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Botswana and Political Communication Analysis of the 1999 Political Manifestos

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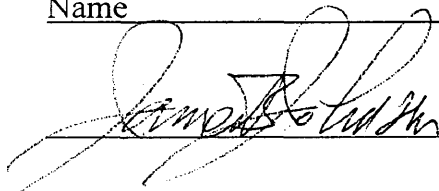# UMI®

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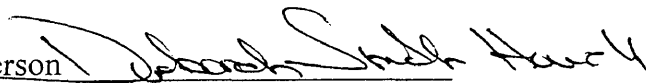Nebraska at Omaha.

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzed the 1999 Botswana political manifestos that were used by the Botswana Democratic Party, the Botswana National Front and the Botswana Congress Party. The purpose of the study was to analyze how political parties differentiated themselves through the use of symbols, the narration of their policies, and their general narrative. The results from qualitative content analysis study indicate that political parties used different symbols in their manifestos. The concentrations of symbols for the three parties were in the cover page, and for the BDP and BCP inside of the manifestos. While the BDP and BCP had some graphics inside the manifesto, the BNF had all its graphics on its cover page. The BDP was the only party that used symbols in the entire manifestos, at the beginning of every section. According to the three parties, the political history of Botswana began in 1965. The BDP states that the country has gone through tremendous development, whereas the opposition parties state that the country has not developed, as it should have. The BDP sees the future of the country as a bright one if it continues to rule, whereas the opposition parties see the opposite. The BDP acclaims the success of Botswana and attacks the opposition parties in generalized terms, whereas the opposition parties attacks the BDP without attacking each other. The opposition parties also viewed the system as less democratic and both wanted to give the Independent Electoral Commission more powers. Future research should investigate the differences of using manifestos in parliamentary systems versus political advertising, which is mostly used in federal systems.

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INTRODUCTION

"Furthermore, while an ordinary consumer transaction involves a single exchange, of goods for money, the political marketplace is mediated by a double process of exchange. Voters buy policies by voting for parties and candidates while the latter supply, or promise to supply, these policies in return for the benefits of office" (Wernick, p. 143).

This study will examine the 1999 manifestos that were distributed by three political parties in Botswana during the general election using qualitative content analysis. During campaigns, politicians run for office with the ultimate goal of becoming policy makers. Thus, through campaigning, politicians attempt to persuade people and to enlighten them about different issues that may have an impact in their lives depending on their votes. According to Farrell and Schmitt-Beck, campaigning is an integral democratic process that allows political candidates and parties to run for office. Political elites and party leaders determine the best strategies of communicating with the masses by choosing important messages and the channels in which those messages can be delivered to voters. Political campaigners all share the same views when it comes to campaigning, that it can influence the behavior of the electorates (Farrell & Schmitt-Beck, 2002).

The literature review will cover use of manifestos, political campaigns, persuasion, rhetorical texts, and Botswana. By manifestos, the literature review will be addressing formal statements that are prepared by the select few in a political party to represent the views, policies and values of the party. These documents are called platforms in the United States (Smith and Smith, 2000). Manifestos are therefore texts that parties use to present policies and positions in order to enable voters to make

judgments on who can better meet their needs. They are texts by which parties distinguish themselves.

Researchers assert that campaigns are designed for the purpose of winning votes. They also argue that the information that is released during campaigns can have both intended and unintended effects, depending on how the electors perceive it (Farrell and Schmitt-Beck, 2002). Perelman (1982) argues that rhetoric is aimed at persuading and convincing, irrespective of the crowd or the message that is being delivered. Through rhetoric, politicians are therefore concerned with persuading and convincing voters that they are the best candidates or political parties to address the voters' needs.

Political candidates use different campaign strategies to win the votes. Manifestos are structured to convince voters that the sponsoring party will be able to govern better than its competitors. In an election, the manifesto is distributed to give voters the opportunity to determine which political party will best serve the issues of their concerns. Unlike other methods of campaigning, like advertising, manifestos are detailed to give voters an adequate amount of information. Voters can also decide to take different manifestos and go through them side by side to determine a political party that can best serve their interest.

From my analysis, I will learn how different political parties in Botswana structured their manifestos, the symbols that they used, the structure they used in narrating their policies, and the general narratives that deal with how they perceived things to be. In this way, I will be able to find the general perception that political parties

wish to project about the progress the country has made and the things that need to be done for the future.

The study of manifestos is particularly important because of the importance of the manifestos in showing the political position of a political party in a parliamentary system. This is because in a parliamentary system, everyone has to adhere to the manifesto that is created by the party elites. The study of political manifestos in Botswana can show the different communication that is used by those in power and those challenging the status quo. In so doing, an analysis of manifestos can give those running campaigns alternative ways to effectively deliver their messages to voters.

RATIONALE

Political systems have different ways of running their political parties. The Botswana model follows that of the British system, of which it was once a colony. According to Smith and Smith (2000), the distinction between the British and American system is that in the United States candidates running for office are selected from the bottom in separate elections, whereas in a parliamentary system, such as Botswana, it is the opposite. This is because the party elites determine the party's policies and its candidates, and elections are held once for various political seats, from presidential to parliamentary to council seats. This means parties lose as entities. In American politics, political parties use platforms, whereas in the British system, parties adopt manifestos. Candidates in a parliamentary system run on the manifesto that is generated by party elites instead of establishing campaign teams that are separate from the party, as is the case in the United States system (Smith and Smith, 2000).

In their study of British Manifestos, Smith and Smith (2000) assert that these documents are important because they are texts that voters can use to distinguish between political parties. Each manifesto is important for its tone and image and the policies that it carries, because voters scrutinize them in their decision-making. This is because the "manifesto of the victorious party functions as a mandate from the electorate and, therefore, as the locus of legitimacy for governmental action. Once elected, the ministers of government are in a stronger position with the civil servants to push for the programs stated in the manifesto" (Smith & Smith, 2000, p. 460). This means that manifestos contain the promises which the elected majority party will implement.

The 1999 general election of Botswana was crucial in many respects. For the first time, citizens the age of 18 years were given the right to vote, arrangements were made for citizens overseas to vote and the newly established Independent Electoral Commission administered the elections (Independent Electoral Commission, 1999). Before the election, the Botswana Congress Party held 11 seats in the National Assembly, after its members who had been Members of Parliament for the Botswana National Front formed and defected to the Botswana Congress Party (the BCP), with their seats. The defection led to the Botswana National Front's seats dropping from 13, the highest it had ever achieved to 2 seats of Members of Parliament before the election. After the election, the Botswana Congress Party had lost all except one of its parliamentary seats, and the ruling Botswana Democratic Party increased its muscle in parliament (Good, 2002).

Botswana has had free and fair elections in which parties are freely allowed to contest for government since 1965 (Good, 2002). Manifestos for those parties that earned

seats will be scrutinized to assess how they communicated with the electorate in their quest to control the National Assembly. Researchers have different opinions about different campaign strategies that are used in elections. But they all agree that campaigning is a crucial step to win public support for office. In Botswana, the manifesto is a document of what political parties promise to offer the electorate in case they are voted into power. There are no studies that have been done analyzing manifestos in Botswana in terms of political communication.

In 1989, the Democracy Research Project (DRP) conducted a study on voter apathy which was published by the Botswana Independent Electoral Commission in its *Voter Apathy Report* of 2002. The survey concluded that a review of Botswana's political campaign strategies found parties failed to give voters enough reasons to vote for them in terms of the issues they were going to address after being given the mandate to govern. For example, most of the advertising that was carried out was concentrated in urban areas with the ruling party using its financial capability to buy more airtime for ads and in distribution of posters, manifestos, and portraits. The survey found political parties failed to mobilize and did not have good campaign strategies. One of the reasons for this was that there were no substantive messages delivered to the electorate, other than encouraging voters to vote for a particular candidate (Voter Apathy Report, 2002).

Researchers have done many studies related to political campaigns. On the other hand, there are few studies that have been performed on manifestos from the political communication standpoint. Most studies on manifestos are from political science in British journals. In Botswana, there is no study that has been done on the manifesto as a

political campaign document. In light that Botswana has held systematic elections every five years since it got independence (Good, 2002), an analysis of its manifestos is integral to understanding political parties and the differences between them.

Since the manifesto is an integral campaign document that is distributed to voters during election campaigns, a closer look at manifestos is important for seeing the styles that different political parties use in trying to convince voters that they can best lead the country. A study of manifestos can also help political parties running for office in Botswana and elsewhere to improve their manifestos in order to better communicate with electors. In this way, democracy may be improved by making elections more competitive and at the same time making change of government possible through better communication methods.

By studying political manifestos, the political culture, traditions, and values of Botswana's democracy can better be understood. Manifestos are so important that Smith and Smith (2002) stated that manifestos are "that slide beneath Billig's microscope and illuminates the ways that individuals, symbols, values, and policies fostered a sense of us-ness (and them-ness) for each party" (p. 459). The study of manifestos is also important because political communication is one of the many important dimensions in a democratic system, and therefore important to be studied. Since no political communication study has been done of Botswana's political manifestos, this study will be important in enhancing and improving political communication between politicians and voters. This is because manifestos are used as campaign documents to persuade people to

vote in a certain way and above all to enable the sponsoring party to attract and drum up the majority of votes.

Smith and Smith (2000) examined the 1997 British manifestos as rhetorical texts that were intended to win the support of voters. The present study will use qualitative content analysis to examine the manifesto in a related way to Smith and Smith (2000). This is because manifestos will be treated as rhetorical texts, campaign documents intended to persuade voters to vote for sponsors.

The difference between this study and that of Smith and Smith (2002) is that manifestos that will be analyzed in this study are of a different country, one that has been ruled by one political party since independence (1966) rather than one that has maintained a competitive 2 party system for 200 years. This study will investigate the use of symbols in design, the narrative about important issues that political parties advanced. I will analyze manifestos that were distributed in the 1999 general election by the Botswana Democratic Party, Botswana Congress party and the Botswana National Front.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research pertaining to political campaigns is important because of the different impact it has at different times. The distribution of party manifestos is one of the many forms of political campaigning that are used during election times. The literature review will thus cover areas that are relevant to what is found and known in manifestos.

The following research has been found to be relevant to the study of manifestos: 1) Political language, 2) Manifestos/Platforms, and 3) Botswana.

The above stated literature is relevant to this study of manifestos because it demonstrates how different styles of campaign rhetoric and persuasion are used to convince voters about the issues that are found in them. It also shows us how different parties use symbols to differentiate themselves from each other.

Political Language

Campaigns are important because of the function they perform in the dissemination of information. Campaigns are not important because of the nature of the events that they create, but because of the type of information given out during campaign periods. Information is important in influencing the opinion of the public about their voting preferences. Information is disseminated during campaign periods through the media and campaign advertisements, which includes manifestos and political ads. Information that voters get in election campaigns help them make decisions based on the political candidates' predispositions (Holbrook, 1996).

Voters vote for the party that they perceive will best serve their interest. In this way, voters vote for the party that they believe will be of greater benefit to them

compared to the rest. According to Anthony Downs (1957), as part of their strategies during election campaigns, governments attempt to make voters aware of the benefits that are already given to them. Downs asserts "only benefits which voters become conscious of by election day can influence their voting decisions; otherwise their behavior would be irrational" (Downs, 1957, p.38). In this way, voters make decisions of who to vote for based on their goals and the best way of reaching those goals through their votes. The information that voters get helps them to weigh the probable consequences of their choices.

When casting votes, voters expect outcomes that are promised them during political campaigns. Thus, elections are a contest that involves rewards and information. According to Andrew Wernick (1991), "…the history of promotion which can be traced in the history of liberal democracy registers not just an external, commercially derived, influence, but the logic of the electoral system's own development as a market" (Wernick, p. 143). Though voters vote individually, they vote for collective benefits that are enjoyed by all in the society. The purpose of giving out information (e.g. through party platforms) by political parties is to generate expectations in voters. It is through the proposed policies that are put forward that voters decide which candidate will best serve their interest (Roemer, 1994).

Political outcomes are determined by how advocates manipulate the preferences of voters. One of the most commonly used manipulations by advocates is the "formulation and presentation of interpretations of various policy proposals" (Lau, Smith

& Fiske, 1991, p. 645). "Interpretations" are used to show the possible outcome of a policy proposal by establishing opinions about consequences.

According to Lau et al. (1991), "the aim of each interpretation is to emphasize a dimension of judgment that will lead people to prefer one policy proposal over competing, alternative proposals" (p. 645). Policy interpretations can be used on voters who may be assessing candidates on the policies proposed. Thus, interpretations are important in helping one to determine who to vote for because they do provide the consequences for policies (Lau et al., 1991).

When voters selectively become aware of the consequences of one interpretation of a policy proposal and accept the basic circumstances of the plan, they often accept the interpretation of the proposal. Thus, the exposure to a single policy proposal will cause voters to make a judgment from one dimension without the consideration of other policy proposals. "Cognitive misers" will not look for possible interpretations or at least search through their memories. According to Lau et al. (1991), "some of the interpretation will undoubtedly contain many easily understood persuasion cues as to how much better the advocated proposal is than competing proposals, many voters can become supportive of the proposal without actively thinking about it" (p. 648). Thus, when voters have one interpretation of a policy proposal, the interpretation will have a significant influence in their assessment without considering their political thoughts or beliefs (Lau et al., 1991).

On the other hand, if voters are exposed to two competing interpretations of policy proposals, it will engage them in trying to choose the best possible alternative. This will lead voters to analyze both alternatives and thus "employ a more complex

information processing strategy" (Lau et al., p. 648). Research also shows that people give more attention to issues that directly affect them. The basis of how voters deal with interpretations before them is dependant upon their understanding of the policy proposal. The construction that voters develop pertaining to political plans plays a role in their interpretations of policy proposals (Lau et al., 1991).

Political parties use different messages during election campaigns, sometimes they use either negative or positive campaign messages. Positive messages focus on the positive aspect of the sponsor by either promoting his/her image or his/her performance in public office. On the other hand, negative messages focus on the weakness of an opponent by attacking his/her character or positions on issues, especially voting record. Negative messages compare competitors' prior performance at the expense of the other (Pfau & Kenski, 1990). Thus, negative messages are intended to compare policies of sponsors to opponents for the purpose of exposing their weakness.

In rhetoric, an individual "seeks to have certain opinions prevail over other competing opinions" (Perelman, p. 153). Perelman (1982) argues "through dialectical reasoning and rhetoric, one can influence people's judgment and direct them toward taking reasonable positions" (p.155). In election campaigns, candidates wage battles for votes. They structure their campaigns for both short term and long terms effects. Long-term effects can be the ones that are have to do with success in elections, public knowledge, and the framing of the public debate, whereas short-term effects can be the one that deal with mobilization, perceptional change, activation, and knowledge gain (Farrell and Schmitt-Beck, 2002).

The function of campaign discourse is to enhance one's chances of having advantage over the opponent. In their quest to win, candidates may acclaim, attack, or defend themselves. Politicians may therefore use any of the above stated functions if they believe that they will work for them. For example, a politician may decide not to use acclaims frequently if within the environment that he/she is campaigning, it is something that can contribute to his/her loss of statue. These three functions can be used by any political rhetor that is faced with the challenges of the competition in an election contest (Benoit, Blaney and Pier, 2000).

Acclaims are intended for a favorable self-presentation. Attacks can be used to attack other contesting parties, their candidates or policies. The function of defense can be used where "(a) the accused must be linked to, or seen as responsible for, an act, and (b) that act must be viewed as offensive by the audience" (Benoit et al., p.65). In their study, Benoit et al. found that incumbents acclaimed more compared to challengers. They also found that utterances of acclaims and attacks were common in texts that they analyzed (keynote speeches from 1960-1996).

According to Benoit and Brazeal (2002), political campaign discourse is "inherently functional or instrumental (as opposed to consummatory)" (p. 221). Campaign rhetoric is thus used to meet desired ends, so that enough electors can be persuaded to vote for that particular candidate. Benoit and Brazeal add that elections are comparative, which leads to voters having to choose between competing sides. Voters then vote for the candidate that is favorable to them based on the different preferences that they hold pertaining to what is being offered. The functions that are used in

campaign discourse differ depending on the political messages. In their study, they also found that the candidates from the incumbent party acclaimed the most.

Campaign rhetoric is used by candidates to achieve desired ends of persuading voters to vote for them in order to win elections. Thus, the purpose of political campaign discourse is to appear preferable in the eyes of voters by the use of all or some of the three essential campaign discourse functions: acclaims, attacks, and defenses (Benoit & Brazeal, 2002).

Political candidates have problems and goals similar to marketers. In order to achieve the results that they want, they both have to design strategic ways that give them the advantage over their competitors. The distinction between politics and business is that the purpose of marketing business is to make profit, whereas the purpose in politics is to get elected. "Each political party (or business firm) must differentiate itself from all others by the characteristics of its offering—its candidates, its policies, its leadership style" (Mauser, 1983, p.7). In running for office, candidates have the obligation to assess the situation in which they find themselves, in order to be able to come up with strategies that give them advantages over their opponents. In this way, when elections come, politicians can win the most votes to enable them to govern.

According to Wernick (1991), when people cast their votes, it is like buying goods at a store. Electoral politics is a system where parties actively contest with each other to win voters. Though a consumer transaction involves an exchange of money and goods, the political marketplace involves voters buying policies by voting for parties and candidates, with politicians expected to deliver those policies in return after getting into

government. Thus, information that is given to voters is important as much as information that is given to buyers by sellers (Wernick, 1991).

Wernick (1991) contends that political parties use symbols in their promotion because, as an example "for Marxists such images, and the ideological configurations they condense, secure the subjective allegiance of collectivities to particular arrangements, or counter-arrangements, of political power" (p. 133). Thus, symbols can be used to create a sense of belonging to an institution.

McCoy (2000) asserts that the relationship of information and persuasion are both important in the kind of content and the intention of the sender. Message design can persuade readers to take the necessary steps in reading whatever is offered in the content. Once graphic design seduces one to the communication that has been generated, "the quality and relevance of its information takes over, engaging the reader on deeper levels" (p.81). An example of a persuasive rhetorical tactic is the importance of the red color at the stop sign.

According to Elder and Cobb (1983), political symbols are limited to the cultural experiences of people. People's orientation towards symbols involves emotive and cognitive components. This is because individuals attach feelings and meanings to symbols. Thus, the affective and cognitive components contribute to the way individuals utilize and react to symbols. Elder and Cobb (1983) assert that "people respond to these symbolic stimuli, finding in them sources of both anxiety and reassurance" (p. 28). Symbols then serve as a form of social communication when people attribute the same meaning to them.

Manifestos/Platforms

The Manifesto is a formal document that states the policies of a political party and its ideological base. It is a document for the party faithful, the media and the opposition to see the position of their party. Since it establishes an ideological base for the sponsoring party, it is a crucial piece in a political campaign. The opposition uses the manifesto to attack the sponsoring party. The manifesto is so important that a party that retreats from any of the positions that it has in it runs the risk of being viewed as weak because it would make it difficult to know its stand (Laver, 1984). Political candidates are therefore expected to run their campaigns based on it in parliamentary systems where the party elites determine the strategies for running political campaigns.

Manifestos are designed in such a way that they determine policies to which campaigning parties will give priority once elected into governing. According to Richard Hofferbert and Ian Budge (1994), their construction and arrangement are evidenced about the importance in which issues are taken into consideration. This can be seen by the arrangement of issues in them (e.g. section on defense, employment, economy etc.). Political parties use manifestos to explain the importance of issues, both for the present and for the future. Manifestos can also serve as symbols of identity because "given the consistency of underlying ideology, it would not be hard to identify which political party produced them" (Hofferbert and Budge, 1994, p. 155). Thus, each political party (e.g. Conservatives vs. Liberals) has a way of looking at and addressing issues that is distinct from its rivals.

In this way, parties define priorities in terms of the space they give each policy depending on its importance. Parties then expect voters to respond to this through voting. In manifestos, parties present policies about their intentions without opposing arguments. A party that does stress the importance of a policy, e.g., social services, is giving a sign that the party intends to give that area more attention when it gets in power. This leads Hofferbert and Budge (1994) to assert that, "electoral programmes convey a message about the relative priority of various policy areas, for endorsement or not by electors, then the particular mandate that governments have is normally to take some action in the relevant areas" (p.156).

Policy documents are crucial since they provide the policies that parties stand for. They are the "core source of information" when it comes to the positions that candidates hold (Laver, & Garry, p. 619). Party manifestos are strategic documents that are written for the electorate by the select few who are influential within political parties and issued during elections times. They are the bases on which political party candidates rely during their campaigns. This is because candidates cannot distance themselves from the manifestos of their political parties, whereas party presidents are expected to deliver the promises they make in manifestos to the people after being elected into power (Laver, & Garry, 2000).

When there are two political parties representing different segments of the society, the rich and the poor, parties create preferences from which voters can then choose the parties that will best serve their interests. The policy preferences that political parties choose matter not only when they win, but also even if they do not win because

they are identified with those policy preferences. Each party or candidate makes announcements to voters about the policy positions they hold as a strategy in elections to make voters aware about the party's positions. In the electoral game, parties argue for different theories of the economy to win voters preferences (Roemer, 1994).

BOTSWANA

Botswana is a land-locked country in Southern Africa. It is bordered by Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa. The size of Botswana, approximately 581, 730 square kilometers, is about the same as of France (Pfontenhauer, 1994).

The literature on Botswana will cover its democratic system since independence, the institutions of Botswana--the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary,--the economy, and the 1999 general elections. These sections are important to understanding the basic structure of the country.

Democracy

Botswana is an exceptional democratic success in a continent that has many authoritarian governments. Botswana has performed well in light of the fact that other nation-states in Africa have performed poorly since decolonization took place. Of all the African countries that received independence in the 1960s, the country has consistently maintained democratic principles and practices by holding free and fair elections from 1965 to the present. The yardstick for measuring Botswana's democratic success has been regular free and fair elections. The use of this yardstick has made Botswana the most democratic nation-state in Africa (du Toit, 1995).

On the other hand, scholars using a greater yardstick of measuring democratic practices and principles have been less praising of Botswana's performance. One reason for this is the fact that the ruling party has won all elections since independence. According to Pierre du Toit (1995), Horowitz has asserted that "Botswana's opposition is ascriptively limited...Ascriptive minorities cannot become majorities, so elections are

safe" (du Toit, p. 18). Ascriptive minorities are minorities that can be controlled. The

ruling of the country by a single political party has thus led others to think of the country

as a one-party state. On the other hand, others have seen the sustainability of democratic

principles and practices as a result of Botswana's homogeneous society (du Toit, 1995).

Institutions

The constitution of Botswana was crafted in 1966 and has remained intact since

its adoption. The constitution of the country provides for three main organs of the

government, the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary. The president and National

Assembly make up parliament (the legislature), which in turn passes, assesses, and

amends laws (Pfrotenhauer, 1994). The National Assembly is made of 40 members

directly elected by voters during elections, together with 4 members who are specially

nominated by National Assembly from a list presented by the President (The Europa

World Year Book, 2002).

The Executive branch is made of the President and Ministers, called the Cabinet.

Members of the Cabinet, who are also members of parliament, thus advise the President

in various capacities they are assigned to. The President of the country remains head of

the state for the duration of parliament. Parliament is dissolved every five years when

elections are held. Elections may also be held at an earlier time should the president

decide to call them at an earlier time (Pfrotenhauer, 1994).

To become a president of the Republic of Botswana, the person has to be over the

age of 30 years, and must be registered as a presidential candidate. The country's

executive powers lie with the President. He is also Commander-in-Chief of the army (The

Europa World Year Book, 2002). Presidential candidates in Botswana are party leaders. Political parties field presidential and parliamentary candidates to stand for the election. The leader whose party wins the majority of parliamentary seats automatically becomes the president. Thus, voters participate in voting for presidential candidates by casting votes for parliamentary candidates who belong to a certain candidate's party. (The Human Rights Observer, 2003) .The presidency is limited to two 5 year terms. In case the President dies or resigns his seat, the Vice President automatically becomes the president (Institute for Security Studies, 2003).

The country's parliament is bicameral, comprised of the National Assembly and the House of Chiefs. The House of Chiefs is comprised of fifteen members, eight of whom are chiefs from the eight tribes that were recognized from independence, and seven members who represent minority tribes. The House of Chiefs advises the National Assembly in matters pertaining to chieftainship, culture and customary issues. Parliament consults the House of Chiefs when making amendments to the constitution.

The Judiciary administers the law of the land, which is based on Roman Dutch Law. Botswana has many customary courts, called Dikgotla, where local herdsmen handle minor cases within their domains. One of the strongest surviving institutions in the country is *Kgotla*, a traditional meeting place. It is a place where village chiefs and headmen adjudicate over civil matters, in which attendance is open to all residents (Pfrotenhauer, 1994).

The *Kgotla* usually found in villages and is a meeting place where village people can be informed about the policies and other important measures the government takes. It is one of the cornerstones of the country's democracy, for this is where democracy is practiced at the grassroots level through consultation. Politicians can also use the *Kgotla* to recruit residents to their respective parties. Residents also use it to freely express their opinions, even if it means criticizing those holding high office without censure (Pfrotenhauer, 1994).

Economy

At the time Botswana got independence, it was one of the poorest countries in the world. The country got independence without infrastructure and with very few educated citizens. Since then, the country has seen a tremendous growth in its economy leading to being dubbed "Africa's success story" (Pfotenhauer, p. 116). Statistics from the World Bank (2002) rank Botswana as an upper middle income country. Botswana experienced a robust economic growth in the 1980s based on exploitation of its minerals, especially diamonds. During the period of 1989/90 to1999/2000, Botswana's GDP increased at an annual rate of 5.3 percent. Agriculture contributed 2.8 percent of GDP during the 1999/2000 period, while mining contributed 35.3 percent. Industry contributed 48.8 percent of GDP during the same period (The Europa World Year Book, 2002).

Economic growth over the years accompanied better improvement in the quality of life in general. Although Botswana enjoyed a constant economic growth and development over the years since it got independence in 1966, it is currently faced with new challenges. As of 2001, the AIDS/HIV pandemic had caused life expectancy to fall

from 65.2 years to 55.7 years. Infant mortality also rose from 48 deaths per thousand to 57 deaths per thousand over the same period (Gaolatlhe, 2003).

The country's chief exports are diamonds and beef, with diamonds being the major contributor to the economy. Other minerals of importance are copper nickel, coal, and soda ash. The tourism industry has also contributed to the economy and has developed over the years with the help of private investment. The government has developed policies that are aimed at improving industry to help in diversifying the economy. The manufacturing industry has also gradually grown in the period of 1965-1985. Pfotenhauer (1994) asserts that rapid growth of the manufacturing industry, at 20.8 percent per year, made the World Bank put Botswana in the same league with China, Indonesia, and Singapore; the record was one of the best in the world during the 20 years after its independence.

Currently, Botswana's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is projected to have increased by 11.6 percent from 2000/2001 to 2001/2002. The mining sector also recorded an increase of 5.5 percent in 2001/2002 from 4.0 percent in 200/2001. Employment growth rate was 1.5 percent from March 2001 to March 2002. According to the Population and Housing Census, of the 1.68 million people of Botswana, 453 385 are employed in both the private and formal sector (Gaolatlhe, 2003).

Political Parties

In Botswana, the "First-Past-The-Post" electoral system is used, in which parties put up candidates to represent them and in turn win by virtue of winning the plurality vote in the assigned constituency. Since the first election in 1965, Botswana has been

ruled by the Botswana Democratic Party. The party has won all eight elections that have been held every five years. In all of the elections, at least four political parties, have participated in the election contest. However, only in the 1994 general election did the opposition pose a threat to the ruling BDP. For the first time in the political history of Botswana, the Botswana National Front (the main opposition party) with 37 % of the vote, won 13 out of the 40 contested seats, which included all of the major urban constituencies. That meant that the ruling party had won 27 seats with 54 % of the votes (The Human Rights Observer, 2000).

After the most successful election of its political history, the Botswana National Front under Dr. K. Koma was split by a struggle for power along ideological and historical lines. The result of the split was the creation of a new political party called the Botswana Congress party under Michael K. Dingake, who had been deputy leader for the Botswana National Front. The split of the Botswana National Party into two political parties (the BNF and BCP) strengthened the muscle of the Botswana Democratic party ahead of the 1999 general elections (Institute for Security Studies, 2003).

1999 General Election

Forty seats were contested. Of the six parties that contested in the election, three won seats to the National Assembly; the Botswana Democratic Party, Botswana National Front, and the Botswana Congress Party. The Botswana Democratic Party won 33 seats (57 % of the vote), the Botswana National Front won 6 seats (26% of the vote) and the Botswana Congress Party won 1 seat (12 % of the vote). The table below shows the impact of the Botswana National Front split.

Election Results 1994 and 1999			
Name of Party	Seats in 1994	Parliament after BNF split (1998)	Seats in 1999
Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	27	27	33
Botswana National Front (BNF)	13	2	6
Botswana Congress Party (BCP)	(not formed then)	11	1

The election of 1999 was significant because it was the first election to be monitored by the newly established Independent Electoral Commission. For the first time, the voting age was 18 years of age, down from 21 years. Also for the first time, arrangements for citizens overseas to vote were made (Independent Electoral Commission, 1999). The new developments were benchmarks in the Botswana electoral process.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Researchers have done many studies dealing with political campaigns. In their

extensive studies, researchers have come to the conclusion that campaigns are important

in informing people about the issues that candidates and parties stand for. According to

the literature review, candidates use different campaign methods for purposes of

convincing voters that they are the best qualified to address the voters' issues, given the

chance of governing.

Researchers also show that different persuasion methods are used in trying to win

electors. In their study, Smith and Smith (2000) found that in a Great Britain system, the

manifesto was an integral part of the election process. This is because in a Great Britain

system, the manifesto is given to the electorate as a document that outlines the wishes of

the party that is running for office, and becomes a trademark for all candidates running in

the name of that political party at all levels. Finally, researchers have concluded that the

information and symbols that are displayed or distributed during campaigns are important

in giving voters the opportunity to choose who they want to associate with. In a way, they

are giving voters a sense of belonging and identity.

It is clear that researchers studying political communication do find different

styles in candidates or political parties that are being studied. In a parliamentary party

system, the manifesto seems to be an interesting document for the symbols that it

contains and the information that is contained within the document. Smith and Smith

(2000) studied British manifestos as rhetorical texts with interest among other things,

policy narratives and the general narratives of the past-present-future context. In their

study, they found that parties used different narratives and different symbols to appeal to voters. They also show that each manifesto established important points that were different from other political parties.

This study will examine the 1999 manifestos that were generated for the general election in Botswana. Concepts to be investigated in this study are symbols, policy narratives, general narratives, and the types of appeals used in the foreword. The following three research questions that will be investigated in this study:

1. How did political parties use symbols in their manifestos?

2. How did political parties use narratives in the context of past-present-future?

3. What were the differences in policy narratives?

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

This study will use descriptive content analysis of three manifestos that were distributed during the 1999 campaign leading to the general election as part of the competing political parties effort to convince voters that they were the best to govern the country. The manifestos were obtained from the office of the Botswana Democratic Party, the Botswana Congress Party and the Botswana National Front.

The ruling Botswana Democratic Party manifesto has 22 pages in English and 23 pages in Setswana, and a Fact Sheet table in the middle giving statistics on the development that it has done in the country. The Botswana Congress Party manifesto has 36 pages in English and 42 pages in Setswana. The Botswana National Front manifesto has twenty-six pages and is written only in English. All manifestos were sent by mail. The model that will be followed is similar to the one that was used by Smith and Smith (2000) to study the 1997 British Manifestos from a rhetorical perspective. The unit of analysis will be the manifesto of each single political party that attained at least a single seat in the National Assembly.

The following categories will be coded for all the manifestos: *the manifesto's party, graphics, type of foreword, general narrative, structure,* and *policy narrative.* The year will not be coded since all manifestos are for the same general election. The other thing that will not be coded is the person who is responsible for the foreword since all of them are written by party leaders. Only the English part of manifestos will be analyzed in the current study.

1. **The Manifesto's Party-** These will be used to identify the name of the political party that generated the manifesto. The party that generated the manifesto will be the one that is identified in the cover of the manifesto.

2. **Graphics-** This will be the layout (Graphics) of the manifestos that includes pictures and symbols that give voters the impression about the party that generated it. Symbols will be the ones that are used to distinguish one party from the rest. It will also include the text that gives voters the idea of what to expect inside the manifestos by the frames that are used (e.g., a millennium for opportunities). Graphics will also include pictures that may be contained inside the manifesto.

3. **Type of Foreword-** This will be determined on whether the foreword was used to critique other parties in the contest or was devoted to explaining the party's position and what it planned to do. Blaming would be where a party in its foreword blames the party in power for the problems the country has, whereas the alternative would be explaining the position that the party holds in terms of what it will offer voters once elected into government.

4. **General Narrative-** This will be how each manifesto addressed the problems facing the country in the past-present-future context. This will include examining each party manifesto's observation of where the Botswana is, why it is where it is, and what the party can do to improve the country. This will include taking into account statements that credit the party that generated the manifesto and blaming other political parties, including past versus future orientations.

5. **Structure**- This will be the structure that was used to put up the manifesto and the arrangement of issues. In this way, parties will be compared in the way they handled issues in terms of priority given to them.

6. **Policy Narrative**- This section will deal with the first two issues that are addressed by each party at the beginning of their manifestos. This is important because the issue that is at the beginning may be important for the party that generated the manifesto in encouraging readers to keep reading or may be a sign of strength in that particular issue for the party that generated the manifesto.

The above categories will then be used to determine the differences in party manifestos, and will therefore help in finding answers to research questions being investigated. By using these categories, I will be able to see the difference in the use of political language pertaining to political promotion, political symbols, the use of acclaims, attack, and defense, and the use of political persuasion. The methodology will also allow the analysis of the design of each manifesto and the policy proposals each party advances to improve the conditions of voters and democracy in Botswana. In this way, the use of manifestos in Botswana as a form of political communication will be established in detail.

Chapter 3

RESULTS/FINDINGS

Results from the three manifestos will be reported in this chapter. The results of

the Botswana Democratic Party manifesto will be reported first, followed by the

Botswana National Front, and then the Botswana Congress Party. All findings on each

parties manifesto will be reported before going to the next party following the coding

sequence. The section pertaining to the structure of each party's manifesto will be

represented in tables, which will show how parties prioritized their policy proposals and

discussions.

Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)

Graphics: Cover Page

The cover page of the BDP's manifesto has the name of the party, the slogan "A

Millennium for Opportunities," and the year of the manifesto "1999," the party's flag and

the motto "Tsholetsa! Domkrag!" Tsholetsa Domkrag means to uplift the BDP. The

cover page does not have the initials of the party, the party president picture, a catch

phrase, or a visual representation of how to vote. The picture of the party leader is found

inside the cover page. All sections of the BDP Manifesto start with a graphic that

symbolizes what is being addressed in that particular section. For example, the area of the

economy is symbolized with a picture of a bull, money, and a diamond ring; the section

on vulnerable groups is symbolized by a disabled person sitting on a wheelchair; and the

section on defense and security is symbolized by a set of handcuffs and a soldier holding

a gun.

Foreword: Type of Foreword

The BDP manifesto does attack opposition parties and acclaims the prosperity the country has achieved. The foreword by the Botswana Democratic Party leader, Festus G. Mogae states, "the opposition has spent the last 5 years perfecting their skills in opposing everything the BDP has done without offering alternatives. What is even more disturbing is that in the process, they have also excelled in their resort to intolerance and abuse. They have failed dismally to offer Botswana a viable alternative" (p. 1). The BDP leader goes on to say, "we cannot afford to enter the new millennium with uncertainty. Now would be the worst possible moment to try out any of the alternative opposition parties" (p.1).

In acclaiming, Mogae states, "since the formation of the BDP in 1962, we have provided capable visionary leadership, first to the membership of the party, and in running of the affairs of the country. The party has remained one solid and united force under the leadership of Sir Seretse Khama, followed by Sir Ketumile Masire, and now, under my leadership" (p.1). The foreword of the BDP does not contain any statements that can be deemed defensive on its part. The foreword attacks the opposition for failing to come up with alternatives, and acclaims the country's development.

General Narrative: Past, Present and Future

Past According to the BDP, the political history of Botswana began in 1965. Since then, the country has made great progress in economic and social development.

Festus Mogae states, "the BDP will continue to provide the necessary leadership, policy, and strategies to achieve these objectives" (p. 1).

Present To the BDP, the country has made great progress under its leadership, and voters are assured that the country will continue to make progress as long as it remains in power. The BDP also provides a table that shows the promises and delivery of programmes it made to the electorate in the1994 election.

Future The BDP manifesto also gives a detailed Fact Sheet in the middle of the manifesto that shows the progress Botswana has gone through in different categories, and anticipated developments in the coming years. For example, the Fact Sheet shows that in 1996, total enrollment for primary schools was 319,136, and is projected to be 359,504 by 2004. Secondary school enrollment was 105,731 in 1996, and is projected at 165,815 by 2004. Mogae asserts that for the country to remain stable and politically viable, the BDP must be kept in power. He states, "vote BDP and be guaranteed peace and stability, dignity, human rights, prosperity and equality before the law" (p. 1).

Structure: Arrangement of Manifesto

The manifesto of the BDP begins with a foreword. After the foreword, the manifesto has a table of contents. This is followed by a table that shows the promises of the 1994 manifesto and delivery of those programmes. Arrangements of issues in the BDP manifesto are arranged as shown in table 1.

1.	The Economy
2.	Poverty and Unemployment
3.	Social Services and Physical Infrastructure
4.	Private Sector and Economic Development
5.	Labour Relations
6.	Public Sector
7.	Education and Training
8.	Agriculture
9.	Gender Equity
10.	Youth
11.	Sport, Recreation and Culture
12.	Vulnerable Groups
13.	Democracy and Civil Society
14.	HIV/AIDS
15.	Defence and Security
16.	International Relations

Table 1

Policy Narrative

The first two issues that are addressed by the BDP are the economy, and poverty and unemployment. The BDP section on economy addresses the need for the economy to be diversified and for the efficient delivery of programmes. The BDP takes credit for the strong economy and commit itself to delivering the policies it presented in the 1999 manifesto. The party commits itself to generating national wealth, reducing unemployment and alleviating poverty.

In terms of poverty and unemployment, the BDP states that the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development index ranks Botswana 97th in the world (out of 174 countries), and the 4th in Africa. The BDP states that poverty and unemployment are the two most vital issues facing the country. The BDP promises that it will continue working towards eradicating poverty and unemployment, and that the policies and programmes which are in place are good enough to be kept in use. The BDP

concludes the section on poverty and unemployment by stating that its strategies, policies

and programmes will be used to eradicate poverty and unemployment because the BDP

offers "the people of Botswana A Millennium For Opportunities" (p. 7).

The Botswana Democratic Party manifesto shows how the party has made

promises in the past and delivered those services. The party uses the manifesto to sell its

image to voters about its credibility and truthfulness, by providing tables of statistics that

show how it has made progress in different areas over the years that it has governed. Also

significant in the BDP manifesto is that each section has a symbol that shows or gives the

reader a hint about what is to be addressed in that particular area. The BDP thus uses its

manifesto to show the people of Botswana that it is a party with experience in governing

the country, which is needed to continue the development of Botswana.

Botswana National Front

Graphics: Cover Page

The manifesto of the BNF cover page has the party's name, initial, slogan

"Working together for Success," year of the manifesto "1999," the party's flag, picture of

the president of the party, catch phrase "Remember-we cannot deal with the serious

problems facing Botswana unless and until we change the government," motto "Kopano"

and a visual representation of how to vote. Kopano means unity. The BNF voting key is

in a small table that shows the full name of the party, the party's abbreviation, the

symbols of the party, and what the voter should do when he/she sees that at a voting

booth, that is to cross next to the party's name and symbols. All graphics by the BNF are

on the cover page of the party's manifesto. The inside of the manifesto does not contain any graphics or pictures.

Foreword: Type of Foreword

The BNF's foreword does attack the ruling party for performing poorly in developing the country. It is written by party leader, Dr. Kenneth Koma. Dr. Koma presents a list of ten issues, which he states are failures of the ruling party. An example of the listed items is "the rapid increase in juvenile delinquency with the effect that when a deliquent youth becomes an adult, we have a phenomenon of deliquent children becoming parents which gradually gives rise to a deliquent nation. Thus giving rise to a vicious cycle which threatens to engulf the whole nation" (p. 3). Dr. Koma also asserts "the present trend contains a time bomb and social strife that as a small and young nation we cannot afford" (p. 4).

The foreword by Dr. Koma provides a list of what the BNF intends to do to develop the country better than the ruling party (Botswana Democratic Party). In acclaiming, Dr. Koma states "the 1999 general elections offers Batswana another opportunity to make Botswana of the 21st century a happy place by voting for the BNF" (p. 4). The foreword of the BNF does not contain any defensive statements.

General Narrative: Past, Present and Future

Past The BNF manifesto states that the political history of Botswana began in 1965 with the first election. The BNF states, "since the mid-1960's Botswana has seen three decades of uninterrupted one party rule of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)" (p. 1).

Present The BNF manifesto states the achievements of Botswana under the rule of BDP, and the failures Botswana has gone through because of the same government. Koma goes on to say that, "the traditional BDP policies constitute a time bomb which the nation cannot afford. We can avoid this by voting for the BNF" (p. 4).

Future The BNF manifesto states that the party can do more in areas where the BDP has failed. Dr. Koma states, "this same government wants to be returned to power when they offer no new ideas about creating a truly democratic system of government, creating new opportunities, providing markets for our enterprising entrepreneurs and providing better assistance to the needy and disabled and providing a comprehensive social security for the nation" (p. 4).

Structure: Arrangement of Manifesto

The manifesto of the BNF begins with a table of contents, foreword, preamble and then its policy objectives for ruling the country. Arrangements of issues in the BNF manifesto are as shown in table 2.

1.	Unity of Nation
2.	Governance
3.	Decentralization and Development
4.	Economy
5.	Education and Training
6.	Social Security and Welfare
7.	Health
8.	Housing
9.	Environment and Tourism
10.	Gender
11.	Labour Issues
12.	Civil Society
13.	Agriculture
14.	Water Development
15.	Mining and Mineral Resources
16.	Prison Service
17.	Police Force
18.	Corruption and Accountability
19.	Defence and Security
20.	International Relations
21.	Sports and Recreation

Table 2

Policy Narrative

The first two issues that the BNF addresses are Unity of the Nation, and

Governance. In terms of the unity of the country, the BNF guarantees the unity of citizens

of Botswana and the preservation of different cultural identities. The BNF states that

different cultural identities will be maintained and preserved by letting different people

use their own languages and helping them preserve the best of their cultural identity. The

BNF states that equality can be achieved by the voluntary association of ethnic groups.

The BNF proposes that instruction in primary schools will be done through different

languages of concerned ethnic communities, and that Setswana will remain the official

language which will be taught in schools as a subject to all ethnic groups. The BNF also promise the writing of languages of ethnic groups that are not written e.g. Basarwa.

When it comes to governance, the BNF proposes nine changes. Amongst the changes is the set up of the National Assembly which would comprise two houses. The National Assembly would then include Parliament and the House of Representatives. According to the BNF manifesto, members of parliament will be voted the same way as they have been, whereas the House of Representatives will represent institutions of Civil Society. Institutions that would be represented in the House of Representatives would include trade unions and religious organizations. The BNF also states that it will commit to participatory democracy by creating a system that has separation of powers. The BNF argues that the current system under the BDP government allows "the Executive to make all decisions and uses parliament merely to rubber stamp them" (p. 7). Thus, the BNF states that amendment to the constitution is important in strengthening democracy.

The BNF also states that it will establish a national legal aid system that will help members of the society who cannot afford lawyers. The president will also not be immune from impeachment because the BNF will give parliament the power to do so. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) will be given all the necessary powers it needs to be able to exercise its full independence, and also to advise the government in laws that can affect its performance. The BNF also states that appointment to the IEC will be done on merit, and not on the basis of political loyalty as is currently practiced by the ruling BDP.

The BNF uses its manifesto to portray itself as a party that can change the country for the better. It paints the ruling party as ineffective in dealing with the problems the country is facing because of the its policies, and thus calls for change in order for people to reap good economic and cultural benefits (in terms of diversity). The party gives credit to the BDP in areas it says the BDP did well and gives voters a list of things it will do once in power, including among other things, enhancing the democratic process through such things as giving the Independent Electoral Commission the necessary power it currently does not have.

Botswana Congress Party (BCP)

Graphics: Cover Page

The BCP's manifesto cover page has the name of the party, initials, slogan "BCP-New Party for New Millennium," year of the manifesto "1999," and the party's flag. The cover page does not have the party leader's picture, a catch phrase, motto, or a visual representation of how to vote. The party leader's picture is found inside (p. 2) the manifesto. The manifesto does not contain any other graphics inside.

Foreword: Type of Foreword

The foreword of the BCP is by the leader of the party, Michael K. Dingake. The manifesto of the BCP attacks the ruling party for the problems the country faces. It calls upon Batswana to vote for the BCP. Dingake goes on to state that "it is only with that mandate that we shall show the fallacy of the BDP's irresponsible claim that problems of poverty, unemployment, school leaver, low productivity, etc. are worldwide and therefore cannot be solved by the government" (p.3).

In acclaiming, Dingake assert "as a party with a difference in quality, style and truthfulness to the needs of our people we have carefully identified these issues and required policy action and programmes" (p. 3). Like the other two parties, the BCP foreword does not contain statements that are defensive.

General Narrative: Past, Present and Future

Past The BCP manifesto states that the political history of Botswana began with the election of 1965. The BCP states the failures the country has had under the BDP and the promises that it will deliver once voted in power.

Present The BCP manifesto states that the BDP is failing among other reasons because, "…the BDP strategies were never intended to benefit the majority of Batswana but enrich the few chosen ones in the party ranks" (p. 5).

Future The BCP states that the policies proposed by the BDP are going to fail and lead the country to be economically and democratically undeveloped, and therefore Batswana must ensure their future by voting for the BCP. The manifesto states, "vote for BCP! Vote for meaningful change! Vote to guarantee a better future for yourself and your family members!" (p. 3).

Structure: Arrangement of Manifesto

The manifesto of the BCP begins with a table of contents, followed by a picture of party leader, foreword, introduction, and a section on what the BCP stands for. Discussion of issues then follows. Arrangements of issues in the BCP manifesto are as shown in Table 3.

1.	Democracy
2.	Foreign Policy
3.	Defence Policy
4.	The Economic Strategy
5.	Foreign Investment and Aid
6.	Rural Development
7.	Land Policy
8.	Agriculture and Food Strategy
9.	Environment: Protecting the Base and Ensuring Sustainability
10.	Water Policy
11.	Labour Relations
12.	Education with Production
13.	Religious Policy
14.	Health
15.	HIV/AIDS
16.	Social Security and Welfare
17.	Housing
18.	Gender
19.	Youth Development
20.	Arts and Culture
21.	Sports and Recreation

Table 3

Policy Narrative

The first two issues that are addressed by the BCP are Democracy and

Foreign Policy. The BCP assert that Botswana does not have participatory democracy

because the people, local government, and organizations at the grassroots level have no

impact in the policy making of the country. According to the BCP, "democracy must

permeate the political and social systems; and the cultural life and values of the society"

(p. 11). The BCP promises to promote democracy where all citizens will participate

through open debates. Thus, the BCP intends to ensure that democracy is lived through

informal and formal education on individual rights and tolerance of the views and ideals

of others. To make democracy a success, the BCP intends among other things to support

political parties and civic society, and to give the Independent Electoral Commission more power.

In terms of Foreign Policy, the BCP intends to have a foreign policy that is comprehensive. The BCP charges that the current foreign policy is reactive instead of being proactive. The BCP assert that the duties that overlap on matters of international affairs between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Office of the President create a situation where Botswana misses the opportunity of benefiting from what the international community offers. The BCP pledges among other things to develop a foreign policy that is founded on social democratic values and to encourage Batswana to participate in institutions that the country subscribes to.

The BCP uses its manifesto to show voters that the failures the country is facing are caused by the ruling Botswana Democratic Party. The BCP gives statistics about such things as poverty to show that the BDP has failed. The BCP manifesto is also intended make voters aware that the party is a party that represents all members of the society (the rich and the poor, compared to the BDP which is painted as representing only rich members of the society). It states that BDP is a party that designs policies to benefit few members of the society. The BCP also pledges to improve democracy in Botswana by making sure that people participate in policy making, and giving the Independent Electoral Commission more power.

The three manifestos show that the three parties distinguished themselves to voters through the use of symbols and the issues they stood for. To the Botswana Democratic Party, the experience it had and the delivery of promises it had done were

some of the party's cornerstone message to voters. The BDP's manifesto showed voters that to vote for it would make sure that the progress the country was going through would ·continue. On the other hand, the Botswana National Front wanted to let voters know that that the democracy of Botswana could be enhanced more than how it was, and that the country's wealth could still be used to improve the lives of Batswana. The Botswana Congress Party also let know voters that it was a party that was going to make sure that voters participated in policy making to enhance the country's democracy. The Botswana Congress Party pledged to make sure that country's wealth is enjoyed by all, other than BDP's policies that lead to few members of the society enjoying the country's wealth.

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to determine how political parties communicated with voters through their use of symbols, the policies they advanced and the types of appeals that they used. The results from the three manifestos indicate that the three parties attacked and acclaimed, and all did not defend against each other. The opposition parties attacked the ruling party, but did not attack each other. On the other hand, the ruling party's (BDP) manifesto attacks the opposition in general, without specifically naming any of them.

The first research question was on how political parties used symbols in their 1999 political manifestos. Analysis does show that political parties used different symbols. For example, a trophy beneath the Botswana's flag for BDP, putting of hands for the BNF and a dove for the BCP. The symbols that were used by the three political parties were completely different from one another, making each party to have a distinct identity. The cover page of all the parties had the name of the party, the slogan, the year of the manifesto, and the flag. The layouts were designed to probably help voters not to be confused about the year of the manifesto and also to know which political party was sponsoring the manifesto. The manifestos of the BDP and the BCP had the pictures of party leaders inside of the manifesto. The symbolic meaning behind each party manifesto was probably for identity. Thus, each party wanted to have clear symbols that could help its followers identify with.

The concentration of symbols by the three political parties was in the cover page, and for the BDP and BCP in the first pages inside of the manifestos. The reason for this was probably to establish their distinctive marks that could not be confused for the other political parties. In this way, political parties gave voters what they could associate and identify with. The ruling BDP had its flag which has a trophy beneath the map of Botswana, a sign that the party could be able to lift the country in terms of development. The BCP had a dove in its manifesto, a sign of peace. The BNF's flag showed a hand put together, a sign of unity for all people. Thus, each political party did use symbols for both identity and meaning in what it stood for. The meanings that could be derived from flags of the three political parties was that the BDP stood to uplift the country, the BCP to bring peace to the country and the BNF to unify people.

While the BDP and BCP had some graphics within the manifesto, the manifesto of the BNF had all the graphics on its cover page. On top of what the party had, which was similar to the other two political parties, the cover page of the manifesto of the BNF had the picture of the party leader, a catch phrase, voting key, and a motto. The reason for doing this by the BNF may have been to send all the necessary information to voters even if they did not want to read the manifesto itself. Through a catch phrase on the cover page of the manifesto, a person can know that the BNF believes change is needed in order for the country to be able to deal with the problem that it faces. The BNF goes on to show all the necessary steps that one has to do to vote for it on its front page. Thus, the BNF cover page was a marketing tool to attract voters to vote for the party, and at the same time a way of showing voters how to vote for it.

The BDP was the only party that used symbols throughout the entire manifesto at the beginning of every section. In the section of the economy, the party used a picture of a bull, money, and diamonds. Symbols like these were probably used because of the importance of the three to the economy of the country. Beef and diamonds remain Botswana's chief exports. Thus, the BDP introduced a reader to every section of the manifesto by using graphics that were relevant to that issue. In discussing how it was going to address issues pertaining to vulnerable groups, the BDP used a disabled person on a wheelchair. Thus, the BDP's use of symbols in its manifesto may have been to attract people into different sections of the manifesto by the using the power of symbols.

According to all three political parties, the political history of Botswana began in 1965. The three parties place the beginning of the political history of Botswana at that year because that is when the first elections were held. To the BDP, the country has gone through tremendous years of development. The BDP see the country as having developed well and that the problems that are current can be solved by the continuation of the policies which are in place. The BDP also mentions statistics that ranks Botswana 97th in the world (out of 174 countries), and the 4th in Africa as a good sign of the progress it has made in terms of the economy. The statistics that the BDP mentions are probably mentioned because they are favorable to the BDP. The BDP does not address why the gap between the rich and poor is wide within such a small country nor does it mention those statistics. The party also does not address why it has not been able to vigorously improve the lives of its citizens when the population and the country's wealth could have permitted it to do so.

The BDP also sees the future as a bright one for the country because of the experience it has. In this case, the BDP also has the advantage over opposition parties because it is the sole political party that has ruled the country since 1965, and thereby the question of experience is uncontested. The BDP takes advantage in making voters' aware of the promises and delivery it made in the past. The BDP also seems to have an advantage over this area because it can pick areas that it succeeded in developing and put them in its manifesto and exclude areas in which it performed poorly. An example is the fact that the BDP shows a table of its promises and implementations when it comes to various policy issues, but cannot specifically state how it has reduced poverty after the 1994 election. One of the areas of vagueness of the BDP manifesto can be found in table where it states that it promised job creation in its 1984 manifesto and achieved a 7.7% growth in the manufacturing industry. The BDP thus uses generalizations that make the party look good to avoid specific questions about how certain issues like that of unemployment can be reduced.

The BNF does recognize that in some areas the BDP has developed the country. The BNF then contends that the country has also failed under the BDP government because the policies were developed among other things to benefit the select few of the society. The BNF states the areas in which the BDP has failed and promises that it can do better in taking the country to a higher level. The BNF's recognition of the ruling party's development in terms of "basic social and physical infrastructure" (p.1) is probably meant to create an atmosphere in voters that the good that the ruling party has done will not be destroyed when the BNF comes to power, but instead will be maintained. Since

the BNF is a political party that has never been in power, assuring voters that it does realize the good work of the ruling party can put it in a good place to improve in areas that are of concern, other than trying to tell voters that everything is bad, when voters can see by themselves some of the development that the country has gone through.

The BNF manifesto specifically addresses areas where the BDP has failed and uses statistics to show the level of such things as poverty and unemployment. To the BNF, the future can only be changed by voting out the BDP and voting in the BNF. The BNF thus pledges among other things to empower citizens, eradicate poverty, and to create employment opportunities. The BNF states that the continuation of BDP rule in Botswana contains a trend that the country cannot afford. The BNF does state in its manifesto how it can move the country forward, by stating its strategies to revive the countries development through different strategies from the ones used by the BDP. The BNF also states that by voting to put it in power, democracy can be enhanced. The BNF manifesto states that "by supporting BNF candidates at general and local elections, you are fighting for democracy, a strong civil society, and social welfare for the underprivileged members of our society" (p. 5). The BNF does paint the BDP as a party that represents well to do members of the society while the BNF itself represents all people in the society, including those who are underprivileged though such things as the promise to establish a legal aid system for the have-nots of the society.

Like the BNF, the BCP states the failures the country has had under the BDP and promises voters that it will perform better when voted into power. The BCP manifesto states that the BDP is failing among other reasons because the strategies that the BDP

uses were never intended to benefit the majority of the people. The BCP states that the policies proposed by the BDP have failed in the past and that voting the same political party into government will lead to the continuation of the failures the country is facing. Thus, the BCP states that by voting it into power, the country can be economically and democratically developed. For a better future, the BCP calls upon Batswana to vote for it and thereby be guaranteed a better future. The BCP states that there is no way in which the ruling party can guarantee a better future when among other things the unemployment rate remains at more than 30% and there is over 40% household poverty, and when those who are running the country play a part in corruption.

The BCP manifesto states that the future of the country cannot be better if people continue to vote for the BDP. According to the BCP, the BDP has been in power since 1965 and has failed to transform the country from an underdeveloped country to an industrializing one. To the BCP, the BDP has not done enough to be kept in power, and the future of the country cannot be better when the same party is voted into power. The BCP assures Batswana that the future can be better under its leadership and guidance, with policies that are designed to benefit every citizen, rather than few individuals. The manifesto of the BCP is also designed to appeal to those who are economically disadvantaged. Like the BNF, the BCP puts the BDP at fault for the failures of the country, but without giving the BDP credit for progress that has occurred.

The interesting thing about the parties view of the past, present, and future was that both opposition parties blamed the ruling BDP for the failures of the past and saw its policy proposals as something that were doomed to fail. On the other hand, the BDP did

not mention any opposition political party by its name, instead generalized them as "opposition parties". The reason for the BDP not to mention any specific political party in its manifesto is probably because it has been voted in power in all elections, and has not had any opposition that has seriously threatened it political power, except in the 1994 elections. In this way, any one who reads the manifesto of the BDP does not have the opportunity to be referred to any political party by any means, because all are treated as the same.

The other interesting thing was that the opposition parties never blamed each other in their manifestos. Both focused on the ruling BDP. The reason for that would probably be the fact that the BDP has ruled for all the years since the first elections, and that the main opposition parties were aware that between them no party was going to attain the necessary votes to win the election. In this way, the focus was to reduce the power of the ruling BDP by attacking it without focusing on each other. Thus, the scenario of a powerful political party that has won all previous elections has created a scenario that makes opposition parties view that one dominant party as the main enemy.

The second research question dealt with narratives in the context of past, present, and future orientations. The manifestos of the three political parties produced one similar thing, that the political history of the country began in 1965. Beside that, the ruling BDP stated that the country had made progress over the years, and voting for it to continue in power would guarantee the continuation of progress for Botswana. The opposition parties blamed the current failures in the country on the BDP. The BNF did credit the BDP for basic social and physical infrastructure. Other than that, the BNF and BCP both attacked

the BDP for the failures of the country. Both parties stated that the future could not be improved by the continuation rule of the BDP. Both the BCP and BNF propose to make serious reforms that could benefit the country, from enhancing democracy to economic development, which can lead to the creation of jobs.

	BDP	BNF	BCP
1.	The Economy	Unity of Nation	Democracy
2.	Poverty and Unemployment	Governance	Foreign Policy
3.	Social Services and Physical Structure	Decentralization and Development	Defence Policy
4.	Private Sector and Economic Development	Economy	The Economic Strategy
5.	Labour Relations	Education and Training	Foreign Investment and Aid
6.	Public Sector	Social Security and Welfare	Rural Development
7.	Education and Training	Health	Land Policy
8.	Agriculture	Housing	Agriculture and Food Strategy
9.	Gender Equity	Environment and Tourism	Environment: Ensuring the base and Ensuring Sustainability
10.	Youth	Gender	Water Policy
11.	Sport, Recreation and Culture	Labour Issues	Labour Relations
12.	Vulnerable Groups	Civil Society	Education with Production
13.	Democracy and Civil Society	Agriculture	Religious Policy
14.	HIV/AIDS	Water Development	Health
15.	Defence and Security	Mining and Mineral Resources	HIV/AIDS
16.	International Relations	Prison Service	Social Security and Welfare
17.		Police Force	Housing
18.		Corruption and Accountability	Gender
19.		Defence and Security	Youth Development
20.		International Relations	Arts and Culture
21.		Sports and Recreation	Sports and Recreation

Table 4

The third research question dealt with the differences in policy narratives. Table 4 above shows the arrangement of issues by each party. The first two issues that are addressed by the BDP are the economy, and poverty and unemployment. The BDP section on economy addresses the need for the economy to be diversified. The BDP credits itself for Botswana's strong economy and pledges to continue moving things ahead if voted into power. The BDP uses tables at the beginning of the manifesto to show what it had promised voters and how much it had delivered. The BDP probably chose the above stated issues as its top priorities because it is comfortable with the world rankings by the UNDP's Human Development Index, which ranks Botswana favorably amongst nations of the world. As the only party that has been in power since the country got independence, the BDP still enjoys the credit of every progress the country has made.

The priorities of the BNF are different from those of the BDP. The first two issues that the BNF addresses are Unity of the Nation and Governance. The BNF guarantees the people of Botswana the preservation of their distinct cultures. The BNF pledges to maintain the different cultural identities and the preservation of different languages. Where the languages of an ethnic group is not written language, e.g., the language of Basarwa, ways will be developed to write them. The BNF probably addressed the issue of different cultures as its first important issue because in the past, the BDP had not given voters a clear stand on how it was going to tackle the issue of different cultural identities. The other thing that would have made the BNF tackle the issue at length would be to enhance its credibility among those ethnic groups that were deemed minorities and have

seen no major changes in terms of their recognition by the ruling BDP. Thus, the BNF wanted to mobilize groups that were not benefited by the elite.

In terms of governance, the BNF proposes among other things, the creation of two houses in the National Assembly, Parliament and the House of Representatives. According to the BNF manifesto, members of Parliament will be elected the same way as they have been, whereas the House of Representatives will represent institutions of Civil Society such as trade unions and religious organizations. The BNF also states that under its governance, the president will not be immune from impeachment because the party will give parliament the power to do so. In this way, no one will be above the law irrespective of the office they hold.

The BNF also suggests making major constitutional changes to create two houses in the National Assembly comprising Parliament and the House of Representatives. Members of Parliament will be voted the way they have been, whereas the House of Representatives will represent institutions of civil society such as trade unions and religious organizations. The BNF is probably making these proposals to appeal to institutions of civil society, by assuring those institutions that they will be allowed to participate in the affairs of the country at a higher level. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) will also be given the necessary power to effectively carry out its mandate as an independent electoral commission.

The changes that the BNF proposes are designed to show the weakness of Botswana's democracy under the BDP's rule. For example, an independent electoral commission that does not have the necessary power to run efficiently is subject to be

influenced by the ruling BDP to its advantage. The BNF, by exposing some of the activities that seem undemocratic, is sending a message to voters that it is a political party that will put democracy above its own interests. The message the BNF is sending is both intended to show its commitment to democracy and to expose the weakness of the ruling party in matters that pertain to democratic principles and ideals, more than just the basic every five year free and fair elections.

The first two issues that are addressed by the BCP are Democracy and Foreign Policy. The BCP assert that Botswana does not have participatory democracy because the people, local government, and organizations at the grassroots level have no impact in the policy making of the country. The BCP pledges to promote democracy where all will be able to participate. Thus, the BCP intends to ensure that democracy is lived through informal and formal education on individual rights and tolerance of the views and ideals of others. Like the BNF, the BCP intends to give the Independent Electoral Commission more power. Like the BNF, the BCP is showing voters the weakness of the democratic practices of the ruling party and therefore the need for the ruling party to be voted out of power for those changes to be made possible. Since the BCP is a party comprised of members who left the BNF to form a new political party, it is also possible that some of the ideas that the BCP pledged are those that were held prior to the formation of the new political party, thus the similarity of some proposals.

In terms of Foreign Policy, the BCP intends to have a foreign policy that is comprehensive. The BCP charges that the current foreign policy is reactive instead of being proactive. The BCP asserts that the overlapping of duties on matters of

international affairs between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Office of the President create a situation where Botswana misses the opportunity of benefiting from what the international community offers. In making voters aware of such an overlap of duties, the BCP shows voters the incompetence of the ruling party in failing to assign different duties to different ministries in ways that can be effective and productive for the benefit of the country.

The BCP is showing voters that a loss in the assistance the country could be getting from outside is limited by the inefficiency of the ruling party. The BCP places Foreign Policy as the second important issue because of its importance in the economic development of the country. The other two parties place Foreign Policy at the end of their policy proposals, at the end for the BDP and the second from the bottom for the BNF. In this way, voters can then decide whether it is good to retain in power a government that fails to assign duties to different ministries for the economic benefit of its citizens. The BCP assures voters that by voting it in power, overlaps shall be straightened, and benefits shall be reaped.

Analysis of the three manifestos did show that the country's political history began in 1965 with first elections. Manifestos also showed that Botswana was going under economic difficulties, with each party giving its own alternative about how to deal with the problem. Though there seemed to be a consensus on the economic problem between all the three parties, opposition parties felt that the democratic system of Botswana was imperfect. This led both opposition parties to address the issue of strengthening and improving democracy at the beginning of their discussion of issues.

The Independent Electoral Commission, which governs the election, seemed to be at the center of these discussions. This shows that the opposition parties regard the Commission as not being very independent as it is supposed to be.

The manifestos of the three political parties did also show that political symbols were important, by the meaning that they have and differences that helped distinguish parties from each other. The issue of diversity was discussed in all manifestos in such a way that the country's political parties were in line in terms of keeping the country united and one. In terms of the progress of the country, the ruling party viewed the status of the country as good, whereas the opposition parties felt that the country had not progressed well enough.

The other notable thing about the three manifestos is that the parties respected each other in addressing their issues. There were no negative attacks on personal leaders of either party nor any individual who represented either party. The manifestos of each party focused on the issues affecting the country. The manifestos of opposition parties also showed that parties were free to attack the ruling party without any fear, and that there was no censorship in terms of the issues that they could address.

The manifesto as a political communication document did show that parties used it to give voters a taste of what they had for them after being voted into power. It was thus used by opposition parties to critique the ruling party for the failures of the country, and in one instance (the BNF) to give the ruling party credit where it was due. Understandably the BDP used its manifesto to prove why voters should keep it in power. The manifestos of the opposition were not detailed enough to show the failures of the

ruling party. For example, it would have been better for the opposition parties to state how much wealth the country had made and how it should have been distributed to avoid huge numbers of people who poor. In this way, the ruling party would be challenged to come out with more information, not only in areas that are favorable to it, but in all aspects that would make people questionable if need be. Detailed focus would have been important for the opposition parties especially in areas that the BDP was not going a very good job.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS

As stated at the beginning of this study, manifestos are campaign materials that

give voters the mandate of the sponsoring party once voted to power. Researchers have

conducted many studies in political campaigns, examining different campaign methods

and their impact on voters' decision making. Since not many studies have been done in

the areas of manifestos, the current study incorporated in its literature review studies in

the area of political campaigns, voters' decision making, campaign discourse, and the use

of political symbols. The literature showed that through campaigning, political candidates

and parties portray themselves positively and want voters to have a positive view about

their political parties, and the opposite for their opponents.

The current study analyzed the 1999 political manifestos of the Botswana

Democratic Party, Botswana National Front, and the Botswana Congress party. The

purpose of the study was to learn how different political parties structured their

manifestos in their quest to win the majority of voters. Research shows that the manifesto

is important because it is used as a master document, which is a backbone for political

campaigns for those who belong to the sponsoring party. It is also a document that can be

used by political opponents to compare their policies with those who they are in contest

with. Manifesto included in them symbols in the form of party flags, leaders of political

parties and slogans. Manifestos showed the political history of the country, the progress

the country has made, the reason why progress in development has or has not occurred.

This study used a qualitative content analysis method. This method allowed an in-depth analysis of the different symbols that were used, political party narratives, and the arrangement of issues. Since the manifesto is created to be different, a qualitative approach allowed the comparison of things that were found to be different but with the same meaning. It also allowed the categorization of different issues. Descriptive analysis provided through this study showed the differences each party had from one another and possible reasons for those differences. For example, the Smith and Smith (2000) study that analyzed British manifestos and was used as a model, created a matrix to determine the issues that were important. In this study, a matrix was not created because something important could have been missed in analyzing manifestos of opposition parties, since democratic institutional reform was more important than the economy in their arrangement of issues. Instead, issues were analyzed based on the sequence of arrangement by each party.

The results from this did show that no political party defended itself against another political party. The Botswana Democratic Party acclaimed itself for the success the country had and also attacked, cautioning voters not to vote for the opposition parties because it was the only political party that had the experience to lead the country into the new millennium. The Botswana Democratic Party never mentioned any opposition party by name, except generalizing them, something that may be attributed to its comfort with the base of its voters. The Botswana Democratic Party also provided statistics that showed that it kept its promises, by showing voters through the 1999 manifesto what it

had promised in the election of 1994 and how it had delivered those programmes over the last five years.

Opposition parties on the other hand, provided the frameworks which they were going to follow to improve the economy and the country' democratic institution. The Botswana National Front and Botswana Congress Party both blamed the BDP for the economic failures of the country. Opposition parties had no successes to acclaim, since they never had the opportunity to govern. They did, however, attack by providing statistics to show how the Botswana Democratic Party was failing. The opposition parties did not attack nor compare themselves to one another. Instead, they only attacked the ruling party. These may show that they viewed each other as less of a threat to win the election or that defeating the BDP is more important than actually winning governmental power.

One of the most notable things was that opposition parties (Botswana National Front and Botswana Congress Party) seemed to be dissatisfied with the fairness of the current Independent Electoral Commission. Both parties promised to give the Independent Electoral Commission more power to enable it to be more effective. The ruling party did not mention anything pertaining to institutional changes, like that dealing with the Independent Electoral Commission. The institutional suggestions of the opposition parties to change part of the system were meant to show that the ruling party was undemocratic, and its desire to stay in power by not giving the Independent Electoral Commission more power.

The strength of this study is that many studies have been done before in political campaigns, which were used in the literature review. The Smith and Smith (2000) study also provided a good model for analyzing Botswana's political manifestos. The weakness about the study is that many studies have not been done analyzing manifestos from the political communication field. The literature about political development in Botswana is scarce, making it difficult for the collection of all the necessary information that may be needed.

In the future, it would be interesting to study the impact of political manifestos compared to the impact of negative advertising such as in the United States. The study would include such things as the amount of information negative advertising gives to voters as compared to the amount of information voters get from reading political manifestos.

A study of that nature can help contribute to the field of political communication in general, since campaigners may know the best strategies that can work better, e.g., campaigners may start to know that advertising can still be used successfully without the use of manifestos, even though all ads will be sponsored by each political party, especially if that particular kind of a study found voters' were not interested in reading.

Another study that would be important in the future is a study that would analyze manifestos that are going to be used during election campaigns that will lead to the first change of government in Botswana. This will be important because it will make

researchers aware of the different tactics that campaigners will have applied leading to voters' change of minds in Botswana's change of government elections.

It would be good to adopt a triangulated approach in studying manifestos, whereby one investigates the information they provide and the perception voters have about them in unitary systems. In this way, campaigners can become aware of what voters like to see in manifestos. This would be especially important in a country like Botswana where there is still room for democracy to improve. Studies of this nature would be of invaluable service to those who wish to rule and may not be using the right messages in their campaigns.

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Appendix

<u>Party</u>

<u>Graphics</u>

<div align="center">

<u>Cover Page</u>
Yes   No

</div>

Party's Name:

Initial:

Slogan:

Year of Manifesto:

Flag:

Party leader's Picture:

Catch Phrase:

Motto:

Voting Key:

<div align="center">

<u>Foreword</u>

</div>

Type of Foreword:
Attacking

Acclaim

Defend

General Narrative:

Structure:

Policy Narrative:

<div align="center">

<u>Important Notes</u>

</div>