

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.

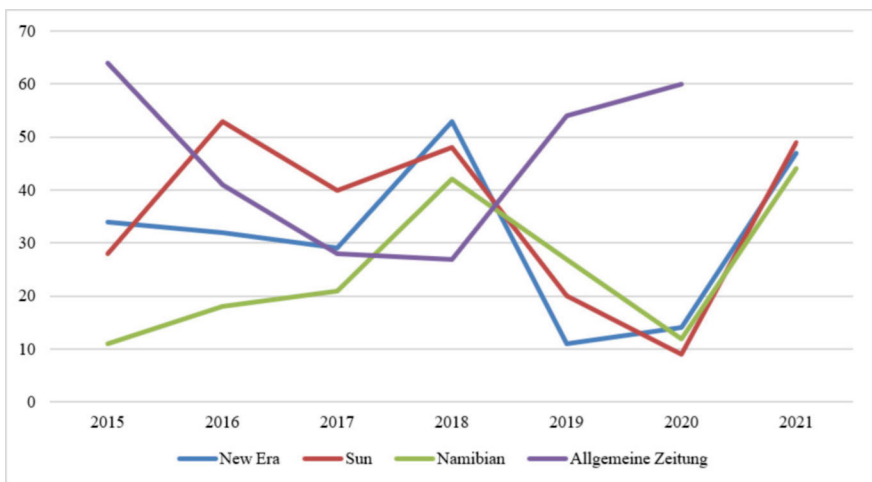
A few tendencies became clear when viewing the distribution of papers across time (see figure 3). Coverage in the English-language papers peaked in 2018 and 2021 and significantly declined during the first Covid-19 lockdown in 2020. However, it is unclear whether this decline represents less newspaper 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.

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.

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=nūs 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 Ovaherero² 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.

a New York district court under the Alien Tort Claims Act³ 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 Okahandja⁴, 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.

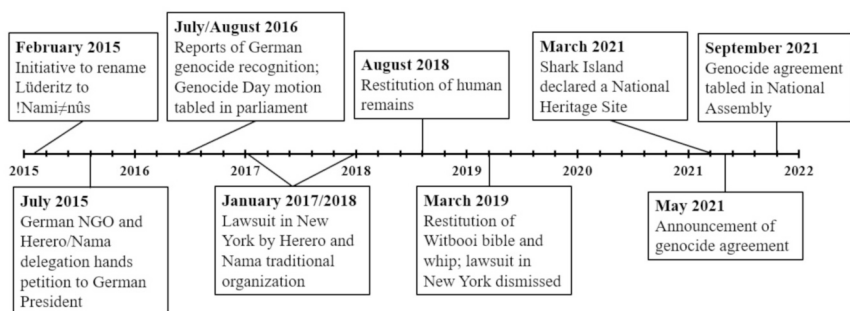
In addition to these different commemorative events, the Namibian political events that were mentioned in connection with the Herero and Nama genocide were much more diverse than the broad discursive moments outlined in figure 4. However, these events

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.

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.

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.

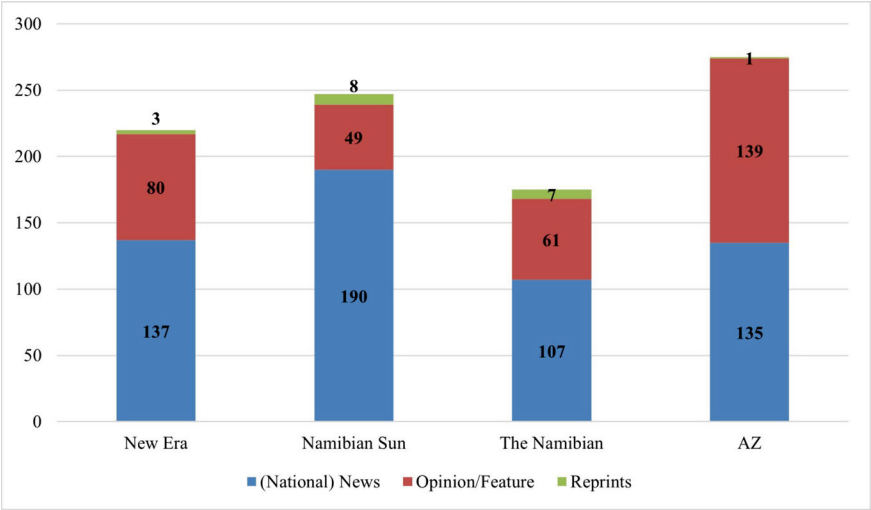
The *AZ*’s coverage slightly diverges from the editorial structures visible in the English-language press. While the *AZ* also frequently reports on the Herero and Nama genocide in “news” reports and commentaries in the front pages of coverage, many texts on the genocide are also found in letters to 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

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

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 Maṭunḍu-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, Maṭunḍu-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). Maṭunḍu-Tjiparuro writes for the Otjiherero-language section called "Ombuze," which appears every Friday.⁶ Based on my background conversation with Maṭunḍu-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 Maṭunḍu-Tjiparuro confirmed that ties to the Herero/Mbanderu⁷ 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.

Okešeta, which occurred around the more well-known Battle of Waterberg (Ohamakari). In addition, both Tjitemisa and Maṭunḍu-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 Muinjangu, 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 Muinjangu, head of a parliamentary opposition party. Both Ngavirue and Muinjangu 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.

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.

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 Kahiurika¹¹ 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 Maŋunḁu-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 Maŋunḁu-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.

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.

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 Vekuui 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

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 one¹⁴ 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 Rukoro¹⁵. 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 Maṭundu-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).

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-

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 Mutjinda Katjiva¹⁶, 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.

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

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.

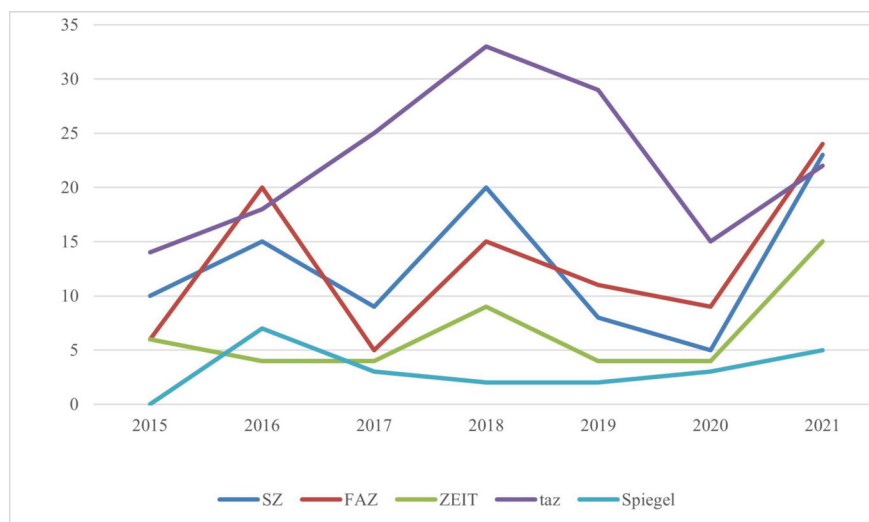
6.2.1 Occasions for reporting and discursive events

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-

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.

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.

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/fea- ture	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-

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.

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 Vekuui 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. Mücke, 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-

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/Mblanderu 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/Mblanderu 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, Jephtha 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-

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 Herero¹⁸ 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 Hüntzschel, 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.

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).

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-

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.

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

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.

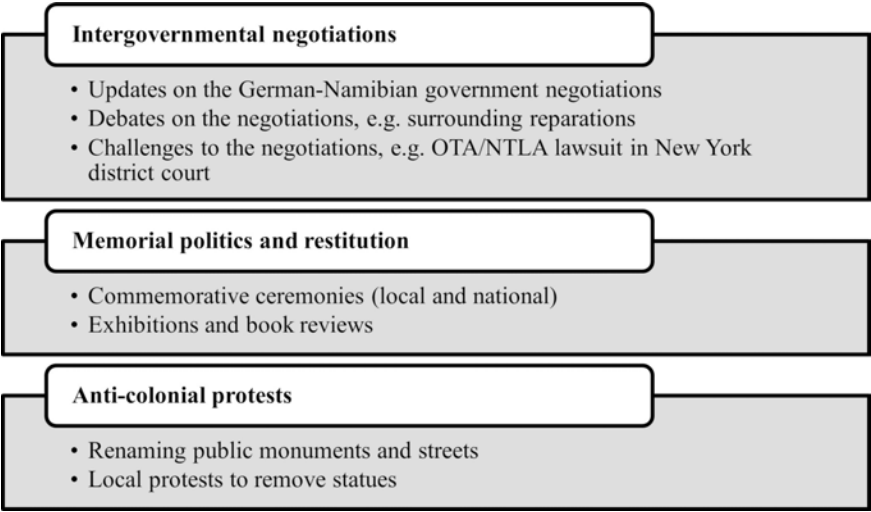
In Namibian journalism, the Herero and Nama genocide is formally constructed as a current political event through relatively short reports in the “politics” and “opinion” rubrics, continuously and consistently covered by political journalists with personal ties to the Herero and Nama communities. The 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

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”

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.