

Swazi Journalism and the 'Muslim Threat'

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Abstract

This paper reports the findings of a research project undertaken in Swaziland (a small kingdom in southern Africa) that interrogates the way in which the press frames Muslims and Islam as a threat to the state and to ordinary people. It begins with the misidentifying of a Muslim prayer group as a group of 'cannibals' and then examines three major stories regarding Muslims: i) the perception that Muslims were to blame for the changing of the Swaziland constitution; (ii) a report that Muslims were enticing university students to convert to Islam in return for scholarships; and (iii) a public symposium run on the subject of Islam. It concludes that Swazi newspapers frame Muslims as warlike people who are plotting against the kingdom and who pose a threat to Swazi culture. Islam is also depicted as a religion inferior to Christianity.

Introduction

In June 2007 it was reported that inhabitants of the Swaziland capital Mbabane panicked when it was rumoured that a group of cannibals was at large in the city.

To report this, the Swazi News newspaper dominated its front page with the headline EMAZIMU! [the siSwati word for cannibals] and a photograph taken from the Internet that purported to be of cannibals in the Amazon jungle. On page two the newspaper reported that Mbabane was "gripped by a tense sense of fear".

The report continued, "The city has been engulfed by fear that strange beings, or man-eating beings, have descended on the city" (Swazi News June 16, 2007).

"Cannibals are feared to be in Mbabane, and the nation has pressed the panic button in fear that their safety cannot be guaranteed anymore.

"Panicking members of the public have flooded with calls the Royal Swaziland Police Service and His Majesty's Correctional Services."

The report went on in similar terms until the newspaper saw fit to inform its readers that the "invasion" of Mbabane and other areas of Swaziland was not an invasion of cannibals but a visit to the city by a group of Muslims.

The following week the newspaper returned to the story and revealed that the cannibals were in fact a visiting group of Muslims from Pakistan and there was no need to panic. However, the report included this sentence, "Obviously, confused by a group of at least 15 men with beards and of foreign origin it was easy for everyone to refer to the group of cannibals." (Swazi News June 23 2007).

The newspaper did not explain how a group who were visiting Swaziland to engage in prayer could be confused with flesh eating cannibals.

This news report indicates the extent of prejudice towards Muslims that exists in the Swazi media. The reports of panic in the streets of Mbabane and the glib assertion by the Swazi News that it was “obvious” why Swazi people could mistake Muslims for cannibals highlights the question of how newspapers in Swaziland frame what I am calling in this article the ‘Muslim threat’. This article explores more fully the role of the press in this framing.

Since there is little material available in academic circles about the Swazi Press this paper begins with a general introduction to the kingdom and to its newspaper landscape.

To examine coverage of Muslims fully this paper concentrates on three themes about Muslims that were present in the Swazi Press in 2005. These themes are (i) the perception that Muslims were to blame for the changing of the Swaziland constitution; (ii) a report that Muslims were enticing university students to convert to Islam in return for scholarships; and (iii) a public symposium run on the subject of Islam.

This newspaper coverage affords an opportunity to discuss how the framing of the Muslim in Swaziland has been organised with particular reference to professional and operational determinants and the creation of stereotypes.

The article concludes that the Swazi Press frames Muslims as warlike people who are plotting against Swaziland and who have no respect for Swazi customs. The religion of Islam is inferior to Christianity “the only true religion” and Muslims are conniving to force decent Christians in Swaziland to convert to Islam in return for money.

Method

To explore the way in which Muslims are portrayed in the Swazi Press I tried to identify all news reports, feature articles and commentaries that were about Muslims or Islam. This proved a fruitless endeavour because although I searched newspapers in the years 2005 to 2007 I found there was little coverage of the topic.

However, I was able to identify three areas or themes that were covered in 2005. These areas were: (i) the perception that Muslims were to blame for the changing of the Swaziland constitution; (ii) a report that Muslims were enticing university students to convert to Islam in return for scholarships; and (iii) a public symposium run on the subject of Islam.

Two research questions were formulated.

RQ1 Do Swazi newspapers pander to the fears and prejudices of readers when it comes to the reporting of Muslims?

RQ2 Does newspaper coverage hinder or promote mutual understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims?

From this coverage is created a framing of the Muslim that is wholly negative and with it comes a warning of political and economic disaster for the country if Islam were to be encouraged in Swaziland.

Background

Swaziland is the smallest country on the continent of Africa and is landlocked with borders to South Africa and Mozambique. The population of just fewer than one million people is ethnically homogeneous and approximately 97 per cent of the people are Swazi. Most of this population is rural with only 23 per cent living in urban or suburban areas.

Christianity is the main religion of the country but at least 40 per cent also hold traditional beliefs (and many are able to reconcile traditional and Christian beliefs). There are about 10,000 Muslims (one per cent of the population) in Swaziland.

The kingdom is ruled by King Mswati III, an absolute monarch, and in 1973 the kingdom went into a state of emergency following a Royal Proclamation. A new constitution which underpins the position of the monarch and leaves political parties banned came into force in 2006. It is still unclear whether the signing of the Constitution brings to an end the state of emergency. Nor is it clear whether the constitution will encourage some form of democracy in the kingdom but there are reasons to be pessimistic. There was controversy surrounding the constitution and its writing as only individual members of the public were allowed to make submissions on its drafting, thereby excluding all civil society groups from the process (International Bar Association, 2003).

The economy of Swaziland is in decline and about two thirds of the population live below the poverty line on less than US\$1 per day. Following a series of droughts in recent years, about one half of the population rely on food assistance from international agencies. HIV infection rates are the highest in the world.

Newspapers in Swaziland

The media industry in Swaziland is small and the majority of it is state controlled. As far as the newspaper industry is concerned, there are two principal players. The first is the Loffler family based in Namibia which owns African Echo, the holding company of the daily Times of Swaziland, Swazi News (published Saturday) and the Times Sunday. These newspapers, the first of which, the Times, was established in 1897, are the only major news sources in the kingdom free of government control (Rooney 2007).

The second major player is the corporation Tibiyo Taka Ngwane, which is controlled by the Swazi royal family and owns the Observer Media Group, which publishes the Swazi Observer and its stable mate, the Weekend Observer. One

independent monthly comment magazine, *The Nation Magazine*, manages to continue publishing despite government opposition and a small circulation. A free government produced newsheet, *Swaziland Today* has very little credibility.

Newspaper circulations are generally poor. Estimates suggest that the *Swazi Observer* sells about 5 000 copies a day and the *Times of Swaziland* sells about 15 000 copies a day. The *Times Sunday* and *Swazi News* sell about 15 000 copies a week. The *Weekly Observer* has a circulation of 10 000. All newspapers are published in the English language.

Newspapers lag a long way behind radio and television as the most important source of news for Swazis. A gender and media audience study found 16 per cent of women and 19 per cent of men cited newspapers as the most important source of news compared to 53 per cent of women (63 per cent men) who cited radio and 31 per cent women (17 per cent men) who cited television (Lowe Morna et al, 2005: 163-164). The survey found that respondents with tertiary level education constituted the highest proportion of those who chose newspapers as their main source of news.

Three Themes

In this section I want to look at some articles in the newspapers taken from the year 2005. The news reports and comment pieces I want to examine run from the middle of the year to November. They fall into three themes of editorial matter: the first theme concerns the decision to drop Christianity as the official religion of the kingdom from the draft of the new constitution; the second theme surrounds a news report that Muslims were trying to make prospective university students convert to Islam in return for scholarships; and the third theme surrounds a symposium on Islam in Swaziland held at the country's only university.

THEME ONE: The Constitution.

The first theme on the constitution dates from July 2005. Until this point in the year I had been unable to find any reference to Muslims in Swaziland in any of the country's newspapers in 2005, although there had been some negative news reports about Indian businesses "dominating" the kingdom. (See for example, *Times of Swaziland*, April 11 2005).

The issue of the formal centrality of Christianity in Swaziland's constitution surfaced in June 2005 when it was announced that Christianity would be dropped from the new constitution that was about to be signed and the kingdom would thenceforth have no "official" religion.

The coverage began in *The Times of Swaziland* with a front page headline and picture covering 70 per cent of the tabloid sized page: **MUSLIMS ARE TO BLAME – PASTOR JUSTICE DLAMINI** (*Times of Swaziland*, July 13 2005). The Pastor, a leader of an evangelical Christianity church, blamed the Islamic community as responsible for Christianity being excluded from the kingdom's Constitution. He said that if the clause were removed disaster would befall the

kingdom as Muslims would get an official platform for the Islamic religion into Swaziland. He said, "It is clear that the invasion of the Islamic religion would mark the beginning of violence and terrorism in the country." He also predicated political and economic disaster.

"It is obvious even to a small child that the Islam community have a strong hand in the removal of this clause. It is therefore clear that the removal of the clause is the means of paving an official platform for the Islamic religion into Swaziland," he said.

Pastor Justice Dlamini also claimed that God had himself personally chosen Christianity to be the religion of Swaziland.

There was no reference in the news report as to where the remarks were made, suggesting that there may have been collusion between the Pastor and the newspaper to start the controversy over Islam.

Pastor Justice Dlamini had set an agenda that other journalists were quick to follow. Not everyone agreed with the pastor's interpretation of the Islam threat but his theme of "violence" and "terrorism" was taken up the next day by Times of Swaziland columnist Vusi Sibisi where he described the pastor's comments as an "overt declaration of war against the Islamic faith" (Times of Swaziland, July 14 2005).

The "holy war" theme is central to the newspaper debate and is continued in the Swazi Observer the next day by columnist William Mamba who asserts that the Christian community has drawn first blood in a holy war (Swazi Observer July 15 2005).

The Islam theme continued in the weekend newspapers and by this time it was clear that all newspapers assume that their readers are Christian (or at least not Muslims). The Times Sunday (July 17 2005) even assumed that this would be the first time in their lives that its readers had encountered Muslims and so provided a brief overview of Muslim lives (concentrating on their holidays) and an interview with a prominent Muslim cleric talking about what it means to be a Muslim.

The king intervened in the debate and stated that Christianity needed no special protection because it originated with God. Unsurprisingly, considering the power of the monarchy in the kingdom, the newspapers supported this view. Typical was a comment column in the Times of Swaziland (July 27 2005), "the king hit the nail on the head". Nimrod Mabuza wrote, "His point was that Christianity is capable of not only surviving on its own but also capable of swallowing other religions that do not originate with God. Sadly, the king stopped as I was still craving for more."

Many writers make reference to the centrality of Christianity to Swazi life and to the belief that God has in some way "chosen" Swaziland as a special place. Pastor Justice Dlamini takes this further. He believes that he personally has been chosen

by God and is directly speaking God's words, in effect saying that if you disagree with me you are going against God's will.

"I am an ambassador of Christ, an Ambassador of heaven. I represent the Kingdom of my God and its interests on the planet. All my actions are representative of the Kingdom of my God" (Weekend Observer August 15-16 2005).

THEME TWO: Scholarships

In August 2005, the Swazi Ministry of Education reduced the number of scholarships it was prepared to give to first year university students. This was done after the department had already published its list of scholarship awards so as a result students who thought they had scholarships found they had not. The decision of the ministry was protested by students who engaged in strikes and marched to the office of the prime minister in peaceful protest. During this protest the police attacked students with water canon and tear gas, resulting in many injuries. It is against this backdrop that the second theme of news reports and comments were published.

The Times of Swaziland started this strand of the attack on Islam (September 13 2005) with a front page report headlined SCHOLARSHIPS GALORE ... BUT YOU MUST CONVERT TO ISLAM. This headline is misleading as the report concerns an interview with a Muslim community leader who simply says that scholarships are available only to those of the Muslim religion. He makes no suggestion that people of other faiths or no faith should convert.

The report goes on to state that in the past Muslims had been denied scholarships by government so they set up their own scholarship system. The Muslim leader is quoted as saying that the reasons given by the government for refusal of scholarships to Muslims was that their dietary needs could not be accommodated. Incidentally, this blatant discrimination goes un-remarked in the report.

The misreport about "conversion" to Islam is never corrected and instead the misinformation becomes established as fact. The next stage of the development of this theme involves one Walter Bennett, a former Swazi senator and a current businessman. News media in Swaziland in their many reports in which Bennett is the central character describe Bennett variously as a "corruption buster" or "crime buster" because of his outspokenness on these matters and a small amount of success he has had in the past bringing incidents of corruption to public attention. As a result Bennett's views on all matters are privileged by the news media and he is afforded courtesy and space to expound on all topics, even ones that seemingly are beyond his comprehension.

Because Bennett enjoys this privilege with the media his comments on this topic were taken up by other news media, compounding the error over student "conversions" to Islam.

In one news report, BENNETT TO MUSLIMS: DON'T TAKE ADANTAGE (September 14 2005) Bennett "has warned" the Muslim community not to take advantage of the students' plight. In the report Bennett states Muslims had come to Swaziland "flashing money".

An opinion piece (Swazi Observer, October 5 2005) supports Bennett's attack on Muslims "for their move to take advantage of desperate Swazi students who could not get funding from government to pursue their education". The writer accuses Muslims of trying to get more people to join their religion through desperation.

THEME THREE: Symposium

By November 2005, Islam had become an issue for the news media and debate had become somewhat heated. The University of Swaziland (UNISWA) held a public symposium on Islam in Swaziland.

For the newspapers this symposium was an opportunity for Walter Bennett to take on the Muslims. Headlines to news reports before and after the event made this clear. The report BENNETT AT UNISWA ISLAM INDABA (Swazi Observer, November 3 2005) put Bennett as the central figure of a report on the symposium promising that he would speak on the "civilian" understanding of Islam.

The newspapers reported the symposium in language of violence: BENNETT TEARS ISLAMAS APART (Weekend Observer, November 5-6 2005). In this edition there are two connecting news reports. The main story's first paragraph states that Islam has been "discriminating against students applying for scholarships being offered by their faith". Bennett, described in this report as a "super sleuth", said Islamic faith was seemingly sowing the seeds of discord within nations of the world because of its "violent means to resolve problems". He said followers of Islam were involved in cases of mass murder.

He repeated the error that "desperate" students from UNISWA were being urged by Islam elders to join Islam before they could be considered for scholarships. Bennett said Islam was capable of manipulating social and economic circumstances to achieve its goals.

The news report said that the audience was made up of Christian students. It said that the Muslim representative on the panel (note the panel consisted of one Muslim and three Christians, including the chair) had misquoted by the newspaper on the issue of scholarships but he did believe that "charity begins at home". The news report makes no pretence at objectivity and editorialises, "such a statement made Bennett and some UNISWA students to conclude that the students did not misquote him".

A companion story to the one above (Weekend Observer, November 5-6 2005) reports that Bennett accused Muslims of violating Swazi culture by wearing hats in the lecture hall. "You are wearing a hat inside a room just because you are a

Muslim." The newspaper reports approvingly that Bennett was cheered by some of the audience when he said this.

The rival newspaper also reported the event in two companion reports (Swazi News, November 5 2005). One of the reports tells approvingly of how Bennett turned down a gift of a Koran and other Islamic documentation. Bennett is quoted saying, "the Koran and other publications can add no value to his life". The report continued, "He said he would not like to behave like a frog, which drinks any water it comes across."

Throughout the reporting of the Islam issue, the natural superiority of Christianity is taken for granted. Pastor Justice Dlamini asserted (Weekend Observer, November 19-20 2005) **THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST IS SUPERIOR TO ALL OTHERS**. He referred to a statement made by the Dean of the Humanities faculty at UNISWA at the symposium in which the Dean said, "no religion is superior or inferior to any other". Pastor Justice Dlamini wrote, "It is a fact that even a primary school pupil knows that Christianity is superior to other religions." He added, "God bless Bennett for truly representing Christ."

The centrality of Christianity to this coverage is exposed in the Swazi Observer in a comment piece headlined. **MUSLIMS INSULT JESUS CHRIST** (Swazi Observer, November 29 2005). In this article about the symposium the Observer staff writer Mfankhoua Nkambule identifies himself thus, "I am a journalist who is saved by the precious blood of Jesus Christ." Nowhere is it revealed that this writer was the same reporter who covered the symposium for the newspaper. The article cites chapter and verse from the Bible to attack a reader who had written to rebut Bennett's claims about Muslim violence.

Representations of the Muslim

In this section I want to return to, and offer answers to, the two research questions I posed earlier.

RQ1 Do Swazi newspapers pander to the fears and prejudices of readers when it comes to the reporting of Muslims?

Swazi newspapers do indeed pander to fears and prejudices when reporting on Muslims. Reading the newspapers you get the clear message that Christianity has a supreme place in Swazi life as exemplified by Pastor Justice Dlamini's assertion that "even a primary school child knows" that Christianity is superior to other religions. Swaziland has a special place in God's heart and He has chosen Pastor Justice Dlamini to be His spokesman on Earth.

With this background it is not surprising that newspapers have some difficulty when reporting and commenting on non-Christian religions. Generally speaking Islam is under reported and I have been unable to find any news reports or comment pieces that originated with positive news about the Islamic community. There is an assumption – correct since only 1 per cent of the population follow the

faith – that the newspapers' readers are not Muslim and they probably do not personally know anyone who is Muslim.

Reading the three themes of news reports and comment pieces we can identify the following traits of the Muslim as framed by the Swazi Press; all of them are negative.

The Muslim

... is warlike. The newspapers leave an overwhelming impression that the Muslim is violent, war-like and engaged (or about to engage) in terrorism.

... has an inferior religion. No amount of information to the contrary will contradict the media's belief that Christianity is the only true religion and that therefore Islam is fake.

... flashes money around. Walter Bennett accused the Muslim of flashing money to entice prospective students to convert to Islam. This jealousy of the entrepreneurial spirit surfaced also in April 2005 when Bennett made headlines by condemning "Asians" (by which he mostly meant Indians) for "masquerading as business people". This prompted one newspaper columnist to call for all foreigners who are not adding value to this country "to be done away with". (Swazi Observer, April 12 2005).

... is plotting against the country. A clear accusation that they plotted to have the Christianity clause removed from the constitution to undermine the kingdom, which is built on solid foundations of Christianity.

... is disrespectful of Swazi customs. Walter Bennett scolded Muslims in the symposium for wearing hats in the hall. Muslims, it seems are expected to respect Swazi custom, but it is not necessary for the Swazi to be sensitive to Muslim tradition.

... is conniving to force decent Christians to convert to Islam in return for university scholarships.

... has nothing to teach us. The Swazi News reported with seeming approval of Walter Bennett's refusal to accept a copy of the Koran and other Islamic religious writings as gifts, reporting his claim that Christians had nothing to learn from Islam.

RQ2 Does newspaper coverage hinder or promote mutual understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims?

The newspapers make little or no attempt to promote mutual understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims. The three themes discussed in this article perpetuate a range of negative stereotypes about Muslims (terrorist, violent,

untrustworthy) and a consensus is assumed that the readers (Us) are not like the Muslims (Others) and by extension do not wish to be.

The news reporting of Muslims is organised around these negative stereotypes which select information calling the attention of the reader to those facets which support the stereotypes and diverting it from those which contradict it (Lule, 1997, 390).

The representation of the Muslim as something Other than Us offers readers the perverse pleasure of measuring themselves favourably as a representative of "the normal", offering them an easy and unearned way to feel superior to the Muslim and to feel a sense of solidarity based on antipathy to the Muslims (Ferguson, 1998: 68, 75). The inferiority of the Muslim is seen in the hats they wear inside buildings and the Koran "that adds no value to life".

The Press helps to create a consensus among Swazis that the place of Christianity is central to their lives. Such a consensus exists when for a given group of people it is a matter of fact that the interests of the whole population are undivided, held in common, and that the whole population acknowledges this "fact" by subscribing to a certain set of beliefs (Fowler, 1991: 49). Because people occupy the same society and belong roughly to the same culture it is assumed that there is, basically, only one perspective on events (Hall et al, 1978: 55).

The newspapers' approaches to Christianity even have elements of Bible study. Christianity is ever present in the papers. As well as church-based news that appears in the common news and features pages, the Swazi Observer, for example, runs a full page each week it calls "religious" news, which only includes material with Christianity at its centre. Also, Pastor Justice Dlamini's weekly Weekend Observer comment articles make no pretence to be anything else than instructional sermons.

Consensual views of society represent society as if there are no major cultural or economic breaks and conflicts of interest between groups (Hall et al, 1978, 55.) We can note that with all his various media interests Pastor Justice Dlamini could be said to be in the business of Christianity. We can also note the main actors in the coverage of Islam, Pastor Justice Dlamini and Walter Bennett are firm Christians and at least two newspaper writers are self identified evangelical Christians (Dlamini again and Mfankhoua Nkambule).

Discussion

In this section I want to discuss why it may be that Swazi journalists behave in the way they do when reporting Muslims and Islam.

Journalists generally are seen as professional communicators whose work is structured and shaped by a variety of practices, conventions and ethical norms as well as by the constraints and limitations imposed by the fact that journalism is a complex production process requiring sophisticated organisation (McNair, 1998: 61). This is as true in Swaziland as it is in more developed countries.

However, journalists in Swaziland have severe deficiencies. Senior journalists and commentators in Swaziland in critiquing their own kingdom's journalism identify intrinsic weaknesses within media houses noting among other things a lack of continuous training and lack of transparency on promotions with no job security, which manifest itself in high staff turnover. Low salaries and poor working conditions contribute to this turnover with senior and experienced journalists leaving for better paying jobs elsewhere, so that newspaper reporters are 'in transit' filling time while waiting for better paid jobs outside the industry. Editorial staff members at all rankings lack knowledge, capacity and maturity (Rooney 2007).

This is compounded by sparse resources within media houses, which make it impossible for reporters to gain insight and become specialists in specific areas of journalism. A lack of professionalism in the sourcing, writing, editing, and positioning of news articles in the newspapers compromise content that often lacks information and is poorly expressed (Rooney 2007).

The lack of journalistic capacity is evident in the narrowness of the debate and interpretations of Islam. Journalists and writers are unable to identify with Muslims or to consider that there might be alternative perspectives on the world to Christianity. The writings of Mfankhoua Nkambule, the journalist "saved by the precious blood of Jesus Christ", are the most transparent example of this.

Swazi journalists have poor technical skills as evidenced by the incorrect headline to the news report on scholarships for students of the Muslim faith. The headline does not accurately reflect the news report, but this is a regular occurrence in the newspapers where headlines promise more than they deliver (Zwane, 2005: 17).

An intriguing question arises from the "conversion" headline. It is never corrected and the false impression the headline conveys becomes central to further accusations made against Muslims. Since there are so many technical mistakes in Swazi newspapers we can fairly assume that the headline writer made a mistake but what of those who later used the false information as a means of attack? I can see only two possible explanations; the first is that Bennett read the article and knowing the headline and the accusation to be false nonetheless repeated the falsehood to exacerbate the situation. The second possible explanation is that he never read the report.

The Muslim reports also show serious deficiencies in the way that news agendas are set in Swaziland. Hall et al have argued that the practical pressure of organising journalism produces a structured over-accessing to the media of those in powerful and privileged positions (Hall et al 1978: 58). This is the case with the Swazi media.

Only two main actors have contributed to the Muslim coverage: Pastor Justice Dlamini and Walter Bennett. Reporters and comment writers followed the agendas

once set. Dlamini started the controversy with his comments that Muslims were to blame for removing the Christianity clause. He has sophisticated media awareness and himself writes a weekly newspaper column, publishes religious books, and presents weekly radio and television shows.

Walter Bennett comes very close to being a media icon. He is a former Senator with a special interest in talking about corruption. A newspaper profile of him stated favourably, "Journalists take his word as fact and never bother to research once he has presented scoops to them" (Swazi Observer, September 28 2005). Bennett is able to access the media because he understands that editors need news material that is easy to process. To meet this need Bennett produces news worthy events (he makes public speeches, holds press conferences and visits media houses to deliver his views). This control ensures that Pastor Dlamini and Bennett are the most powerful and universal of the available definitions of the social world (Hall et al, 1978: 59).

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that Muslims in the Swazi Press are depicted as a threat to Swaziland. They are seen as warlike, plotting against the kingdom and a threat to Swazi culture. Islam is depicted as a religion inferior to Christianity.

Although this paper has centred on the Swazi Press and the reporting of the Muslim threat, newspapers are not alone in misunderstanding and misreporting Islam; Swazi television and radio do no better. Nearly all broadcasting in the kingdom is state controlled and the only independent broadcasting media is a Christian radio station. Nowhere is non-Christian religion afforded status. It was difficult to find much coverage of Islam in Swaziland in the kingdom's news media, but it was impossible to find anything about other religions, such as Hindi or Buddhism.

Journalistic capacity in Swaziland is low and journalists struggle to understand matters outside their direct experience. Alternative world views (to that of Christianity) and opinions are not mentioned or given a fair hearing. Facts are frequently distorted or exaggerated and the tone of language used is often emotive with the tendency to provoke feelings of insecurity among Swazi people. How else can we explain the assertion from the Swazi News that "Obviously, confused by a group of at least 15 men with beards and of foreign origin it was easy for everyone to refer to the group of cannibals?"

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