me to consider how journalism specifically shapes cultural memory.

3.2.2 Performing "truth" in journalism through objectivity

Journalism is constantly deciding which events to cover and which to neglect in its coverage (Neuberger & Kapern, 2013, p. 159). This provides it with a unique ability to limit knowledge and determine which events will or will not become relevant in explaining power. At the same time, these selection processes leave journalism open to criticism from outside sources of information (Broersma, 2010b, p. 28).

Tuchman (1972, p. 662) writes that objectivity is one of the main "performance 'strategies'" that are "used offensively to anticipate attack or defensively to deflect criticism" in journalism. In the research literature, objectivity is typically rooted in the professionalization of journalism in the early 20th century, typically in European or Anglo-American contexts (Neuberger & Kapern, 2013, 157 f.; Schudson, 2018, p. 51; Zelizer, 1993, p. 220). This reflects the conundrums that have already been outlined above: Academic concepts of objectivity have ignored non-Western experiences while also making it impossible to include these experiences by labeling them "subjective" (Adeduntan, 2018, p. 1712). Yet,

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research shows that journalists and audiences around the world still overwhelmingly use this category to define or demand journalistic work (Craft et al., 2016, p. 687; Edgerly & Vraga, 2020, p. 426; Zirugo, 2021, p. 273).

In the following, I build on Tuchman (1972) to define objectivity as a strategic ritual that is anchored in temporally and spatially variable contexts and is materially visible in journalistic work. Objectivity functions as a discursive practice that outlines the rules by which a particular statement is considered "true" and can therefore become effective in (de-)legitimizing power (Foucault, 1981, p. 171). Instead of viewing objectivity as a set relationship between the text and "reality" (Mateus, 2018, p. 66), this definition views objectivity as a way of performatively hierarchizing knowledge and, in this way, regulating and challenging power relations in society. Viewing how objectivity is maintained or challenged provides insights into journalism's relationship with power in different contexts.

Tuchman (1972, p. 662) breaks objectivity into form, content and the interorganizational relationships of journalism. In the following, I briefly explore Tuchman's (1972) division to show how the various aspects of journalistic knowledge production come together to draw the boundaries around legitimate knowledge about the past.

Organizing knowledge through journalistic form

As Zelizer (2008a, p. 382) has pointed out, journalism evokes "memory through form and content" by determining how, when and why memory can arise in reporting. Understanding these distinctions is important for my later analysis of journalistic content. Hence, in the following, I first focus on journalistic practices of form before moving on to content.

Schudson (1995, p. 54) writes that "the power of the media lies not only [...] in its power to declare things to be true, but in its power to provide the forms in which the declarations appear". By selecting a specific form to present its information, journalism determines a specific relationship between the event it describes and the journalistic (re-)presentation of that event (Lünenborg, 2017, p. 371). In so doing, journalism determines how audiences will experience and interact with the content of the text. The "form" of journalism can be further subdivided into the design, structure and genre of a text (Broersma, 2010b, p. 21).

Design encompasses the haptic layout of a media text, from typography to graphic elements such as news images (Broersma, 2010a, pp. 21–22). These design elements, along with the physical length of news items, signal to the audience the significance of a particular event for the collective (Broersma, 2010a, p. 21) and help to convey meaning before the audience has even read the content (Zelizer, 1998, p. 10). For instance, colonial images in articles can convey meanings not made explicit in the text, as will be explored in more detail in chapter 4.2.2.

The choice of design generates expectation, stimulates interest and provides a preliminary indication of significance for the audience (Pörksen, 2008, p. 297). Journalists will often use design to indicate temporal differences between past and present in their reporting by publishing special anniversary editions or using music to indicate that they are now moving on to special commemorative coverage (Meyers et al., 2012, p. 71). Meyers et al. (2012, p. 72) show that on the annual Memorial Day for the Holocaust and Heroism (MDHH), Israeli television news broadcasts will usually omit the typical sports segment

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and the upbeat sign-off jingle to signal the transition from the news into memorial coverage. In this way, they signal a break from "ordinary" reporting. Moreover, before MDHH ceremonies, Israeli broadcasters will air teasers using footage of previous commemorations, preparing the audience for what is to come before the actual coverage has even begun (Meyers et al., 2014, pp. 93–94). Design elements function as a strategy of premediation (cf. chapter 3.1.3): By using (or not using) specific design elements, journalists decide how audiences will assess and interact with commemorative coverage.

Next, *structure* describes how the importance of a subject to the audience's reality is performatively conveyed to the audience. This becomes visible in journalism's hierarchization of topics, which has previously been studied through journalism's selection of rubrics or placement of a topic under a particular page number (Tuchman, 1972, p. 671). Determining where memory is placed in the structure of a journalistic article or report can provide an insight into how its relevance is signaled to the audience. Much of the previous research literature has focused on memories that are prominently placed on the front pages of newspapers, such as Holocaust commemoration or the commemoration of 9/11, which clearly signals that a memory is part of a collective's canon. By contrast, past events covered under "lifestyle," "international news" or "culture" sections signal a different relationship to present reality, suggesting that past events might be more important for some groups rather than necessary knowledge for the entire collective. Through its topical choice, journalism effectively draws the boundaries between archive and canon in society (cf. chapter 3.1.2).

Finally, on the boundary between Tuchman's (1972) descriptions of form and content lies the *genre* of an article. A genre encompasses culturally recognizable and ritualized forms of knowledge presentation in journalism (Lünenborg, 2017, p. 371). Genres fulfill a specific purpose in journalism's production of knowledge by providing legitimized spaces where "news" can be separated from "opinion" in journalism (Neuberger & Kapern, 2013, p. 151; Pörksen, 2008, p. 298; Tuchman, 1972, p. 664), even though these boundaries are fluid and not static (Edgerly & Vraga, 2020; Lünenborg, 2017, p. 376). Whereas design and structure indicate how important a text is for a reader, a genre begins to address how the "truthfulness" of a text is constructed for the audience.

A study of indigenous language radio broadcasts in Nigeria indicates the fluidity between genres, which often rely on the juxtaposition to other genres to establish a specific claim to truthfulness (Adeduntan, 2018). In Yoruba talk shows, reading and translating English-language newspaper stories out loud is a mainstay of coverage. Newspapers are viewed as high-quality and "objective" sources of information by both audiences and government alike (Adeduntan, 2018, p. 1716). However, as the hosts read from these papers, they implicitly mock their stilted way of writing. They then add elements, such as performing the stories in traditional dialogues or drawing on religious symbolism and emotions (Adeduntan, 2018, p. 1723). The news reporters draw on established genres of news presentation in the newspapers to show that they are reflecting "truth" and emphasize that they are not adding anything. At the same time, their performance of this information is used to convey "truth" in a specific cultural context (Adeduntan, 2018, p. 1719).

While it is also not part of most descriptions of genre or journalistic form, it is useful to mention that language is also an important aspect of performing objectivity, particularly in (post-)colonial nations. An analysis of journalism in Indonesia found that the

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choice to publish in English in a non-English-speaking country often made newspapers appear more objective to readers (Carpenter & Sosale, 2019). The choice of English-language reporting both suggested that readers and writers were shielded from potential government backlash while simultaneously performing proximity to sources of power in society, particularly those economic or intellectual elites that could read English (Carpenter & Sosale, 2019, p. 287). "Through this interpretive strategy, journalists transferred the status and power associated with English […] to both readers and the newspaper itself." (Carpenter & Sosale, 2019, p. 288) Thus, the choice of language both signifies and produces a certain relationship to power that shapes how readers can interact with the text.

These examples show how journalistic form both uses and produces cultural cues to signify its relationship to truth, indicating a relationship between the content of the article and the lived reality of the audience (Broersma, 2010a, p. 17; Hanitzsch et al., 2019, p. 27): This determines expectations of truthfulness and relevance for the article and leads to Tuchman's (1972) second pillar of objectivity: content.

Content: Un/truth as acceptable controversy

In the content of an article, journalists make strategic decisions that determine which subjects will be shown as consensus or controversy. Depending on how much background information journalists give, they determine which topics are shown as "common sense" (Tuchman, 1972, p. 674) and which require further explanation. Moreover, the boundaries of consensus and controversy also determine which perspectives can become visible and which remain invisible throughout the story. A common practice of objectivity, for instance, is quoting "both sides of a story" (Broersma, 2010b, p. 28). By suggesting that they are presenting "both sides," journalists simultaneously limit how many perspectives can be heard on an issue.

To understand this process, it is helpful to draw on Hallin's (1986) division of objectivity into three concentric circles. The first, innermost circle is the "sphere of consensus," which reflects events and concepts whose interpretation is generally accepted in the collective (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). These are issues that do not have to be explained by the journalist – they can be openly supported and still be viewed as objective. In Hallin's (1986, p. 116) study, which dealt with the Vietnam War, the "sphere of consensus" encompassed ideals such as the necessity of patriotism or the superiority of capitalism. From the perspective of memory construction, this could include the idea that the Holocaust was a horrible event.

Surrounding the sphere of controversy is the sphere of legitimate controversy, which comprises everything that can be reasonably debated within society (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). The sphere of controversy is the space where journalists draw on "the judicious use of quotation marks" to suggest that they are merely conveying various viewpoints (Tuchman, 1972, p. 668). It also gives journalists decision power in determining which positions can or cannot become visible in the journalistic text. In keeping with the example of Holocaust memory above, this could encompass discussions over how the Holocaust should be remembered. Finally, the sphere of deviance is the outermost layer that Hallin (1986, p. 117) identifies. It has no firm boundaries and includes everything outside of the realm of the acceptable, such as explicit Holocaust denial. This sphere of deviance, ac-

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cording to Hallin (1986), outlines the boundaries of knowledge in society. However, given the theoretical perspective I have outlined above, I view the sphere of deviance as the space from which journalism's societal position can become criticized and contested by other sources of knowledge production in society. Journalism's work thus consists in continuously (re-)establishing the boundaries of legitimate controversy, consensus and deviance.

Cultural memory is both constituted by and constitutive for the establishment of consensus and legitimate controversy. "Common sense" (Tuchman, 1972, p. 674) becomes established in society through the ritual repetition of knowledge over time, as chapter 3.1 has already indicated. Memory is thus both produced by and utilized in journalism's production of the sphere of consensus. This is clear in Schudson's (2018) description of how the practices of objectivity have changed in U.S. journalism over the past fifty years. Whereas objectivity used to be portrayed through the direct repetition of official sources of power, signaling the proximity of journalists to elite decision-makers, this is no longer the case. Instead, in what Schudson (2018, p. 59) calls "objectivity 2.0," journalists since the 1960s have increasingly drawn on a more "contextual" style of journalism to signal critical distance between themselves and sources of authority in society. Rather than merely reporting on what occurred, journalism now also presents itself as an authority in describing *why* something occurred, using references to the past, historical facts and statistics to make sense of an event (Schudson, 2014, p. 88).

Finally, by presenting certain events from the past as consensus or legitimate controversy, journalism also determines which events can become part of society's cultural memory. Li and Lee (2013) show how the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Tiananmen Square Massacre were shaped by memorial coverage in leading U.S. newspapers. The Tiananmen Square Massacre was shown as an object of legitimate controversy, enabling it to become an object of interpretation to de-/legitimize U.S. foreign policy (Li & Lee, 2013, pp. 836–837). By contrast, the Berlin Wall was shown as an immediate object of consensus and became widely associated with the definitive end of communism. The difficulties of the transition period were thus largely placed on former residents of East Germany rather than on West Germany; this interpretation could be shown as "common sense" since a general interpretation of the fall of communism had already been established (Li & Lee, 2013, p. 838). Journalism's production of the past as consensus and controversy will continue to be explored throughout the remainder of this dissertation. As chapter 2 has shown, the Herero and Nama genocide has been alternatively viewed as an object of legitimate controversy in political discourse (cf. Robel, 2013). Is information from the sphere of deviance now changing how the Herero and Nama genocide is being shown in German and Namibian journalism? Is it now becoming consensus, and if so, what are the boundaries of this newfound consensus?

For the boundaries of consensus and legitimate controversy to become effective in shaping power relations, journalistic media often have relatively similar interpretations of past events. For instance, most media often report on similar past events in their memorial editions. This points to the final pillar of objectivity outlined by Tuchman (1972): interorganizational relationships.

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Inter- and intraorganizational interpretive communities

Tuchman (1972, p. 672) describes interorganizational relationships as journalism's performative interactions with and judgment of other institutions, which shows them as being close to the power structures that they report on. These organizations are not only important for shaping journalism's relationships to other institutions in society but also for intraorganizational professional relationships. So-called leading media, which are consumed by societal elites, often have an outsized role in shaping coverage throughout the journalistic field (cf. Foucault, 1978, p. 52; Meyen, 2013, p. 33). Journalists of leading media are also often personally acquainted with societal elites as part of their profession. Taken together, this provides journalism with a powerful discursive position to write "exclusive" information that other media then cover and amplify (Meyen, 2013, p. 52). Given this relationship to power, journalism's coverage also often centers on elite individuals in society, furthering the interrelation between knowledge production and power (de-)legitimization (Dorer, 2002, 54 f.; Fürsich, 2010, p. 117; Meyen, 2013, p. 25).

The performance of objectivity, or the ability to reflect and shape "truth," through interorganizational relationships has clearly been shaped by (post-)colonial power relations. Many media sources in southern Africa, particularly state broadcasters, were often founded during colonialism to further colonial aims or during the independence struggle to fight colonial power (Ibelema & Bosch, 2009, pp. 295–296). While the role of the media has changed post-independence, the ownership structures have often transferred from former colonizers to the newly independent governments (Kivikuru, 2005, pp. 326–327; Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 40; Rothe, 2010, p. 13). This proximity to the government has often been used to critique sub-Saharan African media products, reflecting serious concerns with press freedom in some nations (Nyamnjoh, 2013, p. 2).[2] However, by defining interorganizational relationships as part of journalism's performance of objectivity, it is possible to add more nuance to this understanding. Through the understanding of objectivity above, journalism's relationship to power must be understood against a historical backdrop of power legitimization and production. Namibian and German journalism's specific relationship to power in these (post-)colonial contexts will continue to be explored in more detail in the following chapters.

In addition to these interorganizational relationships, it is useful to also draw attention to the intraorganizational relationships at the heart of journalism's performance of objectivity: Journalism is continuously describing (and rewriting) its role in society through the production of institutional memory. To understand this process, it is useful to draw on Zelizer's (1993) concept of "interpretive communities." Journalists are a community of individuals "united by [their] shared discourse and collective interpretations of key public events" (Zelizer, 1993, p. 219). In other words, journalists tend to come to similar conclusions about events not only because they are influenced by other institutions or by what certain leading media with a high circulation and high-profile authors write: Similar interpretations also strengthen journalism's discursive authority in society.

Zelizer (1993, p. 224) locates this authority in journalism's ability to do "double-time," which she loosely bases on Homi Bhabha's description of national subjects as both the ob-

2 The specific relationship of the Namibian media to power sources in the country and its production and reception conditions within the nation will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.2.3.

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jects as well as the subjects of historical signification (Bhabha, 1990, p. 297). She broadens this explanation to the practice of journalism as a community of individuals that crystallizes around certain "hot moments" of collective interpretation (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 259, cited in Zelizer, 1993, p. 224). In a locational mode of interpretation, journalists first establish a way of reporting about a significant event within the community as the event is happening. Then, in the durational mode of interpretation, journalists retell the event while shifting the details over time to reinforce their authority (Zelizer, 1993, pp. 224–225).

In transferring Bhabha's (1990) description to journalism, Zelizer (1993) focuses on how the journalistic interpretive community interprets past events to establish its current boundaries as a professional collective. By comparing the locational and durational mode of interpretation around key events such as McCarthyism or Watergate in U.S. journalism, Zelizer (1993, p. 232) shows that these events have continuously been reinterpreted to reflect current values for the U.S. journalistic collective. When journalism explains moments of professional lapses, such as the Janet Cooke scandal, it usually creates a memory of this event that focuses largely on individual over institutional scandals (Carlson, 2014, p. 38). These examples show that objectivity is not merely a set of practices that journalists adhere to but also a set of stories they retell over time.

To summarize, the sections above have shown how journalism's form, content and interorganizational organizations produce the conditions in which knowledge is shown to be "true." Objectivity thereby functions as a discursive practice in journalism to regulate how cultural memory can be evoked by determining how statements about the past must be organized in specific times and spaces to become effective (J. Assmann, 1995, 130 f.). Given this background, the following chapter now goes one step further: How does journalism strategically (dis-)connect the past, present and future through the discursive practices outlined above? To answer this question, chapter 3.3 now delves into the previous research literature from communication and media studies and shows possibilities and gaps for analyzing the Herero and Nama genocide.

3.3 Forms of memory in journalism: Research perspectives and gaps

The preceding chapter has theoretically situated "journalism within culture, not apart from it, reminding us that journalism is a form of, not merely a conduit for, memory." (Kitch, 2008, p. 317) Previous research in communication studies on the relationship between journalism and memory has typically clustered around three points of interest (cf. Pentzold et al., 2022, pp. 7–13): The first revolves around different media technologies enabling various forms of memory production (Frosh & Pinchevski, 2009; Hoskins, 2016; Meyers et al., 2011), combined with a focus on how audiences employ these media formats to establish or recall certain memories (Finger, 2017; Volkmer & Lee, 2014). The second point of interest asks how journalism produces institutional memories to uphold and defend its discursive authority in society (Carlson, 2014, 2016; Carlson & Berkowitz, 2012; Zelizer, 1990, 1993; Zirugo, 2021). The third focal point explores how journalism's reporting reflects and produces social norms, often with a primary emphasis on the content of reporting.

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Given my research interest, I will be concentrating primarily on the third of these focal points to show how journalism, through the discursive practices outlined above, determines which knowledge about the past can or cannot become visible. For this, I will highlight two specific aspects: journalism's use of temporality in its reporting and the performance of witnessing the past. Both aspects show how journalism's circulation of knowledge between audiences and producers produces temporal and spatial boundaries that enable or suppress specific engagements with the past.

3.3.1 Temporal (dis-)connections: From commemorations to analogies

In this section, I consider how journalism produces a particular relationship to time for the imagined audience. In this vein, Edy (1999) separates journalism's use of the past into commemorations, contexts and analogies. Commemorations are moments when the collective "looks back" at what has occurred. Also called "calendar journalism" or "anniversary journalism," this type of reporting focuses on the past as an explicit topic of reporting, frequently in special issues, rubrics or magazines (Li & Lee, 2013, p. 840; cf. chapter 3.2.2). By making the past the explicit topic of reporting, journalism clearly outlines both what happened and how the collective is reacting to the past today, often by covering present-day commemorations or memorial ceremonies (Edy, 1999, pp. 74–75). This is the most visible form of journalistic memory production and has often been at the center of previous communication research (Arnold et al., 2012).

How does journalism select which events will become covered in commemorative journalism and which will not? Edy (1999, p. 74) writes, "The process by which the events to be commemorated are chosen is unclear. In many cases, it appears that a kind of social inertia is built up behind the event, bringing a variety of social events (e.g., wreath layings, reenactments, speeches at a memorial or the site of the event itself) that provide news pegs for journalists." This suggests that journalism follows pre-established mnemonic frameworks; however, it does not consider how journalism could build up this "social inertia" itself (Edy, 1999, p. 74).

Interestingly, journalism's role in producing commemorative events is especially clear in moments when coverage goes against established mnemonic structures. For example, Johnson (2016) shows how English-language South African newspapers produced the memory of the Soweto uprising on June 16, 1976, by ritually reporting with a blank front page on that date. During apartheid, newspapers were restricted in what they could write about the uprising. On the ten-year anniversary of the Soweto uprising, the *Weekly Mail* published a blank page, noting that it was not allowed to write about what had happened or was happening that day (Johnson, 2016, p. 1144). Through performative silence, the newspaper both established its own discursive authority by pointing to something that it was not allowed to report on while also engraining the events of June 16 in audience members' minds. Johnson (2016, p. 1153) shows how newspapers not only set up the date but also established the appropriate framework for remembering the Soweto uprising by calling on individuals to go to church to avoid potential unrest in the streets. This helped to construct June 16 as a fundamentally depoliticized event that focused on the death of innocent individuals, which was later important in the establishment of the holiday in independent South Africa (Johnson, 2016, p. 1155).

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Another example by Meyers et al. (2014) shows how the Israeli Remembrance Day for the Holocaust became established during Israel's founding years as a nation through journalistic debates and controversies. Initially, there was disagreement over whether and when to commemorate the Holocaust. Potential dates brought forth by various factions of society included the day of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the day of the destruction of the first Temple of Jerusalem, while the Israeli Knesset suggested a date closer to Independence Day (Meyers et al., 2014, p. 24). By habitually reporting on the Knesset's date (even if just to criticize the "wrong" date), Israeli newspapers gradually cemented the holiday within Israeli society, which now takes place as a precursor to Independence Day (Meyers et al., 2014, p. 28). These examples show that the ritual reporting of newspapers can produce mnemonic sites and commemorative events, even when these events are not yet established within the collective.

The examples above show that, in commemorative coverage, journalists are not just retelling what happened in the past but also showing how collectives should react to what happened in the past today. McConville et al. (2016) show that in print coverage of Anzac Day in New Zealand (Aotearoa), those who do not adhere to this framework – for instance, a motorcycle group that made too much noise and disrupted a commemorative ceremony – are portrayed in journalism as "disrespectful menaces" (McConville et al., 2016, p. 105). Indigenous Māori are often not shown as part of these ceremonies or, when they are, as participating in ways that support the hegemonic emotional framework, such as through performances in established commemorations (McConville et al., 2016, p. 105). In this way, those that disrupt commemorative performances become part of journalism's "sphere of deviance" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117).

In her analysis of U.S. anniversary magazines, Kitch (2005, p. 128) also finds that journalism edits out dissonant voices or perspectives to facilitate nostalgic representations of the past that typically reflect dominant perspectives in the collective. In decade reviews, U.S. magazines often focus on the 1920s or the 1950s, which are shown as exotic times of flappers or "postwar, suburban domesticity and prosperity" (Kitch, 2005, p. 29). Markedly less referenced are the 1910s, when the Socialist Party gained national prominence, or the Great Depression of the 1930s. Kitch (2005, p. 29) writes, "While these omissions have political implications, they most likely have narrative causes: it is not the unpopular but rather the incongruous that gets left out of these summary stories." In other words, these events do not lend themselves to the ritual retelling of the past that journalism has established.

While these results can help explain why the Herero and Nama genocide has previously been absent from depictions of colonialism in Germany and Namibia (cf. chapter 2), it again does not help to explain why the genocide is reappearing today. This points to a broader blind spot underlying the previous research: Most studies on journalism and memory have analyzed moments that mirror hegemonic interpretations of the past. Audiences are thus assumed to easily be able to identify the commemorative frameworks that journalists both use and produce in their coverage. Yet, how does journalism construct the relationship to the past when the events in question are not widely established or even negate previous constructions of the past?

A first indication can be found in Röger's (2009) study of German and Polish news coverage on the forced expulsion of Germans from present-day Poland after the Sec-

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ond World War. She writes, "In the case of flight and expulsion other 'occasions for remembering' besides the anniversaries can be observed. The main causes for reporting about this issue are political events connected to the historical event." (Röger, 2009, p. 191) Hence, in Germany, much of the media coverage focused on reviews of cultural products, such as books and documentaries. In their reviews, journalists would pronounce the importance of certain cultural products, following up on novels or films and thereby prolonging the initial moment of mnemonic reactivation by producing their own mnemonic events (Röger, 2009, p. 192). As with the example of the Soweto uprising above, the German news media did not claim that it was echoing the speakable but rather explicitly thematizing the unspeakable through its coverage:

> "Regarding the (false) claim that the forced migration had been a taboo, the idea almost suggests itself that some media not only legitimize their coverage this way but also stage their own coverage as an event: if there is a taboo, it can be broken, and the very coverage itself can become an event this way. […B]y constantly repeating that there had been a taboo, they created it and that way created a new status in cultural memory for the topic of flight and expulsion." (Röger, 2009, p. 193)

In Poland, much of the coverage centered on academic research and debates (Röger, 2009, p. 191). This produced the memory of German expulsion as part of the "sphere of legitimate controversy" in journalism, showing it as an event that had "two sides" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). Röger's (2009) study provides useful clues for showing how journalism reports in the moments when memory is not yet settled, providing the possibility for numerous interpretations by focusing on present political events rather than on settled commemorative ceremonies.

In her study, Röger (2009) blurs the boundaries between "commemorative" and "contextual" journalism. Whereas commemorative journalism is used to describe "what happened," contextual journalism is used to explain "how we got here" (Edy, 1999, p. 80; cf. Schudson, 2014). The blurring between both boundaries is especially clear when acts of commemoration become acts of protest. A study on protests in Hong Kong on the day of the Tiananmen Square Massacre found that mnemonic conflict and contextualization were conducive strategies of collective mobilization (Lee & Chan, 2016, p. 1007). When a local politician disputed China's role in the Tiananmen Square Massacre, activist groups were able to mobilize and generate newspaper coverage that cemented their interpretation of the event by using it as an explanation for their present protests (Lee & Chan, 2016, p. 1008).

In addition, Kinnebrock (2019, p. 385) shows how German women's movements use and produce "bottom-up" memories as a form of activism in the present. These movements are often in a symbiotic relationship with the media to generate attention for their interpretation of the past (Kinnebrock, 2019, p. 376). News factors such as personalization, conflict, surprise, and geographic proximity determine if and how past events can become part of media coverage (Kinnebrock, 2019, pp. 393–395). The last of these factors – geographic proximity – is especially interesting in the case of the Herero and Nama genocide and will be discussed in more detail below.

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Finally, journalism does not only use the past to explain the present but also to make prescriptions and predictions for the future. This is especially clear in the context of the Herero and Nama genocide, which is part of ongoing negotiations between the German and Namibian governments for financial compensation. This use of the past shifts the temporal horizon of journalistic coverage yet again, from "how we got here" (Edy, 1999, p. 80) to "what do we do next?" Rather than using the past as a context, it can now become an analogy for the present. In analogies, "[a] present dilemma is constructed as being similar to a past crisis […], and the past is referred to as a kind of 'lesson of history.'" (Edy, 1999, p. 77) Analogies thereby function as "powerful symbolic resources that are pressed into service by various political actors." (Edy, 1999, p. 78) Asking how journalism uses analogies adds important context to ideas such as "multidirectional memory," or which memories can be connected to one another (Rothberg, 2009; cf. chapter 3.1.3).

Edy (1999, p. 78) showed how analogous references to the 1965 Watts riots were used to explain the 1992 Los Angeles riots. In this way, the connection between Black riots and mass destruction could immediately be established as "common sense" (Tuchman, 1972, p. 674), something that was established as irrefutable "truth" rather than journalistic interpretation. To describe this journalistic construction of analogies, Meyers et al. (2014, p. 148) introduce the concept of "dog whistle news items." They point out that analogies typically send "dog whistles" out to members of a particular community that convey messages of (un-)acceptable behavior or group values.

To illustrate this, Meyers et al. (2014) dissect an Israeli newscast in the context of Holocaust memorial ceremonies. During the 2007 newscast, the journalists report a story about German military officers telling recruits that they should picture shooting "Blacks from the Bronx" during training. Then, the news report shows an image of U.S. athlete Jesse Owens at the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin (Meyers et al., 2014, pp. 148–149). Both images outwardly appear disconnected from one another. For the audience, however, the image of Jesse Owens immediately conjures up knowledge of Nazi German discrimination. The selection of the image of Jesse Owens is thus embedded within the larger context of Holocaust commemorations. For the Israeli audience, this sends a "dog whistle" that suggests a continuity of German discrimination from the 1930s to the present (Meyers et al., 2014, pp. 148–149). In another example, Kitch (2005, p. 44) shows that U.S. news coverage of the 9/11 terror attacks restaged an image from World War II (the raising of the flag at Iwo Jima). This immediately produced a framework of meaning for audiences, connecting the work of the New York firemen in the present with pre-established societal values of masculine courage and patriotism that had been established with the original image (Kitch, 2005, p. 44).

Analogies and dog whistle news items not only suggest similarities between past and present events, but this similarity can also be used to suggest what will happen in the future. According to Edy (1999, p. 79): "Even if the prediction of what is to come is wrong, the act of prediction makes people more comfortable with taking action." This idea of using the past to suggest or generate action for the future is also described by Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2013) as "prospective memory." This moves away from the idea of memory as a merely "retrospective" activity (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, p. 98) and ties to Erll's (2009, p. 111) idea of premediation: Journalism uses the past to delineate the space of future possibilities (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, p. 99).

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In her examples of how journalism shapes memory through prospective demands, Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2013, 2014) analyzes hostage crises and kidnappings. Here, newspapers will often mention how many days it has been since someone was abducted to build pressure on politicians to do something (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, pp. 97–98). In the German-Namibian genocide negotiations, for instance, journalists could note the amount of time that has passed since the government negotiations began. Beyond the mere mention of time, Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2013) also uses the example of the 2006 kidnapping of the Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit to show how Israeli newspapers drew on a previous case, the kidnapping and disappearance of Israeli soldier Ron Arad in 1986, to make suggestions for present action. By continuously pointing out the connection between these two cases, the newspapers built up pressure to negotiate the liberation of Shalit under the message of "never again" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, p. 102). While Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2013) focuses on events that occurred within the last few decades, this dissertation aims to expand the previous research by asking how German and Namibian newspapers use connections between past, present and future to potentially de-/legitimize demands in the present.

Through commemorations, context and analogies, the sections above have shown how journalism uses the past to describe, explain and predict the present and future. While these strategies have primarily explored the flow of the past into the present and future, Neiger et al. (2014, p. 114) introduce the term "reversed memory" to describe how a traumatic past is strategically reinterpreted from the perspective of the victorious or triumphant present in journalism. To exemplify their point, the authors point to the intrinsic connection between Israel's ongoing wars and the constant backdrop of the Holocaust. These two events become interlinked in news coverage, such as when a high-ranking military officer at a Holocaust memorial ceremony is asked about the killing of a Hamas leader (Neiger et al., 2014, p. 121). The Holocaust functions in the journalistic piece to justify present military incursions through an interpretation of the Holocaust as perseverance against external foes (Neiger et al., 2014, p. 119; Zandberg, 2010, p. 13).

The reversal of the past through the perspective of the present has also become clear in research on post-colonial nations. Here, the struggles of colonialism in nations such as Namibia are often interpreted through the lens of the successful anti-colonial struggle, which helps to legitimize the current ruling party (Becker, 2011; Zuern, 2012; cf. chapter 2.2). However, there has not been much research into whether this "reversal" of memory is maintained or challenged by Namibian journalism. This is a research gap that this dissertation aims to address.

The reversal of memories also foregrounds the position of the subjects at the center of traumatic memories, shifting them from passive victims to active sacrifices (cf. Leicht, 2016, p. 48). At the same time, the "reversal" of traumatic memories described by Neiger et al. (2014) leads to the question: What happens when there is no triumphant present for affected groups to draw upon or if they do not fit the current shape of the imagined national community? In the research outlined above, the audience called upon to act in the present or future has often been presupposed to be part of the same national community that experienced the past. There has been little research on how strategies such as contextualization or commemoration occur when the events in question took place in a different country. A first step for understanding how journalism commemorates the

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suffering of "others" can be found in another discursive strategy: witnessing. Through witnessing, journalism relays suffering in other parts of the country or the world to its audience and enables it to also become a witness to past or present events. In the following, I consider how this strategy shapes memory production in and through journalism.

3.3.2 Witnessing traumatic pasts in and through journalism

Witnessing is a central tenet of journalism's performative production of "truth": By placing themselves in the center of (past) events, journalists signal to their audiences that they were at the site of action, justifying their depiction of events as a reflection of reality (Frosh & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 11; Li & Lee, 2013, p. 841). Zelizer (1990), for instance, has shown that in the news coverage surrounding the assassination of John F. Kennedy, journalists often presented themselves as spectators or witnesses to what had occurred, even if they arrived at the scene long after the initial events had transpired. In the following, I show how journalistic practices of witnessing are both constitutive for and constituted by temporal and spatial boundaries. This will enable me to specifically focus on practices of witnessing the suffering of "others." This is important for understanding journalistic coverage on the Herero and Nama genocide and can also showcase the gaps in previous research literature.

Witnessing across spatial boundaries

Personal proximity to past and present events provides a way of thinking about how journalists perform their discursive authority when writing about colonial memories. This becomes especially clear when journalists write about catastrophes, atrocities or suffering that occur outside the boundaries of their audience's imagined community. Chouliaraki (2008) differentiates three types of reporting on "foreign" atrocities. In "adventure news," distant suffering is shown in news reports as something that happens in a typically exotic location and emphasizes the geographical or locational distance between the audience and the event of occurrence (Chouliaraki, 2008, p. 375). With other words, suffering is shown on the map rather than as part of people's lives (Chouliaraki, 2008, pp. 375–376). In "emergency news," the suffering of others is shown as something that is actively being aided by others, typically with "historical depth" to contextualize and explain the suffering of distinct groups and individuals (Chouliaraki, 2008, p. 377). The final way of reporting on suffering is "ecstatic news," where journalists provide live coverage of events and actively involve audiences in what is unfolding (Chouliaraki, 2008, p. 377). Here, audiences both suffer as events are occurring and are shown ways of acceptably mourning the events that occurred, for instance in live coverage of commemorative ceremonies (Chouliaraki, 2008, pp. 377–378).

These results already provide a first indication of the interplay between geographic proximity and commemoration. To further understand how these events become part of memory, Kyriakidou (2014) conducted a series of group interviews with Greek audiences to explore how they remembered mediated instances of foreign suffering. She shows that events such as Hurricane Katrina or the earthquake in Kashmir were not remembered specifically by audiences but were characterized as instances of "banal suffering" (Kyriakidou, 2014, p. 1479). These events were "de-evented" and shown as routine or perhaps

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unavoidable natural disasters (Kyriakidou, 2014, p. 1484). This reflects findings by Mükke (2009, pp. 104, 110) that war and suffering are two of the primary topics that German foreign correspondents cover in Africa. Combining this with Kyriakidou (2014, p. 1479) suggests that the repetitive coverage of violence in Africa could serve to make violence appear "banal." It is unclear whether this constant coverage of violence could also color how past events such as the Herero and Nama genocide is remembered. F. C. Ross (2003, p. 325) writes that "[t]he memory of violence is considered to constitute the post-colonial subject," suggesting that the Herero and Nama genocide could potentially be shown as one more act of violence among many, rendering it one more example of "African" violence to the audience.

In addition to the "banal suffering" outlined above, Kyriakidou (2014, p. 1485) writes that the 2004 tsunami in South Asia and the 9/11 terror attacks were widely remembered by audiences and termed "iconic suffering." Through the live coverage, or "emergency news" coverage (Chouliaraki, 2008, p. 377), audiences remembered where they had been when the events occurred (Kyriakidou, 2014, p. 1487). Finally, in what Kyriakidou (2014, p. 1488) terms "cosmopolitan suffering," Greek audiences also remembered a Turkish earthquake from 1999. The geographic proximity of the event aided remembrance, and audience members expressed sympathy, despite traditional animosities (Kyriakidou, 2014, pp. 1488–1489). Audiences could not only empathize with suffering but were also placed in direct relation to either experiencing, causing or being able to ameliorate suffering.

The results above show that audiences often remember events that they witnessed and where they can participate in the structures of mourning established by journalism. This personal attachment enables these lives to appear precarious and, by extension, worthy of mourning (Butler, 2009, p. 5). While this dissertation does not explicitly contribute to the research on affects and emotions in journalistic memory production[3], it is impossible to speak about journalism's coverage of the Herero and Nama genocide without speaking of mourning. Here, I focus on mourning through the performative journalistic structures for speaking about pain that has historically been inflicted on groups and communities (cf. Leicht, 2016, p. 49).

Furthermore, the ability of audiences to personally witness past events is useful for enabling individuals to remember past catastrophes. However, the examples above describe events that occurred throughout the past decades and are only partially applicable to the Herero and Nama genocide, which occurred more than 120 years ago and has no more living witnesses. Much of the research on witnessing across temporal boundaries has thus, in A. Assmann's (2018b, p. 25) terminology, focused on "communicative memory." This leads to the question of how witnessing and "mourning" is mediated not only across spatial but also temporal boundaries.

Witnessing across temporal boundaries

Zelizer's (1998) study of Holocaust photography provides a first insight into how witnessing can transcend generations as "cultural memory" (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 52). Zelizer

3 See Rausch (2023a) for an important contribution to the research on emotions and affects in the memory of the Herero and Nama genocide.

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(1998) shows that in the aftermath of the Holocaust, many individuals held private images of the mass death and atrocity that they had witnessed at the end of the war. The graphic nature of these images meant that many journalists initially did not know what to do with them and often were hesitant to publish them (Zelizer, 1998, pp. 143–145). However, over time, journalism began to circulate images that became central to how the Holocaust is culturally evoked and remembered today.

Zelizer (1998, pp. 160–161) writes that the images that became prominent in U.S. journalistic reporting often featured images of camp liberation, which emphasized the role of the U.S. Army and, by extension, the U.S. journalists following them. Moreover, images of "accoutrements of atrocity," such as camp gates or empty ovens, became more prominent than images of (especially female) death, naked piles of bodies or violent confrontations between former inmates and guards (Zelizer, 1998, pp. 160–161). This adds to studies on suffering in the Global South that show that children, women and the elderly often are used in reporting as ideal victims for conveying and evoking compassion, as they symbolize innocence (Höijer, 2004, p. 513). Men, by contrast, are often seen as actors within the conflict and do not inspire similar feelings of compassion by Western audiences (Buffon & Allison, 2016, p. 176; Höijer, 2004, pp. 521–522). By contrast, the canon of Holocaust imagery has often centered liberated men rather than dead women and children. Historically, this has enabled journalism to circulate the images without being viewed as potentially breaking taboos or moral rules in its reporting. Yet, this has also shaped the memory of the Holocaust in various ways, continuing to emphasize a story of liberation over senseless death (Zelizer, 1998, p. 160).

While imagery is not the focus of this dissertation, Zelizer's (1998) study highlights a crucial point: Determining whose perspectives are centered in the (re-)telling of the past determines how the suffering of others will become relayed to and remembered by the audience. It is thus not only important for the audience to personally witness suffering, as became clear in the research above, but also the perspective from which this suffering is conveyed to the audience. This leads to a second level of witnessing in journalism: determining who can be the "right" witness of the past for the audience (Zandberg, 2010). In slight contrast with Zelizer's (1990) findings above, Israeli newspapers are often the least likely to rely on other journalists to speak about the Holocaust (Zandberg, 2010, p. 10). Instead, biographic sources (survivors) and official political and government sources are often at the center of journalistic reporting (Zandberg, 2010, p. 9). These biographic and political positions are not mutually exclusive: Witnesses are selected based on whether they adhere to official accounts of the Holocaust (Zandberg, 2010, p. 12). As Zelizer (1998) also finds, stories of survival are at the heart of these reminiscences. Interestingly, Zandberg (2010, p. 15) finds that as the number of remaining Holocaust survivors is decreasing, journalists are drawing on the relatives of former Holocaust survivors to tell their stories as well as "Israeli youth, who have participated in the many commemorative trips to the death camps in Poland" (Zandberg, 2010, p. 16). The idea of personally being at a place where the past occurred builds on the same strategies also employed by journalists to legitimize their discursive authority (see chapter 3.2.2).

The importance of personal witnesses is also shown in audience studies of Holocaust remembrance. In her analysis of German audiences, Finger (2017, p. 148) finds that even if German audiences did not remember the exact content of documentaries, they remem-

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bered that witnesses had been part of the documentary (even if they didn't remember individual witnesses). These witnesses are often viewed positively and as especially authentic (Finger, 2017, p. 151), mirroring what Zandberg (2010) finds for journalism above. Audiences also remembered television formats best where they established an emotional connection to individual characters, either real or fictional (Finger, 2017, p. 169; cf. Landsberg, 2015).

At the same time, changing the perspective in which witnessing takes place can also lead to new or even subversive interpretations of the past. Kitch (2005, pp. 95–97) shows how historically Black magazines in the U.S. have produced counter-memories of U.S. history by showing Black people in historical moments that are typically associated with white populations, such as Black actors in Hollywood, Black students graduating from Ivy League schools or Black cowboys. By changing the perspective of the individual behind the lens and, by extension, the subject of the photograph, these photographs emphasized the ordinariness of the portrayed actions and enabled a vision of the past that challenged hegemonic narratives (Kitch, 2005, p. 100). Yet, Kitch's study focuses on media that speak to a specific group. The question remains: Could the publishing of these images evoke collective actions from the entire U.S. population, such as providing reparations? This question goes beyond the expression of witnessing outlined by Chouliaraki (2008) and Kyriakidou (2014) to ask how the mediation of certain perspectives on the past can also become motivators for prospective demands in the present and future (cf. Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014).

Whereas much of the previous research in journalism studies has analyzed how the Holocaust has been remembered in Israel, memory studies has offered complex and multifaceted considerations of how the Holocaust might be remembered from the position of a German perpetrating society today. Konitzer (2012) differentiates between positions of victim identification ("*Opferidentifizierung*"), where individuals take on the position of victims, and victim orientation ("*Opferorientierung*"), where individuals feel *for* victims (Konitzer, 2012, pp. 119–120). Victim identification as a response to previous traumatic memories has often been critiqued, with Ahmed (2014, p. 200) writing, "Responses to testimonies of injury can 'cover over' the injury, for example, by claiming it as 'our own' (appropriation)." Scholars such as A. Assmann (2018b, p. 80) have often pointed to the media to explain why, after a period of relative silence after the Second World War in Germany, individuals began to identify with the victims: Mediated events such as the Eichmann trial or later documentaries, films and series amplified the perspectives of former Holocaust victims (Berberich, 2019, p. 3; Kansteiner, 2019, p. 23; Keilbach, 2019).

In an analysis of films and documentaries depicting the Holocaust, Bösch (2010, p. 41) finds themes that are indicative of how positions of victimhood and perpetratorship continue to be negotiated in German television today. These themes include an emphasis on rescued children, the ideal innocent victim, whereas scenes of actual death, such as gas chambers, or Jewish resistance are rarely shown (Bösch, 2010, pp. 42–43). This echoes the results by Zelizer (1998) above. Yet, Bösch (2010, p. 44) finds that the perspectives of perpetrators are not erased or silenced through this focus on victims but are rather often given large leeway in being protagonists narrating, describing or experiencing events. In this vein, a study by Kansteiner (2019) on Holocaust television films in Germany shows that the position of the innocent bystander has become an

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increasingly popular figure through which audiences witness the past, enabling them to take on a position of seemingly uninvolved observation. This reflects theorizations within memory studies of former perpetrators as "implicated subjects" (Rothberg, 2019, p. 1) or as "third figures" (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 115, transl. CH) who are no longer directly involved in the past. Kansteiner (2019, p. 25) suggests that by showing these figures as innocent bystanders, the German media continues to engrain the perspectives of German individuals in the (re-)telling of the past.

Fictional depictions have become dominant in shaping the cultural memory of the Holocaust, more so than archival footage (Finger, 2017, p. 152). This already became prevalent during the lifetime of Holocaust survivors, where Zelizer (1998, p. 158) notes that "[o]ther individuals who had experienced the camps in other ways – liberators, reporters, photographers and officials – testified too that the photograph's mnemonic power was so great that it displaced individual memories." The recollections of survivors often became secondary to the "authentic" reconstruction of their experiences (Bösch, 2010, p. 54; Paul, 2010, p. 18).

So far, however, there has been little engagement with how this perspective is (re-)produced through journalistic coverage – particularly in post-colonial contexts where previous crimes have *not* become the context of wide mediation in prior decades and there are no more living witnesses to either maintain or contest current media depictions. It is at this junction that the gaps of the previous research become clear: The previous research on journalism and memory production from communication studies has typically centered on events that have occurred within the previous century, especially the Holocaust. Moreover, these are often events that journalists and audiences want to remember. Finally, there has been no in-depth analysis of the production of memories through journalism in sub-Saharan Africa. These gaps have left ambiguities about how and why journalism does or does not produce memories about atrocities that are temporally and perhaps even spatially removed from present audiences. This could explain why colonialism has rarely been a topic of research.

Some questions that arise from these gaps are: Is it necessary to view past suffering as "our" suffering to functionally use the past as context or analogy for present actions? How does the construction of "our" memory make alternative versions of past events (im-)possible in journalism? To answer these questions, it is necessary to expand the previous literature with theoretical approaches from postcolonial studies. First, however, I provide a brief preliminary summary of this chapter that will outline potential connection points to postcolonial studies.

3.4 Chapter summary: Journalism's memory production between past and present

The chapters above have shown how to situate journalism in the production of collectively shared knowledge about the past. To this end, chapter 3.1 began by outlining the connection points between memory and communication studies. Through the description of memory as socially constructed (cf. chapter 3.1.1), journalism becomes one of the sites where knowledge about the past is selected and circulated in society. This ritually

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reactivated knowledge of the past, or cultural memory, becomes powerful through its ability to explain or describe the present, thus shaping reality (cf. chapter 3.1.2). Media play an important role in helping memories to circulate beyond individual groups and even national boundaries (cf. chapter 3.1.3). However, chapter 3.1 has also shown that in memory studies, journalism has previously been shown primarily through its technological potential and its role in circulating and preserving rather than actively producing knowledge about the past.

Chapter 3.2 then connected memory and journalism through the lens of cultural studies. Journalistic coverage is both rooted in and simultaneously produces the cultural context of a society through the en-/decoding of information between producers and audiences, which relies heavily on moments and symbols from the past (Lohmeier & Böhling, 2021, p. 6). Therefore, journalism functions as a (contested) discursive authority in society (Bach, 2016, p. 46), ascribing meaning to everyday experience and placing these experiences in a relationship with the enactment and experience of power in society. Journalism signals its discursive authority through performative strategies that materialize in the form and content of journalism and are institutionally perpetuated through various organizational relationships (cf. chapter 3.2.2). These performative strategies are temporally and spatially dependent, even as they are not limited to national boundaries, especially in post-colonial contexts. In this way, journalism imparts "preference statements about what is good and bad, moral and amoral, and appropriate and inappropriate in the world" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 177).

Previous research provides insights into how journalism maintains or subverts temporal and spatial boundaries through its construction of the past (cf. chapter 3.3). The way journalism (dis-)connects past, present and future through its discursive practices not only determines what is remembered (cf. chapter 3.3.1) but also normalizes certain perspectives in the description of the past (cf. chapter 3.3.2). Journalism thus functions as an important mnemonic institution where knowledge of the past is negotiated and dominant expressions can both emerge and, during moments of disruption, be contested. However, much of the previous literature has asked how dominant expressions of power emerge through journalism's production of memory for past moments that are broadly commemorated in society. More research is needed on how and why journalism suppresses certain perspectives in its coverage of the past, a perspective that is crucial for understanding the Herero and Nama genocide's (lack of) commemoration in Germany and Namibia. For this, I now add perspectives from postcolonial studies to the theoretical approaches above.

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4 Journalism and silence: The "Other" side of memory

The previous chapter has shown how journalism functions as a discursive authority in constructing cultural memory as "true" knowledge about the past. Now, I will expand my previous theoretical and research basis to probe what can*not* be said, or what is considered "*un*true," about the past. This is admittedly a difficult undertaking, as it requires looking beyond the manifest content in journalism to ask how alternative versions of the past are inhibited or suppressed. However, it is precisely this perspective that is critical for understanding how journalism constructs cultural memories about colonialism, a topic that has largely been missing from the previous research literature (cf. chapter 3.3).

Hence, in this chapter, I now ask how the recognition of past colonial crimes is structured, represented and organized by journalism. To answer this question, it is necessary to go beyond an equation of journalistic reporting with "memory" and a lack of journalistic reporting as "forgetting" to instead ask which (post-)colonial positions of belonging and difference are produced through journalism's representation of the past (cf. Kitch, 2018, p. 179). Chapter 4.1 begins by locating the connection points between postcolonial studies, memory studies and journalism studies. While there have been numerous calls to connect these fields individually (Kumar & Parameswaran, 2018; Kai Merten & Krämer, 2016; Moyo, 2020; Rothberg, 2013; Shome, 2016), this section considers the benefit of viewing all three theoretical perspectives together. The next chapter 4.2 outlines the concept of silence according to Spivak (1988). With silence, I critique and expand A. Assmann's (2017) understanding of forgetting to address the research gaps identified in the previous chapter. Chapter 4.3 ties these ideas of silence and forgetting back to journalism through the concepts of cultural citizen- and subjectship (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014; Nyamnjoh, 2005). With these terms, I ask how journalism produces positions of difference and belonging in its coverage of the past. This chapter also explores how these boundaries are negotiated by journalism in multiethnic contexts. Next, chapter 4.4 uses the theoretical lens developed in the preceding chapters to analyze the research literature on the journalistic coverage of the Herero and Nama genocide. Chapter 4.5 then provides a final summary of the main theoretical concepts and assumptions that arise from the previous research literature, which will guide the methodological and analytical implementation of this dissertation.

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4.1 Connections between journalism, memory and postcolonial studies

Before applying a postcolonial lens to the theoretical framework outlined in chapter 3, it is useful to consider how the field of postcolonial studies[1] has previously been integrated into memory and journalism studies. This will also help me to describe how I will use postcolonial studies in this dissertation. "As a field [postcolonial studies] is positioned within the broader critical project of cultural studies" (Shome & Hegde, 2002, p. 250), making it particularly applicable to my theoretical background. Postcolonial studies aims to analyze and critique the ways in which the colonial experience has shaped cultures and societies up to the present day (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 168). Postcolonial scholars have pointed out that well after the end of formal colonial domination, the cultural and economic effects of colonialism continue to be felt and experienced through material inequalities around the world (Ashcroft et al., 2013, pp. 168–169). Thus, a large focus of postcolonial theory has rested on the entanglement of power and knowledge across national boundaries, particularly between formerly colonized and colonizing nations, rather than taking these boundaries for granted (Adebayo, 2023, p. 12; Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 24).

Memory is a central, if often implicit, piece of postcolonial scholars' theories; however, postcolonial scholars have rarely relied on the theoretical tenets of memory studies in their work (Rothberg, 2013, p. 359). Rothberg (2013, p. 360) notes that it is useful to connect both fields to consider "the *disjunctive temporality* of colonial legacies – colonialism's ability to colonize not just space, but time as well." (emphasis in original) With other words, colonialism has shaped not only the imagination of "other" places (cf. Said, 1978) but also of "other" times. Moreover, postcolonial studies provides useful impulses for how to recover "the traces of non-dominant pasts" (Rothberg, 2013, p. 364). As became clear throughout chapter 3, previous theorizations of cultural memory and journalism have often focused on how the media produce and amplify hegemonic versions of the past. Postcolonial studies offers a theoretical lens to ask how, if ever, silenced voices can be found in the gaps of the historical archive – while critically questioning who can or cannot "discover" and fill these gaps today (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 165).

The connection between postcolonial studies and journalism studies is less commonly established than with memory studies. However, this link can provide the necessary bridge between postcolonial critiques and cultural memory. Postcolonial studies has often used the terms "history" and "memory" interchangeably, thereby equating

1 In the following, I draw on postcolonial rather than decolonial theoretical approaches. Postcolonial and decolonial approaches are closely related in that they seek to not only describe but also critique and change colonial power structures (Mutsvairo & Moyo, 2018, p. 19). However, in seeking to dismantle these power structures (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 56; Mohammed, 2021, p. 126), decolonial approaches explicitly reject "Enlightenment's myths of progress, rationality and science" (Moyo, 2020, p. 5). The aim is not merely to question previous power structures but to act out "epistemological disobedience," discarding "restrictions from the European 'scientific' rules of knowledge production" (Mutsvairo & Moyo, 2018, p. 20). For the following empirical project, I rely on the idea that theoretical concepts from the social sciences are "inadequate but indispensable" in describing how post-colonial power functions (Chakrabarty, 2008, p. 5), even as I critically discuss and reflect on the limitations of these approaches throughout the following chapter.

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the academic and cultural production of knowledge (cf. Said, 1993; Trouillot, 2015). This perspective also continues to view journalism as merely one source of media among many. For example, in Said's (1997) book "*Covering Islam*," Said justifies his interest in journalism by saying that the mass media are replacing the Orientalist academics who had previously produced knowledge about the Middle East (Said, 1997, p. 27). Journalism studies can add crucial nuance to prior theorizations by focusing on specific cultural practices of (re-)producing the past.

In recent years, communication scholars have increasingly called for more connections between communication studies and postcolonial studies (Shome, 2016, 2019; Shome & Hegde, 2002). These calls have often hinged on the ability of postcolonial studies to provide "historical and international depth" to prior understandings of journalism (Shome & Hegde, 2002, p. 252). In addition to this historical context, postcolonial studies is used to justify calls for internationalizing the field of journalism studies and moving away from heavily studied Western contexts (Shome, 2019, p. 306). Similar calls can also be found in memory studies, where scholars reference postcolonial studies to emphasize the need for transnational and transcultural research that includes more non-Western experiences (Erll, 2017, p. 129; Göttsche, 2019).

Despite the importance of including more non-Western perspectives into the study of both journalism and memory, Willems (2014a) has criticized that postcolonial studies is typically invoked to justify adding "more" research subjects instead of challenging underlying theories. Hence, postcolonial theoretical approaches are practically used as a justification for including Africa rather than rethinking Europe (Willems, 2014a, p. 8). Yet, postcolonial theoretical approaches offer a way of thinking not only about how experiences of journalistic production in Europe and Africa are different but also about how they have both been historically connected in ways that have enabled the (re-)production of difference across time (Creech & Kavoori, 2016).

Given the theoretical orientation above, the following chapters use postcolonial studies as a theoretical lens for analyzing journalistic memory production from a power-critical perspective. They ask: What (post-)colonial power relations does journalism produce or contest through its performative construction of memory?

4.2 Silence and journalism's representation of the past

To analyze how journalistic memory production functions in entangled, (post-)colonial contexts, it is first necessary to understand how some forms of knowledge have historically been silenced to uphold colonial power structures. For this, I draw on the conceptualization of silence by Spivak (1988) to critique and expand ideas of "forgetting" in journalism and memory studies. Chapter 4.2.1 begins by outlining Spivak's idea of silence and shows how silence is maintained and structured through practices of mediated re(-)presentation. Then, chapter 4.2.2 connects this idea to prior conceptualizations of "forgetting" in memory studies and introduces the concept of "aphasia" (Stoler, 2016) to explore journalism's role in producing silence through its coverage.

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4.2.1 Strategies of re(-)presentation: Speaking for and about colonial subjects

What would the past look like if remembered from below – and what is preventing this version of memory from being told? Spivak (1988) provides a starting point for answering this question in her essay "*Can the subaltern speak?*" Spivak's work is situated in the broader context of the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 196). Rooted in Marxist analytical critique, this group analyzed groups that had systematically been neglected and ignored in the historical record of the anti-colonial struggle (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 198). Spivak's work builds on the Gramscian concept of subalternity at the heart of this work. In her understanding, the defining factor of subalternity is its relational position of radical difference to dominant groups in society (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 198). Importantly, subalternity is not a mode of self-identification. Instead, it encompasses a wide range of heterogenous groups (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 198).

Building on this work, Spivak critiques the innate academic aim to imbue subalternity with revolutionary or emancipatory will, suggesting that this reflects the desire of the intellectual rather than the subject (Spivak, 1996a, p. 205). Subalternity is rooted in the inability of the subaltern to speak about their condition, making any attempt to speak for this group a further act of imperial erasure (Spivak, 1988, p. 274). Therefore, (Spivak, 1996a, p. 203) roots the silence of subaltern positions not only in gaps in the previous historical record but more specifically in representative structures that have enabled intellectuals to suggest that they are both speaking about and for subaltern groups.

Spivak's (1988) work on silence is useful for this analysis since she breaks the process of representation into two constituent parts. Spivak draws on Marx' theorization of class and points to translation errors between the English word "representation" and Marx' use of the two German words "*Darstellen*" and "*Vertreten*" (Spivak, 1988, p. 275). The former word, *Darstellen*, written as re-presentation in Spivak's (1988, p. 275) terminology, encompasses speaking *about* a subject. Re-presentation draws on the rhetoric of tropology to describe subjects, for instance through academic studies about indigenous communities in former colonies (cf. Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988, p. 276). By contrast, *Vertreten*, or representation without a hyphen, encompasses speaking *for* a subject through the rhetoric of persuasion (Spivak, 1988, pp. 275–276). The purpose here is to convince an audience that someone is speaking for the interests of the represented group. By conflating speaking *about* with speaking *for* a group, the desires of the speaker thus become synonymous with the supposed interests of the subject, leading to the effacement of subaltern perspectives (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 205). Spivak calls this absorption of certain perspectives into the voice and desires of their oppressors "epistemic violence" (Spivak, 1988, p. 283). The focus on the "epistemic" nature of silence points to the role that knowledge production plays in silencing and representing subaltern perspectives (Brunner, 2020, p. 13). Epistemic violence is inseparable from political and economic structures that continue to exploit subaltern populations (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 193).

Hence, Spivak (1988, p. 276) argues that the subaltern cannot be easily described through unifying markers such as race, gender, class or ethnicity. At the same time, some group members can be subject to overlapping structures of representation and can be silenced in multiple ways (Spivak, 1988, p. 306). This is important for considering

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the position of different communities in the mnemonic construction of the Herero and Nama genocide. Rather than immediately presuming that everyone introduced as a Herero and Nama represents a subaltern position in the discourse and is therefore fundamentally opposed to existing power structures, Spivak (1988) instead shifts the gaze to query which expectations and power structures underlie the description of this community through a single, homogenizing signifier.

To demonstrate this point, Spivak (1988, p. 299) has pointed to the example of the *sati*, or the ritual self-immolation of Hindu widows in colonial India. She describes how British colonizers attempted to outlaw the practice, in the process both drawing on and contesting the knowledge of Brahmin men to argue whether the practice constituted the free will of the widow (Spivak, 1988, pp. 303–305). In this way, the women at the heart of the practice were effectively silenced "[b]etween patriarchy and imperialism," as men attempted to both speak about the practice and speak for the woman's desire (Spivak, 1988, p. 306). Thus, indigenous women were doubly silenced in the question of their desires (Spivak, 1988, p. 306). Yet, Spivak also points out that the women in question were not completely absent from the discourse; however, it was impossible for them to directly speak about their experiences. Their voices were superfluous in the construction of their own subjectivity, since their perspectives were ostensibly already being heard (Spivak, 1988, p. 306).

Rather than violently effacing some groups of people from the historical record, representation instead makes these individuals visible for the audience in a way that hinders their ability to speak against the power structures that construct and exploit them. In this process, speaking *for* and speaking *about* go hand in hand. In the case of the *sati*, the speaking position of widows became further impossible through the production of difference between the position of the speaker and the subject through re-presentation (Spivak, 1988, pp. 305–306). Spivak (1988, pp. 280–281) describes this as "the remotely orchestrated, far-flung and heterogenous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other."

This points to the process of Othering, a concept at the heart of postcolonial studies. Othering refers to the "process by which imperial discourse creates its 'others'" (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 156). Through the description of colonial subjects as Others, Europe has historically established itself as the normalized perspective in historical and archival texts through which indigenous subjectivity is represented and thereby produced through homogenous descriptors. The speaker not only speaks for the interests of the indigenous community but also becomes a translator between "us" and an exotic "them."

The idea of translating between "us" and "them" is particularly important when considering the position of foreign correspondents in journalism (Mükke, 2009, p. 185), who could play an important role in shaping coverage on transnational events such as the Herero and Nama genocide. In self-descriptions, German foreign correspondents often describe themselves as intermediaries between Germany and Africa; their primary goal is not merely to report on events, but rather to explain these events to an audience at "home" (Mükke, 2009, p. 183). This position necessarily continues to uphold boundaries between "us" and "them." At the same time, many journalists write that they specifically aim to counter colonial stereotypes in their audience (Mükke, 2009, p. 185). Foreign correspondents are increasingly aware of the potential of their coverage to reproduce pat-

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terns of Othering and attempt to counter it, as Nothias (2020, p. 246) confirms in interviews with British foreign correspondents. However, these attempts are made difficult through the form (cf. chapter 3.2.2) of journalistic reporting, which often reflects the expectations of the editorial office in the "metropole" (Mükke, 2009, p. 191). Despite the reflexivity of some foreign correspondents, the images, subjects, teasers and headlines chosen by editorial staff to highlight stories about Africa continue to emphasize the Otherness of African subjects to draw the attention of European audiences (Nothias, 2020, p. 254).

Therefore, to understand how silence functions in journalism, it is useful to first combine Spivak's (1988) ideas with Hallin's (1986) description of objectivity (cf. chapter 3.2.2): Representation[2] is not merely the construction of "legitimate controversy," or pitting some positions against one another (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). Instead, it can best be understood as the production of "deviance" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). Silence is not the outcome of a willful or constrained deference on the part of a marginalized group but the presupposition that these perspectives are already being heard (Spivak, 1988, p. 283). Any attempt of this group to speak for itself is therefore perceived as a deviant position or an irritation in the discourse.

This understanding can partially address one of the main criticisms against Spivak's theory, namely that the subaltern can appear passive, unable to change their position or resist the hegemonic power order in which they are exploited (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2020, p. 209). Spivak (1996b, p. 292) counters this by saying that her point is not to outline the speechlessness of the subaltern, but rather the hegemonic structures of listening that inhibit alternative perspectives from being heard. This opens the potential for considering the role of journalism as a space where legitimate positions of speaking and listening are negotiated. It also shifts the focus away from trying to recover subaltern perspectives to instead asking how hegemonic structures of representation are upheld in the mediated production of reality.

The production of indigenous subjectivity, particularly the expectation of subjectivity that is both reflected and shaped by journalistic coverage, is deeply connected with the construction of the past. As Spivak (1984, p. 129) points out, European colonizers not only described their present encounters with indigenous populations but also set about writing the history of those populations they encountered. This led to an assumption that previous populations did not have any history prior to the arrival of European colonizers, even while normalizing the perspective of European colonizers in the (re-)production of the past to the present day (Spivak, 1988, p. 287). Hence, there is much to gain from viewing this process through the lens of journalism's production of cultural memory to understand how these structures might continue to be perpetuated or challenged. To explore this in more detail, the following chapter now shows how Spivak's (1988) concept of silence can be used to critique and expand prior theorizations of forgetting in memory studies.

2 In the following, I will use the term "representation" to refer to the synergy of speaking *about* and speaking *for* the past (Spivak, 1988). When I am referring to one specific process, I will specify accordingly.

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4.2.2 Silence, forgetting and aphasia

Representation, according to Spivak (1988), has often been used to ask how Others are defined and produced through the imagination of spatial difference. In this chapter, I now consider how difference is also temporally produced through the construction of cultural memory (cf. Rothberg, 2013, p. 360). For this, I first show how Spivak's (1988) conceptualization of silence expands Assmann's (2017) conceptualization of forgetting. This makes forgetting a function of knowledge production rather than absence, which is crucial for an analysis of silence in journalistic coverage. To make this process more concrete, I then draw on the concept of "aphasia" according to Stoler (2016) to show how patterns of mediated memory and forgetting around colonialism are perhaps best understood as ritual rediscovery. With these concepts, I can begin to show how journalism's (dis-)connection between past and present plays a vital role in determining the boundaries of (post-)colonial inclusion and exclusion in society.

A. Assmann (2017, p. 16) writes that forgetting is a necessary pendant to memory; one is not possible without the other (cf. chapter 3.1.2). Forgetting has often been shown as the negative counterpart to memory, perhaps best summarized by the common adage "Never forget!" (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 12) In the research, forgetting has typically been described in psychological terms of trauma. This reflects memory studies' roots in Holocaust research; however, this has simultaneously led to the conflation of social with individual processes of information retention and loss (cf. Kansteiner, 2004, p. 194). Thus, many studies have focused on forgetting as events that are blocked from memory, for instance because they cause pain or shame to an individual or the collective, particularly from the perspective of former perpetrators (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 169).

The conflation of individual psychological and structural cultural processes becomes clear in the concept of "amnesia," which describes the loss of memory about an event, originally because an individual has suffered a traumatic brain injury (Erll, 2017, p. 82). Similarly, the term "colonial amnesia" has frequently been used to decry the lack of cultural memory production on the Herero and Nama genocide (Silvester & Gewald, 2010, p. 14). Yet, as Bürger and Rausch (2022, p. 272) have pointed out, this understanding has an exonerative function, suggesting that the forgetting of the Herero and Nama genocide has been the result of a lack of available knowledge (cf. Connerton, 2008, p. 64). In this understanding, a state of amnesia can also be "healed" by giving an individual or a group access to memories that have previously been blocked (Bürger & Rausch, 2022, p. 272). Here, the role of the media is merely to provide information about the past.

Another common understanding of forgetting results from the excess rather than a dearth of knowledge about the past (Connerton, 2008, p. 64; Hoskins, 2022, p. 567). In this understanding, only a certain number of memories have space in public knowledge, and remembering inevitably leads to the forgetting of other memories (Rothberg, 2009, p. 3). This presumption is part of another common explanation for why the Herero and Nama genocide has been "forgotten" in Germany:

> "Public silence particularly leads to individual forgetting when moments that are silenced are closely related to the aspects that are loudly remembered. […] In addition to political and financial reasons (which should by no means be neglected in analysis),

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> this could also be a reason why the Herero and Nama genocide is repeatedly 'forgotten' in German memory culture that continuously keeps the Holocaust present."[3] (Erll, 2017, p. 120, transl. CH)

In this understanding, the Herero and Nama genocide is "forgotten" because the Holocaust continues to be dominant in German memory culture.

The two examples above can be broadly summarized as forgetting through the passive or active loss of knowledge about the past. A. Assmann (2011, p. 334) describes this as a process of "losing" or "trashing," which she suggests as two counterparts to the archive and canon of cultural memory (cf. chapter 3.1.2). In her later work, A. Assmann (2017, pp. 30–66) expands on this dichotomy and differentiates between seven forms of forgetting (cf. Connerton, 2008):

- Automatic forgetting: Technical, material or biological restrictions to remembering
- Archival forgetting: Transition from archive to cultural canon
- Selective forgetting: Making space for "important" memories
- Punitive and repressive forgetting: Politically motivated acts of forgetting
- Defensive and complicit forgetting: Forgetting to protect perpetrators
- Constructive forgetting: Rehabilitating members of society for social reconciliation after disruptive events such as civil wars

Assmann explicitly references Spivak's (1988) concept of silence in her category of "punitive and repressive forgetting" (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 49). In this category, A. Assmann (2017, p. 52) gives the example of book burnings in Nazi Germany, where knowledge was literally destroyed. She then mentions that repression can also be enacted through a lack of access to knowledge structures (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 53). She then mentions Spivak's (1988) essay "*Can the subaltern speak?*" and writes:

> "In this essay, [Spivak] explicitly shows that certain members of society do not have the right to their own voice. In this case, it is not enough to change the frameworks of memory; power relations must also change so that silence can be broken and forgotten moments can be returned to language."[4] (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 53, transl. CH)

For A. Assmann (2017, p. 53), silence is a result of repression that hinders some members of society from speaking about their past.

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3 German original: "*Öffentliches Schweigen führt insbesondere dann zum individuellen Vergessen, wenn die beschwiegenen Inhalte in enger Beziehung zu jenen Aspekten stehen, die lautstark erinnert werden. […] Es könnte auch neben den (in der Analyse keinesfalls zu vernachlässigenden) politischen und finanziellen Gründen ein Grund dafür sein, dass in der deutschen Erinnerungskultur, die den Holocaust präsent hält, der Völkermord an den Herero und Nama immer wieder 'vergessen' wird.*" (Erll, 2017, p. 120)

4 German original: "*In diesem Aufsatz zeigt [Spivak] ausdrücklich, dass bestimmte Mitglieder der Gesellschaft kein Recht auf eine eigene Stimme haben. In diesem Falle müssen sich nicht nur die Gedächtnisrahmen, sondern auch die Machtverhältnisse ändern, damit das Schweigen gebrochen und das Vergessene in die Sprache zurückgeholt werden kann.*" (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 53)

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It is telling that A. Assmann (2017, p. 49) places silencing under "punitive and repressive forgetting." This understanding presumes the preexistence of memories and voices that are both known and therefore can be repressed, for instance for punitive aims. In theory, these voices can also speak again about their past once repression ends, thereby "return[ing] to language" their past experiences (A. Assmann, 2017, p. 53, transl. CH). However, this goes against Spivak's (1988) understanding of silence: Rather than considering the expulsion or repression of already-existent perspectives, silence instead suggests that certain perspectives are silenced precisely through the assumption that they are already being spoken for.

To bring these two ideas together, I conceptualize forgetting in (post-)colonial contexts as a form of silence. It is not the absence of knowledge but the presence of exploitative colonial knowledge structures. In this way, forgetting is best understood as irritation and not as overt repression: Subversive perspectives become impossible because they appear to contradict understandings of the past, ostensibly speaking "for," or in the interest of, affected communities.

This understanding can begin to address a common conundrum in research on colonial memories: There is a disconnection between claims of not knowing about colonialism ("colonial amnesia") and the "colonial traces" of public monuments, street names and cultural artifacts that memorialize colonialism around the world (Erll, 2022, p. 4). To address this disconnection, Erll (2022) argues that it is necessary to move away from the explicit memorialization of the past, which has often been at the center of past studies of memory and journalism (cf. chapter 3.3), to instead consider the gray area between remembering and forgetting. For this, Erll (2022, p. 3) introduces the term "implicit collective memory" to describe cultural knowledge that circulates in society but is not made explicit. Thus, individuals may not even be explicitly aware that they possess this knowledge, even though it can be reactivated in certain moments and even passed on across generations. Erll (2022, pp. 6–8) draws on the ideas of framing and priming from communication studies to describe how preexisting knowledge is activated through media coverage.

However, the idea of implicit memory is very vague and difficult to analyze through textual research. Approaching memory and forgetting through the lens of (post-)colonial representation (Spivak, 1988) makes these ideas more concrete: Memories remain implicit if the knowledge about them continues to normalize the same structures of speaking and listening that make alternative versions of the past impossible. Much of the literature on the forgetting or "amnesia" of the Herero and Nama genocide has typically focused on German contexts, notwithstanding the entangled production of this event that has also shaped public memorialization in Namibia (Bürger & Rausch, 2022, p. 272). This reflects a presumption that, in contrast to German forgetting, the Herero and Nama continue to remember this event, and their voices simply need to be rediscovered to enable memory. Silence can consider how some individuals or groups continue to speak *about* the Herero and Nama genocide and *for* Herero and Nama interests across national boundaries.

How does journalism uphold these speaking structures, and can it uphold these structures even when moments from the past, such as the Herero and Nama genocide, suddenly reappear in public discourse? Previous literature from history and memory

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studies offers some clues. In the context of the Haitian Revolution, Trouillot (2015, p. 96) writes that silencing occurs not only through "formulas of erasure," or direct repression, but also through "formulas of banalization." By showing revolutions against colonial power as dispersed, random and singular events, it is impossible to grasp their significance in cultural memory; they are interesting but not necessary to remember (Trouillot, 2015, p. 96). In addition to not connecting past moments such as the Haitian Revolution to other past events, forgetting can be understood as disconnecting the past from the present. Past moments are shown as unimportant or irrelevant to the explanation of current events – in contrast with the processes of contextualization or analogy described in journalism in chapter 3.3.

This process is described by Stoler (2016, p. 12) with the term "aphasia," which is again rooted in individual psychology and encompasses the inability to communicate effectively. She writes:

> "Aphasia is a condition in which the occlusion of knowledge is at once a dismembering of words from the objects to which they refer, a difficulty retrieving both the semantic and lexical components of vocabularies, a loss of access that may verge on active dissociation, a difficulty comprehending what is seen and spoken." (Stoler, 2016, p. 12)

On a collective level, this definition points to the fact that while traces of the past remain visible, the concepts that are available to describe these traces reinforce hegemonic interpretations of the past. Aphasia captures the shift away from forgetting as the absence or repression of knowledge towards the presence of speaking structures that hinder memories from being reinterpreted in subversive ways (Stoler, 2016, p. 125). "It attempts to ask not why its colonial history has been so repeatedly effaced but, rather, how it is that such a history can be rendered irretrievable, made available, and again displaced." (Stoler, 2016, p. 12)

In her work, Stoler (2016, p. 123) concentrates on the topic of French colonialism. She shows that, despite numerous French intellectuals and public figures broaching the topic in recent decades, the topic of French colonialism and colonial atrocities "has *repeatedly* come in and out of focus, has more than once been represented as 'forgotten' and then rediscovered." (Stoler, 2016, p. 133). She then considers how French colonialism has been omnipresent within and simultaneously disconnected from debates on French immigration, racism and "questions of security" in the present (Stoler, 2016, p. 168). The topics of colonialism and racism are shown as separate issues, continuing to portray current issues, such as the 2005 French riots, as irritating, isolated and surprising (Stoler, 2016, p. 133). In this sense, it is not only past events that are rendered (in-)visible, but also the needs and desires of present groups and communities (Stoler, 2016, p. 150).

Stoler (2016, p. 153) notes that, in recent years, the French "press" has played an important role in thematizing colonial atrocities even "before most French historians made their way to it." What role does journalism play in the repetitive forgetting and "discovery" of the colonial past? Bijl (2016) offers useful insights into this question in his exploration of photographs of Dutch colonial massacres that have repetitively reemerged in Dutch media. The photographs show atrocities inflicted on the indigenous population during a 1904 expedition by Dutch colonial forces in present-day Indonesia. Bijl (2016,

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p. 185) analyzes how these images have repeatedly been shown as testaments of an event that was "forgotten" by Dutch audiences, even though the photographs were both the target of publications at the time of the massacre and have been visible repeatedly since the 1960s – mirroring a process that is also visible for the memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide (cf. chapter 2.2). He then asks why these events did not "stick" but rather continued to be used by journalists to performatively "expose" seemingly hidden parts of the past (Bijl, 2016, p. 185). For this, he analyzes a variety of media scandals and events, such as the publishing of controversial books, statue defacements, and debates on the War on Terror in the early 2000s (Bijl, 2016, p. 185).

Throughout the analysis, Bijl (2016) writes that the images continued to disappear almost as soon as they appeared in media coverage. He writes that this is because the perspective of a Dutch perpetrator was not an available subject position in the discourse (Bijl, 2016, p. 195). Moreover, by emphasizing and producing temporal differences between the present and the colonial past, journalists could continue to use colonial language to describe the events of the past (Bijl, 2016, p. 199). The images of the 1904 atrocities became indicative of a larger pattern of Dutch colonialism (Bijl, 2016, p. 197), even though there was no real consensus about what the photographs truly meant (Bijl, 2016, p. 204). Thus, the media controversies tended to inflame over whether the photographs could be attached to various other moments in time, such as the Vietnam War, the Holocaust or the War on Terror (Bijl, 2016, p. 221). This ultimately led to the images of Dutch colonial atrocity being used as shock value that was continuously renewed with new moments. Here, it is helpful to connect Bijl's (2016) with Kinnebrock's (2019) study on the news factors of memory production in journalism. From this perspective, the "newsworthiness" of the atrocity images in journalism could be described precisely through their position as "forgotten" images. By continuing to highlight the fact that these images have been "forgotten," journalism could present itself as a legitimate discursive authority that presents its information as "true" knowledge about the past. This idea of "forgotten" images can also adhere to factors of surprise or exoticism to explain their relevance to the audience (Kinnebrock, 2019, pp. 393–395).

At the same time, the idea of "surprise" or "exoticism" could continue to uphold the boundaries of "us" and "them" via colonial frameworks of speaking. Bijl (2016, p. 205) shows this continuation of speaking structures through the Dutch film *Max Havelaar*, which at one point restages a photograph from 1904 in its reenactment of Dutch colonialism. Through the reenactment of colonial source material, the viewpoint of the Dutch colonizers is normalized as the perspective through which the past is told. A similar pattern is found in German documentaries and films on German colonialism. In documentaries, "the reenactment of key moments" or the inclusion of "vintage film footage" performatively suggests authenticity (Struck, 2013, p. 137). Similarly, German movies such as the 2001 Oscar-winning film "Nowhere in Africa" ("*Nirgendwo in Afrika*") often recreate key scenes from colonialism by drawing on colonial source material, thereby transporting the power structures embedded within that material (Struck, 2012, p. 264). Reenactments of colonial crimes are overwhelmingly shown from the perspective of German colonizers, and the subject position given to Africans serves to personify suffering (Struck, 2013, p. 135). The reenacted image of suffering is "condemned morally but strangely, at the same time, enjoyed aesthetically" (Struck, 2013, p. 134). The public whipping or lynching

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of African men, for instance, is a commonly reenacted scene that iconically depicts colonial atrocities while also making the Black body a subject to be viewed by the Western audience (Struck, 2013, p. 135).

In both Bijl's (2016) and Struck's (2012, 2013) findings, the rediscovered and reenacted colonial imagery does not fundamentally challenge the speaking structures that the images originally produced. According to Bijl (2016, p. 13), one of the reasons why the 1904 photographs continue to be recycled in Dutch media is "because they prove hard to integrate into the existing narratives that a mnemonic community tells about itself and its past." He also writes that "[t]he nation remained a crucial social frame in which the photographs were semanticized," rendering it unnecessary to hear indigenous perspectives from Indonesia in what has essentially become a debate about Dutch history (Bijl, 2016, p. 221). This produces an aphasiac structure in which the images are not invisible but also do not become an established part of cultural memory: The structures of speaking about and for the past have not changed, thus making these images irritations that exist primarily in the archive but never make their way into canon (cf. chapter 3.1.2). The following chapter will now specifically consider the role of journalism in the performative process of (re-)discovering the colonial past and, in so doing, (re-)defining the boundaries of the collective.

4.3 Cultural citizen- and subjectship through journalistic memory production

This chapter expands on the theoretical premises from chapter 4.2 to analyze the conditions under which individuals can represent themselves or be represented within journalism's construction of memory. This can enable me to consider not only how silence is maintained but also how silence can be challenged through subversive strategies of speaking and listening in journalistic coverage. Chapter 4.3.1 begins by introducing the concept of cultural citizenship (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014). It asks: How does journalism produce and challenge (post-)colonial hierarchies of belonging through its construction of cultural memory? Then, chapter 4.3.2 explores how cultural citizen- and subjectship have been conceptualized in (post-)colonial southern African media contexts, which point to the multiplicity and strategic utilization of practices of belonging in multiethnic states. Taken together, both chapters examine how journalism uses its construction of "true" knowledge about the past to signal who can legitimately speak and be heard in the present. In this way, cultural citizenship functions as the lynchpin between memory, journalism and postcolonial studies. This will provide me with a lens to critically examine the previous research on the Herero and Nama genocide in journalistic reporting (cf. chapter 4.4).

4.3.1 Drawing the boundaries of belonging in journalism

Conferring or withholding the rights and privileges of citizenship has historically functioned to establish power and delimit participation in society. For this reason, the idea of "citizenship" is fraught for its role in reproducing Western ideals that normalize some identities (often white, heteronormative, male) and marginalize others (Klaus & Lünen-

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borg, 2014, p. 200). In colonial societies, the rights of citizenship were often based on racial criteria – and, in turn, the attainment of these rights was used to legitimize independence struggles against colonialism (Mamdani, 1996). Yet, as scholars have pointed out, the attainment of a legal status of "citizenship" in independent African nations has not necessarily led to new structures of participation in society: Instead, existing patterns of exclusion have often remained intact after the formal end of colonialism (Ekeh, 1975; Mamdani, 1996, 2020; Melber, 2003).

Hence, in the following, I build on the concept of "cultural citizenship" (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014) to show how the boundaries of participation and belonging continue to be negotiated and challenged in (post-)colonial contexts. Cultural citizenship focuses on "the dynamic and ambiguous process of affirming a sense of belonging embodied in and appropriated through practices of citizenship" (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 203). In this understanding, cultural citizenship is not a one-time status that is either attained or denied, for instance through a passport, but rather a continuous process that takes place in various cultural practices in society (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 199). The struggle over who can participate in these cultural practices also determines who can signal their belonging in society and, by extension, their ability to effectively speak and be represented (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 204).

With its focus on the cultural practices of belonging, the concept of cultural citizenship is also applicable to cultural memory, even if Klaus and Lünenborg (2014) do not explicitly address this. The processual and performative nature of cultural citizenship means that it is not formally conferred but rather repeatedly (re-)learned through a cycle of meaning-making between audiences and producers (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 205). The media are therefore used to learn, express, participate in and challenge the practices of citizenship and processes of identity formation (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 205). This became especially clear in the previous chapter 3.3, which showed that journalism not only determines what can or cannot be known about the past but also which reactions to the past are (in-)appropriate or (un-)desirable. Audiences can either mirror or disrupt these reactions in their own process of meaning-making (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 204; cf. Lünenborg, 2015, p. 256). With cultural citizenship, it is possible to break open the somewhat static boundaries of "our" and "their" memories that have been visible throughout some of the previous research (cf. chapter 3.3) and theory (cf. chapter 4.2.1) to instead consider the processual nature by which these boundaries are upheld in journalism.

Connecting cultural citizenship to cultural memory therefore opens important questions about how memory functions to both produce and withhold belonging in a group. In theory, if an individual knows which past events are important for the collective and how to react to these events, they should theoretically be able to signal their belonging and thus effectively participate in society. However, the very construction of the past can determine which individuals can (or cannot) fully be considered part of "our" collective. To illustrate this point, it is useful to briefly reflect on the literature on memory and immigrant communities. Members of immigrant communities are not only expected to express knowledge about the past in citizenship tests but are also expected to perform emotional labor to adhere to existing practices of cultural memory in their new country. These emotions towards the past are often presupposed for the remainder of the commu-

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nity (cf. Ayata, 2019, pp. 336–337). The performance of emotional labor is required but not shown as natural, continuing to exclude the immigrant community from the imagined collective. This adds an important temporal dimension to the construction of cultural citizenship: The imagination of shared past experiences as a collective determines who can meaningfully participate and speak in society in the present. This imagination is shaped not only by those who can speak today but also by historical voices that are remediated and circulated by journalism (Erll & Rigney, 2009; cf. chapter 3.1.3), continuing to draw historical boundaries around "us."

The "double bind" of "memory citizenship" has been illustrated by Rothberg and Yildiz (2011) in their description of the (im-)possibilities of Turkish immigrant communities participating in German memory culture on the Holocaust. Even though the performance of certain knowledge about and reactions to the Holocaust are necessary for signaling the right to belong to society, immigrant voices are rarely heard speaking about the Holocaust, which has become tied to a particular imagination of an ethnic German collective that historically experienced the events of 1933–1945 (Rothberg & Yildiz, 2011, p. 35). To counter this "double bind," Rothberg and Yildiz (2011, p. 41) propose that memories from immigrant communities could be connected to German memories of the Holocaust.

The suggestion above repeats a political theory-oriented perspective on cultural citizenship, which has often focused on "the right to be different […] without compromising one's right to belong" (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 57). In this perspective, often described as "multicultural citizenship," various ethnic groups assert the right for their traditions and memories to exist equally next to others in the community, which theoretically means that no expression of identity is hierarchized over another (Bornman, 2013, p. 438). However, while this emphasizes the right of memories to exist next to each other, it does not quite answer the question of how these memories can become "our" memories. This is especially important in the case of the Herero and Nama genocide: This event involved two tribal communities that predate the national boundaries of the present. However, these communities are now making demands towards the German and Namibian national collective. How can these two communities connect the past to "our" present?

Ong (1996, p. 738) rejects the idea that "immigrant or minority groups can escape the cultural inscription of state power and other forms of regulation that define the different modalities of belonging." In contrast with the "right to be different" (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 57), Ong (1996, p. 738) defines cultural citizenship as "a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society." In this way, the question shifts to how individuals or groups can break up or shift the (temporal) boundaries through which their difference is established in the first place. This opens a pathway to uncovering the subversive potential of journalistic memory production. According to Klaus and Lünenborg (2014), cultural citizenship is not "something everyone *has or should have*, but a set of strategies and practices to invoke processes of empowerment in order to subversively listen and to speak up" (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 204, emphasis in original). The Herero and Nama do not immediately challenge power structures simply by speaking about the events of 1904–1908. Instead, this act of speaking must be constructed through a position of belonging in journalism, as something that impacts "our" collective experience. Yet, the case of the Herero and Nama genocide not only opens the

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question of national "belonging," but also how this belonging is constructed in entangled, (post-)colonial contexts.

Many of the theorizations on cultural or memory citizenship above have concentrated exclusively on national frameworks, even as they have emphasized the theoretical possibility of extending these concepts beyond the nation-state (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 200). Ong (1996, p. 737) notes that cultural citizenship is conditioned on a "subjects' location within the nation-state and within the global economy". Ong's (1996) focus on global economic conditions helps to consider how belonging is structured both within and between national boundaries in the present.

To further explore journalism's production of cultural citizenship in post-colonial contexts, I now expand the concepts above by introducing the idea of citizen- and subjectship, which has been used to describe the practices of belonging between national and tribal identities in sub-Saharan Africa (cf. Mamdani, 1996). Whereas cultural citizenship has been used above to describe the ability to effectively speak about one's past ("self-making"), cultural subjectship can now begin to uncover the processes of "being made" through post-colonial representative patterns that essentialize the past of Others. This dual process of "self-making and being made" (Ong, 1996, p. 738) is often fractured along national and ethnic or tribal boundaries in sub-Saharan African nations. Hence, the following chapter asks: How does journalistic memory production intersect with the practices of belonging in post-colonial sub-Saharan African contexts? Answering this question will provide crucial context to the ideas above to understand how both German and Namibian journalism report on the Herero and Nama genocide. It can also begin to consider how different forms of belonging exist concurrently and even in conflict with one another in journalistic reporting.

4.3.2 Citizen- and subjectship in African media contexts

Mamdani (1996) describes belonging in sub-Saharan African contexts as bifurcated between national and tribal dimensions, which he differentiates as citizen- and subjectship. In the following, I explore and challenge this bifurcation through the theory of cultural citizenship described above. For this, I first focus on the historical roots of this differentiation before considering how journalism plays into this dual construction and contestation of belonging.

Mamdani (1996) roots the bifurcation of citizenship in colonial systems of direct and indirect rule, which determined how colonizers would interact with and grant rights or privileges to indigenous communities. In direct rule, indigenous populations were excluded from "civil freedoms guaranteed to citizens in civil society" by being defined outside the purview of citizenship, for instance based on racial categories (Mamdani, 1996, p. 18). By contrast, indirect rule "was about incorporating natives into a state-enforced customary order." (Mamdani, 1996, p. 18) Also called "decentralized despotism," indirect rule made the exclusion of indigenous populations from power a function of "custom" (Mamdani, 1996, p. 18). Traditional communities could nominally participate in society, but only through representative structures that ensured that they could not directly speak or be heard. This echoes the idea of representation outlined by Spivak (1988): Colonial subjects were silenced because they were presumably already being spoken for.

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A position of cultural subjectship can thus be understood as a function of silence in the discourse: individuals are spoken *about* and *for*, but it is difficult for them to be directly heard in the mediated structures of journalistic reporting about the past.

To achieve indirect rule, colonizers built on and expanded existing cultural practices and traditions in indigenous communities. Some examples included the idea of communal land ownership (thereby erasing the possibility of individual property), the concept of tribes as ethnically exclusive groups linked to a set location, and the position of chiefs as the primary and exclusive source of power in a community (Conrad, 2016, p. 40; Mamdani, 1996, p. 50). This description of indirect rule by Mamdani (1996) adds an important perspective to the representative patterns described by Spivak (1988) and Said (1978): Instead of a one-way ascription by Western scholars speaking *about* and *for* indigenous populations, Mamdani (1996) shows how representation both builds on and shapes existing indigenous cultural practices. In this perspective, "custom" is constantly negotiated between various factions of society – something that was actively used by colonizers and could also become a site of indigenous resistance (Mamdani, 1996, p. 22). Although Mamdani (1996) does not explicitly focus on memory, custom is legitimized through the imagination of long-standing tradition and must be ritually reactivated to remain relevant (cf. chapter 3.1), making memory a core aspect of how the practices of citizen- and subjectship are maintained or challenged, as I explore in more detail below.

While structures of direct rule have officially been challenged in independent sub-Saharan African states, the colonial structures that underpinned indirect rule are still visible today (Daniels, 2018; Mamdani, 1996, p. 21). Hence, "the duality of native-nonnative gave way to another, subject-citizen." (Mamdani, 1996, p. 296) The cultural practices underpinning tribal belonging have become ways of both performing proximity to national power and enforcing exclusion from it. In some nations, the new government's open acknowledgment of tribal identity functions as a foil to prior colonial structures and as an indicator of distinct Africanness (Wasserman, 2005, p. 79). Yet, this continues to hierarchize some tribal identities over others, fundamentally linking the struggle for political power with questions of identity. Subjects are "stamped with an ethnic identity" that determines their relationship to power and their ability to effectively speak and be heard (Mamdani, 1996, p. 296). Alternatively, the cultural expression of tribal identity can also be delegitimized as a hindrance to national identity and "unity" (Bornman, 2013, p. 434), thus requiring individuals to negate traditional identity (typically in favor of party affiliation) if they wish to become visible in society (Mamdani, 1996, p. 296).

Various cultural expressions are at the heart of determining who can effectively speak in society from either a "tribal" or a "national" perspective. The struggle to attain or withhold cultural citizenship is visible in the role that journalism has historically played in newly independent nations such as Namibia. As outlined in previous chapters, journalism produces and reflects the conditions through which it becomes possible to effectively speak and be heard in society. Most tangibly, this becomes clear in the selection of a language for publication (cf. chapter 3.2.2). During the liberation struggle, newspapers that published in English often conveyed imaginations of an independent national community united by a common language – as evidenced by newspaper titles such as *The Namibian* (cf. Ibelema & Bosch, 2009, p. 296; Rothe, 2010, p. 29). English was even actively promoted after independence, including by the government-owned Namibian Broadcasting

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Corporation (NBC): "In August 1991, the NBC Board decided to introduce in a 9–10 a.m. time slot a 'national window,' broadcasting in English via National Radio but also being sent out on the whole spectrum of the Language Service channels." (Kivikuru, 2005, p. 330) Yet, publishing in English continues to produce urban and rural distinctions of citizen- and subjectship, (re-)producing the "prototype subject [as] a poor inhabitant in the rural areas, a peasant" (Mamdani, 1996, p. 296). Media that have a wider rural reach, such as the public broadcaster NBC, are owned by the government and often limit direct criticism of the government (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 39; Ibelema & Bosch, 2009, p. 324; Kivikuru, 2005, pp. 326–327).

While the Namibian media system will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.2.3, these brief examples show the multiplicity of speaking and listening positions in postcolonial contexts. Positions of citizen- and subjectship must be understood as a spectrum, with individuals taking on different roles depending on which discursive space they find themselves in (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 26). There has, so far, been very little research into how these positions are negotiated or conveyed in the content of journalistic reporting, focusing instead mostly on the structure of African media systems or the self-perception of journalists. This is a gap that this dissertation seeks to address.

In much of the previous research on African journalism, "cultural citizenship" has been used to juxtapose the concept of "citizenship" typically assumed in Western research (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 27). Thus, the idea of "culture" is employed primarily to distinguish specifically African practices of journalism and citizenship. Interestingly, much of the literature has focused on cultural similarities rather than differences across the African continent to describe a specifically "African" expression of journalism (Mutsvairo et al., 2021, 6). This includes, for instance, highlighting seemingly continental values such as "*ubuntu*"[5], which emphasize communal responsibility and identification over Western understandings of individually held rights and obligations (Mutsvairo et al., 2021, 7; Nyamnjoh, 2013, p. 5; Rao & Wasserman, 2007, p. 40). However, this equation of "culture" with tradition bears the possibility of taking distinctions between Western and non-Western performances of journalism and cultural citizenship for granted without considering how these differences were colonially produced or how cultural practices are strategically utilized by power sources or challenged in society (Mutsvairo et al., 2021, 7).

It is here that a connection with Klaus and Lünenborg's (2014) idea of cultural citizenship is helpful. While Klaus and Lünenborg (2014) view culture and cultural practices as an essential part of citizenship, the bifurcation of belonging outlined by scholars such as Mamdani (1996) has led to an understanding of culture primarily in opposition to the rights and obligations of national belonging. Linking Klaus and Lünenborg's (2014) concept with the context described above can shift the question away from *whether* culture

5 The concept of "*ubuntu*," which refers to "a broader humanist philosophy that emphasizes the interconnectedness of human beings" (Willems, 2014b, p. 428), has often been used as a normative ethical framework in media scholarship, primarily in African media studies of the 1980s and 1990s, as an "inversion" of Western media practices (Willems, 2014b, p. 426). At the same time, it has also been used in journalism practice to advocate for and demand community-based journalism that centers the experience of communities and gives community members a voice (Mutsvairo et al., 2021, 7). In the following, I focus primarily on the cultural practices by which these perspectives are excluded and by which specific concerns, desires and memories are made "tribal" or "local."

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plays a role in shaping the practices of belonging and identity formation to *which* of these cultural factors are normalized and used to legitimize power (citizenship), and which are used to emphasize difference or enforce silence (subjectship) in journalism.

In addition, while the distinction between tribal and national identity has primarily been emphasized in African national contexts, it is important to note that this bifurcation is not limited to former colonies but has also shaped formerly colonizing nations (Ahmed, 2000, p. 10). For example, ethnic roots are often shown as a "natural" part of identity in German reality television, something individuals have but cannot actively achieve or even escape (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 209). Hence, the cultural practices of certain immigrant communities, such as wearing head scarfs, can be used to distinguish between un-/worthy citizens (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014, p. 203).

The memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide offers a unique opportunity to view how cultural citizen-/subjectship is not only negotiated within but also between German and Namibian boundaries. Do Herero and Nama representatives seek to connect the events of 1904–1908 to a present national Namibian collective, or is it instead used to emphasize their singularity as a community that actively challenges the Namibian national collective? And how are these struggles between positions of citizen-/subjectship conveyed and negotiated in German journalism?

Answering these questions requires a final look at how memories of colonialism and trauma intersect with the construction of citizen- and subjectship in African contexts. So far, the chapter above has shown that cultural subjectship can be viewed as a form of silencing whereby cultural memories are ascribed to certain communities to produce them through a position of difference to the wider collective. In addition, Mamdani (1996, p. 296) points out that certain cultural practices are actively constructed as threats to the independent post-colonial nation. Cultural subjectship thus describes a position in which individuals or groups are simultaneously marked by past experiences but cannot legitimately speak about these experiences without endangering the larger collective. In this sense, whereas cultural citizenship encompasses those memories that must be remembered to signal belonging in society, cultural subjectship can now be understood as those moments that must be performatively forgotten to signal the right to speak and be represented in journalism, as the following section explores in more detail.

Defining citizen-/subjectship through traumatic memories in post-colonial nations

In Namibia, the anti-colonial struggle is used to legitimize the post-colonial government (cf. Becker, 2011; Zuern, 2012). What identities and positions can become part of or exist next to this memory? In previous research, memories of colonialism have been described as hindrances for achieving post-colonial belonging in and through journalism. In an analysis of South African journalism, Wasserman (2005, p. 82) writes:

> "Perhaps a better route to follow in constructing an African identity would be one premised on shared or 'lived' experience […], which would be influenced but not determined by identity categories inherited from colonial or apartheid discourses. This would mean that the past is continually re-interpreted in new contexts, rather than unequivocally invoked […]."

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Here, Wasserman (2005) proposes focusing on shared lived experiences in the present rather than the past experiences of separate communities (cf. Bornman, 2013, p. 444). The previous chapters have challenged this interpretation: Connections to the past in journalism determine which perspectives can become indicative of "collective" present experience.

At the same time, previous studies on traumatic memories in African contexts have often pointed to memory as a source of conflict in the production of national identity. In this sense, the past is something that is often shown as something that ought to be forgotten. For instance, an analysis of ethnic violence after the 2007 presidential election in Kenya documented the "attempt to shut down an individual memory and create a collective one for the sake of survival" (Muhoma & Nyairo, 2011, p. 422). Similar results have been found in results of truth and reconciliation commissions (TRCs) in nations such as Sierra Leone, where individuals were reluctant to speak about the violence they had experienced, even though they were prompted to do so by the government (Shaw, 2005, p. 4). Shaw (2005, p. 4) writes that this hesitance came not just from a "fear of retaliation by former perpetrators" or a "fear of government reprisals," but also from a "deeper historical legacy of violence and its linkage to the development of grassroots practices of social recovery," as many ex-combatants returned to their homes long before the TRCs began searching for stories (cf. Buckley-Zistel, 2012, p. 83; Shaw, 2005, p. 9).

This connects to results from Buckley-Zistel (2012) on the local remembrance of the Rwandan genocide, where communities often refuse to speak about specific violence that occurred in their communities in a process Buckley-Zistel (2012, p. 75) names "chosen amnesia." By refusing to speak about the past, individuals could avoid ascribing categories such as victim or perpetrator that would jeopardize community cohesion and coexistence (Buckley-Zistel, 2012, p. 85). This connects to the idea of "constructive forgetting" by A. Assmann (2017, p. 57), whereby memories are forgotten to ease the rehabilitation of societal members after traumatic events such as civil wars. Yet, as Buckley-Zistel (2012, p. 76) notes, the point of forgetting in her examples is *not* to produce a "group identity which is separate from the opponent who caused the trauma," thereby actively "hindering the formation of a shared, group-specific past". Multiple versions of the past exist side-by-side and remain unspoken for fear of reactivating conflict in the present.

Here, cultural subjectship is upheld as a position of silence whereby speaking about the past is shown as detrimental to survival in a national present. In the examples above, categories of victimhood and perpetratorship are often tied to different ethnic or tribal communities. Hence, speaking about the past becomes a danger to the cohesion of the national unit.

How does this change when moments such as the Rwandan genocide or the Herero and Nama genocide begin receiving (inter-)national interest? Wosińska (2017) shows how connections to the Holocaust shape how the Rwandan genocide is memorialized and publicly spoken about in Rwanda (cf. chapter 3.1.3). She writes that references to the Holocaust are found "above all in media discourse, in which the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda is commonly referred to as 'the Second Holocaust'" (Wosińska, 2017, p. 188). These discursive connections mean that the language and symbolism of the Holocaust is often used to speak about the Rwandan genocide while also maintaining the si-

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lences that Buckley-Zistel (2012) points out. Wosińska (2017, p. 191) writes that, in this context, "the specificity of local experience and the local landscape disappear."

In this way, transnational mediated frameworks provide a way of speaking about events; they do not necessarily convey cultural citizenship and can instead erase local nuance and the specificity of individual experiences. This reflects the broader context of journalistic knowledge production about the past. Zelizer (2011) has pointed out that journalism often "cannibalizes" local memories in favor of broadly comprehensible (inter-)national mnemonic frameworks. She writes:

> "The West's central role as a key player in the global news media environment is instrumental in cannibalizing local mnemonic impulses. In part this stems from the difficulties among those from afar in grasping the often contradictory, tentative, partial, and multiple interpretations that produce mnemonic hesitation among those who experience trauma, crisis, or catastrophe." (Zelizer, 2011, p. 29)

Zelizer's (2011) study points to the transnational effects of "Western" media in the Global South, even though she does not study these in more detail. This is a blind spot that this dissertation seeks to explore. Zelizer's (2011) idea of "cannibalization" challenges points that Rothberg and Yildiz (2011) make in their conceptualization of "memory citizenship" (cf. chapter 4.3.1): Whereas Rothberg and Yildiz (2011) advocate for more individuals to connect their memories to one another, Zelizer (2011) points out that this connection can also function to collapse local specificity, thereby furthering positions of cultural subjectship.

Zelizer (2011) points to the difficulties of journalism conveying local memories to a wide audience. In this vein, previous research has indicated that the position of the individual journalist relative to the collective shapes how past crises are (or are not) integrated into cultural memory. Mannik (2014) demonstrates this in interviews with national and local Canadian journalists who covered the arrival of a refugee boat in a small Canadian town. In contrast with local journalists, national journalists had almost completely forgotten the event and their reporting after 25 years (Mannik, 2014, p. 567). However, local journalists often remembered the event because it gave their work and their community a national spotlight (Mannik, 2014, p. 568).

Integrating local/tribal memories into inter-/national mnemonic frameworks in journalism offers a dual opportunity: They could be used to amplify the need for local speakership, thus opening opportunities for subversive speaking and listening (cultural citizenship), or instead be used to make this local speakership superfluous (cultural subjectship). In this way, cultural subjectship could function as a precursor to aphasia (Stoler, 2016): The past continues to be shown as an aberration or an add-on to established mnemonic frameworks and can continue to be reintroduced by the media as a surprise.

The Herero and Nama genocide offers an interesting example to begin exploring the conundrums above. Here, an event that was previously localized to specific communities suddenly becomes an issue of transnational importance (Robel, 2013, p. 268; Zuern, 2012). Can journalism depict experiences and perspectives from the Herero and Nama community while also showing how this event shapes the collective present in a German

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and Namibian national framework? To answer these questions and to make the broad theoretical tenets of the previous chapters more tangible, I will now focus on the specific mnemonic practices that have been used to produce positions of inclusion and exclusion in media coverage on the Herero and Nama genocide. For this, I will connect the theoretical lens above with the previous research that has been conducted on the Herero and Nama genocide as a topic of media reporting. This will enable me to begin formulating the concrete assumptions and analytical questions that my dissertation aims to answer.

4.4 Never forget? Constructing the Herero and Nama genocide in journalism

Over the past two decades, journalism's reporting on the Herero and Nama genocide has become a topic of research across a variety of disciplines, often in history, political science and media and communication studies (Augsten et al., 2022; Boehme, 2020; Böhlke-Itzen, 2004; Förster, 2010; Haritos, 2019; Krautwald, 2022; Rausch, 2023a; Robel, 2013; Wolff, 2021). These studies have, with a few exceptions (Förster, 2010; Krautwald, 2022), studied German media contexts. This regional focus is amplified by the fact that most previous studies have been conducted in German academic institutions or written by German scholars. In this chapter, I examine the results of these studies through the theoretical lens outlined in the chapters above, especially in chapter 4.3, to consider which speaking positions have become evident in the previous journalistic coverage and which gaps still exist in the research.

In a quantitative analysis of articles in the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, Boehme (2020, p. 244) finds that only 10 articles on the genocide were published in the magazine between 1970 and 2003. The primary focus of coverage during this time was the 1985 television film "Morenga," which is based on the 1978 novel of the same name (Boehme, 2020, p. 244). During the centenary year 2004, there was a marked uptick in German press coverage (Boehme, 2020, p. 245; Robel, 2013, p. 265; Wolff, 2021, p. 254). This finding is also reflected in news coverage in Otjiherero-language radio stations, where the centenary year in 2004, along with the visit by the German development minister Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, led to increased coverage on the genocide as well as an increased prominence of reparations demands (Förster, 2010, p. 266). This media attention could also be explained through the participation of the Namibian government in the 2004 centenary celebration (Zuern, 2012, p. 501). Previously, the Namibian government had not officially attended commemorations by the Herero community, indicating a potential shift in the mnemonic practices of cultural citizenship at the 2004 centenary (Zuern, 2012, p. 501).

Nevertheless, in an analysis of German coverage about Africa, Namibia does not appear in the top ten African countries that received the most reporting by German newspapers in 2004 (Mükke, 2009, p. 95). Instead, most media attention in 2004 was paid to German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's official trip to Africa, where he visited the countries of Ethiopia, Kenya, South Africa and Ghana (Mükke, 2009, p. 95). By contrast, the German development minister's trip to Namibia garnered much less attention – in fact, it is not even mentioned in Mükke's (2009) analysis of Africa coverage. Throughout his analysis, Mükke (2009, pp. 112, 127) finds that even though German foreign coverage tends to

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highlight German political figures and topics in Africa, such as development aid, this does not extend to the topic of German colonialism, which is very rarely a topic of coverage.

These findings contextualize the German press coverage of the 2004 centenary celebrations and can also help to explain the later trajectory of the memory discourse. Robel (2013, p. 261) notes that 2004 was an important year not only for the centenary, but also for the first time that the Herero and Nama genocide became an explicit topic of debate in the German Bundestag. Interestingly, however, German media rarely covered German political debates in 2007, 2008 and 2012 about "redress" ("*Wiedergutmachung*") for the Herero and Nama genocide (Robel, 2013, pp. 266–267). Overall, between 2004 and the commencement of negotiations between the German and Namibian governments in 2014, relatively little coverage was reported (Boehme, 2020, p. 247). A small spike in coverage could be seen following a scandal in 2011, after Cornelia Pieper, a former Minister of State at the German Foreign Office, refused to directly apologize during a ceremony repatriating human remains to Namibia (Boehme, 2020, p. 247; Robel, 2013, p. 266).

These results show that the Herero and Nama genocide has not been a consistent topic of reporting in German journalism. Moreover, the impetus for reporting has not been inner-German political debates on reparations or financial compensation. Wolff (2021) notes that many speakers quoted on the Herero and Nama genocide in German newspapers are German academic experts, especially historians (Wolff, 2018, p. 425), and German politicians as well as political or traditional representatives of the Herero and Nama communities (Wolff, 2021, p. 340). This reflects the finding by Mükke (2009, p. 120) that most individuals quoted in foreign reports about Africa are German individuals, politicians or representatives of Western NGOs. In addition to these Western speakers, German journalists also rely predominately on African politicians to provide indigenous perspectives in their coverage (Mükke, 2009, p. 114), with representatives of African civil society rarely being quoted (Mükke, 2009, p. 121).

These findings, along with the theoretical perspective of subalternity and silence outlined in chapter 4.2.1, add nuance to the "diversification of speaking positions" (Wolff, 2021, p. 422) that has been suggested for German newspaper reporting in recent years. While Herero and Nama perspectives are visible in German journalism, the theoretical chapters above have highlighted that it is necessary to consider which positions these individuals speak from and how they either maintain or challenge existing representative structures. This is especially important given the complicated positions of citizen- and subjectship outlined in chapter 4.3.2: The relationship of an individual to the Namibian government is vital for understanding from which position they can speak and be heard on the topic of colonialism. At the same time, being quoted as a legitimate representative of Herero and Nama interests in German journalism might be able to challenge previous boundaries of speaking and listening in Namibia. However, to date, this remains a gap in the previous research.

Much of the previous research has concentrated on how Herero and Nama representatives are spoken *about* in German journalism, or the "strategies of tropology" in Spivak's (1988, p. 276) conceptualization of silence. In this vein, Robel (2013, pp. 299–300) and Wolff (2021, pp. 320–321) have noted that Herero and Nama speakers are often introduced through a paternalistic gaze in journalism. Particularly in the early 2000s, the

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Herero were often described as a "pastoral people" ("*Hirtenvolk*") in German journalism (Robel, 2013, p. 300). This echoes historical depictions of indigenous subjects as "noble savage[s]," stoking fear at indigenous revolt while normalizing colonial domination (Steinmetz, 2007, p. 79). In present journalism, this means that present-day Herero (and, to a lesser extent, Nama) leaders are shown as both potentially dangerous and politically powerless (Wolff, 2021, p. 327). The Paramount Chiefs of the Herero, particularly Kuaima Riruako and Vekuii Rukoro, are primarily shown as traditional leaders, with aspects of their tribal identity placed at the forefront of descriptions (Wolff, 2021, p. 341). In German journalism, they have even been introduced with the title of "*Häuptling*," where the diminutive ending "-ling" is used to describe and diminish the power position of indigenous chiefs (Lohner & Wolff, 2022, p. 199).

Through these descriptors, the Herero are legitimized as speakers through their tribal affiliation. This description also extends to both political figures, such as the former chief negotiator for the Namibian government, Zedekia Ngavirue (Wolff, 2021, p. 353). It is unclear whether these descriptors are also used for the Nama, as they are mentioned far less frequently in prior research. Yet, by focusing primarily on the tribal affiliation of speakers to legitimize their representative function in the text, journalism obscures the different social positions of the speakers (Wolff, 2021, p. 353). This serves to underpin expectations of homogeneity towards communities of survivors (Robel, 2013, p. 310): All representatives are shown as equally legitimate in speaking for the desires of "their" tribal community, reflecting the construction of cultural subjectship described in chapter 4.3.2.

These expectations of homogeneity not only limit who can speak in journalistic coverage but also serve to delegitimize Herero demands through expectations of unity and cohesiveness (Robel, 2013, p. 211). In coverage, the Herero and Nama communities are shown as the primary groups responsible for bringing forward demands for the 1904–1908 genocide (Robel, 2013, p. 310). Through a construction of speakership that assumes homogeneity, any disunity between community members can thus be shown as an irritation or a surprise and undercut demands for reparations (Robel, 2013, p. 334). Wolff (2021, pp. 342–343) has shown that the former paramount chiefs Kuaima Riruako and Vekuii Rukoro are frequently depicted as contested leaders in journalism who do not have the support of the entire community, which serves to relativize their claims.

At the same time, Herero and Nama demands for legally binding reparations are often shown as threats, particularly in combination with Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro, who is frequently portrayed as bellicose (Wolff, 2021, p. 347). This connects to the idea of cultural subjectship in chapter 4.3.2, whereby the past is actively construed as a danger to the position of the present collective. Beyond the one-sided ascription of German journalists, it will be interesting to see how performances of traditional belonging or authority are used or challenged to de-/legitimize the speaking position of Herero and Nama speakers in Namibian journalism.

Additionally, this dissertation aims to expand the previous research by exploring whether changes in the political discussion surrounding the 1904–1908 genocide have shaped the representative patterns described above. Robel (2013, p. 274) points out that the word "genocide" is conspicuously not used in political debates in Germany in the early 2000s for its association with legally binding reparations. In Namibia, Förster

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(2010, p. 302) shows that the word "genocide" was increasingly used in the Herero community from roughly 2004 onwards to describe the events of 1904–1908, which was typically combined with demands for financial compensation. Interestingly, rather than in German politics, the debate over whether to use the word "genocide" is primarily found in German journalism, which has used the term relatively consistently since the early 2000s (Robel, 2013, p. 277), notwithstanding some examples of revisionism or even outright denial of the genocide, particularly in letters to the editor (Robel, 2013, p. 297).

The perspective in German newspaper reporting about the "genocide" is largely centered on the question of what "we" should do (Rausch, 2023b, p. 185; Robel, 2013, p. 396). The primary question of the debate therefore hinges on a question of the scope and extent of German responsibility. Wolff (2021, pp. 366–368) writes that this often condenses the debate to a question of internal shame rather than external guilt, and there is often very little identification with the victims. This reflects the ethnocentric framework of reporting that Mükke (2009, p. 112) finds for German foreign correspondents and that Kinnebrock (2019, pp. 393–395) confirms for journalistic memory production. Thus, in German newspapers, development aid has long been shown as a "solution" to the events of 1904–1908, a way of Germany offering money for past crimes that it nonetheless can place into its own projects (Robel, 2013, p. 310; Wolff, 2021, pp. 391–392). Reparations, by contrast, have previously been relativized in journalism by pointing to the amount of development aid that Germany already pays to Namibia (Rausch, 2023b, p. 188).

However, in recent years, there has been a shift in this debate, whereby financial compensation has become more prominent in journalistic reporting, even as this has been accompanied by an equation between recognition and reparation (Rausch, 2023b). In this sense, paying financial compensation to the Herero and Nama is now viewed as a moral rather than a legal obligation:

> "Thus, although the moral rules shift to the effect that naming the genocide is unavoidable, the socially imposed collective ideal does not include the obligation to pay compensation. The repeated rhetorical reference to a morally justified responsibility is set in opposition to a political and legal reappraisal of the colonial past." (Rausch, 2023b, p. 189)

These speaking structures can also be found in German journalism's connections between the Herero and Nama genocide and the Holocaust (Wolff, 2021, p. 368). Pointing to the in-/comparability of the Holocaust has alternatively been used to both negate and support reparations claims:

> "In 2001/2003, most of the articles published on the class action referred to Germany's Holocaust memory to reject the OvaHerero's reparatory demands, thus stressing the emotional uniqueness of the Holocaust. In 2017/2018, the reference is used to exemplify how Germany's colonial past should be remembered." (Rausch, 2022, p. 428)

In these examples, the focus is on Germany's role as a perpetrator and how the Herero and Nama genocide should fit into its self-image as a nation (Rausch, 2022, p. 430). In this sense, the Herero and Nama genocide is no longer outwardly denied but instead

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shown as something that can or already has been integrated into a more positive present understanding of the German collective. By contrast, Krautwald (2022, pp. 15–18) has found that references to the Holocaust have also sporadically been made by Herero speakers since the 1960s, often to critique West German actions or the actions of German-speaking Namibians. It remains to be seen how and if these connections have changed in present Namibian newspaper reporting, especially considering the ongoing negotiations.

Rausch (2023b, p. 191) finds that, in contrast to German reporting in 2015/16, all analyzed major German newspapers critique the exclusion of some Herero and Nama representatives from the German-Namibian government negotiations and "unanimously demand at least financial compensation in their reporting in 2021". The demands of the Herero and Nama appear to be finding some responses in German newspapers; however, the question remains whether this shift to accept financial compensation comes together with changed representative structures in journalism.

The past research shows that the Herero and Nama genocide has been and remains a contested mnemonic site in journalism, characterized by a variety of ambiguous and even contradictory trends over the past decades (cf. Böhlke-Itzen, 2004, p. 125; Wolff, 2021, p. 316). While the Herero and Nama appear to be achieving more visibility, this has not translated into the ability to effectively make demands in German journalism (Rausch, 2023b, p. 188). Moreover, even though the Herero and Nama are frequently shown as responsible for making demands in journalism (Robel, 2013, p. 211), they are simultaneously not shown as "our" victims, and there is little identification with the affected communities in German journalism (Robel, 2013, p. 391; Wolff, 2021, p. 366). Despite a growing recognition of the historical events of 1904–1908, there is no recognition of the Herero and Nama as legitimate speakers about "our" past and present (cf. Bijl, 2016).

The theoretical concepts outlined in the previous chapters 3 and 4 help to describe this process of (non-)recognition through representative patterns that deny or confer the ability to effectively connect past and present in journalism. So far, many of the previous studies have asked whether and which present demands from the Herero and Nama are heard in (predominately German) journalism and how these demands are relativized or denied. However, one cannot understand how these demands become in-/visible in coverage without considering the mnemonic practices by which journalism hierarchizes and normalizes certain perspectives. Finally, even though the discussion on the Herero and Nama genocide transcends national boundaries, many previous studies have only explored how the demands of the Herero and Nama become in-/visible in German journalistic contexts. So far, there is little engagement with how this debate is currently being shaped by Namibian journalism. A singular perspective on German memorialization cannot grasp the full context of power negotiation between both countries on the topic of the Herero and Nama genocide. It also does not do justice to the entangled nature of power-knowledge flows that has been discussed throughout the previous chapter.

Given the previous research gaps and questions that have arisen throughout this chapter, I will now summarize the previous chapter 4 and formulate analytical questions that will shape my methodology and analysis. This will help me to situate my project

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within the previous literature and specify my personal contribution to the growing field of research on the Herero and Nama genocide.

4.5 Chapter summary and questions for analysis

The chapters above have addressed the research gap outlined in chapter 3 by moving beyond highly commemorated past events to showcase journalism's role in preventing alternative versions of the past from being heard. In this way, they set out to explore the many gray areas between remembering and forgetting by placing a spotlight on the positions of speakership that become im-/possible and ab-/normalized in journalistic reporting.

The chapter began by showing the connection points between postcolonial studies, memory studies and journalism studies that can help to add to the existing research literature (cf. chapter 4.1). Much of the previous research literature has focused on the dimension of re-presentation, or how journalism speaks *about* past events or historical subjects (Spivak, 1988, p. 276). However, as chapter 4.2 outlines, Spivak (1988) provides a way of exploring how silence is perpetuated by equating speaking *about* the past with speaking *for* the interests of subaltern subjects. This is vital for expanding the previous theorizations of forgetting: Rather than viewing forgetting as absence, it is now possible to define forgetting as the presence of hegemonic knowledge structures that continue to entrench the perspectives of former colonizers in describing the past and, in so doing, limiting potential connections to the present. Thus, it is helpful to view the past memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide as patterns of "aphasia," or the blockage of connections between past and present (Stoler, 2016).

Journalism shapes silence by producing mediated conditions of speaking and listening that determine which perspective can become audible in the (re-)construction of the past. To conceptualize this process, chapter 4.3 introduces the idea of cultural citizen- and subjectship. Cultural citizen- and subjectship refer to the ways in which journalism produces positions of legitimate speakership and thereby delimits who can fully belong in society. In my understanding, cultural citizen- and subjectship is determined through the present reactions to past events that journalism reflects and produces through its coverage. The past can be shown as constitutive for or, by contrast, as irrelevant or even dangerous for the present, something that must actively be "overcome." This goes beyond a question of recognition as mediated visibility to ask how past events can or cannot become "our" memories by determining *who* can connect the past with a collective present.

This struggle for meaning about the past becomes especially clear in the previous research literature on journalism's reporting about the Herero and Nama genocide (cf. chapter 4.4). This literature has found that Herero and Nama speakers are often portrayed through strategies of exoticization and expectations of homogenization. However, much of the previous research has predominately focused on how the Herero and Nama become visible in journalistic coverage through a national (German) lens. This repeats many of the theoretical blind spots found above and continues to come to a similar conclusion: The Herero and Nama genocide as a past event is increasingly visible in journalistic coverage, but this has not equated with a recognition or even visibility of Herero

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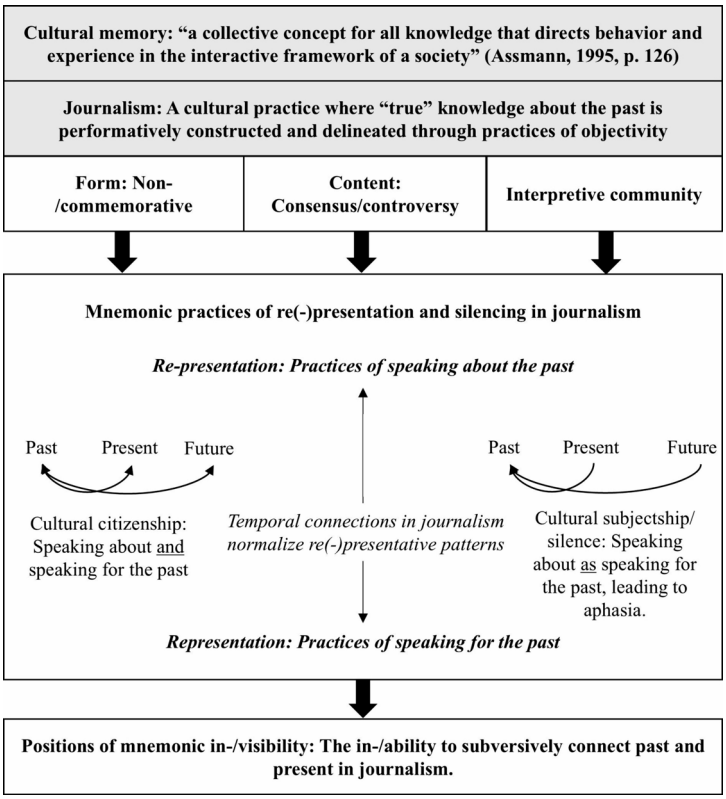
and Nama claims in German media. I argue that this is because the genocide functions to outline a speaking position for the Herero and Nama marked by difference. To examine this theoretical claim, however, it is necessary to move beyond a purely national perspective to consider how journalistic memory production is not limited to but rather produces national boundaries through strategies of inclusion and exclusion. This is especially important given the transnational impact of the current reparation negotiations between Germany and Namibia.

Figure 2: Journalistic memory production in (post-)colonial contexts



Source: Own depiction

To illustrate the theoretical lens that will guide my methodology and analysis, figure 2 provides a broad summary of the key theoretical concepts of chapters 3 and 4 that will shape my analysis of journalistic memory production on the Herero and Nama genocide. With this theoretical compilation, I explore the mnemonic strategies by which journalism dis-/connects speaking *about* and *for* the past to produce positions of inclusion and exclusion between and within national boundaries. Thus, I can now specify two of the research questions outlined in chapter 1 with the following theoretical concepts:

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- How does journalism delimit what can be said about the events of 1904–1908 in its coverage?
  - How does journalism formally produce the Herero and Nama genocide as a non-/commemorative topic of reporting?
  - What sources does journalism reference in its coverage, including its previous reporting? (Bijl, 2016; Zelizer, 1993)
  - Given these sources, which symbols and terms does journalism remediate in its description of the events of 1904–1908? (Erll & Rigney, 2009)
  - Which connections to other memories does journalism make in its coverage? (Erll, 2011; Zelizer, 2011)
  - How do these connections function to dis-/connect past and present in the article? (Edy, 1999)
- How does this construction of knowledge about the past shape who can speak *for* Herero and Nama interests in journalism?
  - Which locational and temporal markers does journalism use to dis-/connect the events of 1904–1908 from the present audience? (Chouliaraki, 2008; Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016)
  - Which reactions to the past are thereby shown as in-/appropriate in journalism? (Kitch, 2005; McConville et al., 2016)
  - Which speakers are connected to the events of 1904–1908, and how does this shape their ability to speak for certain groups and individuals in the article? (cultural citizen-/subjectship, cf. chapter 4.3)
  - Given this construction of speakership, which prospective visions and demands for the genocide are (de-)legitimized in journalism? (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014)
  - Which demands are placed in the sphere of consensus, controversy or deviance? (Hallin, 1986, p. 117)

With these theoretical concepts, I aim to also address my final research question, which asks how these representative structures work together to (de-)legitimize power relations between Germany and Namibia. To answer these questions, the next chapter introduces the method of critical discourse analysis, which can uncover the various power structures both reflected in and produced by journalism's construction of the Herero and Nama genocide.

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5 Methodology and research design

The following chapter translates the theoretical framework of chapters 3 and 4 into a methodological tool for analyzing journalistic texts. For this, chapter 5.1 introduces critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a theoretical-methodological approach for critically questioning how power relations are (re-)produced, organized and challenged through texts. After these reflections, chapter 5.2 explains how I selected the material for my analysis. Here, I also describe the wider context of media production and reception in Germany and Namibia as well as questions of material availability and accessibility that have shaped and been shaped by my research position. Finally, chapter 5.3 reflects on the challenges and limitations that arose during the research process. Taken together, these chapters outline and reflect the lens through which I view my material, which will be crucial for understanding the ensuing results.

5.1 Critical discourse analysis for analyzing post-colonial silence

The preceding theory chapters have outlined journalism as a discursive authority that negotiates, organizes and structures (post-)colonial power in its production of cultural memory. To deconstruct this process for media coverage of the Herero and Nama genocide, I have chosen to conduct a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of journalistic texts. Chapter 5.1.1 begins by describing CDA and its application in communication studies as a method of textual analysis. It then links my postcolonial theoretical lens to these methodological premises and reflects on my role in perpetuating silence through research. Finally, chapter 5.1.2 outlines the steps I undertook in my analysis.

5.1.1 CDA and critical self-reflection in communication studies

CDA is a method of analyzing texts that draws on the core tenets of discourse analysis according to Foucault (1981). Discourse here is understood as patterns of statements that are formed in similar ways and are articulated in specific historical contexts (Foucault, 1981, p. 170). This method is premised on the idea that language functions as a social practice of meaning-making that is expressed and circulated in texts (Fairclough, 2001,

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p. 122), with texts encompassing a wide variety of formats in which language is structured (Wodak, 2001b, p. 6). The way that language is structured and ordered then shapes how power is tangibly enacted, enforced and experienced and which reactions to power are possible. Therefore, discourse analysis seeks to uncover the limits of the un-/sayable in society by analyzing how statements are assembled and organized (M. Jäger, 2019, p. 66). Different arrangements of statements determine how discursive objects, such as the Herero and Nama genocide, are made (in-)visible (Foucault, 1981, p. 67).

CDA builds on the premises of discourse analysis while integrating an explicitly power-critical lens into its analysis and exploration of language. This means CDA seeks not only to describe but also to actively change the power relations that produce social inequalities such as racism (Fairclough, 2001, p. 125; van Dijk, 1991). This aligns with the aims of postcolonial theoretical approaches (cf. chapter 4), making CDA particularly applicable to my research interest. CDA highlights the subversive potential of language, viewing power and resistance as two sides of the same coin that are maintained and challenged through different discursive formations (M. Jäger, 2019, p. 65). In moments of controversy or scandal, the previous boundaries of knowledge and power become visible, as previous discursive structures are no longer sufficient to explain the construction of certain subjects (M. Jäger, 2019, p. 63). Applications of CDA therefore center on controversial issues that are the topic of political and social debate (M. Jäger, 2019, p. 61). This lends itself well to an analysis of the Herero and Nama genocide, especially in the context of controversial negotiations between the German and Namibian governments (cf. chapters 2.2, 4.4).

To analyze these moments of irritation and power negotiation, CDA focuses on linguistic strategies of normalization, specifically collective symbolism (M. Jäger, 2019, p. 68). Through normalization, subjects are shown as natural outcomes of the environment rather than as products of human agency (Gavriely-Nuri, 2020, p. 126). The journalistic practices of objectivity outlined from chapter 3.2 onwards can be understood as strategies of normalization that regulate how subjects can become visible and are shown as "consensus" or "legitimate controversy" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). Moreover, M. Jäger (2019, p. 69) writes that collective symbols are crucial for implementing strategies of normalization. In the context of my research, I view collective symbolism as both constituted for and constituted by patterns of representation in journalism (M. Jäger, 2019, p. 69; cf. Spivak, 1988).

This methodological emphasis on (post-)colonial collective symbolism necessitates including the wider social and historical context in which journalistic reporting takes place, a point that has particularly been emphasized in the "discourse historical approach" (Reisigl, 2011; Wodak, 2001a, 2014, 2020; Wodak et al., 2008). This approach emphasizes that researchers must include the historical context in which discourses are situated to contextualize the analyzed statements and arguments (Wodak, 2001a, p. 70), which is especially important when considering controversies on racial, national and ethnic issues (cf. van Dijk, 1991; Wodak, 2001a, p. 72). In this way, the researcher can highlight indirect and implicit meanings that remain hidden by strictly viewing the manifest content of the text (Wodak, 2014, p. 403). However, this integration of historical context opens a few questions from a postcolonial theoretical perspective. Chapter 2 has shown that the historical record of the Herero and Nama genocide is filled with gaps and

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shaped by colonial power structures. Furthermore, the question of how the researcher selects and uses historical context opens questions of positionality that the discourse historical approach addresses but does not discuss in-depth (Reisigl, 2011, p. 461). There is often an implicit assumption in prior applications of CDA that the researcher is part of the same national community in which the analyzed texts are produced, which is particularly tricky for post-colonial memories that cross national boundaries.

These questions also point to a larger challenge for implementing CDA in communication studies. Even though CDA has frequently been used to analyze media products, it has only hesitantly been adopted in communication studies (Phelan, 2020), despite the growing prevalence of discourse analysis as a method (Wiedemann & Lohmeier, 2019). One explanation for this hesitance could be the explicitly critical lens of CDA, which irritates the quality criteria of neutrality[1] in empirical communications research (Meyen et al., 2019, p. 41). Neutrality is a cornerstone of social scientific qualitative research, which requires the researcher to be "open" when entering the field and to approach the research object with as few preconceptions as possible (Flick, 2017, p. 41). As suggested above, this concept becomes particularly problematic from a postcolonial vantage point. Researchers cannot artificially remove themselves from the discursive production of reality, as they are deeply implicated within it (Foucault, 1978, p. 35; cf. Said, 1978). "Anyone who analyzes discourses takes a position – whether they want to or not." (M. Jäger, 2019, p. 80, transl. CH) In fact, erasing the position of the researcher furthers (post-)colonial silence by substituting the desires of the researcher with the desires of the researched subjects (cf. Spivak, 2009). However, in prior applications of CDA, this individual position of the researcher is rarely made visible to the reader, exacerbating rather than addressing potential problems of silencing when formulating "emancipatory objectives" for research (Fairclough, 2001, p. 125).

In addition, as Phelan (2020, p. 288) notes, CDA has primarily consisted of "linguists who analyze media rather than media scholars who apply CDA theories and methods." Previous applications of CDA are rooted in linguistic discursive analysis (Reisigl, 2011, p. 473), meaning they remain largely focused on the semantic and linguistic level of the media text and then expand these linguistic arguments to broader interdiscursive and societal debates on topics such as antisemitism or racism (Phelan, 2020, p. 288). The relationship between journalistic text and societal context is often presupposed but rarely explored in detail (cf. van Dijk, 1991, p. 44). This neglects the discursive practices by which journalism specifically delimits "truth" in its reporting and establishes its position as a site of meaning-making in society.

In this field of linguistically driven media analysis, the work of M. Jäger and Jäger (2007) stands out. Both scholars have predominately worked with newspaper texts and have developed a step-by-step framework for analyzing the various structural and formal aspects of articles in addition to the content of reporting (S. Jäger, 2009, pp. 175–176). For this reason, I have chosen to rely primarily on their suggested steps for a "structural" and "in-depth" analysis. Their "structural" analysis explores the "discursive level" of a medium

1 Meyen et. al. (2019, p. 41) describe this as "*Werturteilsfreiheit*" in German, or refraining from judgment.

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in society. This includes the institutional context of journalistic production, the conditions of production and reception as well as the editorial line of specific media (S. Jäger, 2009, p. 175). Next comes an analysis of the "surface" of the journalistic text, which comprises the form, design, genre and topics of each article (S. Jäger, 2009, p. 175). This corresponds with the conceptualization of normalizing strategies in journalism outlined above (cf. chapter 3.2). After ascertaining the formal practices by which journalism limits which statements can be made, S. Jäger (2009, pp. 179–184) suggests an in-depth analysis that explores linguistic-rhetorical strategies in the text. This step echoes many of the approaches above and emphasizes aspects such as pronoun usage or collective symbolism. The analysis of linguistic-rhetorical strategies is followed by an examination of the ideological content of the text, for instance through statements that reflect future visions or imaginations of the community (S. Jäger, 2009, p. 175). Finally, in an interpretive step, the researcher then considers how the text is embedded into hegemonic power structures in society (S. Jäger, 2009, pp. 184–185).

These steps peel back the layers of how journalism produces the boundaries of the un-/sayable in its coverage. Nevertheless, especially for the in-depth analysis, many of the steps that S. Jäger (2009) and M. Jäger (2019) suggest are not always clearly distinguishable from one another and often focus on uncovering the intentions of the journalist in supporting or challenging certain discourses (S. Jäger, 2009, p. 184). Given their disciplinary background as linguists, Jäger and Jäger also do not integrate findings about journalistic practices from communication studies into their analysis of newspaper material, and their steps move from the granular to the societal with rapid speed. Hence, while the work of S. Jäger (2009) and M. Jäger (2019) is a useful starting point, it nevertheless only partially addresses the challenges outlined above. In the following, I now discuss how to explicitly address and integrate positionality into the methodological approaches suggested above through perspectives from communication and postcolonial studies, which offer useful connection points to one another.

Reflecting on the (post-)colonial role of the researcher in CDA

The challenges above hinge on the question: How can the position of the researcher be reflected and made transparent to the reader? From my theoretical background, I understand this self-reflection not merely as a disclaimer but instead as part of an analysis of post-colonial silence.[2] The conceptualization of silence by Spivak (1996a, p. 207) places the researcher into a "double bind": While the researcher is called upon to critically uncover hegemonic structures in society, it is simultaneously impossible to analyze subaltern positions from a privileged academic research position. Any "sound" that could reach a researcher's ear would immediately negate any premise of silence or subalternity (Loomba, 2015, p. 229). Silence, in this perspective, is a systematic effect of the discourse rather than something that can be pinpointed in the discourse. This understanding shifts the focus away from finding "the" silenced to dismantling the hegemonic structures of knowledge production of which the researcher is a part. The researcher thus

2 For a more in-depth discussion on the challenges of analyzing silence in entangled research contexts, see Haritos, C. (2025, forthcoming).

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becomes part of the wider power structures that CDA seeks to critique and that are normalized through journalistic coverage. To analyze silence, it is therefore necessary to include reflexivity within the steps of CDA. This can be broken into two interrelated parts: A reflection on the theoretical lens and research literature guiding the analysis as well as the position of the researcher. Both perspectives are connected and shape the process of material selection, collection and analysis, as I will discuss in more detail in this and all ensuing chapters.

Collins and Stockton (2018, p. 4) write that theory provides a perspective of how power and knowledge work by "making implicit assumptions explicit". The selection of theory indicates the researcher's normative position within the discourse. In my case, the decision to analyze coverage of the Herero and Nama genocide through a postcolonial lens indicates an interest in the perspectives of formerly colonized individuals who have been silenced in memory production. In qualitative communications research, this theoretical lens is often made transparent through the use of categories to analyze material, which are formed both deductively from previous research and inductively through the material analysis (Löblich, 2015, p. 75). To avoid the risk of reproducing rather than critiquing categories that have predominantly emanated from Western research contexts, I will be drawing on open-ended questions in my methodological approach. Open-ended questions are common to implementations of CDA (cf. S. Jäger, 2009; Wodak, 2001a). However, I will specify these questions inductively and deductively to my research object to make my previous research knowledge visible (cf. chapter 5.1.2). To critically acknowledge gaps in this knowledge, it is also crucial to reflect on the personal position of the researcher, which amplifies the colonial power structures in my theoretical and research literature. For this, I will now briefly consider my own role in perpetuating silence as a first indicator of hegemonic power structures in the discourse.

It is no coincidence that as a researcher located at a German university, I have come to the research questions and interest of this dissertation: As has been reflected in the preceding chapters, much of the theoretical literature on journalism, memory and even postcolonial theory has historically been published at Western institutions, and research on the Herero and Nama genocide continues to often be published in German. In this way, my research position reflects a long history of knowledge production on the Herero and Nama genocide (cf. Bürger, 2017). Moreover, my access to research literature and source material both reflects and privileges my position in post-colonial power structures. This is also reflected in the fact that I do not speak Khoekhoegowab or Otjiherero, the languages of the affected communities in Namibia. My position thereby reflects the very power relations that I wish to critique through the postcolonial theoretical lens described earlier.

Even by making my theoretical perspective transparent, it is impossible to approach German and Namibian material through the same "lens," which is rife with theoretical and personal blind spots that privilege German centers of knowledge production as an invisible and "normal" position. In my analysis, this means that I am not seeking comparability in my approach to the material and instead try to make this imbalance transparent by reflecting on my position throughout the research process. For instance, my CDA of Namibian material includes background conversations with Namibian journalists for context, as will be described in more detail in chapter 5.2.4. In my results, I also explic-

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itly point out moments when I was irritated by my research material (Ploder, 2009), a process more well-known in ethnological media research (cf. Koch, 2021). In addition, I consider and critique academic knowledge structures in the final step of CDA, which asks what the relationship between the text and the hegemonic discourse is (S. Jäger, 2009, pp. 184–185). By viewing academic knowledge production as part of the "hegemonic discourse" that continues to delimit how the Herero and Nama genocide is produced as a discursive object, I can anchor self-reflection in the interpretation and discussion of my results. This can also be seen in the final open-ended question of my analysis in the following chapter.

To keep these reflections from becoming too scattered and far-reaching, the self-reflective steps and postcolonial critiques above are linked to the principles of qualitative research. Textual analysis from a communication studies perspective offers unique potential to orient meaning-making within the performative strategies of the journalistic text (Fürsich, 2009). Self-reflection is therefore not a goal by itself but rather a necessary complement to textual analysis that views the text as the central site of meaning-making.

To briefly summarize, postcolonial studies offer helpful tools to align the critical stance of CDA with the call for transparency in qualitative social science methodology. By pointing towards the danger of research reproducing subjects as autonomous voices, postcolonial studies underline the necessity for research as a circular flow rather than a one-way street between the researcher and the material (Spivak, 2009). The critical stance in CDA not only emanates from but must include the researcher's position as a point of critique. Looking beyond the manifest content of the text requires the researcher to not only describe the context in which statements are made (cf. Wodak, 2014), but also to situate themselves and their research within this context. Therefore, my theoretical background in postcolonial studies (cf. chapter 4) is not just a lens for material analysis but also an intervention that shapes how I make my position in the research process transparent. Given these considerations, I now describe the methodological steps that guided my analysis.

5.1.2 Analytical steps

With the considerations above, I adapted the steps of CDA proposed by S. Jäger (2009) to my research interest and theoretical lens. I began with a structural analysis of my media material that considered the discursive position of individual German and Namibian media, their production and reception conditions as well as their role in society. This structural analysis took place in two steps: First, I described the institutional framework of media production in Germany and Namibia (cf. chapter 5.2). Here, I also reflected on the colonial power structures that have shaped both my media material as well as my access to these materials. Then, my analysis continued in the description of the "surface" of the text (S. Jäger, 2009, p. 175) in chapter 6. In this step, I analyzed formal discursive strategies that shape how statements can be made in journalism, described in chapter 3.2, as well as the authors and the "discursive strands," or topics, of my newspaper articles (S. Jäger, 2009, p. 160). Following this descriptive analysis, I chose typical articles for analysis that reflected the range of statements that could be made about the Herero and Nama genocide in newspapers between 2015 and 2021 (S. Jäger, 2015, p. 82).

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The selected typical articles then became part of my in-depth analysis. Here, I combined S. Jäger's (2009) dimensions of linguistic-rhetorical strategies and content-ideological strategies to fit my research object and interest. Building on the theoretical framework elaborated in chapter 4.5, I broke this section into mnemonic practices of tropology (re-presentation, speaking *about* the past) and mnemonic practices of persuasion (representation, speaking *for* present interests through the past). These practices are not mutually exclusive but rather overlap in various ways. However, looking at each constituent part provided me with a framework for structuring and organizing my analysis and results. Each section contained open-ended questions that build on the analytical questions posed in chapter 4.5 and that were expanded as I worked with my material. The final open-ended question considers how my academic position is de-/legitimized through my results, which will be a point of reflection in the discussion section. Table 1 shows the steps that guide my analysis as well as the ensuing chapters.

Table 1: Utilized steps of CDA

Structural analysis	
Institutional framework	- Discursive level: Historical and cultural position of each medium in society - Discursive position of medium: Ownership, editorial line, production and reception
Formal text "surface" ***How does journalism formally produce the Herero and Nama genocide as a non-/commemorative topic of reporting?***	- Date of publication - Length of piece (word count/minutes) - Page number - Headline/teaser/subheadings - Imagery and image caption, if used - Rubric (e.g., politics) - Genre (e.g., interview) - Discursive events: Occasions of reporting - Discursive strand: Topics and topical connections - Discursive position of (guest) authors: Personal, professional and political

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Continued Table 1: Utilized steps of CDA

In-depth analysis	
Re-presentation: Mnemonic strategies of tropology (cf. Spivak, 1988, p. 276) ***What can be said about the past?***	- What sources does journalism reference in its coverage, including its previous reporting? (Bijl, 2016; Zelizer, 1993) - What collective symbols and terms does journalism use in its description of the genocide? (Erll & Rigney, 2009) - How does journalism describe the causes of the 1904–1908 genocide? - How does journalism describe historical participants of the 1904–1908 genocide? - Which connections to other memories does journalism make in its coverage? (Erll, 2011; Zelizer, 2011) - How do these connections function to dis-/connect past and present in the article? (Edy, 1999)
Representation: Mnemonic strategies of persuasion (cf. Spivak, 1988, p. 276) ***Who can legitimately connect the past with (whose) present?***	- Which temporal and locational markers does journalism use to dis-/connect the events of 1904–1908 to the present audience? (Chouliaraki, 2008; Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016) - How does journalism connect to prior memorial events in its coverage? - Which reactions to the past are thereby shown as in-/appropriate in journalism? (Kitch, 2005; McConville et al., 2016) - How are present groups described in journalistic reporting? - What relationships does the article thus show between current groups? - Which speakers are connected to the events of 1904–1908, and how does this shape their ability to speak for certain groups and individuals in the article? - What pronouns are used in the article to connect the journalist/speaker to the audience? - Given this construction of speakership, which prospective visions and demands for the genocide are (de-)legitimized in journalism? (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014) - Which demands are placed in the sphere of consensus, controversy or deviance? (Hallin, 1986, p. 117) - Based on these prospective appeals, which (academic) institutions are de-/legitimized in journalistic reporting?

Source: Own depiction

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5.2 Material selection, collection and availability

This chapter describes my selection of various German and Namibian newspapers, one German news magazine as well as one Namibian radio station for my CDA. Chapter 5.2.1 begins by outlining my selection criteria. Then, chapters 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 describe the selected material in Germany and Namibia. This aligns with the first step of the structural analysis described above and provides insights into the discursive level of each medium in German and Namibian society. Finally, chapter 5.2.4 describes the background conversations with Namibian journalists that helped to inform my structural analysis.

5.2.1 Selection criteria and time frame of analysis

I selected my material according to three criteria: centrality, diversity and feasibility (Meyen, 2013, p. 54). The first of my selection criteria, centrality, refers to the fact that it is impossible to outline every single potential statement within the discourse. To overcome this problem, centrality enables the researcher to focus on media that play an outsized role in shaping discourse in society (Meyen et al., 2019, p. 157). This includes sources whose reporting is often repeated in other journalistic sources and discursive levels (cf. chapter 3.2.2). Thus, centrality requires an understanding of the relationship to power positions in society that certain media have, for instance by being consumed by elite decision-makers in society or producing discourses that elite decision-makers must respond to (Schudson, 2018, p. 15).

As the analysis of centrality is dependent on the specific construction of power and knowledge, different types of media are considered "central" in Germany and Namibia, depending on how they reflect or challenge power structures (cf. Meyen, 2013, p. 54). Therefore, to determine centrality, I relied on previous research literature on the Herero and Nama genocide to ascertain which media had previously played an important role in shaping the memory discourse. I also relied on prior research on the German and Namibian media systems, as will be described in more detail below.

In addition to centrality, diversity ensures that the material reflects as many effective discursive positions as possible (Meyen, 2013, p. 55). This aspect is especially important for grasping the complexity of producing cultural memory from a variety of local and national positions. To ascertain positions of diversity in my material, I relied on prior research literature as well as experiences from my master's thesis (Haritos, 2019), which gave me preliminary insights into German and Namibian media coverage and enabled me to see which positions were quoted or critiqued within the coverage.

The final selection criterion is feasibility. In keeping with the postcolonial considerations of chapter 5.1.1, feasibility provides an opportunity for reflecting on the (post-)colonial power positions that shape my research position. My selection of material indicates my personal constraints: I only speak German and English. This limits the material that I can view, even as it also reflects persistent power structures in Namibia, as I discuss in more detail in chapter 5.2.2. Since I live in Germany, my collection of research material had to be completed during a six-week research stay in Namibia. In contrast to German newspapers, I could not access digital archives that show the entire news page for Namibian newspapers or provide show schedules for radio and television stations.

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Thus, my material collection had to happen almost completely through the sighting of physical material in archives. This material was not necessarily complete. In a way, this reflects dual structures of silence that were produced both through my limited research position as well as financial structures that make it easier to access digital archives of German material rather than Namibian material. Finally, my material selection also reflects economic constraints: I was financed for three and a half years and had to finish my research in this time.

These considerations also shaped the time frame of my analysis, which was limited to the period between 2015 and 2021. This six-year span roughly covers the initial period of negotiations between the German and Namibian governments on the Herero and Nama genocide, which began in 2014 but was officially announced and reported beginning in 2015 (Rausch, 2023b, p. 183). 2015 also marks the first time that the events of 1904–1908 were officially recognized as genocide by the German government, both in response to a question at a press conference and through an opinion piece published in *Die Zeit* by Norbert Lammert (*Zeit*, 09.07.15; cf. Wolff, 2021, pp. 294–297). In 2016, the Herero and Nama sued the German government for reparations in the New York District Court, which was tossed out in 2019 (Wolff, 2021, p. 349). In May 2021, the German and Namibian governments announced that they had reached an agreement on the genocide, promising 1.1 billion euros in development aid along with an apology that the German president would provide in the Namibian National Assembly. In September 2021, there were contentious debates around the agreement, which has to date not been signed (Melber, 2022).

This time frame provides an opportunity to explore how the boundaries of the un-/sayable surrounding the Herero and Nama are potentially shifting and how power is being negotiated within and between both nations in the production of cultural memory. The negotiations are a discursive event that is shaping how discursive objects are brought forward and produced (S. Jäger, 2015, p. 82). Analyzing newspaper coverage between 2015 and 2021 also adds a more recent perspective to the previous research literature (cf. chapter 4.4).

To briefly summarize, the selection criteria of centrality, diversity and feasibility reflect a variety of factors that are highly context dependent (Meyen, 2013, p. 54). They reflect prior research, inductive experiences with the material and personal decisions that reveal the researcher's role in the research field. Given these selection criteria as well as the proposed time frame of analysis, I have selected the following material for my CDA:

- The daily newspapers *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (*FAZ*), *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (*SZ*), *die tageszeitung* (*taz*) as well as the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* and the news magazine *Der Spiegel* in Germany
- The daily English-language newspapers *The Namibian*, *New Era*, *Namibian Sun* and the German-language newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung* (*AZ*) as well as transcripts of the English-language radio station National FM from NBC in Namibia

These sources all reflect central and diverse discursive positions in terms of circulation, ownership, editorial line and the (historical) relationship to discursive power within society. These individual positions will be explored in more detail in the following chapters,

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as they are crucial for understanding the role of each medium in shaping cultural memory of the Herero and Nama genocide.

5.2.2 German material: Daily newspapers and news magazine

To understand how power structures are (re-)produced through journalistic coverage on the Herero and Nama genocide, I analyzed German daily and weekly newspapers and one news magazine. Previous research shows that leading German newspapers have often been at the forefront of thematizing the Herero and Nama genocide (Kößler & Melber, 2015, p. 14), including in more recent debates such as the so-called "*Historikerstreit 2.0*," where historians in Germany debated whether German colonialism could or should be compared to the Holocaust in the cultural sections of German newspapers (Rausch, 2022, p. 430). To gather as many journalistic statements as possible, newspaper coverage also proved to be a feasible medium for the purposes of material collection and analysis. Despite losses in general readership, which have compounded over the past decades (Kupferschmitt & Müller, 2023, p. 17), the newspaper remains a medium read by elite decision-makers in German society (Arnold, 2009, p. 249). All papers in my sample were founded after the Second World War (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 113). While many of these newspapers were initially relatively local in scope (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 104), they have since become national newspapers, even as they still retain some of their local focus through regional inserts and through topic selection, as will be discussed below. The following newspapers have been selected for their continued and sustained coverage of the Herero and Nama genocide as well as their discursive position in the German media landscape (cf. Boehme, 2020, p. 239).

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The daily newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (*SZ*) was founded in 1945 in the German city of Munich (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 109). To this day, the newspaper is owned by the *Süddeutscher Verlag* (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 148). In the second quarter of 2021, which is the end of my analysis time, the *SZ* had 311,390 sold copies[3] and a circulation of 318,093 (IVW, 2024c). This includes both the daily edition as well as the weekend edition, which is published on Saturdays. These numbers make the *SZ* the second most-read German daily newspaper after the tabloid newspaper *Bild* (IVW, 2024c). At the same time, the *SZ* maintains a regional connection to southern Germany in its reporting and readership (Wolff, 2021, p. 221). Pürer and Raabe (2007, p. 152) note that two-thirds of the paper's printed edition are purchased in Munich and the surrounding areas. Its editorial stance is described as "liberal" and slightly left of center (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 152).

In my sample, the *SZ* is useful for the role it plays in shaping the reporting of other newspapers in Germany, as it has been noted in surveys as the most read newspaper by other journalists in Germany (Meyen & Riesmeyer, 2009, p. 111; Weischenberg et al., 2006, p. 134). Moreover, the *SZ* provides an interesting discursive position on my research topic for the prominent emphasis it gives to its culture section, or *Feuilleton*, which is

3 E-papers are included in all following sums from the *Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V.* (IVW).

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placed right after the politics section or after the features section "second book" ("*Zweites Buch*") in weekend editions. This is important given the debates in the cultural sections of German newspapers described above, as well as the growing importance of topics such as cultural restitution in the German discourse.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

In addition to the *SZ*, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (*FAZ*) stands out as a leading newspaper that is often read by other German journalists as well as elite decision-makers in society (Weischenberg et al., 2006, p. 134). Founded in 1949 and located in Frankfurt am Main, the newspaper built its national prominence in the 1970s and 1980s as a newspaper with a strong economic focus that envisioned its target audience as societal elites with political and economic decision-making power (Kutzner, 2021, p. 416). To this day, the newspaper maintains a focus on economic topics (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 152), making it especially useful for an analysis of the German-Namibian negotiations on reparations. Moreover, the *FAZ* places a strong emphasis on international reporting (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 152), which is important for my research interest. The editorial line of the *FAZ* is center-right (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, pp. 152–153). It has been owned by the *FAZIT Stiftung*, a non-profit publishing foundation, since 1959 (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 149). In addition to its daily newspaper, which appears from Monday to Saturday, the *FAZ* also maintains a Sunday edition (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*) that has its own editorial team and that provides more space for background research and reviews. In the second quarter of 2021, the daily edition (Monday to Friday) sold 199,398 copies and had a circulation of 208,579, and the weekend edition (Saturday to Sunday) sold 275,677 copies and had a circulation of 284,880 (IVW, 2024a). In my sample, I will view both daily and weekend editions to gather as many statements on the Herero and Nama genocide as possible.

Die tageszeitung

The final daily newspaper in my sample is *die tageszeitung* (*taz*), which appears from Monday to Saturday. While much smaller than the previous newspapers – 46,127 sold daily copies and a circulation of 48,035 in the second quarter of 2021 (IVW, 2024d) – it nevertheless represents a unique discursive position in my sample. The *taz* was founded by multiple initiative groups in 1979 as an explicitly alternative left newspaper (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 154). This came amid a wave of alternative newspapers that were founded at the same time. The *taz* is the sole surviving newspaper from this time. Today, the *taz* is owned by the cooperative *TAZ Verlagsgenossenschaft* (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 154). What makes the *taz* particularly interesting for my sample, though, is not merely its critical, left-leaning perspective but also its explicit focus on topics from the Global South (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 154). Finally, the *taz* is a useful medium for my sample since a journalist from the *taz* also reports in Namibian newspapers during my analysis time. This will be explored in more detail in chapter 6.2.

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Die Zeit

Die Zeit[4] is the most-read weekly newspaper in Germany (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 163), including among other German journalists (Weischenberg et al., 2006, p. 134). The newspaper appears every Thursday with sales of 587,582 copies and a circulation of 610,667 in the second quarter of 2021 (IVW, 2024e). The newspaper was founded in 1946 in Hamburg and quickly became a prominent "liberal" newspaper in Germany with a variety of political leanings in its pages (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, pp. 163–164). It is owned by the *Holtzbrinck* publishing group. What makes the *Zeit* particularly useful for my analysis is not only its role as a prominent weekly newspaper but also the connection to Hamburg that is also visible in its reporting. Hamburg, due to its prominent role as a city in German colonialism, faced a variety of protests, exhibitions, research projects as well as visits by Namibian delegations between 2015 and 2021. As became clear in an inductive viewing of the material, the *Zeit* is important because these events in Hamburg became part of the newspaper's reporting and helped to grasp even more effective statements on the Herero and Nama genocide.

Der Spiegel

The final medium in my sample is the Hamburg-based weekly news journal *Der Spiegel*[5]. While in the format of a news magazine, Pürer and Raabe (2007, p. 164) note that the *Spiegel* effectively functions as a weekly newspaper in terms of its editorial content and reception. The magazine appears weekly on Saturdays with 675,870 copies sold and a circulation of 681,567, as per the second quarter of 2021, and is owned by the *Spiegel-Verlag* (IVW, 2024b). Its editorial line is slightly left of center (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 165). As with many of the newspapers above, the *Spiegel* views its readership as economic elites that are in decision-making positions in society (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 167). In addition to being the most-read German news magazine, the *Spiegel* is one of the top three journalistic sources read by other journalists, along with the *SZ* and the *FAZ*, making it a leading medium in Germany (Meyen & Riesmeyer, 2009, p. 111). The magazine was founded in 1947 and has played an important role in initiating political scandals throughout (West) German history (Pürer & Raabe, 2007, p. 166). Previous research also shows that the *Spiegel* is at the heart of a scandal on the Herero and Nama genocide when its former Africa correspondent, Bartholomäus Grill, wrote a piece in 2016 questioning whether the events of 1904–1908 constituted genocide (Wolff, 2021, pp. 308–309). The *Spiegel* was thus included as the final news source in my sample.

Process of material collection

Given the sample above, I analyzed news articles that were published in the print editions of the newspaper. In this way, it was possible to ensure feasibility and comparability with my Namibian material, which was gathered in haptic newspapers. This choice also ensured that my structural analysis could remain focused on the formal construction of

4 For ease of reading, I will be referring to the *Zeit* without its constituent article *Der* from this point onwards.

5 For ease of reading, I will be referring to the *Spiegel* without its constituent article *Der* from this point onwards.

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journalistic articles in newspapers and magazines without also having to consider the structural aspects of websites.

The material described above was largely gathered through online databases as well as in the Berlin State Library. To find articles, I used the keywords "Herero," "Nama," "German South-West Africa," "Namibia," "genocide," "reparations" and "colonialism." Once I had ascertained a few discursive events, such as the announcement of the 2021 German-Namibian joint declaration, I was also able to search for coverage around these dates (cf. chapter 6.2.1). For the *FAZ* and *SZ*, I was able to view all full-page articles in the internal databases of the newspapers *FAZ Biblionet* and *SZ Archiv*. For the *taz*, *Zeit* and *Spiegel*, I relied on the online database Nexis Uni as well as WISO. I had access to these databases through the Free University of Berlin as well as the Berlin State Library. However, for the *Spiegel* and editions of the *taz* prior to 2016, I was only able to see text and not the full page of coverage on these databases. Therefore, for the typical articles in my in-depth analysis, I also viewed physical or microfiche copies of the papers in the Berlin State Library. To select the "discursive fragments," or texts, that comprised my CDA (M. Jäger, 2019, p. 74), I again relied on the selection criteria of centrality, diversity and feasibility. I chose articles that had the Herero and Nama genocide as a primary topic of reporting and did not include reprints from news agencies. These articles formed the basis of the research process described in chapter 5.3. Given this material, I will now introduce my Namibian material and show which positions it takes in the discursive construction of the Herero and Nama genocide.

5.2.3 Namibian material: Daily newspapers and broadcaster

To understand the discursive position of the Namibian media in my sample, it is necessary to first discuss the contours of the Namibian media system. As has already been briefly discussed in chapter 2, the first recorded newspapers in Namibia arose in the German-speaking settler community (Rothe, 2010, p. 12). Many of these papers continued to exist after the end of German colonialism, speaking to and constructing a German-speaking community united by a shared language and customs (Nahmen, 2001, p. i). In addition to these early newspapers, multiple mass media were founded during South African colonialism, typically crystallizing around positions of support or opposition to the colonial regime. This included the public broadcasting corporation South West African Broadcasting Corporation (SWABC), which was founded in 1979 and based on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (Rothe, 2010, p. 13). While the service gradually introduced indigenous language programs, the broadcaster limited information about the anti-colonial struggle and criticism against the colonial administration (Ibelema & Bosch, 2009, p. 296). Conversely, various alternative publications, often party- or church-affiliated, were founded as part of the anti-colonial struggle (Heuva, 2001, p. 27). Many of these publications were discontinued after Namibian independence in 1990 – with a few exceptions that will be discussed in more detail below.

To this day, media production and consumption is highly urbanized in Namibia, a country with a population of roughly three million, and is centered on the capital of Windhoek (Ibelema & Bosch, 2009, p. 321). Given this urbanization, newspapers are both produced and consumed by economic and political elites (Rothe, 2010, p. 15). "It therefore

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follows that newspaper businesses in Africa often cater for a much smaller and wealthier segment of the population." (Remmert, 2019, p. 13) Nevertheless, "despite being a small and sparsely populated nation, [Namibia] has a fairly diverse and pluralistic media environment" with five daily newspapers and a variety of weekly newspapers (Remmert, 2019, p. 10). Namibia continues to rank highly in international press freedom scores (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 17), although there are signs that politicians are becoming increasingly intolerant of media criticism, for instance by refusing to give interviews to certain media or attempting to withhold information (African Media Barometer, 2022, pp. 5, 28; Lister, 2018, p. 230).

The urban bias of Namibian journalism is also reflected in the weakness of local media: "Local radio stations are few and not very local in their broadcasting, and community papers are almost non-existent." (Kivikuru, 2005, p. 328). The primary languages of newspaper reporting are English and, to a much smaller degree, Afrikaans and German (Kivikuru, 2005, p. 328). English-language newspapers often include a weekly or daily newspaper insert in indigenous languages, typically in Oshiwambo (Rothe, 2010, p. 23). Television, in turn, is primarily broadcast in English (Kivikuru, 2005, p. 329). The successor to SWABC, the government-owned public broadcaster NBC, continued to expand its indigenous language programming after independence, currently offering nine indigenous language services in addition to national programming in English and reaching 95% of the Namibian population (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 33). However, NBC is "notably biased in favor of the government" and often reflects this perspective in its coverage (Remmert, 2019, p. 18).

Studies on Namibian youths' media use have found that radio, including public, private and community broadcasters, is mainly used to listen to music (Kivikuru, 2005, p. 327; Shihomeka, 2019, p. 68). In addition, "television is less accessible to young people than radio and […] printed newspapers get looked at mainly for job opportunities and for relaxation" (Shihomeka, 2019, p. 68). In this study, the author also finds that citizens are "still heavily reliant on both print and online media, so that the two support each other" (Shihomeka, 2019, p. 65). Another poll of youth media use found that "while the same group of youth openly admitted to being skeptical about the high volumes of disinformation and propaganda which proliferate online, they confirmed that newspapers continued to enjoy the highest levels of trust, followed by radio and television." (Lister, 2018, p. 230) While these studies are based on self-reported behavior, they nevertheless point to an interesting dynamic in the Namibian media system. In 2022, only 51% of the country had internet access – again, often concentrated in urban areas (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 55). Interviews with media practitioners in 2019 suggested that they were not very concerned with the digital transformation (Remmert, 2019, pp. 24–25), even though this has led to a lack of guidelines on how to ethically handle digital newsmaking in Namibian journalism (Zviyita & Mare, 2024).

All in all, the Namibian media system remains highly urbanized in a sparsely populated country, despite the wide selection of daily newspapers. Newspapers are primarily consumed by elite audiences, providing a unique insight into the construction of power and knowledge, even though this selection also has some drawbacks by remaining so focused on urban populations. In the following, I will discuss how the various media I selected for my analysis fit into this broader context.

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The Namibian

Remmert (2019, p. 24) writes that "an estimated 243,000 people read *The Namibian* on a daily basis," making it the largest-selling newspaper in Namibia (Shihomeka, 2019, p. 66). The newspaper appears daily from Monday to Friday. The *Namibian*[6] was founded in 1985 by the journalist Gwen Lister during the liberation struggle, and the newspaper advocated for independence and openly thematized human rights violations by the apartheid regime (Heuva, 2001, p. 83). Hence, the *Namibian* became a target of repeated political suppression and violence by supporters of apartheid, including a bombing at the newspaper's offices and a planned assassination attempt of the editor (Rothe, 2010, p. 29). After independence, the *Namibian* again came under fire for its critical coverage of the new Namibian government (Links, 2006, pp. 8–11). In 2000, the Namibian government banned government institutions from purchasing the newspaper, and from 2001 onwards, the government refused to place any more advertisements in the *Namibian* (Rothe, 2010, pp. 29–32). This ban was only lifted in 2011 following internal criticism in the ruling party, SWAPO (Rothe, 2010, p. 32). To this day, the *Namibian* "boasts a strong and recognizable brand" that is shaped by this history (Remmert, 2019, p. 23).

The *Namibian*'s unique position in the Namibian media landscape is also underscored by its independent ownership structures. "The majority of print publications [in Namibia] are operated as commercial businesses, while the government owns three newspapers […]. An outlier in this collection of predominantly commercially- and government-owned local newspapers is the daily *The Namibian*, which is owned by the Namibia Media Trust." (Remmert, 2019, p. 11) Finally, the *Namibian* also stands out through its introduction of a daily SMS feature called "*What you're saying!*", which enables readers to send text messages that are printed on a specific page in the newspaper. In interviews, these pages "were highlighted as spaces for people to express themselves freely, provided they don't insult others." (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 11) Finally, the *Namibian* is also especially relevant for an analysis of the Herero and Nama genocide because its coverage is frequently quoted in German newspaper reporting (cf. Mükke, 2009, p. 119), making it an interesting leading medium in describing the Herero and Nama genocide, as will be discussed in more detail in the results chapter. The *Namibian* is also, by far, the Namibian newspaper with the most academic literature, as this section exemplifies, pointing to an overlap in the academic and journalistic discursive production of knowledge.[7] While this testifies to the *Namibian*'s position of discursive centrality, it also highlights the fact that there is little research comparing this newspaper's coverage with other papers in Namibia.

New Era

New Era arose during the liberation struggle as a medium of the resistance organization and later ruling party SWAPO. To this day, the paper is owned by the Namibian government (Remmert, 2019, p. 11). According to Remmert (2019, p. 24), *New Era* is the second most-read newspaper in Namibia, reaching a circulation of approximately 107,000. The

6 For ease of reading, *The Namibian*'s official title will be referred to as *Namibian* from here forward.

7 The *Namibian* was also the only English-language Namibian newspaper analyzed in my master's thesis. See Haritos (2019) for this analysis, which additionally only focused on online articles.

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newspaper appears daily from Mondays to Fridays. The financial proximity to the government often translates into content, with the government privileging *New Era* with exclusive access to information or interviews with government officials (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 18). This is especially important for an analysis of journalistic reporting on the German-Namibian government negotiations. Moreover, *New Era* stands out for the fact that it is the only newspaper that has historically placed a large emphasis on indigenous languages in its reporting. Every day, the newspaper offers pages in a different indigenous language, including Otjiherero and Khoekhoegowab (Rothe, 2010, p. 23). As became clear in inductive sightings of the paper, journalists from the Herero/Mbanderu community often wrote pieces in this newspaper not found elsewhere in my sample, as I will discuss in more detail in my results. The combination of government proximity with a simultaneous emphasis on indigenous perspectives provided a unique discursive position on the Herero and Nama genocide that was important to include.

Namibian Sun

The *Namibian Sun* is the final large daily English-language Namibian newspaper in my sample. It appears daily from Mondays to Fridays. The paper was founded in 2007 in the vein of the popular South African newspaper *Daily Sun* (Rothe, 2010, p. 37). As such, the newspaper specifically aims to reach a younger audience and engage reader participation (Rothe, 2010, p. 37). As with the *Namibian*, its paper includes an SMS write-in column ("*SayIt!*") as well as an occasional page with selected Facebook and Twitter comments that the newspaper received on its online articles (Remmert, 2019, p. 6). The *Namibian Sun* is commercially owned by the Network Media Hub (formerly Namibia Media Holdings), the same media organization that owns the German-language daily newspaper *AZ* and the Afrikaans-language daily newspaper *Republikein* (Remmert, 2019, p. 25), and all three newsrooms are in the same building (Nahmen, 2001, p. 138). There is no reliable circulation data for the *Namibian Sun*, even as it is widely accepted as one of the large daily newspapers behind the *Namibian* and *New Era* (Remmert, 2019, p. 11). The inclusion of a tabloid newspaper geared towards young readers is especially important given Shihomeka's (2019, p. 68) assertion that many young Namibian recipients read the newspaper "for relaxation."

In a study on the South African *Daily Sun*, Wasserman (2010, p. 179) has pointed out that tabloids often play the role of public interest journalism in South Africa, pointing out corruption or criticizing existing power structures in humorous or salacious terms. These findings suggested that the *Namibian Sun* could provide a unique discursive position. This position appeared to be partially fulfilled through the individual position of the investigative journalist Jemima Beukes, who is known in Namibia for critical questions she has posed to former President Hage Geingob and for being "manhandled" along with her colleague from the *Namibian*, Charmaine Ngatjiheue, by the president's security staff during the public opening of a Covid-19 isolation facility (Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2021, p. 53). Taken together, the *Namibian Sun* thus represents a commercially owned newspaper with a discursive position that provides a variety of statements on the Herero and Nama genocide not found elsewhere in my sample.

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Allgemeine Zeitung

In addition to the English-language newspapers above, the German-language *AZ* has a unique discursive position in the construction of the Herero and Nama genocide. This newspaper is the oldest newspaper in my sample and the only German settler newspaper still in print on the African continent. Nahmen (2001, p. 69) traces the history of the newspaper back to the *Südwestbote* from the year 1912, which turned into the *Kriegsbote* in 1915 during the First World War, then was renamed the *Allgemeine Zeitung* after the war. The *AZ* was briefly renamed again as the *Deutscher Beobachter* in 1939 during the Second World War, returning to the name *AZ* after the war (Nahmen, 2001, p. 69). From its inception, the *AZ* has historically focused on a German-speaking readership, and "[t]he paper had close ties to the colonial and apartheid establishment throughout its history in pre-independence Namibia." (Links, 2006, p. 14). Chapter 2 has already discussed the role that the *AZ* has played in shaping commemorations of the genocide after the end of German colonialism (Förster, 2010).

Throughout its history, the *AZ* has also maintained ties to Germany and conservative German politics. For instance, in the late 1980s, the German publicist Diether Lauenstein purchased the *AZ* with funds from the conservative Hanns-Seidl-Stiftung (Nahmen, 2001, p. 113). Today, as with the *Namibian Sun*, the *AZ* is owned by the Network Media Hub. However, the paper continues to report in German and often covers topics that are not found in any other Namibian newspapers. In addition to reporting on events in Namibia, the paper also focuses to a lesser degree on events in Germany. Due to its German language, some of the readership of the *AZ* also consists of Germans, primarily former or prospective tourists. Rothe (2010, p. 19) notes that "[s]ince most readers in Namibia buy the print edition, the online edition rather targets the German-speaking readers abroad. Some 87 percent of the page views can be traced back to German-speaking Europe, whereas, on average, only 5 percent of the page views can be traced back to Namibia." While these percentages have undoubtedly changed in the past 15 years, they nevertheless point to an interesting phenomenon that was later confirmed in the analysis: The *AZ* also has a readership of German-speaking individuals in Europe. Thus, despite being a newspaper read by a small, albeit economically elite, audience[8], the *AZ* is nevertheless useful for capturing the breadth of statements that can be made about the Herero and Nama genocide today. The *AZ* appears daily from Mondays to Fridays; particularly notable is its Friday insert "*WAZon*" (*Wochenende Allgemeine Zeitung*), which often provides space for more in-depth cultural reviews as well as a page of letters to the editor, which has previously been an interesting space for relativizing comments or even denial of the 1904–1908 genocide (Haritos, 2019, p. 54).

Excursus: NBC, National FM

Finally, given the role of radio as the most-received medium in Namibia, I also included transcripts and audio snippets from NBC's English-language service, National FM. As

8 Statistics of circulation could not be ascertained. See Haritos (2019, Appendix p. 20) for an interview where the editor-in-chief Frank Streffen mentioned that approximately 6,000 copies were printed a day. However, given the fact that the *AZ* reduced its print run because of Covid-19, it is very likely that this number is no longer accurate.

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with *New Era*, NBC is owned by the Namibian government, which provides 70% of the broadcaster's running costs (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 13). This has often translated into a bias towards portraying the government favorably, even though the latest African Media Barometer (2022, p. 13) points out that "NBC staff have begun adopting a more editorially independent stance, although this was not the case a few years ago." Förster (2010) noted that the Otjiherero language stations of NBC often played a role in the commemoration of the Herero and Nama genocide in Herero communities. Even though I could not analyze the Otjiherero language service (Omurari FM) or the Khoekhoegowab language service (Kaisames) due to language constraints, NBC's National FM provided me with an opportunity to view potentially diverging statements on the genocide that could not be found in the newspaper coverage. Moreover, as the name "National FM" already points out, this English-language program has historically had the duty to promote the use and understanding of the English language as part of a nation-building project (Rothe, 2010, p. 42). National FM thus was useful for considering how various positions of belonging are constructed through the media.

Process of material collection

For my Namibian material, I relied on a two-step process of material collection and analysis. First, I used the database Nexis to view the text of Namibian articles from the *Namibian*, *Namibian Sun* and *New Era*. This gave me an overview of events that had garnered reporting on the Herero and Nama genocide. Then, I used these texts as a guideline to identify important time frames for my second step of material collection, which involved sighting and scanning articles from printed newspapers during a two-week research trip to Basel as well as a six-week research trip to Namibia. I was able to view copies of *The Namibian* at the Basler Afrika Bibliographien, a private archive in Basel, as well as at The Namibian Resource Center, an archive maintained by the *Namibian* at its offices in Windhoek. Copies of *New Era* and the *Namibian Sun* were viewed at the National Library of Namibia in Windhoek. The dates and events acquired over Nexis gave me an idea of which months of newspaper coverage to order from the library. Then, I went through the newspaper, looking for articles that had the Herero and Nama genocide or German colonialism as a primary topic of coverage. I also focused on articles that had the Herero and Nama communities, the German-speaking Namibian community or Germany as a topic. This process helped me to find numerous articles that were not on Nexis. As I found out through this process of material collection, Nexis archived articles on the front pages of the Namibian newspapers, only saving politics and not including opinions sections, which were typically where the most in-depth articles on the Herero and Nama genocide were located. This points to interesting patterns of knowledge hierarchization in the digital archiving of Namibian newspaper material. Going through the physical copies of the newspaper thus helped me to identify new events and debates. It is important to note that the archives I found in both Basel and Windhoek also had a few gaps, and sometimes a few issues or even a month would be missing, especially during the time of the Covid-19 lockdown. The articles that I had access to and that focused on the Herero and Nama genocide became part of my structural analysis. Then, I was able to locate the typical articles for my in-depth analysis, which highlighted central and diverse statements on the Herero and Nama genocide.

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For the *AZ*, which was not available online, I viewed physical newspaper copies in the Berlin State Library. Here, I went through every issue from 2015 until 2020. Regrettably, despite prior reassurances, the Berlin State Library did not have any issues from the *AZ* in 2021, likely due to disruptions during the Covid-19 pandemic. Regrettably, since I had already returned from Namibia at this time, it was not possible to view these issues. For this reason, as will be discussed in chapter 6, I was only able to include coverage from the *AZ* up to 2021. However, as I discuss there, this still gave me a variety of material to work with.

Finally, episodes from NBC's National FM were formally requested from the NBC's Archive Services in Windhoek. The process of receiving this material was a substantial challenge. Given my formal request, the archivists selected shows that had the Herero and Nama genocide as a topic and gave me printed transcript overviews. However, I was not permitted to purchase or save audio material and could only listen and take handwritten notes in the archive's offices. Given these limitations, the NBC material below will be viewed primarily as an excursus that helps to underline, contextualize or contrast some of the material I find in the newspapers. The selected shows will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

The process of material collection described above differs considerably from the process of German material collection, requiring me to focus much more on my sightings of printed material. Moreover, as the chapter above has indicated, the literature on the Namibian media system is still relatively sparse. Even though there is literature available about the Namibian media system, there is still very little literature on the content of Namibian journalism or the working conditions of Namibian journalists. Thus, despite knowing the available literature, there were still large gaps in knowledge – knowledge that ran the risk of being further compounded by yet another German-based researcher looking at Namibian material. This was a particular problem for my structural analysis, where I aimed to look at the entirety of collected German and Namibian material to ascertain typical articles for my ensuing in-depth analysis. To reflect on and confront this blind spot in my research position, I decided to also conduct background conversations with Namibian journalists.

5.2.4 Background conversations with Namibian journalists

As has been described in chapter 5.1, CDA requires the researcher to consider not only the manifest but also the latent context in which certain statements are made in each medium. To do justice to this goal, and in accordance with the blind spots in my research position, I also conducted background conversations with Namibian journalists during my six-week research stay in Namibia to help orient my CDA of Namibian material. In the process of material collection in Windhoek, I found that certain figures in my analysis period often wrote continuously about the Herero and Nama genocide throughout my analysis period. Additionally, in my master's thesis, I had already gathered experiences with interviews with the journalist Ndanki Kahiurika of the *Namibian* and the editor-in-chief Frank Steffen of the *AZ* (Haritos, 2019). In these qualitative interviews, I had asked questions about the self-image of journalists in Namibia as well as their day-to-day job. For this dissertation, I decided to conduct background conver-

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sations that focused specifically on the topic of the genocide and the role of journalists in writing these articles. Background conversations enabled me to speak to journalists without having to officially record conversations, which was deemed important to talk about a "hot potato topic" such as the Herero and Nama genocide freely (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 74). Thus, rather than recording and transcribing my conversations, I instead took notes during the conversation, enabling journalists to tell me when they wanted something written about or not.

The goal of these background conversations was to learn more about the position of the newspapers and how the topic of the Herero and Nama genocide is integrated into the reporting of the paper. This was especially important since there was very little available information about individual Namibian journalists to contextualize their position within the medium. In contrast with German newspapers, where information about journalists was readily available online or even in memoirs, this was not the case for the Namibian journalists in my sample. Moreover, in these conversations, I was also able to directly ask journalists about outdated research results and to discuss findings. Whereas there is previous research literature on German newspaper reporting on the genocide (Rausch, 2023a; Robel, 2013; Wolff, 2021), there was nothing similar for Namibian journalism. Finally, these conversations were vital given my own blind spots in the discourse. For instance, during my analysis, I began to think that newspapers were not reporting on the Herero and Nama genocide as much as in the beginning of my sample. However, I was not sure if this was merely a question of material access, especially given the archival gaps during the Covid-19 pandemic. Speaking to journalists gave me a way to reflect on these thoughts in the absence of research literature.

The conversational partners I spoke to are all prominent journalists from English-language newspapers who wrote about the Herero and Nama genocide throughout my sample and clearly held an important discursive position in the journalistic construction of this event. They included:

- Charmaine Ngatjiheue from the *Namibian*
- Kuzeeko Tjitemisa from *New Era*
- Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro from *New Era*
- Jemima Beukes from the *Namibian Sun*

All journalists above were contacted via e-mail or, in one case, via WhatsApp and agreed to meet me at cafés or at their offices in Windhoek. The journalists were told that the conversations would not be quoted verbatim but would serve as necessary background to understand the newspaper reporting that I was seeing. English-language journalists were selected since they wrote at newspapers, especially in the case of *New Era* and the *Namibian Sun*, for which there is little prior research. While I considered speaking to someone at the *AZ*, it was difficult to get in touch with the newspaper, and since I had already conducted an expert interview with the editor-in-chief for my master's thesis (Haritos, 2019), I decided to rely on the previous research literature, especially against the backdrop of time constraints while in Namibia.

The background conversations I had with these journalists helped to inform the structural analysis of my CDA to determine the position of the journalists writing about

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the genocide as well as the topics and events that would help to define my in-depth analysis. As these conversations were not transcribed, I will not explicitly quote from them in the following results chapters. However, for purposes of transparency, I will mention when information that I am referring to comes from a conversation with one of the journalists above. Before moving to my results, I will now very briefly describe and reflect on my research process.

5.3 Reflections on the research process

This chapter describes how I applied the steps of CDA described in chapter 5.1 to the material described in chapter 5.2. During and after my process of material collection, I documented all "discursive fragments" (M. Jäger, 2019, p. 74), or articles, that contained the Herero and Nama genocide as a topic in an Excel file. Here, I also conducted the formal analysis and listed the date, length, rubric, page number, title, teaser, author and imagery (if applicable) of each article. I also provided a content summary and noted the topics and subtopics in the article. In total, I completed this process for 917 Namibian and 404 German articles. The following chapter 6 will look at these articles in more detail. This extensive overview was necessary for understanding how the discourse on the genocide emerged as a subject in journalism between 2015 and 2021 and was especially important given the lack of previous research. This part of the analysis was also where my background conversations with Namibian journalists helped to contextualize the discursive position of each medium and journalist.

Following the structural analysis, I used MAXQDA to conduct an in-depth analysis of 177 typical articles that represented key discursive events in my sample. MAXQDA provided me with the opportunity of easily collecting statements and arguments across papers and national contexts in my sample. In MAXQDA, I followed an open-ended and iterative process of coding. The questions articulated in chapter 5.1.2 functioned as a guideline for lead codes that helped me to outline aspects of memory construction that I wanted to look at. Underneath these lead codes, I then used an inductive process of coding to identify various sub-codes that referred to statements and arguments that I found within the text (cf. Appendix B: MAXQDA code system). In an iterative process, I went through multiple revisions and additions of my sub-codes, combining or producing new codes and sub-codes as I worked with my material. My goal was not to group as many statements under as few codes as possible but to capture the breadth of effective statements on the Herero and Nama genocide. The sub-codes I collected in MAXQDA were the basis for my in-depth analysis, which viewed all sub-codes and underlying statements together to consider which themes arose across the material and to answer my research questions. The results of this in-depth analysis are presented in the following chapters 7 and 8.

The research process described above came with quite a few limitations. An inductive and open coding process runs the risk of (re-)producing a German research perspective in the analysis of Namibian material, as I reflect above. Methodological applications of CDA often presuppose that the researcher, journalist and audience all come from the same discursive context. Even though I conducted background conversations with Namibian

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journalists and am a native English speaker, it is certain that I missed some nuance in my analysis of Namibian material, since I am not located in a Namibian discursive context. Hence, future research by Namibian scholars on Namibian media content is crucially needed, as I reflect in the discussion.

It is also important to note that the state of material archivization also had an impact on my CDA: Handmade scans of Namibian newspapers, which had often been stapled and sometimes taped in the National Library, were a particular challenge for scanning and later coding in MAXQDA. This meant that I often spent more time with my Namibian material, transcribing textual content in the memos of my sub-codes when the OCR was not able to grasp the entire statement or only provide me with a list of symbols and numbers.

In addition to these archival challenges, the newspaper material in my analysis also differed in length, as I reflect in more detail in my formal analysis. Whereas German newspaper articles included long quotes with figurative language, Namibian newspapers relied on shorter articles with less figurative language. The longest articles with the most information on the Herero and Nama genocide in Namibian journalism were often written by non-Namibian guest authors or were reprints from Western newspapers. This reflects the different contexts of knowledge production described in chapter 5.2. In my selection of articles for the in-depth analysis, I thus not only determined which articles covered the Herero and Nama genocide in the most depth, but also which were typical for the arguments and speakers found in my sample. While this included shorter articles compared with my German sample, it also helped me to grasp the effective statements that were made in Namibian journalism. This is why the formal analysis in chapter 6 was crucial as a precursor for my in-depth analysis. Chapters 6.1 and 6.3 will describe this process in more depth and explain how these differences shaped my selection of articles for the in-depth analysis.

Finally, these differences also meant that in my in-depth analysis, I found myself both trying to show overlap between German and Namibian material and simultaneously often grouping material together to do justice to the different contexts of meaning-making. This was a challenge that shaped my analysis and shows the need for future methodological work for potentially bringing different contexts of meaning-making together more seamlessly, especially if the goal is an entangled analysis that goes beyond merely comparing and thereby further essentializing the differences between both contexts. Nevertheless, I also was able to find numerous points of overlap, which will be highlighted below. By looking at journalistic material in both contexts, I could trace speakers and arguments that frequently traversed boundaries, thereby playing a unique role in shaping the un-/sayable on the events of 1904–1908. With this background, I will now present the results that arose from my CDA of German and Namibian journalism.

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6 Formal analysis: The Herero and Nama genocide in German and Namibian journalism

The following chapter provides an outline of the topics (discursive strands), occasions for reporting (discursive events), the authors and formal journalistic practices that construct the Herero and Nama genocide as an object of cultural memory. It asks: How does journalism formally construct the Herero and Nama genocide as a topic of coverage in Germany and Namibia? This conforms to the criteria of the formal "surface" analysis envisioned by S. Jäger (2009) and M. Jäger (2019) while also highlighting specific characteristics of my sample. To do justice to the differences in formal journalistic practices I found in Germany and Namibia, I first consider these two contexts separately before bringing them together to select typical examples for my in-depth analysis.

6.1 Namibian journalism: Genocide in the news

The sample for my formal analysis of Namibian material encompassed 917 articles (cf. table 2). In addition, I listened to 16 radio broadcasts from NBC's radio archives. Given the material constraints described in chapter 5.2.3, I will focus primarily on the reporting of newspapers in the following chapter and discuss the radio broadcasts from NBC in an excursus in chapter 6.1.3. It is important to note that table 2 does not represent a complete count of all articles published in the newspapers but only those I had access to. My aim in showing these numbers is to pinpoint discursive events that impacted coverage.

A few tendencies became clear when viewing the distribution of papers across time (see figure 3). Coverage in the English-language papers peaked in 2018 and 2021 and significantly declined during the first Covid-19 lockdown in 2020. However, it is unclear whether this decline represents less newspaper coverage or an archival gap, since many archives did not have complete collections for the beginning of the Covid lockdowns. The *AZ* still reported frequently in 2020, suggesting that this sudden decline is a lack of archival availability. However, this increase in reporting also could indicate the unique position of the *AZ* in the Namibian media landscape, which will be discussed in more detail below.

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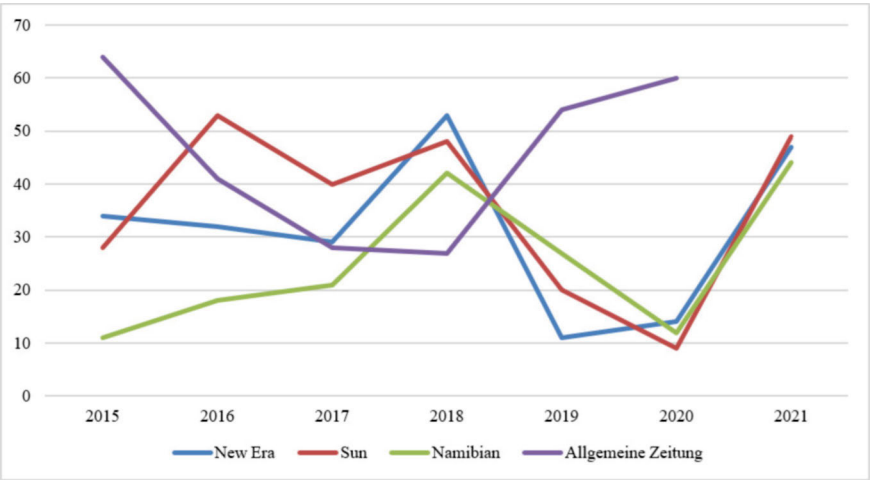
Table 2: Articles in Namibian sample

Year	New Era	Namibian Sun	Namibian	Allgemeine Zeitung	Total
2015	34	28	11	64	**137**
2016	32	53	18	41	**144**
2017	29	40	21	28	**118**
2018	53	48	42	27	**170**
2019	11	20	27	54	**112**
2020	14	9	12	60	**95**
2021	47	49	44	1[1]	**141**
Total	**220**	**247**	**175**	**275**	**917**

Source: Own depiction

Figure 3: Frequency of reporting, Namibian sample (AZ only until 2020)



Source: Own depiction

The following chapter 6.1.1 will now analyze the occasions for reporting underlying these results. Chapter 6.1.2 then considers how Namibian journalism thematically limited these discursive events through its selection of rubrics, while chapter 6.1.3 showcases the position of each medium and its journalists in selecting and writing about the genocide. Finally, chapter 6.1.4 provides an overview of the main topics found in my coverage and the speakers used in journalism to connect these events to the Herero and Nama genocide.

1 Due to the archival gaps noted in chapter 5.2.3, this number does not represent all reporting on the genocide in the *AZ* in 2021 but rather the sole article that I had access to.

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6.1.1 Occasions for reporting and discursive events

In my sample, most papers often selected slightly different events to highlight, depending on the paper's discursive position within the Namibian media landscape as well as the position of the journalist (cf. chapter 6.1.3). This chapter will highlight some moments when reporting converged across the newspapers to shape the construction of the Herero and Nama genocide as a discursive object. The focus is on events that were visible in most newspapers, although I also highlight moments that were particularly important for individual newspapers.

In 2015, English-language Namibian newspapers briefly converged around the initiative to rename the area of Lüderitz to !Nami≠nûs and Pope Francis' call in May 2015 to recognize the Armenian genocide. However, the first event in my sample that enduringly increased coverage and created sustained controversy across all papers took place in July 2015. Here, a variety of German NGOs spearheaded by *Berlin Postkolonial e. V.*, along with a delegation of leaders from the Herero and Nama communities, handed a petition to the office of the German President Joachim Gauck, calling on Germany to recognize the genocide. Even though coverage of the genocide continued to be individually shaped by each newspaper – the German-language *AZ*, for instance, placed a particular emphasis on the former President of the German Bundestag Norbert Lammert's trip to Namibia in October 2015 – coverage from this point onward largely focused on the bilateral negotiations between the German and Namibian governments.

Within this ongoing coverage of the government negotiations, often following visits by the German special envoy, Ruprecht Polenz, to Namibia, two occasions for reporting stood out in July and August 2016. During this time, all Namibian newspapers reported on the German government's recognition of the Armenian genocide and of the Herero and Nama genocide. Moreover, the Namibian National Assembly also tabled a motion to consider making Genocide Remembrance Day a holiday. This motion led to nationwide consultative meetings on the potential date of the Genocide Day, which had not conclusively been decided by the end of my analysis time.

Throughout this period, Namibian newspapers continuously covered conflicts between traditional communities and the Namibian and German governments over the negotiations. Two organizations were often in the center of coverage: the Ovaherero[2] Traditional Authority (OTA) and the Nama Traditional Leaders Association (NTLA). Both organizations refused to join the government's negotiation process in a consultatory capacity. By contrast, other Herero and Nama traditional authorities did join the government negotiations, forming an organization called the Ovaherero and Nama Council for Dialogue (ONCD). Statements by traditional leaders and politicians about this situation repeatedly fueled coverage from 2016 onwards.

The tenor of this coverage was heightened when the OTA and NTLA sued the German government for inclusion in the intergovernmental negotiations and for reparations in

2 The prefix "Ova" before "Herero" denotes plurality in the Otjiherero language. Thus, "Ovaherero" is used in the Otjiherero language to describe a group of Herero, whereas Herero refers to a single individual. Both "Herero" and "Ovaherero" are used to describe the Herero community in Namibian journalism.

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a New York district court under the Alien Tort Claims Act[3] in January 2017. A spike in coverage surrounding the lawsuit was evident in 2018, when the presiding judge in the case, Laura Swain, announced that Germany would have to make a court appearance to avoid a default judgment. This led to wide speculation in the newspapers about whether the court case had a chance of succeeding. Interspersed with this coverage was the revelation in September 2017 that the Namibian government had paid lawyers in London 16 million Namibian dollars for legal consultation on the lawsuit, even though it was unclear what services the lawyers had rendered.

Two discursive events temporarily shifted the focus of coverage away from the negotiations. One of these events was the restitution of human remains in August 2018, which took place in a church in Berlin as well as in Parliament Gardens in Windhoek. Additionally, in March 2019, the restitution of Hendrik Witbooi's bible and whip by the German state of Baden-Württemberg led to increased coverage. Interestingly, the Herero and Nama lawsuit in a New York district court was also dismissed and appealed during this time; however, the end of the lawsuit was typically confined to a single article across the papers and did not lead to widespread reporting.

Coverage converged again briefly in the English-language newspapers in March 2021, when Shark Island was declared a National Heritage Site by the Namibian government. Coverage across all papers also increased around the announcement of the joint genocide agreement in May 2021 and again when the National Assembly tabled the discussion on the agreement in September 2021. This agreement was the main source of coverage during the spike seen in figure 3, and it remained the main source of discussion across all papers until the end of my analysis. This discursive event also led to a change in the tenor and direction of coverage. Rather than traditional authorities now being at odds with the government, parliamentary opposition leaders such as McHenry Venaani and Bernardus Swartbooi from parliamentary opposition parties are becoming prominent sources driving coverage. Parliamentary debates drove coverage to the end of my sample at the beginning of 2022.

When looking at the shape of this coverage (see figure 4), it appears that Namibian coverage generally converges around political moments, particularly those that involve German political actors. Against my initial assumptions, coverage of the genocide was not clustered around commemorative events, such as the annual Red Flag Day in Okahandja[4], also called "Herero Day," which has been the topic of much previous research on the genocide (Förster, 2010; Kößler, 2010, p. 235). In my formal analysis of Namibian newspaper coverage, I found that Red Flag Day was neither a consistent nor the only commemorative event that was connected to the genocide. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

In addition to these different commemorative events, the Namibian political events that were mentioned in connection with the Herero and Nama genocide were much more diverse than the broad discursive moments outlined in figure 4. However, these events

3 This U.S. law enables non-U.S. citizens to bring civil suits before the courts in certain situations, particularly for violations of international law.

4 Red Flag Day commemorates the reburial of Sam Maharero's remains in Okahandja in 1923. See chapter 2.2 for a description of the memorialization of this event.

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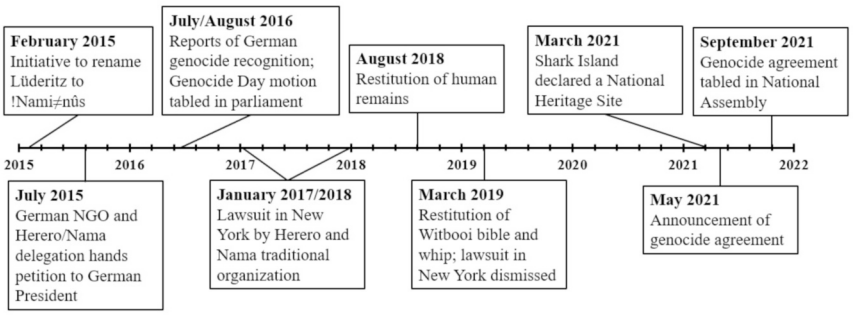
were often mentioned non-consecutively by various papers. For instance, the ongoing protests surrounding the *Marinedenkmal*, or a statue commemorating fallen German soldiers in Swakopmund, were covered by different papers at different times rather than converging into one large discursive event. Thus, while statements by certain politicians or traditional authorities drew consistent coverage across my time frame, the Namibian papers differed in which statements were considered occasions for reporting.

Figure 4: Discursive events in Namibian coverage



Source: Own depiction

Even though visits or statements by German politicians tended to draw coverage across papers, the diversity of coverage on inner-Namibian topics within papers is an interesting finding that points to the challenge of journalistically covering events that are not settled into a particular "national" framework. This also leads to more theoretical questions about the role of journalism in (re-)producing an idea of national and/or ethnic identity in its coverage, which will be explored more in the in-depth analysis. Now, however, the following chapter will show which rubrics the Namibian newspapers used to topically classify these discursive events.

6.1.2 Rubrics of coverage

What immediately became clear when viewing the Namibian coverage is that, across all newspapers, the genocide is formally and topically constructed as a present-day political issue. Most coverage on the genocide revolves around short news reports, which are sorted into the rubric "(National) News" in all newspapers. In my sample, "News" typically includes any events that take place in Namibia, from political news to everyday stories of poverty that might typically be classified as human interest in the research literature.[5] Reports on the genocide in "news" rubrics are often placed in two-page spreads on the

5 See Wasserman (2010) for a broader argument about the overlap between human interest/tabloid and political news in South African newspapers. I argue that both can be considered political in the sense that pieces classified as "human interest" often give journalists a way to point to issues that might be glossed over by politics in Namibia.

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front and second page of the papers. The leading page typically contains a headline, a few lines of text and a photograph. The trailing page consists entirely of text blocks that correspond with the headlines from the front page.

From approximately 2019 onwards, news reports on the Herero and Nama genocide in English-language newspapers are frequently found on pages two to five in the "news" section. This corresponds with the decrease in coverage in English-language newspapers around 2019 (cf. figure 3). Journalists from *New Era* and the *Namibian* confirmed in background conversations that genocide updates are not always considered front-page news, especially given the long period of negotiations. Nevertheless, coverage went back to the front pages when the genocide agreement between the German and Namibian governments was announced in May 2021.

Beyond these "news" reports, all newspapers also position the genocide in opinion and, much less frequently, in feature rubrics further back in the newspaper, usually before the indigenous-language (only in Oshiwambo for *Namibian* and *Namibian Sun*) and sports sections. These are usually pages 7–12 for the *Namibian*, pages 6–10 for the *Namibian Sun* and pages 8–14 for *New Era*. The opinion pieces on the genocide are often written by recurring guest authors or columnists. The guest authors in all papers are almost never individuals that are directly involved in the genocide negotiations or lawsuit, such as the Herero Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro. Some examples of guest authors are Festus Muundjua from the Ovaherero Genocide Foundation (OGF) or Joyce Muzengua from the parliamentary opposition party Landless Peoples' Movement (LPM). While these individuals are undoubtedly involved in the debate surrounding the genocide, they are not the main figures that are typically quoted in the "news" section. In both the *Namibian* and *Namibian Sun's* coverage, the opinion rubrics also include sections with text messages or letters from readers. Usually, these reader-driven pieces center on moments when a politician says something controversial about the genocide negotiations.

The *AZ*'s coverage slightly diverges from the editorial structures visible in the English-language press. While the *AZ* also frequently reports on the Herero and Nama genocide in "news" reports and commentaries in the front pages of coverage, many texts on the genocide are also found in letters to the editor as well as "history," "background" or "glossary" rubrics. These rubrics are often part of the weekend inlay "*wazon*" (from *Wochenende Allgemeine Zeitung*), which is placed inside the Friday edition of the paper. Here, the *AZ* prints cultural reviews or tips, installments of books over multiple weeks as well as letters to the editor. Printing letters to the editor on an inlay rather than within the main section of the paper signals editorial distancing and a way to avoid the appearance of contentious debate in the preliminary sections of the paper – while also ensuring that these letters are nevertheless part of the paper.

In addition, a third type of coverage stands out, especially in my English-language Namibian sample: reprints from other news sources or from German journalists or institutions. The newspapers often come up with rubrics for these reprints, such as "feature," "interview" or "know the history" that do not neatly track with the usual rubrics of (national) news and opinion and editorial. A few examples of reprints give an insight into why it was potentially difficult for newspapers to classify these articles. One reprint in my sample was a two-page article from the German activist group *Erfurt Postkolonial's* website. The article gave an in-depth story of a house in the German city of Erfurt that is

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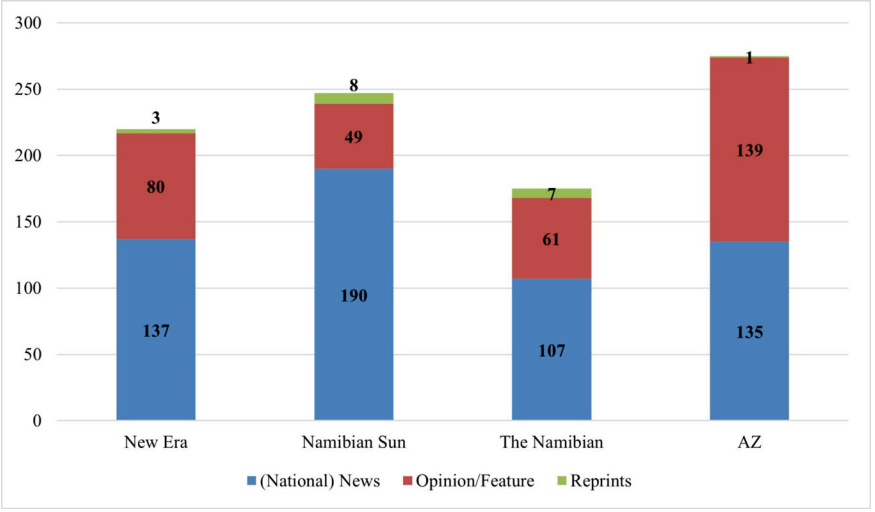
decorated with statues of Boer figures (*New Era*, 07.08.19). Another example includes an apology written by the Protestant Church of Germany (EKD) for the church's role in colonialism (*Namibian Sun*, 02.05.17). Both these reprints are noticeable since they are events that are deeply rooted in the German discourse yet found no mention in the analyzed German newspapers. Other reprints included articles that had been published in newspapers such as the German *taz*, the Turkish *Daily Sabah* or the U.S.-American *New York Times* or the *New Yorker*. In addition, the German-speaking academics Reinhart Kößler and Henning Melber were often featured in opinion pieces across all three newspapers, either writing expressly for each newspaper or in reprints from news outlets such as *The Conversation* or the South African *Mail & Guardian*. These feature pieces were often about issues surrounding the Herero and Nama genocide, such as German-speaking Namibian landholders in Namibia, the poverty of Hereros, or the discovery of Namibian skulls in New York museums. The *AZ* also includes one reprint from the German *Berliner Zeitung* by the historian Ulrich van der Heyden.

Figure 5 outlines the primary rubrics of coverage. The rubrics have been condensed for clarity and reflect the typical division of the newspaper between the first few pages of "news" and the latter pages, where there is space for more opinion-oriented articles. The reprints have been listed separately, since they are not easily classified within the broader structure of the newspaper.

Figure 5: Rubrics of coverage in Namibian newspapers



Source: Own depiction

In summary, while Namibian political reporters are often those describing the genocide in short "news" reports, the long-form feature, opinion and editorial sections are a space where "experts," including German-language academics and journalists, can expound about the genocide and its effects on society today. *New Era* is a partial exception to

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this pattern, as will be described in more detail in the chapter below. However, these initial entanglements between Germany and Namibia point to power and knowledge structures underlying the discourse on the genocide: The (re-)printing of voices from German institutions and sources in Namibian media has no equal in German newspapers. This connects with the fact that the visits and statements by German politicians are often a separate occasion for reporting in Namibian coverage.

6.1.3 Discursive positions

This chapter discusses which discursive positions become visible through the journalists and authors selected to write about the Herero and Nama genocide in Namibian newspapers. Given the lack of available information on Namibian journalists, this section also makes use of background conversations (cf. chapter 5.2.4). Throughout my sample, I find that the discursive position of Namibian journalists often corresponds with the selection of occasions for reporting as well as the discursive strands that arise in coverage.

New Era

To begin, the government-owned *New Era* stands out in my sample for its frequent coverage of the Herero community. One of the newspaper's editors, Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro, wrote regular, and at times weekly, opinion pieces on the genocide from 2015 to mid-2019 in the opinion sub-section "Thought Leaders." After mid-2019, Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro continued writing regular articles on the Herero and Nama genocide, though now in the indigenous-language section of *New Era*. As noted in chapter 5.2.3, *New Era* includes a daily section in its newspaper variously written in one of the indigenous languages spoken in Namibia (Rothe, 2010, p. 23). Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro writes for the Otjiherero-language section called "Ombuze," which appears every Friday.[6] Based on my background conversation with Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro as well as sightings of these sections at the National Library in Windhoek, this section does not merely consist of translations of articles written in the "news" portion of the newspaper. Instead, these articles are individually written and include topics that are particularly relevant to the Herero community, such as the genocide negotiations.

In addition, Kuzeeko Tjitemisa was one of the primary authors consistently writing about the genocide in the "News" section of the newspaper. In background conversations, both Tjitemisa and Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro confirmed that ties to the Herero/Mbanderu[7] communities are very important to gain access to sources. This proximity to the affected Herero/Mbanderu communities gave *New Era* a unique discursive position in my sample. *New Era* often covered commemorations within the Herero/Mbanderu community that were not mentioned in any other newspapers, such as the Battles of Otjihenda and

6 Regrettably, I was not able to include these sections in my analysis. However, they helped to position this journalist as well as the work of the newspaper, which is why I mention them here.

7 The Herero and Mbanderu are both Otjiherero-speaking groups with different royal houses and commemorations. This distinction between the groups is occasionally used in the newspaper coverage on the groups, particularly in *New Era*. In the following, I will refer to these groups separately when distinction is necessary but will otherwise be using the overarching term "Herero" in line with most of the previous research literature.

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Okeseta, which occurred around the more well-known Battle of Waterberg (Ohamakari). In addition, both Tjitemisa and Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro covered exclusive stories regarding discussions or controversies within the tribes, occasionally referring to information from internal WhatsApp chats in their coverage. This coverage would not be possible without the ability to speak Otjiherero and to be trusted to enter these chats. For instance, the newspaper shows the inner-tribal conflict that erupted when Esther Utjiua Muinjangue, the former head of the Ovaherero Genocide Foundation (OGF) and the president of the opposition party National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO), became the Deputy Minister of Health and Social Services under the SWAPO government in 2020. Her new affiliation with the government was viewed as a "conflict of interest" for her work in the Ovaherero genocide cause (*New Era*, 05.05.20) and led to her no longer heading the OGF. No other newspapers in my sample covered these conflicts.

In addition, *New Era* was the only newspaper that provided in-depth interviews with key government officials in its rubric "On the Spot." In my sample, there were two interviews with the special envoy in the genocide negotiations, Dr. Zedekia Ngavirue, and one interview with Esther Utjiua Muinjangue, head of a parliamentary opposition party. Both Ngavirue and Muinjangue come from the Herero community and are interviewed by Tjitemisa. These interviews were unique within the Namibian coverage and reflect *New Era*'s role in the Namibian media landscape as a medium that has a reputation of being preferred by government speakers (African Media Barometer, 2022, p. 18). In addition, some smaller reports were also written by information officers in various regions in Namibia, showing the interplay between the government and the newspaper.

Thus, despite my initial assumptions given its ownership structures, it cannot be immediately assumed that *New Era*'s coverage was unwaveringly government-friendly. It is true that *New Era* is more likely to focus on unity in its opinion pieces, with headlines such as "Dreaming the size of Ovaherero/Ovambanderu unity" (*New Era*, 25.06.21)[8]. At the same time, *New Era's* proximity to the Herero community through its authors gave it an interesting subversive potential that also differentiated it from the other papers in my sample. To give an example, during the restitution of human remains in 2018, *New Era* was the only paper that printed an abbreviated version of the speech of Herero Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro, who harshly critiqued the restitution and negotiations agreement. Other Namibian papers primarily relied on foreign journalists and news agencies in Germany who did not cover Rukoro's critiques. However, *New Era* did not report on some controversial issues that were reported on in other papers, such as the concentration of restituted land in the hands of Namibian politicians, a charge that was particularly often mentioned in the *Namibian Sun*. Moreover, *New Era* did not publish as much as the other newspapers on the parliamentary tabling of the genocide agreement in September 2021, an event where the government was significantly criticized by opposition parties for its handling of the negotiations.

While the ownership structures of this medium cannot be ignored, *New Era* took on a discursive position that not only spoke about present-day political struggles but

8 In the following formal analysis, I reference some articles that are not included in my in-depth analysis to add context to the structural patterns I identify. This headline is used here for an illustrative purpose.

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also devoted quite a bit of attention to commemorative events and discussions within the Herero community, both in the context of official holidays such as Cassinga Day or Heroes' Day and as separate events. This gave it a unique position in the discourse to focus on topics and controversies within the Herero community.

Namibian Sun

The *Namibian Sun* stood out in my sample for its emphasis on political debates and controversies surrounding the genocide. The *Namibian Sun* was particularly notable for its many articles on parliamentary debates in Germany and Namibia on the genocide. The *Namibian Sun* was the only paper that repeatedly covered the argument between the Namibian ambassador to Germany, Andreas Guibeb, and the German Left and Green parties over a motion in German parliament during the bilateral negotiations. His request, as well as the subsequent political debate, was the subject of sustained coverage in the *Namibian Sun*. Interestingly, however, this debate was not covered in any other newspapers.

This coverage aligns with the role of one of the *Namibian Sun*'s main journalists writing about the genocide: Jemima Beukes. During a background conversation, Beukes noted that she has ties to the Nama community. Much of the *Namibian Sun*'s coverage also focuses on issues that impact central speakers and topics from within the Nama community. For instance, during the restitution of Hendrik Witbooi's bible and whip in 2019, the *Namibian Sun* was the only paper to include a two-page spread on the battle and massacre of Hornkranz, an event that targeted members of the Nama community. In addition, the *Namibian Sun* regularly quotes or prints speakers from the Nama community, including SWAPO Member of Parliament Ida Hofmann and activist Sima Luipert. At the same time, the *Namibian Sun* is the only newspaper that covered Ida Hofmann's contentious removal as the speaker of the Nama Genocide Technical Committee by Nama traditional authorities over her proximity to SWAPO. Just as *New Era* was able to cover these internal disputes for the Herero community, the *Namibian Sun* provides an insight into discussions of the Nama community that do not find an outlet in other papers.

Hence, although the *Namibian Sun* is known as a "social newspaper"[9], it is interesting that much of the paper's genocide coverage was not primarily concentrated in the *Namibian Sun*'s Vox Pop, SMS Sayit! or Facebook comment reprint sections. In total, there were only twenty texts in my sample of the *Namibian Sun* that came from these rubrics. This is partially because the *Namibian Sun* cut these sections after early 2018. These sections are often aimed at publishing provocative statements by readers. What was interesting was that, in the single "Vox Pop" that covered the genocide in my sample, three of the fifteen people asked to comment said that they "don't know what to say" or "don't want to be seen to pick a side" (*Namibian Sun*, 24.03.17). The genocide topic is obviously a "sensitive issue" (*Namibian Sun*, 24.03.17)[10], and controversies on this issue tended not to focus on

9 Quote from one of the librarians at the National Library in Windhoek.

10 This article was not included in my in-depth analysis since it mainly included brief statements from Namibian individuals with no journalistic engagement with the topic. It is quoted here for illustrative purposes.

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the past but on present political moments by the government or Herero Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro that perhaps had lower stakes for readers to comment on or for journalists to publish. This does not mean that the *Namibian Sun* did not publish provocative or controversial statements about the genocide. However, the focus on provocative and controversial statements appeared to be a part of the Namibian discourse in general rather than a specific factor of the *Namibian Sun*, as will become more clear in the following results chapters.

The Namibian

As already hinted above, *The Namibian*'s coverage also primarily centered on political conflict surrounding the Herero and Nama genocide. The three main reporters who wrote on this topic were Ndanki Kahiurika[11] from 2015 until early 2020 and Charmaine Ngatjiheue and Shelleygan Petersen from 2020 to the present. In our background conversation, Ngatjiheue noted that she had familial ties to both the Herero and Nama communities. When describing her journalistic work on the genocide, Ngatjiheue told me that she typically concentrated on the Ovaherero Traditional Authority (OTA), whereas her colleague Shelleygan Petersen focused on statements from the Ovaherero and Nama Council for Dialogue (ONCD). This was reflected in *The Namibian*'s political coverage, where the genocide became a topic that was debated by Herero groups distinguished by their adversity or proximity to the government's negotiation process.

However, the *Namibian's* unique discursive position in the Namibian media landscape is most apparent beyond the front pages of the paper. The *Namibian* is larger and includes more rubrics than the other newspapers in my sample, specifically a cultural rubric as well as a long "Weekender" supplement on Fridays with cultural reviews and comments. In contrast to the other papers, the *Namibian* also covered the Herero and Nama genocide as a cultural topic, usually in reviews of books, art shows, films or tourist destinations.[12] Taking a closer look at these reviews, however, it becomes clear that many of the books about the genocide that are reviewed in the newspaper come from authors outside of Namibia. To give an example: On April 16, 2019, Joachim Zeller, a German-speaking Namibian academic, reviews a book by German historian and sociologist Matthias Häussler, "*Der Genozid an den Herero*," a book that was exclusively available in German at the time. Another example is the review "Namibia and Germany – the Past in the Present," in which German-speaking Namibian scholar Henning Melber reviews a book by the German sociologist Reinhart Kößler. This is not to suggest that all the *Namibian's* reviews on the genocide are by and of German-speaking academics, but it

11 I spoke to Ndanki Kahiurika for my master's thesis in 2019 but did not interview her separately for this dissertation since she no longer worked at the *Namibian*.

12 Kae Maṯunḍu-Tjiparuro from *New Era* (obviously not impartial to this question) told me that the *Namibian* is a newspaper founded by the "white establishment" during the liberation struggle. The founding editor was a white woman (Gwen Lister). He suggested that this connection to the establishment was vital for the success of the newspaper. At the same time, the role of the newspaper in the liberation struggle also means that it continues to be read by wide swaths of the population. While accepting the subjectivity in Maṯunḍu-Tjiparuro's answers, I believe this impression by a rival newspaper editor might be helpful to contextualize the *Namibian*'s role in the Namibian media landscape.

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does point to an interesting pattern: The reviews are typically about individuals who have achieved acclaim describing Namibia to non-Namibian audiences. This acclaim is then reviewed back to a Namibian readership as a purchase recommendation.

Beyond these book reviews, *The Namibian* also includes tourism pieces that often reference German colonialism without mentioning the genocide. These pieces were typically written by local reporters. For instance, in a piece titled "Lüderitz, Namibia's timeless gem," journalist Jonathan Solomons reviews a book by Werner Hillebrecht on the city of Lüderitz, which will "transport you to the town through its captivating photographs" (*The Namibian*, 09.01.18)[13]. This coverage reflects a discourse on (colonial) tourism that still shapes Namibian cultural memory today. The *Namibian*'s construction of the past in cultural rubrics also shows a different space of power enactment and performance in the Namibian discourse that is not always visible in the other newspapers. In this way, it provides a unique insight into which past moments can become "history" for (German) tourism and which past moments are shown as topics of (Namibian) political debates. This will be explored in more detail in the following in-depth analysis.

Allgemeine Zeitung

In my sample, the *AZ* occupies an interesting position that defies national boundaries. This already becomes clear through its decision to report in German, which limits both the potential producers and recipients of the newspaper's content. Within the newspaper, the current editor-in-chief, Frank Steffen, as well as the former editors-in-chief Stefan Fischer (until 2018) and Eberhard Hofmann (until 2004), are all prominent authors on the genocide. All three (former) editors-in-chief wrote political articles as well as opinion pieces and commentary throughout my analysis time. The personal position of Fischer and Hofmann indicates the transnational position that the newspaper holds: Both Fischer and Hoffmann emigrated to Namibia from Germany – Hofmann in 1954 from Breitenau in Saxony (Nebel, 2007) and Fischer in 2004 from Cottbus in Brandenburg (Namibiana Buchdepot, 2016).

Previous research literature (Nahmen, 2001; Rothe, 2010) has written that the *AZ* is explicitly a Namibian newspaper written in the German language, a point that was emphasized in my interview with Steffen for my master's thesis (Haritos, 2019). However, even though the *AZ* primarily concentrates on topics that impact life in Namibia, the tenor of its reporting reflects the specific discursive position of its authors in the Namibian media landscape. Thus, the *AZ* often covers visits from German politicians that do not receive widespread coverage in other Namibian newspapers, such as the visit of the former President of the German Bundestag, Norbert Lammert, in October 2015. The *AZ* also includes special interviews with the German ambassador to Namibia, Christian Schlaga, that provide insights into the Herero and Nama genocide negotiations not found in other newspapers.

This discursive position can also be found not only in the inclusion of articles about German-speaking politicians but also in the exclusion of articles that cover inner-Namibian political conflicts. While the *AZ* does report on tensions between the Herero

13 This article is also not part of my in-depth analysis, since it does not mention the genocide, and is quoted here for illustrative purposes.

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and Nama communities and the Namibian government, these stories are rarely on the front page. Instead, the front-page political stories about the genocide are usually statements by German politicians about the genocide and development aid or, especially prior to 2018, statements by the Herero Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro that could impact the German-speaking community, such as demands of land reform.

The *AZ* focuses on a variety of cultural issues in its coverage, placing an emphasis on any event that could impact the memorialization of the German-speaking community in Namibia, such as the potential renaming of statues or removal of monuments. For instance, in January 2019, there is a front-page news article on a supposed declaration by the Museums Association of Namibia that the museums of Namibia should stop glorifying colonialism (*AZ*, 02.01.19), which leads to multiple issues of commentary, follow-up articles and letters to the editor. This issue was not found in any other newspaper in my sample.

In addition to the position of the newspaper's journalists, the letters to the editor provide an insight into the readers and opinions featured in the *AZ*. As has been noted in chapter 5.2.3, the *AZ* includes a section of letters to the editor in its Friday edition. Each letter ends with the name and location of the writer. This disclosure of location reveals that, on the topic of the Herero and Nama genocide, letters are regularly received from Germany, Austria and South Africa in addition to Namibia. Many of these readers write continuously for years. One letter-writer bears particular attention: Helmut Lessing, who notes his location from Berlin. Lessing writes multiple letters against the acknowledgment of the events of 1904–1908 as genocide. Lessing even co-writes an article with the newspaper's correspondent Wolfgang Reith in a rubric called "background" entitled "Why are some Herero threatening with violence?" (*AZ*, 26.04.18). This elevates Lessing's opinions into the content rubric of the newspaper, giving his statements more emphasis in the construction of "truth." Moreover, in 2020, Lessing writes a letter critiquing a German-speaking Namibian discussion group that has been formed to speak to the Herero and Nama about the genocide. He writes these articles from the self-professed position of a "German taxpayer" who "is also affected" by reparations (*AZ*, 19.03.20). His letter led to multiple ensuing weeks of letters to the editor debating whether the events of 1904–1908 constituted genocide.

The letters to the editor also reflect a space of connection and even academic debate within the German-speaking Namibian community. Here, institutions such as the German-speaking Namibian discussion group ("*Gesprächskreis deutschsprachiger Namibier*") or the Swakopmund Scientific Society, which runs the Swakopmund Museum, directly address the German-speaking Namibian community. Additionally, prominent German-speaking Namibian academics such as Wolfram Hartmann or Henning Melber also publish letters to the editor during debates on the genocide. This suggests that the *AZ* is at least viewed as a medium that reaches a German-speaking Namibian audience and is used to also speak to this audience.

The *AZ*'s distinct discursive position also becomes visible in the types of articles that it typically publishes about the events of 1904–1908 – even if the genocide is not always explicitly mentioned. The *AZ* is the only newspaper in my Namibian sample that frequently includes historical information and feature stories about the Herero and Nama genocide in weekly installments of historical novels or collections of letters that are printed in the

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Friday edition of the newspaper. These articles highlight the unique position of the *AZ* in constructing the events of 1904–1908 as an object of cultural memory through its access to primary source material.

Excursus: Namibian Broadcasting Corporation's National FM

Finally, an excursus on NBC's reporting on its English-language program National FM provides insights into public broadcasting in Namibia. Given the challenges of material access described in chapter 5.2.3, I will primarily be using this excursus to provide context for the coverage described above. In my sample, I received access to fifteen English-language radio programs. Additionally, the NBC radio archivist provided me with a database entry for one[14] Otjiherero-language station (Omurari FM) from October 2, 2016, that was catalogued under "genocide" and was a commemoration of Lothar von Trotha's extermination order against the Herero (NBC Omurari FM, 10.02.16). However, this broadcast was not included in the NBC audiotape that I was allowed to listen to, presumably because I do not speak Otjiherero and therefore would have been unable to understand it. Most of the broadcasts that I had been given access to are short (three- to five-minute) news bulletins, typically in the news program "World at Six," which begins with a brief introduction by a reporter before moving into a story that is typically punctuated by quotes from political figures and Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro[15]. Jefta Tjihumino, a reporter for National FM, often covers events from the Herero community during this time, particularly commemorations and appeals from the communities to the German government.

In addition to the shorter reports, my sample also includes two live broadcasts. The first of these is a three-hour live broadcast of the restitution ("repatriation") of human remains at Parliament Gardens on August 31, 2018, which was co-hosted by Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro, the editor and journalist of *New Era* described above (National FM, 31.08.18). The second special broadcast is a two-hour live broadcast of a press conference held by the former vice president (and later president) of Namibia, Nangolo Mbumba, on the finalization of the bilateral agreement between Germany and Namibia (National FM, 04.06.21). These live broadcasts reflect the high political importance of both events, with a variety of political leaders present at both events.

In addition to these live broadcasts, NBC's coverage of the genocide was split between Herero commemorative events and updates regarding the bilateral negotiations between both countries. Interestingly, not a single commemorative event from the Nama community was found in my NBC sample. However, it is difficult to say whether this is indicative of the coverage more broadly or of the general association of the Herero and Nama genocide with the Herero, which may have influenced NBC's pre-selection of my

14 The archivist mentioned that there were probably more programs, but since she did not speak Otjiherero, she could not give definitive answers.

15 Interestingly, and in contrast to the newspaper reports, Vekuii Rukoro is referred to in NBC broadcasts with his traditional title of *Ombara Otjitambi*, or Paramount Chief in Otjiherero. This could be the result of previous lawsuits against NBC, where Mbanderu traditional leaders have objected to not being called by their traditional titles, as described in the African Media Barometer (2022, p. 39).

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material. In NBC's internal transcripts of these reports, commemorative events are typically classified as "Traditional leaders – Hereros – Anniversaries" and "Hereros – Social life and customs." Events that included political updates regarding the genocide are classified as "Reparations for historical injustices – Namibia." These classifications already offer preliminary insights into the discursive context surrounding the Herero and Nama genocide: The genocide as a commemorative, historical topic is a "tribal" issue. At the same time, the current political negotiations surrounding this issue are shown as a national subject and as a part of Namibian history more broadly. While this will be reflected in more detail in my in-depth analysis, NBC's distinction is indicative of a journalistic strategy of delimiting and classifying the genocide in government-friendly media. Thus, while NBC's National FM does not necessarily include events or speakers that are different from the newspapers, its formal classification and structuring of the genocide provides insights into some of the power structures underlying the un-/sayable on the Herero and Nama genocide in Namibian media.

6.1.4 Discursive strands of reporting

Between the positional differences outlined above, this chapter now explores the topics that are discursively linked to the Herero and Nama genocide in coverage. In CDA, Jäger (2015, p. 82) suggests viewing each discursive strand, or the main topic of reporting, in its wider discursive context. Hence, for this part of my formal analysis, I read each collected article and noted the main topics of coverage as well as the quoted speakers based on the article's headline, any teaser text on preceding pages and the article text.

From 2015 to 2021, the topics surrounding the Herero and Nama genocide can broadly be clustered into four discursive strands:

- Genocide negotiations
- Economic (in-)justice
- Protesting colonial monuments
- Historical figures and heroes

As described by S. Jäger (2015, p. 89), these strands are intertwined with one another in the construction of the Herero and Nama genocide as a subject of discourse. They are not all equally important in reporting but instead exemplify different directions that coverage on the Herero and Nama genocide can take. In this chapter, I briefly delve into each topical cluster as well as the speakers associated with each topic. Not all these discursive strands will be addressed later in my in-depth analysis, since not all of them represent typical examples of describing the genocide; however, I outline them here to map the "surface" of the entire discourse on the genocide (cf. S. Jäger, 2009, p. 175).

Genocide negotiations

As noted in chapter 6.1.1, the most prominent, consistent and frequent discursive strand that constitutes the Herero and Nama genocide in Namibian newspapers encompasses the bilateral negotiations between the German and Namibian governments. In addition to updates on the intergovernmental genocide negotiations, this strand includes com-

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memorative and restitution ceremonies, which are often spaces where demands for the genocide negotiations are articulated. Much of this coverage focuses on confrontation between traditional communities, specifically tribal authorities, and the government over reparations. The two primary questions that arise during this topical strand can be summarized as: Can the Namibian government negotiate an adequate sum of money in the reparations? To whom should these reparations go – to the government or directly to the affected communities? These questions will be discussed in much more detail in the in-depth analysis.

Articles in this discursive strand also mention the government's role in officially recognizing certain tribes and traditional authorities, thereby determining from which position of power they can speak within the Namibian political system. Interestingly, in all articles that covered this topic, Namibian government officials are rarely shown speaking directly, even though they are often addressed. Instead, almost all quotes that drive this discursive strand come from the Herero, Mbanderu and Nama communities as well as politicians from political parties that are historically aligned with one of the communities. Most prominent among these is the late Herero Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro and, less frequently, the late Kaptein Dawid Frederick and Kaptein Johannes Isaack from the Nama community. Vekuii Rukoro, who died in 2021 during the Covid-19 pandemic, holds a particularly interesting position in the construction of the discourse, since he was part of the Namibian government's constituent assembly and was Attorney General under the SWAPO government from 1995 to 2000. By contrast, Rukoro's successor, the contested Paramount Chief Mutjinde Katjiua[16], who held the office from 2021 until early 2023, is rarely quoted on the Herero and Nama genocide.

Economic (in-)justice

A discursive strand connected to the conflicts described above is economic (in-)justice following Namibian independence in 1990. Articles in this topical cluster are often tied to the question of Namibian relations with Germany and focus on questions of development aid or land reform, which will be discussed in more detail in the in-depth analysis. These topics often overlap with the previous discursive strand; however, land reform and development aid are also often shown in reference to the German-speaking community and through a larger question of relations with Germany.

Most of the speakers associated with this topic include the same traditional authorities and politicians mentioned above. In addition, the German special envoy Ruprecht Polenz and especially the former German ambassador to Namibia, Christian Schlaga (2015–2019), are now occasionally shown responding to the statements made by traditional authorities. Topics that are often mentioned in this vein are petitions to various international organizations or the OTA/NTLA lawsuits, which are typically oriented towards Germany. Articles in this discursive strand are also often covered in reprinted articles or by German-speaking guest authors and are particularly prevalent in the *AZ*.

16 It should be noted that on February 4, 2023, Dr. Hoze Riruako was elected the 7th Paramount Chief of the Herero. He is the nephew of the late Kuaima Riruako, who both led a legal suit against Deutsche Bank in 2002 and tabled a motion in the Namibian National Parliament in 2006 to seek reparations from Germany.

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Protesting colonial monuments

A third discursive strand, albeit much smaller than the two named above, involves protests, typically for renaming monuments or statues. In my analysis, this involves two specific monuments: the *Marinedenkmal*, or the "German statue" in Swakopmund (*Namibian Sun*, 05.04.16), as well as the Curt von François statue in Windhoek, which depicts the former governor of German South-West Africa as the founder of Windhoek. While François is not directly connected to the genocide, his role in killing members of the Witbooi clan in Hornkranz is often tied to German colonial atrocities more broadly: "They say the statue is of a man who committed genocide against the Nama at Hornkranz" (*New Era*, 24.06.20). Another example includes a monument of gallows in Henties Bay, which was erected by white business owners to discourage littering. Colonial names, such as Bismarck Street or the town Lüderitz, are also the focus of renaming petitions. Tied to this discursive strand is also the question of whether removing traces of German colonialism will impact tourism to Namibia.

The protests and petitions surrounding statues and street names are interestingly not always tied to the bilateral negotiations in Namibian journalism but rather topically embed the genocide into a more general experience of (global) colonialism. These monuments are often described using terms such as "white supremacy," which is typically not visible in more general coverage on the Herero and Nama genocide (*New Era*, 17.07.15). These types of stories typically reference events in other nations, such as Black Lives Matter protests in the United States or the Rhodes Must Fall protests in South Africa. This topical shift is also reflected in the speakers on this discussion, which include local activists such as Laidlaw Peringanda in Swakopmund or Job Amupanda, the former mayor of Windhoek and founder of a social justice movement called Affirmative Repositioning.

Historical figures and heroes

The final discursive strand in Namibian journalism involves coverage on historical figures and heroes. Particularly in English-language newspapers, these figures are often described in the context of cultural festivals and placed into a larger context of national unity, particularly in the *Namibian* and *New Era*. All articles in this discursive strand focus on historical figures but often mention these in the context of family recollections (in Assmann's terms: communicative memory). This discursive strand also includes the excerpts from books and primary sources that the *AZ* prints in its newspaper. In both English- and German-language newspapers, these articles on historical figures are not explicitly connected to the present-day negotiations or any of the other discursive strands mentioned above. This discursive strand thus stands most apart from the others mentioned above. Perhaps unsurprisingly, most of the speakers quoted in these articles are descendants of historical figures.

6.2 German journalism: Genocide between cultural reviews and foreign politics

The following chapter provides an overview of the discursive events, rubrics, authors and topics that shape and limit how the Herero and Nama genocide can become visible in

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German newspaper coverage. My formal analysis of German coverage was based on a total of 404 articles (cf. table 3).

Table 3: Articles in German sample

Year	*SZ*	*FAZ*	*taz*	*Zeit*	*Spiegel*	*Total*
2015	10	6	14	6	0	**36**
2016	15	20	18	4	7	**64**
2017	9	5	25	4	3	**46**
2018	20	15	33	9	2	**79**
2019	8	11	29	4	2	**54**
2020	5	9	15	4	3	**36**
2021	23	24	22	15	5	**89**
Total	**90**	**90**	**156**	**46**	**22**	**404**

Source: Own depiction

The *Zeit* and the *Spiegel* are published weekly rather than daily, explaining the difference in coverage between these papers and the rest of my sample. Nevertheless, the *Zeit* and *Spiegel* remained relatively consistent in their coverage across the analysis time (cf. figure 6). The *taz* offers the most consistent and frequent reporting on the Herero and Nama genocide. Ebbs and flows of coverage between years were more pronounced when viewing the *FAZ* and *SZ*. Across all papers, however, two peaks of coverage become clear in 2018 and 2021, with a decrease in coverage during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. These initial findings broadly reflect the reporting frequency of Namibian coverage (cf. chapter 6.1). Against this backdrop, the following chapter considers the discursive events that lie beneath this numerical exterior, which do not always align as evenly with the Namibian coverage.

6.2.1 Occasions for reporting and discursive events

Political events and visits, which were important in the Namibian discourse, were often not as important in German coverage and were frequently only covered in individual newspapers. Moreover, German newspapers rarely reported on the genocide negotiations between Germany and Namibia. The first discernable discursive event where coverage converged in my sample was in July 2016, when there was a flurry of coverage surrounding the German Parliament's recognition of the Armenian genocide. During this parliamentary debate and resolution, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan accused Germany of hypocrisy for not recognizing the genocide against the Herero and Nama. Newspapers during this time printed long journalistic articles and multi-page spreads focusing on the history of the Herero and Nama genocide. Much of this coverage discussed the possibility of recognition by the German government, notwithstand-

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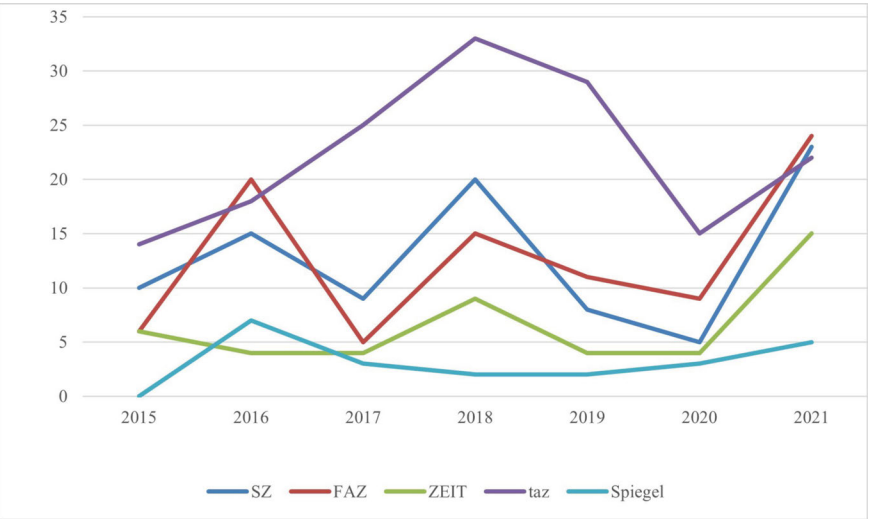
ing the fact that the German government had officially recognized the genocide in a press conference in July 2015 (Bürger, 2017, p. 10). In addition, most German newspapers also wrote about the German Historical Museum's (DHM) exhibition on German colonialism in October 2016 in Berlin.

The convergence around a museum exhibition highlights a common occasion for reporting in journalism: cultural reviews of German exhibitions, books, films, theater and dance performances. In contrast with the DHM exhibition in October 2016, many of these reviews often covered local events. This is especially clear in 2018. While reporting in 2018 increased across all newspapers, there was no single event driving this increase. Instead, newspapers reported on a variety of local and cultural events that often differed between the newspapers. A few moments of convergence were visible when the *SZ*, *FAZ* and *taz* mentioned a restitution of human remains in August 2018, with the former two newspapers only including brief reports under 500 words. These reports all focused on the ceremony in Germany, and no German newspaper reported on the ensuing ceremony in Windhoek's Parliament Gardens, despite the presence of German government representatives. Another restitution in March 2019 of Hendrik Witbooi's Bible and whip was only covered extensively in the *taz*.

Figure 6: Frequency of reporting, German sample



Source: Own depiction

The lawsuit by the OTA and NTLA in New York was also mentioned by all German newspapers, albeit at different times. For instance, the *FAZ* and *SZ* briefly mentioned the legal proceedings when the case was initially announced in January 2017. The *Spiegel* did not report on the suit until March 2017, and the *Zeit* published a feature article on the lawsuit in January 2018. Only the *taz* provided relatively regular reporting on the lawsuit until its dismissal in 2019.

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In 2020, there were a few high-profile events that sustainably shaped coverage about the Herero and Nama genocide across all German papers. These included the debate surrounding Achille Mbembe's role as a speaker at the German festival *Ruhrtriennale*, which began in early April 2020. A German government official accused Mbembe of anti-semitism for his connection between colonialism and Israeli settler movements in some of his works. This led to the genocide often reappearing in coverage as a way of (dis-)proving the claims against Mbembe. In addition, the killing of George Floyd in May 2020, with ensuing Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests in Germany, led to articles on anti-racist interventions, street renamings or statue removals that occasionally referenced the Herero and Nama genocide (cf. chapter 6.2.4). However, even though these two events shaped the context of reporting and led to convergences in my sample, coverage on the genocide receded in 2020 across all papers. This can partially be explained through the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic. Moreover, while there were many articles on Mbembe and BLM during this time, only a handful of articles explicitly mentioned the Herero and Nama genocide.

The final discursive event in my sample was the announcement of the joint declaration between both nations on May 29, 2021, with only the *taz* also mentioning the parliamentary debates in the Namibian National Assembly in September 2021. These various discursive events and occasions for reporting show that the genocide is often not associated with a single event or topic. Instead, German journalistic coverage is often driven by a variety of disparate cultural events and debates that frequently do not converge around a single date or event. Given these disparate occasions for reporting, the following chapter considers how journalism's topical classification of the genocide reflects, shapes and hierarchizes the discursive events shown above.

6.2.2 Rubrics of coverage

German newspapers are longer and contain more rubrics than the Namibian newspapers in my sample. Table 4 depicts the distribution of the rubrics used by German newspapers to classify the Herero and Nama genocide. These rubrics have been condensed for clarity based on previous research literature (cf. chapter 3.2.2) as well as the placement of articles within the newspaper. For example, the "culture" rubric below included all articles that were explicitly labeled "culture" or "*Feuilleton*" as well as related sections devoted to book reviews such as "*Politische Bücher*" or "*Politisches Buch*" ("political books") in the *FAZ* and *SZ*. The "history/feature" section below refers to the articles that were often clearly labeled as "history" ("*Geschichte*") or "background" ("*Hintergrund*") in the newspapers and that were clearly distinguishable through their focus on the historical events of 1904–1908, often at the back of the newspapers.

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Table 4: Rubrics in German coverage

Rubric	*SZ*	*FAZ*	*taz*	*Zeit*	*Spiegel*	*Total*
Culture / Feuilleton	26	38	37	13	9	**123**
Politics	23	28	37	9	6	**103**
Local	12	4	50	2	0	**68**
History/feature	11	6	7	19	4	**47**
Opinion	9	1	15	2	0	**27**
Letters to the editor	5	7	1	1	3	**17**
Society	2	1	8	0	0	**11**
Travel	2	5	1	0	0	**8**
Total	**90**	**90**	**156**	**46**	**22**	**404**

Source: Own depiction

As table 4 shows, cultural and political rubrics were most often used to classify the Herero and Nama genocide. Interestingly, however, articles in both rubrics often covered similar topics, from the genocide lawsuit to the restitution of cultural artifacts. The editorial classification of a topic thus often provided insights into its relative importance and locational proximity to Germany. For instance, restitutions of cultural objects that took place in Namibia, such as the return of Hendrik Witbooi's Bible and whip, were typically found in "culture" rubrics. By contrast, restitution ceremonies taking place in German institutions were typically classified as "politics." Nevertheless, I rarely found explicit differentiations between "national" and "international" political rubrics in my sample. Articles written by foreign correspondents about Namibia were typically published in the "politics" section at the front of the newspaper.

Hence, rubric selection did not indicate a specific topic so much as a limitation of who could speak about the events of 1904–1908. For example, articles in the "politics" section frequently focused on quoting Herero and Nama representatives along with German politicians. By contrast, articles in cultural rubrics provided a space where German cultural journalists and guest authors, frequently German historians or museum curators, discussed the debates surrounding German colonialism. Interestingly, there were very few articles in my sample explicitly labeled "opinion." Rather, through academic guest authors, many articles in the "cultural" section were formally structured as part of an academic debate, shown as different interpretations of research instead of as personal opinions. This will be discussed in more detail in the in-depth analysis.

The features sections of newspapers typically emphasized the historical events of 1904–1908. Here, articles were frequently placed further back in the newspaper, editorially underlining the distinction between past and present that was clear in the content of the articles. Many articles on the Herero and Nama genocide also appeared in local sec-

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tions. These sections typically include reviews of local cultural events, such as book readings or smaller art exhibitions, as well as initiatives to rename streets or public spaces. These articles also provided interesting insights into events commemorating genocide (or critiquing colonialism) through local initiatives, especially in the *taz*.

Additionally, while letters to the editor do not nearly play as important a role in German newspaper coverage as they do in Namibia (cf. chapter 6.1.2), every paper in my German sample published at least one letter to the editor on the topic of the genocide. Many of these praise the German government's actions in acknowledging the events of 1904–1908, even though the *Spiegel* and the *FAZ* also publish letters to the editor that question whether the events of 1904–1908 constituted genocide (*Spiegel*, 23.12.16; *FAZ*, 13.05.16). However, these (published) critical letters are only found in 2016.

Finally, previous research has shown that German journalism mentions the Herero and Nama genocide in travel rubrics (Wolff, 2018, p. 419). In my sample, I found that this was only the case in the early years of my analysis in the *FAZ* and the *SZ*. In these articles, the Herero and Nama genocide was often briefly referenced as a historical background in Namibia but not explicitly discussed. As has been shown in previous research on travel journalism (Fürsich, 2010), many of these articles used exoticizing headlines that reinforced the boundaries of self and Other, such as "Desert sand with cannibals"[17] (*FAZ*, 08.10.20) or "Marshmallows in the Kraal" (*SZ*, 25.10.18). However, these articles almost completely disappeared around 2018. Given the very small number of articles in this rubric, as well as the fact that the genocide is often barely mentioned in these articles, they will not be central for my analysis of journalistic material. However, noting this change is useful, as it points to a potential shift in power and knowledge structures that have made this discursive formation less visible compared to prior decades in German journalism.

This chapter has shown that the journalistic decision to place an article in a particular rubric delimits who can speak about the Herero and Nama genocide. The following chapter will delve into these speakers in more detail to explore the various positions that are available for speaking about the events of 1904–1908 between the newspapers.

6.2.3 Discursive positions

While there were occasional political, cultural, freelance and local reporters who would write a few consecutive pieces, most German newspapers relied on a variety of journalists that changed depending on the rubric of coverage. Most journalists typically only write a few pieces on the genocide. This reflects the disparate discursive events shown in chapter 6.2.1.

The variety of journalists writing about the Herero and Nama genocide reflects the higher financial and personal resources in German journalism compared to Namibian journalism. However, more journalists writing about the genocide in German journalism is not equated with a diversity of personal or professional perspectives: Almost all

17 All following quotes from German newspapers have been translated by the author. In addition, the two headlines here are not from my texts in my in-depth analysis, since these articles did not mention the genocide in any depth. The titles are only for illustrative purposes here.

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journalists who wrote about the genocide in German newspapers were German-speaking journalists who did not have any prior personal or professional connections to the events of 1904–1908. The perspectives of Namibians were primarily heard through quotes in articles by German foreign correspondents or freelance reporters. Only one article was directly authored by an author with connections to the Herero community (*taz*, 31.05.21).

At first glance, this could suggest that German journalism emphasizes the topical expertise rather than the personal position of its journalists on topics pertaining to the Herero and Nama genocide. Yet, as has been noted above, most journalists selected to write about the genocide were not experts on the events of 1904–1908 and typically only wrote a few articles about them. The position of expertise was instead typically reserved for the guest authors, who themselves consisted of predominately German-speaking historians (cf. chapter 8.3). One of these historians, Jürgen Zimmerer, wrote guest articles in or was interviewed by every single newspaper in my German sample. This reflects the position of German-speaking historian Henning Melber in Namibian newspapers, who was printed in every single Namibian newspaper in my sample. In this way, German-speaking academics transcend discursive positions between the newspapers in my German and Namibian sample, providing them with outsized discursive authority across my entire sample.

The different discursive positions of German newspapers are most visible in the Herero and Nama speakers selected and quoted by German journalists. While, for instance, all German newspapers quote the Herero Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro, it is precisely the different speakers that these newspapers rely on that make the differences between individual newspapers visible. In the following, I briefly sketch out the individual journalists and quoted individuals that showcase the range of discursive positions in my German sample.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

In my sample, the *FAZ* includes the most perspectives from Namibia in its reporting, with a specific focus on the Herero/Mbanderu communities. The *FAZ* has two foreign correspondents that write about the genocide, Thomas Scheen in 2016 and Claudia Bröll in 2021. Both journalists travel to rural locations with majority Herero populations in Namibia during their reporting, presumably made possible through their permanent location in South Africa (cf. Mükke, 2009, pp. 198–209). The frequent perspectives from the Herero/Mbanderu community also mean that the *FAZ*'s coverage most closely aligns with discursive events and debates in Namibia compared to the other newspapers in my German sample. For example, the *FAZ* is the only German newspaper that publishes a full-length story on restitution claims from the Mbanderu for a belt that is found in a German museum (*FAZ*, 16.02.20). This highlights the fact that the production of cultural memory is shaped through connections to the affected communities in Namibia rather than nationally covered events.

The *FAZ* typically speaks to members of the Herero/Mbanderu community who support or have participated in the Namibian government's negotiations with Germany. From 2016 until 2021, the *FAZ* quotes traditional authorities from the Nguvauva and Kambazembi families, both of whom are mentioned as involved with the Ovaherero and Nama Council of Dialogue (ONCD) that was part of the Namibian government's nego-

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tiating team. While figures from the OTA, especially Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro, are also quoted, they are frequently bookended with quotes from government or ONCD representatives. The *FAZ*'s frequent quoting of members from the Herero/Mbanderu communities provides it with a unique discursive position that frequently amplifies the Namibian government's perspective in discussions on the genocide negotiations.

The *FAZ* also holds a unique discursive position in my sample through the reporting of its journalist Andras Kilb, who writes multiple reviews on exhibitions, books and discussions on the events of 1904–1908. He is one of the journalists most critical of the current assessment of the genocide and German colonialism, even once publishing an article with the title "Overwhelmed military does not immediately equal genocide" (*FAZ*, 17.04.21). Here, Kilb reviews an article by a controversial foreign correspondent who wrote an article in the *Spiegel* in 2016, as will be discussed in more detail below. While Kilb's position is a relative outlier in my sample, the skepticism of current demands and actions addressing the 1904–1908 genocide is echoed in the newspaper's selection of Herero/Mbanderu speakers who are aligned with the Namibian government.

die tageszeitung

Next to the *FAZ*, the *taz* is the other newspaper in my sample that frequently and consistently quotes members of the Herero community in its coverage. Often, speakers come from German activist groups, especially in the context of local commemorations or German restitution ceremonies. The Herero activist Israel Kaunatjike from the organization *Berlin Postkolonial e. V.* is quoted and interviewed multiple times. In contrast with the *FAZ*, the debate on the genocide is frequently shown as occurring in Germany. Thus, the journalists who quote Kaunatjike in the *taz* are not foreign correspondents but rather local reporters, freelance journalists, or reporters responsible for covering migration-related topics. The selection of journalists with a thematic focus on migration and anti-racism, such as Susanne Memarnia, indicates a discursive connection that is not found in any other newspaper in my sample and reflects the newspaper's choice to quote Kaunatjike: The Herero and Nama genocide is constructed as an issue that directly impacts German society in the present.

However, there is also one *taz* correspondent that travels to Namibia, Elisabeth Kimmerle, who stands out in my sample. During her 2019 trip to Namibia, Kimmerle co-wrote an article with the *Namibian* reporter Ndanki Kahiurika entitled "Namibian-Germans find their voice" (*Namibian*, 21.08.19). A *taz* article on Namibian land reform by Elisabeth Kimmerle (16.11.19) is also translated and reprinted in the *Namibian* (08.01.20). In this way, Kimmerle is the only journalist in my sample that crosses the boundary from Germany into Namibia, albeit unilaterally – the article Kimmerle writes for the *Namibian* is not reprinted in the *taz*. Nevertheless, the *taz* is the only newspaper in my sample where an article is directly guest-authored by a Herero activist based in the United States, Jephta Nguherimo (*taz*, 31.05.21).

The reliance on activist perspectives from outside Namibia reflects the barriers for Namibia-based speakers to become visible in a German-language newspaper. Unlike the *FAZ*, the *taz* does not have a permanent correspondent office in southern Africa. While the *taz* does have an Africa correspondent, Dominic Johnson, many of the articles written by Johnson do not result from trips taken to Namibia but from trips taken by Herero dele-

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gations to Germany (*taz*, 09.07.15), frequently relying on prominent Herero speakers such as Vekuii Rukoro and newspaper coverage from the *Namibian* (cf. Mükke, 2009, p. 119). Even though both the *taz* and the *FAZ* rely on more speakers from the Herero[18] communities in their reporting than any other newspaper in my sample, the discursive position of these speakers and the journalists who select them reflect different constructions of the Herero and Nama genocide, which will be explored in more detail in the in-depth analysis.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The *SZ* stands out in my coverage not for a variety of speakers, but rather for a broader shift in the importance of Herero and Nama perspectives over time. This shift is important for understanding the position of the other German media in my sample and is typified in the coverage surrounding two discursive events: the 2016 parliamentary debates and the 2021 recognition of the genocide. At both times, the *SZ* prints multi-page feature stories on the genocide, each representing the high-water mark of genocide coverage in the paper. In 2016, the *SZ* publishes a three-page feature article by the Africa correspondent Tobias Zick, where he travels to the site of the Battle of Waterberg (Ohamakari) to interview different German-speaking Namibians, Herero traditional authorities and Namibian government officials (*SZ*, 22.10.16).

In 2021, the *SZ* also publishes a full-page spread in the features section of the paper. Here, multiple journalists from the political resort, as well as the former editor-in-chief, Kurt Kister, write articles about the genocide. The newspaper's correspondent in Cape Town, Bernd Dörries, writes an article that takes up the sidebar of the page where he draws on criticism originally published in the *Namibian* (*SZ*, 29.05.21). While Herero and Nama speakers are still quoted, they are clearly no longer the primary focus of coverage, and their perspectives are editorially separated from the articles written by German political journalists.

While these articles will be explored in more detail in the in-depth analysis, they point to a larger discursive shift from approximately 2018 onwards in the *SZ*, when coverage of the genocide shifts from primarily being the purview of foreign correspondents such as Tobias Zick to increasingly including cultural reporters such as Jörg Häntzschel, who becomes one of the more consistent writers on the topic, along with German academic guest authors. This shift in the discursive position of the authors who write about the topic points to a broader shift in the discourse that is found, to some degree, in all newspapers but especially in the *SZ*, the *Zeit* and the *Spiegel*.

Die Zeit

The reporting of the *Zeit* mirrors the discursive shift seen in the *SZ* above. While the *Zeit* includes some pieces written by correspondents in Namibia and in New York in 2018 (11.01.18; 13.12.18), its coverage shifts to almost exclusively German cultural journalists and academic speakers from 2020 onwards. What distinguishes the *Zeit* from other papers in this regard is its "history" rubric. This rubric provides a space for a variety of Ger-

18 Neither the *FAZ* nor the *taz* speak to members of the Nama community beyond Ida Hoffman, the former head of the Nama Genocide Technical Committee and a SWAPO party member.

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man historians to write in-depth guest pieces. Often, the discursive events described in chapter 6.2.1 are covered in this section, even when they are primarily focused on current political events. So, for instance, the *Zeit* publishes an article on the OTA/NTLA lawsuit written by the paper's correspondent in New York under the rubric "history." This shapes how the *Zeit* constructs and hierarchizes the events surrounding the Herero and Nama genocide. For example, the guest article in which the former President of the German Bundestag, Norbert Lammert, officially recognizes the events of 1904–1908 as genocide is placed in the *Zeit*'s "history" rubric (*Zeit*, 09.07.15). However, in 2019, an apology by Hamburg's cultural senator, Carsten Brosda, to a visiting delegation of Namibian representatives is covered in the "politics" section. This editorial choice reflects a wider local focus in the *Zeit*'s coverage, which often gives editorial and political prominence to local events that impact Hamburg. During debates on the potential removal of a Bismarck statue in Hamburg, Josef Joffe, the former editor-in-chief, writes an article in the *Zeit*'s "opinion" section (*Zeit*, 24.08.17). The emphasis on local events can also be seen in the final medium in my sample, the *Spiegel*.

Der Spiegel

The *Spiegel* reproduces the connection between editorial prominence and local colonial history also seen in the *Zeit*. In 2020, Martin Doerry, the former deputy editor-in-chief, co-writes an article with the cultural journalists Ulrike Knöfel, Nils Minkmar and Hannah Pilarczyk about Hamburg's colonial past and the potential removal of the Bismarck statue (*Spiegel*, 20.06.20). Similar editorial prominence is not afforded to any other articles on the Herero and Nama genocide in the *Spiegel*. In my sample, there is only one long-form article in the *Spiegel* that focuses on the Herero and Nama genocide in detail. This article, written by the former Africa correspondent Bartholomäus Grill in 2016 and entitled "Certain uncertainties" ("*Gewisse Unsicherheiten*"), was widely critiqued by academics and readers of the *Spiegel* for suggesting that the events of 1904–1908 might not have constituted genocide (Wolff, 2021, pp. 309–310; *Spiegel*, 25.06.16).[19] The article rests primarily on quotes from a German-speaking Namibian who has written revisionist books about the genocide, Heinrich Schneider-Waterberg. The *Spiegel* article also indirectly quotes David Kambazembi, the former head of the Kambazembi Royal House. After this article, there is no more coverage on the genocide from foreign correspondents in the *Spiegel*, and much of the coverage focuses on articles written by cultural journalists. There is also a decrease in overall coverage: the 2021 joint declaration between both nations is only mentioned in a relatively brief report (*Spiegel*, 05.06.21).

The examples above show that the discursive positions available in German journalism often become visible through the position that Namibian speakers are given in coverage. The decision of whether to include (which) Namibian voices shapes the perspectives from which the Herero and Nama genocide can be constructed in journalism and provides an insight into the discursive position of the medium. Overall, these various discursive positions are not always easily mapped onto different political positions and

19 It is interesting to note that despite the criticism against Grill's 2016 article in the *Spiegel*, his ensuing book about his time as an Africa correspondent was favorably reviewed in the *Zeit* (19.06.19), the *SZ* (08.07.19) and the *FAZ* (17.04.19).

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depend on where journalism localizes the events of 1904–1908. Given these findings, the following chapter will now show how these different discursive positions shape the topics and discursive strands that can intertwine to produce the Herero and Nama genocide as a subject.

6.2.4 Discursive strands of reporting

In the following, I focus on the discursive strands (topics) that are visible in my German sample. As described in chapter 6.1.4, this analysis is based on the headlines, subheadings, teasers and topics of reporting from all collected articles mentioning the genocide between 2015 and 2021. The following discursive strands were identified in German reporting:

- Artifacts in German museums
- Academic debates ("*Historikerstreit 2.0*")
- Anti-colonial and anti-racist protests
- Genocide recognition

These discursive strands are not mutually exclusive and often overlap, as the in-depth analysis will explore.

Artifacts in German museums

One of the most prominent and consistent topics across all papers in my German sample is the question of what should happen with German museum artifacts that were collected in colonial contexts. This topic combines many of the findings of the previous chapters: It is typically written about by cultural journalists or academic guest authors in the "culture" or "history" sections of newspapers, often with a focus on local German museums. Thus, this discursive strand is consistently found across my time frame.

One of the museums mentioned most often in this discursive strand is the Humboldt Forum, an ethnological museum housed in the recently rebuilt Berlin Palace that was officially opened in September 2021. Most articles in my sample are critical of the Forum, with headlines such as "Monument of arrogance" (*taz*, 17.05.21). The Humboldt Forum is not only a focal point of reporting but also the link to many of the speakers that are quoted or interviewed in this discursive strand. This includes Bénédicte Savoy, a French art historian who left the Humboldt Forum's advisory board over critiques towards the museum, and Hermann Parzinger, the head of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation and one of the founding directors of the Humboldt Forum. These speakers are called upon to critique or justify the plan of exhibiting and returning artifacts that were collected in colonial contexts.

Deeply connected to this topic is the question of provenance research, or examining the context in which objects were originally acquired. The question of when a cultural artifact should be considered stolen or unlawfully purchased is a focal point of debate, typically by German historians and ethnologists. The Herero and Nama genocide is often evoked in these articles as a measure for how un-/successful previous attempts to address colonial artifacts have been. For this reason, joint museum exhibitions or restitution cer-

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emonies are also included in this discursive strand, with headlines such as "Restitution as an opportunity" (*taz*, 09.03.19) to amplify what has or still needs to be done. The link between German cultural and academic perspectives shown here is also found in the next discursive strand, which focuses primarily on academic debates in the context of events such as the Mbembe debate that emerged in 2020 (cf. chapter 6.2.1).

Academic debates ("Historikerstreit 2.0")

Whereas the previous discursive strand asks when and whether German museums should return artifacts, the main premise of this discursive strand is whether the genocide could or should be connected to the Holocaust in German memory culture. A *FAZ* headline brings this debate to a point: "Was the Holocaust a colonial deed?" (28.02.21) Articles in this strand discuss "memory" as an explicit topic of reporting, creating an interesting crossover between my research literature and media material, with many of the same academics contributing to both discursive levels.

At times, newspapers explicitly label this coverage as part of a "*Historikerstreit* 2.0," or the "second historians' dispute" (*taz*, 20.03.21). The label "*Historikerstreit*" references an intellectual debate in the late 1980s that discussed the role of the Holocaust in German memory culture, especially compared with Stalinist crimes in the Soviet Union (A. Assmann, 2013, p. 68). In addition to guest articles by multiple historians, journalists also interview cultural figures from institutions of Holocaust remembrance, such as Meron Mendel and Saba-Nur Cheema from the Anne Frank Educational Center in Frankfurt (*taz*, 25.04.20) or Volkhard Knigge from the Buchenwald Memorial Foundation (*Zeit*, 01.07.21).

In contrast with previous decades of German coverage (cf. Wolff, 2021), the argument of this discursive strand is not just about whether the events of 1904–1908 constituted genocide in comparison with the Holocaust but more broadly about the placement of colonialism in German memory culture. As the headline for a guest article by genocide scholar Dirk Moses in the *Zeit* notes, "At last, remember the victims of colonial atrocities [*Gräueltaten*]!" (*Zeit*, 15.07.21) The mnemonic structures underlying this discursive strand will be discussed in more detail and brought into dialogue with Namibian journalism in chapters 7.3 and 7.4. For now, it is interesting to note that the debate on connecting the Herero and Nama genocide with the Holocaust reaches a peak in 2021, around the same time that the joint declaration between the German and the Namibian government is announced. However, the joint declaration is typically only mentioned in passing references to justify the importance of this academic debate.

Anti-colonial and anti-racist protests

Connected with the discursive strand above, although more consistent across my time frame, is a cluster of articles that address the removal or rededication of German public monuments that memorialize colonialism. Many of these protests were focused on local initiatives and memorials, such as renaming the *Lüderitzstraße* in the Africa Quarter of Berlin (*taz*, 21.04.18). In contrast with the prior two discursive strands, articles on anti-colonial protests and initiatives often contained in-depth historical information about the events of 1904–1908 to explain the reasons either for or against renaming certain streets or removing monuments.

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Interestingly, however, German academics are not as prominent in this discursive strand compared to the previous two strands. Instead, articles in this topical cluster are mainly written by (local) journalists and rely on quotes by local activists or civil society organizations such as *Berlin Postkolonial e. V.* as well as local politicians speaking at events and protests. This discursive strand also includes local cultural events or commemorative activities in cities such as Bremen, where local organizers met at a rededicated monument to commemorate the Battle of Waterberg (Ohamakari). These commemorations frequently double as protests arguing for a larger decolonization of society. During the 2020 BLM protests, articles in this discursive strand expanded to include discussions on racism and migration in German society, with the Herero and Nama genocide often functioning as a historical backdrop to present-day discrimination. However, articles during this time typically only briefly referenced the genocide.

Genocide recognition

Whereas the previous three discursive strands focused primarily on events and speakers in Germany, the final discursive strand in my sample thematizes the German recognition of the Herero and Nama genocide. The question of recognition remains pertinent throughout my analysis time. For instance, after the parliamentary debate on the Armenian genocide, the *SZ* (13.07.16) writes, "Government admits German genocide against Herero and Nama". Five years later, at the announcement of the genocide agreement, the *SZ* (28.05.21) again writes, "Germany recognizes the genocide against the Herero and Nama". Other papers follow suit with examples such as "Namibia welcomes the recognition of the genocide" (*FAZ*, 29.05.21) or "[t]he German government recognizes the genocide" (*Spiegel*, 05.06.21).

This discursive strand focuses explicitly on the genocide negotiations and the OTA/NTLA lawsuit in New York District Court. Interestingly, articles in this discursive strand are most often focused on reactions and events in Namibia, despite the emphasis on German recognition. This discursive strand bundles most of the articles written by correspondents in Namibia and quoting speakers from the Herero and Nama communities. In addition, this is also the discursive strand where German speakers are shown directly reacting or responding to Namibian demands. These speakers are usually politicians, such as the German government's special envoy to Namibia for the genocide negotiations, Ruprecht Polenz. Although Namibian demands for reparations are the backdrop for much of this reporting, reparations are not the foremost performative indicator of importance in German journalism's headlines or subheadings, with an exception in the *taz*: "Time for reparations for Herero and Nama" (13.08.20). The act of recognition itself becomes imbued with a variety of political, legal and financial ramifications that will be discussed in far greater detail in the in-depth analysis.

To summarize, the discursive strands above link many of the findings from the previous chapters together. Except for the announcement of the 2021 genocide agreement, which all German papers report on concurrently, there are few binding discursive events that comprehensively shape German coverage. This stands in contrast to the relatively similar discursive position of many of the journalists and guest authors who are asked to write about the events of 1904–1908. The greatest variety of speakers and discursive positions is typically found in articles that quote Namibian speakers and are written by

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freelance or permanent correspondents. However, these speakers are primarily relegated to one discursive strand – namely the question of Germany's recognition of the genocide, which is shown as primarily impacting (and thus leading to debates in) Namibia. The remainder of the discourse is often clustered around a variety of local initiatives or cultural reviews, which do not require all newspapers to congregate around specific events.

Given this formal construction of the Herero and Nama genocide in German journalism, the following chapter brings German and Namibian journalism together to select typical articles for analysis.

6.3 Chapter summary and selection of typical examples

The chapters above have shown how German and Namibian journalism formally construct the Herero and Nama genocide. In this way, they outlined the structural differences in journalistic memory production that impact how and when the Herero and Nama genocide can appear as a topic of coverage. This already provides first insights into how journalism produces and shapes cultural memory through its reporting.

In Namibian journalism, the Herero and Nama genocide is formally constructed as a current political event through relatively short reports in the "politics" and "opinion" rubrics, continuously and consistently covered by political journalists with personal ties to the Herero and Nama communities. The genocide is shown through discursive strands that construct it through its repercussions in present-day political and economic struggles. In German journalism, the Herero and Nama genocide is rarely a front-page political issue and is instead constructed through occasional long feature stories that often focus on cultural and academic debates in a variety of rubrics. Newspapers differ less in the political or personal discursive positions they amplify than in where they geographically locate the present repercussions of the Herero and Nama genocide. Articles that focus on Namibia often highlight economic and political repercussions of the genocide through the perspectives of Namibian speakers, whereas articles that focus on Germany typically emphasize local or cultural memorial initiatives.

Taken together, these two contexts show the different ways that journalism hierarchizes and delimits the Herero and Nama genocide as a topic in journalistic coverage. Despite these differences, the formal analysis above suggests that the effects of the Herero and Nama genocide in the present are often localized in Namibia. In the following in-depth analysis, I consider how this construction is reflected or challenged in journalism's construction of the past to structure, maintain and challenge knowledge and power structures between both countries.

These results also show that there are few discursive events that overlap between German and Namibian journalism, except for the 2021 joint declaration announcement in May 2021. This lack of consistency is a challenge for the in-depth analysis of journalistic memory production, which typically relies on similar commemorative events to see how discourses have changed or remained the same (S. Jäger, 2015, p. 82). This shows how silence not only shapes journalistic coverage but can also hinder previous methodological approaches. Hence, in the absence of central commemorative or political events, I instead focused on key topics and arguments that shaped genocide coverage within

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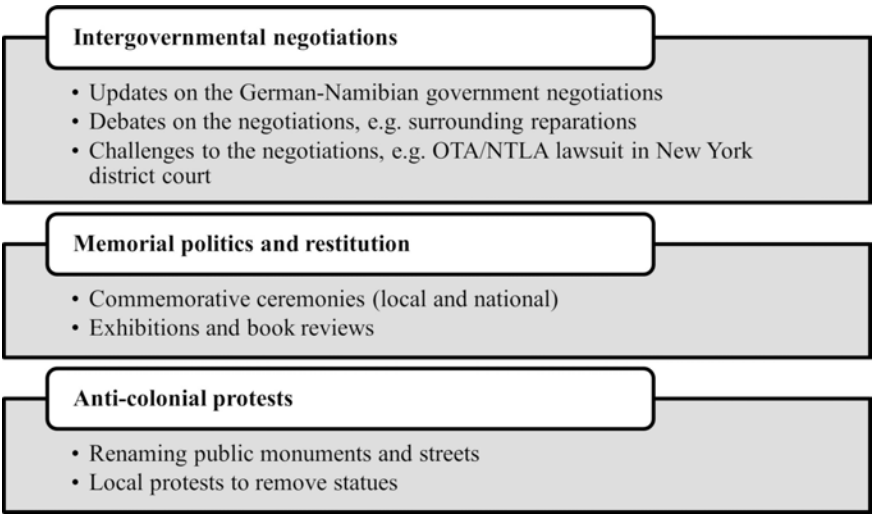
and between newspapers. This reflects the fact that memory production in both countries is currently centered more on political debates than on set commemorative events, and restitutive ceremonies are only covered sporadically and often not by all newspapers in both countries. This process also enabled me to bring together the discursive strands outlined in chapters 6.1.4 and 6.2.4. While each strand might converge around different discursive events or arise at different times, as will be discussed in the in-depth analysis below, focusing on these strands enabled me to draw out effective statements and arguments about the genocide in German and Namibian journalism.

Figure 7: Topics for article selection, in-depth analysis



Source: Own depiction

In addition, my selection of typical articles was limited to texts that had the Herero and Nama genocide as a central topic of coverage and thereby provided a variety of statements to analyze. If multiple articles in my sample addressed the same topical cluster, I focused on articles that were performatively given a higher relevance in journalism by being placed on the front pages of the paper or by being graphically emphasized through teasers on the front pages. This also helped me to overcome a challenge noted in chapter 5.3, namely that the longest Namibian articles with the most in-depth information on the genocide were often written by non-Namibian guest authors or were reprints from Western media outlets. In my selection of articles for the in-depth analysis, I focused on articles that were given high relevance in Namibian newspapers and were therefore typical for the arguments and statements made within the paper. Even though I included some guest articles and reprints, I included these when they were performatively given editorial prominence in the newspaper, for instance by being noted in teasers in the front of the newspaper. I ended my selection of typical articles when "theoretical saturation"

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had been reached, or when arguments began to repeat between newspapers or articles (Meyen et al., 2019, p. 64).

In total, my in-depth analysis consisted of 177 typical articles. The following table 5 shows the articles per newspaper and year in my in-depth analysis (cf. Appendix A: List of articles for in-depth analysis).

The quantity of selected articles reflects the different structure of news reporting in Germany and Namibia. I included more articles from Namibian newspapers because short "news" reports were often further commented on by journalists in later "opinion" sections and had to be viewed together to understand the full context of reporting. This also helped me to grasp the range of statements that could be made on a topic within the newspaper. In my German sample, multi-page spreads on the Herero and Nama genocide would often include multiple articles that had to be viewed together to understand the full process of meaning-making. For instance, the *SZ* published four articles on one page of the newspaper on May 29, 2021, all thematically focused on the announcement of the genocide agreement. These articles are counted separately in the table below.

Table 5: Articles for in-depth analysis

Year	*SZ*	*FAZ*	*taz*	*Zeit*	*Spiegel*	*Nam.*	*Nam. Sun*	*New Era*	*AZ*	*Sum*
2015	2	0	2	3	0	2	4	3	3	**19**
2016	3	4	3	1	2	4	5	4	1	**27**
2017	1	1	4	1	0	6	5	3	3	**24**
2018	1	2	6	4	0	13	4	2	2	**34**
2019	2	2	5	0	0	7	3	1	4	**24**
2020	0	1	2	0	2	4	1	0	5	**15**
2021	10	5	3	1	1	5	8	1	0	**34**
Sum	**19**	**15**	**25**	**10**	**5**	**41**	**30**	**14**	**18**	**177**

Source: Own depiction

Given this selection, the following chapters now show the mnemonic practices by which journalism normalizes patterns of speaking about and for the Herero and Nama genocide, which are both shaped by and shape the formal structures outlined above.

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7 Terms of genocide: Re-presenting the colonial past in journalism

The following chapter sketches the journalistic "strategies of tropology," or ways of speaking about the past, that maintain or challenge (post-)colonial power structures in memory production (Spivak, 1988, p. 276). With its emphasis on mnemonic practices of re-presentation, this chapter responds to a theoretical and research gap that was outlined in chapter 3: How does journalism shape knowledge of past events when there are no more living witnesses and most historical documents are told through the perspective of former colonizers? Moreover, this chapter responds to a question that arose from my material: My analysis begins in 2015, when the German government first officially begins using the term "genocide" (Bürger, 2017, p. 10). Yet, throughout my time frame, much of the journalistic discourse in Germany and Namibia is focused on whether the German government will use the word "genocide" to describe the events of 1904–1908. As one article in the *Namibian* puts it, "Arrogantly, Germany is now using the language of 'atrocities' to avoid using the G-word" (*Namibian*, 16.03.18).

Robel (2013, p. 277) writes that the term "genocide" has been used relatively consistently in German journalism since the early 2000s, a finding that is also reflected in my German and Namibian material.[1] Yet, even as newspapers overwhelmingly use the word "genocide," I find that this term is not replacing but rather coinciding with earlier terms such as "rebellion," "uprising" or "atrocities" (*Namibian Sun*, 06.05.15). How can this simultaneity of terms in my material be explained, especially when journalists often criticize the German government for using these same terms? And what does this simultaneity reveal about the boundaries of current power and knowledge structures in Germany and Namibia today?

1 These results also hold true for the *AZ*, which, until 2017, did not explicitly refer to the events of 1904–1908 as a genocide, instead using terms such as "uprising," the "war years of 1904–1908" or placing the term "genocide" in quotation marks (*AZ*, 04.04.16). However, the quotation marks around the word genocide have begun to fall in recent years, as this headline demonstrates: "President of the Bundesrat remembers the victims of the genocide" (*AZ*, 18.07.19). This headline suggests a shift in the un-/sayable surrounding the genocide in the *AZ* that mirrors the political shift in speaking about the events of 1904–1908.

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This chapter tackles these questions through a focus on the sources, figurative and symbolic language as well as the connections to other memories that German and Namibian journalism uses to construct the Herero and Nama genocide as a past event relative to the present audience. Hence, chapter 7.1 begins by analyzing how German and Namibian journalism remediates similar colonial source material in its coverage (cf. Erll & Rigney, 2009). Then, chapters 7.2 and 7.3 consider how this source material is used to make different discursive connections that outline the present boundaries of the collective, from the Namibian liberation struggle to the Maji Maji War. Finally, chapter 7.4 combines German and Namibian journalism to explore a connection that both newspapers make to the Holocaust. This chapter asks which knowledge can or cannot travel between both nations as the Herero and Nama genocide increasingly moves from a historical event to a present debate with material consequences. This chapter functions to showcase how the construction of the past serves as a basis for normalizing speakership and claims in the present, as will be explored in more detail in the ensuing chapter 8.

7.1 "As it was called back then": Describing colonial genocide in German and Namibian journalism

This chapter shows how journalism delimits the available knowledge about the Herero and Nama genocide within Germany and Namibia through and despite the colonial archive. For this, chapter 7.1.1 begins by exploring how German and Namibian journalists introduce and use colonial source material in their reporting. Then, the following chapter 7.1.2 explores how journalism's use of historical source material is often used to personalize the genocide around key figures such as Lothar von Trotha. Finally, chapter 7.1.3 provides a brief excursus on the use of colonial imagery in German and Namibian journalism that helps to tie together the findings of the previous chapters.

7.1.1 "Our place in the sun": Remediations of colonial source material

Journalists in both Germany and Namibia frequently draw on quotes and language from similar colonial source material in their articles. These quotes transcend editorial rubrics and years and can be found in almost every type of article and newspaper. Journalism's reliance on colonial source material reflects (post-)colonial knowledge structures that have been reflected throughout this dissertation: Much of the recorded information on the Herero and Nama genocide was collected and archived by former German colonizers. The fact that both German and Namibian journalism rely on these quotes highlights structural inequalities that go beyond the individual choices of journalists and newspapers.

Often, quotes from colonial sources are not just used to describe what occurred between 1904 and 1908, but also to explain why the genocide occurred. This question of *why* is important because it shows which power structures are ab-/normalized in the characterization of participants in the Herero and Nama genocide. To exemplify this, it is useful to consider a phrase that is found repeatedly in German journalism: "'Our place in the sun'" (*Spiegel*, 20.06.20). This phrase was originally used by German Chancellor Bern-

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hard von Bülow in a debate to advocate for the acquisition of colonies (*Spiegel*, 20.06.20). Often, however, this phrase is not attributed to anyone but rather becomes a general way of describing the preconditions of genocide: "The German Empire looked for and found a 'place in the sun,' as it was called back then; it beat the land free with the sjambok[2]." (*SZ*, 19.06.21). Here, the *SZ* opinion columnist Heribert Prantl describes the "place in the sun" with the phrase "as it was called back then"; in this way, he produces temporal distance between himself and the phrase he is using. This performatively distances the author from the colonial source material, even as he still draws on the quote to describe the genocide. This is a typical strategy, particularly for German journalism, that will be explored in more detail throughout this chapter. For now, I consider which historical power relations this use of colonial source material symbolically normalizes.

As this quote demonstrates, the genocide is often shown as an outcome of German colonial expansion. However, the terms used to describe these events reflect the colonial perspective that is normalized in the retelling of the past. As one article in the *New Era* writes, "Historical reports indicate that between 1885 and 1903 German settlers seized about a quarter of the Ovaherero and Nama lands. In 1904 the tribes rebelled and as a result were massacred by German imperial troops" (*New Era*, 06.06.17). Even though this article does not quote specific "historical reports," it nevertheless echoes the power relationship seen above: The acquisition of land by German settlers is shown as almost inevitable. Moreover, the first visible act of resistance, or "rebell[ion]," in journalistic coverage is immediately followed by a massacre. As has been described by Wolff (2021, p. 24), the term "rebellion" (or "*Aufstand*") suggests that the Herero and Nama were fighting against established rulership. This makes the act of war by the Herero and Nama, rather than German colonialism, appear abnormal and extraordinary.

At the same time, the "rebellion" of the Herero is described as self-defense, something that occurred through complete economic loss and deprivation: "The uprising went hand in hand with colonization: land grabbing, cattle theft, rape. At some point, the Hereros had lost everything and were no longer allowed to own anything." (*taz*, 08.04.17) However, this description is illustrative because it shows how the term "uprising" produces the conditions in which the genocide is spoken about. A German position of strength is often presupposed and almost never questioned in journalistic reporting, whereas Herero and Nama actions are often shown as reactions to the conditions set by German colonizers.

The example above points to another common use of colonial source material: to describe the physical suffering of the Herero and Nama prior to and during the events of 1904–1908. One source that continues to be frequently used in German journalism is the report of the Great General Staff of the German Army about the 1904–1908 colonial war (*Großer Generalstabsbericht*). One typical example of this quote is found in an *SZ* review of a 2016 exhibition about colonialism in the German Historical Museum. The article is entitled "With the sjambok", repeating the symbol of the whip and physical punishment seen at the beginning of this chapter (*SZ*, 17.10.16). The article introduces the Herero and Nama genocide with the following words:

2 Whip made from hippopotamus skin ("*Nilpferdpeitsche*").

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> "The Herero, in a desperate situation after cattle epidemics and drought, had been deprived of their land by the Germans, had risen, were militarily defeated and […] were driven into the Omaheke Desert, where the vast majority of people died of thirst. 'The closure of the desert, which was carried out with iron severity for months… completed the work of destruction,' it says in an account by the military history department of the Great General Staff in 1906, and it continues: 'The wheezing of the dying and the rage of madness died away in the sublime silence of infinity. The punishment had come to an end. The Hereros had ceased to be an independent tribe.'" (*SZ*, 17.10.16)

Even before the article begins quoting the colonial source, the journalist describes the sequence of events leading to the genocide as a cycle of uprising and military defeat. The metaphor of "iron" severity on the part of the German colonial forces continues to normalize German military prowess, making the death of Herero individuals appear an almost simultaneous reaction to the act of rebellion as well as caused by natural rather than human forces ("completed the work of destruction"). The legitimacy of German colonialism is further underlined by the description of the genocide as a punishment or divine judgment ("*Strafgericht*") through the sentence "[t]he punishment had come to an end." The journalist does not question this description or source but rather continues by noting that more people should know about the genocide and praising the museum exhibition.

The description of the genocide as punishment is also found in Namibian journalism, for instance in *New Era*: "Germany targeted the Herero for genocide, inter alia, to punish the Herero for impudently rebelling against German colonial rule, and for supposedly killing Germans during the uprising in 1904" (*New Era*, 29.04.16). The adjective "impudently" to describe the rebellion of the Herero again suggests that their action was illegitimate while simultaneously making them responsible for the Germans' "punish[ment]." This is a common pattern in German colonial sources and shows how the power structures and terms found within colonial sources have become normalized in journalistic descriptions of the genocide, even when these sources are not directly quoted.

Another quote from the Great General Staff report, this time in the *Zeit* in 2021, exemplifies how colonial terms reverberate in journalistic memory production. The report reads: "Like a wild animal hunted half to death, [the enemy] was chased from waterhole to waterhole […]. The waterless Omaheke was supposed to complete what German weapons had begun: the destruction of the Herero people." (*Zeit*, 24.06.21) Here, the Herero are figuratively compared to "wild animal[s]" being chased through the desert. Moreover, in this quote, "German weapons" are placed against "wild animal[s]," repeating a common colonial dichotomy of culture and nature that constructs and normalizes the colonial power's dominance over indigenous populations. The animal language dehumanizes the Herero and Nama and furthers the inevitability of a German victory and the anonymous mass death of indigenous groups. It is important to note that the guest author of this *Zeit* article, the history teacher Steffen Wenig, does add context to this quote. However, he focuses on the motives rather than the content of the source: "These statements do not reveal any compassion; on the contrary, they prove once again that the Great General Staff views genocidal warfare as legitimate and not at all morally reprehensible." (*Zeit*, 24.06.21) In this way, Wenig condemns the lack of "compassion" in the Great General Staff report but does not question its description of the events of 1904–1908. The content of the

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source becomes the basis for the criticism of the source, echoing the example from the *SZ* at the beginning of this chapter.

Symbolic language referring to animal death is also found in Namibian journalism, with verbs such as "butchered" or "slaughtered" to describe the events of 1904–1908, with the Shark Island concentration camp even being described as "a rocky butchery" (*Namibian Sun*, 01.12.21). These terms are not shown as emanating from colonial sources, for instance through quotation marks, and are thus shown as the words of the author. However, an article in the *Namibian* describing the deportation of Nama families during the genocide shows how colonial source material both implicitly and explicitly shapes coverage:

> "The 'deportation of Hottentots' became costly according to the newly appointed Colonel Berthold von Deimling, who took over as Commander-in-Chief of South West Africa. He suggested transporting them to Shark Island at Lüderitz. Namas died like flies according to some reports because of severe cold and windy conditions, neglect, malnutrition and starvation." (*Namibian*, 13.07.18)

Here, the "deportation" is described through the perspective of Colonel Berthold von Deimling, which uses derogatory colonial language to describe the forcible removal of Nama families from the colony. The authors of this piece, Salmaan Dhameer Jacobs and Annarine Beauty Jacobs, then include the phrase "died like flies according to some reports," using animal symbolism to describe the death of the Nama. The Nama are again shown in animalistic terms, their mass death anonymized. However, these terms are no longer directly drawn from colonial sources but are rather shown as the interpretation of the journalist.

The durability of colonial language and symbolism reflects colonial power-knowledge structures that limit the available witness accounts for journalism to draw from. However, the patterns above are also perpetuated through remediations of journalistic coverage. To exemplify this, I will now focus on information boxes in German newspapers, which provide a window into inner-journalistic patterns of remediation.

Remediating prior journalistic coverage: The information box

Both the *SZ* and the *FAZ* publish information boxes to accompany their "political" articles after the announcement of the 2021 genocide agreement. Both information boxes are graphically separated from the main articles, which focus on reactions to the agreement in Namibia and Germany and are not connected to the information box. The past is separated from the present negotiations and performatively serves as additional information for the reader. The *FAZ* titles its information box "The consequences of the Herero and Nama uprising against the colonial masters [*Kolonialherren*]" (*FAZ*, 29.05.21). The information box is written by the *FAZ* journalist Peter Sturm, who only wrote one other article on the genocide in 2016, where he repeated much of the language found in this information box. In 2016, he wrote, "Life in the colony became increasingly difficult for the indigenes as colonial masters ["*Kolonialherren*"] kept expanding. […] The discontent grew and finally bloodily erupted in January 1904." Sturm repeatedly uses the word "*Kolonial-*

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herren," or "colonial masters," to describe the relationship between colonizers and colonial subjects, repeating some of the power structures described above.

These terms are not used in the ensuing articles on the genocide in the *FAZ* until Sturm returns to write an information box in 2021, where he repeats similar descriptive patterns. In 2016, Sturm described the reaction of German colonizers to the Nama war declaration: "The colonial rulers were surprised, as they had considered the 'Hottentots' to be loyal." (*FAZ*, 24.06.16) Here, Sturm uses a colonial denigratory phrase for the Nama. While this word is placed in quotation marks, however, Sturm continues to rely on the perspective of the colonizers to describe the (changed) motivations of the Nama, which are not placed in quotations. He also foregrounds the reaction and perspective of German colonizers by noting they were "surprised." In 2021, Sturm largely repeats this description, albeit without the colonially denigrating terminology: "The Nama uprising began in October 1904. Here, too, the colonial rulers were surprised by the 'disloyalty' of the ethnic group." This shows how phrases that are no longer common in the reporting of the *FAZ* are nevertheless reused when the same author is asked to write about the genocide. While the terminology has shifted, the power relationship that normalizes the perspective of the colonizers in describing the genocide remains unquestioned.

A similar example can be found in the *SZ* in 2021. The author of this information box is Reymer Klüver, an editor for the features section. Klüver, who has apparently not written about the genocide previously, suddenly repeats language that has not been used in the *SZ* for multiple years (cf. Haritos, 2019; Wolff, 2021). He writes: "The Herero, a pastoral people, bloodily resisted German restrictions on their water and grazing rights and murdered German farmers." (*SZ*, 29.05.21) By describing the Herero as "a pastoral people" ("*ein Hirtenvolk*"), Klüver draws on colonial language that simultaneously expresses idealization and inferiority (Robel, 2013, p. 299). This also becomes clear in terms such as "resisted" and "murdered," the latter of which will be described in more detail below. Interestingly, Klüver does not use any quotation marks, thereby suggesting that these terms and phrases are common knowledge in the description of the genocide. This continues in the rest of the information box. After mentioning the Herero, Klüver writes: "The Nama, often called Hottentots in Germany, were also persecuted, and their uprising was brutally suppressed." (*SZ*, 29.05.21). The use of the word "Hottentots" without quotation marks in the text again makes this term appear to be the consensus for referring to the Nama in Germany.

The examples above have shown how colonial source material and terminology are remediated in German and Namibian journalistic coverage, traveling beyond temporal and spatial boundaries in the description of the genocide (cf. Erll, 2011; Erll & Rigney, 2009). Even when journalists performatively distance themselves from their colonial source, the sustained reliance on these quotes normalizes colonial power relations in the description of 1904–1908 in both German and Namibian journalism. From these descriptions, the genocide continues to be constructed (if not condoned) as the outcome of unequal martial and economic strength, where the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is determined by the unequal application of violence. The Herero and Nama as historical participants are often shown as anonymous groups of people who cannot speak for themselves but whose suffering is described by the perpetrators, often in ani-

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malistic symbolic terms. This leads to the question: How does the continued reliance on German colonial source material shape the personalization of the past in journalism?

7.1.2 Personalizing genocidal violence in journalism

Journalism's frequent quoting of colonial source material reflects a common pattern in memory production: Journalism often personalizes the past around certain figures (Kinnebrock, 2019, p. 393) and uses firsthand testimony to legitimize its interpretations of the past (Zandberg, 2010, p. 12). This chapter explores how journalism's practices of personalization are affected in the context of colonial epistemic injustice. For this, it begins by asking how German and Namibian journalism use quotes by German colonial officers and soldiers, especially Lothar von Trotha, to describe the genocide. Then, it shows how these depictions bleed into victimization in historical feature stories in the *AZ*. The final section considers how these patterns are irritated or maintained when English-language Namibian journalism reports on historical genocide survivors, also in historical feature stories. In this way, the chapter showcases the complex relationship between gaps in the colonial archive and the continued reliance on witness accounts in journalistic memory production.

"Imperial Germany's chief henchman": The case of Lothar von Trotha

The figure who is most consistently and frequently quoted in German and Namibian articles is Lothar von Trotha, specifically his "extermination" order against the Herero (cf. chapter 2.1). A typical example of this can be found in a guest article written by the former President of the German Bundestag, Norbert Lammert, where he writes that the events of 1904–1908 constituted genocide. Lammert begins his guest article repeating the arguments seen above, noting that "the native population suffered greatly from the humiliation caused by the racist feudal power of the colonial rulers [*Kolonialherren*]. In 1904, after years of resistance […], conflicts […] escalated into a merciless war, which the Germans called a 'race war.'" (*Zeit*, 09.07.15) Then, Lammert quotes Lothar von Trotha:

> "'Within the German border, every Herero will be shot with or without a gun, with or without cattle. I will no longer take in women or children, I will drive them back to their people or have them shot,' was the infamous 'shoot to kill' order ["*Schießbefehl*"] issued by the German commander-in-chief, Lieutenant General Lothar von Trotha. 'No pardon' ["*Kein Pardon*"] was the general slogan at the time." (*Zeit*, 09.07.15).

This excerpt from von Trotha's order is quoted multiple times in my German sample. Lammert's use and interpretation of von Trotha's quote highlights an interesting contradiction that lies beneath the surface of all German and Namibian reporting. On the one hand, the quote above makes the description of the Herero and Nama genocide appear a result of the intention of von Trotha. On the other hand, Lammert explicitly links this description of von Trotha to "the general slogan of the time." Lammert's guest article is also entitled "*Deutsche ohne Gnade*," or "Germans without mercy," furthering the connection between von Trotha's statement and a description of German actions (*Zeit*,

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09.07.15). The reliance on von Trotha to justify the genocide stands in tension with the interpretation of the genocide as a general outcome of colonial expansion and violence.

This tension is normalized through the colonial knowledge structures described above, whereby the Herero and Nama are shown as largely passive and speechless victims, as becomes clear in the anonymized violence that Lammert describes in his guest article:

> "Tens of thousands of Herero and Nama fell victim not only to fighting but also to disease and targeted killings through starvation and thirst, while others died in concentration camps or in forced labor. In the end, the survivors were completely dispossessed. They lost their land and their herds and thus their livelihood." (*Zeit*, 09.07.15)

This is the last time that Lammert's guest article focuses in-depth on the historical moments of 1904–1908, moving on after this point to discuss the recognition of the genocide, noting:

> "Measured by today's standards of international law – according to which the crime of genocide is committed if there is an intention to 'destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such' – the suppression of the Herero uprising was genocide." (*Zeit*, 09.07.15)

As this quote indicates, von Trotha's order is typically used in reporting to indicate genocidal intent. This emphasis on intent has been critiqued by Häussler (2018, p. 15), who writes that this has often reduced the events of 1904–1908 to a single moment in 1904 rather than the events, decisions and individuals that propelled the genocide forward. Interestingly, von Trotha's order against the Nama, which was issued in 1905 (Zimmerer, 2016b, p. 54), is almost never mentioned in my German or Namibian sample.

In both German and Namibian journalism, quoting von Trotha's order is often shown as the cause for mass death among the Herero and Nama genocide. This is particularly pronounced in Namibian journalism, where articles typically only include one or two sentences on the history of the genocide. This historical background, however, almost always includes references to von Trotha: "Determined to crush the rebellion, General Lothar von Trotha signed a notorious 'extermination order' that would lead to the deaths of some 60 000 Herero and 10 000 Nama people." (*Namibian*, 30.03.18). As this example indicates, English-language journalism almost never quotes from the original order. This is not merely a function of short news reports but is even found in long reprints from newspapers like the *New York Times*: "[A] German general, Lothar von Trotha, issued an extermination order for the Herero [….] Within three-and-a-half years, four fifths of the Herero […] were dead." (*Namibian*, 14.09.18) As the original order was written in German, the lack of direct quotes from the order could again reflect structural inequalities in the production of knowledge. Nevertheless, this also means that von Trotha's order often functions as a stand-in for genocide.

Especially in Namibian reporting, the Herero and Nama genocide has become inextricably intertwined with von Trotha's order, which is the primary commemorative event for the genocide in reporting. October 2 is suggested as an official date for Genocide

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Remembrance Day: "[OTA secretary general Mutjinde] Katjiua explained that they suggested 2 October, as this was the day the Germans proclaimed the extermination order, which led to the first genocide globally of the 20th century" (*New Era*, 13.02.20). Additionally, in 2015, Herero Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro named October 2 as a deadline for the German government to respond to his reparations demands, as noted in an opinion piece by Kae Maṯundu-Tjiparuro in *New Era*:

> "October 2 is the day when Imperial Germany's chief henchman in the then Deutsche Südwest-Afrika, General Lothar von Trotha, issued the infamous order for the extermination of the Ovaherero. This October, the extermination order turns 111 years. By then Rukoro would like to have seen Germany having come to some seriousness in terms of dialoguing with the Ovaherero, Ovambanderu and Nama on the vexed question of Germany's historical and moral responsibility" (*New Era*, 16.01.16).

Here, the journalist's inclusion of the temporal indicator "111 years" adds emphasis to present demands (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014). Furthermore, the reference to von Trotha as a "chief henchman" highlights his personal responsibility for the genocide, making him the centerpiece for connecting the genocide with reparations demands. In one opinion piece, Joshua Kaumbi, a member of the Zeraeua Royal House, even notes that von Trotha's order is "[t]he raison d'être for our [reparations] case" (*Namibian*, 16.02.18).

This personalization of Lothar von Trotha in the construction of the Herero and Nama genocide is shown in descriptions throughout my Namibian sample, from "genocide general" (*Namibian Sun*, 26.11.21) to "the cruel general" (*Namibian*, 29.06.18). Similar strategies of personalization are also found in German-language journalism. However, in German-language journalism, the focus on von Trotha also functions to produce distance between the past and the present by characterizing von Trotha as ridiculous from the perspective of the present audience.

One example of this is found in a 2016 *Spiegel* article entitled "Certain uncertainties" that cast doubt on the assessment of the colonial war as genocide (cf. chapter 6.2.3). In this article, Africa correspondent Bartholomäus Grill writes that many German historians use von Trotha's order to justify the interpretation of genocide. Next, Grill repeats the explanations for genocide found in multiple examples above, emphasizing the exploitation and "rebellion" of the Herero and Nama (*Spiegel*, 11.06.16). Then, Grill shifts to describing Lothar von Trotha:

> "The comparatively moderate governor Theodor Leutwein is removed from his position as commander of the *Schutztruppe* and replaced by Lothar von Trotha, a staunch iron-eater [*Eisenfresser*] who had already proven his brutality in suppressing uprisings in China and German East Africa. The lieutenant general leaves no room for doubt about his mission: 'I believe that the nation [of the Herero, B.G.] as such must be destroyed.'" (*Spiegel*, 11.06.16)

Lothar von Trotha is contrasted with Leutwein, the "comparatively moderate governor," and is shown as an "iron-eater," repeating the symbolism of iron to symbolize German

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military prowess (cf. chapter 7.1.1). Later, Grill writes, " [Von Trotha] was the prototype of a Prussian military man; in the officer corps he was considered power-hungry, unforgiving and cold-hearted." (*Spiegel*, 11.06.16) Von Trotha is shown almost ironically as an "iron-eater," somebody who is condemned for his cold heart but simultaneously is shown as an aberration rather than as a stereotypical German colonial individual at that time.

Grill's article is relatively untypical in my sample for its assertion that the events of 1904–1908 did not constitute genocide: "The bloodthirsty military leader was obsessed with the delusional idea of a race war against the 'Negroes'[3]; he clearly harbored genocidal intentions. But the accusation that the Reich government carried out a genocidal plan under his direction cannot be substantiated either." (*Spiegel*, 11.06.16) These arguments are also found in the *AZ*, specifically in readers' letters to the editor or feature stories written by guest authors (cf. *AZ*, 30.10.15).

Even though almost every other article in my German sample rejects this claim, guest authors interestingly often rely on similar quotes and characterizations by colonial sources to make the opposite argument that the events of 1904–1908 were genocide. One typical example of this is found in a full-page article in the *Zeit*'s "history" section guest-written by the Hessian history teacher Steffen Wenig. The article is entitled "Colonel, do you condone these atrocities?" ("*Herr Oberst, billigen Sie diese Abscheulichkeiten?*") (*Zeit*, 24.06.21). Although the article was published a few weeks after the announcement of the joint declaration between Germany and Namibia, the agreement is not mentioned. Instead, the article is ostensibly about the question of whether the events of 1904–1908 will be recognized as genocide, beginning with the question, "Was it a genocide? Yes, says the overwhelming majority of historians." (*Zeit*, 24.06.21) The article then continues: "A look at the sources shows that […] there was by no means a consensus about the ruthless intervention [in GSWA]." (*Zeit*, 24.06.21) The article produces a connection between past and present by showing that, even at the time, the events of 1904–1908 were condemned. This structures the entire discussion on the genocide through the perspective of German colonial sources. A typical example of this is found in a key dialogue between Colonel Berthold von Deimling, a commander of the German colonial forces in GSWA, and Georg Lebedour, a Social Democratic politician:

> "Colonel Berthold von Deimling, a participant in the colonial war who had just been knighted for his 'services' in German South West Africa, defended himself by accusing the Herero of chopping off the hands and feet of German soldiers. 'Should we have made war against such bestial, cruel, treacherous foes with kid gloves?' […] Ledebour later replied, 'But does that justify our waging war in the same way? […] Do German soldiers act like that […], Colonel?'" (*Zeit*, 24.06.21)

In this exchange, Ledebour does not challenge the critique of the Herero as "bestial, cruel, treacherous foes" but instead asks whether "German soldiers act like that." This argument states that German soldiers should not act "in the same way" as Herero and Nama fighters, continuing a binary distinction between the colonizers and the colonized. While the

3 At this point, the author uses a derogatory German colonial term ("*Neger*").

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author includes these arguments to show that the genocide was known at the time, it nevertheless limits the available perspectives on the genocide to exclusively German participants. Similar examples can be found in other *Zeit* "history" articles about the genocide at this time (cf. *Zeit*, 14.10.21).

Another example of this strategy is found in a *FAZ* article written in 2016 by the political journalist Peter Sturm (cf. chapter 7.1.1). In contrast with the *Zeit* article above that was published in the "history" section, this article is published in the "politics" section. Nevertheless, it focuses almost exclusively on the historical events of the genocide – through the perspective of German colonizers:

> "The files of the colony's Evangelical Lutheran Church contain an admission of the reasons for the uprising: 'The truth is that the fuel for the uprising in 1904 was laid by those whites [*solchen Weißen*] who, conscious of their master status [*Herrenmenschentum*], felt they could trample the sense of justice among the Herero.'" (*FAZ*, 24.06.16)

As with the *Zeit* article above, the author relies on colonial source material to condemn the actions of "those whites" who have abused the Herero. In this way, the article produces a distinction between perpetrators and the wider population without having to question the broader colonial system that continues to portray the Herero underneath the power of the colonial "masters."

A final example of the condemnation and resulting personalization of the genocide around certain colonial actors and groups can be found in the contrast that is produced between Kaiser Wilhelm II. and Otto von Bismarck in German newspapers. The characterization of the Kaiser mirrors some of the patterns seen for Lothar von Trotha above, showing him as both a failure as well as the cause for colonial violence, as noted in an *SZ* article in the "history" rubric: "Under the confused ["*verpeilt*"] and nationalistic Kaiser Wilhelm II., naval construction and colonies were intended to secure the 'place in the sun' for the empire – but most of these pursuits were a losing business." (*SZ*, 23.01.21) This economic measure of success is often used to contrast the Kaiser with his chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, as became clear in the guest article by Norbert Lammert from the beginning of this chapter: "One of the great failures of [Bismarck's] chancellorship was that he did not decisively oppose the influential colonial lobby, the imperial aspirations of the young Wilhelm II." (*Zeit*, 09.07.15). This juxtaposition between the Kaiser and Bismarck has become less pronounced in recent years, especially in the wake of the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests, when multiple articles reported on the potential removal of a Bismarck statue in Hamburg. A *Spiegel* article in the cultural rubric entitled "Must Bismarck fall?" typifies this shift: "Bismarck gave in for domestic political reasons and led Germany into a colonial adventure that ultimately led to a genocidal war against the Herero and Nama under Kaiser Wilhelm II." (*Spiegel*, 20.06.20) However, here again, Bismarck is shown as giving in "for domestic political reasons," acting against his better judgment.

The examples above center on the journalist and audience identifying the motives of perpetrators through the perpetrators' own words. In this sense, Lothar von Trotha remains a transnational figure whose order against the Herero remains at the center of both German and Namibian historical explanations of the genocide. While this focus on von Trotha may be necessary to establish the intentionality of genocide, it contin-

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ues to personalize and individualize the genocide around key German decision-makers. In German journalism, the perspectives of German colonial soldiers are not only used to describe but also to criticize the actions of Lothar von Trotha, specifically his mode of leading war against the Herero and Nama. The reliance on German colonial soldiers to show "both sides" (Tuchman, 1972, p. 665) of the historical genocide enables German journalists to disconnect past perpetrators from the wider German collective.

These results add nuance to A. Assmann's (2018b, pp. 171–173) idea of "externalization" as a strategy of forgetting: The individualization of past actions enables individuals to be condemned without implicating the wider collective. However, the example of the Herero and Nama genocide shows that externalization always requires a presumption of aberration. In colonial contexts, this is normalized through structural epistemic injustice in the archiving of source material (cf. chapter 2) as well as specificities in the definition of genocide, which become especially clear when considering that von Trotha is at the center of both German and Namibian journalism. Especially in German journalism, the reliance on colonial source material to criticize characters like von Trotha simultaneously enables continuity between past critics and the current collective. Whereas this continuity is mainly implicit in German journalism, it becomes especially visible in the German-language Namibian newspaper *AZ*. In the following, I explore this coverage to show how the mnemonic strategy of personalization in journalism can also lead to victimization.

Victimization through witness accounts in the AZ

Rather than relying primarily on German colonial officers, the *AZ* is the only newspaper in my sample that provides in-depth witness accounts from German settlers during colonialism. These witness accounts are part of books that the newspaper reprints in installments, typically in the paper's weekend inlay (cf. chapter 6.1.3). The books are reprinted with almost no journalistic contextualization beyond a note on the book's publisher. However, they provide an insight into sources not found elsewhere in my sample, including personal documents and images. The lack of journalistic contextualization for these reprints assumes that much of the context in which these settler accounts arise is already known to the audience and thus requires no further explication, highlighting the unique position of the *AZ* in my sample as a medium for the German-speaking community in Namibia.

In the following, I focus on two serial accounts published in the *AZ* in 2020 and 2015, which bookend the time frame of my analysis. The first series is "Hans Warncke, alias 'Hans *Waffenschmied* [armorer],' from Windhoek and Hamakari," based on a book entitled "*Briefe*," or "Letters," that was published by the Namibia Scientific Society in Windhoek. Each week, the newspaper chronicles Warncke's challenges in the colony as a merchant. The *AZ* graphically highlights these full-page reprints, for instance by putting the greeting ("*Lieber Hans*") and ending of each letter ("*Euer Sohn Hans*") in cursive font. This performatively indicates that these reprints are primary documents while also separating them from regular journalistic coverage.

In these letters, the colonial war is shown impacting Warncke's life by literally ending it. The final letter in the series is not written by Warncke but by a local priest to Warncke's father. The letter states:

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> "About six or seven days before the disaster I saw your son at the Wecke & Voigts store. He had come to Waterberg with a cart to buy goods in the shop, since the Hereros had completely bought his stock. […] The only thing I learned from a Herero about the death of your son was that he was killed and buried by Hereros. […] The walls of his house were still standing, but the roof had been torn down and the windows and doors taken away." (*AZ*, 25.03.20)

Complementing this letter is a historical image of a damaged house, with German colonial soldiers standing in the open doorways and windows. The source of this image is the "Warnke archive," spelled differently than the name of the main character of the article, yet presumably coming from the same source as the letters (*AZ*, 25.03.20).

In this letter, colonial source material is reproduced to construct the colonial war as a "disaster" – however, this disaster does not impact the Herero but rather results in the death of a German settler. Interestingly, the letter also explicitly notes that the priest is informed of Warncke's death by a Herero. The Herero becomes the informant for the priest, a rare example of an interaction between colonial settlers and indigenous groups beyond anonymous violence. This reflects a common pattern, namely that German witness accounts in the *AZ* often show Herero actors with the most individual agency in my German-speaking sample. Nevertheless, the perspective recounting this interaction is clearly that of a German colonial settler. The colonial structures that led Warncke to the colony are the backdrop and not the subject of the text – both for the letter writer and for the *AZ*, which provides no further context. In this way, the colonial war is constructed as a seemingly random act of violence by anonymous Herero groups against a single German settler, murdered apparently without cause. The focus on an individual person enables this pain to be personal, and the reader is placed in the position of a father finding out about his son's death.

The second series printed by the *AZ* takes this strategy one step further by describing fighting during the colonial war through the perspective of German colonial soldiers. Printed over the course of 2015, this series is based on a book entitled "Driven away from beloved earth" ("*Vertrieben von geliebter Erde*") that was published by the Gondwana Collection Namibia, a company involved with the tourism industry[4] in Namibia (*AZ*, 14.08.15). The book tells the story of two brothers, Alfons and Stephan Schandel, as they arrive in the colony as soldiers, acquire land after the colonial war and genocide, and later lose this land in the aftermath of the First World War. Already in the title, "Driven away from beloved earth," German settlers are shown as victims of British expropriation, while their claims to land and settlement in the colony are normalized and become the basis through which the past is interpreted (*AZ*, 14.08.15).

This interpretation continues through the reprinted segments that focus on the colonial war under the subtitle "Years of Nama guerrilla warfare" (*AZ*, 14.08.15, 21.08.15). Already in this title, the blame for the war is placed at the feet of the Nama. Even though these reprinted segments describe fighting, they continue to characterize the Schandel brothers as weak and harmless, as in the following quote: "In the evenings, Alfons sinks

4 The role of tourism in shaping journalistic memory production will be described in more detail in chapter 8.2.2.

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exhausted onto his hard resting place. […] Now he lies here, looking more like a butterfly than a shield-wielding warrior." (*AZ*, 14.08.15) The description of Alfons "like a butterfly" uses the figurative language of an innocuous animal to juxtapose the characterization of him as a "shield-wielding warrior." This is a stark contrast to the animal descriptions used for indigenous actors in colonial sources (cf. chapter 7.1.1). The description of Alfons is further amplified through a dichotomization that emphasizes Nama military prowess: "The enemy [Nama under Jakob Marengo, C.H.] may lurk around every bend. It is true that Marengo's men […] are […] somewhere in the Great Karas Mountains. But the agile Nama cover this distance in one night" (*AZ*, 21.08.15). By retelling the past through the perspective of German colonizers, the Nama are shown as threats to Alfons, thereby normalizing his fear in the retelling of the past.

As the examples above show, the Herero and Nama genocide is never named within these reprints, even though they often mention the colonial war and describe the events of 1904–1908. These reprinted stories seemingly tell stories of settler hardship without explicitly being connected to the genocide, which is being debated in the political sections of the newspaper. In my master's thesis (Haritos, 2019, p. 36), I connected strategies of victimization in the *AZ* with the concept of "offsetting" ("*Aufrechnen*") by A. Assmann (2018b, p. 170), where perpetrators take refuge in a memory of victimhood by noting their own casualties (cf. Lim, 2010). However, the more recent examples here slightly refute this idea, as Herero and Nama victims are no longer mentioned at all. Instead, by constructing the past through the perspective of German settlers, the focus remains entirely on German victims of almost anonymous violence. This is victimization not through the comparison with other victims, but rather through the absence of other victims.

While these mnemonic practices are relatively unique to the *AZ*, there are traces of these strategies in German journalism, especially when German-speaking Namibians are asked to introduce themselves. For instance, in a *taz* article that covers land reform in Namibia, a German-speaking Namibian farm owner is characterized with the words:

> "Johann Vaatz learned from his father that you can lose everything in life […]. When his parents bought a farm in Namibia in the 1940s, his family had already undergone land reform. During the October Revolution in 1917, communists expropriated his father's family – Black Sea Germans who had farmed in Ukraine for several generations. […] Johann Vaatz's parents bought the Düsternbrook farm, around 45 minutes by car from Windhoek, during the Second World War as security. They were afraid that the South African administration would freeze their money in the bank. Vaatz's father was interned by the South African regime like many other Namibians of German descent and only returned from the camp after six years." (*taz*, 16.11.19)

As in the reprint of "Driven away from beloved earth" (*AZ*, 21.08.15), Vaatz here focuses on expropriation and even describes the purchase of the farm Düsternbrook, which his family still owns, as a reaction to feared reprisals by British authorities during the First World War. Vaatz here draws on a cultural memory of expropriation in the former Soviet Union that might be comprehensible to a German audience. This *taz* example shows how victimization can travel from the past to the present description of the German-speaking Namibian community, even though this connection often remains implicit in the *AZ*. The

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position of the present German-speaking community in journalistic reparations debates will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8.2. For now, I want to consider how the power structures that have become clear in the previous chapters are maintained or challenged in Namibian journalism, which contains some of the only witness accounts by genocide survivors.

Genocide survivors in English-language Namibian journalism

So far, this chapter has focused almost exclusively on German-language journalism, repeating some of the power structures that are also echoed in my material: German-language newspapers have access to German historical sources, and they also have the most in-depth historical descriptions of the events of 1904–1908. However, I now want to explore a few untypical examples in Namibian journalism that explicitly retell stories of genocide survivors, typically in historical articles. Given the dominance of German colonial perspectives in describing the genocide in Namibian news reports and opinion sections, these untypical examples can showcase how these power structures are maintained or challenged where journalists have more space to write about the past.

As has been described in chapter 2.2, one of the only documents that describes the events of 1904–1908 through the perspective of indigenous witnesses is the Blue Book, which was compiled by British colonial authorities after the First World War to legitimize British claims to GSWA. Interestingly, in my sample, neither German nor Namibian journalism ever extensively quotes from this document, with one exception in *New Era*:

> "'On one occasion, I saw about 25 prisoners placed in a small enclosure of thorn bushes. They were confined in a very small space, and the soldiers cut dry branches and piled dry logs all around the men, women and children, and little girls were there when dry branches had been thickly piled up all around them: the soldiers threw branches also on top of them. The prisoners were all alive and unwounded but half starved. Having piled up the branches, lamp oil was sprinkled on the heap and it was set on fire. The prisoners were burnt to a cinder.' Witness account by Hendrik Fraser, a Baster[5]" (*New Era*, 16.01.16).

This quote is rendered in first-person pronouns, inviting the reader to directly become a witness to the observed violence. Rather than focusing on violence through weapons, as is often the case in accounts by German colonizers, this scene is very personal and describes direct, almost intimate violence by German soldiers towards a small group of individuals. The special emphasis on the fact that "little girls were there" demonstrates the innocence of the victims. However, this entire scene is remarkably quiet: There is no interaction between these figures, and the murder perpetrated by the German colonizers appears strangely motiveless. It functions as an example of brutality, and no further explanation for this event is provided in the article. Instead, the article then pivots to the question of reparations and the various battles that the Herero and Nama communities fought against the Germans, providing no resolution to this question or further expansion of this quote.

5 An ethnic group in Namibia.

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This is typical for indigenous witness accounts of the genocide, where individual acts of colonial violence are frequently emphasized. This pattern becomes particularly clear in two large historical articles in *The Namibian* that focus on two women: Jahohora Petronella, also known as Mama Penee, a survivor of the 1904–1908 genocide, and Ouma /Usen, also known as Verona von François, a granddaughter of Curt von François, the governor of South West Africa from 1890 to 1895. The fact that these articles center exclusively on women offers an interesting shift in perspective compared to the pieces on male colonial soldiers and settlers in the previous chapters. Both articles expressly describe women surviving and thriving, and neither article has in-depth descriptions of brutality, death or loss. However, both articles do not include direct quotes by the women at the center of the article but are rather told through the stories of male relatives in the present. This exemplifies subsequent memorialization in journalism, where relatives explain the motives of individuals who can no longer speak in the present (Zandberg, 2010, p. 16).

The article on Petronella, entitled "Transcending the genocide," highlights the complicated structures behind journalistic memory construction in the absence of living witnesses (*Namibian*, 10.03.20). The article on Petronella's life is a book review classified under the rubric "On the bookshelf" on page eight of the newspaper. The book review is written by Heike Becker, introduced at the end of the article as follows: "Heike Becker teaches social and cultural anthropology at the University of Western Cape (UWC) in South Africa" (*Namibian*, 10.03.20). The role of academic speakership in journalism will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8.3; for now, it is important to note that Becker is a guest author reviewing this book, which is in turn written by Petronella's great-grandson. Yet, this is not all: The great-grandson's book is itself inspired by a previous novel about Petronella written by the U.S.-American author Mari Serebrov. The complicated speaking structures underlying this article show the multiple layers of remediation that have led to this account of the genocide. Whereas the chapters above have often relied on direct quotes from German colonial speakers, indigenous survivors are presented in different discursive structures, with individuals in the present representing and reconstructing Petronella's experience.

In the article, Petronella's experience is not shaped by acts of violence, but rather by her continuous evasion of violence. The article refers repeatedly to "moments of humanity in an entirely inhumane era" (*Namibian*, 10.03.20), as exemplified in this description:

> "In the opening scene [of the book, C.H.], one young German soldier turns to the girl and waves her away from certain death. In a later moment Jahohora, who has been wandering the veld, encounters a German postman who gives her a bottle of life-saving water." (*Namibian*, 10.03.20)

The "girl" in this quote is Jahohora Petronella, who is repeatedly referred to by her first name in the article. The focus on a female child echoes the construction of an "ideal victim" in journalism (Höijer, 2004, p. 513). By "wav[ing] her away from certain death," the German soldier effectively becomes a lifesaver. The brutality of anonymous genocide is softened by personal interactions that are largely positive. In fact, the only act of murder in the article is described as follows:

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> "The eleven-year-old girl approached the cave where she and her parents were hiding. A series of loud cracks rang out […]. A line of soldiers was coming towards them. She saw the soldiers lift their rifles and aim at her parents. They fired again and her parents collapsed on the ground. The soldiers cheered. Almost as if she were sleepwalking, the girl went slowly towards the soldiers to embrace the same fate as her parents. As she got closer, she caught the eye of a young German soldier who stood a little apart from the others. Their eyes met, and with an almost indiscernible movement he waved his cap to indicate that she should leave" (*Namibian*, 10.03.20).

This cinematic description reproduces key elements of the book, with the reader and Petronella both taking on the role of a witness to violence occurring against others. From this position, the author suggests that the events above are "true" depictions of what occurred in the past. There is no explanation of whether this scene occurred, whether it was part of an oral memory by Petronella or a reimagination by her great-grandson. Perhaps even more importantly, the reason for why Petronella and her parents are "hiding" in a cave is not explained, nor is the context of the 1904–1908 genocide laid out. The genocide is the backdrop to Petronella's survival rather than an explicit topic of reporting. The murder scene above echoes some of the strategies and patterns also seen with the excerpt from the Blue Book, where violence is both deeply personal and yet strangely motiveless. Petronella is also not shown as portraying any emotion in reaction to her parents' murder. Instead, she is described as "sleepwalking."

Beyond this description, the remainder of the article centers on Petronella's story of survival. As part of this story, the author describes two acts of violence against Petronella. The first is by a colonial woman during her employment for a German farmer:

> "Jahohora suffers deeply humiliating experiences. During the 'civilizing' washing and re-attiring, her ceremonial Herero headgear is cut into pieces and burnt by the farmer's wife. The headgear was her mother's significant gift for her growing daughter just before the start of hostilities in 1904." (*Namibian*, 10.03.20)

It is interesting that the violence against Petronella is perpetrated by a colonial woman who emphasizes purity, "washing" Petronella and destroying her tribal affiliation. The second scene of violence repeats this motif of purity, this time surrounding the topic of rape:

> "In an extraordinary act of courage, she protects herself against rape and 'having children with German men,' a calamity that happened to many other young OvaHerero women during and in the aftermath of the early 20th century colonial war and genocide. […] 'I walked into the veld until I found a lot of nettles which I repeatedly rubbed on my arms and legs. The pain was excruciating but I repeatedly burnt my body until the swellings started to show. […] Not too surprisingly, the German men stayed away from me.'" (*Namibian*, 10.03.20)

The final scene is one of the only times when Petronella's voice is heard from a first-person perspective in the article, suggesting that these are words she has spoken to her great-grandson. The scene above ensures that the sanctity of Petronella's body is maintained

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throughout the article. Her role in this article is to witness violence rather than to be a target of this violence.

A similar trajectory is also seen in the *Namibian*'s article on Ouma /Usen, who is the granddaughter of former German colonial governor Curt von François. This article is published on page six of the newspaper in the "national news" section and is written by the freelance journalist Ester Mbathera and the investigative journalist Tutaleni Pinehas. Despite the differences of their discursive positions and the placement of this article in the "news" rubric, it repeats many of the structures seen above.

Before beginning with oral recollections from Ouma /Usen, both journalists contextualize her story with an interesting source: "According to a local travel blog post, [Curt] von François married twice during the five years he spent in Namibia. He married Amalia Gereses, a Damara princess, and had a daughter with her, the blog post says." (*Namibian*, 17.11.21) The reference to a "travel blog post" again illuminates the power relations underlying the construction of the Herero and Nama genocide: A blog for non-Namibian tourists is the only source that journalists use to find in-depth information on this figure. From this perspective, the journalists repeat the blog's interpretation of the relationship between von François and Gereses as based on mutual affinity rather than unequal power distribution.

Nevertheless, this interpretation is irritated later in the article: "Because [their daughter] !Gawaxas was very light of complexion, her mother allegedly used to smear her skin with charcoal to prevent her from being killed by the German authorities." (*Namibian*, 17.11.21) The suggestion that the child !Gawaxas would have been "killed by the German authorities" because she was the product of an interracial relationship belies the idea that von François and Gereses were in an equal partnership. Additionally, von François' massacres against the Nama are briefly mentioned, but they are not further explored in the context of his relationship with this family.

Notwithstanding these brief irritations, the article continues to construct the relationship between von François and Gereses as a legal and happy marriage, with von François' granddaughter Ouma /Usen even shown as expressing her German heritage: "She would address us in German by saying '*Schule macht das Leben süss*' (school makes life sweet),' [her grandchild Hiskia] says. True to her German lineage, Ouma /Usen was an orderly person who followed rules and expected everyone to do the same." (*Namibian*, 17.11.21) Again, the article avoids showing the clear colonial context as a perpetration of violence on an individual woman. Yet, in the construction of the article, this essentially prevents any specific condemnation of German colonial actions.

At first glance, these articles about a Herero and Damara woman suggest that perspectives that had previously been silenced in the discourse are now being heard. However, a closer look at the structure of these articles adds nuance to this interpretation and shows how colonial power relations can continue to shape how these voices become visible to the reader. The articles above invite the readers to become witnesses to events occurring in the colony. In this way, the reader takes on the perspective of figures like Petronella or Ouma /Usen. This differs markedly from how colonial figures such as von Trotha are separated from the imagined present audience through irony or even explicit condemnation (see above). Yet, just as von Trotha is shown as perpetrating violence against an anonymous group, the violence against Petronella and Ouma /Usen is also

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surprisingly anonymous or even downplayed. This shapes the speaking structure that the indigenous women have: They can describe, but they cannot speak to or confront the perpetrators of violence. This also contrasts markedly with the witness accounts in the *AZ* described previously. German-speaking settlers show emotions, vulnerability and even pain in ways that historical Herero and Nama figures do not.

The depictions in German-language and English-language Namibian newspapers do not cross over. Nevertheless, what does it mean that figures such as Hans or Alfons are shown as victims, whereas figures such as Petronella are shown as survivors? The examples above show that while figures such as von Trotha are criticized, there is a broad reluctance to critique individual German actors or settlers. This shapes the knowledge about the past that is available: There are almost no examples of in-depth descriptions of the genocidal violence that occurred during 1904–1908. Given this background, the following section provides a brief excursus on the colonial imagery that is used to illustrate many of the articles on the Herero and Nama genocide, which will help to tie together many of the findings of the previous chapters.

7.1.3 Excursus: Journalism's use of colonial photographs

Even though a visual analysis was not part of my CDA, it would be remiss to describe journalism's use of colonial sources without briefly mentioning the imagery that is used to depict the events of 1904–1908 in German and Namibian newspapers, which underline and exemplify the discursive strategies found in the content of articles. The images used to depict the historical events of 1904–1908 are typically staged images shot by colonizers and follow a template that was already described by Bijl (2016, pp. 55–60) in the context of Dutch colonial massacres: Captured Herero and Nama men are shown in chains, usually with armed German colonial soldiers standing or riding behind them. Another frequently used image is a picture of emaciated and half-naked men, women and children, staged by colonial soldiers after reappearing from the Omaheke desert.

New Era and the *AZ* offer a slight divergence to this pattern. In *New Era*, many of the images depicting the genocide are portraits of present-day Herero and Nama traditional authorities, political figures, images from commemorations or meetings, or no images at all. The *AZ* also rarely uses the iconic images of Herero and Nama "prisoners" described above. Especially in articles placed in "history" sections and published in weekend installments, the *AZ* includes unique historical images, often from private archives, that show Herero and Nama individuals going about daily life. Some examples include a photograph of Kaptein Witbooi with his other leading Kapteins carrying weapons (*AZ*, 14.08.15). Other images show Hereros dancing (*AZ*, 03.01.20) or historical portraits of Herero Chief Kambazembi (*AZ*, 21.02.20).

The imagery provided by the *AZ* demonstrates the complexity of journalism's construction of the Herero and Nama genocide that has been described above. In the *AZ*, the choice to not show staged colonial images that portray Herero and Nama in chains can functionally relativize the brutality of the genocide. By contrast, all other newspapers in my sample draw on colonially staged images of Herero and Nama subjugation to demonstrate the brutality of German colonial violence. On the one hand, this reverses the original intention of the photographs, which were meant to show German colonial dom-

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ination (Bürger, 2017, pp. 61–62). On the other hand, these images can continue to circulate colonial patterns of re-presenting the Herero and Nama through the dehumanizing positions that they must take on in these staged images. This is amplified when colonial photographs are shown as neutral depictions of the past, with captions such as "German colonial soldiers with imprisoned inhabitants in chains" (*taz*, 29.08.18). In these images, the Herero and Nama are shown exclusively as subjects of German violence. Despite the intentions of the *AZ*, the photographs selected effectively provide insights into Herero and Nama life and agency during colonialism that are absent from all other newspapers. Nevertheless, what unites the use of historical photographs in all newspapers, whether in the *AZ* or elsewhere, is the German colonial gaze behind the camera. These findings thus build on previous work while inviting future research into the use of colonial imagery in journalism.

Taken together, the chapters above show that journalism continues to rely on German colonial source material to re-present the events of 1904–1908. This shapes how the historical participants of the genocide can become visible in the journalistic text: Often, German colonial perspectives are normalized in the description of the genocide as part of broader German colonial expansion or, alternatively, as individual acts of extreme violence. Given this construction of the Herero and Nama genocide as a historical moment in German and Namibian journalism, the following chapter now asks: How does German and Namibian journalism link the Herero and Nama genocide to "other" cultural memories in its reporting? And how do these links produce a connection between the genocide and the present audience? For this, the following chapter begins by focusing on Namibian journalism.

7.2 "The first freedom fighters": Connecting the genocide to the liberation struggle

The following chapter builds on the results of chapter 7.1 to show how colonial terms such as "rebellion" are strategically used in English-language Namibian journalism to connect to the national liberation struggle. Interestingly, this connection is not prominently visible in the *AZ* during my time frame, which reflects the fact that the *AZ* primarily describes the genocide as a historical event retold by German witnesses (cf. chapter 7.1.2) or as a present-day political event, as will be described in more detail in chapter 8. The mnemonic connection to the national liberation struggle thus reflects a different circulation of meaning and negotiation of "cultural citizenship" between journalists and audiences in English-language newspapers (cf. chapter 4.3.2). While the mnemonic connection between the genocide and the liberation struggle reverses some of the power structures above, it nevertheless solidifies some of the results from the previous chapter by reinforcing a national framework of interpretation that builds on colonial silences. To explore this, the following chapter first shows how military terminology is used in English-language Namibian journalism before considering how journalism produces a contested national framework of interpretation through competitive mnemonic connections.

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The subversive potential of colonial "uprising"

Previous research has shown that terms such as "uprising" or "rebellion" are used in colonial source material to portray the genocide as a reaction to Herero and Nama violence and to justify the events of 1904–1908 as "normal" colonial warfare, especially in response to criticism by British colonizers (cf. Bürger, 2017; Häussler, 2018). Chapter 7.1 explored how these terms continue to pervade both German and Namibian journalism. However, in Namibian journalism, these terms interestingly also enable distinct connections to the Namibian liberation struggle. One typical example of this link is found in the "opinions" section of the *Namibian Sun*. Entitled "Shark Island is a sacred graveyard," this article is written by Festus Muundjua, a speaker for the Ovaherero Genocide Foundation, and it argues for the preservation of Shark Island as a museum and memorial site (*Namibian Sun*, 01.12.21). In the text, Muundjua describes Shark Island as follows:

> "It was a butchery for the prisoners of war who were brought here to die of starvation and the unforgiving cold weather of the very cold waters of the Southern Atlantic Ocean. After their death, the bodies of some of them, including that of Gaob Cornelius Frederick and a seventeen-month-old Nama girl were decapitated and taken to Germany." (*Namibian Sun*, 01.12.21)

The quote above first describes the inhabitants of Shark Island as "prisoners of war." Yet the very next sentence appears to belie this description, where Muundjua writes that not only a leader of the Nama, Cornelius Fredericks, but also a "seventeen-month-old Nama girl" was decapitated after death (*Namibian Sun*, 01.12.21). Depicting an infant as a "prisoner of war" repeats colonial imaginations of collective punishment, even if that is not the author's intention. The reason for this description of Shark Island as a graveyard becomes clear later in the article, when Muundjua, mentioning the government's ideas to turn Shark Island into a tourism site, notes:

> "Our forebears who shed their blood and sacrificed with their death to stave off German Settler Colonialism could not have done so for the future benefit of a handful of business tycoons who care less or perhaps not even at all about the Nama and Ovaherero genocide but who put their stomachs (economic interests) above their conscience." (*Namibian Sun*, 01.12.21)

Showing the Herero and Nama genocide in militaristic terms ("prisoners of war") helps speakers to connect the events of 1904–1908 to the Namibian liberation struggle ("shed their blood"). Muundjua here uses the idea of the genocide as a fight against "German Settler Colonialism" to legitimize his claims to turn Shark Island into a memorial site that is run by the affected communities rather than "business tycoons." Hence, the connection to militaristic language enables a specific claim to authority that comes through resistance against colonialism.

Depicting the genocide as part of a "brutal conflict" (*Namibian*, 24.05.21) shows the Herero and Nama actively engaging German colonial troops. It also challenges the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized that is often presupposed by colonial source material, especially against the backdrop of the successful Namibian liberation

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struggle. This construction of the genocide connects to the idea of "reversed memory" by Neiger et al. (2014, p. 113), which describes the reinterpretation of memory "from the pain of the traumatic past to the victorious present." In the following, I unpack the mnemonic connections underlying this reversal before considering how my results add nuance to this concept.

One of the most common strategies for mnemonic connection in Namibian journalism comes through references to famous military leaders in the genocide and in the liberation struggle. Namibian journalism specifically mentions the Herero Paramount Chief Samuel Maharero, the Mbanderu Chief Kahimemua Nguvauva, and the Nama Kaptein Hendrik Witbooi. The emphasis on Maharero and Witbooi reflects official cultural memory in Namibia, as both men are commemorated in the Heroes' Acre outside Windhoek, and a portrait of Witbooi is even printed onto Namibian dollar bills (Zuern, 2012). However, in contrast with von Trotha (cf. chapter 7.1.2), these leaders are rarely quoted in my sample, and very little information about them is typically provided in articles. This could indicate that journalists presume that their readership already knows enough about these figures.

A typical example of this is found in an opinion column by Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro in *New Era*, entitled "Has [German] Ambassador Hückmann ever conveyed a message to Berlin on the unfinished business?" (*New Era*, 16.01.16) The "unfinished business" that Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro refers to is reparations payments for the Herero and Nama genocide. As has been discussed in chapter 6.1.1, Namibian journalistic reporting on the genocide often focuses on the negotiations for reparations. This question of reparations underpins most mnemonic connections to the liberation struggle, as will be shown below. The article begins by recapitulating the past:

> "Monday, January 12, marked exactly 111 years since Ovaherero Paramount Chief Samuel Maharero declared an outright resistance against the continued occupation of the mother- and fatherland in Okahandja. On this day […] close to 150 of colonial Germany's servicemen succumbed to the battle that ensued against the Herero warriors. […] These outbreaks in Okahandja eventually culminated in many battles fought all over Namibia in 1904. […] All these battles, most of which took place between the years 1903 and 1912 […] preceded in early years by many battles by the indigenes like the Battle of Hoornkrans in April 1893 when Curt von François marched on the Witboois with the intent to destroy them. Later in 1896 there was a joint Ovambanderu and Gei-/Khausan resistance. This was accentuated on June 11, 1896, by the summary execution on trumped-up charges against Ovambanderu Paramount Chief Kahimemua Nguvauva and Nicodemus Kavikuna." (*New Era*, 16.01.16)

In the article, Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro does not describe the battles or military figures in any detail; instead, they function as general examples of Herero resistance against the German colonial forces. However, this description of the genocide as a series of battles extends the temporal boundaries of the genocide. For instance, in addition to multiple military incursions during 1904, Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro also lists "Otjunda (May 1896)" and earlier in the article mentions "Hoornkrans," which occurred in 1893. This is not an outlier in Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro's article but is rather typical of Namibian coverage, which often

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mentions battles that did not occur between 1904 and 1908 to describe the genocide, especially Hornkranz[6].

What defines the genocide, then, is a general act of opposition against German colonial forces, which becomes possible through terminology such as "rebellion." In this vein, articles typically emphasize the genocide's uniqueness through its temporal primacy as one of the first resistance struggles in Namibia. In his opinion article, Matundu-Tjiparuro repeats this argument by writing, "These are battles which laid the foundation for the latter-day liberation struggle," showing the genocide as a precursor and template for the later independence war against South Africa (*New Era*, 16.01.16). Another example is found in a *Namibian* article entitled "Schools must teach about genocide" (*Namibian*, 09.04.19). In the article, Namibian education minister Katrina Hanse-Himarwa argues for teaching the Herero and Nama genocide in schools and is quoted with the words:

> "The Namibian genocide is regarded as the first in the 20th century. It marks a significant chapter in the early resistance struggle. It crafted the way for the resistance struggle of Namibia and therefore can be considered as the moulding puzzle [piece, C.H.] in the complete history of Namibia's total liberation." (*Namibian*, 09.04.19)

Referring to the events of 1904–1908 as "the Namibian genocide" places the events of 1904–1908 into a national framework that eliminates the need to mention specific tribal groups such as the Herero and Nama. This shows the fundamental irritation underlying this mnemonic connection of the genocide to the Namibian liberation struggle. If the genocide is a general act of resistance that can extend beyond 1904–1908, what makes this experience specific to the Herero and Nama communities?

Hence, connections to the liberation struggle, while often necessary to show Herero and Nama figures actively fighting German colonialism, can simultaneously blur the specificity of the genocide in ways that are strategically utilized by Namibian government speakers in articles. One example of this is found in a two-page *Namibian Sun* interview with the chief negotiator of the Namibian government, Zedekia Ngavirue, entitled "Mapping the road to reparations" (*Namibian Sun*, 19.05.16). In the interview, journalist Joseph Gordon asks Ngavirue, "The term 'affected communities' remains contentious. Who would you describe as the affected communities?" (*Namibian Sun*, 19.05.16) Ngavirue responds:

> "Well, the affected communities, that's a broad definition. This is a case of genocide; the people who were targeted were the OvaHerero and the Nama. But we are also aware that there were other communities that suffered – the Damara and San. Some were collateral damage, but they also ended up suffering. We also know that because of the friendship that existed, especially between the OvaHerero and Ondonga people, that King Nehale sent 500 forces when they attacked." (*Namibian Sun*, 19.05.16)

6 There are multiple spellings for Hornkranz (Hoornkrans, Hoornkranz, Hornkranz) in English-language Namibian journalism. In keeping with the research literature, for instance in Kößler (2010, p. 239) or Silvester and Gewald (2010, p. xxv), I use the spelling "Hornkranz."

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Ngavirue's answer shows how the construction of the genocide as part of a broader pattern of German colonial violence and fighting extends the boundaries of the "affected communities" who can claim reparations for the events of 1904–1908. Moreover, this construction helps to legitimize Ngavirue's discursive authority as a representative of the national Namibian government negotiating with Germany over reparations.

The "true" liberation struggle

As shown above, connections to the liberation struggle are not only made by government speakers seeking to legitimize SWAPO's claim to power but also by Herero and Nama speakers to legitimize their claims. Previous research has shown that the construction of the genocide as anti-colonial resistance must be understood in connection with the liberation struggle in Namibian memory culture, which has become central in legitimizing SWAPO's consistent hold on power in post-independence Namibia (Becker, 2011; Zuern, 2012). To become part of cultural memory in Namibia, speakers must reference the liberation struggle, adhering to its central values if not its current representatives. However, this also reflects the necessity and propensity of journalism to describe and construct the past in national terms. Connecting to this cultural memory enables Namibian journalists to quickly describe the relevance of the genocide for an audience not primarily comprised of Herero, Nama or Mbanderu readers. Interestingly, this means that even if speakers are making claims for tribal authority or reparative exclusivity, they must nevertheless adhere to national frameworks of meaning-making to make this claim in journalism.

Two opinion pieces highlight this tension. These texts were published in the *Namibian* and *New Era* on June 16, 2017, following the death of a prominent liberation fighter, Andimba Toivo ya Toivo. While both articles are ostensibly commemorative pieces, they only focus briefly on Toivo ya Toivo's death and instead provide conflicting interpretations on who is a "true" representative of liberation values in the present. The first article on the former activist and politician Andimba Toivo ya Toivo's death is written by the presidential press secretary, Alfredo Hengari. The article is entitled "Thinking about a nation with Toivo" (*Namibian*, 16.06.17), immediately presupposing a national framework of commemoration. Hengari writes:

> "The first genocide and holocaust[7] of the 20th century was minted here in our land during that phase of primary resistance. Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, Sam Nujoma, with the latter under the tutelage of chief Hosea Kutako, […] were to lead the second phase for the emancipation of our people." (*Namibian*, 16.06.17)

Toivo ya Toivo is connected to the genocide through his role in the "second phase" of "the emancipation of our people." The personal pronoun "our" in this context suggests a national collective of Namibians in which experiences such as the 1904–1908 genocide are made meaningful. In addition, Hengari's choice of the verb "disinfect" suggests that questions of "what is in it for me," a reference to demands of exclusive reparations,

7 In the quote, this word is not capitalized, suggesting that this term is used here to refer to mass death and destruction more generally rather than the Holocaust specifically. See chapter 7.4 for a more in-depth description of discursive connections to the Holocaust.

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sully the idea of national harmony and go against the will of previous liberation struggles (*Namibian*, 16.06.17). In this way, the Herero and Nama are accused of tribalism and of being a threat to the post-colonial nation (cf. Mamdani, 1996). Toivo ya Toivo's death is thereby effectively used in this opinion article to draw a commemorative line from the Herero and Nama genocide to the present and to suggest that criticism against the Namibian government goes against the spirit of liberation embodied by the Herero and Nama genocide.

Hengari continues: "The genocide of 1904–08, Omugulugwombashe[8], and what the Geingob Presidency represents in firming up the foundations of a people united in diversity should disinfect our national conversation of the philistine politics of 'what is in it for me.'" (*Namibian*, 16.06.17) Again, Hengari does not mention the Herero and Nama but instead merely writes of the "genocide of 1904–08." In this quote, Hengari draws a line from the Herero and Nama genocide through the liberation struggle against South Africa to the presidency of Hage Geingob. This serves to legitimize the nation's president as an embodiment of the ideals of liberation, which are rooted in "a people united in diversity." Hengari later drives this message home by writing, "The battles of Hamakari and Omugulugwombashe as plural moments in our history ought not to divide but harness the soul and principle of one nation." (*Namibian*, 16.06.17)

An opinion article published the same day by *New Era* makes the same mnemonic connection but reaches a quite different conclusion. This piece, authored by Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro, is entitled "Homage to Ya Toivo superficial without serious soul searching" (*New Era*, 16.06.17). As with the *Namibian* article, this opinion article in *New Era* begins by listing Toivo ya Toivo's contributions to the liberation struggle, emphasizing the time he spent on Robben Island in South Africa. Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro then makes a discursive connection to the Battle of Otjunda:

> "Ya Toivo died three days before the 121st commemoration of the political execution of erstwhile paramount chief of the Ovambanderu, Kahimemua Nguvauva. […] He was executed exactly 121 years ago this Monday in Okahandja, together with another stalwart in the resistance against German colonialism, Nikodemus Kambahahiza Kavikuna after the Battle of Otjunda on May 6, 1896, in which a German by the name of Lampe was killed." (*New Era*, 16.06.17)

Here, Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro ties the death of Toivo ya Toivo with the deaths of Nguvauva and Kavikuna by constructing them as "stalwart[s] in the resistance" against colonialism and mentioning the time that has elapsed since both men's deaths. The naming of the German killed in Otjunda is an interesting detail that reflects the source material documenting the Battle of Otjunda (cf. chapter 7.1).

The purpose of the discursive connection between Nguvauva and Toivo ya Toivo becomes clear later in the article, when Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro writes:

8 Omugulugwombashe was the first battle fought in the liberation war with South Africa. This battle is also spelled multiple different ways in my sample; when put in my own words, I will rely on the spelling most often used in my sample (Omugulugwombashe).

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> "But it is futile for Namibians to pay tributes to the likes of Nguvauva and Ya Toivo if we cannot emulate their heroism. […] If one thinks of the rampant looting of national wealth, it is a sad reminder of the decadence in which the country has slowly been regressing and deteriorating while the national coffers have been looted empty in broad daylight" (*New Era*, 16.06.17).

In this quote, references to "Namibians" and the personal pronoun "we" again reflect a national framework of memory production, as in the *Namibian* article above. Rather than refuting the government's interpretation of the national liberation struggle, Maṯundu-Tjiparuro instead uses the connection between the genocide and Toivo ya Toivo's death to suggest that the current government is not living up to the ideals of liberation that were espoused by Nguvauva and Toivo ya Toivo. He roots this criticism in the way "national coffers have been looted" and "the country has slowly been regressing." Later, he writes, "The irony is that these very same looters are jumping on the bandwagon in paying homage to icons, like Ya Toivo. How dishonest! And most disturbing, those responsible will never be brought to book." (*New Era*, 16.06.17) *New Era*'s publishing of a critical article compared to the article published in the *Namibian* is especially interesting given the government ownership of *New Era* (cf. chapter 5.2.3).

This construction, which accepts the general interpretation of the Herero and Nama genocide as a precursor to the liberation struggle while suggesting that the current government does not live up to these ideals, is common throughout my sample. It continues to reinforce the boundaries of the un-/sayable: No journalists in my sample ever directly contradict or question the prior memorialization of the national liberation struggle. In an interview with the *Namibian Sun*, a speaker for the Ovaherero Genocide Foundation, Festus Muundjua, is quoted as saying, "Those who say they fought for the liberation of the land are not truthful. They only fought for the hoisting of the flag and jobs for themselves and their kith and kin. The people who fought for the land and lost it through the genocide are the Ovaherero and Nama." (*Namibian Sun*, 09.08.18) This suggests that SWAPO was "not truthful" in its fight for liberation since it fought mainly for self-enrichment.

This dual discursive structure leads to irritations that become particularly visible in the discussion of how to commemorate the Herero and Nama genocide in the present. While there are numerous public holidays in Namibia commemorating the liberation struggle, there was no public holiday to commemorate the genocide during my analysis time. This shows that commemorative coverage not only produces a link between the genocide and the liberation struggle but also often produces or challenges the mnemonic hierarchy between both events.

Commemorating genocide through (or despite) the liberation struggle

An example of this commemorative struggle is found in a comment from *New Era*'s editorial board entitled "Marry Cassinga and genocide into one" (*New Era*, 06.05.16). This article focuses on parliamentary calls for a Genocide Remembrance Day and suggests that genocide remembrance should be incorporated into the already-established Cassinga Day, which commemorates a South African attack on a SWAPO camp in Angola. To make this argument, the editorial team writes:

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> "[More] often than not, comparisons are drawn between the infamous Cassinga massacre of 1978 and the four-year genocide wave that scholars of this tragedy say killed about 90000 citizens. The Cassinga attack saw nearly 1000 innocent Namibians being killed within hours of sustained attacks by forces of apartheid South Africa." (*New Era*, 06.05.16)

The suggestion that Cassinga Day is frequently compared to "the four-year genocide wave" is not borne out in my sample. Nevertheless, by establishing this comparison, the *New Era* editorial team effectively suggests that both events are similar. This similarity is premised on the death of Namibians, as the next sentence clarifies: "Cassinga and the German genocide of Namibians have a lot in common, in that innocent citizens whose only demand was sovereignty and self-determination were mercilessly butchered like hunted animals." (*New Era*, 06.05.16) The animal connection here harkens back to discursive patterns discussed in chapter 7.1.1. Even though the number of deaths for both events is explicitly mentioned, the casualty count is not a cause for contrasting both events but rather for showing that both are similar. The victims of the genocide are shown as "citizens" and "Namibians" who are claimed to have demanded "sovereignty and self-determination" in a precursor to the national struggle.

The article continues: "[O]ur history as a nation is littered with other incidents of a brutal nature for which no national days have been declared" (*New Era*, 06.05.16). The use of the word "littered" suggests that the genocide is merely one atrocity among many that clutters the perspective on the Namibian past. The fact that the genocide took place prior to the establishment of the nation irritates this interpretation, furthering the need to incorporate it into existing frameworks rather than emphasizing the experience of certain tribes. The final sentences of the editorial state that "we would promote unity in this country by recognizing the efforts and suffering of all Namibians, instead of creating impressions that the suffering of certain generations are [*sic*] less important and therefore do not deserve special attention." (*New Era*, 06.05.16) The editorial board does not question that memorial holidays such as Cassinga Day or Independence Day have already existed in Namibia for thirty years and that this request requires the Herero and Nama genocide to become an add-on to a pre-established mnemonic framework.

An article refuting this central argument is interestingly found in the German-language Namibian newspaper *AZ*. In a page-long letter to the editor, a representative for the Nama Traditional Leaders' Association, Sima Luipert, criticizes the lack of commemoration for the genocide (*AZ*, 09.10.19). The fact that this critical letter is published in the *AZ* suggests that the German-language newspaper might be a space where Namibian national commemoration can be criticized in a way not seen in other English-language newspapers. This reflects the paper's unique position between a German and a Namibian national context. The letter is translated into German by Christine Kramp, who is identified in the author's note as a representative of the Nama Traditional Leaders' Association in the German city of Heidelberg. The title, "Deafening silence," uses an oxymoron to point out the inconsistency between the government's commemoration of the liberation struggle compared to the Herero and Nama genocide. The letter begins by noting Luipert's emotional response to October 2, the day that the extermination order against the Herero was declared by Lothar von Trotha. She writes:

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> "The heinous atrocities that were committed [...] are a bitter pill to swallow. [...] I think what made this day even more painful was the fact that the Namibian nation said nothing. [...] The Namibian nation, led by the Namibian government, would rise on the occasion of Ongulumbashe[9]. The martyrs of the so-called liberation struggle would be called by name and the Namibian people would be called to attention by the nation's Commander-in-Chief. But for the fallen heroes and heroines of the Nama and Herero genocide, there was a deafening silence." (*AZ*, 09.10.19).

Luipert describes the "heinous atrocities" ("*abscheulichen Gräueltaten*") of the genocide through the symbol of a "bitter pill," something that is "painful" but must still be taken for the benefit of the body. In her words, her pain is amplified by the lack of government response, which she directly contrasts to how the nation commemorates Omugulugwombashe. Here, Luipert is arguing for structures of public remembrance like the national commemoration of the liberation struggle. Her article is therefore not a criticism of how Omugulugwombashe is commemorated but an argument that a similar honor should be bestowed on the Herero and Nama genocide.

This points to a fundamental conundrum at the heart of reporting on national and/or community memory in Namibia. Later in the article, Luipert writes, "[B]y denying the Nama and Herero anti-colonial resistance and subsequent genocide, the Namibian government is also denying us our citizenship" (*AZ*, 09.10.19). Luipert draws on "citizenship," even as the personal pronouns here distinguish between the "Namibian government" and "our" rights. In contrast to all the examples above, Luipert's use of the pronoun "our" points towards Nama and Herero communities instead of a Namibian national identity. In the article, she also explicitly calls to "our German brothers and sisters" to support the cause of the Herero and Nama. She writes, "Whether you like it or not, your blood flows in our veins." (*AZ*, 09.10.19) Referring to widespread colonial rape and relationships, Luipert argues that the Germans should join the Nama based on their shared ethnic heritage rather than, for instance, their shared position as Namibian citizens.

In her piece, Luipert explicitly critiques the position of national unity that is often taken for granted in many English-language Namibian newspapers: "Well, One Namibia One Nation is killing us, it is not building us up." (*AZ*, 09.10.19) The phrase "One Namibia One Nation" is one of the slogans that have become ubiquitous with the process of nation-building after the independence struggle. This challenges many of the connections to the liberation struggle seen above: The nation is seen as actively hindering the remembrance of the Herero and Nama genocide. Nevertheless, Luipert still points to national commemorations and critiques the lack of national recognition for the genocide. Even as the national government is frequently viewed separately from or even as an adversary to Herero and Nama interests in the present, the government is still the addressee for and the legitimate format in which these communities aim to position their memorial activities. This also becomes clear in later parts of the article, where Luipert criticizes that some Nama organizations have not been recognized by the Namibian government (*AZ*, 09.10.19).

9 This is an alternative spelling for Omugulugwombashe (see above).

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The results above expand the concept of "reversed" memory by Neiger et al. (2014, p. 113): Whereas the Namibian government often shows the traumatic past of the Herero and Nama genocide as "reversed" through the perspective of the "victorious present," many of the Herero and Nama speakers above view the "victorious present" as unsettled, something that must still be achieved in the future (Neiger et al., 2014, p. 113). Whereas different speakers all connect to the liberation struggle, these different temporal frameworks lead to irritation when speakers make the same connection but reach different outcomes. This is a theme that will continue to resonate throughout all remaining chapters. Moreover, the results above add to the prior literature on mnemonic connection, such as "multidirectional memory," through the lens of communication studies (Rothberg, 2009; cf. chapter 3.1.3). Mnemonic connections are used strategically in journalism to (de-)legitimize national and tribal claims to power. Hence, the Herero and Nama genocide is made meaningful in journalism through the connection to a national mnemonic framework, even as this framework simultaneously can eliminate the tribal specificity of the events of 1904–1908 and erode the argument for exclusive reparations.

In connection with the results of chapter 7.1, the results above also point to a conundrum that will continue to be explored in the following chapters: Mnemonic frameworks of colonial violence/resistance and genocidal atrocity are often difficult to connect in journalistic reporting. This tension is not unique to the Herero and Nama genocide. Zelizer (1998, pp. 160–161) has shown that photographs of Holocaust victims directly interacting with and even attacking their former guards have largely been eliminated from the visual canon of the Holocaust. In Namibian journalism, the focus on Herero and Nama resistance is often used to construct the genocide as merely one step in the liberation struggle, not indicating what makes this event a "genocide" beyond the fact that indigenous populations were killed by colonial forces. This structure leaves little space for exploring experiences that do not include acts of fighting, which could also explain the emphasis on survival when indigenous witnesses are portrayed in journalism (cf. chapter 7.1.2).

Whereas the previous chapter has focused on the negotiation of memory between tribal and national contexts in Namibia, the following chapter now explores how this temporal and spatial expansion of the Herero and Nama genocide also becomes visible in German journalism – albeit through a comparative rather than a competitive mnemonic framework.

7.3 "Europe's dark side": Connecting the genocide to European colonialism

The previous chapter 7.2 has shown that Namibian journalism often reverses the power relation at the heart of colonial descriptions of genocide by connecting to the Namibian liberation struggle. The reversal and refutation of prior colonial depictions is also a mnemonic strategy found in German-language journalism. A typical example of this can be found in an *SZ* article entitled "Life-long lies of a colonial power" ("*Lebenslügen einer Kolonialmacht*") (*SZ*, 16.09.21). The article, published on page 11 of the culture section and written by the legal and political correspondent Ronen Steinke, begins with three statements:

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> "The first dogma: Germany was always the nice dwarf among the colonial powers, not comparable with countries like France, Belgium or Great Britain. The second dogma: At most, Germany subjugated the Africans in its "protectorates," but it did not brutally destroy them through slavery. The third dogma: Germany – as the world champion of remembrance that it is – has at least compensated the victims of its colonialism more generously than any other nation." (*SZ*, 16.09.21)

By describing these descriptions of German colonialism as "dogmas" ("*Glaubenssätze*") or "life-long lies" ("*Lebenslügen*"), Steinke suggests that these are merely convictions that are not tethered to reality. In this way, the correspondent establishes himself as an authority that will provide objective "truth" about colonialism. Steinke's use of the term "dogmas" also suggests that these statements are commonly known by the present German readership, even as his disparaging description of the statement suggests that both he and the readers recognize that these "dogmas" are no longer accurate. The three statements he outlines all minimize the impact of German colonialism and broadly mirror academic and popular arguments that are often used to explain German "colonial amnesia" (Wolff, 2021, pp. 67–69): German colonialism was overshadowed by its own crimes, particularly in the Second World War, and was relatively small compared with the rest of European imperialism.[10]

Steinke's quote and his outline of "life-long lies" (*SZ*, 16.09.21) point to a conundrum that is at the center of German descriptions of the genocide. On the one hand, the population is shown as fundamentally unknowledgeable about the genocide. On the other hand, there is a broad underlying (revisionist) knowledge about European colonialism that many authors reference to describe the events of 1904–1908. This leads to the question: Given the reliance on German colonial sources described in chapter 7.1, how does German journalism draw on and reject previous cultural memories of colonialism in its reporting? The following chapter answers this question by focusing on the discursive connections that German journalism makes to other colonial memories in its reporting. It shows the ambiguous relationship between journalists emphasizing the genocide's importance in connection with "other" colonial crimes while simultaneously emphasizing its novelty as an event that has been "forgotten" by the audience.

"The fourth largest colonial power"

As in Namibian journalism, German journalism's construction of the Herero and Nama genocide as part of a colonial military incursion provides both opportunities and challenges in delimiting colonial knowledge structures. The first revisionist dogma that Steinke outlines in his article "Living lies of a colonial power" is that Germany was a relatively small colonial power, "not comparable with countries like France, Belgium or Great Britain." He then writes:

> "Germany was the fourth largest colonial power in the 19th century. This means that […] its violations of international law were only surpassed by three other European states.

10 See Haritos (2023) for a more general discussion of how the term "amnesia" has been used in the context of the Herero and Nama genocide to delimit the un-/sayable about German colonialism.

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> The brutality of German colonial troops was no milder than anywhere else. There is little reason other than lack of information to say today that German colonialism wasn't that bad." (*SZ*, 16.09.21)

In this statement, Steinke does not refute the assumption at the core of the revisionist "dogma" he outlines, namely, that the cruelty or genocidal capacity of a colonial power is measured by its territorial size. Instead, he uses the same European territorial comparative framework to now emphasize the cruelty of German colonialism ("only surpassed by three other European states"). This comparative framework is clear again when Steinke writes that German colonial violence "was no milder than anywhere else." However, by remaining in this discursive framework, Steinke does not make the claim that German colonial genocide was worse than atrocities committed by other colonial powers; he merely makes the point that they *were not better*. Steinke's conclusion that only a "lack of information" could lead to revisionist interpretations of German colonialism again elevates his discursive position as a disseminator of "facts" contrary to "dogmas." This juxtaposition enables him to present his representation of German colonialism as the "fourth largest colonial power" as an irritation to preconceived notions while maintaining a European perspective in the construction of cultural memory.

The discursive structure described above is found across German newspapers, which mention the size or duration of German colonialism to emphasize its importance in a European framework. Another typical example of this can be found in a *Zeit* article that critiques the Humboldt Forum, published in the cultural rubric by journalist Hanno Rauterberg:

> "To this day, very few Germans know how long and cruel their own colonial history was. It may be that other nations were more domineering and assertive. Many countries also began colonizing earlier than the German Empire, which formally owned its colonies in Africa, Asia and Oceania for only four decades, from 1879 to 1919. But within this short period, the colonists managed to conquer huge areas with surprising fervor." (*Zeit*, 20.08.20)

As with the *SZ* article above, Rauterberg introduces German colonialism by noting that "very few Germans know" about "their own colonial history," positioning himself as a discursive authority that can provide this information. He then notes that German colonialism was a relative latecomer to colonialism with the temporal signifier "for only four decades," noting that "other nations were more domineering." The statement that German colonizers still managed to conquer "huge areas" is then presented as an irritation to the brevity of German colonialism, amplified by the adverb "surprising." Again, Germany is not shown as particularly cruel; the journalistic irritation stems from the fact that Germany is as cruel as other empires.

Kinnebrock (2019, pp. 393–394) has suggested that historical moments that generate surprise and are geographically close to the audience are often selected to be (re-)told in journalism and thus become part of cultural memory. This could explain why many German journalists often begin by outlining "revisionist" facts to then seemingly introduce the Herero and Nama genocide as a "surprise" to prior interpretations of German

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colonialism. By purporting to irritate previous boundaries of the un-/sayable, however, German journalists often reinforce these boundaries by reversing rather than refuting the arguments at the core of previous revisionist claims and colonial sources (cf. chapter 7.1). Hence, German colonialism continues to be journalistically constructed through its comparison to other European nations rather than the experiences of formerly colonized individuals. On the one hand, this reflects the geographic position of the German audience, for whom comparisons to England and France are closer than the experiences of individuals in Namibia. Continuing to refer to colonial empires through present nation-states also emphasizes the national boundaries of community through which journalists address their German audiences. On the other hand, in this construction of cultural memory, colonialism continues to be shown as an aberration in German history.

An article in the *SZ* exemplifies this dual construction of German colonialism through juxtaposition. In an opinion article, the *SZ* columnist Heribert Prantl introduces German colonialism with the words:

> "Kaba [a brand of instant hot chocolate, C.H.], or 'the plantation drink,' is much better known than German colonial history. The instant drink dissolves quickly, is very sweet and contains a lot of sugar. This does not apply to German colonial history. It was a long time ago, it didn't last long, but it is very bitter." (*SZ*, 19.06.21)

Prantl contrasts a "sweet" colonial product, which he presumes is "much better known" by his German audience, with the "bitter[ness]" of colonial history, which he presumes is not well-known in Germany. Again, he builds on a contrast between the brevity and the violence of colonialism ("it didn't last long"). In the next paragraph, he then describes what the "bitter[ness]" of German colonialism entails: "Looking back on the colonial era, if anyone in this country looked back on it at all, they thought they were in a better position than the French, Belgians and British. The Mr. Clean image ("*Saubermann-Image*") was wrong." (*SZ*, 19.06.21) Prantl again mentions other European countries against which German colonialism has been compared. He then contrasts this with the statement that the "Mr. Clean image" that Germany apparently has. The symbolic reference to "Mr. Clean" suggests purity through innocence. In this framework, German colonial history becomes bitter and dirty.

The symbolic connection between dirtiness or darkness and colonial history is a common thread throughout my sample, and colonialism is often referred to as "a dark chapter in German history" (*taz*, 03.02.19). Darkness again emphasizes colonialism as an aberration in German history, while the symbolic reference to a "chapter" means that the past can theoretically be closed (Wolff, 2021, p. 245). In addition, darkness is symbolically used to equate the absence of light with an absence of the German audience's knowledge about the genocide – a gap that can then be filled by German journalists. This description of colonialism contrasts markedly with the description in Namibian journalism, where the Herero and Nama genocide is shown in continuity with a larger pattern of anti-colonial resistance. Yet, as with Namibian journalism, the specific identity of the indigenous populations that were exploited and killed by colonizers is often not mentioned or is secondary to the description of German colonialism as part of a broader European project.

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European crimes, African victims

A typical example of this obfuscation of genocide victims through comparative mnemonic connection is found in the *SZ* on June 8, 2021, one week after the 2021 joint declaration between the German and Namibian governments. The article is printed in the politics section and written by the newspaper's correspondent for foreign politics, Arne Perras. The article is fittingly entitled "Europe's dark side," immediately producing a mnemonic connection to European colonialism (*SZ*, 08.06.21).

The article begins by constructing colonialism as an aberration of European ideals and norms:

> "Europe. Isn't that the birthplace of the Enlightenment and human rights? […] This Europe also has its dark side. It unfolded where the Europeans became conquerors, where they took land and subjugated other peoples. […] Countless punitive expeditions and massacres, which can be found in almost all colonial areas, from Australia to Asia to Africa to the Caribbean and America, were ignored in Europe for a very long time." (*SZ*, 08.06.21)

Following an established pattern, the author presents colonialism and colonial crimes as a surprise to common knowledge held about Europe, which he presents in a rhetorical question: "Isn't that the birthplace of the Enlightenment […]?" The Enlightenment is then symbolically juxtaposed with darkness: "This Europe also has its dark side". With the word "also," Perras' recognition of Europe's "dark side" does not negate that Europe is the "birthplace of the Enlightenment" but continues to show the "dark side" as an aberration rather than a constitutive element of the Enlightenment.

Perras' construction of Europe's "darkness" as "[c]ountless punitive expeditions and massacres" (*SZ*, 08.06.21) reproduces colonial language that has historically been used to describe the Herero and Nama genocide (cf. chapters 7.1, 7.2). As in Namibian journalism, the Herero and Nama genocide is incorporated into a string of seemingly similar colonial actions that have been committed from "Australia to Asia to Africa to the Caribbean and America" (*SZ*, 08.06.21). This becomes even more clear later in the article, when Perras writes, "Germany left terrible wounds in its short colonial period before the First World War. However, they were not unique to the German Empire, as the historians Robert Gerwarth and Stephan Malinowski have worked out" (*SZ*, 08.06.21). The journalist does not describe the results of Gerwarth and Malinowski's research, even as he draws on them as sources of authority.[11] Perras then goes on to describe Belgium's crimes in the Congo, French atrocities during the Algerian War, Great Britain's suppression of the Mau Mau Revolt in Kenya and slavery in the United States of America. These myriad examples expose the perspective from which the "terrible wounds" of colonialism are described: The only thing that combines the experiences of individuals from "Australia to Asia to Africa to the Caribbean and America" is the fact that the perpetrating colonizer comes from Europe. The experiences of colonial populations are homogenized and simplified to the mere fact of having been a victim of European violence. This is also clear through

11 The transnational position of German academics in journalism's production of cultural memory will be described in more detail in chapter 8.3.

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the author's use of the word "Africans" to describe many of the victims of colonial violence (*SZ*, 08.06.21). The continental descriptor for the perpetrators of colonial violence is thus also transferred to the victims.

Constructing colonialism in this way impacts how Germany's reaction to its colonial past, specifically the 2021 joint declaration, is portrayed in the article. The author briefly notes the complaints of Herero and Nama organizations in two paragraphs in the middle of the article. Yet, he then writes, "Whatever the outcome of the dispute, the Namibia case will probably be a signal ["*Signalwirkung*"] for other countries." (*SZ*, 08.06.21) Two paragraphs above this sentence is a large pull quote: "In France, Macron made it clear that there will be no apology because of Algeria" (*SZ*, 08.06.21). Although Perras notes the criticism of the Herero and Nama, both the historical genocide and Germany's current reactions are measured through their connection to other European nations. The perspective from which the Herero and Nama genocide is constructed as a past event ("the fourth largest colonial power") is transferred to describing German actions in the present.

Perras' explicit comparison between France and Germany is found in much of German journalism. This became especially clear after President Emmanuel Macron of France gave a speech in 2017 in Burkina Faso promising restitutions. An example of this can be found in a guest article written by politicians Michelle Müntefering and Monika Grütters, who were responsible for questions of restitution in the German government. In an article entitled "A gap in our memory" that was published in the cultural section (*FAZ*, 15.12.18), the authors make clear whose perspective determines the "gap in our memory":

> "For many decades, colonial history in Europe was a blind spot in the culture of remembrance. […] Now the topic is coming into the public eye – we very much welcome that. […] The speech that French President Emmanuel Macron gave in Burkina Faso in 2017 also contributed to this debate coming to a head." (*FAZ*, 15.12.18)

The construction of colonial history as a "blind spot" that is now coming into the "public eye" builds on conceptualizations of colonial history as dark/light. Just as the experiences of indigenous actors in the past are equated and shown through the perspectives of former colonizers, so do the demands of present-day indigenous actors recede against the comparative actions being taken by other European countries. As the two cultural ministers in the *FAZ* article write, "As part of international culture and education policy, we are pursuing the goal of strengthening cultural cooperation with Africa and promoting cultural exchange and dialogue with African partners." (*FAZ*, 15.12.18) The *SZ* article by Perras written after the 2021 joint declaration follows a similar trajectory:

> "It is probably the fear of far-reaching financial demands that is slowing Europe's willingness to come to terms with colonialism. […] At the same time, you could approach the topic a little differently. […] Rich states in the north would have to practice foregoing wealth to enable others to get out of poverty." (*SZ*, 08.06.21)

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Extending the responsibility of colonialism also expands the potential circle of recipients. However, this discursive pattern is not only found through connections to "other" European crimes. Instead, by dissolving the specificity of the Herero and Nama genocide against a backdrop of continental descriptions of colonial violence, many German journalistic articles have also begun to increasingly focus on "other" German colonial crimes in recent years.

In the article "Living lies of a colonial power" (*SZ*, 16.09.21), legal correspondent Steinke provides some of the most in-depth criticism of the reparation negotiations with Namibia (cf. Rausch, 2023b, p. 192). Yet, in the concluding paragraphs of his article, Steinke writes:

> "But Germany is familiar with this tactic. Among the major crimes for which Berlin has not yet paid a cent is the Maji-Maji War, which took place between 1905 and 1907, during which time the German colonial troops in today's Tanzania mainly made the civilian population suffer, around the same time as the genocide in Namibia." (*SZ*, 16.09.21)

By suddenly bringing the Maji Maji War into direct comparison with the "genocide in Namibia," Steinke suddenly argues for reparations for a wide range of crimes committed by the German colonial empire. The critiques of the Herero and Nama are thus not addressed, and instead their specific perspectives suddenly become unnecessary to describing further actions or demands. After all, their experiences are merely one of many "African" experiences. Interestingly, the Maji Maji War is only mentioned in my Namibian sample in reprinted newspaper articles originally written in Western newspapers such as the *New York Times* (*Namibian*, 14.09.18; cf. *Namibian Sun*, 03.03.17). In these reprints, the Maji Maji War also serves to suggest that Namibia might not be the last African nation to ask for reparations.

Another example of this discursive connection is visible in the *SZ* column written by Heribert Prantl after the 2021 joint declaration. After outlining "German colonial history between 1884 and 1918" (*SZ*, 19.06.21), Prantl brings the colonial past into the present by writing:

> "Only recently, after six years of negotiations, Germany and Namibia agreed on a joint political declaration on this genocide. […] It is very controversial on the African side, the victims' descendants are dissatisfied – with the compensation amount and with the fact that they were not included in the negotiations. […] And the crimes committed against the Herero and Nama are not the only ones crying out for an apology. Cameroon, for instance: The colony used to be called 'the land of 25' because that was the number of brutal lashings received for even the smallest offenses." (*SZ*, 19.06.21)

Prantl notes the German-Namibian negotiations while also noting that on "the African side," the agreement is criticized. By describing the victims as "African," Prantl can seamlessly move from describing the Herero and Nama genocide to crimes committed hundreds of miles away in Cameroon. Both are, after all, violence committed against "Africans." For the rest of the article, Prantl speaks of the execution of Rudolf Manga Bell, who was a king and the "forefront of a protest movement" in Cameroon (*SZ*, 19.06.21).

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He ends with the recommendation to enact "the rehabilitation of Manga Bell" and to revoke the death sentence that had led to Manga Bell's execution by the German empire (*SZ*, 19.06.21). The discursive connection to Cameroon enables Prantl to shift attention away from the Herero and Nama genocide to another German colonial crime.

As was seen with Namibian journalism above, this expansion of the Herero and Nama genocide into a broader colonial experience dilutes claims for genocide reparations towards specific groups, frequently by blurring the temporal boundaries of the 1904–1908 genocide (cf. chapter 7.2). For example, articles have increasingly made connections between the Herero and Nama genocide and German merchants' involvement in the 17th-century slave trade, especially in articles on local street renamings. An article in the *ZEIT* exemplifies how this connection is made:

> "[T]he Brandenburg African Company became involved in the business with enslaved people, and the colony of Groß-Friedrichsburg was established in what is now Ghana […]. And finally, in the 19th century, merchants and colonialists like Carl Peters from Hamburg set off for Africa to blatantly pursue 'the ruthless and determined enrichment of our own people at the expense of other, weaker peoples,' as he wrote in a newspaper" (*ZEIT*, 20.08.20).

This produces a link between the Brandenburg African Company and the later German imperial colonization effort. This discursive connection only becomes possible by presupposing a connection between the involved actors (German) and the victims (African).

The examples above show how the normalization of a German and European imperial perspective makes Herero and Nama demands superfluous or unnecessary in German reporting. However, I find that the structures above are also found when Herero and Nama speakers are part of journalistic reporting. In 2018, the *Zeit* publishes an article on page eight of the politics section by the political journalist Elisabeth Knoblauch. The article reports on a visit of the former head of the Ovaherero Genocide Foundation, Esther Muinjangue, to Hamburg. Knoblauch writes, "It is the end of a three-day visit to the Hanseatic city, a peaceful protest. Just a few hundred meters away […], at the beginning of the 20th century, German soldiers got onto boats that took them to 'German South-West Africa,' present-day Namibia." (*Zeit*, 06.12.18) The city of Hamburg is explicitly connected to the past and used to legitimize Muinjangue's visit. However, the past connected to the city is shown as encompassing a wide range of colonial activities: "Hamburg became the German capital of colonialism. Carl Hagenbeck, founder of the zoo of the same name, showcased human zoos, where he displayed people from Mongolia and Somalia, later Ethiopians and Bedouins." (*Zeit*, 06.12.18)

The function of this connection between the genocide and human zoos becomes clear at the end of the article, when Hamburg's cultural senator Carsten Brosda apologizes to the delegation led by Esther Muinjangue. The article quotes Brosda with the words: "I expressly ask you for forgiveness for our city's involvement in the suffering that was inflicted on your ancestors and your people in the German name and whose devastating consequences continue to have an impact today" (*Zeit*, 06.12.18). Brosda does not mention the Herero or Nama communities by name. He does not apologize for genocide. He does not address the complaints of Muinjangue, namely that the Herero and Nama are

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not negotiating partners or want legally binding reparations for genocide. The results of this structure are familiar and echo those described throughout this chapter: "Hamburg's trade relations with Africa are now also under scrutiny. The Hamburg Chamber of Commerce is wondering how lessons from the past can be used for the future." Specific actions are not mentioned.

Hence, even as journalists explicitly reject the relativization of German colonialism through a European comparison, a European framework remains central to how German colonialism is shown as important for the audience. This construction of cultural memory can also explain why, especially in recent years, the Herero and Nama genocide has increasingly receded in articles on German colonialism, even in articles relating to the 2021 joint declaration (cf. chapter 6.2): The Herero and Nama genocide functions as an example of broader European colonialism, and reparations for the genocide are shown as part of a larger European movement to atone for the colonial past. These discursive connections mirror similar findings of Namibian journalism (cf. chapter 7.2), where discursive connections often blur the boundaries of the genocide, widening the potential pool of recipients. Rather than the experiences of victims being in the center of journalistic reporting, the past is told through the perspective of a German colonial empire committing and reacting to a wide array of colonial atrocities. This journalistic construction of the past is normalized through the continued reliance on colonial terminology and arguments (cf. chapter 7.1), even if these are reversed to now justify the importance of the genocide.

Therefore, while German and Namibian newspapers connect to different events for their audiences, reflecting the different national contexts in which many of these newspapers are produced and consumed, the Herero and Nama genocide in both nations is constructed as one event in a larger string of (anti-)colonial events. Given these results, the following chapter now considers how the results of the previous chapters 7.2 and 7.3 shape a discursive connection that is also found in both newspapers: the Holocaust. How do connections to the Holocaust irritate or maintain the construction of the Herero and Nama genocide as part of a broader history of colonial violence and liberation? And how does this construction shape demands for or against reparations in both nations?

7.4 "Imperial Germany's Third Reich": Connecting to the Holocaust in German and Namibian journalism

This chapter asks how and why German and Namibian newspapers both produce discursive connections to the Holocaust. Rausch (2022, p. 420) writes that the Holocaust is a "dominant emotional order that the marginalized refer to in order to be heard by state governments of the Global North". Already, this quote shows that mnemonic connections to the Holocaust intersect practices of speaking about and speaking for the past. To unpack this process in journalism, the following chapter connects to the previous research on "travelling memory" (Erll, 2011) while also considering how these connections intersect with or irritate the national mnemonic frameworks outlined above. Chapter 7.4.1 first describes how connections to the Holocaust are used in German and Namibian journalism to describe German perpetrators. This focus on German actors connects

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with the findings of chapter 7.1 and reflects the (post-)colonial power structures underlying journalistic memory production. Then, chapter 7.4.2 shows how these discursive connections are used in journalism to produce analogies for present German actions. These analogies frequently presuppose that the Holocaust is in the sphere of mnemonic "consensus" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117), thereby obscuring the conflicting and contradicting interpretations that different speakers express. These conflicting interpretations become especially clear when showing how references to the Second World War function in German-language journalism to limit potential connections to the present German-speaking collective. Taken together, these chapters begin to consider how journalism strategically uses the past to outline the present in its reporting, which will be crucial for understanding the representative structures explored in chapter 8.

7.4.1 Describing, addressing and temporally limiting German perpetrators

In English-language Namibian journalism, connections to the Holocaust are typically used to describe the actions and motives of historical German perpetrators. Authors often make this connection implicitly, as exemplified in a 2015 *New Era* opinion piece by Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro, entitled "Namibian-German relationship at 25" (*New Era*, 20.03.15). The article calls for reparations during the visit of the former President of Germany, Horst Köhler, to Namibia. Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro begins by writing that "rarely has this relationship been given its proper meaning." (*New Era*, 20.03.15). He then describes the Herero and Nama genocide: "Subsequently respective Namibian indigenous peoples were subjected to various separate genocidal onslaughts by the armed forces of Imperial Germany's Third Reich, especially in the years 1904 to 1908" (*New Era*, 20.03.15). In this quote, the phrase "Imperial Germany's Third Reich" combines Imperial and Nazi Germany. Here, the perpetrators of the Herero and Nama genocide are equated with the perpetrators of the Holocaust, measuring the past by future events. The connection between the Herero and Nama genocide and the Holocaust is embodied by the seemingly continuous position of its German perpetrators. A similar example from the end of my analysis time in the *Namibian Sun* writes: "Other atrocities committed by German fascist imperial soldiers and their henchmen during 1904–08 also included robbing indigenous communities of their land, small live-stock, cattle and hard-earned wealth." (*Namibian Sun*, 26.11.21) The term "fascist imperial soldiers" again places both Nazi and Imperial Germany side by side, implying an equation between both periods. "Imperial Germany" does not exist on its own but is rather constructed through its fascist successor.

Both examples above draw on terms and discursive patterns that have become part of global Holocaust memory (Anyaduba, 2021; Wosińska, 2017). In this vein, describing German perpetrators as "fascist" or as "Third Reich" underlines genocidal intent by connecting to symbols and terms commonly associated with genocide. However, while implicit connections to the Holocaust are used to describe colonial soldiers, there are almost no connections between the Herero and Nama victims of the genocide and the victims of the Holocaust. There is one exception in a *Namibian* reprint of an article originally published in the U.S. magazine *Smithsonian*. Here, the U.S.-based journalist, Daniel Gross, compares starving Herero and Nama with Holocaust survivors: "Images from the period make it difficult not to think of the Holocaust. The survivors' chests and cheeks are

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hollowed out from the slow process of starvation. […] These are the faces of people who suffered German rule and barely survived." (*Namibian*, 19.02.16)

Yet, this is the only time that this comparison is explicitly made. In a piece written by Namibian freelance journalist Hildegard Titus, this visual parallelism is contradicted with the following sentence: "When I looked at these images of emaciated women and children, there was a complete disconnect to the image I had of Namibians." (*Namibian*, 17.07.15) Constructing the Herero and Nama as (helpless) victims through the Holocaust does not appear to fit quite as easily into Namibian journalism's construction of Herero and Nama actors as Namibian resistance fighters, as discussed at the end of chapter 7.2.

Thus, most references to the Holocaust in both German and Namibian journalism are used to connect the actions and motivations of the colonial and Nazi perpetrators. This link then functions in English-language journalism to make the case for reparations and to criticize Germany for not responding to the Herero and Nama genocide in the same way that it responded to the Holocaust. One of the most deliberate comments in this regard is made by the Nama activist Sima Luipert in an opinion article for the *Namibian Sun* entitled "Is Germany really ready to apologize for genocide?" The text criticizes the 2021 joint declaration by alleging that Germany has not yet recognized that the events of 1904–1908 are a genocide, which would require legally binding reparations rather than voluntary payments by Germany (*Namibian Sun*, 24.12.21). Luipert begins by writing:

> "Within Germany, its own atrocities start to be narrated with the Jewish Holocaust. Any crime that Germany therefore committed before the Jewish Holocaust was not a crime because it was within the right of Germany to kill anyone who was not Caucasian. Only mass murder against Caucasians counts as crime." (Namibian Sun, 24.12.21)

This quote repeats a claim that is often found in Namibian journalism, namely that racism is hindering Germany from recognizing the 1904–1908 genocide. To argue for the events of 1904–1908 being a genocide, Luipert then makes explicit connections between practices using the Holocaust and the 1904–1908 genocide:

> "The German narrative refuses, despite glaring historical evidence, to even make the connection between the Auschwitz gas chambers and Shark Island. Historical evidence shows that the pseudo-scientific research on people other than the so-called pure German race, actually started at Shark Island in the former Great Namaland" (*Namibian Sun*, 24.12.21).

By showing the "Auschwitz gas chambers" in line with "Shark Island," Luipert suggests that both are worthy of similar recognition. The Herero and Nama genocide is shown as a precursor to the Holocaust, with Luipert stating that "pseudo-scientific research […] actually started at Shark Island." The emphasis on concentration camps and eugenics is also found in court documents filed by the OTA/NTLA against the German government in New York District Court (Rausch, 2022). However, in her guest article, Luipert does not describe any specific historical events or actions. The purpose of her discursive connection to the Holocaust is to criticize the present-day German political position.

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Another example that shows how mnemonic connections between both events are constructed in journalism can be found in the German newspaper *taz*. Here, the Herero activist Israel Kaunatjike emphasizes personal continuity between perpetrators in the Holocaust and those who worked on skulls from Namibia in a *taz* article:

> "These are the skulls of prisoners from the internment camps in German South West Africa […]. The later Nazi physicians Josef Mengele and Eugen Fischer were also involved. Ever since I found out about this, I have been demanding that these skulls be returned to Namibia." (*taz*, 01.07.17; cf. *taz*, 08.04.17).

In this quote, Kaunatjike justifies the interest and demand for restitution with the fact that two well-known Nazi perpetrators, Mengele and Fischer, were involved in studying Namibian skulls. Mentioning these two names without any further context assumes that Kaunatjike's German audience already knows who these men were. Drawing on these well-known names enables him to make the point that human remains should be restituted because of the reprehensibility of the involved actors. This emphasis on personal continuity builds on the mnemonic practice of personalization (cf. chapter 7.1.2).

The examples above show the difficulties of connecting to the Holocaust as a global memory of injustice, especially against the backdrop of colonial sources that have primarily recorded the perspective of perpetrators instead of victims. The focus of these discursive connections is to describe the perpetrator's role in committing genocidal crimes. Furthermore, the quotes above also build on the understanding that references to the Holocaust invoke a clear moral boundary that Germany must react to. In another *taz* interview with Kaunatjike, the activist answers a question about street names in Germany: "I can't imagine that people here would still accept a name like Göring or Hitler. They have disappeared, but the names of colonialists who committed many crimes in Africa, for example, are still there." (*taz*, 08.04.17) Germany's reaction to the Holocaust is shown as a positive template for how Germans in the present should react to the Herero and Nama genocide.

Yet, what are the boundaries of the un-/acceptable reactions to genocide that German and Namibian journalists are advocating for? While German and Namibian journalism agrees that Germany's political reaction to the Holocaust was positive and successful, both nations differ in what this political reaction supposedly was. This can already be seen in the examples above: Whereas Luipert is clearly advocating for legally binding financial reparations, Kaunatjike in the *taz* speaks of restitutions and street renamings. This is an irritation that will continue to echo through this and the following chapters.

To start unpacking this irritation, it is important to note that connections to the Holocaust and especially the Second World War are not only used to indicate what should be done by Germany, but also to delimit what should *not* be demanded by activists. This discursive strategy was especially visible in the early 2000s, when connections to the Holocaust were often used in journalism to emphasize the uniqueness of the Holocaust and thereby discredit claims of genocide reparations (cf. Rausch, 2022, p. 424; Wolff, 2016, pp. 405–406). However, in my sample, this is often not the case anymore. One possible explanation for this shift is that German journalists have recently begun to construct mnemonic connections between the Holocaust and the Herero and Nama geno-

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cide as part of an internal German academic debate that does not rely much on Herero and Nama speakership, as outlined in chapters 7.3 and 6.2. Nevertheless, as the examples above show, there is still often a discrepancy between the claims made in connection with the Holocaust in German and Namibian journalism. Therefore, a brief excursus into the untypical examples in my sample is a useful starting point for understanding how different temporal frameworks limit mnemonic connections across boundaries.

"Grim Aryans at the Kilimanjaro": Mnemonic connections as a boundary

On October 15, 2016, the *FAZ* publishes a review of an exhibition on colonialism in the German Historical Museum (DHM) in Berlin. The article is written by the cultural journalist Andreas Kilb and entitled "Grim Aryans at the Kilimanjaro" (*FAZ*, 15.10.16). This connection to Aryans comes from one of the museum exhibits, a 1941 movie poster advertising a film about the German colonist Carl Peters. Kilb writes that Peters, "a colonist in the Kilimanjaro area, was an anti-Semite and sadist, a 'fierce Aryan who, in the absence of Jews over in Africa, shoots Negroes[12] dead like sparrows.'" (*FAZ*, 15.10.16)

The continuity between antisemitism and racism embodied by Peters reflects the examples from English-language Namibian newspapers quoted above, where German colonial troops are described as "fascist imperial soldiers" (*Namibian Sun*, 26.11.21). Yet, in the context of this *FAZ* article, the placement of "grim Aryans" in an African colony functions as a dog whistle to a German audience aware of the taboos surrounding the term "Aryans" (Meyers et al., 2014, p. 148): Using the adjective "grim" in this context overdraws the taboo and produces irony around the DHM's exhibition. In contrast with earlier newspaper articles in Germany (cf. Rausch, 2022, p. 424; Wolff, 2016, pp. 405–406), Kilb does not suggest that the Herero and Nama genocide did not occur or that it should not be compensated by the German government. In the middle of his article, he writes:

> "Namibia could have – should have been – the second focal point of the exhibition, because it is associated with the memory of the first genocide of the twentieth century. To this day, the German federal government has refused to officially apologize for the genocide against the Hereros, in which half of the tribe died, for fear of the resulting legal claims for compensation." (*FAZ*, 15.10.16)

While Kilb advocates that the genocide should have been given *more* space in the exhibition, he also has a very specific idea of what this exhibition should look like. In the next sentence, he writes, "Literacy and genocide, the whip and the school, are part of German colonialism's heritage. The DHM could have formed an image out of these contradictions. Instead, it throws its debris at our feet." (*FAZ*, 15.10.16) Here, "German colonialism's heritage" is shown as multifaceted and not uniformly evil, in contrast to the depiction of Nazi Germany that the discursive connection to "grim Aryans" implies. The Second World War is thus shown as a boundary for il/legitimate constructions to the genocide.

In the German-language *AZ*, this distinction is even more clear: Here, connections between the Second World War and the Herero and Nama genocide function to disconnect the German-speaking Namibian community from demands made by Herero, Nama

12 At this point, the source uses a derogatory German colonial term ("*Neger*").

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and even other German speakers. Most of these connections are found in articles written by the former editor-in-chief, Eberhard Hofmann. In one of his reports in the "politics" section entitled "Annual memorial march with monument desecration" (*AZ*, 04.04.16), Hofmann criticizes that protestors threw red paint on the *Marinedenkmal*, a monument in Swakopmund commemorating the German colonial soldiers that died in 1904. To illustrate his point, the paper includes an image of a Black man holding up a sign that says, "All Nazi symbols must fall!" (*AZ*, 04.04.16). This gesture again reflects the connection between "Imperial Germany" and the "Third Reich" shown at the beginning of this chapter. However, as in the *FAZ* article, this connection to the Second World War now functions as a dog whistle to the German-speaking audience and is overdrawn through irony, as shown in the image caption: "Here is an inscription that demonstrates historical ignorance or wishful thinking. The protester should be asked to show where Nazi symbols are." (*AZ*, 04.04.16) With this caption, the author implies there are no Nazi symbols in Namibia. The labelling of this action as "historical ignorance" and "wishful thinking" positions the journalist as someone who has "true" knowledge of the past, whereas the action of the protestor is interpreted as thoughtless and uninformed. In this way, the activist's demands for statue removal are delegitimized.

In an opinion article three years later, Hofmann again references the Second World War – this time to critique Germans arguing for genocide recognition: "Lecturing from Germany has a long tradition. In the 1930s, similar dogmatists came here from the Third Reich, who, following the Nazi ideology and the principles of the *Führer*, wanted to round up all *Südwester*[13] into a kraal." (*AZ*, 02.04.19) Here, Hofmann not only suggests that German-speaking Namibians in the 1930s had nothing to do with National Socialist Germany but also that they were victims of National Socialist policies. This builds on a broader discursive strand of victimization within the paper's coverage (cf. chapter 7.1.2). At the same time, Hofmann's ability to make these arguments is premised on a construction of collective identity for the German-speaking Namibian community that is not associated with the Second World War and thereby able to negate responsibility for accusations of genocide.

The examples from the *FAZ* and the *AZ* are outliers in my sample. Nevertheless, they point towards a larger pattern that I now explore in more detail: Even though mnemonic connections between the Herero and Nama genocide and the Holocaust are often no longer used to explicitly deny the genocide, they nevertheless often strategically produce and presuppose certain (dis-)continuities between the past and present German-speaking collective.

7.4.2 Holocaust reparations as a template for the present

The previous chapter has shown how discursive links to the Holocaust are used to describe and address the German perpetrators of the Herero and Nama genocide. In most articles, this link is then used to (de-)legitimize certain reparative or restorative claims. This chapter now explores this discursive strategy in more detail by focusing on journalism's use of analogy (Edy, 1999, pp. 77–78), which can help to explain the discrepancies

13 Self-designation for German-speaking settlers living in the former colony GSWA.

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in claims described above. Mnemonic connections to the Holocaust often presuppose a similar understanding of the past. However, viewing both German and Namibian journalism together shows how these presuppositions are challenged when the past is connected to the present German collective.

The 1952 reparations negotiations in Namibian journalism

When English-language Namibian journalists reference the Holocaust, it is overwhelmingly to critique the amount of money that Germany is offering for the Herero and Nama genocide. Multiple English-language newspapers carry some version of the sentence "[T]his is very little considering the reparations that were paid to the Jews after the Second World War" (*Namibian*, 26.01.18). After announcing the 2021 joint declaration with Germany, the Namibian Defense Minister Frans Kapofi justifies the amount of money in the agreement by saying, "Unlike the Jews, Namibia did not have favorable terms when negotiating with the Germans" (*Namibian*, 22.09.21).

The most in-depth historical knowledge provided in English-language Namibian journalism on the Holocaust is thus not on the events of 1941–1945, but rather on the steps that were taken by the German government during the 1952 reparations negotiations with Israel. A typical example of this discursive structure is a three-part installment entitled "On German-Namibian negotiations" in the *Namibian Sun*'s opinion section (31.03.21; 03.05.21; 04.05.21). Each of these full-page opinion articles is written by Dr. Freddy Omo Kustaa, introduced in the articles as "a retired professor, historian and political scientist living in St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A." These articles delve into the German-Israeli negotiations after the end of the Second World War. Kustaa describes the intention behind his articles in this way:

> "My inclusion of the largely successful Jewish-German reparations negotiations in this discussion is mainly focused on the effective strategies that the Jewish negotiators used to get Germany to agree to pay reparations for the genocide that it committed against the victims of the Nazi regime within a few months of negotiations in 1952." (*Namibian Sun*, 31.03.21)

Kustaa's stated intention reveals a few central premises: First, that the mechanism that led to German reparations after World War II was successful Jewish negotiation ("effective strategies"). Throughout the article, Kustaa names a variety of these strategies, such as a moment when the Jewish negotiators strategically left negotiations because they did not think the German negotiating side was being serious in their offer (*Namibian Sun*, 04.05.21). The second premise of Kustaa's discursive argument is that the German government has not significantly changed between 1952 and the present: "The Namibian genocide and reparations issue is not drastically different from that of the Jewish people because it is about negotiations with the same German government on the same issues." (*Namibian Sun*, 04.05.21)

This quote indicates that what connects the "Namibian genocide" with "that of the Jewish people" for the author is Germany, specifically the German government's negotiating position. This quote implies that Germany clearly does not want to pay reparations and that only pressure and negotiations will achieve this aim: "Since World War I [*sic*],

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the tactics and manipulative methods of German officials have not changed in any significant ways." (*Namibian Sun*, 31.03.21) This connection is even more clear in a *Namibian* article covering the dismissal of the OTA/NTLA lawsuit from New York District Court in 2019:

> "Rukoro made reference to the case of the Jews, who also challenged Germany over the Holocaust in the same court, but lost the first round because Germany is a sovereign state. 'The Jews did not accept the judgment and appealed. They were persistent. As we all know, the Jews and the government of Germany ended up with a settlement agreement'" (*Namibian*, 08.03.19)

The focus is on how "the Jews" struggled and prevailed against Germany, repeating constructions of resistance that are rooted in how the genocide is constructed as a historical event in journalism.

"A re-entry ticket into the circle of civilized nations": The Holocaust as part of German memory culture

Given the frequent use of the Holocaust to make reparations demands towards Germany, how do German-speaking authors connect the Holocaust to the current negotiations over the genocide? Here, I find that constructions of the Holocaust by German-speaking authors, and specifically historians and academics, are not premised on the idea that Germany was only brought to pay reparations through hard tactics used by Jewish negotiators. Instead, German-speaking authors typically use the Holocaust and the performative remorse that has become attached to that event to explain why Germany is negotiating with Namibia at all.

This interpretative framework transcends national boundaries through the position of German-speaking academics, who write similar articles in both German and Namibian newspapers. While the role of German-speaking academics as representatives of Herero and Nama interests will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8.3.1, the fact that these authors often mention the Holocaust reflects their position as discursive authorities who can speak about the German past in both German and Namibian journalism. One example of this can be found in an article written by Henning Melber, a political scientist, and Reinhart Kößler, a sociologist, after the visit of the former President of the German Bundesrat (2018–2019), Daniel Günther, to Namibia. They write:

> "The visitor paid his respects at the Swakopmund graveyard monument erected in commemoration of the victims of the colonial concentration camp there. But he missed his opportunity to bend his knees. Willy Brandt had in 1970 turned a history page in Poland through the Warsaw genuflection." (*Namibian*, 06.08.19)

Kößler and Melber do not explain to their audience who the former German Chancellor Willy Brandt was or why he was kneeling in 1970. Rather, their text presupposes an audience that could identify and ascribe meaning to this event. Brandt's performative kneeling in front of a monument to the Warsaw Ghetto references an iconic moment in

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German cultural memory. In Kößler and Melber's article for the *Namibian*, this comparison is used to suggest that Günther should have performed an act like Brandt.

Kößler and Melber repeat this pattern in other texts, using moments that are deeply rooted in a German mnemonic discourse after 1945 to critique present-day German actions. Another example is found in an opinion piece the authors write for the *Namibian Sun* in 2020 entitled "Colonial amnesia and Germany's efforts to achieve 'internal liberation.'" Here, they reference a speech by former German President Richard von Weizsäcker given in 1985, where he called the German nation's defeat in the Second World War "liberation" (*Namibian Sun*, 22.05.20). Kößler and Melber use this event to advocate for a similar moment of recognition for the genocide, which, the authors argue, could lead to an end to genocide denial and a speedy conclusion of the negotiations between Germany and Namibia.

Interestingly, these references to German cultural memory, the kneeling at Warsaw in 1970 and von Weizsäcker's speech in 1985, are not found in any German newspaper in my sample. However, the discursive structure underlying Kößler and Melber's connections between the Holocaust and the Herero and Nama genocide is visible in other German articles. In this construction, Germany's reaction to the Holocaust is shown as positive, successful and central to Germany's current identity. This builds on research findings that point to the Holocaust as a central template for German memory culture, often highlighting Germany's unique and exemplary relationship to its past (Kundrus, 2004; Robel, 2013, p. 270; Wolff, 2021).

The German historian Jürgen Zimmerer demonstrates this discursive structure in a guest article for the *taz*:

> "Dealing critically with one's own past, ruthlessly uncovering the dark sides of one's own history, was part of Germany's understanding of the state after 1945. In many respects, it was something like a re-entry ticket into the circle of civilized nations after the outrageous crimes of the Third Reich." (*taz*, 09.07.15)

Zimmerer's quote interprets the Holocaust as a turning point in German identity and as a moment of successfully confronting unpleasant parts of the past. This confrontation with the past is interpreted as effective and as "a re-entry ticket into the circle of civilized nations." The reference to "civilized nations" suggests that by recognizing the past, Germany signaled its "civilized" status and shed itself of its past uncivilized state. Later in the article, Zimmerer writes, "Coming to terms with the past and making amends made it possible for German politicians and individual German citizens alike to be able to look their European neighbors and, in particular, the Jewish victims and their descendants in the eyes again." (*taz*, 09.07.15) There is the assumption that German recognition for the past was necessary for Germany to regain dignity, to look "Jewish victims […] in the eyes again."

In the articles written by German-speaking authors, both in German and in Namibian journalism, the Holocaust is constructed as a moment of internal German reinvention and national reconciliation rather than as a product of negotiations. Hence, Germany must merely live up to its own standards if it wants to rectify the genocide. Only two articles in my entire German sample, both in the *taz* (24.10.16, 31.05.21), reference the

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German-Israeli reparations negotiations that are so prominent in Namibian journalism. Both articles are again written by guest authors, first by the German-Romanian author Ursula Ackrill in 2016 after Bundestag debates on the Armenian genocide and then by the Herero activist Jephta Nguherimo after the 2021 joint declaration. Nguherimo's article follows many of the examples seen above, writing, "Federal President Steinmeier should take Konrad Adenauer as his role model, who followed the appeal of Jewish organizations and Israel in 1951." (*taz*, 24.10.16) Ackrill, by contrast, makes one of the only cases in a German newspaper for exclusive reparations to the Herero and Nama: "The reparations paid by the Federal Republic of Germany to Israel were not intended for all citizens of Israel – Jews, Arabs and other immigrants – but were directly related to the crimes committed by the Germans against the Jews" (*taz*, 24.10.16).

These examples show moments when the discursive connection to the Holocaust could bring the discussion between German and Namibian journalism into an alignment or at least into conversation. There are very rare instances when German journalists or guest authors mention reparations in the context of the Holocaust. However, these references are usually used to explain Germany's hesitancy to create a legal precedent: "In Greece, Poland and Italy, descendants of Nazi victims are still hoping for reparations payments." (*Zeit*, 13.12.18; cf. *Namibian*, 23.01.18).

Therefore, the chapter above has shown how German political reactions to the Holocaust after 1945 function as a positive template for the actions the German government is supposed to take in the present. Yet, whereas German authors and articles often maintain that the Holocaust is a caesura in German collective identity, Namibian journalism rejects this view. Rather than describing Germany as fundamentally changed since 1945, Namibian journalism produces the Holocaust in terms of the successful negotiations that Israel led in 1952. The goal becomes to emulate these tactics and receive a similar outcome – namely, legally binding and exclusive reparations payments. By contrast, German-speaking authors and German newspapers frequently use connections to the Holocaust as a template for describing performative actions of remorse. This irritation will continue to be explored in chapter 8.

My findings add nuance to prior research by showing how discursive connections to the Holocaust in journalism are shaped by post-colonial power structures. Namibian speakers connect to the Holocaust to address German speakers and make demands towards Germany in their articles. Thus, connections to the Holocaust function as a discursive strategy to ensure that speakers are heard in entangled mnemonic spaces and can legitimize their demands towards Germany. Moreover, the results above show how the Herero and Nama genocide is connected to the Holocaust while still maintaining the discursive structure outlined in the previous chapters, which often portray the Herero and Nama genocide as part of larger colonial incursions and fights. References to the Holocaust in both German and Namibian journalism are not used to describe what occurred between 1904 and 1908 or 1933 and 1945. Instead, they are primarily used to produce personal continuity for specific German actors and describe how Germany reacted to the Holocaust post-1945 to use this as a template and analogy for present action (Edy, 1999, pp. 77–78). This continues to shape the boundaries of the un-/sayable and limit connections to the Holocaust to describe how Germany should react to the past rather than defining what that past precisely is.

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In addition, the chapters above have highlighted a tendency that has become clear throughout this chapter and the previous chapter 6: Namibian journalism equates coming to terms with the past with material and monetary reparations for the Herero and Nama genocide, whereas German journalism focuses on cultural solutions and performative actions to (re-)align German identity (Rausch, 2022, p. 429). Yet, this also leads to the question: How do these different interpretations shape the ascription of legitimate speakership in German and Namibian journalism? The previous chapters have shown that re-presentations of the genocide do not remain statically bound within national borders. How does this re-telling of the past enable or limit present speakership, especially given the different claims made above? These are questions that will be discussed in the following chapter. First, however, I offer a preliminary summary of the findings of this chapter and outline the mnemonic practices of re-presentation, or speaking *about* the past, that have become clear in the previous examples.

7.5 Preliminary conclusion: Memory production through/despite colonial sources in journalism

The previous chapters have examined the mnemonic practices by which German and Namibian journalism shapes the structures of speaking *about* the Herero and Nama genocide. Together, the results showcase the challenges that arise when journalism produces knowledge about a past event for which most documented source material comes from former colonizers.

Chapter 7.1 focused on mnemonic practices of remediation in journalism, whereby German and Namibian journalists use witness accounts to both describe and condemn the events of 1904–1908. Even though journalists often performatively distance themselves and their present audiences from the motivation of their sources, the continued reliance on these quotes to describe past events transports colonial terms, symbols, imaginations and power relations in German and Namibian journalism. Thus, the Herero and Nama genocide is often retold as a fateful clash between much stronger German colonial troops and ultimately doomed Herero and Nama. Especially in Namibian material, the genocide continues to center around von Trotha's 1904 order against the Herero.

These results indicate how difficult it is to describe historical victimhood when there are almost no testimonies of individual victimhood for journalism to draw from. Interestingly, the most intimate descriptions of victimhood are found for German colonial settlers in the *AZ*, reflecting the perspectives that are normalized in the source material. While Namibian newspapers also occasionally mention indigenous witnesses, these individuals are frequently shown as survivors and are not directly quoted about the genocide. The *AZ* includes photographic and textual material that shows the Herero and Nama also fighting against German colonizers; however, this material is told from the perspective of settlers and serves to relativize the interpretation of the genocide, which is never explicitly mentioned. These examples show that there are alternative sources of knowledge about 1904–1908, but they frequently go against established portrayals of the genocide in journalism.

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Given this construction of the Herero and Nama genocide, chapters 7.2 and 7.3 have shown that both German and Namibian journalism simultaneously attempt to challenge elements of this colonial perspective through discursive connections to national and continental cultural memories that reverse (but frequently do not reject) colonial revisionist interpretations of the past. In Namibian journalism, the Herero and Nama genocide is shown as part of a broader anti-colonial struggle that connects to the liberation war in Namibia. By connecting to this broader cultural memory, Herero and Nama speakers emphasize the importance of the 1904–1908 genocide. However, attempting to integrate the Herero and Nama genocide into a national framework also comes with frictions and irritations, embodied by debates between government representatives and traditional authorities on whether and how the genocide should become part of national commemorations in the present.

In German journalism, the Herero and Nama genocide is connected to a broader history of European and German imperialism. In this construction, German journalists reverse prior revisionist arguments that argued German colonialism is not comparable to other European imperial powers by explicitly saying that German colonialism is comparable to atrocities committed by other European colonial powers. This brings discussions on the genocide into a larger European framework of dealing with the past while obscuring the specific claims of the Herero and Nama.

Therefore, even though German and Namibian journalism connect the Herero and Nama genocide to different cultural memories, both produce similar structures of silence: The Herero and Nama genocide becomes part of a larger story of (anti-)colonial action, thereby elongating the temporal and spatial boundaries of the Herero and Nama genocide. This not only reflects the gaps in historical source material but also continues to render the specific experiences of the Herero and Nama genocidal victims unnecessary for the journalistic retelling of the past.

At first glance, discursive connections to the Holocaust in German and Namibian newspapers might appear to contradict the previous construction of the Herero and Nama genocide by emphasizing its unique position in German and Namibian colonialism. Yet, chapter 7.4 shows that both German and Namibian journalism primarily refer to the Holocaust to highlight Germany's political reaction to the Holocaust after 1945. In this sense, the Holocaust functions not as a way of connecting the events of 1904–1908 with those of 1941–1945, but rather as a way of connecting post-war German political reactions to the Holocaust with present-day German political reactions to the Herero and Nama genocide. While both German and Namibian journalists and guest authors are unanimous in their interpretation that Germany positively reacted to the Holocaust, they differ in their understanding of what this means for the present. Hence, Namibian journalists exclusively call for legally binding reparations, and German journalists speak of the broader need for recognizing the genocide. This points to a tension underlying the discourse between both nations that will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

The results above show how multiple points of contradiction and irritation exist side-by-side in journalistic reporting, normalized through a construction of the past that largely continues to omit the perspectives of Herero and Nama witnesses in reconstructing the past. As the previous chapters have shown, this reflects both structural and

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strategic constraints in German and Namibian journalism and demonstrates how postcolonial power structures and epistemic violence in the historical record shape journalistic practices of cultural memory production: Gaps in the historical record continue to shape the knowledge that is available for journalistic reporting and which connections can be made between the past and the present in journalism.

These structures of re-presentation lead to the question: How can Herero and Nama communities legitimately connect to the past in journalistic reporting when their perspectives are often not heard in journalism's construction of the past? The following chapter analyzes this question to show how German and Namibian journalism's production of cultural memory shapes the present-day de-/legitimization of power between both nations.

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8 Whose past, whose present? Representation through temporal (dis-)connection in journalism

Given the structures of epistemic violence that still shape how the genocide is constructed as a historical event in journalism (cf. chapter 7), the following chapter asks: How can present speakers connect to the past in journalism to legitimize their demands? In answering this question, the following chapters address a blind spot in much of the previous memory research: Many studies often presuppose that witnesses of past atrocities can, at least in theory, speak about their past experiences and make claims for the present (cf. chapter 3.3.2). How is this claim to represent the past journalistically maintained or challenged when all living witnesses have died? Which mnemonic practices does journalism use to bridge or widen this gulf between past and present affected communities? How do these shape the construction of belonging or exclusion and, by extension, the ability to make legitimate demands for "our" present?

To answer these questions, the following chapter brings together mnemonic practices of speaking *about* the past (re-presentation), which were discussed in chapter 7, with the question of who can speak *for* the interests of present communities in German and Namibian journalism. In this way, the following chapters add a temporal aspect to the theoretical conceptualization of representation as "strategies of persuasion" (Spivak, 1988, p. 276). For this, I ask how the "sphere of legitimate controversy" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117) and "prospective demands" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014) for colonial reparations are legitimized in journalism by the positioning of present speakers through the past. The previous chapters 6 and 7 have already shown that whereas Namibian journalism often foregrounds material demands, German journalism tends to focus on cultural and performative solutions for the genocide. This chapter now asks how this multiplicity of demands is normalized through the position of present speakers in journalistic memory production.

For this, chapter 8.1 begins by asking how the 1904–1908 genocide is connected to Herero and Nama communities in the present. Then, chapter 8.2 considers how this connection to the past simultaneously limits the prospective demands that Herero and Nama communities can make by alternatively constructing them as representatives of the past or as representatives of present demands. Finally, chapter 8.3 explores the role

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that German speakers play in this structure as observers of the past. The following chapters primarily view German and Namibian journalism together. However, when certain chapters focus exclusively on one national context to make a larger argument, this will be clearly noted in the title of the chapter.

8.1 "Herero customs": Commemorative coverage in journalism

Previous research has shown that commemorative articles are often the spaces where journalism (re-)activates the past for a present audience (cf. chapter 3.3.1). This finding was confirmed in my sample, as Herero and Nama speakers were able to explicitly connect to the past in articles that covered commemorative ceremonies or rituals. However, as the previous chapters have shown, these commemorations were often shown as an expression of indigenous identity, perhaps best expressed through the label given to National FM's coverage of genocide commemorations: "Herero customs" (cf. chapter 6.1.3). There were no public national commemorations of the genocide throughout my sample. How does this connection between commemoration and indigenous community shape the position of Herero and Nama speakers to make demands, especially given the journalistic connections to the German and Namibian national context described in the previous chapter 7?

To begin answering this question, chapter 8.1.1 shows how German journalism's coverage of "other" commemorations is strategically used to produce temporal and spatial disconnection. For this, the chapter focuses specifically on the role of German foreign correspondents in shaping commemorative coverage in journalism. As has been described in chapter 6.2.3, articles written by German foreign correspondents are the primary spaces where Herero and Nama speakers are quoted in-depth. These pieces are found across my sample, even though they have notably decreased in recent years. Here, I consider how these articles intersect with the description of the Herero and Nama genocide as a historical event in the previous chapter. Then, chapter 8.1.2 shows how juxtapositions between the past and present shape arguments for development in both German and Namibian newspapers.

8.1.1 "An unusual sight": Herero and Nama traditions in German foreign reporting

In German journalism, articles written by foreign correspondents are often the only spaces where multiple Herero and Nama speakers from Namibia directly make demands for the genocide. However, research has shown that the performative production of "truth" by foreign correspondents depends on the separation between the "home" audience and "foreign" events (Mükke, 2009, p. 183). How does this shape German journalistic coverage, and specifically the speaking position of the Herero and Nama within that coverage? Which connections to the past become (im-)possible through this structure? Answering these questions will provide me with a foundation for the representative patterns described in the following chapters.

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In 2016, the *SZ*'s foreign correspondent in Africa, Tobias Zick, wrote a three-page article in the newspaper's weekend edition features section, "Book Two" ("*Buch Zwei*").[1] Even though the article was written in the wake of German parliamentary debates on the Herero and Nama genocide, Zick's article takes place entirely in Namibia – a common thread for many German articles published after political developments in the genocide negotiations. The article begins with the following words:

> "Outside, beyond the fence, the ghosts rise from the desert sand. Men, women and children stare at the enemy, a lost cluster gathered around a water hole. Soldiers in khaki bark commands. Two of them stand in front of the frightened people, guns at the ready. […] Bodies twitch in the sun. A man protests, flailing his arms. The soldiers drag him to a tree. A noose hangs from a branch." (*SZ*, 22.10.16)

In this introductory paragraph, Zick gives no indication that this is a reenactment. The paragraph describes violence by "the enemy" against an anonymous group of "[m]en, women and children." "Soldiers in khakhi" are the only individuals shown speaking, or "bark[ing] commands." This reflects many of the power structures that have been described in chapter 7. Yet, the symbolic description of "ghosts ris[ing] from the desert sand" adds a supernatural element to the described events, blurring the boundaries between past and present as well as fiction and reality. This suggests that these events did not really happen, that they are perhaps a hallucination or an imagination.

Only in the second paragraph does Zick explicitly reveal to the audience that this is a present-day reenactment by producing a dichotomy between the past and the present through the figure of Wilhelm Diekmann, a German-speaking Namibian farm owner: "A few kilometers away, Wilhelm Diekmann, owner of the 'Hunting and Guest Farm Hamakari,' rumbles through the sand in his all-terrain vehicle [*Geländewagen*], always along the fence that separates his property from Herero land." (*SZ*, 22.10.16) The sudden appearance of Diekmann riding his car along the fence irritates the historical description of soldiers yelling commands or a noose hanging from a branch. Moreover, it sets up a dichotomy that will become a common thread through many of the examples described below: In foreign reports, the Herero and Nama are often not only spatially but also temporally separated from the imagined audience. They are often shown as anachronistic, a description that is heightened by placing past traditions and commemorations into present-day settings, which frequently serve to juxtapose modernity and tradition. In the quotes above, Diekmann, a German-speaking Namibian, is described as driving a vehicle, whereas the Herero and Nama are shown wearing historical costumes. Anachronism functions in journalism to exoticize the relationship of the Herero and Nama to the past while simultaneously constructing it as unthinkable in the present reality of the German audience. Moreover, in contrast with Diekmann, the Herero reenactors are shown as a group, continuing a pattern that was already shown in many historical accounts of the past (cf. chapter 7.1).

1 This article is described in-depth by Haritos (2019, pp. 51–52) and Wolff (2021, p. 333). The following subsection focuses primarily on the aspects that are relevant for the construction of Herero and Nama speakers, as other elements of the article are touched on throughout the chapter.

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The juxtaposition of demands by a German-speaking Namibian with Herero individuals is not found particularly often in my sample, even though this general construction spans newspapers across my time frame (cf. *FAZ*, 02.10.21; *taz*, 16.11.19), which will be explored in more detail in the ensuing chapters. However, what stands out particularly in the article above is the construction of anachronism that produces both a temporal and spatial gulf between the audience and the portrayed speakers through their connection to the past. This gulf is visible in a variety of other articles and shapes how the present demands of Herero and Nama individuals living in Namibia are legitimized in German journalism.

For example, on February 16, 2020, the *FAZ* prints a full-page article on page 11 in their "Life" ("*Leben*") rubric. The article is written by Christine Habermalz, a *Deutschlandfunk*[2] correspondent for culture and education who has previously written about the negotiations with Namibia. The article begins with Habermalz meeting Freddy Nguvauva in Berlin. Freddy Nguvauva is part of the Namibian government's ongoing negotiations with Germany, as Habermalz mentions in the beginning of the article. During their meeting in Berlin, Nguvauva tells Habermalz about a belt that was taken from Mbanderu chief Kahimemua Nguvauva after his execution by Germans (cf. chapter 7.2). Nguvauva tells Habermalz that the belt is "a very historical and holy belt that was passed down from father to son" (*FAZ*, 16.02.20). A few lines later, Habermalz rhetorically asks, "Could the magical belt of Kahimemua really still be somewhere in Germany?" (*FAZ*, 16.02.20) Although Nguvauva describes the belt as "very historical and holy," the interpretation of the belt as "magical" rests in the interpretation of the journalist. The term "magical belt" will continue throughout the article, revealing a discursive connection of tradition and superstition for indigenous speakers. This aligns with research by Benker (2021): In German newspapers, restitution claims are frequently legitimized through the claim that indigenous communities need cultural artifacts for religious ceremonies. Rather than the material value of these objects, which is typically prized by colonial sellers or European museums, the Mbanderu community represented by Freddy Nguvauva is instead shown as requiring this object for its sacred value.

When Nguvauva sends Habermalz the story of the execution of Kahimemua Nguvauva, Habermalz writes, "That's what Freddy wrote to me on WhatsApp. Over 120-year-old traditions sent via messenger app." (*FAZ*, 16.02.20) Here, the journalist produces a moment of irritation and surprise by suggesting incompatibility between the presence of tradition in modernity, or Nguvauva's story told through the modern technology of a messenger app. This also legitimizes the interpretive role of the journalist in formulating and judging Freddy Nguvauva's demands and stories. For instance, Chief Kahimemua Nguvauva's execution is shown as a "120-year-old tradition," placing it into the realm of legend.

This characterization shapes Freddy Nguvauva's speaking position throughout the article, as he primarily becomes visible in the retelling of oral "legends", which function to relay his desire for the belt to be returned. The remainder of the article focuses on Habermalz's search for the belt. For this search, Habermalz quotes historians, archivists

2 *Deutschlandfunk* is a German public radio station.

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and museum directors. The German-speaking Namibian historian[3] Dag Henrichsen is introduced with the words: "Henrichsen, it was said, knows everything about German-Namibian history, traditional African cultures and the 'Praise Poetry' of the Herero." (*FAZ*, 16.02.20) Again, the Herero are described through their "praise poetry," oral poems about historical figures that are traditional but not necessarily factual: "Dag Henrichsen is convinced that the holy belt of Kahimemua is not a belt in the traditional sense, but rather an 'ancestral cord' [*Ahnenschnur*]" (*FAZ*, 16.02.20). The next sentence explains that these cords preserved the history of families and tribes through a series of knots. Henrichsen is implicitly contradicting Nguvauva by suggesting that his conceptualization of a "belt" is rooted in tradition rather than the common understanding of the term "belt" held by the audience.

This presumption is especially clear in the rhetorical question Habermalz poses when the belt is finally found in the Linden Museum in Braunschweig: "The magical belt of Kahimemua is a plain cartridge belt?"[4] (*FAZ*, 16.02.20) Here, Habermalz again expresses irritation at the contradiction between the assumptions of the "historian who knows everything about German-Namibian history" and the material reality of the historical artifact. The next sentence reads, "Freddy is sure: This is the sought-after belt of his people." (*FAZ*, 16.02.20)

Rather than this contradiction functioning to question the assumptions and speaking structures underlying the text, it continues to further characterize the Mbanderu community as a homogenous tribe: "An old leather cartridge belt. […] It crystallizes everything that the once powerful and proud pastoral people ["*Hirtenvolk*"] have lost. Their leaders, their land, their cattle herds. Their spirituality, their independence, their cultural identity." (*FAZ*, 16.02.20) This quote reveals a common contradiction: Although the journalist suggests that the people have lost "their" spirituality and cultural identity, Freddy Nguvauva is primarily quoted when he is talking about spirituality and tradition. The article ends with Habermalz observing Freddy Nguvauva standing at the graveyard for Herero and Mbanderu chiefs in Okahandja:

> "A few weeks later, I am standing with Freddy in Okahandja, close to the Namibian capital of Windhoek, at the grave of his great-great-grandfather Kahimemua Nguvauva. […] Somewhere close to here must have been the execution, but the exact spot has not been recorded. […] It is a holy site." (*FAZ*, 16.02.20)

Once more, the boundaries between past and present are blurred in this journalistic description: The site of Kahimemua Nguvauva's grave is connected to a historical event that seemingly occurred "[s]omewhere close to here." Moreover, the grave is described as a "holy site," although the reason for this holiness is not explained further. Functionally, this description again localizes and focuses the effects of colonialism in Namibia rather than in Germany, where the belt has been kept for over a century.

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3 The position of German-speaking historians in German and Namibian journalism will be described in more detail in chapter 8.3.

4 The original German sentence is "*Der magische Gürtel des Kahimemua ein schnöder Patronengurt?*"

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While the article addresses the difficult question of whether the belt should be restituted to the Nguvauva family or to the government, these questions are not probed in-depth, and Freddy Nguvauva's opinion is not heard on this topic. This is especially interesting considering his family's position as part of the government's effort to negotiate the genocide. Freddy Nguvauva is quoted in the article insofar as he becomes a way of connecting past and present; however, he is not shown as having any agency in locating the belt beyond telling oral histories that the journalist verifies and interprets. Therefore, this *FAZ* article demonstrates how the construction of speaking positions through "tradition" is often a double bind for Herero and Nama speakers, who must emphasize their unbroken continuity with the victims of genocide at the risk of being connected to colonial representative patterns. At the same time, as the article above shows, the perspective from which "modernity" is constructed is frequently the position of the journalist and their imagined home audience.

This double bind is also clear in an article in the *Zeit*, which describes the OTA/NTLA lawsuit against Germany in New York. In the opening lines of the article, the *Zeit*'s foreign correspondent in New York, Heike Buchter, writes:

> "In Hall 17C of the Southern District Court at the southern tip of Manhattan, every seat is full […]. Even by New York standards, they offer an unusual sight: The women wear black bolero tops with gold borders and floor-length pleated skirts in red or emerald." (*Zeit*, 11.01.18).

In this quote, the otherness of the Herero and Nama ("an unusual sight") is emphasized "even by New York standards," contrasting their outfits with the imagined coolness of a New York courtroom. Again, the Herero and Nama are constructed as anachronous presences that are out of place in present reality, suggesting an incompatibility between their outfits and a legal proceeding. Later in the article, Buchter introduces Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro:

> "Vekuii Rukoro is satisfied. Since 2014, he has been the Paramount Chief ("*Oberhäuptling*"[5]) of the Ovaherero and the driving force behind the claim. In the crimson uniform that Rukoro wore to the hearing, he towers over those around him – or at least that's what it seems like. The medals and badges that he wears are as big as a hand." (*Zeit*, 11.01.18)

In this discursive structure, the same descriptions that are used to legitimize the Herero and Nama as representatives of the affected communities are now used to delegitimize Rukoro's speaking position. The speaker describes his towering size as a trompe l'oeil – "at least that's what it seems like." The "medals and badges" that are "as big as a hand" are shown as slightly ridiculous. Rather than outlining Rukoro's discursive authority by showing him as connected to the past, they now serve to cast doubt on his ability to represent the Herero and Nama. This also enables the journalist to cast doubt on Rukoro's

5 The journalist adds this German word in parentheses after the English "Paramount Chief." See Dunker (2018, p. 33) for an in-depth description of how the word "*Häuptling*" has been used to simultaneously exoticize and diminish traditional authority through the suffix -ling.

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criticisms and demands: "[The Namibian government] apparently want[s] to plug holes in the national budget with the compensation that Rukoro is firmly counting on." (*Zeit*, 11.01.18) Phrases such as "apparently" and "that Rukoro is firmly counting on" ("*von dem Rukoro fest ausgeht*") show the lawsuit as a personal project of Rukoro while also suggesting that his assessment of the lawsuit might be wrong.

The examples above show how discursive authenticity hinders discursive authority in German journalism's production of cultural memory about the Herero and Nama genocide. In articles written by German foreign correspondents, the Herero and Nama become visible through traditional ceremonies, which amplifies their difference to the imagined audience and exoticizes present groups by showing indigenous tradition in juxtaposition to present-day modernity. In this way, the past continues to be localized in Namibia and requires the German foreign correspondent to translate both the rituals and the desires of the Herero and Nama to the home audience (cf. Mükke, 2009). Moreover, this localization of the past in Namibia means that the effects of the genocide are typically limited to the experiences of Herero and Nama communities. This is especially clear in instances when journalism uses the past to contextualize the present condition of the Herero and Nama (Edy, 1999, p. 80). The following chapter delves into this journalistic contextualization through commemoration and shows how the juxtaposition between tradition and modernity outlined above does not remain rooted in German journalism but also often is visible in invocations for present development across national boundaries.

8.1.2 Between tradition and modernity: Calls for development in journalism

In addition to traditional rites and ceremonies, German and Namibian journalism often connects the Herero and Nama community to the colonial past through descriptions of poverty. A typical example of this can be found in an article in the *FAZ*, printed after the announcement of the German-Namibian joint declaration, which shows how the discursive structures of chapter 8.1.1 begin to blend into the description of the Herero and Nama in the present. Here, the *FAZ*'s foreign correspondent in Africa, Claudia Bröll, begins the article by describing a man in Namibia:

> "When Ngeke Katjangua sits down to relax at sunset, he lights a fire on the sandy ground of his family's homestead. There's not much around him: sand, thorn bushes, termite hills as far as the eye can see. […] Every morning and every evening, he lights the 'holy fire.' It is a religious ritual of his people in Namibia. The fire is said to have healing effects, to connect him to his ancestors." (*FAZ*, 02.10.21)

This description mirrors the exoticization that was explored throughout the previous chapter: Katjangua is portrayed as a figure following ancient tradition. This connects him to "his people in Namibia," repeating imaginations of indigenous identity tied to the adherence to rituals. These rituals literally "connect him to his ancestors," even as the "holy fire" again amplifies the supernatural element of this connection. The description of the landscape surrounding Katjangua's property is later supplemented by Bröll's description of Katjangua's poverty: "There is no electricity cable anywhere on the homestead, no

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paved road and no solar panel. Only a rickety fence made of wooden sticks throws long shadows." (*FAZ*, 02.10.21)

This sudden turn in the description of Katjangua's situation is important, since it moves away from descriptions of reenacted events towards present-day issues. By connecting poverty in the present to the historical experience of the genocide, the Herero and Nama can begin to articulate demands for the present. An example of this can be found in a two-page *Reuters* article that was reprinted in the *Namibian Sun* in 2017, which directly quotes a Herero woman:

> "'The OvaHerero are poor because of German people,' [Alex Kautauuapela] said, hunched over a walking stick as one of her grandchildren chased a stray dog around her crumbling house in the Herero ancestral capital of Okahandja north of the capital Windhoek." (*Namibian Sun*, 03.03.17)

Kautauuapela's statement that the "OvaHerero are poor" is underlined through the journalist's observation that she is living in a "crumbling house" or that her grandchild is chasing a stray dog. Kautauuapela thus becomes a physical manifestation of poverty and embodies the effects of colonialism in the article. Interestingly, Kautauuapela is not quoted anymore in this article – her purpose is to illustrate poverty, and her desires are interpreted through the journalist's descriptions. This reflects the portrayal of poverty also found in the *FAZ* article above: Katjangua does not call himself poor but is rather shown as poor through the foreign correspondent's description of a lack of infrastructure at his home. This observation again builds a juxtaposition between the position of the imagined audience and the portrayed subject.

Through this speaking structure, descriptions of poverty enable journalists to make demands for the Herero and Nama communities by observing their current poverty and without requiring the Herero and Nama to speak (cf. Spivak, 1988). This often results in demands being made for development aid. For instance, the *Namibian Sun* article above ends with a quote by "a U.S.-based academic," Robert Murtfeld, who says, "I believe the chances for a deal being reached are very little." (*Namibian Sun*, 03.03.17) Similarly, Bröll concludes her article in the *FAZ* with the observation: "Meanwhile, Ngeke Katjangua is still waiting on his homestead for electricity, for a paved road." (*FAZ*, 02.10.21) In this way, the journalistic articles suggest that Kautauuapela and Katjangua need some form of aid that is not necessarily reparations, since this will not immediately address their poverty. This reflects a paternalistic gaze whereby Germany is both the donor and decision-maker on Namibian aid (cf. Robel, 2013, p. 271).

The statements above tie into a larger discursive structure: For many years, development aid was strategically invoked by German politicians and journalists to negate claims for development aid (Robel, 2013, p. 260; Wolff, 2021, p. 314). In my German sample, this explicit counterbalance between development aid and reparations claims is no longer as prominent (cf. Rausch, 2022), even though the topic remains highly contentious in Namibia, as the examples below will show. To understand how development aid is de-/legitimized as a prospective demand for the genocide, it is necessary to show how the juxtaposition of (tribal) tradition and (national) modernity is maintained or challenged in Namibian journalism.

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In contrast with German journalism, commemorations are rarely shown as ancient rituals in Namibian journalism and are instead typically reported through their novelty or necessity. An example of this can be found in an opinion piece by Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro in *New Era*, entitled "Ohamakari came and went unnoticed," which criticizes the lack of commemoration for the Battle of Ohamakari in 2015 (*New Era*, 14.08.15). In the article, Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro asks, "Are the descendants of the great warriors of the war of resistance against German colonialism busy relegating their own and the history of their ancestors to the dustbin of history?" (*New Era*, 14.08.15) The symbol of a "dustbin" equates forgetting with waste, echoing A. Assmann's (2011, p. 334) understanding of "trashing" as a form of forgetting. Through his rhetorical question, Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro blames "the descendants of the great warriors of the war of resistance," or the Herero community, for not commemorating the Battle of Ohamakari.

One year later, the commemoration takes place, and Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro writes an article entitled "Wailing, mourning souls of Ohamakari" (*New Era*, 12.08.16). The reference to "wailing" and "mourning" suggests feelings of pain and sadness towards the past. The way Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro describes and justifies these feelings shows how tenuous the connection between past and present is:

> "Perhaps for the first time in the commemorative history of Ohamakari, the day is to be commemorated through a night-long open wailing and mourning by the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu communities […]. For the unconverted this is by no means meant as a simulation of such a vigil, or in any way a symbolism thereof, but the real and actual mourning" (*New Era*, 12.08.16).

With the phrase "[p]erhaps for the first time," Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro emphasizes the novelty of the vigil. He then emphasizes that the vigil is "the real and actual mourning" rather than a "simulation" or "symbolism." The passage of time since the genocide is shown as potentially delegitimizing to the emotions that are performed in the vigil. This irritation between in-/authentic expressions of emotion in the present commemoration of past deaths also becomes clear later in the article, when Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro notes:

> "Not that it has been an easy decision to hold such a vigil, but it comes after intense and meticulous consultations with the communities' traditionalists and culturalists, lest the ancestors do not take kindly to such a vigil. A vigil in the tradition and culture of the concerned communities is usually a taboo and sacred thing, which is only done in the case of death within the communities." (*New Era*, 12.08.16)

Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro shows the commemoration as the result of a negotiation between wanting to commemorate and noting that this commemoration goes against some of the traditions in the community, since the vigil is usually "taboo" and only done "in the case of death." The vigil therefore had to first be approved by "the communities' traditionalists and culturalists." Interestingly, this description does not suggest that the "vigil" will become an annual occurrence, and there are no further descriptions of it in my sample.

The two articles above show how commemoration in Namibian journalism often emphasizes rather than blurs the distinction between past and present in its reporting. This

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is especially clear when considering the role that development plays in commemorative articles. One typical example that highlights this discursive structure is a *Namibian* article written after the first Nama cultural festival in July 2018. The article, which is published in "*The Weekender*" section of the *Namibian*, is written by Salmaan Dhameer Jacobs and Annarine Beauty Jacobs, two writers for whom there is no supplemental information. The title of the article is "Witbooi: A wish fulfilled," followed by the subheading "Significance and prospects of Nama cultural festival" (*Namibian*, 13.07.18). The reference to Witbooi in the title provides a connection to the past, with the insinuation that the current cultural festival is the culmination of his "wish." The subheading shows the cultural festival in terms of its "prospects" in the future. The first few paragraphs of the article note:

> "Comments on social media about the festival were overwhelmingly expressions of praise and that the event was a resounding success. Others said it exceeded expectations and that the doomsayers had been proved wrong. They all felt the event should be made an annual event." (*Namibian*, 13.07.18)

The Nama cultural festival is shown as something new that should be continued because it was a "success" – but what does this success hinge on? The article focuses on the aim of the commemoration in "uniting the Nama people" (*Namibian*, 13.07.18), an aim that is even more clear in the festival theme of "*Nama Khoeda ge* (we are Nama people)" (*Namibian*, 13.07.18). The festival serves to affirm a unified Nama identity.

After this confirmation of the festival's "success," the article describes various historical events that impacted the Nama community during German colonialism, which echo many of the patterns already described in chapter 7. After this brief description of German colonialism, the article makes a transition to the present and suddenly switches into personal pronouns:

> "Their blood waters our freedom. Their blood should therefore propel festivalgoers to make individual resolutions: I will better my life. I will try to live a productive life. The innocent blood of my forebears that flowed for me to have freedom cannot go wasted. […] Make use of people's talents. Your dressmaking is colorful, commercialize it. You have talent in music and singing, cut CDs and DVDs and make a living out of it. Your shoes are comfortable. Promote them widely." (*Namibian*, 13.07.18)

In this section, the "blood" of individuals such as Witbooi becomes interpreted by the authors as an invocation for personal development through individual actions in the present. This echoes the theme and symbolism of waste that was also seen in Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro's article above: The reason for the "innocent blood of my forebears […] go[ing] wasted" is individual slothfulness.

Commemoration serves as an invocation for a successful existence in the present, defined through unity and capitalism. Whereas commemorative activities are shown as shaping and defining the entire indigenous community, current demands are shown as individual statements by traditional authorities or opposition politicians in a present debate. In fact, when Herero and Nama speakers make present demands or criticize the present, they are often editorially separated from commemorative coverage. For exam-

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ple, on May 28, 2018, the *Namibian* publishes two articles, both written by journalist Luqman Cloete. The first, on page five, is entitled "First Nama cultural festival a huge success"[6]. This article focuses on commemoration as a way for the Nama people to come together and to develop their economic potential, using much of the same language as the example above. The second article is found on page seven and entitled "Nama could become own liberators on genocide reparations" (*Namibian*, 28.05.18). This article repeats statements by the "Chief of the Kai-||Khaun Nama clan, Petrus Kooper" that were "made on Friday during the official opening of the first-ever Nama cultural festival at Keetmanshoop" (*Namibian*, 28.05.18). No further information about the Nama cultural festival is provided in this article, and it stands in stark contrast to the positive tones that are expressed in the former article.

Another example of this can be found in Namibian journalistic coverage of Red Flag Day, a commemoration of the reburial of Samuel Maharero in Okahandja (cf. chapter 2.2). The only time Red Flag Day appears in my sample is when there is infighting between Herero groups and authorities: "Ovaherero face off at Okahandja," writes the *Namibian* (27.08.19). Another report, entitled "Red Flag Day called off," notes: "After urgent negotiations among parties and government institutions, it was decided that neither the Maharero Royal House Traditional Authority nor the Ovaherero Traditional Authority (OTA) would commemorate the day." (*Namibian Sun*, 29.08.16) These articles rarely mention the genocide in any detail at all, concentrating instead on the conflicts of the present. Red Flag Day is thereby constructed as a flashpoint of inner-tribal tensions, and events from the past are rarely mentioned in this coverage.[7]

The examples above provide insights into how journalism affords or denies connections to the past in its coverage. Connecting past and present in Namibian journalism is premised on an acceptance of present national power structures. This limits the speaking position of Herero and Nama communities in the present, since commemorative connections are effectively only possible if no demands for the present are made. While this reflects the specific discursive context of Namibian journalism, the expectations of the Herero and Nama communities in the examples above also connect back to the mnemonic structures found in German journalism: Indigenous commemorations of the 1904–1908 genocide function to produce expectations of homogeneity and unity for the Herero and Nama communities, who are often shown directly tied to the past through their traditions. These traditions simultaneously serve to separate the Herero and Nama

6 This article is not part of my in-depth analysis because it repeats many of the arguments from the previous example, also published in the *Namibian*, with the difference that the article on May 28 does not have the Herero and Nama genocide as a central topic of reporting. For this reason, it functions here only as an illustrative case.

7 It is important to note that one example in my NBC sample suggests that Herero commemorations are covered differently in the Otjiherero-language NBC radio station Omurari FM. In my sample, the archivist included a two-hour live broadcast from Omurari that focused on the commemoration of von Trotha's extermination order on October 2, 2016. According to the transcript of this commemoration, "Ovaherero-speaking Namibians gather at Omatupa village in the Okakarara Constituency to mark the seventh annual Otjihenda commemoration." (Omurari FM, 20.10.16). This suggests, as Förster (2010) has noted, that indigenous-language radio might offer a space for commemorations that do not fit within the discursive confines of English-language newspapers.

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communities from the broader German and Namibian national collective (and imagined journalistic audience), limiting the ability of Herero and Nama speakers to directly make demands in the present. Given the temporal boundaries outlined above, how do Herero and Nama speakers connect to the past and make demands outside of commemorative frameworks in journalism?

8.2 "I will not stop fighting": Temporal continuity as a threat

While the previous chapter has shown how German and Namibian journalism describes Herero and Nama communities in commemorative coverage, this chapter now focuses on the moments when Herero and Nama speakers connect to the past in their own words, typically in articles focused on the present political repercussions of the genocide negotiations. Then, it asks how these connections function to (de-)legitimize the Herero and Nama as representatives of present interests in reporting. Chapter 8.2.1 begins by analyzing how Herero and Nama speakers reject the separation between past and present outlined above and how German and Namibian journalism limits this temporal continuity by constructing Herero and Nama speakers as threatening. Then, chapter 8.2.2 examines how these discursive structures combine and overlap to portray the Herero and Nama as responsible for reconciliation, which is often equated with performances of affinity towards Germany in the present.

8.2.1 "No option but to become their own liberators": Herero and Nama demands in the present

When they are directly quoted or print guest articles in Namibian journalism, Herero and Nama speakers are often shown using bellicose language that explicitly contests the temporal boundaries described above. This language connects with the findings of chapter 7.2, where the Herero and Nama genocide is discursively linked with the Namibian liberation struggle. However, it also flips the temporal connection in chapter 8.1 on its head: Rather than primarily connecting themselves to the past, Herero and Nama speakers now also connect the German and Namibian governments to the past while extending the genocidal struggle into the present.

This is exemplified in an opinion article in *New Era*, guest-written by Kavemuii Murangi. In his own words, Murangi is a "Namibian-born educator currently living in the United States of America, and a descendant of direct victims of the Ovaherero and Nama genocide" (*New Era*, 01.10.21). The article is entitled "Genocide Deal Undermines Century-Old Quest for Justice," and throughout the article, Murangi makes multiple references to the ongoing fight of the Herero and Nama:

> "For more than a century, we have been fighting. Imagine. Fighting continuously for almost 120 years. Fighting the Germans. Fighting extinction. Fighting for international recognition. Fighting our own government for acknowledgment of the genocide." (*New Era*, 01.10.21)

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Here, Murangi shows the genocide as part of a continuous fight culminating in the current struggle against the Namibian government. Murangi ends his article with the words: "Their cries ring in my ears, and I will not play deaf. I will not stop fighting. I am resolved that my children will know justice or will die fighting." (*New Era*, 01.10.21) The symbolic reference to the "cries" of the ancestors makes the fight against current institutions a responsibility of present generations. The statement that his children "will know justice or will die fighting" adds a violent undertone to the fight he describes.

Another typical example of this can be found in the article "Nama could become own liberators on genocide reparations" (*Namibian*, 28.05.18). The article centers around a long quote by Nama leader Petrus Kooper:

> "The outspoken tribal leader said that the Nama people would be left with no option but to become their own liberators to protect their rights and fight for their interests if the government did not engage them on their own terms around genocide reparations. […] Kooper added that there could be chaos, and that 'the author of that chaos' would this time not be the commander of Germany's armed forces, but the Namibian Defense Force (NDF)'s commander-in-chief, which is President Hage Geingob. (*Namibian*, 28.05.18)

Here, Kooper connects former Namibian President Hage Geingob with the "commander of Germany's armed forces" during colonialism, whom he does not name but is presumably Lothar von Trotha. The genocide is shown as a fight that the Nama must now wage against the Namibian government. By noting that "there could be chaos," Kooper suggests potential turmoil or even violence in Namibia.

However, Kooper later emphasizes that the Nama are not threatening any violence but are rather in a defensive struggle against the Namibian government:

> "[Kooper] was quick to say that the Nama people would not do anything unlawful, but simply sacrifice what is rightfully theirs. 'This time, we shall not flee to any neighboring country,' he stressed. 'Nothing about us without us, anything about us without us is against us,' Kooper threatened." (*Namibian*, 28.05.18)

Kooper is "quick to say" that the Nama will not break any laws. He notes that "[t]his time" they will not "flee to any neighboring country" – it is unclear what Kooper is referring to here, although it points to an interesting interpretation of the 1904–1908 genocide as a Herero and Nama military loss that echoes many of the colonial knowledge structures described in chapter 7.1. The suggestion is that "[t]his time" the Nama will be successful, in contrast with their battle against the German military forces in 1904–1908. Even though Kooper notes that the Nama will not break the laws with their actions, the journalist writes that "Kooper threatened," constructing him as a potential danger. The discursive link between the Namibian government and the former German or South African colonial forces is found multiple times in my sample (cf. *Namibian*, 09.06.21; *Namibian Sun*, 20.07.16).

German journalism often reprints quotes from Namibian newspapers in its coverage. For example, after the announcement of the 2021 joint declaration, the *Namibian*

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releases an article entitled "German genocide offer 'an insult,'" quoting the Namibian opposition politician Inna Hengari (PDM) (*Namibian*, 28.05.21). The next day, a piece in the *taz* uses this headline in a pull quote in the middle of its text on the 2021 joint declaration: "'German genocide offer an insult' is the headline of a leading Namibian newspaper" (*taz*, 29.05.21). However, in contrast to Namibian coverage, where these quotes are part of relatively consistent coverage between 2015 and 2021, German articles typically only print these quotes in reaction to political updates in the negotiations process. This shifts the context and position of Herero and Nama speakership.

This is especially clear in a statement made by Herero Paramount Chief Vekuii Rukoro after the announcement of the declaration, which becomes the headline of a *Spiegel* report on the joint declaration: "'To hell and back'" (*Spiegel*, 05.06.21). The full quote reads, "This is not enough for the blood of our forebears. We will fight to hell and back." (*Spiegel*, 05.06.21; cf. *taz*, 29.05.21) Rukoro's symbolic evocation of "hell" and his rhetorical willingness to go there "and back" suggest that the Herero and Nama will halt at nothing. However, in this construction, Rukoro's quote is shown as a one-time reaction to the genocide agreement rather than as part of a longer pattern of criticism. Moreover, German journalism rarely directly quotes Herero and Nama demands. Instead, the quotes above function primarily to indicate Herero and Nama dissatisfaction towards present developments.

These statements are used in both German and Namibian journalism to characterize Herero and Nama communities as powerful and even responsible for preventing political action on the genocide. For instance, the *Spiegel* article quoted above, "To hell and back," ends with the words:

> "The German negotiator hopes that the Namibian government will still manage to convince the critics. […] Not only could [German President, C.H.] Steinmeier's travel plans be ruined, but also those of Foreign Minister Heiko Maas. He had planned to fly to Windhoek this week to sign the joint declaration. Nothing will come of it now." (*Spiegel*, 05.06.21)

The suggestion is that Steinmeier and Maas' plans are "ruined" because of the critical position of the Herero and Nama. Furthermore, the expression of criticism by the Herero and Nama is shown as surprising and irritating to the expectations of the German and Namibian governments. This position of irritation only becomes possible by ignoring the years of consistent criticism above and only printing Herero and Nama statements sporadically. A *FAZ* article on the negotiations writes:

> "Dates for the visits of the German foreign minister and president are not settled yet. Germany and Namibia wanted to make history with the agreement and improve the dialogue between both nations. Encounters at all levels were planned. These are needed now more than ever." (*FAZ*, 06.06.21)

This quote is particularly illuminating because it suggests that the Herero and Nama are not only hindering the signing of the joint declaration but are also hindering reconciliation from occurring. Hence, the Herero and Nama function as a deterrent for successfully

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confronting the past. Tellingly, however, the Herero and Nama are not explicitly mentioned in the example above. Even though they are quoted throughout the article, their position remains between the lines rather than explicit in explaining why the German foreign minister and president have "not settled" their dates yet.

At the same time, German and Namibian political figures are rarely shown directly responding to guest articles or quotes by Herero and Nama traditional authorities that demand legally binding reparations. This contrasts with previous years of German journalistic coverage (cf. Haritos, 2019; Robel, 2013; Wolff, 2021). As Rausch (2023b, p. 192) has pointed out, much of German journalism is now supportive of financial compensation being paid to Namibia, as the 2021 joint declaration lays out. However, in German journalism, there is almost no discussion about whether this aid should be directly paid to the Herero and Nama. Instead, the figures that are often shown directly responding to the quotes above are other Namibian speakers or German activist communities. The examples above have shown that Herero and Nama dissent is typically shown in conflict-oriented terms. How does this shape the interaction between Herero, Nama and German-speaking Namibian communities, and what does this reveal about the power structures underlying prospective memorialization in journalism?

To answer these questions, I consider how land reform functions as a topic in journalism to limit the connections between past and present evoked by Herero and Nama speakers. Especially in the early 2000s, references to violent land reform in Zimbabwe were often used in German journalism to delegitimize Herero and Nama demands (Wolff, 2021, p. 389). These connections to Zimbabwe are not found anymore in my sample. However, land reform is still used in journalism to distinguish between "moderate," or government-aligned, and "radical" Herero and Nama representatives. Thus, I can show how German foreign reporting and Namibian news articles align to structure power within and between both nations through cultural memory.

"We are law-abiding": Land and the boundaries of "legitimate controversy"

A typical example of this discursive structure is found in an article written in 2016 by the foreign correspondent of the *FAZ*, Thomas Scheen. In the article, Scheen first quotes Chief Kilus Munjuku III. Karaerua Nguvauva, who is part of the government's effort to negotiate with the Germans:

> "'We are law-abiding; that is why we want to buy land and not just occupy it,' says the Chief. He also wishes that Germany would build better roads and better mobile connections, new schools and hospitals […]. And yet, the Chief is one of the more moderate ones. One who has accepted that the Namibian government is negotiating in his name." (*FAZ*, 04.07.16)

Nguvauva clearly speaks out against land occupation and wants to "buy" land rather than "occupy it." By emphasizing that he is "law-abiding," he acknowledges that a rupture of present power structures is considered illegal and deviant. Nguvauva is shown as "one of the more moderate ones" because he "has accepted that the Namibian government is negotiating in his name." This acceptance of the Namibian government is tied to the acceptance of development aid as compensation for the genocide (cf. chapter 8.1.2).

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Then, the foreign correspondent Scheen introduces the Paramount Chief of the Herero, Vekuii Rukoro: "The other, much more radical camp is represented by Vekuii Rukoro, the self-proclaimed 'Paramount Chief' of the Herero." Showing Rukoro as "more radical" immediately sets him up as both a fringe element in Namibia and a potential threat. Scheen writes:

> "Rukoro wants a lot of money, and he wants to negotiate directly with the federal government. […] Rukoro fears that the Namibian government could be bamboozled into accepting a pittance and that this money will not benefit the affected groups but the clientele of the ruling party SWAPO, the Ovambo from northern Namibia. He says he is concerned with eliminating the 'intergenerational poverty of the Herero, into which von Trotha has brought us.'" (*FAZ*, 04.07.16)

Rukoro is shown criticizing potential corruption in Namibia. Here, Rukoro also makes the claim of "intergenerational poverty" through the genocide. However, Scheen delegitimizes Rukoro's prospective demands by delegitimizing him as a representative in the present. This builds on the assumptions of homogeneity described in chapter 8.1.2:

> "There are voices that accuse Rukoro of only wanting to enrich himself. The six royal houses of the Herero reject him. Rukoro describes the royal houses as 'indigent clans that can't even get a busload of supporters together.' […] And he threatens, 'If social cohesion collapses in this country, then German-speaking farmers will pay the price.'" (*FAZ*, 04.07.16)

This quote clearly distinguishes the positions of legitimate controversy in the discourse (cf. Hallin, 1986, p. 117): Rukoro is shown as "radical," with quotes where he describes the royal houses as "indigent clans" and then also "threatens" German-speaking farmers, who will "pay the price" if he doesn't get his will. This draws on a common representation of Rukoro in German journalism, who is often shown as a threatening, immoderate and unpredictable representative of Herero and Nama interests (Wolff, 2021, p. 332). In the structure of this article, however, this means that Rukoro's arguments for legally binding reparations are not refuted by the German government but rather through the threat that he supposedly poses in Namibia. His demands are shown to be both radical and impossible, even though the German collective does not have to be shown directly negating these claims.

Scheen's description of Nguvuava and Rukoro is indicative of the discursive authority that he confers on them throughout the article. Nguvauva is consistently referred to as a "Chief" throughout the article, with the journalist reproducing his traditional self-portrayal as a legitimate representative of Mbanderu interests (*FAZ*, 04.07.16). Rukoro, by contrast, is introduced as the "self-proclaimed 'Paramount Chief.'" Placing his title in quotation marks suggests that his legitimacy is open to questioning, a point that is amplified by the statement that the "six royal houses" of the Herero reject him (*FAZ*, 04.07.16). The designation is shown as a title made up by Rukoro in the present.

This leads to a delegitimization strategy that is found multiple times throughout my sample in a variety of newspapers: "It is impossible to estimate how many Herero really

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support Rukoro and his radical positions" (*AZ*, 26.04.18; cf. *FAZ*, 04.07.16; *SZ*, 29.05.21). Interestingly, some authors in the *AZ* even repeatedly refer to Rukoro as "Vekuii Reinhard Rukoro," emphasizing his German middle name to delegitimize his position as a Herero representative (cf. *AZ*, 10.11.17). This connects with findings from chapter 8.1 that have shown how the journalistic construction of "authenticity" often hinders speakership by connecting speakers to an anachronistic past; here, it is used to expressly deny speakership by limiting the connection of the past in the present.

By characterizing both government representatives and OTA/NTLA members as primarily "Herero" or "Nama," journalists continue to position these communities through their past experiences while obfuscating their position in present power structures. This is also important for positioning the German-speaking Namibians who would be affected by land reform. One example of this can be found in a multi-page *taz* article written by Elisabeth Kimmerle that was translated and reprinted in the *Namibian*. The article is entitled "The land that never was" in the *Namibian* (08.01.20) and "*Das Land der Ahnen*," or "The land of the ancestors," in the *taz* (16.11.19). Already, this disparity in titles shows how contentious the idea of "ancestral" land is in Namibia, which suggests that certain groups can claim land because their ancestors lived there. Nevertheless, the rest of the article remains consistent with the original work published by Kimmerle.

The article begins by introducing a German-speaking Namibian farm owner, Johann Vaatz. Vaatz describes his family's purchase of the farm Düsternbrook (cf. chapter 7.1). Vaatz explicitly refutes the emotion of fear surrounding potential land expropriation: "Vaatz says he is not afraid of expropriation. 'I am a Namibian citizen, why should I be afraid? I belong to this country.'" (*taz*, 16.11.19) Vaatz's fear is dispelled through the suggestion that the claim of land expropriation is unfeasible and unlawful ("I am a Namibian citizen"). In this way, Vaatz's landownership is shown as complying with the rule of law and his assertion of his identity as a Namibian.

At the end of the first page, the article then quotes Mutjinde Katjiua[8], who is introduced as a professor at the Namibia University for Science and Technology: "'Losing the ancestral land meant that the dispossessed groups lost their connection to their ancestors,' [Katjiua] says." (*taz*, 16.11.19) Katjiua is shown as describing the connection of the Herero and Nama to the past as effectively severed. While Vaatz expounds at length about the past of his family, Katjiua only speaks of the past through the idea of collective loss, both to land and to the past. In fact, Katjiua is only shown making demands in the article. The journalist mentions the lawsuit in New York and then writes:

> "After decades of fighting, the descendants of the Ovaherero and Nama are losing patience. 'We are very peaceful and patient, but when all peaceful paths are not working, then we will return to our land,' Mutjinde Katjiua says calmly. It sounds solemn, like a declaration. 'If all legal and diplomatic processes fail, then we will resort to self-liberation and the German farmers on our land will have to pack up and leave. Is that what we want?'" (*Namibian*, 08.01.20; cf. *taz*, 16.11.19)

8 Katjiua later briefly becomes the (disputed) Paramount Chief after the death of Vekuii Rukoro in 2021.

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The reference to "self-liberation" echoes the quote by Kooper at the beginning of this chapter. However, Katjiua's criticism is directed at "German farmers on our land" rather than the Namibian government. As with Kooper, Katjiua notes that "[w]e are very peaceful and patient" and shows his predictions as a reaction "[i]f all legal and diplomatic processes fail." Yet, who is responsible for not meeting Herero and Nama demands? Again, the article focuses primarily on the effects of Herero and Nama statements in Namibia.

This quote is the last time that Katjiua is visible in the article. Next, the journalist moves on to interviewing Uhuru Dempers, who is part of the Ancestral Land Commission at the second land conference in Namibia. The land conference was organized by the Namibian government and was boycotted by some Herero and Nama organizations. Dempers is characterized in the article as follows:

> "Uhuru Dempers likes to say 'we as a civil society' when he speaks about his work. He is a pragmatic idealist, ready to negotiate compromises. […] It also means that Dempers got caught between two fronts. Some traditional authorities of the Ovaherero and Nama are boycotting the second land conference because they don't feel included. They criticize the Ancestral Land Commission as a campaign gimmick. 'I have even been called a traitor,' says Dempers, whose ancestors are Ovaherero, Nama and Damara. He is visibly hurt by this. 'I see the work in the Commission as just another side of the struggle, another strategy to achieve what we have fought for.'" (*Namibian*, 08.01.20; cf. *taz*, 16.11.19)

As with the example of Nguvauva from the *FAZ* above, Dempers is shown as "pragmatic" and "ready to negotiate compromises." This legitimizes his statements while also making the demands of Katjiua appear unpragmatic and uncompromising by comparison. In this way, the second land conference is constructed as a legitimate institution for addressing the demands of the Herero and Nama. Dempers is legitimized as a speaker through the statement that his "ancestors are Ovaherero, Nama and Damara," suggesting that he has a claim to represent Herero and Nama interests in the present. As was already visible for Katjiua, Dempers uses the personal pronoun "we" multiple times to suggest that he is speaking as part of the Herero and Nama communities. However, Dempers' role working for the Namibian government is not explicitly thematized. Dempers' emotional response to being called a "traitor" is pain ("visibly hurt"), suggesting that other Herero and Nama are the ones causing him pain. The pain caused rather than felt by the Herero and Nama is thus foregrounded and normalized as the perspective through which journalists write about the repercussions of the genocide.

"Like a poison": Reactions to land reform in Namibian journalism

Whereas German journalism has largely stopped showing German-speaking Namibian landowners as fearful of expropriation claims after 2015/2016, this pattern is still visible in Namibian journalism throughout my sample. As with the example from the *taz* above, the Herero and Nama are often shown in these articles inflicting pain on individuals in the present. Thus, rather than being explained through the past, the actions of the Herero and Nama are condemned through the perspective of the present and promise of the

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future. This present and future, however, is now described through the perspective of Germans and German-speaking Namibians.

In Namibian journalism, there are multiple articles in the *Namibian* and the *Namibian Sun* that focus exclusively on reactions by German-speaking Namibians to demands of land reform, even though the specific demands and the individuals making these demands often remain unspoken in this reporting. While *New Era* regularly reports on Herero and Nama criticism against the government, it does not prominently report on complaints about potential land expropriation by German-speaking Namibians. This reflects the sensitivity of the topic of land reform in Namibia, which already became clear in the different title used for the reprinting of the *taz* article above. However, despite the sensitivity of these topics, articles on land reform are some of the only spaces where German-speaking Namibians are explicitly heard in Namibian journalism. These articles are also some of the most explicit negations of Herero and Nama demands, which makes them important for understanding the boundaries of the un-/sayable and im-/possible underlying the discourse.

An article that exemplifies these boundaries is the news report "Expropriation threats 'like a poison'" (*Namibian Sun*, 27.03.19). The article uses a controversial quote to draw attention to its article, which highlights the apparent vulnerability of German-speaking Namibians. This is also visible in the subheading of the text, which is amplified in red font: "White Namibians of German heritage say expropriation threats are creating a rift between them and the Ovaherero" (*Namibian Sun*, 27.03.19). The article begins by introducing a German-speaking Namibian, Erika von Wietersheim:

> "During a panel discussion on Tuesday, organized by the European Centre for Constitutional and Human Rights as part of a symposium aimed at interrogating the 1904–08 genocide, an emotional Erica [*sic*] von Wietersheim said most German-speaking Namibians love their motherland, Namibia, adding the graves of their ancestors are there. 'Unfortunately, threatening remarks by your Chief Rukoro and others, threatening German-speaking farmers that they will take our farms, worked like a poison. They deepen the rift between the Herero and Germans instead of bringing us together,' she said." (*Namibian Sun*, 27.03.19)

In this quote, von Wietersheim first focuses on the "love" that German-speaking Namibians feel for the "motherland, Namibia." As with Vaatz in the *taz* article above, von Wietersheim clearly positions herself as a Namibian through her love for the country. She underlines this love through a connection to the past, noting that the "graves" of German-speaking Namibians' "ancestors" are in Namibia. Von Wietersheim's reference to the "common motherland" also shows that adherence to the nation is the primary framework in which legitimate claims can be made for the genocide, thereby implicitly going against many of the critiques of Herero and Nama organizations such as the OTA/NTLA.

From this position, von Wietersheim then moves on to "threatening remarks" that have been made by "your Chief Rukoro and others." The use of the word "your" is interesting, suggesting that she is addressing a Herero audience, even though this is not clarified anywhere in the article. Despite her declaration of national love above, the use of "your" produces a distinction between us and them, which is furthered by her later statement

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of "Germans" and "Hereros." Despite the love for the Namibian nation that is used to legitimize her speaking position, the German and Herero communities are still shown as distinct in her complaint. The symbolic use of poison is illustrative in the quote above: Describing Herero and Nama "threats" as a "poison" suggests that they are ruining an otherwise healthy body. The body does not have to be healed but is rather actively being harmed in this symbolic use of language. In this discursive structure, the Herero are again made responsible for "bringing us together." Furthermore, "bringing us together" is equated with not making threatening demands for material change towards the German-speaking Namibian community.

The *Namibian Sun* article continues by quoting Werner Hillebrecht, the former head of the Namibian National Archives, who suggests that both German-speaking Namibians and Herero and Nama should consider "the wider context of colonial rule." (*Namibian Sun*, 27.03.19) He notes that "these facts do not take away from the trauma inflicted on those directly affected by the genocide, but it is important to look at what happened afterwards." (*Namibian Sun*, 27.03.19) The "trauma" of the Herero and Nama is invoked and simultaneously located in the past, immediately moving to "what happened afterwards." Herero or Nama participants are not quoted in this article, which exclusively contains the statements of German-speaking Namibians.

The announcement of the 2021 joint declaration led to a slight shift in Namibian coverage: The rejection of demands for land expropriation is now frequently tied with the acceptance of the 2021 German-Namibian joint declaration. A *Namibian* article written by political journalist Charmaine Ngatjiheue shortly after the announcement of the joint declaration, entitled "Local Germans upset about land-grabbing threats" (15.06.21), exemplifies these discursive strategies. Again, the "upset" emotion of the "[l]ocal Germans" is the unquestioned basis of the article. The article interviews the chairperson of the Forum of German-speaking Namibians (FDN), Harald Hecht, who says:

> "Hecht in a statement yesterday said the forum has taken note of the fact that sections within the Ovaherero, Ovambanderu and Nama communities are dissatisfied with the negotiations and with the amount finally agreed upon. He said some of the community members' reactions, and in particular the tonality used, are 'neither acceptable nor helpful.' 'These could harm future efforts to reconcile and to find a peaceful way forward.'" (*Namibian*, 15.06.21)

Hecht here clearly outlines unacceptable forms of disagreeing with the "negotiations," specifically mentioning the "tonality used." He then suggests that this "could harm future efforts to reconcile" and is detrimental to peace. However, even though the focus of this article is still on land expropriation, Hecht's emphasis now shifts to accepting the 2021 joint declaration. The illegitimacy of the "tonality" of Herero and Nama community members is measured by how they react to the agreement. Hecht notes later in the article that "the FDN welcomes the negotiations and feels the pain and suffering endured during what Germany is now willing to call genocide." (*Namibian*, 15.06.21) Hecht's reference to the fact that the FDN "feels the pain and suffering" echoes Hillebrecht's focus on the "trauma" of the affected communities. Yet, in these articles, Hecht and Hillebrecht can

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outline legitimate statements about and (in-)appropriate reactions to this past trauma in the present.

How can German-speaking Namibians take on this role in Namibian reporting? And what impact does it have on shaping the discourse about reparations? For this, it is important to understand the position of German-speaking Namibians in Namibia, which is often implicit in many of the reactions to the "threats" above but only explicitly mentioned in the *AZ*.

On March 27, 2020, the secretary of the FDN, Anton von Wietersheim, writes a letter to the editor in the *AZ* to respond to criticism from a German reader, Helmut Lessing. Lessing had suggested that the FDN should not exist because it lends credence to the genocide claims of the Herero and Nama. Von Wietersheim writes:

> "The discussion group arose from the perception that German-speaking Namibians hardly participate effectively and meaningfully in current public events as a language and cultural group in the country. […] Such a development could have consequences for the continued existence of the German minority of around 0.7% of the population." (*AZ*, 27.03.20)

This quote exemplifies two interesting premises that underline the speakership of German-speaking Namibians. To begin, there is an understanding that "German-speaking Namibians hardly participate effectively" in Namibian debates. Second, there is an assumption that the German minority "of around 0.7% of the population" may no longer exist if it does not make its position heard. In this understanding, any threat against the livelihood or economic position of German-speaking Namibians is constructed as an existential threat.

The position of German-speaking Namibians outlined in this letter is to maintain their current position in society. From this understanding, any demands for the past are often shown as threats for the future. This juxtaposition of the future with the past is found multiple times in Namibian journalism. For example, in one guest article, the German-speaking Namibian scholar Henning Melber writes:

> "It is long overdue that the descendants of perpetrators meet and talk to the descendants of victims. Not for entering a blame game, but for seeking a common future based on a shared past – as different as the perspectives might be." (*Namibian*, 19.05.20)

This quote effectively sums up many of the strategies seen above. The Herero and Nama can reach reconciliation if they do not "enter[…] a blame game" and accept the current power relations, with the suggestion that this can lead to a "common future." This adds critical nuance to the idea of "prospective memory" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014): Rather than the past being used to motivate future action, visions of the future are used to limit connections to the past. The journalistic normalization of German-speaking Namibian speakership above shapes this juxtaposition of future and past to legitimize the maintenance of current power structures.

This journalistic construction is not limited to the position of German-speaking Namibians but is also found in German journalism. Here, the Herero and Nama are fre-

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quently asked to renounce any hatred for the present German collective to legitimately make demands in the present. For instance, in a *taz* interview with the Berlin-based Herero activist Israel Kaunatjike, the interviewer asks, "Do you have a grudge against Germans?" (*taz*, 08.04.17) Kaunatjike responds with the words, "No, we don't hate the Germans. Hereros don't attack them, either. It's about coming to terms with the past and mutual respect. We have no tradition of hate. But we also don't want to be told what we should do." (*taz*, 08.04.17) Kaunatjike must first confirm that there is no "hatred" towards Germans and reaffirm that "Hereros don't attack them" before making his demands. This structure is often found in German-language newspapers, where Hereros often emphasize that they mean no harm to all Germans and are even friends with those that support them (cf. *AZ*, 02.02.18; *AZ*, 05.09.19; *FAZ*, 02.10.21). Hence, performances or expressions of affinity towards Germany are frequently equated with a willingness to reconcile and a position of moderation in the discourse.

Given these examples, which power relations does the construction of reconciliation through the juxtaposition of past and future maintain or challenge between Germany and Namibia in the present? While the effects of the Herero and Nama genocide are often localized in Namibia, as shown through the topic of land reform, the entangled power structures underlying journalistic memory production often become clear in questions of tourism in the present.

8.2.2 "The 'sentimental values' of some individuals": The economic limits of the past

A subtheme that became clear in the chapter above is that Herero and Nama demands and speakers are often not only shown as a physical threat to German-speaking Namibians but more concretely as an economic threat to the entire Namibian nation. This is especially visible in coverage on public renaming and local protests in Namibia, which is often tied to the question of German tourism. In this chapter, I show how these protests in Namibia are shaped through the representative structures outlined above.

A typical example of this can be found in an interview in *New Era* with the Swakopmund-based activist Laidlaw Peringanda, who advocates for the removal of the *Marinedenkmal*[9] in Swakopmund. In 2015, Peringanda is interviewed by *New Era*'s local correspondent Eveline de Klerk in a page-long article entitled "Coastal Activists Call for Removal of Marine Denkmal" (*New Era*, 17.07.15). The article begins with a brief preface on the monument: "The monument was first unveiled on July 26, 1908, under the German colonial regime and has stood in its place for 107 years. It was proclaimed a national monument on January 2, 1969." (*New Era*, 17.07.15) Through this description, the monument is not explicitly connected to the genocide, even though the reporter notes that the communities who want the monument removed are "[d]escendants of the survivors of the genocide of 1904–08" (*New Era*, 17.07.15). Again, the genocide is the implicit background rather than the main subject of this article. The request to remove the *Marinedenkmal* is shown as part of a present-day debate.

9 See Zeller (2016b, p. 195) for an in-depth description of the *Marinedenkmal*, which commemorates German naval soldiers that died in 1904 during the colonial war in GSWA.

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The interviewer first asks Peringanda to outline his motivation for the removal of the *Marinedenkmal*:

> "I have been a resident for long in Swakopmund and through the years I have seen people, especially tourists, coming and taking pictures at the monument. And watching how excited they are when they do this made me realize that this monument is mocking Namibians." (*New Era*, 17.07.15)

Peringanda's criticism is not directed at the monument's relativization of past genocidal events (cf. Zeller, 2016b), but interestingly at its current role in attracting German tourists. He notes "how excited they are" when they visit and photograph the *Marinedenkmal*. He takes direct aim at the present emotions of excitement that German tourists are expressing at these monuments and, by extension, towards German colonial history.

Later in the interview, de Klerk asks Peringanda, "As you know, this monument is a major tourist attraction at Swakopmund. Will the removal of the monument not affect our tourism industry, which could lead to further unemployment?" (*New Era*, 17.07.15) With this question, de Klerk makes a few discursive connections: First, the emotions of German tourists towards the monument are shown in terms of an economic benefit to Namibians. Second, by suggesting that the monument is a "major tourist attraction," the journalist makes Peringanda responsible for the threat of "unemployment" that would apparently occur if the *Marinedenkmal* were removed from Swakopmund. Peringanda responds, "Yes, it's an undeniable fact that Swakopmund is a tourist town and attracts thousands of tourists every year, but is that the only attraction we have?" (*New Era*, 17.07.15) In another part of the interview, he says, "I admit that there will be undesirable consequences if we succeed in removing the monument. One of those will most probably be the relationship between the two countries, and funding of our country will be one of the areas that may be affected." (*New Era*, 17.07.15)[10] Through this answer, a threat towards the position of German heritage, even if mainly symbolic, is immediately portrayed as an economic peril that would impact all Namibians. In this understanding, the current economic and tourist relations between Germany and Namibia are premised on Germany's positive rather than negative associations with the colonial past.

The example above from *New Era* adds to the findings above: The connection of German tourists to the past is shown in present economic terms. While German tourists can positively connect to the colonial past, the only connection possible for Herero and Nama activists or authorities is to move beyond the past. To further explore this structure, I will now highlight an example from debates on the renaming of Lüderitz, which was covered in the *SZ* and in the *Namibian* in 2015.

In 2015, the *SZ*'s foreign correspondent in Africa, Tobias Zick, writes a page-long article entitled "The difficult sound of names" (*SZ*, 14.04.15) about local Namibian debates to rename the city of Lüderitz to !Nami≠nûs. The article Zick begins his article by setting the scene in Lüderitz:

10 Peringanda's interpretation is especially interesting since the *Reiterdenkmal* statue in Windhoek was removed in 2009 with no change in relations with the German government. See Shigwedha (2023) for an in-depth description of the debates surrounding the *Reiterdenkmal*.

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> "Something white gleams in the sand, the woman bends down and reaches for it with her thumb and forefinger: a vertebra, small and fragile. […] Human remains laid bare by the wind: Nothing unusual in this part of the Namibian desert. Barbara Fredericks, 43 years old, knows this old graveyard […] the Germans used to bury many of their victims here. Probably also her great-grand-uncle Cornelius Fredericks, who led the uprising against the colonial masters [*Kolonialherren*]." (*SZ*, 14.04.15)

In this example, Barbara Fredericks is directly connected to the past through her great-grand-uncle Cornelius Fredericks. The bones "laid bare by the wind" connect past and present while also localizing the effects of the past in Namibia. The finding of human remains is shown as "[n]othing unusual in this part of the Namibian desert," suggesting that this is a commonplace occurrence, in contrast to the experiences of the home audience in Germany.

This connection to the past initially shapes Fredericks' speaking position. In the next part of the article, Zick asks Fredericks what she thinks about efforts to stop the renaming of Lüderitz to !Nami≠nûs: "'It hurts,' says Barbara Fredericks. 'Why don't people want to understand which associations the term Lüderitz evokes for us Nama?'" (*SZ*, 14.04.15) Here, Fredericks expresses pain at the thought that some individuals do not want to rename Lüderitz. This pain is legitimized through a connection to the past, whereby Lüderitz evokes memories of the genocide for the Nama community.

To this point, the article above challenges many of the power relations above, as a Nama speaker is shown making demands for the present through a connection to the past based on pain rather than immediately evoking conflict or threats. The article then shifts away from Fredericks as Zick interviews opponents of the name change. He visits the Lüderitz Museum, which displays artifacts from German colonialism. In the museum, Zick speaks to a German-speaking Namibian cashier, as outlined through this brief exchange:

> "The German Imperial flag [*Reichsfahne*] in black, red and gold hangs above the cashier's desk […]. Wasn't there something else going on back then? The cashier, Betty Klein, born in 1938, looks up from her crossword puzzle and shrugs her shoulders. […] A very unpleasant chapter, but at the same time, 'You can't undo the past.'" (*SZ*, 14.04.15)

The description of the German Imperial flag and the mention of Klein's birth date suggest that her position is outdated relative to Zick and his home audience. This applies strategies that are often used to position Herero and Nama speakers to a German-speaking Namibian (cf. chapter 8.1.1): Klein is shown in an anachronistic position that can be judged from the current standpoint of the foreign correspondent and his audience. Zick punctures the revisionist connection to the past suggested by the "German Imperial Flag" by asking if there was "something else going on back then."

After this interaction with Klein, Zick interviews another German-speaking Namibian "who is doing everything he can to resist the renaming": "Ulf Grünewald, manager of the biggest hotel in the place" (*SZ*, 14.04.15). The journalist legitimizes Grünewald's claims by suggesting that he is not revisionist, unlike Klein: "[He is] anything but a German revisionist [*Deutschtümler*]. His wife is 'colored,' a Black woman from South Africa"

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(*SZ*, 14.04.15). Through the body of his Black wife, the journalist emphasizes Grünewald's embeddedness in modern values. In this way, his arguments are shown as a legitimate mode of disagreement with the name change. In the text, his arguments are presented as purely economic rather than personally motivated:

> "No, his opposition has nothing to do with German nostalgia, says Grünewald; he argues economically: Who should bear the costs? The government? Aren't there more pressing problems in Namibia?" (*SZ*, 14.04.15)

This description suggests that emotions of "nostalgia" for the German colonial past and economic argumentation are incompatible. At the same time, Grünewald's position as a seemingly uninvolved observer with purely economic interests is taken at face value, and his economic position as a hotel owner in Lüderitz is not questioned.

Interestingly, Grünewald's economic position is also visible in a *Namibian* article written by Luqman Cloete, who often writes articles pertaining to the Nama community. However, in the *Namibian* article, Grünewald implicitly voices his business interests through a discursive connection between the name of "Lüderitz" and the "nostalgia" of German tourists:

> "According to Grunewald [*sic*], businesspeople in the town opposed the name change because it will 'badly affect' their business. 'They are selling their businesses under the trade name Lüderitz,' Grunewald explained, adding that the proposed name change will also impact negatively on tourism. He noted that 60% of tourists visiting the town are German citizens because its name has a German origin." (*Namibian*, 24.02.15)

Again, Grünewald makes an economic argument in opposition of the renaming of Lüderitz, even though he is quoted with different arguments in this *Namibian* article than in the *SZ* article. Grünewald represents the interests of "businesspeople" in the town, which are not shown as personally connected to German colonial history or to the German tourists they serve. Yet, it is precisely Grünewald's position as a German businessman that enables him to interpret the motivations of "German citizens" visiting Lüderitz "because its name has a German origin." The statistics and suggestions of Grünewald are not questioned by the journalist and are suggested to be representations of reality.

The position of the Herero and Nama demands, which apparently stand contrary to these economic considerations, is voiced by another participant in the meeting, Reginald Hercules:

> "[Hercules] accused the government of wanting to impose the name change on the residents to satisfy the 'sentimental values' of some individuals. This was an apparent reference to the !Aman chief Dawid Frederick who proposed the name change 10 years ago." (*Namibian*, 24.02.15)

Effectively, this discursive structure implies the "'sentimental values'" of paying German tourists are more important than those of the Nama. By suggesting that the name change

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is being "impose[d]" by the Namibian government, Hercules avoids direct criticism towards the Nama, even as he describes their demands as "sentimental." In the logic of both the *SZ* and the *Namibian* articles on the name change, these sentiments are implicitly understood to be incompatible with business interests, which are journalistically represented by German-speaking Namibian business owners in both articles. In the *Namibian* article, Dawid Frederick[11] is not quoted, and his characterization by Hercules remains unopposed.

In the *SZ* article on the renaming of Lüderitz, foreign correspondent Zick ends the article by once again speaking to Barbara Fredericks. When asking what she thinks about the change, he writes: "Such suggestions make Barbara Fredericks even more angry. 'Whoever talks like that just shows that they understood nothing.' She stands in front of the memorial slab for Cornelius Fredericks on Shark Island." (*SZ*, 14.04.15) Fredericks' expression of anger here is indicative of the different temporal framework underlying her expressions. Whereas her emotion towards the feelings that the genocide evokes as a past event was pain, her emotion towards the debate in the present is anger. Additionally, by only quoting Fredericks with emotions, her arguments on the case are effectively shown as "sentimental" (*Namibian*, 24.02.15). The power structures enabling Grünewald, an economically elite business owner in Lüderitz catering to German tourists, to speak with apparent neutrality as a figure of compromise are not questioned, neither in the *SZ* nor in the *Namibian*.

The emphasis on the "feelings" of the Herero and Nama is found multiple times in my sample, often in descriptions of Herero and Nama criticism towards the genocide negotiations: "The main problem from the perspective of the Herero and Nama is that their most important leaders do not view themselves as represented by the Namibian government and feel left out of the negotiations with Namibia." (*taz*, 29.05.21) The formulation that the Herero and Nama "feel" a certain way about the negotiations (cf. *taz*, 10.08.19; *FAZ*, 29.05.21; *SZ*, 25.01.18) shifts the focus of their critique away from tangible material realities towards the felt reality of the Herero and Nama. Even when journalists engage with demands for legally binding and exclusive reparations, their argument centers on appeasing the feelings of the Herero and Nama to avoid unpredictable or threatening outbursts of anger rather than engaging with the substance of their criticism.

To a degree, this reflects prior findings for German journalistic reporting: "The articles reproduce common colonial and racist dichotomies by constructing rationality as Western and attributing emotionality to the 'others.'" (Rausch, 2023b, p. 188). However, the chapters above have shown that the directionality of these emotions towards the past, present and future is important to understand how the expression of emotions is de-/legitimized in journalism. Robel (2013, p. 74) writes that the legitimization of genocide victims' demands hinges upon the recognition of their deaths as painful (cf. Butler, 2009, p. 1). While my analysis does not specifically explore affects and emotions in its theoretical lens, it is interesting to note that emotions of pain and suffering typically become possible when Herero and Nama look back towards or reenact the past. However, any ex-

11 There is a disparity between the German and Namibian writing of this family's last name; in the *SZ*, they are referred to as the "Fredericks" family, and in the *Namibian*, as the "Frederick" family.

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pression of emotion in the present is almost exclusively shown in terms of conflict, anger and frustration.

In many of the discursive strategies above, the Herero and Nama are shown requiring a translator to bring their demands into the present or to provide a moderate perspective to seemingly radical demands. This raises the question: How do German speakers become part of the representative structures outlined above? And how do they shape the prospective demands that can be made for the events of 1904–1908?

8.3 "Hardly secret Bismarck admirers": Positioning German speakership against the past

The previous chapters have shown that German-speaking individuals are often not directly connected to the past in journalistic reporting. While the previous chapter has primarily analyzed how this functions to limit the prospective demands of the Herero and Nama, this chapter now explores how journalism produces the conditions through which German speakers can legitimately produce connections between the 1904–1908 genocide and the present. In this way, the chapter brings together the various discursive structures that have been outlined in the previous chapters. It also draws attention to the articles that are primarily focused on the genocide as part of a local academic and cultural debate in Germany (cf. chapter 6.2). As I show in this chapter, the representative structures that construct this discursive strand are inseparable from the speakership position of the Herero and Nama communities outlined in the previous chapters.

To this end, chapter 8.3.1 explores how journalism constructs historical authority in its production of cultural memory. This connects with previous findings, which have shown that German academics take on an important transnational role in shaping German and Namibian memory discourse (cf. chapter 6) and that German journalists often position themselves against an unknowledgeable German collective (cf. chapter 7.3). The following chapter 8.3.1 now goes one step further and asks how German-language journalism produces the structures in which German-speaking "experts" can make claims for the Herero and Nama community. Chapter 8.3.2 then considers how the performance of (newfound) knowledge is also used to position German-speaking political speakers and articulate legitimate demands in journalism. Finally, chapter 8.3.3 asks how Herero and Nama speakers interact with, challenge or negate these demands in coverage, thereby bringing together the results of this and the previous chapter 8.2. For this, chapter 8.3.3 focuses specifically on restitution ceremonies, which is where the cracks and tensions in journalistic memory production become most visible in my sample. This will then function as a springboard for my final discussion and conclusion.

8.3.1 German-speaking academics: Knowing the past, speaking in the present

In the following chapter, I begin by showcasing the transnational role of German-speaking academics in German and Namibian journalism. This will allow me to uncover representative structures that extend well beyond academic speakership and shape who can speak and make demands for Herero and Nama interests in the present.

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Academic authority in journalistic memory production

Wolff (2018, p. 425) has shown that, in the past few decades, German-speaking historians have played an important role in shaping German newspaper coverage on the Herero and Nama genocide. As chapter 6.1 indicated, this prominence of German historians is also found in Namibian journalism. At first glance, the prominent position of German-speaking historians in journalistic coverage appears self-evident: There are no more living witnesses for the Herero and Nama genocide, which means historians could thus provide an important perspective to describe what happened in the past. However, as chapter 3.3 has shown, research on Holocaust commemorations finds that academic authority in Israeli journalism is often rejected in favor of biographical authority because witnesses "did not agree with historians' conclusions regarding the Holocaust" (Zandberg, 2010, p. 13). This led Israeli newspapers to only draw on academic writers if they "held two sources of authority – biographic and academic" (Zandberg, 2010, p. 14).

Zandberg's (2010) results open questions about why German academics continue to hold prominent positions in both German *and* Namibian journalism, especially since I do not find any instances of Herero or Nama authorities or politicians disagreeing or even engaging with historians in journalistic coverage. In addition, biographic authority is never explicitly used to introduce or legitimize German-speaking scholars in German and Namibian journalism. Again, at first glance, this makes sense: Showing German speakers through personal connections to the colonial settlers and soldiers responsible for the 1904–1908 genocide would presumably not legitimize their speaking position. Instead, both German and Namibian journalists often exclusively introduce German-speaking academics through their professional titles, as these two typical examples demonstrate: "Henning Melber is an extraordinary professor in the department of political science at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. Reinhart Kössler is a professor in political science at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany." (*Namibian Sun*, 21.05.20) "Jürgen Zimmerer, born in 1965, is a professor of African history at the University of Hamburg and heads the research center 'Hamburg's (post-)colonial heritage / Hamburg and early globalization'" (*taz*, 02.06.16).

In this way, journalism signals to its audience that the discursive authority of Melber and Zimmerer is rooted in their disciplinary expertise. Yet, whereas the *taz* describes Zimmerer as a "professor of African history," giving him a thematic connection to the Herero and Nama genocide, this is not the case for Melber and Kößler, who are described as professors of political science with no discernable connection to the Herero and Nama genocide.[12] Moreover, as chapter 6.2 has shown, German academics typically do not write commemorative articles on the genocide but instead overwhelmingly provide analysis on the ongoing German-Namibian negotiations, frequently articulating demands towards the German government. In this sense, their speaking role is not functionally different from that of many Herero and Nama speakers (cf. chapter 8.2). How does their position shape their representative power in journalistic memory production?

12 Both Kößler and Melber have extensively researched the Herero and Nama genocide, as has become clear in chapter 2. However, by merely introducing them through their academic discipline, as many Namibian newspapers do, this subject matter expertise often remains unspoken in favor of their official academic position.

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Even though their "biographic" authority (Zandberg, 2010, p. 12) typically remains unspoken, I find that the personal position of German-speaking individuals still plays an important role between the lines of journalistic coverage. To exemplify this, I briefly focus on how German and Namibian journalism shapes the role of the German-speaking Namibian academic Henning Melber. Melber's guest articles and interviews are printed widely in both German and Namibian newspapers. Therefore, focusing on his role can help to expand some of the normalization strategies described above.

After the announcement of the 2021 joint declaration, the *SZ* published an interview with Henning Melber in the cultural rubric entitled "That remains an open wound" (*SZ*, 04.08.21). This quote is telling: Melber himself is not shown as "wound[ed]"; instead, he observes and interprets this wound for a German audience (cf. chapter 8.1). Melber is introduced in the article as a "political scientist and sociologist […] who has researched German-Namibian history for over 40 years" (*SZ*, 04.08.21). Interestingly, the article does not mention that Melber is a German-speaking Namibian until the very last question, where the journalist notes that Melber has been a SWAPO member since 1974. Hence, the earlier questions that the journalist poses appear to be merely asking Melber about his academic expertise. The first question to Melber is, "Mr. Melber, what are the most serious allegations against the agreement?" (*SZ*, 04.08.21) Melber responds:

> "On the one hand, the promised cash payment of 1.1 billion euros was criticized as being far too small. On the other hand, descendants of the Herero and Nama are outraged that they were not involved in the negotiations. Both are serious allegations. If reconciliation is meant seriously, it must be practiced with the descendants of those primarily affected by the genocide, particularly the Herero and Nama, but also the Damara and San ('Bushmen'), who were also victims of colonial crimes." (*SZ*, 04.08.21)

In this answer, Melber begins by summarizing the criticisms and "outrage[…]" of "the Herero and Nama." Then, he moves on to setting the boundaries of legitimate reconciliation and providing his own interpretation. By placing this interpretation after the summary of Herero and Nama criticisms, he can position himself as making suggestions in their interest. His interpretation notes that all "those primarily affected by the genocide" should be included in the negotiations – meaning not only the Herero and Nama, but also the Damara and San. As chapter 7.2 has shown, this is an argument often used by Namibian government speakers to delegitimize Herero and Nama claims for exclusive reparations. Even if this is not Melber's intention, his statement can nonetheless remain unquestioned because he is shown as an expert and a legitimate representative of Herero and Nama interests, who are not interviewed for this article.

In response to Melber's answer, the interviewer asks, "But a government must always negotiate with another government. How is everyone supposed to sit at the same table?" (*SZ*, 04.08.21) Melber responds:

> "The Herero and Nama peoples' criticism of exclusion from the negotiations is not primarily towards the German government, but at least equally directed at the Namibian government. […] The Namibian government is dominated by the northern population

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> groups of the Ovambo, who were never robbed of their land and were never the target of genocidal warfare." (*SZ*, 04.08.21)

Instead of making concrete suggestions for the German government based on Herero and Nama critiques, the interview turns to inner-Namibian politics. Through the construction of Melber as a speaker, these demands are not shown as his opinion but rather as a suggestion based on impersonal observation of Herero and Nama communities. In the final interview question, the journalist asks why Melber criticizes SWAPO even though he is a SWAPO member. Melber's response to this is that "The slogan 'Solidarity, Freedom, Justice' was never truly realized." (*SZ*, 04.08.21) The journalist does not ask why Melber became a SWAPO member or what his personal history with Namibia is. Melber can criticize Namibian power structures without having to reflect on his position within these structures.

This example shows how academic authority in journalism often obscures the personal position of German-speaking scholars. A counterexample of this journalistic positioning of Melber can be found in a single *Namibian* article in my sample. In a 2020 opinion piece entitled "Dealing with genocide," Melber writes about conflicts in the German-speaking Namibian community. At the end of the text, Melber's biographical note untypically reads, "Henning Melber came to Namibia in 1967 as the son of German immigrants. He joined SWAPO in 1974." (*Namibian*, 19.05.20) Melber's authority to write about and to the German-speaking Namibian community is now rooted in his biographic position as "the son of German immigrants" and as a member of SWAPO, which provides him with a specific position in the Namibian discourse.

While Melber, as a German-speaking Namibian academic, inhabits a unique position, he nevertheless functions as a prominent example of the role academic authority plays in shaping journalistic memory production. Academic authority enables speakers to present their interpretations as "truth" in journalism. This normalizes German-speaking academics' representative position in conveying the demands of "the" Herero and Nama, even though their claims often contradict the demands outlined in chapter 8.2, as will be described in more detail below. In the context of the Herero and Nama genocide, this discursive strategy also disconnects speakers from the past they are describing, enabling Melber to speak as an individual academic rather than as a representative of "the" Germans or German-speaking Namibians.

"Truly independent 'scholars'": Defending academic authority through/despite biographic authority

The function of academic authority in journalism's production of knowledge about the genocide is particularly clear when considering the debates surrounding "true" academic authority, especially in the German-language Namibian newspaper *AZ*. This newspaper often publishes opinion articles that critique German historians for not sufficiently knowing the colonial source material. The focus on colonial source material to legitimize academic authority connects to the findings of chapter 7: Most of the sources on the Herero and Nama genocide come from the descendants of German settlers and soldiers. While German-speaking individuals are rarely directly connected to these events, their access to this source material legitimizes their discursive authority in memory pro-

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duction. A figure that exemplifies this strategy across my German-language material is the German-speaking Namibian farmer Heinrich Schneider-Waterberg. In a guest comment published in the *AZ* in 2015 and entitled "Free from having to provide evidence" (*AZ*, 30.10.15), Schneider-Waterberg makes the argument that the Herero and Nama genocide did not occur. To legitimize his argument, he draws on a suggestion from the Herero opposition politician McHenry Venaani that the discussion of the Herero and Nama genocide should take place in an "educated" atmosphere:

> "If that is what Venaani wants, the negotiation of the Herero War should be entrusted to truly independent 'scholars' who understand the primary sources, in contrast to some loud Bundestag politicians who, if at all, have obviously read little more than one bad book on the subject." (*AZ*, 30.10.15)

Using Venaani's quote as a springboard, Schneider-Waterberg outlines who is a legitimate representative of past knowledge: independent "scholars" who understand the primary sources. These scholars are then contrasted with "some loud Bundestag politicians" who have only "read little more than one bad book on the subject." The knowledge of and access to primary source material thus distinguishes "true" knowledge about the genocide.

Importantly, Schneider-Waterberg's quote above assumes that all "scholars" involved in the discussion on the genocide are German-speaking individuals: The question is not *whether*, but *which* German-speaking individuals should be heard. In this way, Schneider-Waterberg can suggest that German politicians are not adequately "informed" without having to make the argument for increased Herero and Nama speakership. This strategy is important because it extends well beyond the *AZ*: Through the construction of academic authority as a legitimized position for producing "true" knowledge about the Herero and Nama genocide, the "sphere of legitimate controversy" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117) continues to be drawn exclusively around German perspectives, effectively silencing Herero and Nama perspectives. This strategy will continue to be explored throughout this chapter.

Another example of journalism's (de-)construction of academic authority is found in a comment written by the former editor-in-chief of the *AZ*, Eberhard Hofmann. The article is a review of a genocide symposium held in Windhoek for which multiple German academics travelled to Namibia. Hofmann ends his column with the words:

> "Now many Namibians of German descent represent an irritation for the dogmatic genocide camp. The explanation is simple and once again became clear at the recent symposium: Genocide dogmatists base their position selectively and one-sidedly in chronic myopia on sources such as the British Blue Book and historiography from the GDR. So, they keep stewing in the juices of post-factual smugness. They can neither tolerate nor strive for an integrated view of history based on a comparative study of sources. Recommendation: Do a critical source review, don't just parrot others [*nachplappern*]." (*AZ*, 02.04.19)

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Here, Hofmann is explicitly pitting "Namibians of German descent" against the "dogmatic genocide camp." However, instead of considering the personal positions that might make one group more disposed to deny that the events of 1904–1908 were genocide, he suggests that the "[g]enocide dogmatists" are not doing historical research correctly, instead making their arguments "selectively and one-sidedly in chronic myopia" (*AZ*, 02.04.19). In the quote above, the "British Blue Book" and "historiography from the GDR"[13] are shown as illegitimate sources in academic knowledge production that amplify "myopia" by presumably only highlighting one perspective. The use of figurative language and colloquial phrases shows how the author uses the scientific paradigm to discredit German historians: They should be listening to contrasting perspectives (instead of "stewing in their own juices"), should voice their own opinion (instead of "parrot[ing] others") and should do "critical source review." The contrast that Hofmann draws between German-speaking Namibians and German historians is a contrast within the paradigm of academic research rather than of personal position. Again, the claim that there is a need for academic approaches to the genocide is not denied; the claim is merely that German historians are not doing research correctly. However, the ability of German-speaking historians to do this "research" is implicitly tied to their personal position, which enables them to access colonial source material.

Aspects of this discursive strategy can also be found in German papers, especially in descriptions of Heinrich Schneider-Waterberg. In a controversial *Spiegel* article written in 2016 that questioned whether the events of 1904–1908 were genocide (cf. chapter 6.2.3), foreign correspondent Bartholomäus Grill introduces Schneider-Waterberg with the words:

> "Schneider-Waterberg […] leaning on a stick, walks into the house library. There are three dozen old maps on the walls, mountains of paper everywhere, documents, historical books – the Namibiana collection alone contains over a thousand works. This is where Schneider-Waterberg delved into his country's colonial prehistory; this is where the sources of his controversial book 'Make way for the truth' [*Der Wahrheit eine Gasse*] lie. It is an attempt to refute the thesis of German genocide." (*Spiegel*, 11.06.16)

The scene-setting of Schneider-Waterberg's farm as filled with "old maps […], mountains of paper everywhere, documents, historical books" suggests that he is knowledgeable. It legitimizes his "controversial book" by suggesting that the book is a condensation of this source material. A similar characterization for Schneider-Waterberg is used in a 2021 *FAZ* article written by foreign correspondent Claudia Bröll:

13 In Haritos (2019), I have explored how the GDR functions to outline the boundaries of the un-/sayable in the discursive production of the Herero and Nama genocide, especially in the *AZ*. This reflects a larger history between Namibia and the former GDR, especially during the Namibian liberation struggle (cf. chapter 2.2). The *AZ* continues this pattern from 2015 to 2021, even though it is now primarily delegated to letters to the editor and opinion pieces by the former editor-in-chief Eberhard Hofmann, suggesting a potential shift in how the boundaries of the un-/sayable are being drawn, as I show here.

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> "There are few people in Namibia who have dealt so intensively with the Herero War and the German colonial period. The now almost 90-year-old farmer has put together a library with thousands of books, documents and historical maps of Africa. […] After meticulous specialist research, he found discrepancies between the accounts of some historians and his own findings." (*FAZ*, 02.10.21)

In both examples, Schneider-Waterberg is shown as a speaker whose opinions rest on meticulous research ("*akribischen Fachrecherchen*"). It is interesting to note that in this description, Bröll takes over Schneider-Waterberg's own language (cf. *AZ*, 30.10.15) by referring to the "Herero War." These two articles focus on performances of academic authority, such as an extensive library, to indicate Schneider-Waterberg's authority to speak in the discourse.

The examples above show how historical expertise is often implicitly combined with experience in German journalism, where the assumption is that most readers do not have direct experience with conditions in Namibia. However, this focus on "experience" is rarely used to justify including more Herero and Nama perspectives. Instead, it connects to and expands the biographic and academic authority that Zandberg (2010, pp. 13–14) noted. Rather than biographic experience discrediting academic authority, German journalism especially often uses the latter to obscure biographic experience and continue to draw the boundaries of "legitimate controversy" (cf. Hallin, 1986, p. 117) around other German-speaking individuals. It is important to note that this discursive strategy does not only apply to German-speaking academics but rather to a wide variety of individuals who are positioned through their (lack of) knowledge about the genocide, as I show in the following examples. For this, the following section now asks: How does the speakership position described in this chapter shape which prospective demands can legitimately be made for the Herero and Nama communities in journalism?

"Something more highly symbolic"

A typical example that shows how academic authority intersects with prospective memorialization can be found in a reprint from the German local paper *Berliner Zeitung* in the *AZ*. The article was written by Ulrich van der Heyden, whom the *AZ* introduces as a "historian and specialist for African colonial history working at the Free University and the Humboldt University of Berlin as well as in Pretoria" (*AZ*, 31.12.19). Interestingly, this article is not introduced as "opinion" but is rather placed on page two in the politics section, demonstrating its importance for the *AZ* despite its obvious focus on local Berlin politics.

The teaser of the article states that "[v]an der Heyden tries to separate real facts from aberrations in the debate" (*AZ*, 31.12.19). Van der Heyden also makes use of this argument in the text when he writes, "Claims are often made or spread uncritically without any in-depth knowledge of the sources, which only causes astonishment among experts." (*AZ*, 31.12.19) Van der Heyden thus positions himself as one of the "experts" who is "astonish[ed]," legitimizing his own position through the apparent lack of knowledge held by other Germans. In this way, he also legitimizes his suggestions that counter local demands to rename streets in Berlin:

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> "Should other cities or even villages now also take responsibility for 'their' colonial past? […] This could be the task of a broad political debate. Memorial activities and improving knowledge of colonialism in museums, schools and universities could be included. That is very necessary!" (*AZ*, 31.12.19)

Van der Heyden's demand for "a broad political debate" as well as "[m]emorial activities and improving knowledge" reflects his discursive legitimization as a historical expert on the genocide. He is not just the person who can speak about the solution: In a way, he *is* the solution, since he is able to provide the "knowledge of colonialism" he simultaneously demands. This shows how the personal position of speakers becomes intertwined with their prospective memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide. Moreover, although van der Heyden separates himself from other Germans who argue for street renaming, his prospective tasks overlap with many of the same solutions proposed by German-speaking "experts" across German and Namibian newspapers.

To exemplify this, it is useful to consider the guest articles that the German historian Jürgen Zimmerer writes for all German newspapers in my sample. A typical argument articulated in these guest articles can be found in the piece entitled "Colonialism is not a game," published on page 11 in the cultural rubric of the *FAZ*. In this article, Zimmerer primarily critiques the Humboldt Forum; however, during this critique, he also references the current German-Namibian government negotiations:

> "While the mood in Namibia is becoming more and more tense, the Herero and Nama are trying to take legal action in New York to enforce their participation in the negotiations and reparations […]. Germany must face its colonial past. There is currently no central location for this. The inaction of foreign policy experts and museum planners intensifies the criticism" (*FAZ*, 09.08.17).

This example shows how the discursive structures described in chapter 8.2 intersect with and shape Zimmerer's representative position in the article. Zimmerer begins by noting that the mood in Namibia is becoming more "tense," suggesting a potential eruption in the future. Zimmerer uses the perception of the tension in Namibia to argue that Germany "must face its colonial past." He then acts as the discursive authority who can determine what the German readership and German institutions should do.

Importantly, Zimmerer's suggestion for how Germany should "face its colonial past" does not engage with Herero and Nama demands for "reparations." Instead, he notes that "[t]here is currently no central location" for confronting colonialism. This enables Zimmerer to make his argument: "There needs to be an open discussion by civil society(s) [*Zivilgesellschaft(en)*] about the meaning and also the significance of the world-historical phenomenon of colonialism for Germany as well as for the colonized (both in the German colonial empire and beyond)." (*FAZ*, 09.08.17) The idea of an "open discussion" mirrors van der Heyden's demands earlier in this chapter for "a broad political debate" (*AZ*, 31.12.19). At the end of the article above, Zimmerer notes that there is "currently no central location" for Germany "to face its colonial past." He then mentions in a side note that "Hamburg

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could be a good option due to its central role in colonialism" (*FAZ*, 09.08.17)[14]. This reflects Zimmerer's personal position as a professor in Hamburg, even as the legitimization of his discursive authority in the article suggests that he is speaking for the Herero and Nama.

The effect of this discursive structure is that cultural demands are frequently not shown in contrast or dialogue with Herero and Nama demands but are rather equated with Herero and Nama desires. As Zimmerer notes in one interview, "Something more highly symbolic is needed [*Es braucht etwas Hochsymbolischeres*]." (*FAZ*, 03.01.19) In an opinion piece published in the *taz* one week before the announcement of the joint declaration, Zimmerer even mentions the disparity between cultural solutions and material demands:

> "For true decolonization, it is not enough to return objects and distribute art – it is also necessary to share wealth and opportunities. Perhaps now would be the moment to visibly connect both topics. Why not fill the Schlüterhof [*courtyard of the Humboldt Forum, C.H.*] with sand from the Omaheke Desert, where German colonial troops wanted to let the Hereros perish in 1904, or break the baroque facade with barbed wire, which is reminiscent of the concentration camps of that time?" (*taz*, 17.05.21; cf. *taz*, 02.06.16)

While Zimmerer notes the importance of "wealth and opportunities" being "share[d]," his suggestion exclusively focuses on a symbolic gesture by a German museum. While Zimmerer critiques the form of exhibition, the German museum remains normalized as a legitimate institution for negotiating and producing knowledge about the Herero and Nama genocide. According to A. Assmann (2018b, p. 57), museums are expressions of archival rather than functional memory. This is useful for understanding the relationship to the past embodied and expressed by German-speaking experts in journalism: The events of 1904–1908 can be spoken and learned about by a German audience, but they do not have to be ritually relived or placed in a direct connection with the daily lives of German speakers and audiences in the present. Cultural citizenship, and thus legitimate speakership, is produced through distinction from the past, which is performed through knowledge of the past. At the same time, the directionality of Zimmerer's suggestion reflects the directionality of speaking power in the discourse: Material from the Omaheke desert is taken to fill a museum courtyard in Germany.

This directionality is exemplified in another *taz* article on a local museum exhibition on colonial photographs. Zimmerer, the initiator of the exhibition, describes it as follows:

> "A Hamburg historian is working on the photos, and there are three artists from Namibia who are developing their own projects and their own language. At the end we will show their perspective in an artistic presentation – in Hamburg and Namibia. Because we have a lot of sources on this genocide from a German perspective, but hardly any sources that give us the perspective of the colonized." (*taz*, 21.02.18)

14 The original passage reads: "*Ob das Humboldt-Forum nach seiner Einweihung auch die politischen und ökonomischen Fragen im Zusammenhang der Folgen des Kolonialismus zu Gegenständen der 'Agora' unter dem Schlossdach machen will oder ob diese Fragen an einem noch zu schaffenden Ort abgibt, Hamburg böte sich aufgrund seiner Rolle im Kolonialismus an, wäre dann zweitranging.*" (FAZ, 09.08.17)

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This interaction between the "Hamburg historian" (not Zimmerer) and the "three artists from Namibia" shows who can effectively speak from which position in the discourse. In this description, the Hamburg historian is shown providing "truth" about the colonial past against which the Namibian artists "develop[…] their own projects and their own language." Interestingly, the position of the Namibian artists is legitimized through the suggestion that they provide "the perspective of the colonized" that has been missing from historical source material. This connects to the structures of chapter 8.1: Present Namibian speakers must provide the link to the past; the past, however, is primarily interpreted by German experts. While the local position of the historian (Hamburg) is emphasized, this is not the case for the description of the artists or the second location of the exhibition (Namibia). This reflects the imagined audience of the newspaper, which is presumably unfamiliar with the local context in Namibia. The artists are representative of "the perspective of the colonized" merely because they come from Namibia. This takes the national framework that is so hotly contested in Namibian journalism for granted (cf. chapter 7.2). It also enables (post-)colonial power structures in the production of "truth" about the past to remain unspoken: German experts functionally produce the conditions in which Namibian perspectives on the past can be heard.

How is it possible for newspapers such as the *AZ* to suggest that the demands of van der Heyden are different from speakers such as Zimmerer? As I show above, this becomes possible through the omission of Herero and Nama perspectives through representative structures that disconnect the individual speaker from the collective past. This enables speaking *about* the past to become equated with speaking *for* present communities. However, I find that this also leads to a journalistic formation of German speakership along temporal rather than defined political positions. To exemplify this, I now focus on a few typical examples from both German and Namibian journalism.

8.3.2 "German MPs fight for genocide victims": Mapping political positions onto (a lack of) knowledge

At first glance, the article published on page 13 in the culture rubric of the *SZ* does not have much to do with the 2021 German-Namibian joint declaration. The *SZ* even acknowledges this in the subheading of the article: "Germany finally wants to confront its colonial crimes in what is now Namibia. What does this have to do with a 43-year-old novel? A visit with Uwe Timm, the author of 'Morenga'" (*SZ*, 25.06.21). The rhetorical question above is quickly resolved through the journalistic construction of Timm's representative role. Written by cultural correspondent Peter Richter, the article begins with the words:

> "There are books that have an impact. There are also books that have long-lasting impacts. And then there is the novel 'Morenga' by Uwe Timm. It was already published in 1978, but Germany has only now finally managed to produce a statement about its colonial crimes in former South West Africa. This is mainly due to pressure from present-day Namibia – but perhaps also due to this book in the back of the minds of the German public. The author at least thinks that it is quite possible that his work might have contributed." (*SZ*, 25.06.21)

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This quote illustrates the discursive conditions and assumptions through which German speakers become part of the memory discourse: The "impact" of Timm's books is presupposed through its German readership. His discursive position is produced through his ability to educate a German audience. This enables the author to suggest that the genocide negotiations are not only "due to pressure from present-day Namibia," but also "perhaps" due to Timm's novel. This legitimizes the complete lack of Namibian voices in the article, with the focus remaining on Timm and his book.

The article begins by describing Timm's book, which follows both the commander of a Nama group, Jakob Marengo[15], and a German veterinarian, Gottschalk, who arrives during the colonial war and becomes disillusioned with German warfare. In the article, Timm draws a parallel between himself and Gottschalk:

> "And Uwe Timm confirms on this June afternoon in Munich that Gottschalk is also a sort of self-portrait that goes far back to his childhood in a Hamburg merchant family. 'At our house, old colonial troops ["*alte Schutztruppler*"] still met with my father. They talked about Hottentots whose children […] didn't have to go to school […]. Clichés that were intended to be derogatory instead described an enviable situation for me.'" (*SZ*, 25.06.21)

The article never mentions whether Timm's father was a colonial soldier or why "old colonial troops" were meeting at his house when he was a child. Despite the clear connection to German colonialism that inspired the book, Timm claims for himself the position of uninvolved bystander that he also ascribes to his main character (cf. Kansteiner, 2019). Timm's position is legitimized through his reversal of "[c]lichés" as "enviable" (cf. chapter 7.3). Even though Timm clearly positions himself as personally connected to colonialism, he can still present himself as an observer.

How is this possible? As has become clear in the examples above, this is normalized in journalism by plotting Timm in an inner-German landscape. However, in contrast with the academic speakers above, Timm is explicitly shown in a German political landscape. For instance, the journalist describes the reception of Timm's book in the 1970s as follows:

> "And if there is an image of the classic West German student protester from 1968 ["*Achtundsechziger*"] […], his name is Uwe Timm. But when Timm signed his contract for the book, even his colleagues at the publishing house said he was 'crazy' for writing about 'the Hottentots,' of all things. Who should read this, who should care?" (*SZ*, 25.06.21)

In this quote, Timm is shown as being ahead of his time – an interesting contrast to the anachronistic characterization of the Herero and Nama described in chapter 8.1.1. Not only is Timm part of the left-leaning protest movement of 1968, but he seemingly even challenges the protest movement through his interest in a historical Nama figure. The repeated use of derogatory colonial terminology to refer to the Nama throughout this

15 In the following, I use the spelling "Marengo," which is officially used in Namibia and in the research literature, rather than the spelling "Morenga" that Timm uses. See Nielsen (2017) and Silvester and Gewald (2010) for descriptions of Marengo's historical role.

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article is used to characterize Timm's father's friends and those at the publishing house, which enables Timm to suggest that he is not a colonial revisionist.

From this position, Timm makes demands for the present:

> "Timm was already participating as a student when they took the statue of colonial apologist Wissmann (with a submissive African at his feet) from its pedestal at Hamburg University. But he would be very much in favor of leaving the Bismarck Tower on the Elbe, whose demolition is now being called for, intact with critical comments or spotlights or confronted by a political culture festival – suggestions that have already been made by the Social Democrats in Hamburg-Mitte, hardly secret Bismarck sympathizers." (*SZ*, 25.06.21)

The example shows how the construction of controversy around the genocide is not only divided between the German political left and right, but also between present-day and historical or revisionist positions. These discursive positions outline a specific relationship to the past rather than consistent policy ideas. Left-leaning positions are often shown as critically distanced from the events of 1904–1908, whereas opposing (often, but not exclusively, right-leaning) positions are typically shown in continuity with colonial ideologies. This becomes clear in the journalist's assertion that the Social Democrats are "hardly secret Bismarck sympathizers," the implication being that affection for Bismarck is the determining factor for prospective tasks in the discourse, even as Timm advocates for keeping a statue of Bismarck standing.

While this suggestion is focused on a local German statue, the other tangible suggestion that Timm makes in the article is indicative of how the discursive strategies above continue to normalize the flow of power and knowledge between Germany and Namibia:

> "At the end of this long Munich afternoon, Uwe Timm doesn't know what advice he would give [the negotiators, C.H.]. But he does have a small emancipatory side suggestion: to finance a counterpart to his novel, which was written strictly from the perspective of the perpetrators. 'That has always been my utopia. A novel by the colonizers that still needs to be written, in the Nama language. A Nama would have to do that. Germany should give money for that.'" (*SZ*, 25.06.21)

Timm admits here that he cannot speak for the Nama, even as he suggests they follow a template that he created and write a "counterpart to his novel." This is only part of the article where the journalist makes explicit that his novel is written "from the perspective of the perpetrators," even though this does not delegitimize Timm's position or his ability to make demands for the Herero and Nama communities in the article.[16]

16 Interestingly, Timm's position does not remain limited to German newspaper discourse. In a *Namibian* opinion article published on January 28, 2022, and entitled "Finding Jakob Marengo," two members of the Marxist Group of Namibia, Shauen Whittaker and Harry Boesak, suggest that Timm's book should be taught in Namibian schools for students to learn about the genocide. This article regrettably could not be included in my sample because it was published in 2022, but it shows the transnational directionality and representative power underlying Timm's discursive position that can remain unspoken in the *SZ* article above by constructing speakership through an inner-German context of debate.

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How does the construction of political positions, outlined in Timm's example above, shape the way that German positions are shown in journalistic coverage in the present? Whereas the examples above have focused primarily on German journalism, I will now show how the structures outlined above also travel between German and Namibian journalism.

Throughout my sample, German figures are occasionally introduced in ways that seem to completely undermine their role as speakers on the 1904–1908 genocide. In one typical example, the *SZ* describes Germany's special envoy in the genocide negotiations, the CDU politician Ruprecht Polenz, as follows:

> "Africa – that wasn't [Polenz'] topic until 2015. To this day, he still remembers a lesson from his history class in Tauberbischofsheim about the German colonial period. That was in the early 1960s. 'Germany lost its colonies in 1918,' the teacher said at the time, 'that's why it's not a problem for Germany today.' Since Steinmeier made him the negotiator in the talks in 2015, Polenz has made it his mission to correct this long-standing widespread error." (*SZ*, 29.05.21)

This description is published in an article entitled "Time of guilt" ("*Zeit der Schuld*"), which is part of a series of articles published on page two in the politics section on May 29, 2021, after the announcement of the 2021 genocide agreement. The title, which references guilt, suggests that Germany has acknowledged wrongdoing in the past, which will be explored in more detail below. Throughout the article, Polenz is quoted to explain the 2021 agreement in largely positive terms. In the quote above, Polenz is shown as unknowledgeable about "Africa" ("that wasn't his topic"), even as the next sentence writes about a history class that relativized the impact of colonialism for Germany. Yet, this does not delegitimize Polenz as Germany's special envoy. Instead, it shows him as someone who wishes to "correct this long-standing widespread error." The implication is that Polenz has now rectified his lack of knowledge, enabling him to speak about the events of 1904–1908, echoing the strategies discussed in the previous chapter.

This characterization of Polenz is also visible in a *Namibian Sun* interview with the Namibian special envoy, Zedekia Ngavirue: "When the two envoys were appointed, my counterpart [Polenz, C.H.] phoned and he was very keen to first of all come and familiarize himself with the conditions in this country, because he had never been to Namibia before." (*Namibian Sun*, 19.05.16) Here again, neither Ngavirue nor the journalist questions why Germany has appointed someone who apparently has never been to Namibia and does not know about the Herero and Nama genocide. The fact that Ngavirue explicitly shares this fact without discrediting Polenz's position shows the general assumption of ignorance applied to German speakers. Polenz' willingness to "familiarize himself with the conditions in this country" can thus be interpreted as an eagerness to negotiate.

How does this performance of (re-)discovery limit the reactions that can be shown towards the past? In an example from the *taz*, the German-speaking Namibian author Erika von Wietersheim is introduced by the journalist Elisabeth Kimmerle:

> "Erika von Wietersheim knows what she is talking about: She lived and worked on a farm in the south of Namibia for 20 years. When she and her husband moved to her

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> in-laws' farm after studying, she lived together with Black families for the first time. 'As white Namibians, we had hardly had any contact with Black people before, apart from our domestic workers.'" (*taz*, 16.11.19)

This example highlights the irritations that are often normalized at the nexus of experience and expertise in journalistic reporting: Von Wietersheim is shown as "know[ing] what she is talking about." Yet, the next sentence notes that she apparently had no prior contact with Black people before she moved to a farm, "apart from our domestic workers." Von Wietersheim is simultaneously shown as an expert as well as removed from any direct responsibility.

The irritation underlying this speaking position becomes even more jarring in the next paragraphs:

> "[Von Wietersheim] founds a farm school for the children of farm workers. As she is preparing the lesson for eighth grade, she stumbles on her own history. 'In my childhood, we rarely heard anything about colonialism, and when we did, it was horror stories about whites getting murdered by the Herero,' says von Wietersheim. As she was preparing the lesson plan, she read with horror what had happened in Namibia during German colonialism." (*taz*, 16.11.19)

In the quote above, von Wietersheim is shown happening upon the genocide while preparing a lesson plan. Even though this is shown as "her own history," and she admits to hearing "horror stories about whites getting murdered by the Herero," she is still able to note that "we rarely heard anything about colonialism." Her prior knowledge, as with Polenz, is revisionist rather than nonexistent. Yet, by equating revisionist knowledge with a lack of knowledge, it is possible to legitimize the current speaking role of von Wietersheim and Polenz through a performance of discovery.

Von Wietersheim's use of the emotion "horror" in the quote above is illuminating: It is used first to describe the past and then to describe von Wietersheim's present emotional reaction to finding out about German colonialism. Horror enables von Wietersheim to simultaneously acknowledge the past while also distancing herself from the colonial structures she describes. A similar structure, albeit for the emotion of shame, has been described by Wolff (2016, p. 409): "[T]he idea of feeling 'shame' shifts the focus from the suffering of the Herero people as victims of German colonialism and their demands to the site of the perpetrators." The reference to horror fulfills a similar function in foregrounding the perspective of German-speaking individuals, albeit with a crucial difference: Whereas shame requires some form of knowledge about past events, horror and disgust underpin a construction where German speakers disconnect themselves from the actions of the larger German collective.

Interestingly, when there are references to shame in my sample, the shame is often directed inwards towards the German collective. An article that exemplifies this is a two-page "features" article in *New Era* that was published in 2017. For this article, the journalist Israel Zemburuka travels to Berlin in an article entitled "A genocide descendant's search for answers" (*New Era*, 06.06.17). The fact that Zemburuka, a "genocide descendant," travels to Berlin to "search for answers" reflects the directionality of knowledge production

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visible throughout this chapter. In the article, Zemburuka describes the reactions of German politicians and activists to the German-Namibian genocide negotiations:

> "Speaking at a commemorative event in June, the German Ambassador to Namibia, Christian Schlaga, stated that Germany is fully aware of the crimes committed by its former rulers. And although these atrocities cannot be undone, it acknowledges that the 'wounds and scars' left on the souls of the victims have 'cast a shadow over the relationship' of both countries. But the problem still remains. Those 'wounds and scars' are not documented in German history books, explains Nicolai Röschert, Deputy Chair Person of AfricAvenir – an international organization dedicated to advocating critical reappraisal of African-European history. 'It is hard to find people that are educated on the subject of the war as Germans' colonial past appears nowhere in the history books. That is a shame,' expressed Röschert, while shaking his head from side to side." (*New Era*, 06.06.17)

In the quote above, Schlaga's assessment of the German colonial past is critiqued by Röschert. The point of argumentation between both individuals is interesting: Schlaga is noting that Germany is aware of its colonial crimes and uses symbolic language of "shadows" and "wounds" to suggest darkness and pain that can simultaneously be illuminated and healed by Germany (cf. chapter 7.3). Röschert, by contrast, is suggesting that Germany knows nothing of its colonial past. Röschert is shown "shaking his head from side to side" and expressing "shame" at the lack of German knowledge. This expression of shame and even embarrassment towards the present German collective is found multiple times in my sample, as will be shown in more detail below. However, this essentially erases the (political) difference between both speakers to a question of what is known about the events of 1904–1908.

This construction of political (in-)difference means that German political speakers are rarely shown negating Herero or Nama demands in journalism, even in political debates. A final example of this can be found in a *Namibian Sun* article entitled "German MPs fight for genocide victims" (01.04.16). In this article, political journalist Jemima Beukes covers a debate in the German Bundestag over a motion "calling for an official apology to the OvaHerero and Nama people as well as other groups affected by the 1904 genocide" (*Namibian Sun*, 01.04.16). Interestingly, this debate does not take place between German political parties but rather with the Namibian government: The Namibian ambassador to Germany, Andreas Guibeb, had asked the Left and Green parties not to table this motion, as it might undermine the ongoing negotiations between both governments. In legitimizing the decision to table the motion anyways, the *Sun* writes: "Movassat, who recognized Guibeb's presence at the Bundestag, said if the motion was withdrawn no debate would take place, and that would be disrespectful towards the descendants of the victims" (*Namibian Sun*, 01.04.16). Movassat here is clearly positioning himself as a "true" representative of Herero and Nama interests – in contrast with the Namibian ambassador to Germany. Yet, the article does not quote him calling for legally binding reparations. Rather, his demands echo his statements in *New Era*: "[Movassat] said in Germany there is almost no culture of remembrance of the crimes committed in that era. […] 'It is really high time to finally change that,' he said." (*Namibian Sun*, 01.04.16) At another point:

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> "[Movassat] said although it was good the German government and Namibian governments were finally talking to each other, it would be better if the German federal government was doing so on the basis of a clear mandate from the German Bundestag." (*Namibian Sun*, 01.04.16)

In this quote, Movassat suggests that the government-to-government negotiations are fundamentally "good," with his critique resting on the fact that there is no clear Bundestag mandate.

Later in the article, the *Sun* also quotes an SPD politician, Stefan Rebmann, who expresses the same demands as Movassat: "'The injustice inflicted […] also require[s] intensive joint steps to address this chapter in history. That includes a shared culture of remembrance and, crucially, joint efforts to promote reconciliation.'" (*Namibian Sun*, 01.04.16) In the organization of this article, Movassat is positioned in opposition to Guibeb rather than to Rebmann. This enables Movassat to present himself as a speaker for Herero and Nama interests while simultaneously enabling potential irritations between his demands and the demands of the OTA/NTLA to remain unquestioned. Rebmann, whose party (SPD) was part of the German government and responsible for negotiations with Namibia at the time, is only shown calling for more "remembrance."

A crucial result of the discursive structures outlined above is that German speakers continuously temper or even negate Herero and Nama demands without having to directly confront Herero and Nama speakers. In the following chapter, I now explore the rare instances when German political speakers and activists are shown interacting with Herero and Nama speakers in journalism, which is almost always in restitution ceremonies. How does the construction of legitimate German speakership and political positions in terms of (lack of) knowledge about the past shape interactions between German and Herero and Nama speakers in the present?

8.3.3 "Restitution as an opportunity" – for whom?

"Geingob tells Germany to 'eat humble pie,'" reads the headline of a *New Era* article published on March 1, 2019, about a restitution ceremony. The words "eat humble pie" are graphically highlighted in red font, emphasizing the confrontational potential of Geingob's statement. However, underneath this headline is an image of Geingob and a white woman looking into the camera and smiling. The irritation evoked by this combination of headline and image showcases the interaction between the various discursive strategies described in this and the previous chapters. Hence, the first sentence of the *New Era* article reads: "President Hage Geingob yesterday told Germany to extend an olive branch to Namibians for atrocities committed by its forefathers – as part of settling the marathon issue once and for all." (*New Era*, 01.03.19) Here, Germany is shown as responsible for "extend[ing] an olive branch," a symbolic gesture that suggests reconciliation and peace. This gesture of peace contrasts markedly with the conflict often used to describe Herero and Nama speakers opposed to the government in German and Namibian journalism (cf. chapter 8.2). Moreover, the act of reconciliation is shown as "settling the marathon issue once and for all" – the genocide is shown as an event that must be concluded, and this conclusion hinges on German recognition. Finally, the reconciliation is shown as taking

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place between "Namibians" and Germany. As the President of Namibia, Geingob can thus present himself as a legitimate receiver of this reconciliation.

A *Namibian* report printed on the same day and entitled "Germans must acknowledge genocide – Geingob" repeats this pattern (*Namibian*, 01.03.19):

> "Before delivering his message, Geingob said he had prepared a tough speech, but had toned it down after the German [*sic, only for the state of Baden-Württemberg, CH*] minister of science, research and arts, Theresia Bauer, admitted her country's role in the atrocities committed against the Nama and Ovaherero people. 'Something terrible has happened, and they ought to have apologized […].' Geingob added that Namibia would accept an apology issued by Germany." (*Namibian*, 01.03.19)

This quote suggests that Geingob spontaneously changed his mind and speech during the ceremony after Bauer "admitted her country's role in the atrocities." Importantly, Bauer is not the first German politician to admit the genocide. Nevertheless, suggesting that her admission of "atrocities" (not genocide) is unique lends credence to Geingob's apparent change of mind. This suggests that Geingob has achieved something significant, even though the power relations between both nations are effectively unchanged, and the quote ends with Geingob noting "that Namibia would accept an apology." This again makes reconciliation dependent on German willingness to speak about the genocide.

Both articles above are typical of restitution coverage in Namibia. As with the commemorative articles described in chapter 8.1, Namibian restitution ceremonies are often explicitly separated from the inner-Namibian political conflict typically associated with the genocide. This is possible because restitution is plotted in an almost exclusively national framework, which can then be shown as reconciliation in journalism. This is also a departure from earlier research, which often focused on conflicts surrounding a 2011 restitution in Germany (Wolff, 2021, pp. 282–283). With the shift in location from Germany to Namibia, the tenor of coverage markedly shifts in both German and Namibian journalism.

A typical example of this can be found in a *taz* article on the same restitution ceremony described in Namibian coverage above. The article is entitled "Restitution as an opportunity" (*taz*, 09.03.19); it is the only article that covers the Witbooi restitution in my German sample. The article is written by the head of the culture resort of the *taz*, Andreas Fanizadeh. Whereas the Namibian articles above center on Geingob's expression of anger or incredulity, not mentioning much of Bauer's statements, the *taz* article writes that Bauer is "visibly touched" during the ceremony: "She expresses her regret to [Ida] Hoffmann and apologizes in the name of the state government of Baden-Württemberg for what the Germans did here in 1893." (*taz*, 09.03.19) Hoffmann responds with the words:

> "'None of us thought,' says Hoffmann to Bauer on March 1, 2019, in Hornkranz, 'that the day would come that we would stand here together.' And more: 'It is your responsibility to inform your compatriots and to return to Namibia to show the necessary respect so that we can win a new perspective.' To which Bauer replies, 'All institutions in Baden-Württemberg will receive a letter from me. They must take responsibility and

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> look through their collections, like the Linden Museum, uncover the contexts of acquisition and return all human remains.'" (*taz*, 09.03.19)

Hoffmann praises Bauer's action as groundbreaking, saying that "none of us thought" that this moment would come. This construction initially suggests reconciliation between Germany and Namibia. Yet, this brief exchange also shows how Hoffmann and Bauer effectively speak past each other in the article. Hoffmann asks Bauer to "inform [her] compatriots" – as described above, Bauer is asked to become an educator for the ignorant German collective. Bauer, in turn, interprets Hoffmann's statement as a call for more restitution, holding up the current restitution as a template ("like the Linden Museum"). Bauer interprets the restitution as the culmination of rather than an impetus for "a new perspective" on the genocide.

Hence, Bauer's actions are continuously legitimized through the positive reactions of those around her:

> "How right the delegation from Stuttgart is with their carefully prepared Namibia initiative became immediately apparent upon their arrival at the airport in Windhoek last week. The presidential guard greeted them, a red carpet was laid out on the tarmac. Education Minister Katrina Hanse-Himarwa and Vice President Nangolo Mbumba appeared at 6 a.m. to welcome the delegation." (*taz*, 09.03.19)

The fact that a minister from Baden-Württemberg is greeted by a "red carpet" is interpreted as a legitimization of her current action, a gesture of gratitude by the Namibian government. In this structure, there is no mention of the criticism of the Nama, who sent a letter to the Linden Museum through their lawyer a few days earlier asking for the restitution to be halted since the artifacts would go to the Namibian government – a point that is neither mentioned in German nor Namibian coverage of the ceremony (cf. *Namibian*, 19.02.19). The *taz* instead writes:

> "The people of Baden-Württemberg also know how important it is for national minorities like the Nama that the old Bible and (cattle) whip of the legendary leader first pass through their hands and only then go to the national archives in Windhoek." (*taz*, 09.03.19)

This quote refers to a part of the ceremony when the whip and Bible are handed to representatives of the Witbooi family, who later hand them to Geingob. Rather than showing this moment as a point of tension, the article again sees this as confirmation of the actions of the German minister, suggesting that she is complying with Nama demands.

A German academic is also acknowledged in the *taz* article: "Reinhart Kößler is also asked to come forward and be honored. The German sociologist and historian has made a decisive contribution to the German-Namibian dialogue for decades." (*taz*, 09.03.19) This shows how the power relations underlying German speakership converge to form reconciliation as an act that emanates from German speakers. Kößler is shown as one of the figures responsible for the restitution. In this structure, the demands of the Herero

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and Nama, especially the demand to postpone the restitution (cf. *Namibian*, 19.02.19), become irritating and unthinkable.

However, the Herero and Nama do not remain completely voiceless. Instead, in coverage preceding or following restitutions in Namibia, there are occasionally moments of dissonance that indicate the power struggle underlying the surface of these seemingly consensual restitution ceremonies. To demonstrate this, I focus on the 2018 restitution of human remains in Windhoek's Parliament Gardens.

"Apology torn apart": Moments of dissonance in the 2018 restitution ceremony

One year before Theresia Bauer's visit to Namibia to restitute the Witbooi bible and whip, the German Parliamentary State Secretary at the Federal Foreign Office, Michelle Müntefering, visited Windhoek to restitute human remains. This ceremony in Windhoek was not covered in my German sample. However, it was the subject of a three-hour live broadcast on NBC's national FM. A brief excursus on this broadcast is useful for understanding the newspaper coverage that appeared in Namibia around this time. During the broadcast, NBC asks *New Era* journalist Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro about Müntefering's role in the ceremony. Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro says that Müntefering is a "young person" and "does not know" about this history and that "she is remorseful" (National FM, 31.08.18, 51:28), repeating many of the strategies discussed above. He then notes, "That is what we want to see continued in her speech today, the two nations embrace one another to bring a closure to this sad history." (National FM, 31.08.18, 52:05) Here, Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro repeats language that was also seen in *New Era* at the beginning of this chapter: He explicitly maintains a positive view of the current process and emphasizes the amicability between Germany and Namibia ("the two nations embrace one another"). He also shows the purpose of the ceremony as bringing "closure to this sad history," again making the focal point of the ceremony the conclusion of rather than confrontation with the past.

This conciliatory characterization of Müntefering in National FM is rebuked in a *Namibian Sun* article written by journalist Jemima Beukes a few days later. The article is entitled "Müntefering's apology torn apart": "The Nama and Ovaherero people have taken Michelle-Jasmin Müntefering's apology and admission of the 1904–08 Nama and Ovaherero genocide with a pinch of salt." (*Namibian Sun*, 03.09.18). Ida Hoffmann, a spokesperson of the Nama Genocide Technical Committee, is quoted as saying that "[Müntefering] is not senior enough to give that apology," directly negating National FM's emphasis on her youth as a legitimizing factor for her conciliatory discursive position (*Namibian Sun*, 03.09.18).

The irritation expressed by Hoffmann is also visible in an opinion piece that Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro authors in *New Era* just a few days before he is interviewed on National FM. The article, entitled "Return of remains must not eclipse reparations," paints a starkly different image of the restitution ceremony:

> "[I]t is incomprehensible how the affected communities and the country at large can really be expected to continue to hold the repatriation talks above the substantive matter of acknowledging the genocide and instituting reparations, and at last seeing a closure on the subject." (*New Era*, 31.08.18).

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Again, Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro emphasizes that there is a need for "closure on the subject" – but now, this closure is explicitly *not* reached through restitutions but only through reparation. These dissonances highlight the power struggles for representation at the core of Namibian newspaper reporting. Journalists and Herero and Nama representatives do not articulate demands or critiques during the restitution ceremonies where the government is explicitly involved. However, this continues to separate German politicians from having to engage with Herero and Nama critiques in journalistic reporting.

The examples above have shown how restitution ceremonies are often shown through the perspective of a German will for reconciliation. This construction often presupposes the gratitude of the Herero and Nama, which becomes clear in the moments when German actions are criticized, as becomes clear in a final example in the *taz*, which summarizes and ties together many of the strategies discussed above. This example shows the limits of the journalistic confluence between German desires and Herero and Nama demands for how to confront the past.

In 2018, preceding the restitution ceremony above, the *taz* chronicles the personal quest of a German man, Gerhard Ziegenfuß, to return a human skull. The article's introduction of Ziegenfuß exemplifies a relationship with the past that sits uneasily in the German present:

> "There is Ziegenfuß standing in his rose garden in the Münsterland, a slight 77-year-old with a straight mustache, glasses and sports shoes, his checkered shirt tucked into his jeans. In his hands, he is holding the past that he has wanted to settle with for almost ten years – and yet he is always thrown back on it." (*taz*, 03.02.18)

Ziegenfuß's environment is shown as peaceful, at odds with the "past" or skull he is holding in his hands. In this way, Ziegenfuß is characterized as a victim of the past. The skull oppresses Ziegenfuß and is described as a "dark stain on the Ziegenfuß family history" (*taz*, 03.02.18). The focus of the story becomes removing the skull and thereby cleansing the stain upon the Ziegenfuß family. The quote notes that Ziegenfuß "has wanted to settle it" for a long time – repeating the theme of closure above.

The article then describes how Ziegenfuß came into possession of the skull: "'My mother was relieved when she gave me the skull,' Ziegenfuß says today. The crimes of colonialism were not a topic during the GDR." (*taz*, 03.02.18) The emotion that Ziegenfuß' mother feels when she gets rid of the skull is "relief," providing a pendant to the emotions of "horror" and "disgust" described above. Yet, at the same time, the skull is shown as a "burden" for which the Ziegenfuß family bears no direct responsibility through a lack of prior knowledge, legitimized through the discursive connection to the GDR. Yet, the apparent lack of family knowledge is belied later in the article when Ziegenfuß mentions a family story on the skull's origin: "According to the family legend, the skull belonged to a chief and was given to the priest Alois Ziegenfuß as a gift from a converted tribe. He supposedly packed it up together with animal bones and sent it to his family in Thuringia." (*taz*, 03.02.18) Ziegenfuß's family, in contrast to many of the figures shown above, has a clear connection to the events of 1904–1908.

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In the article, there is a moment when Ziegenfuß expresses emotions of shame and embarrassment; however, these emotions are directed towards the German government that is making it difficult for him to restitute the skull:

> "Returning the skull was initially a chore for him, then a challenge. He now knows so much about the crimes of the colonial era that the skull has become a symbol for him: a guilt that has not been atoned for. He finds Germany's behavior unspeakable. 'For us, dealing with colonial history can't be surpassed in terms of embarrassment; I could be ashamed of that,' he says." (*taz*, 03.02.18)

Ziegenfuß' goal to rid himself of the past is described as a "chore" and a "challenge." The "guilt that has not been atoned for" becomes part of a collective German responsibility. This enables Ziegenfuß to direct his ire at the German national collective that does not know or does not care about the genocide, even as he is shown as separate from this collective due to his recognition of German colonial history. At one point, the Berlin-based Herero activist Israel Kaunatjike even expresses pity for Ziegenfuß: "Kaunatjike feels sorry for Ziegenfuß. 'He's been trying hard for years and has been ignored. I don't think it's good to leave this man hanging like that [*im Stich zu lassen*]', he says." (*taz*, 03.02.18)

However, Ziegenfuß' interactions with the Herero in Namibia irritate this discursive structure:

> "Gerhard Ziegenfuß still goes to Namibia, without the skull. There he wants to talk to representatives of the Herero and Nama […]. But the trip is not very successful. […] The Herero and Nama do not want to accept the skull unless it is clear which ethnic group it belongs to. Ziegenfuß realizes how little he knows about the feelings of those affected." (*taz*, 03.02.18)

In this quote, the Herero and Nama reject the conciliatory role and performance that Ziegenfuß seeks to embody. The journalist bridges this disparity between the desires of Ziegenfuß and the affected communities by suggesting that Ziegenfuß merely does not understand the "feelings of those affected." The concerns of the Herero and Nama are once again shown in terms of "feelings" (cf. chapter 8.2.2). This becomes especially clear with the anger that one Herero speaker expresses in the next paragraph:

> "The spokesman for the Ovaherero Genocide Foundation, Festus Muundjua, responded to the question of what Ziegenfuß should do with the skull: 'If the [Namibian] government doesn't want it, throw it into the Rhine.' His words reflect bitterness. Herero representatives have called on the German government to officially recognize the genocide and to formally apologize to the descendants of the genocide victims. But the German government is still negotiating with the Namibian government, and the victims' descendants feel excluded." (*taz*, 03.02.18)

Muundjua's statement that Ziegenfuß should throw the skull "into the Rhine" makes the disjunction between the various desires in the article visible and reflects Mat̲und̲u-Tjiparuro's article in *New Era*. Muundjua explicitly rejects not only Ziegenfuß's actions

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but also the entire premise of the article that restitution is fulfilling the demands of the Herero and Nama. Yet, the journalist attributes this statement to Muundjua being "bitter" due to the length of the negotiations. In fact, reparations are not mentioned in the article. This becomes possible through the foregrounding of Ziegenfuß's desires and by equating his desires with the desires of the indigenous communities (cf. Spivak, 1988). This is one of the rare articles where Herero and Nama speakers are shown directly responding to German actions. Yet, despite the explicit rejection of the communities, Ziegenfuß does not change course, and the article continues to chronicle his efforts to restitute the skull. The restitution sought by Ziegenfuß finally takes place, despite the skull's seemingly uncertain origins, in the ceremony described in *New Era* and the *Namibian Sun* in 2018. Ziegenfuß is quoted before the German portion of the restitution with the words, "I am truly relieved. Every day, I was confronted with the burden we carry in the form of a skull." (*taz*, 29.08.18) Ziegenfuß' use of the word "we" shows that he collectivizes the "burden" of the past as part of a broader colonial history; however, the quest to return the skull is shown as his personal initiative.

To summarize, the examples have shown the performance of German recognition of colonialism and the restitution of colonial artifacts is often constructed as a moment of joint German-Namibian reconciliation. This has tangible implications for the (de-)legitimization of the German and Namibian governments. To begin, by continuously restaging reconciliation, the Namibian government can suggest that its negotiations with Germany are successful and that it is a legitimate representative of Herero and Nama interests. In Germany, the presumption of reconciliation can suggest that the demands of the Herero and Nama are being met without having to engage with thornier questions of legally binding reparations. As the examples above have demonstrated, this leads to a cycle in German and Namibian journalism where the recognition of the genocide is continuously shown as a new development. Even though there have been multiple restitutions since 2015, each one is shown as a new moment of recognition and, in this way, as a potential act of reconciliation. Given these findings, the following chapter offers a preliminary conclusion and poses questions for the final discussion and conclusion.

8.4 Preliminary conclusion: Recognizing the past in the present

This chapter began with the conundrum that Herero and Nama witnesses are largely absent from journalistic reporting about the historical events of 1904–1908 and asked: How do these re-presentative structures shape who can make demands for the Herero and Nama genocide in the present? The results above have shown various ways that journalism connects past, present and future to (de-)legitimize different speakers and demands in the present. In the following, I recapitulate these main findings before bringing them into dialogue with one another.

Chapter 8.1 began by asking how present Herero and Nama communities are connected to the past in journalism. In coverage, the genocide's impact in the present is primarily shown in connection with the actions and conditions of the present-day Herero and Nama communities, typically in commemoration ceremonies. These commemorations are often shown as local and tribal occasions. In this sense, commemorations for

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the genocide often function in journalism to temporally and spatially disconnect the past from the audience. Yet, whereas German journalism often shows the Herero and Nama as anachronous figures, Namibian journalism's introduction of commemorations as novel events shows how the boundaries of past and present are still actively being negotiated in Namibia.

In both Germany and Namibia, journalistic coverage of Herero and Nama commemorations juxtaposes the genocidal past, represented by the Herero and Nama, with the modern present, represented by the Namibian nation. This can also be found in the prospective demands often made in these articles, which focus on how the Herero and Nama must develop themselves in the present. The connection of the Herero and Nama genocide with traditional identity is simultaneously legitimizing and delegitimizing in coverage: The nation is the framework through which demands can legitimately be made in the present, even though the framework for connecting to the past is indigenous identity.

This discursive boundary between the (indigenous) past and the (national) present becomes especially clear in the moments when Herero and Nama speakers use the genocide as a context for reparations demands, as chapter 8.2 explored. When Herero and Nama speakers connect to the past in their own words, they often refer to the genocide as part of an ongoing struggle of their communities against the Namibian and German governments. In journalism, these criticisms are shown as part of a political debate rooted in the present. Hence, while the Herero and Nama connect themselves to the past, similar connections are neither made nor expected of other present speakers, who frequently position themselves through a national context and are shown as being threatened by Herero and Nama demands in the present. This adds an important component to the production of temporal boundaries in journalism: The national future is often described in economic terms, whereas the Herero and Nama's connection to the past is shown in emotional terms. Again, the same mechanisms that enable the Herero and Nama to connect to the past in journalism, for example by expressing pain or anger, delegitimize them from making demands in the present.

The results of chapters 8.1 and 8.2 demonstrate how journalistic memory production is shaped by negotiations of cultural citizenship between national and tribal boundaries (cf. chapter 4.3). This builds on previous research on German politics and journalism, which has shown that reconciliation for the genocide is often shown in national frameworks (cf. Robel, 2013, p. 308). The results above have uncovered the temporal and power structures underlying this negotiation of cultural citizenship in/despite national frameworks. They have thereby added important nuance to the previous research literature, which has often presumed that the audience of journalistic reporting is the same as the participants of commemorative ceremonies (cf. chapter 3.3.1). In my results, the past is strategically used to evoke or obscure the tribal/national identity of individuals in Namibia, which shapes which prospective demands can be made for the past. Furthermore, these findings also expand the previous research literature on traumatic memories in post-colonial contexts, where the past is often seen as detrimental to a multiethnic present (cf. chapter 4.3.2). In Namibian journalism, there is little overt reference to potential violence between different ethnic groups: Instead, the focus is on economic

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fallout by limiting German tourism and investments, showcasing the entangled power structures underlying journalistic memory production.

Finally, chapter 8.3 shows how the journalistic juxtaposition of past, present and future also extends to the representative position of German-speaking academic experts and German politicians. In contrast to the figures above, these speakers are shown as individuals rather than as representing "the" German perspective in the discourse. In addition, German speakers are either shown as previously unknowledgeable about the genocide or as one of the few Germans who knows anything about the events of 1904–1908. German positions of speakership are thereby constructed through academic or experiential observation. At the same time, the privileged position of German speakers in journalism is implicitly connected to the fact that they have access to and can interpret colonial source material (cf. chapter 7).

These results show how "aphasia" (Bijl, 2016; Stoler, 2016) becomes possible through journalistic memory construction: Despite having a long history of speaking about the events of 1904–1908, German-speaking individuals are continuously legitimized through recourse to an inner-German "sphere of legitimate controversy" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). In contrast to the expectations of homogeneity and unity for Herero and Nama speakers, German-speaking individuals can use their position to distinguish themselves from the larger German collective in journalistic articles. This obscures the fact that most German speakers make relatively similar prospective demands for the genocide. While there is consensus that there should be some form of financial compensation, the form of German recognition continues to be shown as the primary point of controversy among German speakers, frequently in opposition to historical rather than political discursive positions.

Hence, German recognition of the genocide becomes the end point rather than the starting point of negotiations. In this way, the demands of the Herero and Nama for reparations become irritating to the performance of reconciliation that is discursively linked to the recognition of the past in journalism. The previous chapters have underlined the representative structures of recognition in journalistic memory production: The act of recognizing the past becomes a way for German speakers to suggest they are speaking for Herero and Nama interests in the present. In this construction, the Herero and Nama can only accept or deny reconciliation, but they cannot produce the conditions through which reconciliation is constructed in journalism.

Considering the results of the previous chapters 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3 together leads to further interesting questions. A larger argument that appears from the previous two chapters is that material demands for reparations are often separated from the performative enactment of reconciliation in journalism. As Rausch (2023a, p. 440) has shown, mediated apologies for colonialism often obscure the uneven power relations between participants. The mere willingness to pay monetary compensation is shown as an act of remorse by the former perpetrator, a sign of their desire to reconcile. Yet, what is the position of the recipient – can they make demands for *more* money?

The previous chapters have offered some answers to this question: In both German and Namibian journalism, the acknowledgment of the past is often shown as the simultaneous overcoming of the past. Yet, if Herero and Nama communities serve in journalism as a link between past and present, overcoming the past also often means overcom-

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ing the need for Herero and Nama demands to be heard. The act of accepting a German apology for the past and enabling "reconciliation" thus also becomes a way of negating future claims. Given these findings, the following conclusion connects the results of the previous three chapters back to my primary research questions, offers reflections on my theoretical framework and provides a broader outlook on the role of journalism in producing and potentially challenging memories of colonialism in the present.

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9 Conclusion, discussion and outlook: Memories of colonial genocide in journalism

In June 2021, the former Vice President of Namibia, Nangolo Mbumba, introduced the joint declaration between the German and Namibian governments in a live broadcast on NBC's National FM. When he reached the section on memorial initiatives funded by Germany, Mbumba said, "The Germans like the word memory. I think it is a poor translation. It basically means that which was recorded, photographed, taken – it must be there for everyone to see and must never be denied." (National FM, 04.06.21, 18:54) Here, Mbumba suggested that the negotiations between both nations were premised on "a poor translation" that equated evidence of the past with "memory."

Mbumba's quote highlights the theoretical and methodological problems outlined at the beginning of this dissertation. First, much of the previous journalism research on the Herero and Nama genocide has both emanated from and focused on Germany, foregrounding the willingness of former colonizers to face "their" colonial history (Adebayo, 2023, p. 9). Perspectives from Namibian journalism have generally been absent or viewed separately from German journalism. Second, the Herero and Nama genocide has no more living witnesses that can speak about what happened between 1904 and 1908. This shapes how "memory" can be conceptualized, especially when much of what was "recorded, photographed, taken" (NBC English FM, 04.06.21, 18:54) comes from former colonizers. Finally, Mbumba's quote shows that the visibility of the past cannot be equated with the remembrance of the past. The Herero and Nama genocide has been negotiated for years, yet there is seemingly still no consensus about how these events should be talked about. In this vein, Stoler (2016, p. 153) asked about the current resurgence of colonial history in public debates: "Is colonial history really a charged terrain, or is it somehow safer to reexamine now?"

This dissertation addressed these challenges through its theoretical framework and ensuing analysis. It began by posing the question: How do German and Namibian journalism construct the Herero and Nama genocide as an object of cultural memory from 2015 until 2021? This question was broken into three sub-questions: How does journalism delimit what can be said about the events of 1904–1908 in its coverage? How does this journalistic construction of knowledge shape who can speak for the interests of Herero

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and Nama individuals and communities in the present? Finally, how do these representative structures in journalistic memory production (de-)legitimize power relations between Germany and Namibia today?

In the following, I briefly recapitulate the theoretical-methodological framework of this dissertation, which sheds light on the blind spots in previous research. Then, I discuss the results of the previous chapters and show how they expand my theoretical framework. Finally, I reflect on how my results illuminate the limitations in my research position and consider avenues for future research.

Theoretical contribution: Journalism and memory through a postcolonial lens

The Herero and Nama genocide poses a challenge to previous research on journalism and memory (cf. chapter 3.3): In contrast with many prior conceptualizations of mediated cultural memory, journalism has no pre-established public commemorative frameworks to draw from in its coverage of the Herero and Nama genocide. Moreover, the memorialization of the Herero and Nama genocide spans two countries and involves both tribal and national communities that are still negotiating the meaning of the genocide. Finally, there are no more living witnesses who can contest mediated constructions of cultural memory through their personal experiences, as is often the case in the literature on counter-memories.

To address these research gaps, this dissertation has combined perspectives from memory, journalism and postcolonial studies. In this way, the dissertation produced a theoretical and methodological lens that foregrounds the practices and strategies by which journalism (dis-)connects past and present while placing a specific focus on how these connections shape the boundaries of belonging and exclusion in post-colonial society.

The dissertation began by showing that journalism is a crucial lens for understanding how cultural memory is socially produced and negotiated in society. Journalism not only reflects but also actively structures, organizes and produces "true" knowledge about the past through discursive practices that produce a meaningful relationship between the past, present and future. This understanding shifts the gaze away from a static understanding of cultural memory to the negotiations and struggles over who can legitimately connect to past events. Then, this dissertation added the postcolonial concept of silence to the journalistic production of cultural memory. For this, it used Spivak (1988) to critique previous understandings of forgetting as absence in journalism and memory studies (cf. A. Assmann, 2017). Instead, silence is defined as the presence of mediated representative patterns rooted in colonial power structures that hinder subversive connections between past and present. The effect of these speakership structures can be described as "aphasia" (Stoler, 2016), whereby the past is not completely effaced but rather continues to be cyclically (re-)discovered by journalists in the present.

To conceptualize this process for journalism, the dissertation drew on the concepts of cultural citizen- and subjectship (Klaus & Lünenborg, 2014; cf. Mamdani, 1996). These concepts describe how journalism hierarchizes positions of belonging and difference by determining which perspectives are normalized in the connection between past and

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present. Especially in post-colonial contexts, the mediated boundaries of belonging and difference are often negotiated between a variety of positions vying for representative power within and between national boundaries. By bringing together journalism, memory and postcolonial studies, it is possible to critically question the role that journalism's production of cultural memory plays in maintaining or challenging these positions of belonging.

This theoretical lens also makes it possible to analyze silence in journalistic texts by focusing on the representative patterns underlying memory production. Following my research questions and theoretical background, my analysis focused particularly on mnemonic practices of speaking *about* and *for* the past and asked how these practices combine to de-/legitimize power structures within and between Germany and Namibia today. With the method of CDA, the analysis ascertained strategies of normalization in journalistic material while also reflecting on how these structures intersect with my position as a German researcher, as this discussion will outline in more detail.

My results have shown that the sources that are available for speaking about the past bleed into how journalism normalizes the positions of those who can speak for the interests of present communities. In the following sections, I now combine the results of my formal and in-depth analysis of German and Namibian journalism and discuss how they add nuance to my theoretical framework. For this, I focus on the three challenges outlined at the beginning of this chapter, which will help me to consider the broader implications of my results for journalism as an institution of cultural memory production.

(Re-)defining the nation through mnemonic controversy in journalism

How does journalism report on a transnational object of cultural memory? This question addresses a gap in previous research, which has often focused on the memory of the Herero and Nama genocide in national contexts. My results show that it is impossible to understand the full scope of power relations underlying journalism's construction of cultural memory by only focusing on one nation. This is especially important because journalistic reporting obscures the entangled power relations underlying the genocide through its construction of mnemonic controversy, thereby enabling journalism to uphold existing relations between Germany and Namibia in the present.

In my results, I find that both German and Namibian journalism formally evoke the Herero and Nama genocide in the context of present political, academic and cultural controversies. This reflects the fact that there are few local and no national commemorations of the genocide that journalism could build its coverage around (see above). Research has shown that controversies in journalism can produce national commemorative frameworks: By repeatedly reporting on mnemonic controversies, journalism brings contested past events into public consciousness around set dates (Johnson, 2016; Meyers et al., 2014). My findings challenge this assumption. Despite continuous journalistic reporting on the genocide over the past years, I find that coverage is often sporadic and rarely attracts sustained or repeated attention. This also points to a blind spot in previous research on the Herero and Nama genocide, which has often focused on central memorial dates such as Red Flag Day: My results suggest that these memorial dates are

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not central for reporting on the genocide in journalism, at least not between 2015 and 2021.

In both German and Namibian journalism, the genocide is thus typically constructed as an object of "legitimate controversy" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). Interestingly, the newspapers in my sample were not easily placed on one "side" of these controversies: Even though there were occasional articles in my German and Namibian newspapers that espoused different views, most newspapers contained relatively similar articles, arguments and even authors during my analysis period. No newspaper, for instance, explicitly argued that there should be no financial compensation for the genocide, except for some *AZ* letters to the editor. Apart from opinion pieces and letters to the editor in the *AZ* and a few articles in the *FAZ* and *Spiegel* early in my sample, there were also no articles that argued that the events of 1904–1908 did not constitute genocide. This points to a larger shift in the construction of the Herero and Nama genocide that has been shown for German newspapers by Rausch (2023a): The object of controversy is not the historical assessment of the genocide anymore but rather what should occur after the recognition of the genocide. My results show that this is also the case in Namibian journalism, which rarely explicitly focuses on the events of 1904–1908 and is instead often centered on the question of potential consequences.

However, in German and Namibian journalism, the "sphere of legitimate controversy" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117) surrounding this question is often plotted within national boundaries, and these boundaries typically reflect the location of the journalist. In my results, this means that when German or Namibian journalists are in Namibia, the genocide is shown as a point of conflict between traditional authorities and the Namibian government. Even when there are critiques by Namibian speakers against the German government, German speakers rarely directly respond to Namibian demands. This forms the discussion on financial reparations as part of a present inner-Namibian debate. In turn, when German or Namibian journalists or guest authors are in Germany, they construct the genocide as a point of conflict about how to produce more knowledge about the genocide between German individuals and German institutions or the German government.

These two controversies are almost never brought into dialogue with one another. This limits the "legitimate controversy" in both nations and shapes the "consensus" at the basis of reporting (Hallin, 1986, p. 117): There was often no question that Germany should pay some form of financial compensation. However, German speakers never had to directly respond to Herero and Nama speakers demanding legally binding and exclusive reparations. The main point of contention surrounding the 1904–1908 genocide remains conveniently lost in translation between two national boundaries, as Mbumba put it above. This enables newspapers to continue to make relatively similar arguments while still suggesting that the genocide is part of an ongoing controversy.

Furthermore, by continuing to construct mnemonic controversy in national contexts, journalism (re-)produces the nation as the legitimate context of meaning-making about the past. In my sample, this national framework was upheld despite the different personal positions of authors, especially in Namibia: While journalists with ties to the Herero, Mbanderu and Nama communities would occasionally diverge in the speakers and commemorative events they covered, they continued to construct the genocide as

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part of a larger controversy between traditional communities and the national government.

Nevertheless, even though German and Namibian journalism continues to (re-)produce the nation in its practices of meaning-making, the power structures that are maintained or challenged through these practices are not tethered to national boundaries. Instead, the continued normalization of the nation as the context of memory production obscures the transnational power relations that largely remain unspoken in journalism. Considering these power structures shows the potential for change that lies underneath the construction of memory above.

In my results, there were a few examples of authors or speakers crossing national boundaries – almost always German-speaking individuals appearing in Namibian coverage or German articles translated and reprinted in Namibian newspapers. Moreover, Namibian articles often focused on German political debates that were not even covered in German newspapers, such as motions to debate the genocide. This points to the entangled power structures that structure journalistic reporting and that are both made invisible and normalized through the de-/legitimization of speakers in a German and Namibian national landscape.

In addition to a spatial divide, these normalization strategies also reflect a temporal divide in the legitimization of speakers. The transnational discursive authority of German-speaking individuals is upheld through the dis-/connection of past and present and the construction of expertise in journalism. When the past was the primary topic of reporting in journalism, it was often shown in "history" or "features" articles that explicitly separated the historical events of 1904–1908 from the present context of reporting. These articles, in turn, were often written by German-speaking academics, both in Germany and in Namibia. This editorial decision indicates a specific way of speaking about the past that is more akin to archival rather than functional memory (A. Assmann & Assmann, 1994, p. 129). Those who can speak about archival memory do not have to legitimize their connection to the past through personal experience but rather through their academic knowledge of the events of 1904–1908. In this way, journalism upholds a distinction between the past and the present as well as academic/non-academic knowledge production that transcends national boundaries. This allows academic knowledge production to remain largely unchallenged from Herero and Nama demands while upholding historical patterns of speakership.

These patterns of speakership reflect the structures of "silence" that Spivak (1988) outlined for colonial literature: those who can legitimately speak *about* the past as experts are often simultaneously legitimized as being able to speak *for* the interests of present communities. These speakership structures build on the epistemic injustice at the heart of the colonial archive: Many of the primary sources that journalism uses to describe the events of 1904–1908 come from German colonizers. German-speaking academics are thus in a unique position to analyze and interpret these sources.

These results also add an important dimension to Spivak's (1988) conceptualization of silence: Disconnecting the past from the present enables journalism to normalize the perspectives of German academic and cultural representatives in describing and interpreting the events of 1904–1908. However, this normalization of German speakership across boundaries does not become visible through the continued (re-)production of a

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national "sphere of legitimate controversy" (Hallin, 1986, p. 117). Instead, German academics continue to be shown primarily in conversation with other German-speaking individuals and groups in journalism. This shows how journalism upholds spatial boundaries through temporal boundaries in its production of cultural memory.

Previous research has shown that journalism relies on other official sources of knowledge production to legitimize its interpretation of past events (Zandberg, 2010, p. 18). My results indicate that the current processes by which journalists select and amplify these sources entrench colonial power-knowledge structures, especially given the skewed archive and unequal distribution of academic institutions between Germany and Namibia. To change this, it is necessary to challenge the normalization between being able to speak *about* the past and being able to speak *for* the present interests of Herero and Nama communities. This requires rethinking the current editorial boundaries that often continue to sequester archival and functional memory, or the connections between past/present, in ways that reinforce spatial separation. Rather than sequestering "history," or academic knowledge production, away from current political debates and the perspectives of affected communities in Namibia, it is necessary to show how both perspectives are part of a complex field of interested parties that claim to speak for the Herero and Nama. Showing representative interest in terms of the transnational power structures between Germany and Namibia can probe the national boundaries described above and challenge the homogenization of Herero and Nama communities and desires.

Rethinking these editorial boundaries also requires confronting the locational boundaries that currently shape journalism's institutional production of knowledge. My results show that the location of journalism matters for including perspectives that are often not part of reporting. However, the current structures of journalistic knowledge production emphasize difference between "us" and "them" in ways that disable speakers from coming into dialogue across national boundaries. This became especially visible through the position of "foreign" correspondents in German journalism, who temporarily visit an area and describe what things are like "over there" for their "home" audience (cf. Mükke, 2009, p. 183). This structure of journalistic knowledge production furthers spatial differences and cannot capture the complexity of events that take place in transnational contexts.

For journalism, this means that rather than merely traveling to a "foreign" country or reprinting an article (cf. Wahutu, 2024), more collaborations between journalists are needed to grasp the full context of colonial power relations in the present. It is not that journalism *ought to* write more about transnational power relations; these power relations are already tangibly shaping the negotiation of power on the Herero and Nama genocide, both in terms of academic speakership and material realities. However, the current practices of producing knowledge about the past in journalism cannot grasp these entangled power dynamics and, therefore, cannot effectively challenge the representative structures underlying memory production. Instead, German and Namibian journalism continue to artificially separate two contexts that are fundamentally intertwined, leading to irritations as two conversations are held in parallel about the same topic.

However, as the theoretical framework and results above have outlined, it would be short-sighted to insist on journalism simply offering *more* Herero and Nama perspec-

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tives. Instead, it is necessary to question and challenge the representative structures through which these perspectives can become visible and speak against other interested positions in journalism. Thus, the following section now discusses how former colonial subjects are positioned as il/legitimate speakers in journalism. This responds to the second theoretical gap outlined at the beginning of this chapter: Much of the previous research has focused on the theoretical possibility of living witnesses' perspectives being mediated and thereby countering hegemonic representations of the past. Yet, what happens when these witnesses are no longer alive?

Beyond living witnesses: The suffering of "Others" in journalism

In journalistic coverage, references to the 1904–1908 genocide are used to define Herero and Nama identity and to legitimize Herero and Nama speakership. These references to the past stand in irritation with the editorial placement of Herero and Nama perspectives in political or features sections that focus on current political debates (see above). This irritation points to a current power struggle over how the Herero and Nama can effectively speak and be heard in journalism today. Previous research has noted the importance of emphasizing past experiences to legitimize victimhood status and, by extension, achieve visibility in the media (A. Assmann, 2018b, p. 79; Chakravarti, 2008; Schaller, 2010). My dissertation challenges some of these research assumptions by showing that the current construction of colonial victimhood in journalism limits the ability of Herero and Nama speakers to make demands.

In journalistic reporting, descriptions of Herero and Nama suffering are often connected to a position of temporal and spatial Other in the present (cf. Spivak, 1988, pp. 280–281). This is amplified by the fact that commemorations of the genocide are almost always shown as local and ethnic ceremonies that can be observed but do not have to be participated in by journalism's imagined audience. Recurrences to the past in journalism thereby continuously define Herero and Nama communities through a tribal identity that exists uneasily in a national framework. In addition, speaking from a position of victimhood in journalism also requires Herero and Nama speakers to perform a connection to the past that is simultaneously shown as an irritation to journalism's description of the "modern" present. Both strategies combine to produce Herero and Nama speakership through expectations of homogeneity. This is especially clear in German journalism, where Herero and Nama speakers are introduced primarily through markers of their ethnic identity rather than their political position in Namibia. In Namibia, this expectation becomes visible through the continuous focus on tribal and national unity, with accusations of disunity functioning to delegitimize speakers.

These results show how cultural citizen- and subjectship (cf. chapter 4.3.1) are defined in German and Namibian journalism through the Herero and Nama genocide. Despite their speakership being legitimized through a seemingly unbroken connection to the past, Herero and Nama speakers are primarily quoted in journalism when they are expressing dissatisfaction at current political steps and the intergovernmental negotiations. For the Herero and Nama to legitimately make demands for the events of 1904–1908 in German and Namibian journalism, they must first signal their acceptance

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of the national framework (and frequently also of the national government), underpinned through the journalistic characterization of some Herero and Nama speakers as radical, conflictual or even dangerous actors. Yet, this also means that Herero and Nama speakers must simultaneously renounce any direct connections of the genocide to the national present. This enables the genocide to continue to be shown as an aberration rather than as a constituent part of the current German and Namibian national collective.

Previous research has found that journalists emphasize speakers' personal experience with the past to underline the legitimacy of their interpretations (cf. Zelizer, 1998, p. 159). However, my results show how important it is for journalism to imagine that this experience is shared by its audience. In my sample, it was precisely the emphasis on past experiences that legitimized victimhood status while also making Herero and Nama demands the subject of current journalistic or "expert" interpretation. In this vein, it is important to note that in the *AZ*, the German-speaking community was often shown in continuity with the past, particularly in "history" sections. However, this was not used to delegitimize or describe the German-speaking community but rather was presumed as the perspective of the imagined audience, as indicated by the lack of contextual information provided in articles on the historical genocide.

These results also shed light on the difficulty of emphasizing the specific experiences of communities while still making these experiences relevant for a broader audience in journalism. In this way, the findings above challenge ideas such as "multidirectional memory" (Rothberg, 2009) that have previously been suggested for integrating and linking different experiences to one another. Both German and Namibian newspapers connect the Herero and Nama genocide to other German or European colonial atrocities or the Namibian anti-colonial struggle. These journalistic practices of mnemonic connection have often produced the Herero and Nama genocide as an example of broader colonial atrocities, echoing the speaking structures described above: Herero and Nama speakers must connect to these events to legitimize the events of 1904–1908, even as it blurs the distinctiveness of the genocide in ways that support present representative structures. This relieves journalists of the necessity of having to talk to Herero and Nama representatives – after all, the events are now merely one example of a wide array of colonial atrocities or anti-colonial struggles. This structuring of the discourse shapes transnational connections to the Holocaust in German and Namibian journalism, which are often not used to produce new structures of speakership but rather entrench the position of German-speaking academics in the discourse. Therefore, when memories such as the Holocaust "travel" (Erll, 2011) between both nations, they are typically used to address German audiences, to describe German perpetrators or to deflect blame from present German audiences. The normalized center of mnemonic connection in journalism directly reflects the imagined audience that receives journalistic coverage. Constructing the Herero and Nama communities from a position of difference continues to portray the Herero and Nama genocide as an event that must connect to but does not tangibly impact most of the imagined national community and journalistic audience.

How can journalism make the experiences of the past relevant for a wider audience while still maintaining the claim of specific communities to speak about their past experiences? This question connects to the section above, which discussed how journalism

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can challenge the temporal and spatial disconnections in its institutional production of knowledge. Another preliminary answer to this question is visible in the discussion on German tourism in Namibian newspapers, which shows that Herero and Nama communities are not the only groups with ties to the events of 1904–1908. However, these connections to the past are often kept invisible, shown as present economic considerations in journalism. Rather than (de-)legitimizing Herero and Nama speakership through a seemingly unique, homogenous and unbroken connection to the past, which often produces temporal disconnections between past and present, Herero and Nama communities are part of a present reality that also impacts and is impacted by readers across national boundaries. However, this positioning of speakership also requires rethinking how journalism positions itself as a discursive authority in the production of knowledge about the past, as the final section now discusses.

Silenced and silencing memories in journalism

The final challenge that this dissertation addressed was the fact that the Herero and Nama genocide has been a subject of negotiation for decades, even as it is still often described as a "forgotten" memory. To understand this irritation, it is necessary to consider how journalism's use of time in its reporting overlaps with how it performatively legitimizes itself as a discursive authority in society. In my results, the genocide is continuously shown as important in coverage for its novelty, and every new action is shown in terms of its promise (or threat) for the future rather than its impact in the present. The past is thus shown as an impetus for action that will simultaneously address and resolve the past, often making its connection to the present unnecessary or superfluous. Instead, the past is primarily discussed in the context of a speculative future.

This adds crucial nuance to Tenenboim-Weinblatt's (2014) idea of prospective memory and begs the question: Can prospective memorialization be a sustainable basis for cultural memory in journalism? Or does the resolution of the future task that prospective memorialization strives towards mean the end of reporting? These questions are especially important given the current research literature that has focused on mnemonic resurgences of colonialism in the context of street renamings or statue removals (Rigney, 2022). My results suggest that prospective memorialization in journalism continues to portray the past as something that must be overcome rather than as something that is part of a society's expression of belonging. Journalism shows the Herero and Nama genocide as something that is unsettled due to its lack of memorialization; at the same time, it is precisely this unsettled status that journalism emphasizes to report on the Herero and Nama genocide. This leads to a state of memory production in journalism where the Herero and Nama genocide is (re-)produced as an event that strives towards a single future resolution rather than ritual reactivation.

This use of time is also vital for understanding how journalism does or does not remediate its coverage in the retelling of the genocide. Trouillot (2002, p. 102) has noted that a form of silencing is to show a past event in terms of its singularity, thereby making it an aberration. In contrast with Trouillot (2002), I find that both German and Namibian journalism do not describe the Herero and Nama genocide as a singular event, as shown

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above. However, the singularity that Trouillot (2002) describes can instead be found in how journalism refers to the current memory debate on the Herero and Nama genocide. Therefore, both German and Namibian journalism continue to show current actions by the German and Namibian governments in terms of their singularity. These results show how "aphasia," described by Stoler (2016) and Bijl (2016), functions in journalistic reporting to produce current memories as novel and surprising for the audience. In this way, German and Namibian journalism legitimizes memorial ceremonies attended by the German and Namibian governments as turning points rather than as a continuation of prior policies.

This strategy also legitimizes journalism's discursive authority in cultural memory production. Studies have shown that journalism reactivates and reprints previous coverage to perform its position as a discursive authority in society (Kitch, 2005; Zelizer, 1993). However, in the case of the Herero and Nama genocide, I find that these results do not hold up. Rather than explicitly relying on past reporting to establish discursive authority, as Zelizer (1993) has previously outlined, journalism continues to show itself as producing a "first draft" (Zelizer, 2021, p. 1215). This reflects a central claim at the heart of journalistic knowledge production, whereby journalism as an institution presents itself as a provider of new and exclusive information. This performance always reflects which information journalists imagine that the audience knows and can thus leave unspoken, and which information is new. Whereas German audiences are often imagined as unknowledgeable by journalists, Namibian audiences are instead imagined to already know information about the 1904–1908 genocide. Hence, journalists can present themselves as providing "new" historical or political information while also comforting audiences: their prior knowledge is either largely upheld or shown as nonexistent. This legitimizes the representative patterns above by portraying journalism as a provider of previously unknown information, even as it obscures the various drafts and (colonial) remediations that have continued to shape reporting over time.

Journalism's performance of its discursive authority in society is linked to how cultural memory or forgetting is constructed in coverage. Perhaps unsurprisingly, research has shown that journalism typically remediates its coverage in uncontested and publicly commemorative moments (Carlson, 2016). However, the results above suggest that it is especially useful and necessary for journalism to connect to previous coverage in moments that are contested or do not have established commemorative frameworks. This requires a legitimization of journalism as an institution of memory production that explicitly draws on and critiques past journalistic coverage. In this way, journalism can break through the cycles of "aphasia" that have been described in the literature (Stoler, 2016) and that these results illustrate.

Journalism is not doomed to continuously recycle the colonial archive. Instead, as the sections above demonstrate, the practices by which journalism dis-/connects past and present have the potential to shape the boundaries of cultural memory in subversive ways. By showing how the past has impacted the present, including in its own coverage, journalism can challenge the temporal and spatial boundaries outlined above. Journalistic (and academic) knowledge production is undoubtedly limited through an archive that primarily contains the perspectives of former colonizers; however, by continuing to

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portray the Herero and Nama genocide as "silenced," journalism effectively silences the events of 1904–1908.

The results above have shown how journalism's coverage of the Herero and Nama genocide both builds on and challenges previous theoretical claims. These results also reveal that postcolonial theoretical approaches are crucial for understanding journalism as an institution of knowledge production writ large, even beyond the topic of the Herero and Nama genocide. Journalism's claim to producing "true" knowledge hinges on its relationship to power and the imagination of its audience, which determines which perspectives must be made explicit and which can be left unspoken in coverage. Both journalism's relationship to power and the imagination of its audience cannot be understood without considering the entangled colonial power structures that continue to shape which knowledge is available and amplified in journalism, both in formerly colonizing and colonized countries. My results show how these colonial power structures intersect with journalistic practices and coverage in both Germany and Namibia today. Therefore, postcolonial approaches are crucial to avoid merely taking journalism "at its word" and instead questioning the national boundaries that have often been taken for granted as epistemic boundaries. For this reason, the results above not only raise questions about journalism but also about journalism research. To address these questions, the following section now discusses the need not only for more but also for different forms of research in the future.

Reflection of limitations and areas for future research

The power structures that uphold academic speakership in journalistic articles about the Herero and Nama genocide also normalize my position as a researcher writing about this topic. Just like the transnational German-speaking experts that I critique above, I am also a German-speaking academic writing about the Herero and Nama genocide. The act of writing this dissertation again produces and reinforces the directionality of interpretive power between Germany and Namibia. Hence, this dissertation builds on and exacerbates the blind spots I find in my results: The bulk of my Namibian material collection took place during a six-week research trip, and my material contains multiple gaps through these conditions, such as the *AZ* only being included up to 2020. These gaps were exacerbated by a lack of research literature on the Namibian media system.

My results show how vitally important it is to consider the entangled power structures underlying coverage in both nations. However, these power structures are also a roadblock for research across national boundaries. In my analysis of Namibian material, I included a newspaper officially classified as a "tabloid" and a government-owned newspaper. However, I found that these classifications were much more fluid than they appeared in the research, and they obscured more than they illuminated about journalistic practice in Namibia. This finding was reinforced in my conversations with Namibian journalists: There were far fewer distinguishing factors between the newspapers than I initially presumed given the prior research, and the distinguishing factors I found were often not easily mapped onto preexisting terms.

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These reflections show how research perpetuates blind spots by only designating some newspapers as "quality." In my work, I found that the designation of "quality" often served as an indicator of Western research attention instead of specific journalistic practices. For example, there is more research on the *Namibian* than any other newspaper in the Namibian media landscape. In contrast with the *Namibian Sun* and *New Era*, the *Namibian* is also comprehensively archived in the Basler Afrika Bibliographien and even has copies archived in the Berlin State Library. In my master's thesis, this was the reason why I only decided to look at the *Namibian*. However, as I found in my results above, it is impossible to understand the full breadth of the discussion on the genocide without including other newspapers, which often provided unique insights into various communities. Much more research and theoretical work is needed on journalism's relationship to power to meet the specific conditions of the Namibian media landscape beyond frequently used terms such as "quality" or "independent."

Research across national boundaries forces researchers to grapple with different contexts of meaning-making. At the same time, a dissertation is expected to be the work of a single scholar. In my dissertation, for instance, I only used background conversations with Namibian journalists to contextualize my results. Future research must draw more on more collaborations between universities, scholars and journalists between different countries to capture the complexities of entangled power structures. Changing the flow of information between Germany and Namibia can help to expose blind spots in the theorization of cultural memory and journalism's reporting on the Herero and Nama genocide that remain unspoken through the production and circulation of academic knowledge about Namibia between European researchers and institutions.

In my analysis, I focused primarily on national, English-language Namibian media, reflecting my linguistic limits. The focus on primarily English-language national media contributes to the homogenization of the Namibian nation that I critique in my results above. Local media outlets could contest the power structures I find in this dissertation. Research into the Otjiherero-language inserts in *New Era* would offer vital nuance to the results above, as would NBC's Otjiherero- and Khoekhoegowab-language radio stations. The question of how the Herero and Nama genocide is discussed on social media also remains a significant blind spot, both in Germany and in Namibia. Facebook groups focused on Otjiherero communities or language often post old photographs around key commemorative dates, which suggests that these groups would add critical perspectives to the results above. This could also challenge the homogenization of "the" Herero and Nama that has become visible in both previous research and journalistic reporting. However, to counter these patterns of homogenization, much more research is needed from Namibia and especially from Otjiherero- and Khoekhoegowab-speaking communities.

Furthermore, the perspectives of German and Namibian recipients and producers of newspaper reporting were not systematically analyzed in this dissertation, which focused exclusively on textual content. Especially in an analysis of silence, the perspectives of recipients and producers warrant more research, particularly for how recipients interpret mediated representations of colonialism and integrate them into their memories of the past. This could also help to rethink the theoretical boundaries between communicative and cultural memory that have been at the heart of this dissertation (cf. Pentzold et al., 2023).

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It is also important not to take the "nation" as an uncontested entity in Germany, but rather to show how the boundaries of the national community are continuously (re-)produced and challenged. Bürger (2017) has explored the entangled East and West German historiography on the Herero and Nama genocide. It would be useful to expand this to consider how East and West German journalism wrote about the Herero and Nama genocide and which entanglements existed between both nations, especially given the different relations of each country to Namibia during the anti-colonial struggle. Another useful avenue of research could be the newspapers of German-speaking veterans, who published eyewitness articles of the 1904–1908 war. Analyzing these newspapers could show how societal groups deal with changing boundaries of the un-/sayable after colonialism and during a period of "*damnatio memoriae*" following the First World War and the end of the German colonial empire (Bürger, 2017, p. 67).

Finally, much more research on journalism's production of memories about colonialism is needed. For instance, how does journalism's construction of "cultural citizenship" change when the witnesses of colonial atrocities are still alive or when reparations have already been paid? Or how does the mediated construction of colonial memories change when former colonies have actively integrated local memories into national commemorative frameworks, as in the case of the Maji Maji War in Tanzania (Kirey, 2023)? Answering these questions will require researchers to probe the boundaries of (post-)colonial silences in both journalistic coverage and academic research. Otherwise, memories of colonialism will continue to be little more than "a poor translation" between former colonies and colonizers (National FM, 04.06.21, 18:54).

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Appendix

A: List of articles for in-depth analysis

Newspaper	Date	Title	Author	Page
Allgemeine Zeitung	22.06.2020	„Widerwärtige Symbole“	Frank Steffen	3
Allgemeine Zeitung	05.06.2020	Wahrzeichen droht der Abriss	Erwin Leuschner	3
Allgemeine Zeitung	14.04.2020	Aufrechnung und Mythos; Bemühung um die Aufarbeitung	Henning Melber; Klaus Goebel	5
Allgemeine Zeitung	27.03.2020	Milliardenfrage steht noch aus; Der Mythos ist dehnbar	Anton von Wietersheim; Andreas Vogt	3 (wazon)
Allgemeine Zeitung	25.03.2020	Briefe 1893–1904	W. Eich (Kuiseb-Verlag)	6 (wazon)
Allgemeine Zeitung	31.12.2019	Unkenntnis um Kolonialismus	Ulrich van der Heyden	2
Allgemeine Zeitung	09.10.2019	Ohrenbetäubendes Schweigen	Christine Kramp	6
Allgemeine Zeitung	05.09.2019	Respekt ist eine Zweibahnstraße	Frank Steffen	2
Allgemeine Zeitung	02.04.2019	Im eigenen Saft schmoren	Eberhard Hofmann	2
Allgemeine Zeitung	26.04.2018	Warum drohen manche Herero mit Gewalt?	Wolfgang Reith, Hemlut Lessing	8, 9
Allgemeine Zeitung	02.02.2018	Herero zeigen sich geschlossen	Frank Steffen	1
Allgemeine Zeitung	10.11.2017	Winkeladvocaten und verplemperte Nam-Dollar	Eberhard Hofmann	13
Allgemeine Zeitung	03.11.2017	Der Raum macht Angst	Holger Gerdes	13

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Allgemeine Zeitung	30.10.2017	„Einige wesentliche Lücken“	Stefan Fischer	2
Allgemeine Zeitung	04.04.2016	Jährlicher Gedenkmarsch mit Denkmalschändung	Eberhard Hofmann	5
Allgemeine Zeitung	30.10.2015	Von Beweisführung befreit – Geschichtsklitterer	Hinrich Schneider-Waterberg	17
Allgemeine Zeitung	21.08.2015	Jahrelanger Guerillakrieg der Nama (Teil 2)	Sven-Eric Stender, Manfred Goldbeck	7 (wazon)
Allgemeine Zeitung	14.08.2015	Jahrelanger Guerillakrieg der Nama (Teil 1)	Sven-Eric Stender, Manfred Goldbeck	7 (wazon)
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	02.10.2021	Alte deutsche Schuld	Claudia Bröll	3
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	06.06.2021	Sie sind nicht zufrieden	Claudia Bröll	4
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	29.05.2021	Namibia begrüßt Anerkennung des Genozids	Friederike Haupt, Claudia Bröll	1
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	29.05.2021	Kein Schlussstrich, sondern ein Beginn	Friederike Haupt, Claudia Bröll	2
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	29.05.2021	Die Folgen des Aufstands der Herero und Nama gegen die Kolonialherren	Peter Sturm	2
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	16.02.2020	Der Gürtel des Kahimemua	Chistiane Habermalz	11
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	17.04.2019	Überforderte Militärs stehen nicht gleich für einen Völkermord	Andreas Kilb	10
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	03.01.2019	War Humboldt Kolonialist?	Andreas Kilb, Stefan Trinks (Interviewer)	11
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	15.12.2018	Eine Lücke in unserem Gedächtnis	Monika Grütters und Michelle Müntefering	11
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	09.06.2018	Wann gebt ihr uns endlich unsere Geschichte zurück?	Andreas Kilb	13
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	09.08.2017	Der Kolonialismus ist kein Spiel	Jürgen Zimmerer	11
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	15.10.2016	Grimmige Arier am Kilimandscharo	Andreas Kilb	11
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	15.10.2016	Geteiltes Erbe ist doppeltes Erbe	Hermann Parzinger	11
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	04.07.2016	Schuld und Sühne am Waterberg	Thomas Scheen	3
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	24.06.2016	Tod in der Wüste	Peter Sturm	8
The Namibian	17.11.2021	Verona, the last grandchild of Von Francois	Esther Mbathera, Tutaleni Pinehas	6

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The Namibian	22.09.2021	Heat Turned Up On Genocide Deal	Shelleygan Petersen, Charmaine Ngatjiheue	1, 2
The Namibian	15.06.2021	Local Germans Upset About Land-Grabbing Threats	Charmaine Ngatjiheue	1, 2
The Namibian	09.06.2021	Sell-Outs and Judases' … Govt Accused of Betraying Genocide Victims	Shelleygan Petersen, Charmaine Ngatjiheue	1, 2
The Namibian	24.05.2021	Genocide Graves to Be Restored On Africa Day	Martha Mukaiwa	14
The Namibian	19.05.2020	Dealing with Genocide	Henning Melber	7
The Namibian	10.03.2020	Transcending the Genocide: Mama Penee	Heike Becker	8
The Namibian	24.02.2020	Namas, Ovaherero snub genocide book launch	Ndanki Kahiurika, Okeri Ngutjinazo	6
The Namibian	05.02.2020	Local Germans Reach Out to Genocide Victims' Descendants	Adam Hartman	6, 7
The Namibian	06.09.2019	Genocide Reparation Negotiations On Home Stretch	Ndanki Kahiurika	6, 7
The Namibian	27.08.2019	Ovaherero face off at Okahandja	Ndanki Kahiurika	1, 2
The Namibian	06.08.2019	Namibian-German negotiations: Lecturing (again) in the shadow of genocide	Reinhart Kössler, Henning Melber	7
The Namibian	09.04.2019	"Schools must teach about genocide"	Ndanki Kahiurika	5
The Namibian	08.03.2019	We Will Have Our Day in Court – Rukoro	Ndanki Kahiurika	3
The Namibian	01.03.2019	Germans Must Acknowledge Genocide – Geingob	Luqman Cloete	3
The Namibian	19.02.2019	Fight Over Witbooi Bible Repatriation	Ndanki Kahiurika	3
The Namibian	14.09.2018	The Big Hole in Germany's Nazi Reckoning? Its Colonial History	John Eligon (NYT)	6, 7
The Namibian	04.09.2018	Do Not Repeat Germany's Mistake On Land – Isaack	Ndanki Kahiurika	5
The Namibian	30.08.2018	Germany returns human remains from Namibian genocide	Isabelle Le Page, Michelle Fitzpatrick	6, 7
The Namibian	24.08.2018	Nam bars entry to skulls ceremony in Germany, Rukoro fights village chief status	Ndanki Kahiurika	3

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The Namibian	29.06.2018	The Truth shall set us free	Ivo Lühl	14, 15
The Namibian	28.05.2018	Nama Could Become Own Liberators On Genocide Reparations	Luqman Cloete	7
The Namibian	16.03.2018	Negotiating the Perpetrators of Genocide	Ndumba Kamwanyah	10
The Namibian	16.02.2018	Reparations not a threat to Namibia's existence	Joshua Kaumbi	10
The Namibian	09.02.2018	Mass action for reparations?	S. Kozonguizi	14
The Namibian	02.02.2018	For Nama/Ovaherero it is more than a court case	Paul Thomas	14
The Namibian	26.01.2018	Genocide case victory?	S. Kozonguizi	14
The Namibian	23.01.2018	Genocide as a subject to negotiation?	Reinhart Kössler, Henning Melber	7
The Namibian	07.12.2017	Family reunion after 124 years bridges racial divide	Adam Hartman	6
The Namibian	29.06.2017	Colonial legacy. No land in sight	Henning Melber	6, 7
The Namibian	16.06.2017	Thinking About a Nation With Toivo	Alfredo Tjiurimo Hengari	10
The Namibian	10.05.2017	Genocide day consultations start	Luqman Cloete	6
The Namibian	27.03.2017	Herero, Nama call for inclusiveness in reparation talks	Adam Hartman	7
The Namibian	02.03.2017	Groups Split Over Genocide Claims	Ndapewoshali Shapwanale	1, 2
The Namibian	27.07.2016	Massacred, silenced and impoverished	Yusef Selman Inanc (Daily Sabah)	6,7
The Namibian	06.07.2016	Genocide negotiations reopen colonial wounds	Christopher Clark (Al Jazeera)	6, 7
The Namibian	19.02.2016	A brutal genocide in colonial Africa	Daniel Gross (Smithsonian)	6, 7
The Namibian	19.01.2016	Namibia and Germany – the Past in the Present	Henning Melber	5
The Namibian	17.07.2015	Rewriting history	Hildegard Titus	3
The Namibian	24.02.2015	Lüderitz residents want referendum	Luqman Cloete	1, 2
Namibian Sun	24.12.2021	Is Germany really ready to apologise for genocide?	Sima Luipert	6

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Namibian Sun	01.12.2021	Shark Island is a sacred graveyard	Festus Muundjua	5
Namibian Sun	26.11.2021	Spotlight on Shark Island	Fluksman Samuehl	5
Namibian Sun	22.10.2021	Is Germany's verbal acknowledgment moral responsibility enough?	Joyce Vivien Muzengua	12
Namibian Sun	19.08.2021	Confronting the dark chapter	Juliane Glahn	6
Namibian Sun	04.05.2021	On German-Namibian negotiations	Freddy Omo Kustaa	6
Namibian Sun	03.05.2021	On German-Namibian negotiations	Freddy Omo Kustaa	7
Namibian Sun	31.03.2021	On German-Namibian negotiations	Freddy Omo Kustaa	10
Namibian Sun	22.05.2020	Colonial amnesia and Germany's efforts to achieve "internal liberation"	Henning Melber, Reinhart Kössler	4
Namibian Sun	27.03.2019	Expropriation threats "like a poison"	Jemima Beukes	3
Namibian Sun	07.03.2019	A pilgrimage to Hornkranz	Jemima Beukes	4
Namibian Sun	22.02.2019	Witboois on warpath	Jemima Beukes	5
Namibian Sun	03.09.2018	Müntefering's apology torn apart	Jemima Beukes	1, 2
Namibian Sun	09.08.2018	Muundjua talks land	Jemima Beukes	4
Namibian Sun	29.04.2018	Activist threatens to disrupt Küska	Otis Finck	2
Namibian Sun	25.04.2018	Site of horror to be protected	Ellanie Smit	2
Namibian Sun	10.11.2017	Namibia has made a fool of itself – KK	Jemima Beukes	1, 2
Namibian Sun	19.10.2017	Hoffmann fights back	Catherine Sasman	2
Namibian Sun	15.09.2017	1904 Ovaherero/Nama genocide: Oh God it's happening again	Gordon Laundrow Joseph	6
Namibian Sun	03.03.2017	Land issue puts talks in jeopardy	Joe Brock (Reuters)	4, 5
Namibian Sun	20.01.2017	Quo vadis Namibian germans, vis-a-vis OvaHerero/Nama genocide issue	Kwete Mutu Motata	6
Namibian Sun	29.08.2016	Red Flag Day called off	Catherine Sasman	1, 2
Namibian Sun	20.07.2016	Genocide: Ovaherero and Nama leaders must stand firm and deliver	Daniel Tseib	7
Namibian Sun	01.06.2016	Only dialogue can resolve our conflicts on the genocide issue	Kuiri Tjipangandjara	7

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Namibian Sun	01.04.2016	German MPs fight for genocide victims	Gordon Joseph	1, 2
Namibian Sun	08.05.2015	German museum could show Ovaherero-Nama genocide	Elvis Muraranganda	4
Namibian Sun	06.05.2015	Ovaherero-Nama genocide raised as world remembers Nazi atrocities	Elvis Muraranganda	4, 5
Namibian Sun	10.04.2015	Toppling Curt	Jemima Beukes	1, 2
Namibian Sun	27.02.2015	Renaming Lüderitz to !Nami#nus	Lapithomhinda Hashingola	6
New Era	01.10.2021	Genocide Deal Undermines Century-Old Quest for Justice	Kavemuii Murangi	9
New Era	01.03.2019	Geingob tells Germany to "eat humble pie"	Kuzeeko Tjitemisa, Emmency Nuukala	1, 2
New Era	20.04.2018	Patriotism in the face of genocide denials	Ngarikutuke Tjiriange	11
New Era	26.01.2018	The troubling origins of the Herero skeletons in New York	Daniel Gross (The New Yorker)	10
New Era	16.06.2017	Homage to Ya Toivo superficial without serious soul searching	Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro	15
New Era	06.06.2017	Zemburuka – A genocide descendant's search for answers	Jordaania Andima	8, 9
New Era	22.05.2017	Kavangos Bemoan Exclusion From Genocide Narrative	John Muyamba	3
New Era	12.08.2016	Wailing, mourning souls of Ohamakari	Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro	17
New Era	06.05.2016	Marry Cassinga and genocide into one	Editorial board	8
New Era	29.04.2016	Genocide Reparations Cannot Include All … (Part 1)	Uruanaani Scara Matundu	17
New Era	16.01.2016	Has Ambassador Hückmann ever conveyed a message to Berlin on the unfinished business?	Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro	9
New Era	14.08.2015	Ohamakari Came and Went Unnoticed	Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro	10
New Era	17.07.2015	Coastal Activists Call for Removal of Marine Denkmal	Eveline de Klerk	11
New Era	20.03.2015	Namibian-German Relationship At 25	Kae Maṯunḏu-Tjiparuro	9
Der Spiegel	05.06.2021	„Zur Hölle und zurück"	Christoph Schult	44

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Der Spiegel	10.12.2016	Tod in der Wüste	Bartholomäus Grill, Jürgen Zimmerer	108
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Süddeutsche Zeitung	29.05.2021	Chor der Vernachlässigten	Bernd Dörries	2
Süddeutsche Zeitung	23.01.2021	Genozid in der Wüste	Joachim Käppner	55
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Süddeutsche Zeitung	25.01.2018	Im Habitus der Kolonialherren	Jürgen Zimmerer	2
Süddeutsche Zeitung	02.08.2017	Schädelstätten	Anna Lea Berg	10
Süddeutsche Zeitung	22.10.2016	Schrei aus der Wüste	Tobias Zick	11, 12, 13
Süddeutsche Zeitung	22.10.2016	Ungeliebtes Erbe	Isabel Pfaff	13
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die tageszeitung	31.05.2021	Entschuldigung genügt nicht	Jephta Nguherimo	12
die tageszeitung	29.05.2021	Erster Schritt stößt auf Kritik	Dominic Johnson	7
die tageszeitung	17.05.2021	Mahnmal der Arroganz	Jürgen Zimmerer	12
die tageszeitung	20.06.2020	Wie ein Denkmal entkolonisiert wird	Jan Zier	55
die tageszeitung	20.06.2020	Rassismus zieht durch die Stadt	Jelena Malkowski	56, 57
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die tageszeitung	16.11.2019	Das Land der Ahnen	Elisabeth Kimmerle	20, 21, 22
die tageszeitung	10.08.2019	Betroffene fordern Beteiligung	epd/taz	62
die tageszeitung	10.08.2019	Schäbiges Erinnern	Steven Robbins	62
die tageszeitung	09.03.2019	Restitution als Chance	Andreas Fanizadeh	12, 13
die tageszeitung	29.08.2018	Die Restitution ist erst der Anfang	Elisabeth Kimmerle (Interview)	5
die tageszeitung	29.08.2018	Die Schuldfrage	Elisabeth Kimmerle	5
die tageszeitung	11.08.2018	Mit peinlichen Grüßen	Benno Schirrmeister	62
die tageszeitung	21.04.2018	Aus drei mach vier	Uta Schleiermacher	44, 45
die tageszeitung	21.02.2018	Es gibt nicht einmal Gräber	Petra Schellen	27
die tageszeitung	03.02.2018	Wem gehört der Schädel?	Elisabeth Kimmerle	20, 21, 22
die tageszeitung	07.10.2017	Im Dschungelcamp am Karpfenteich	Susanne Memarnia	44, 45
die tageszeitung	01.07.2017	Als Herero habe ich gelernt, immer gerade zu laufen	Julia Boek, David Oliveira (Interviewer)	54, 55
die tageszeitung	08.04.2017	Wo ist die Gerechtigkeit?	Lena Kaiser	55
die tageszeitung	08.04.2017	Payback-Time	Benno Schirrmeister, Lena Kaiser	53
die tageszeitung	24.10.2016	Gutes Timing für Reparationen	Ursula Ackrill	15
die tageszeitung	15.10.2016	Besuch beim Häuptling	Andreas Fanizadeh	16
die tageszeitung	02.06.2016	Wer A sagt, muss auch N sagen	Jürgen Zimmerer	12
die tageszeitung	09.07.2015	Das Ende der Geduld	Dominic Johnson	4
die tageszeitung	09.07.2015	Mit aller Macht die Augen verschließen, das ist beschämend	Jürgen Zimmerer	4
Die Zeit	14.10.2021	Ein grausamer Höfling	Matthias Häussler, Andreas Eckl	21
Die Zeit	01.07.2021	Wie gerecht ist unser Gedenken?	Christian Staas, Elisabeth von Thadden (Interviewer)	10

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Die Zeit	24.06.2021	„Herr Oberst, billigen Sie diese Abscheulichkeiten?“	Steffen Wenig	17
Die Zeit	20.08.2020	Ab ins Museum!	Hanno Rauterberg	39
Die Zeit	27.06.2019	„Das waren in Hamburg geplante Raubzüge“	Kilian Trotier (Interviewer)	19
Die Zeit	13.12.2018	Wie viel darf Versöhnung kosten?	Angela Köckritz	6
Die Zeit	13.12.2018	Rückgabe und mehr!	Rebekka Habermas, Ulrike Lindner	19
Die Zeit	06.12.2018	Aus der Heimat entführt, um Europa zu amüsieren	Elisabeth Knoblauch	8
Die Zeit	11.01.2018	„Nicht länger ohne uns!“	Heike Buchter	19
Die Zeit	09.07.2015	Deutsche ohne Gnade	Norbert Lammert	16

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NBC National FM	31.08.2018	Call number: CF2018/011 [070]	Itah Kandji-Murangi, Francis Kooper	200:24 min.
NBC National FM	04.06.2021	Call number: CF2021/004 [061]	Peya Mushelenga	90:28 min.
NBC Omurari FM	20.10.2016	Call number: CF2016/005 [003]	Inge Murangi	45:49 min.

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B: MAXQDA code system

Code	Memo	Example (one per lead code)	Frequency
Code system			4016
Miscellaneous			25
Sources to describe past	Use of source description in memo next to code.	„Wie systematisch die Männer vorgingen, kann man an Aufzeichnungen von Thilenius sehen. Er gab Expeditionsleitern ein regelrechtes Auftragsbuch mit, bestellte schon mal gleich Hunderte von Speeren und schrieb, dass er gewisse Inseln »leerforschen« wolle. Kein anderes Museum der Welt sollte Objekte von dort bekommen." [*Letters, diaries by German settlers and colonizeres*]	
Unnamed Herero ("native" informant)			1
Maharero: Letters, quotes			3
The Blue Book			6
Colonial war "heroes"	E.g., documents and quotes from Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck		7
Letters, diaries by German settlers and colonizers			22
Colonial artifacts, objects			6
Lothar von Trotha (diaries, letters, orders, quotes)			57
Agreements between German settlers and Herero/Nama representatives			2

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Legends, traditions			6
Family memories of 1904–1908	Oral retelling		10
Lutheran church files			1
Generalstabsbericht			8
Journalistic sources during colonialism			25
Collective symbolism to describe genocide		„Wir sind schon glücklich, wenn ein wenig Licht auf die zwielichtige Vergangenheit mancher Persönlichkeiten fällt." [*Darkness]*	
Fairy tale			1
Poison/sickness			3
Journey			1
Dustbin			2
Monetary terms of gain and loss	E.g., "paying a price"		9
Battle, warriors			11
Bones, skeletons			3
Demons being summoned from past			8
"*Platz an der Sonne*"			6
Wound			16
Curtain, shadow			4
Darkness (chapter, continent)			31
Silence			5
Animals			13
Thorny/trap being laid			2

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Rising from ashes			1
Biblical language	E.g., David and Goliath, usually focus on overcoming adversity		8
Fire, flames			6
Blood			13
Descriptions of genocide: Causes		"Historical reports indicate that between 1885 and 1903 German settlers seized about a quarter of the Ovaherero and Nama lands. In 1904 the tribes rebelled." [*Land dispossession*]	
Land dispossession			3
1896, Nguvauva, Gross Barmen, Otjikango			4
Tribalism			1
Brutal violence			22
1893, Battle of Hornkranz, Witbooi			11
"Rebellion"/liberation struggle against colonial adversaries			25
Economic oppression of Herero communities by merchants and settlers			20
Racism as a perpetuating factor in genocide			20
(Not just) victims/perpetrators: "It's complicated"			2

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Particularly bad part of genocidal past			2
Part of "our" colonial heritage			9
Bringing "development" to indigenous communities			8
Ethnological collecting by German scientists			11
Historical power imbalance			46
Listing of crimes in reference to genocide definition (concentration camps)			9
Historical tensions between Herero and Nama communities			7
Indigenous violence			20
Military tactic/victory/defeat			58
Equal historical adversaries	Focus on military leaders (Lothar von Trotha, Samuel Maharero)		4
Economic interests			15
European framework	"Others were doing it, too"		47
Terms to describe the genocide		„Ich wollte wissen, was aus Kasper Leinhos, dem Compagnion meines Großonkels, geworden war und ob er den Herero-Aufstand am 14. Januar 1904 überlebt hat." [*1904–1908; "rebellion"*]	

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Genocide definition			11
1904–1908	What terms and years do journalists use to describe the events of the colonial war and genocide? See memo.		90
Descriptions of and relations between historical participants		"Die Herero, ein Hirtenvolk, hatten sich gegen Einschränkungen ihrer Wasser- und Weiderechte durch die Deutschen blutig gewehrt und deutsche Farmer ermordet." [*German settlers murdered*]	
German settlers murdered			12
"Namibia's indigenous people"	Relation between settlers and indigenous people defined through examples of abuse		3
German settler communities: Quaint, family relation			1
Herero and Nama communities: "A pastoralist people"			6
German settlers as (precursors to) Nazis			10
German soldiers as violent perpetrators			2
Herero and Nama communities: Agency and self-destruction during 1904–1908			5

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Anti-apartheid resistance: Anna Mungunda			2
Anti-colonial resistance: Maharero, Nguvauva, Fredericks, Witbooi			16
Colonial source descriptions of indigenous actors			21
Victims, fleeing			1
Contemporary German critics of genocide			41
German metropolitan decision-makers: Kaiser, Bismarck, Bülow			29
Colonizers: Part of the colonial system			11
Emotions connected to past subjects			0
Humiliation caused to indigenous populations			3
Mercy			2
Fear felt by German settlers			2
Bitterness			3
Irony/excessive German cruelty			16
Non-ironic cruelty (Germans)			8

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Connections to other memories		"When I speak about acknowledging the 1904 genocide I do so with Bosnia and that ethnic cleansing in the back of my mind. If the world has really changed significantly from that those pre-WW2 years, how on earth did we get to a place again?" [*Yugoslavian war and genocide*]	
World War I/ South African internment			3
Reparations paid by other countries (e.g., Japanese internment in the U.S.A.)			1
Ovambo battles (King Nehale)			2
Yugoslavian war and genocide			2
Willy Brandt, Warsaw			2
Manga Bell, Cameroon			1
Zimbabwe (land reform)			1
German refugees after the Second World War			1
Apartheid/liberation struggle			34
USA/racism			7
Armenian genocide			3
Slave trade in Germany			7
Rwandan Genocide			8
Maji-Maji War			12

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East Germany/ DDR			17
Berlin Conference			9
Second World War/Nazis/ Holocaust /eugenics			97
World War II reparations paid in recent years			5
Uses of memory to dis-/connect the past and the present		"Our second land conference should not be a replica of the Berlin Conference where decisions about the African continent were taken, but without the participation of the Africans." [*Colonialism as a delegitimizing strategy*]	
Colonialism as delegitimizing strategy	Connection to colonialism delegitimizes present actions		7
The past in the present	No break between past and present		36
Irritations with present discourse	Past should no longer be impacting present		13
Past as explanation of importance (contextualization)			2
Temporal markers to situate past relative to the collective	Function in memo adjacent to code	"Doch erst vergangene Woche, nach mehr als fünf Jahren und neun Verhandlungsrunden, präsentierte Polenz eine »gemeinsame Erklärung«, in der Berlin endlich formal anerkannte, was führende Historiker schon lange sagen." [*More than X years*]	
"More than X years"	With reference to the negotiations, joint declaration		11

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"Last-minute"			6
"More than 100 years"			38
"Soon"	With reference to the joint declaration		9
"*Bis heute*"	With reference to the negotiations and apology		14
"The first"			24
"Only"	Emphasis on short duration		23
"Amnesia"	Presupposition of no remembered connection		38
Connection to prior events	Includes both memorial ceremonies/commemorations and political events that help to define the scope of memorial action in the journalistic article	„Erst mit dem Herannahen des Jahres 2004 und damit der 100. Wiederkehr des Krieges begannen sich Eintrübungen abzuzeichnen, die von Herero-Seite bald in Schuldzuweisungen mündeten und schließlich Entschädigungsforderungen nach sich zogen, wobei sich diese zunächst nicht an die Namibia-Deutschen richteten, sondern vielmehr an die Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland als Rechtsnachfolgerin des ehemaligen Deutschen Kaiserreiches." [*2004*, *centenary*]	
1968 protests			5
BLM (2020)			4
Land conferences: 1991, 2018			3
1995, Kohl in Namibia			3
2017, lawsuit			6
1989, liberation			2
Restitutions: 2011, 2018, 2019			12

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2006, resolution			4
2002, lawsuit against Deutsche Bank			1
2012, parliamentary discussion			1
2015/16 Lammert, Armenia-Resolution			27
2004, Wieczorek-Zeul, centenary			18
Locational markers to situate the past relative to the collective			
Locational markers (present location)	How are present locations described? How does the author (not) describe their position in that location?	"ZIMMERER: Ja, wir wollen die Beteiligung der NamibierInnen ermöglichen, und wir sind in der Bringschuld. Das Ungleichgewicht in der Kultur- und Wissenschaftslandschaft zwischen Nord und Süd ist auch ein Resultat des Kolonialismus und wirkt weiter. ForscherInnen und KünstlerInnen aus Namibia etwa haben nur schwer Zugang zur Kunst- und Wissenschaftsszene im Globalen Norden und zu deutschen Fördergeldern und Stipendien." [*Germany (site of present mnemonic institutions)*]	
Germany (site of present mnemonic institutions)			15
Namibia (site of present mnemonic negotiations)			17
Memorial sites			37

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Land, in German hands			8
Inhospitable environment			15
Nostalgic colonialism /tourism			18
Poverty in townships, rural towns			8
Locational markers (past location)	How is the past connected to the present through a continuity of locations?	„In der Nazizeit nannte sich Bremen stolz die „Stadt der Kolonien". Und es war der Bremer Kaufmann Alfred Lüderitz, der sich Deutsch-Südwestafrika 1884 mit betrügerischen Mitteln und einem unlauteren Vertrag aneignete. Nach dem „Lügenfritz" ist auch heute noch eine Straße in Bremen benannt, genauso wie nach seinem Mitstreiter, dem Bremer Tabakhändler Heinrich Vogelsang, oder dem Reichskommissar Gustav Nachtigal, der Lüderitz' Landnahme damals beglaubigte." [*German cities, references to the past in public monuments/streets*]	
GSWA	Colony as a location for describing present events in the article.		2
German cities, references to the past in public monuments /streets	Locational (and often personal) continuity		23
Exoticized locations, contrasted to present	"It's not like that today."		21

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In-/appropriate reactions towards the past	Also includes group descriptions (which reactions are connected to which groups?)	"But a year or so down the line, the community still seems chronically at odds with itself and its various constituents with their usually belligerent – and far from being ready to bury the hatchet – stance and stage one pilgrimage to Okahandja." [*Anger from within the Herero and Nama community*]	
Commemoration made impossible through competing claims			4
Anger from within the Herero and Nama community			49
Shame			1
Fear of losing national gains			2
Fear of business losses			12
Fear evoked by the past			2
Disgust at the past			3
Explicitly "objective" towards past events			10
Brave/fearless in living out the "calling" of the past			4
Pain towards the past			40
Disappointment towards present actions			8
Surprise at present actions			3
Irony/sarcasm			7

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Irritation towards present actions			7
Hope for the future			2
Guilt/moral duty stemming from the past			14
The Herero and Nama "feel" a certain way about something	Reaction towards the past as a motivator for demands.		15
Reconciliation towards the past			20
Sympathy expressed either through or towards the journalist			8
Embarrassment	E.g., Germany is "losing face"		27
Anger within Germany			6
Pressure to act			10
Fear of potential future actions			4
"Healing" the past			15
Joy/relief about future actions			23
Description of present groups		„Eine solche Entwicklung kann folgeträchtig sein für den Fortbestand der deutschsprachigen Minderheit von etwa 0,7% der Bevölkerung." [*German-speaking Namibians; minority group*]	
German-speaking Namibians as a minority group			2
Herero and Nama as bold			2

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German-speaking Namibians: Not being heard			3
SWAPO: Unknowledgeable about past			3
Herero and Nama communities are scattered, described through diaspora groups			6
Herero and Nama as critical of prior steps			7
Germans as reactionary or right-wing			16
Namibians represented by government			12
Traditional communities: Excluded from negotiations			26
Herero and Nama as exotic			18
German-speaking Namibians as revisionist			15
German-speaking Namibians as landowners			10
German left-leaning groups as unknowledgeable			6
"Africans", continental descriptors			36
Traditional communities as minority populations			15

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Germany and the West as generous			5
Germans as unknowledgeable about their past			24
Disputed claims to leadership in traditional communities			18
Herero/Nama as "moderate", avoiding conflict			3
Relationships between present groups through/despite past	How is the connection between the Herero and Nama genocide and the present shaped and de-/legitimized through the relationship between present speakers and those they represent?	"Look at Swakopmund, we cannot deny the fact that this town is run by the whites and the Germans, while [black] Namibians are squashed to the back of places like Mondesa and the DRC settlement. These are things we cannot allow anymore." [*Racial tensions*]	
Reciprocity: Remembering "all" victims			5
Racial tensions			2
Reconciliation efforts between German-speaking Namibians and the Herero and Nama			4
Wealth disparity between German-speaking Namibians and the Herero and Nama			19

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	Interpersonal conflict between German-speaking Namibian and Herero and Nama communities			10
	German-speaking historian providing a platform for a speaker			4
	Interracial relationships	Overlap with and typically precursor for reconciliation efforts.		32
	Irritation/reversal of "expected" roles (e.g., "proud of past")			24
	Present tensions between Herero and Nama (disunity)			29
	Present friendship between former colonizer/formerly colonized			39
	Present friendship between German and Namibian nation, "special" bond			30
	Deadlock: German and Namibian governemts			16
	Affected communities and Namibian government			36
	Herero/Nama and Damara/San	Typically clustered around questions of reparations.		12

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Speakers who can speak for HN demands	In MAXQDA: Function of speaker in memo adjacent to code.	„‚Ich wurde sogar Verräter genannt', sagt Dempers, dessen eigene Vorfahren Ovaherero, Nama und Damara sind. Es ist ihm anzusehen, dass ihn das schmerzt. ‚Ich sehe die Arbeit in der Kommission nur als eine weitere Seite des Kampfes, als eine weitere Strategie, um das zu erreichen, wofür wir gekämpft haben.'" [*Ethnic ties/ties to genocide survivors*]	
Ethnic ties/ties to genocide survivors			5
German-speaking academic			
Jürgen Zimmerer	Subject matter expert		21
Henning Melber	Subject matter expert		9
Reinhart Kößler	Subject matter expert		5
German-speaking historian	Specific expertise on the history of the genocide.		29
German-speaking expert on aspects of Namibia	Wide range of disciplines.		21
Knowledgeable (but non-academic) figure			17
Academic from Namibia			7
Maharero Royal House/traditional authorities			1
Nguvauva/ Ovambanderu traditional authorities			5

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OTA/Ovaherero traditiaonl authorities			9
Paramount chief / Vekuii Rukoro	Paramount Chief is almost always Vekuii Rukoro (rarely named afterwards)		20
"Ordinary" individual from Namibia (vox pop)	No further descriptors besides "ordinariness"		13
(Political) Activists in Namibia	e.g., Laidlaw Peringanda and Job Amupanda		5
Namibian business leader			4
German ambassador to Namibia (Christian Schlaga)			2
Foreign correspondent	Expertise through frequent travels		8
Lawyers for the lawsuit against Germany/ McCallion:	Legal expertise		3
Cultural figure (author, artist)			13
NTLA/Nama traditional leaders and representatives			20
Ida Hoffmann	Overlap (SWAPO member, formerly NTLA)		12
Namibian opposition party (typically SWANU)			7

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Member of the Namibian govt			17
Hage Geingob	President of Namibia		5
Zedekia Ngavirue	Special envoy to the negotiations from Germany		16
German-speaking Namibians	Experience as an individual who lives in Namibia		14
Heinrich Schneider-Waterberg	Overlap with expertise as an amateur historian		4
Erika von Wietersheim	Overlap with expertise and activism through work		2
US-based Herero activists			8
Berlin-based activists			
Israel Kaunatjike	Mentioned explicitly, often without affiliation		20
German organizations shown representing the interests of Black communities in Germany (typically Berlin Postkolonial, ISD)			21
OGF representatives/Festus Muundjua			10
ONCD/Ueriuka Tjikuua			5

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Church representatives (Bishop Zephania Kameeta)			2
"Ordinary" German	Not involved in political processes, introduced as an "ordinary" perspective		5
German politician (Lammert, Maas, etc.)			44
Ruprecht Polenz	Special envoy to the negotiations from Germany		15
Pronouns: Relationship between the speaker/journalist and the imagined audience		"When I looked at these images of emaciated women and children, there was a complete disconnect to the image I had of Namibians." ["*I*": *Author conveys personal observations*"]	
"I": Author conveys personal observations			2
"Them"/"Us", used to distinguish the relationship to hegemonic powers (e.g., the government)			5
"We"/Speaking for "our" group to an audience not composed of "us"			12
"We"/Inner-institutional decisions			1
"Them"/Speaking for a group			20
"We Namibians" (national belonging)			14

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"We Germans" (national belonging)			15
Descriptions of national and local communities without an explicit "we"			20
Commemoration in connection with the description of a community			43
Prospective memory tasks		„Wiederherstellung unserer Würde heißt Entschädigung für unser gestohlenes Land und Rekonstruktion der dem Völkermord zum Opfer gefallenen soziokulturellen und ökonomischen Aspekte unserer Gesellschaften." [*Land reform and reappropriation*]	
Strengthening the genocide case in court			2
Joint declaration: Coming to an agreement			24
"Moving forward"			13
Saying "genocide"			3
Including affected communities in the negotiations			2
"Never again!", not repeating the past			6
Renaming streets, cities			13
Anti-racism, increased tolerance			21

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"Being better"/role model for other colonial powers			16
Community or national unity			16
"Shared" history or memory			5
Restitution			29
Producing more knowledge about the past, e.g. through exhibitions			62
Provenance research			14
Reparations payments			21
No reparation (denial of task through past)			4
Money (unspecified)			5
Development aid			9
None needed; turning point; success			21
Land reform and reappropriation			20

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Spheres of consensus/leg. controversy/deviance	How are prospective demands de-/legitimized?	„Maßgebliche Verantwortung für diese Entwicklung tragen vor allem gesellschaftliche Gruppen in Deutschland, zunächst ‚progressive' Wissenschaftler, überdies Pfarrer, insbesondere der Evangelischen Kirche und oft im Kontext mit der Anti-Apartheid Bewegung, seit 2004 aber auch im vermehrten Umfang deutsche Politiker, allen voran die Partei ‚Die Linke' (bedingt durch die alte Verbundenheit zwischen der SWAPO und der SED), doch auch die SPD und von ‚Bündnis 90/Die Grünen', und schließlich gesellten sich namhafte Rechtsanwälte aus Deutschland und den USA dazu, um aus der Angelegenheit Kapital zu schlagen." [*Political controversy along dimensions of "left" and "right"*]	
Controversy: Reparations and/as aid			67
Controversy: Who says it's not genocide?			45
Political controversy along dimensions of "left" and "right" (Germany)			14
Consensus on genocide			20
Scandal: Legal expenditures by NAM govt			2

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Mnemonic institutions de-/legitimized in text		"It was initiated by a group of concerned German-Namibians with the aim of promoting – through communication and dialogue – understanding, acceptance and mutual trust among different language, cultural and interest groups. Another meeting is scheduled for this Friday." [*Civil society: Gesprächskreis (Namibia)*]	0
Civil Society: Gesprächskreis (Namibia)			5
Traditional authorities and communities			1
Namibian government			38
Museum			31
DHM (historical museum)	Specific position in discourse through simultaneous reference as a site of memorialization.		8
Corporations who have profited from colonialism			9
United Nations	Arbiter of the past		7
Goethe-Institute			2
Church	Historical/present institution of reconciliation		4

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