

**WHEN BIRTHING MAKES THE NEWS:
THE DEPICTION OF WOMEN AS A NEWSWORTHY
ITEM IN *DIE BURGER (OOS-KAAP)***

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Abstract

The thesis “When birthing makes the news: the depiction of women as a newsworthy item in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*” analyses a common, yet complex news topic in the South African print media due to the sensitive, often sensationalised, nature of the topic. The private experience of birthing is featured more and more in the public domain of newspapers because of widespread service delivery problems within the South African health department. Focussing on the Eastern Cape, I examine the representation of birthing in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* in texts printed between 2005 and 2007, and scrutinise the media’s monitorial role of a self-appointed public hero acting on behalf of the women, to expose the poor conditions at government hospitals, specifically in the Nelson Mandela Bay region.

How the women and their bodies are reported on, creates a discursive tension between the negative portrayals of the birthing women and the monitorial role of the media. The news values of sensationalism and profit are achieved with visceral representations of the reproductive functions of the birthing women. A poststructuralist feminist theoretical framework reveals discourses that perpetuate race, class and gender inequalities in the apparently socially-concerned sample of texts. A Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides an approach and method to inform a close textual analysis of both the lexical and visual elements of the texts.

The discourses in the sample differed from text to text. Despite these differences, the monitorial role of the media is still achieved. My research argues that acting in the public interest with sensationalist copy is still acting in the public interest. I conclude that it is not easy for newspapers to separate sensationalism from accountability. Media practitioners should be aware of their role in constructing women’s identities and be particularly thoughtful when reporting on birthing. In doing so, this research aims to improve the manner in which women and their bodies are reported on within the news industry.

Table of contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 What?	2
1.2 Why?	3
1.3 Who?	4
1.3.1 Who am I?.....	4
1.3.2 Who are “They”?.....	5
1.4 Where and When (Context)?	6
1.4.1 Institutional.....	6
<i>Theoretical Framework</i>	7
1.4.2 Situational.....	9
1.4.3 Societal.....	10
<i>Race</i>	11
<i>Gender</i>	11
<i>Class</i>	12
1.5 How?	12
1.6 So what?	13

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Poststructuralism	14
2.2 Poststructuralism and feminist practice	17

Gender order.....	20
<i>Motherhood</i>	20
2.3 ‘Other’ identities	21
2.4 News production, discourse practice and discursive strategies	25
2.4.1 Public sphere.....	27
2.4.2 Monitorial role.....	29
2.4.3 Professional ‘objectivity’.....	30
2.4.4 News values.....	31
2.5 Conclusion	33
 Chapter 3: Methodology	
3.1 Why qualitative?	34
3.2 Sampling method	35
3.3 CDA	39
3.3.1 Intertextuality.....	42
3.3.2 Denotation.....	44
3.3.3 Narrative.....	45
<i>Labov & Waletzky</i>	46
<i>Todorov</i>	47
<i>Propp</i>	48
3.3.4 Thompson’s Modes of Operation of Ideology.....	49

3.3.5 Linguistic analysis.....	50
<i>Halliday's checklist for linguistic analysis.....</i>	50
<i>System of transitivity.....</i>	51
3.4 Conclusion.....	51

Chapter 4: Critical Discourse Analysis

4.1 Stage 1.....	53
4.1.1 Theme 1: Inhumane, neglectful mother.....	55
4.1.2 Theme 2: Incompetent, neglectful medical services.....	56
4.1.3 Theme 3: HIV stigmatisation and discrimination.....	58
4.1.4 Theme 4: Media as hero.....	59
4.2 Stage 2.....	60
4.2.1 Core text 1: Women must give birth alone.....	60
4.2.2 Core text 2: Jogger delivers baby.....	65
4.2.3 Core text 3: Baby fed HIV-tainted milk.....	70
4.2.4 Core text 4: PE mom 'kept from seeing her baby'.....	75
4.2.5 Core text 5: PE mom gets 'her' baby back.....	81
4.3 Conclusion.....	86

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 The plight of the birthing women.....	87
5.2 Marrying the media's role as Fourth Estate with sensationalism.....	88

5.3 Closing the gap between mainstream media and tabloids.....	89
5.4 Call for sensitive reporting on the topic of birthing.....	90
References.....	93

Appendices

Appendix 1: 100 Males per 100 Females in Nelson Mandela Bay.....	102
Appendix 2: Population groups in Nelson Mandela Bay	103
Appendix 3: Percentage of employment in Nelson Mandela Bay.....	104

Texts

Texts 1: “Baba in drom: Ma het dalk inkopies gedoen”.....	105
Text 2: “Hartseer: Seuntjie per abuis in massagraf begrawe”.....	106
“Baby burial horror”.....	107
Text 3: “Vrou van 1,28m verbied by baba se sterfbed”.....	108
Text 4: “Hospitaal ‘het plig nagekom’”.....	109
Text 5: “Vrou en baba dood na hul glo sleg in hospital behandel is”.....	110
“Women must give birth alone”.....	111
Text 6: “Dora Nginza: Hospitaal weer in nuus oor geboortes”.....	112
“Mom’s horror hospital ordeal”.....	113
Text 7: “Baaise baba gebore voordat ambulans opdaag”.....	114
Text 8: “Drawwer vang haastige baba op sypaadjie”.....	115
“Jogger delivers baby”.....	116

Text 9: “Ma kry R700 000 na baba verdwyn”.....	117
“Money can’t fill the void”.....	118
Text 10: “Baba met MIV-besmette melk gevoed”.....	119
“Baby fed HIV-tainted milk”.....	120
Text 11: “Ma wil glo baba hê na sy hom dalk MIV gee”.....	121
“PE mom ‘kept from seeing baby’”.....	122
Text 12: “Ma kry baba terug na omruil-drama”.....	123
“PE mom gets ‘her’ baby back”.....	124
Text 13: “Dis ernstige nalatigheid”.....	125
Text 14: “Siek diens”.....	126
Text 15: “Twee uitgewys vir tugverhore na baba geruil word”.....	127
“HIV feeding: 2 staff in trouble”.....	128

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Chapter 1: Introduction

curled up...moaning with pain...full of blood (Claassen, 2004: 1)

groaning...pulled down her pants (Silke, 2006: 1)

discharge...found in the breasts (Silke, 2006: 1)

These visceral descriptions of birthing women in news reports evoke strong reactions: disgust, shock, shame, distaste, intrigue and curiosity. It was these reactions and my discomfort with the situation that was the catalyst for my thesis: “When birthing makes the news: the depiction of women as a newsworthy item in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*”. My research investigates these intimate descriptions of birthing women and how they have become newsworthy items for the mainstream news media in recent years and how and in which way the birthing women are represented in a selection of news texts. In putting these representations under scrutiny, my research explores the constructedness of the social discourses we adhere to and oppose. While it is arguable that their news value lies in the way they illustrate and expose various deteriorating state health-care facilities in relation to inadequate ambulance service, inadequate staff or the negligence experienced by some in hospitals, the representations of women in certain news items also construct these women as abject objects of scrutiny.

Issues of birthing have become prevalent as a news topic in Eastern Cape print news media in the past few years, largely due to the increased focus in the news on the deteriorating public health-care system in the province (Claassen, 2004; Maleka, 2008; Potgieter, 2008; Silke, 2006; Shaw, 2008). The causes and manifestations of inadequate basic primary health-care services for working class people who cannot afford private health-care in the country are varied and complex. Staff and resource shortages are some of the reasons given by officials at the Eastern Cape Department of Health (Sapa, 2007; *Die Burger*, 2005). Dora Nginza Hospital in Port Elizabeth, the government hospital mandated to handle all pregnancies in the region, was reported to have a nurse-patient ratio of ninety to one in 2007 (Sapa, 2007). It is in this context that my research considers how the newspaper *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* has represented the birthing experiences of working class women in the state health-care system.

News practices and the role of news media are integral to the research problem posed. Consistent with this theme, this introductory chapter follows the format of a typical news story, the prevailing conventions of the normative liberal press (Nel, 1998). The “5 W’s and

an H” have generally been considered an appropriate model for a conventional news article and advocates of this form of news reporting require that “who, what, where, when, why and how should be present in a thorough news story” (Nel, 1998: 49). I make use of this formula to structure and introduce my research in more detail in the remainder of this chapter.

The first question to answer is “what” exactly the thesis is about. As outlined above, the research is concerned with the representation of birthing in mainstream news media over a specific time period and the social implications of these often visceral depictions of birthing women. The question “why” this media topic was chosen for research purposes deals with the goal of my specific research question: to create a greater awareness among media practitioners in dealing with representations of birthing. The subject position of the birthing women as well as my personal role as researcher and my relationship towards the women, deals with the question “who”. “Where” and “when” refers to the context in which the texts were created and the environment in which the birthing women lived. The contextual environment is further explained at an institutional, situational and societal level from the theoretical position of feminist poststructuralism. Finally, the question “how” deals with the methods I use to accomplish my research goals.

1.1 What?

The goal of my study is to analyse the representation of birthing women over a period of three years (2004-2007) in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* and to make visible the discourses present in the apparently socially-concerned texts about the failing health-care system in the country. The research is concerned with how birthing as a newsworthy item is represented in the media, apparently to fulfil the information role (Curran, 1991) of the normative liberal press but, in fact, also exploiting the birthing women for the sensationalistic purposes of news production. Women, I suggest, are exploited on a figurative level within the media industry as objects of scrutiny in sensationalist depictions of birthing for newsworthy and economic purposes. This is in contrast to the information role of the media as institution which holds the powerful (often the state) accountable for exploitation which threatens the public good (Carey, 1993).

The research questions how a text can expose poor state health-care with negative portrayals in terms of race, class and gender. The research is centrally concerned with how the representations of the birthing women inscribe and naturalise these discourses. The tension in

carrying out the monitorial role of the media (Christians et al, 2009) is characterised by the paradox at the heart of monitorial role: acting on behalf of the public does not make the media immune to the discourses assimilated in society. The responsible element implicit in the monitorial role of the normative liberal press is critiqued in relation to the sensationalised representations of the reproductive functions of the birthing women. The research is concerned with the nature of the knowledge around birthing women that is naturalised through the discursive work in line with expedient or conventional journalistic practices.

1.2 Why?

I decided on the topic because I experienced discomfort as a journalist in the newsroom in which texts, similar to the ones in the scope of my research, were created. I could, however, not give a name to this feeling until I engaged with critical media theory and was given the tools of discourse analysis and cultural studies to ‘name’ the conflict that I experienced. The research topic for my thesis came to me in the middle of the night, after returning from learning about cultural studies theory at Rhodes University as a part-time Masters student, and after being back in the newsroom in my traditional role as a journalist for a few days. I battled with questions like: Did the media fulfil its monitorial role towards these women to fight for their basic right to efficient health-care or were they represented only in terms of their reproductive functions? Were the media practitioners telling the women’s stories as a public duty or were the women depicted in a sensationalist manner to sell more papers? What was the role of race and class in all of this?

By publicising the plight of the birthing women the media can arguably hold the public authorities accountable. And, through remedying the situation, avoid similar incidents of poor government health-care and/ or negligence from happening to other women, despite (or because of) representing the women in a sensationalist manner. As a reporter, I have had first-hand experience of women who phone the newspaper out of sheer desperation with the state health-care system in order to seek justice through the intervention of the news media. In certain cases some of these women who lost their babies or suffered other damages were contacted by lawyers as a consequence of learning about the situation in the media and they accordingly won large civil claims against the Department of Health (Shaw, 2008). Despite these successes in court, stories are still being reported, with the same sensationalist slant, on a regular basis in the media (Claassen, 2004; Maleke, 2008; Potgieter, 2008; Olivier, 2009).

The research aims to create knowledge that, hopefully, will have some impact on journalists - to perhaps provoke them to become more aware of the 'uncomfortable feeling' they experience with certain representations of women by rejecting dominant discourses within the production of news and to consider alternative ways of reporting about birthing. The research goes beyond the actual text, reporter or institution and makes visible the social and cultural discourses and their inherent power relations in society. It aims to create a greater awareness among news and media practitioners in dealing with representations of birthing in a more inclusive and diversified manner.

1.3 Who?

This question revolves around who is involved in the research. I briefly introduce the subjects of the texts – the birthing women – as well as my personal role as researcher. The women within the texts are black and come from lower-income social groups. I am neither. My research method and theoretical positioning established why these conflicting subjectivities do not pose a problem for my research.

1.3.1 Who am I?

In line with poststructuralist research, an awareness of the researcher and her role towards the subjects are of importance to the body of knowledge being created and separates this type of research from positivist approaches to knowledge. It is therefore incumbent on me as researcher to recognise that my study is positioned, rather than an objective moment of 'truth'. As a qualitative researcher within the sphere of cultural and media studies, I consider research unable to be completely objective or value-free. As "[t]he qualitative researcher has to identify his or her biases and to articulate the ideology or conceptual frame for the study at the outset" (Henning, 2004: 26), I therefore briefly continue with outlining my position as researcher within this study.

My identity as researcher can broadly be described as a white woman of middle-class income living in the Eastern Cape. My aim is to critically investigate the manner in which black, lower-income women living in the Eastern Cape have been represented in print news media with regard to birthing. In several ways I am outside the sphere of the subjects who are represented in the texts. I am not a mother (this has changed during the course of writing the thesis), yet I do feel a sense of connectedness with these women and their hardships since I have interviewed some of the women featured in the news reports and other women in similar

positions as journalist for *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*. My position has allowed me to develop a sense of empathy for the represented women, which is another motivational factor for my thesis to possibly serve as a change agent for media practitioners to exercise greater awareness with future representations of birthing women in similar predicaments.

I do not feel an affinity towards the birthing women in the texts simply because I am a woman myself. I guard against such simple deductions since I do not want to speak on behalf of these women, a criticism many Black/ Third World Feminists have uttered towards white, middle-class feminists in the past (hooks, 2000). I agree with Black Feminists that “women from different social groups – racial, economic, sexual, and so forth – experience different types of oppression” (Cudd, 2005: 8) and I do not pretend to understand what it had to be like for these women to be subjected to the intense trauma caused by their experiences within the state health-care system. My role as researcher is simply to scrutinise the representations of the birthing women and contextualise them within the discourses of race, class and gender – while remaining aware of my own subject position within the research.

1.3.2 Who are “They”?

On a textual level, the birthing women are the subjects of the news stories but they are also the focus of my research as it is their representations in the articles that are of concern. As a consequence of social inequalities manifested in inadequate health-care (negligence at hospitals, lack of ambulance services and other social factors), their biological processes associated with giving birth are depicted within the texts as newsworthy items. As media representations are the result of processes of selection that are limited, framed and mediated (Newbold, 1989: 261), this study makes visible how a sample of news media articles have constructed gendered, raced and class discourses.

The birthing women within the texts are black and come from lower-income social groupings. This is evident as it is inscribed in the detail presented in the texts. At times the characterisation is covert in terms of reference to certain suburbs where the women live or their state of employment; and in other parts of the texts the women are overtly (blatantly) categorised in terms of their race and social status. To illustrate, I refer to the HIV texts (Silke, 2006) in which constant reference is made to the ‘dark skin’ of the HIV-infected mother and her baby. She is also directly called ‘black’ at one point. The birthing women in the texts are more covertly placed within the lower-income group when the suburbs where

they live are mentioned: Walmer township (Claassen, 2004), Mandela Village (Silke, 2006) and Booyenspark (Silke, 2006). These areas, as well as areas where the birthing women in the intertexts live, like Schauderville and Helenvale, are areas which are racially segregated and in general populated by low-income families.

The classification of the suburbs in which the subjects of the news reports live in terms of their lower socio-economic status and racial groups, corresponds with information from the governmental demarcation board (Demarcation, 2008) in which a municipal profile was compiled from the last census statistics in 2001 about Nelson Mandela Bay, the municipal name given to Port Elizabeth, Despatch and Uitenhage. The sex breakdown (Appendix 1) is fairly even for residents living in Nelson Mandela Bay, with slightly more women than men living in the area: 494 246 women as opposed to 452 558 men. Race and class as social categories are much more evident in terms situating the birthing women in their demarcated living areas of Nelson Mandela Bay. A large segment grouped according to household income by the demarcation board (Demarcation, 2008), relates to households with no income (57 270) showing the serious problems associated with poverty in the region. “Black African” is the biggest population group counted with 228 488 households, while those classed as “Coloured” is 236 160, “Indian and Asian” as 11 236 and “White” as 166 026.

In Appendix 2, the graph indicates how suburbs like Booyenspark, Schauderville and Helenvale fall within the blue section of the city of Port Elizabeth which is known as the ‘Northern Areas’ and, as is evident on the graph, a large section of the population group classed as “coloured” reside in this area. Mandela Village in Uitenhage and Walmer Township, also known as Gqebera, in Port Elizabeth fall within the orange section – which indicates a majority “Black African” population group. From Appendix 3, it is clear that the areas where the birthing women reside in the Metro are lower-income areas with high unemployment figures (darker green colour indicates percentage of unemployment as opposed to the lighter green colour for employed families). The specific suburbs the birthing women live are therefore powerful indicators of the women’s living conditions in terms of race and class and situate them in terms of the rest of the Metro.

1.4 Where and When? (Context)

1.4.1 Institutional context

Media Studies has emphasized the relevance of the institutional context of the production of news. This study relates to texts in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*, a South African daily newspaper

that belongs to the Media24 media conglomerate. Media24 publishes almost 60 titles and about 341.8 million newspapers annually, and with a daily circulation of over 800 000, Media24's dailies account for a large portion of the national newspaper circulation (Media24, 2008). *Die Burger* is the biggest Afrikaans daily in the Western Cape with a circulation of 90 000 (Media24, 2008). *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* covers news events in the Eastern Cape in Afrikaans and has a circulation of less than 20 000. Although *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* is an Eastern Cape publication, it regularly covers specific news events in the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipal Metropolitan area (including Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Despatch) and distributes a big part of the circulation of *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* in this area. As the Metro would therefore be considered the specific publication's target market, the texts analysed with the birthing women as topic, all took place in this regional area and describe poor state health-care services received at government hospitals in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth.

Die Burger (Oos-Kaap) is part of the mainstream news media that plays a role in normalising and naturalising particular discourses in society through mediated news texts. While I limit my research to this publication for practical purposes, such coverage relating to women, birthing and these biological processes arguably is not limited to one publication, as the news media tend to function similarly (Fourie, 2001) as an institution. Another Eastern Cape daily newspaper, *Daily Dispatch*, won three of what is considered to be the most prestigious journalism awards¹ in the country for its coverage of the death of newborn infants at an East London state hospital, Frere Hospital, due to alleged negligence at the government health-care facility. The articles "sparked a national debate on the state of the health system and neonatal care" (Van Zyl, 2008) in the country.

Theoretical framework

This type of journalism as critic or watchdog of the government is defined as one of the normative theories of the press (Christian, 2009). The media fulfils a monitorial role (Christians et al, 2009) by holding state authorities accountable with the publication of certain information and serving the interest of "the public as receivers" (Christians et al, 2009: 31) of this information. The media is assumed to be independent from all government institutions

¹ *Daily Dispatch* won the 2007 Mondi Shanduka Award for Investigative Journalism and the 2007 Taco Kuiper Award for Investigative Journalism for the articles on the infant deaths at Frere Hospital. The judges of the Vodacom Journalist of the Year Award, who awarded the *Daily Dispatch* the overall prize as SA's Journalist of the Year for 2008, said the particular articles "held those in power accountable" (Van Zyl, 2008).

and interest groups: the news media assumes the role of the “the eyes and ears of a public that could not see and hear for itself – or indeed, talk to itself” (Carey, 1993: 14). *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* belongs to a well-established news media group that institutionally adds credibility not only to the publication but also to the representations in it. The nature of the news media institution itself often leads to hegemony: “the more the realism of a text is being accepted by audiences the less they are likely to question the representations it offers and the more these representations will seem natural” (Newbold, 1989: 262). My research identifies these hegemonic representations of the birthing women as a constructed reality.

A concern with the news media’s role in circulating certain naturalised ‘truths’ is characteristic of a cultural studies approach to the media (Fiske, 1987). Culture is not understood as homogenous, but characterised by social contestation to fix meaning (Hall, 1997). Poststructuralist cultural studies argue that power is in constant flux and the news media has the ability to define and redefine meanings in society (Storey, 1998). Institutions such as the news media tend to reinforce certain discourses and their truth-value within a specific historical moment in time, but as Van Zoonen notes, discourse is “never univocal or total, but ambiguous and contradictory; a site of conflict and contestation” (1994: 33). From this perspective, news production is understood as a discursive practice that can either reinforce or challenge power relations.

The normative role of the liberal news media has been understood as a monitorial role that holds public figures and institutions accountable to the broad community (Curran, 1991; Janowitz, 1975; Christians et al, 2009). However, the commercial news media also responds to economic imperatives resulting in various strategies to draw high readership figures. Increasing amounts of sensationalised or titillating copy has been identified as a strategy to increase readership and in so doing tends to reproduce hegemonic discourses with reference to gender, race and class (Bertelsen, 1998; Carter; 1998). My research is concerned with how gendered power relations and the economics of news production shape the representations of birthing women in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*, and how the texts reinforce hegemonic power relations in society.

As these are news articles created by a mainstream newspaper such as *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*, the influence of journalistic practices and the production processes on the construction of the birthing women is an important factor in the analysis of these texts. The theoretical position I adopt in terms of the media aims to make visible the constructed nature of

journalistic practices and how these processes influence news production within the texts. *Die Burger* is a mainstream newspaper that makes use of conventional journalistic practices such as news value, gate-keeping, pressures of deadlines, objectivity and accountability. These are all constituent of the normative theory of the liberal press in media sociology (Janowitz, 1975). An important element of the liberal press for the purposes of my study is holding the powerful, especially government or state entities, accountable by making information public in the news media. The news media's monitorial role (Christians et al, 2009) is paradoxical in the sense that it can reveal abuses in the exercise of state authority but also use this role as an "excuse for the practice of publicity" (Carey, 1993: 15).

1.4.2 Situational context

Exposing poor/ negligent state health-care has become a recurrent topic in the country's news media. It is lower-income families in particular who cannot afford private medical health services who have experienced this apparently poor service delivery which has led to tragedies such as the events depicted in the scope of news texts I analysed: miscarriages, death of infants, death of mothers, mix-up of babies, etc. (Maleka, 2008; Potgieter, 2008; Shaw, 2008, Silke, 2006; Claassen, 2004). In the texts the women discussed are identified as coming from lower-income socio-economic environments living in formerly racially segregated parts of the Metro. They are therefore predominantly dependent upon government healthcare services at clinics and government hospitals for all their health-care needs.

Dora Nginza Hospital in Port Elizabeth, the government hospital that has a jurisdiction to handle maternity cases in the Metro, is referred to in several of the texts I examine about the birthing women. According to Sapa (2007) matters have deteriorated so much at Dora Nginza Hospital that the nurse-patient ratio was one to 90 in 2007. During a briefing of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) in August 2007 Dr Fred Rank, clinical governance head of the Port Elizabeth hospital complex, is quoted as saying that the situation has reached crisis proportions: "Medical staff often doubled as porters and cleaners because the hospital was so short-staffed" (Sapa, 2007).

Problems experienced at other hospitals in PE have similarly been attributed to staff shortages by Dr Lumalile Jamjam, Chief Executive Manager of the Dora Nginza, Livingstone and Provincial hospitals in Port Elizabeth in a previous news article (News 24, 2005). Dora Nginza Hospital treated about 1 000 patients per day in 2005 and had a 40% shortage in

nurses (*Die Burger*, 2005). In September 2008, at least two separate civil cases were won by mothers who sued the Eastern Cape Department of Health and Dora Nginza Hospital for cases of negligence that occurred in 2005 which caused death and brain damage to two babies treated at the hospital (Shaw, 2008). From the above media texts the situation between 2004 and 2007, the time-frame in which the scope of my researched texts were created, was a trying period for public health-care in at least the area of the Nelson Mandela Bay. Women from lower-income families who could not afford private hospitals had no other choice but to be admitted to the Dora Nginza Hospital for maternity-related cases.

1.4.3 Societal context

As the texts in question mostly depict poor or working class and generally black women, it is necessary to consider the issues of gender, class and race in my study. My research has a strong gender component and draws on poststructuralist feminist theory which conceptualises gender as socially constructed (Van Zoonen, 1994; Weedon, 1997) and therefore to be understood as a discursive construct which varies in relation to its cultural and historical context. Connell (1987) conceives of patriarchal power relations as a gender order and an important determinant of the subjectivity of women and men. That which is construed as 'feminine' is constructed as being 'other' and subordinate (but complementary) to the 'masculine' in patriarchal societies. The female body is frequently at the centre of contesting discourses, not only in terms of gender, but also in terms of ethnicity and class, as gender cannot be analysed in isolation from discourses of race and class (hooks, 2000). This approach disallows the reduction of women's subjectivity to their sexuality (Weedon, 1997) and is of particular relevance in relation to this study's focus on birthing, a biological act that normally leads to a woman entering the socially constructed role of 'mother'. Motherhood, rather than simply being a product of biology, is viewed as existing in a dialectic relationship with the socio-culturally contextualised conceptions of how women are defined in terms of their reproductive functions (Glenn, 1994).

The poststructuralist feminist position holds that subjectivities are constructed through powerful discourses (including patriarchy) and that these are also inscribed in news media texts and are at play in sites of news production and the social world. The news media have been critiqued for their tendency to report on women and their bodies as objects of sensationalism/ publicity by constructing them one-dimensionally in terms of their reproductive functions (Van Zoonen, 1994). The focus of my analysis is on how birthing,

conventionally placed within the private sphere of motherhood, has now become newsworthy. The constructions of birthing women in the news have brought them visibility within what Habermas described as the public sphere (Habermas, 2004). The public sphere “mediates between society and state” (Habermas, 2004: 351) where public opinion is formed. As an extension of the public sphere, the news media are seen as mediators and promoters of the public good. Feminist scholars such as Nancy Fraser (1990) have critiqued Habermas’ conceptualisation as one that is excluding of women, the working class and other marginalised social groupings. Informed by this critique of the public sphere my research sets out to scrutinise the representations of birthing women and to question the politics of the inclusion of this normally private dimension in public discourse.

Race

Recent South African history has become synonymous with the ideology of apartheid, which “was founded on various racially based myths” (Fourie, 2001: 476). Race was used to discriminate against and privilege racial groups in the country. In apartheid times newspapers sometimes were criticised for focusing on black people “as criminals and barbaric” (Fourie, 2001: 477). Despite apartheid officially ending in 1994 with the change of government, racial stereotyping still occurs in the SA cultural context today, even in such a public space as the news media. My research explores the role of race in the representations of the birthing women, based on the knowledge that the news media today still often stands accused of more subtle racist discourse despite the birth of democracy and equal race relations in the country. As my research proves later, some of the studied texts represent the black mothers and their biological birthing processes in a covertly racially loaded manner. The discourse of race has a strong presence in these texts, particularly when describing the “primitive” birthing processes.

Gender

Patriarchal or gender discourse, similar to race, is still inscribed in the public domain of the South African news media today. This despite the fact that when the new government came into power in 1994, women’s rights became one of the priorities in terms of eradicating inequalities in the country (Fourie, 2001: 406). The constitution contains clauses to protect and guard women against sexual harassment, gender-based violence and discrimination. The ethical code of *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* also advocates that journalists should practice fairness in their reporting by not representing women as victims (Claassen, 2002). These ideals of

non-discrimination on the basis of gender, however, fail to materialise in practice with the depiction of motherhood and birthing in the some of the texts within the scope of my research. In the remaining chapters of this study, I will show how the birthing women are represented as victims, their voices silenced or overshadowed by more powerful individuals (Claassen, 2004) and how their intimate birthing experiences become biological news items.

Class

The birthing women represented in the texts come from the lower-income South African sector of society (as determined by the women's demographical identities in the "Who?" section above). Media critiques argue that the interests of the powerful elite can be seen as operating through the mainstream media by reproducing the current social climate and normalising the division between rich and poor. Language is used in newspapers to naturalise this inequality and neutralise dissent (Richardson, 2007: 6). My research explores the contrast between the more powerful working class individuals in the texts (e.g. employers, doctors, media practitioners and lawyers) and the vulnerable lower-class birthing women within a seemingly naturalised hierarchy. In exploring how people are "defined by their relationship to the mode of production" (Richardson, 2007: 3), I find that the women are represented as victims compared to the active role taken on by the working class characters, particularly the heroic media practitioner.

1.5 How?

This study takes the form of qualitative research that employs critical discourse analysis (CDA) to undertake textual analysis. Rich data is achieved with an interpretative approach to the texts being studied in order to locate them socio-culturally and give a "thick description" (Henning, 2004: 6) of the research phenomenon. A qualitative approach is chosen because it enables the researcher to make interpretative links between the three dimensions of a critical discourse analysis (CDA). I chose CDA as my method of analysis as it allows me to peel away the layered discourses in the texts and locate them in terms of power inequalities within the socio-cultural environment.

My research sample consists of a selection of news articles dealing with birthing mothers in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* printed between 2004 and 2007. I established the selection by doing a word search e.g. "geboorte" (birth), "baba" (baby), and "ma" (mother) in the electronic archives of *Die Burger*. I refined my search according to the theme of women giving birth

under unusual circumstances at state health-care facilities in the Eastern Cape. I made use of the qualitative typical-case purposeful sampling technique (Deacon, 1999) to identify a total of 15 texts in Afrikaans, nine of which were translated on the media24 news website, *news24.com*. Due to accessibility, the translated texts form the focus of my analysis while I will reference the Afrikaans texts where relevant.

The analysis of the sample using CDA incorporates the three dimensions that are associated with this approach and method: “text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice” (Fairclough, 1995: 59). These dimensions are included in my research firstly by undertaking critical textual analysis (the primary focus); secondly by positioning these textual findings with reference to production and reception practices; and thirdly contextualising them within the broad socio-cultural context – with specific reference to class, race, and gender. My actual textual analysis draws eclectically on several analytical tools e.g. intertextuality (Fiske, 1987 and Bell, 1994), semiotic (Richardson, 2007 and Deacon, 1999) and narrative analysis - making use of the narrative theories of Todorov, Propp (Fiske, 1987) and Labov & Waletzky (Bell, 1994); Thompson’s modes of ideology (Janks, 1998 and Thompson, 1990); as well as Halliday’s checklist for linguistic analysis and the system of transitivity (Janks, 1997). This eclectic CDA approach has been effectively used by other scholars (Janks, 1997 & 1998; Prinsloo, 1999; Prinsloo, 2009; Thetela, 2002) to determine a deeper insight into taken-for-granted texts and linking these to hegemonic discourses in the socio-cultural environment.

1.6 So what?

The question “so what?” is on occasion informally added to the formula of a tradition news article by savvy news editors – referring towards the relevance of the news item after all the essential components (who, what, where, when, why and how) have been established. I end off this introductory chapter by giving a synopsis of why I think this thesis is relevant to the field of journalism and media studies today. My research involves a tight focus (birthing) over a three-year period of publication in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*. The unusual topic of birthing allows me to ask uncomfortable questions with regard to race, gender and class in the socio-cultural environment in which the texts were created. In analysing the representations of the birthing women as abject objects of scrutiny, the monitorial role of the media as institution in terms of established journalistic practices and production processes comes under the spotlight. In doing so, this research aims to improve the manner in which women and their bodies are reported on within the news industry.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This research addresses the question of how birthing mothers were represented in *Die Burger* (*Oos-Kaap*) over a three-year period from 2004 to 2007 and considers critically the relationship of these representations to institutional practices. This implies a multiple focus on representation, identity and journalistic practices and requires a constructivist framework. Therefore I draw on theories of poststructuralism and feminism, which I discuss in this chapter. In addition, I briefly discuss issues of race and class as these are relevant to the texts analysed. Finally, I conclude with a look at the media's monitorial role as institution within the constructedness of the normative theory of the liberal press.

2.1 Poststructuralism

The constructivist approach to representation (Hall, 1997) draws on a poststructuralist theory. It views mental concepts and language as arbitrarily *constructed* and meaning as dependent on other meanings in a classifying system or shared cultural map (Hall, 1997: 17). The representations of the birthing women therefore are constructs which are dependent on the cultural map in which they were produced. Language, and therefore also the newspaper texts about the birthing women, is not a mirror of the real world but a construct that is socially produced through accepted codes and social practices, for example the journalistic conventions of the media as an institution. The French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault was particularly concerned with these social practices and institutions. His focus was on questions of power which influenced the construction of meaning and his theory identified a system of exclusion within language (Foucault, 1972).

Central elements of the poststructuralist understanding include discourse, knowledge/ power, subjectivity and institutions, which I will continue to discuss briefly. The term 'discourse', in this frame, is not simply a linguistic concept but rather "the production of knowledge through language" (Hall, 1997: 44) at a specific historical moment in time. Discourse constructs the objects/ subjects in a discursive approach and produces knowledge about them as well as rules which govern socially acceptable ways of talking about them. A subject is constructed within discourse and "knowledge and practices around *all* these subjects, Foucault argued, were historically and culturally specific" (Hall, 1997: 47).

In order to produce knowledge, concepts, strategies and subjects constituted within discourses, power becomes the key to legitimise these knowledge claims. What counts as knowledge is located *within* discourse:

all knowledge, all talk, all argument takes place within a discursive context through which experience comes to have, not only meaning for its participants, but shared and communicative meaning within social relations (Purvis & Hunt, 1993: 492).

The knowledge claims of any historically specific discourse become a potential site of contestation in relation to the definition of truth – it is a contestation over the power to define (Hall, 1997: 43). Power operates to produce discursive rules and practices which constitute or produce the discursive subject (Weedon, 1997: 110). In this way discourse delineates the parameters which direct and limit the actions, subjectivity and voices through the power of knowledge about what is acceptable ways of being and acting within a discourse.

When dealing with representations such as the birthing women in *Die Burger*, the concept of discourse is central since it is productive of the power of temporarily fixing meaning to the subjects/ objects that are constructed. Poststructuralism allows for the analysis of how discursive power is exercised through discourse and the possibilities of change it might enable (Weedon, 1997: 19). Importantly, there are always contesting discourses at any moment in any discursive space. Meaning is understood thus as temporary, unstable and can change depending on whoever holds the power of knowledge production about certain subjects (Hall, 1997). New ways of defining knowledge and subjects arise in later discourses as a result of discursive contestation depending on who is assumed to speak with authority.

Discourse needs to be viewed not as a negative expression only; it can also be productive since power “produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth” (Storey, 1998: 97). Even though discourses represent political interests which is associated with status, repression and power (Weedon, 1997), alternative discourses similarly produce a diverse reality with differing knowledge about subjects within the dominant discourse. Power in the discursive approach to representation can therefore “never [be] monopolised by one centre” (Hall, 1997: 49) and power enters the subject in a natural “capillary movement” (Hall, 1997: 50). Government, for example, exercise power over an ordinary subject in what seems to be a *natural* way but an anarchist is able to resist this power and constitute a contesting discourse.

Knowledge therefore operates powerfully in producing the practices and positions of the subjects within discourses and “[w]hat falls outside an already existing consensus is hard to make sense of, except as ‘otherness’ or ‘deviance’” (Van Zoonen, 1994: 38). Discursive power produces knowledge of “definition and exclusion” (Storey, 1998: 96) of subjects. The constructed, socially produced subjectivity within a discourse can either confirm or deny the existence of subjects:

Subjectivity is produced in a whole range of discursive practices – economic, social and political – the meanings of which are a constant site of struggle over power (Weedon, 1997: 21).

The battle for power takes place within this field of subjectivity with the individual participating as an “active protagonist” (Weedon, 1997: 40) in the production of discourses which the subjects either conforms or rejects. The body is therefore placed “at the centre of the struggle between different formations of power/knowledge” (Hall, 1997: 50). The concept that the subject is *produced within discourse* “is one of Foucault’s most radical propositions” (Hall, 1997: 55).

Poststructuralism thus rejects the Enlightenment notion of the unified subject with a cohesive sense of identity (Weedon, 1997). The conceptualisation of an essential subjectivity is disallowed by decentering the subject as one of many constructs which have meaning only when produced in the discursive space where knowledge (truth) claims are made about it. Rather, a subjectivity is proposed which “is precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse” (Weedon, 1997: 32). Even though the subject is “always the site of conflicting forms of subjectivity” (Weedon, 1997: 32), discourses will only become meaningful to the subjects of the discourse through them being constituted within that discourse and consenting to the knowledge claims and practices validated. The subjectivities normalised through discourse are endorsed through the power of the knowledge claims and discursive practices.

An important aspect of Foucault’s theory is the body. It becomes “the screen on which the well-launched dramas of power and anxiety are projected” (Connell, 1987: 82) - a struggle over subject positioning that takes place on a daily basis in our socio-cultural environment. The subject position of the discursive approach entails that one can only meaningfully understand a discourse by placing oneself into the position of the subject. The subject can either submit or oppose a discourse, but her body is ultimately subjected to the power

produced by knowledge about her. Ways of defining the subject within a discursive contestation depends on who is assumed to speak with authority. In a patriarchal discourse, a woman's body is defined by her subjectivity as a "lesser" or "weaker" subject to her male counterpart. Her identity is therefore produced in the discourse of patriarchy and she either consents or opposes this repressive definition of her subjectivity.

The production of knowledge is inextricably linked to relations of power because discourse regulates the social conduct and practices of subjects. Power operates within institutional (i.e. government, schools, churches, media) apparatuses and its technologies i.e. the methods and techniques used to uphold discourses at these institutions onto the subjects (Hall, 1997: 47). Particular discourses are at play within many institutionalised discursive spaces, such as the newsroom, which regulates the conduct of journalists. My research focuses on gender, race and class manifested in the representation of the birthing women in *Die Burger*, and refer to the production process and technologies of the newspaper as a media institution. I deal with the media's role as institution and the constructedness of the normative theory of the liberal press in more detail at the end of this chapter. I continue with a discussion of poststructuralism and feminist practice.

2.2 Poststructuralism and feminist practice

Feminist theory informs the critical analysis of the texts I undertake. While there are several feminisms or feminist paradigms, they all identify patriarchy as working to the subordination of women within society. Consequently, both feminist theory and research seek to "make intellectual sense of, and then to critique, the subordination of women to men" (Cudd, 2005: 1). Patriarchal power relations have been described as functioning within a specific 'gender order' (Connell, 1987) where the masculine is constructed as powerful, rational and physical and the feminine is constructed as passive, emotional and weak. Gender roles and attributes are organised around perceived differences between the sexes. Moreover masculine hegemony, in its dominance, is dependent on emphasised femininities (Glenn, 1994), including as objects of sex and desire, motherhood and the family. Representations of women in the mainstream media are often as sex objects, but the less objected representations are also that of emphasised motherhood and the carer/ nurturer role of women in the family.

The aim of my research is to investigate if and how patriarchal discourses frame the sample texts of my study. I identify and critique how naturalised or common sense perceptions of

patriarchy are either reinforced or represented differently in the texts and situate them within the context of the production process. As noted above, the common focus of feminisms is patriarchy and the patriarchal structure of society with its inherent dichotomy of women being treated and represented as inferior to men. Not only is this “one of the most powerful aspects of common-sense thinking, but it is a way of understanding social relations which denies history and the possibility of change for the future” (Weedon, 1997: 3). At the heart of the diverse and contested field of feminism is a united cause to bring about change for future generations of women by contesting patriarchy and contributing to the emancipation of women through exposing practices of prejudice and discriminatory definitions of women (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004) and so enabling redefinitions.

The poststructuralist feminist approach argues that women (and men) are constituted as particular gendered subjects within patriarchal discourses of the society in which they live. This position rejects an essentialist or biological explanation for gendered differences. To act as a ‘woman’ is not considered an essential or natural role that is biologically determined but a social construct, infused by discourses present in society (Glenn, 1994). The emphasis on women’s role in the family and their reproductive functions (birthing and motherhood) as the basis of their subjectivity reduces women to a version of their sexuality (Weedon, 1997). It is argued that the so-called natural differences are “fundamentally mistaken” (Connell, 1987: 67) since the biology of our bodies does not determine the basis of our social relations of gender - social practice and institutionalised hegemony affect this in powerful ways. Gendered discourses are not the only discourses that constitute such subjects as women (and men) in society. Other discourses e.g. race, class, geography, etc. can reinforce and contest the hegemonic gender discourse.

Even though discourse seeks to restrict and naturalise certain ways of thinking, being and acting, it can also be resisted and subverted (Van Zoonen, 1994). This applies to feminisms which oppose patriarchal discourses and the gender identities it proposes and normalises, including the tendency to identify women in restricted ways such as in terms of their reproductive functions. A poststructuralist feminist approach allows the researcher to identify the discourses inscribed in the texts. It functions as “implicit assumptions in texts” (Fairclough, 1995: 14) and a poststructuralist feminist approach can seek to identify, deconstruct and contextualise these discourses. Discourses like patriarchy are unmasked as ‘truths’ which are produced by those who have the power to produce meaning about subjects

in a specific socio-historical environment. According to Weedon, poststructuralism is not the answer to all feminist questions (1997: 19) but offers a useful theoretical position for “conceptualising the relationship between language, social institutions and individual consciousness” (1997: 19).

Such a poststructuralist or discursive approach (as I have described above) provides a useful approach from which to identify and critique patriarchy. The knowledge claims of patriarchal discourse operate powerfully to produce women as ‘other’ to men, an otherness that is constructed as inferior to their male counterpart. This is achieved through the construction of binary opposed attributes such as male/ female; strong/ weak; rational/ emotional; powerful/ weak; and public/ private, a discourse in which ‘female’ becomes the lesser to desirable male attributes. These seemingly all-pervasive (Cudd, 2005) knowledge claims are so deeply entrenched in the social fabric of life, that this structuring of power relations and the attendant practices and subject positions are not only accepted by men but also by women - the so-called subjects produced within the discourse of patriarchy. Many women arguably consent and collude their own oppression (Cudd, 2005) within the hegemonic gender order.

The poststructuralist feminist position is considered the most appropriate theoretical position from which the analysis of the representation of the birthing mothers in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* can be undertaken. This theoretical position enables me to locate the birthing women historically and socially and draws attention to the importance of contextualisation and agency (Glenn, 1994) in the hegemonic representations of women. In terms of the theme of birthing in the texts, a woman’s identity may be constructed as primary nurturer of children in the nuclear family in line with her initial biological ability to give birth. She is therefore constituted exclusively as mother due to the hegemonic discourse of patriarchy. In the discourse of patriarchy the father is attributed a minor role in the labour of childcare. The mother is effectively placed within the private sphere while the father takes his place in the public sphere.

Subjectivity, and therefore gendered subjectivity, is understood within this framework as socially produced in relation to discourses that are variously hegemonic or marginal and in contestation in the news media and other institutions in our cultural environment. However, since this knowledge about the role of fathers and mothers in hegemonic society is determined only by the power relationship which constitutes it as a ‘truth’, alternative discourses can exist with a power shift and redefinition of the gender roles. The subjectivities

of the women within a patriarchal discourse can be identified, deconstructed and resisted with the poststructuralist feminist position.

Gender order

Poststructuralism displaces the assumption that most differentiations between men and women are because of their biological differences. A poststructuralist feminist position asserts that while the term 'sex' refers to the physiological difference between men and women, 'gender' refers to the cultural attributes assigned to the different sexes (Newbold, 1989). The hegemonic differences between men and women are viewed as not biologically determined but rather products of culture (Cudd, 2005). Common-sense assumptions about the differentiation between 'male' and 'female' are culturally constructed and informed by dominant patriarchal discourses in society. Attributing rationality, strength and assertiveness to men and not women is determined by powerful discourse rather than being 'natural' or biological gender distinctions. The naturalised manner in which these gender identities operate in everyday life, and so also in the media, is proof of how gender discourse "structures material and symbolic worlds and our experience of them" (Van Zoonen, 1994:3).

Patriarchal discourse constructs and contains the 'truth' claim that favours masculinity over femininity by making normal the gendered social practices or social identities (Weedon, 1997) of the subjects constituted within the discourse. Patriarchal power is based on this "gender order" (Connell, 1987) that creates categories of inclusion and exclusion: masculinity is constructed as the rational, powerful and public subject position while femininity is constructed as emotional, dependent and private. These "emphasized femininities" (Connell, 1987) become the binary opposite of "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell, 1987) present in a society where patriarchy is the dominant discourse. The validated gendered roles of what is considered masculine and feminine are naturalised as 'truth' within a society but poststructuralism provides a way of explaining resistance as a contesting discourse - an alternative feminist discourse can exist to resist these subjectivities.

Motherhood

Reproduction is considered by some to be the "absolute basis of gender and sexuality in everyday life" (Connell, 1987: 66). Motherhood, like gender, is a social construct born from within a long-standing patriarchal history of gender dominance. Women are frequently defined and then evaluated in terms of their reproductive functions and even children become

the subjects of the gender discourse before they are even capable of reproducing (Connell, 1987). Being born a girl or a boy ensures that one is inserted into the gender order of the family and societal institutions. Practices include choice of toys such as girls being given baby dolls (surrogate babies) that proposes, naturalises and reinforces this gendered role of motherhood. Glenn describes mothering “as a historically and culturally variable relationship in which one individual nurtures and cares for another” (1994: 3). Within the dominant gender order, motherhood or mothering is a social construct upheld by both men and women in culturally and historically specific situations and is not a natural biological phenomenon like birthing and reproduction.

Mothering is identified by Glenn as the aspect of gender that “has been subject to essentialist interpretation: seen as natural, universal, and unchanging” (1994: 3) the most. The reproductive division of men and women is the basis of this patriarchal discourse of emphasized femininity. The identity of ‘woman’ is conflated with that of ‘mother’ (Glenn, 1994) in patriarchal discourse. By producing motherhood as natural and the essence of femininity, patriarchy “locks women into biological reproduction, and denies them identities of selfhood outside of mothering” (Glenn, 1994: 9). This monolith is constantly being challenged by alternative feminist discourses in which reproduction and the role of the nurturer are redefined with alternative representations of motherhood and mothering.

2.3 ‘Other’ identities

A multitude of discourses is present in the texts of the birthing mothers depicted in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*. For the purposes of my research, I focus on gender but discourses of race and class are repeated refrains in the texts reporting on the birthing women. While the analysis adopts a poststructuralist feminist approach, gender discourse frequently implicates race and class. Postcolonial theorists have warned against the “dangers of ignoring race and class differences while concentrating on gender” (Gross, 1998: 89) only. Particularly in the South African context, race and class discourses are inextricably linked in the fibre of the cultural-historical context in which subjectivities and knowledge about subjects are formed. These discourses are articulated in the construction of the birthing women within the texts. I briefly look at race and class as discourses present in the texts and conclude by pointing out the prevailing prejudice towards HIV in some of the texts linked to these identity positions.

The different ways of experiencing motherhood or gender oppression is a significant divider between working class white mothers and poor black mothers. Their racial and economic positions create different struggles for mothers: poor black mothers are often concerned with their children's right to exist and their importance of survival in contrast to higher-income white mothers (Glenn, 1994). In the texts studied, the birthing women were struggling for their own and their babies' survival and the struggles were not always successful (Claassen, 2004; Silke, 2006; Shaw, 2008; Potgieter, 2008). Like gender, race and class, cultural constructs are determined by discursive practices and their power to define and constitute subjects in those discourses in their socio-historical contexts. These subjects are 'governed' (Hall, 1997) by certain truth or knowledge claims, often implicitly about white superiority within the racial discourse. An alternative non-racist discourse, where the lives of both white and black children are of equal importance, provides the converse to the racial discourse.

Colonial discourse analysis and post-colonial theory essentially "critiques the process of production of knowledge about the Other" (Williams & Chrisman, 1994: 8). As with the gender order, racial discourse is based on classification and subsequent exclusion and inclusion of 'us' (dominant social grouping) and 'them' (the Other). Racist discourse governs these constructed subjectivities with the "ability to define, through the power of conquest, the control of knowledge, and the framing of meanings" (Rakow, 2004: 205). The discourse of race therefore works on the shared social representation of public opinion (Van Dijk, 1998). The Other is predominantly represented as a deviant to the accepted norms and values of the dominant group, for example the exotic, sexually promiscuous manner in which the Other woman is often represented and viewed in a racist, sexist discursive context. The ethnic or biological differences are emphasised in a racist discourse often from the perspective of "supremacist derogation stressing the Other's intellectual, moral and biological inferiority" (Van Dijk, 1998).

In news media the subjectivity of being 'black' can be constructed as the 'Other' with various lexical, metaphorical and intertextual choices (Thetela, 2001). In the case of the representation of the birthing women in my scope of research, several of the studied texts construct the black women as the Other. However, instead of being sexualised as the exotic and desirable women of colour, these women are represented as 'savage' or 'barbaric' as opposed to the 'civilised' white subjectivities with whom they are contrasted. The representation of the birthing women as animal-like when describing their biological

processes of birthing and other actions in the texts, is found on the negative emphasis on “stereotypes of savagery” (Bhabha, 1994: 72) when constructing the Other. It can be linked to portrayals of “barbarism” (Dines, 2003: 21) and is based on the powerful construct around race that black people are essentially primitive and close to nature (Dines, 2003: 22). Despite a multitude of other racial stereotypical assumptions which are culturally and institutionally ingrained in the news media (Ferguson, 1998), my focus is on the construction of the ‘savage’ vs. ‘civilised’ in the texts.

These misconceptions of race are not ethnically determined but rather culturally constructed, which works powerfully to naturalise racial discourse and definitions of groups in society today (Dines, 2003). This can take place with overt racism - “openly racist arguments or advancing racist policy” (Dines, 2003: 20) or inferential racism - “apparently naturalized representations of events and situations relating to race, whether ‘factual’ or ‘fictional’, which have racist premises and propositions inscribed in them as a set of *unquestionable assumptions*” (Dines, 2003: 20). The inferential racist discourse operates powerfully in many news reports, which reproduce the hegemonic racial discourse of the socio-cultural context in which the texts were created. News ethics, institutional practices and government legislation generally manage to guard against overt racism in the media but it is more difficult to identify and act against inferential racism in media texts since this type of racism is so pervasive and naturalised in various social spaces.

As mentioned earlier, their positioning in society in terms of gender, race and class had forced the birthing women in the texts into a fight for survival for themselves and their babies. This is a common theme among poor, working class women. Connell argues that “discrimination against women in forms like less food and less medical attention is operating at a level where life is at stake” (1987: 108). My research is concerned with the subjects of the life and death battle over medical attention on the part of poor, working-class women. The birthing women are constructed in the texts as dependent on state health-care because of their position in the class system of the South African context (See Chapter One for a discussion on the women’s social status). The news media proposes to act on behalf of these women for the campaigning of better state health-care, but the newspaper’s position as an economic entity within a capitalist frame cannot be ignored.

It is necessary to include class as analytical category discourse because the working class or unemployed status of the women are depicted as natural or at least not problematised in the

texts. Class refers to “categories based on the economic resources of different groups of people in a given society, and the social and cultural arrangements that stem from this division” (Berger, 1995: 47). The economic and social division leads to the establishment of a ruling class or elite, who owns the means of production, and the working class, who experience themselves as commodities (Berger, 1995: 50). The birthing women’s working class subjectivities are produced within the discourse of capitalism in the texts due to the mainstream news media’s ownership of knowledge production. As with race and gender, the class differences between individuals in a capitalist society are naturalised.

The discourse of capitalism occurs at a textual level as is demonstrated in the ways in which the women’s working class statuses are identified and depicted, but the economic order of capitalism operates also at a production level where commercial imperatives represent the women in sensational ways and so commoditise the women in the media texts. The news media produces visceral representations of the birthing women and so articulates discourses of gender, race and class. Therefore, the body of the ‘Other’ becomes an object of commoditisation (Van Dijk, 1998). The economic purpose of making a profit becomes an important factor in the production of news texts. Murdock identifies this tension between consumerism and the exercise of citizenship, “the pursuit of equality and fraternity as well as of individual liberty” (1992: 19), as the natural order of the rise of mass communication and mass democracy in the modern capitalist society.

HIV as a discriminatory epidemic is another important discourse in several of the texts studied (Van Staaden, 2005; Currie, 2006; Silke, 2006). The representation of HIV as a disease of shame is done through negative and discriminatory references in the texts to the subjects identified as HIV positive, who are depicted as the Other. The representations of illness and HIV are vehemently criticised by Sontag as “metaphors and myths” (1991: 99) which she wishes to be liberated from. As (in Sontag’s language) the ‘myths’ surrounding HIV in these texts are closely linked to discourses of race and class, I briefly discuss HIV as discourse of stigmatisation in relation to the subjectivities of race and class in the South African context. The medical condition known as AIDS is the last of three stages (Sontag, 1991: 102) of the disease. The first stage is “infection with a human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)” (Sontag, 1991: 107), which is the stage of the disease that is dealt with in the texts. Stage 2 refers to the asymptomatic stage where people can live with the virus for years before their immune system becomes affected.

Some researchers believe the associated stigma, discrimination and denial “is as central to the global AIDS challenge as the disease itself” (Aggleton, 2002:1). HIV/ AIDS has been associated with death, horror, punishment, guilt, shame and otherness which reinforce and legitimise the stigmatisation and discrimination of people who have the disease (Aggleton, 2002: 1). Exclusion and ostracizing within the discourse become the result of the binary opposition between ‘them’ (the Other) and ‘us’ – those with and without the disease. HIV/AIDS is seen as a life-threatening illness that people are afraid of contracting and associate with shame and death. The discourse of discrimination associated with the epidemic is reinforced by the perception that HIV/AIDS as a disease affects ‘the Other’ - especially those who are already stigmatized because of their race or socioeconomic status (Aggleton, 2002:3).

HIV is therefore inextricably linked to dominant discourses of race and class within the South African society: HIV is hegemonically associated with the poor and, as Sontag noted in her discussions, “people with darker skins” (Sontag, 1991: 113). This construction is not only based on dubious accounts in which HIV is said to have originated in Africa and is linked to animalism (Sontag, 1991: 137, 138), but it is also evidence of the deeply permeated discourse of race with the “racist assumptions about ‘African sexuality’” (Aggleton, 2002: 2). Because HIV has developed during a period of rapid globalization and growing polarization between rich and poor, the stigmatisation of associating HIV with the poor has led to a situation where “poverty increases vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, and HIV/AIDS exacerbates poverty” (Aggleton, 2002: 2). In Africa, HIV is a heterosexual disease compared to the association of the disease with homosexuality in the northern countries, such as the United States of America. However, omitted from this discourse is that no one is immune to HIV – it prevails across the social spectrum.

2.4 News production, discourse practice and discursive strategies

As this research is concerned with news reports of birthing women, I turn to considering the institutional dimension of news production from a critical perspective in relation to how newspapers may be implicated in the production and reproduction of social inequalities pertaining to certain gender, race and class discourses. According to Richardson, a text cannot be researched in isolation from the institution in which it was produced. He refers particularly to news when analysing “the continuing existence of prejudice and social inequalities without reference to the formative influence of journalism” (2007: 1). The

normative theory of the liberal press in media sociology is a widely theorised field that considers the context of democratic public discourse. In considering my research question, the complex relationship between public discourse, democracy and the media can best be understood when defining the media as actor or “participant” (Christians et al, 2009) in this democratic society.

My research is particularly concerned with the media’s ability to become an instrument of social action or change by not simply reflecting and observing events but acting as a critic or watchdog in the interest of the public. Therefore the monitorial role of the media as that of “vigilant informer” (Christians et al, 2009: 30) is most appropriate for my research purposes. Despite the wide terrain of the media’s information function within the monitorial role, a particular characteristic of the monitorial role involves social consciousness that overlaps with the facilitative role of the media. The facilitative role of the media is defined as supporting and strengthening civil society (Christians et al, 2009) and involves institutional values of integrity, credibility and independence. The media’s role within the normative theory of the liberal press is determined by its “degree of participation as actors in political and social events” (Christians et al, 2009: 32). In practice the monitorial role is, however, vulnerable to numerous failures (Christians et al, 2009: 156), as my research reveals in terms of the reproduction of discourses of race, gender and class.

By identifying these discourses within the institutional boundaries of the normative theory of the liberal press, my approach to the news media is informed by poststructuralist understandings towards the production of knowledge (Hall, 1997). The news media operates from within specific institutional boundaries and employ certain normalised conventions. The media practitioner is not only the subject of institutionalised news media discourse but also the possible subject of the hegemonic discourses relating to race, gender and class that prevail in the particular socio-cultural environment. It is considered important to analyse all levels of power and knowledge production to fully contextualise a news text for research purposes (Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2007; Janks, 1997). Even though news representations are created by journalists and/or editors in the media, discourses are not the product of individual consciousness or intention - rather we formulate our intentions *within* discourse (Dines, 2003: 19). The choice to represent the birthing women in the texts, for example, in a racist or patriarchal manner is therefore a reinforcement of hegemonic power relations in the socio-historical environment and not the individual intention of the news producer. On an

institutional level, media discourse produces the ‘objects’ of knowledge in their discursive regime.

News discourse is characterised by an institutionalised system and the values upon which it is based, which commonly shares certain production techniques and professional practices (Richardson, 2007:77). This encompasses a wide field of institutionalised journalistic practices, which contradict one another in terms of the organisational and professional values of journalism. According to Richardson, journalists are constantly torn between the “economic values of the market” (2007:82) and their self-regulatory code of ethics. I continue to briefly consider the professional values concerning the media ethics of objectivity and conclude with the organisational practices of news value. Firstly, however, it is important to consider particular concepts that relate to news as discourse including the public sphere and the media’s monitorial role.

2.4.1 Public sphere

The definition of an ideal public sphere is “a sphere which mediates between society and state, in which the public organizes itself as the bearer of public opinion” (Habermas, 2004: 351). The concept created by Habermas refers to the eighteenth century and the “bourgeois public sphere” (Habermas, 2004: 352) when a public body of private individuals gathered to deliberate and protect their interests against the state. The public sphere became a site where the production and circulation of discourses that were often critical to the state could be shared democratically amongst individuals for the benefit of the public good. Although newspapers initially fulfilled this function as the “bearers and leaders of public opinion” (Habermas, 2004: 353), by the 1830s in England, France and the United States the “transformation from a journalism of conviction to one of commerce began” (Habermas, 2004: 354). The commercial interests of media conglomerates practiced ‘publicity’ instead of public opinion with the coming of industrialised advanced mass democracy (Habermas, 2004: 354). The news media as public sphere is argued to have been transformed to a mere publicity vehicle for private interests.

Due to unequal resource distribution in society, Marxist critics believe the ideal public sphere never existed (Garnham, 2004: 361). The public sphere’s existence in a market-driven, capitalist society has not only been critiqued variously but also brought into question whether it existed at all in the ideal bourgeoisie society first described by Habermas. The public

sphere was conceptualised as a place where public opinion could be formed and importantly, “Access [was] guaranteed to all citizens,” (Habermas, 2004: 350). Due to inequalities linked to class, gender and race, not many individuals had access to the public sphere, which served as a primary arena for producing hegemony (Fraser, 1995). The possibility of this ‘true’/ original public sphere is questioned on the basis that women and people of colour and lower classes were excluded from Habermas’ bourgeoisie society who conferred in the coffee houses, and later the newsrooms.

A particular criticism of the concept of the public sphere relates to the division between what is considered public and private and it problematises who exercised the power of definition of these categories (Fraser, 1995). A poststructuralist feminist position, it was argued earlier, identifies how patriarchal discourse constitutes the objects and subjects of femininities as relating to the private sphere whereas the public sphere is considered a male-dominated arena. Fraser proposes that “categories of publicity and privacy are multivalent and contested” (1995: 306). Her example of how the topic of sexual harassment was initially a taboo public subject matter and considered a private event (Fraser, 1995) demonstrates that this subject did eventually become topical to the public sphere. Contesting discourses can shift the boundaries of the public sphere despite social inequities and therefore public opinion by definition is ever-changing depending on the contesting relations of power and definitions of “truths”.

Despite such academic critique, mainstream news media still define themselves as acting within a public sphere that operates separately and independently from the State, economy and political field, by producing public opinion for the sake of the public good (Garnham, 2004). The communicative function of the media to provide information and debate within the public arena, allows the media “under the banner of balance and objectivity, [to] claim to carry out both functions and to do so in the name of the public” (Garnham, 2004: 364). This claim by media practitioners that they act in the interest of the public is held up to scrutiny in my research concerned with how birthing is represented. The newspaper’s motivations in representing birthing and the birthing women in the scope of texts are in question: were the women exploited for sensationalistic purposes of news popular appeal or did these representations serve an information role to hold the government accountable for the public health interests of the community? This question forms the crux of my research in terms of whether the reproduction of hegemony can be justified in the interest of the public good.

2.4.2 Monitorial role

Inherent to the notion of the news media acting as public sphere, is the professional ideal that they are an entity that can act in the best interest of the public. This was traditionally argued to be the liberal primary democratic role of the media - to act as a public guardian/ protector overseeing the state. The media, in its role as liberal press guardian, would often reveal “abuses in the exercise of state authority” (Curran, 1991: 84). The media would hold the government responsible for events and policies that affected the public. This notion of the public sphere has evolved in the twentieth century (Carey, 1993: 13) to the Fourth Estate², which generally refers to the press as autonomous. The role of opposing the state is extended as Fourth Estate to represent and protect community interests by challenging dominant groups, i.e. corporate companies, political parties, interest groups and other institutions (Curran, 1991). However, the poststructuralist approach disallows the news media to be understood as separate from these other institutions since the news media itself functions within the limitations of media discourse and institutionalised practices. Media practitioners are also subjects of hegemonic discourses within the socio-cultural environment and therefore do not act completely outside dominant groups.

The monitorial role (Christians et al, 2009) of the media, as discussed earlier, is exercised when the media constitutes itself as the eyes and ears of the public “that could not see and hear for itself – or indeed, talk to itself” (Carey, 1993: 14) - as in the case of the silent women in the birthing texts. While this type of journalism justifies itself in the public’s name, it is noteworthy that the subjects of the texts are not given an active role but an audience role – “a receptacle to be informed by experts and an excuse for the practice of publicity” (Carey, 1993: 15). The public, in this view, becomes mere spectators of events while the journalist actively participates by speaking and acting on behalf of the public, which he or she considers being their professional responsibility. In relation to the birthing texts, it might be argued that *Die Burger* assumes the position as guardian on behalf of the women who had received poor health-care from the government (state authority). This monitorial role (Christians et al, 2009) involves that a journalist reveals information that is considered to be in the public interest or in the interest of repressed social groups (Janowitz, 1975: 619). My research is

² Writer Thomas Carlyle used the term ‘Fourth Estate’ first in his book *French Revolution* (1837), and referred to the other three estates as those of the French States-General: the church, the nobility and the commoners.

concerned with how this tension – the monitorial role of the media in exposing poor state health-care might simultaneously have silenced the women, for the purposes of publicity and profit in the institutionalised production process.

2.4.3 Professional ‘objectivity’

One of the news industry’s cornerstone principles is the claim of professionalism, which entails among other ideals a commitment to truth, fairness and objectivity in news reporting. Professionalism in journalism is justified by a strong claim for professional autonomy (Curran, 1987:67) and the public’s ‘right to know’ in line with the notion of the Fourth Estate. This ideal of professionalism is unachievable with the problematisation of truth claims in the poststructuralist paradigm since several hegemonic discourses and other institutional constraints influence the production of a news text. Despite noble ideals of objectivity and separating fact from opinion, journalists encounter institutionalised pressures and socio-cultural discourses that determine and influence the news production. Sensationalised depictions of women are included to attract readers to buy the paper and advertisers to invest their revenue in the company. News has a commercial and industrial nature due to the private interests of the media conglomerates in the modern, capitalist society news is produced in. This institutionalised commercial imperative is at odds with the media’s role as guardian of the rights of the public (which in this case is women’s rights).

According to Richardson, “to file an objective report a journalist needs to distance him or herself from the truth claims of the report” (2007: 86). All opinions stated in the text should be that of sources and not the value judgements of the reporter. However, this does not mean that an objective report is the same as a neutral report since “value judgements are built into the process of news making at all stages of the production process” (Richardson, 2007: 86). For example, the journalist cannot escape the discourses of class and race in newsgathering since it seems to work at a level of indirect discrimination (Connell, 1987: 100). Certain influential or economically elite sources are preferred sources in news production while those considered non-elite – the working class or unemployed, i.e. many of the women in the news reports examined, are voiceless. These unspoken rules of who counts as “a *legitimate* definer of news events” (Carter, 1998: 128) are informed by the capitalist and/ or racial order of society in which the media texts were produced.

From the commercial imperatives of the media industry to the selection of sources for the news text, production affects the professional commitments of the reporter. Objectivity in news production is an ideal never to be realised in practice since what counts as ‘truth’ is determined by whoever has the power to define these knowledge claims. If truth is discursively produced and if texts are the result of processes of selection and construction, representations can never be fully objective or reflective of events. Facts cannot be separated absolutely from values at the level of media language and news can therefore never be neutral (Carter, 1998). An attempt by the journalist can be made to make a text appear neutral and value-free but he or she will always have to operate within the institutionalised constraints and discursive practices of the ‘news paradigm’ (Berkowitz, 1997). According to Berkowitz, the news paradigm inescapably operates “within the ideological sphere, particularly in relation to hegemonic processes” (1997: 425).

As argued previously, nothing is meaningful outside of discourse and therefore the mainstream media arguably provides “not information but confirmation, not to alter attitudes or change minds but to represent an underlying order of things” (Van Zoonen, 1994: 37). The ‘taken-for-grantedness’ of the professionalised norms that govern journalistic routines and conventions can be difficult to identify and challenge (Carter, 1998: 5). For example, most newsrooms are argued to be masculine spaces and “news discourse still constitutes a ‘masculine narrative form’” (Carter, 1998: 7). It is imperative then to challenge the taken-for-granted discourses in news production and the socio-cultural environment. This does not necessarily constitute an attack on the journalist, editors or individual institutions in which these hegemonic texts are produced, but simply an aversion to the manifestation of discourses of patriarchy, racism and gender discrimination. Representations should be read not simply as good or bad images but as “practices arising from economic and ideological interests and as meanings that embody relationships within and outside the text” (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004: 176) i.e. discursively.

2.4.4 News values

When we speak of news values and newsworthiness, we are engaging with one of the naturalised sets of conventions that operate within the discursive regime of the newsroom. News values are understood as “the criteria employed by journalists to measure and therefore judge the ‘newsworthiness’ of events” (Richardson, 2007: 91). News values are the subjective criteria determined by editors who select and prioritise news stories as well as by

reporters who identify and present news stories to their editors. The general and widely defined concept of news values has been identified as a “slippery concept” (Harcup & O’Neill, 2009: 162) which becomes a learned skill for media practitioners in the journalism industry. Harcup & O’Neill have extensively researched this newsroom phenomenon and modernised the taxonomies of news values, as established by pioneers such as Galtung & Ruge (as quoted in Harcup & O’Neill, 2009) and other theorists, to include the commercial news values of modern media production. They identified the following set of news value criteria: “power elite, celebrity, entertainment, surprise, bad news, good news, magnitude, relevance, follow-up, newspaper agenda” (2009: 168). They found that news texts generally fit one or more of these news values.

The birthing texts analysed contain several of these news values of which the most important to my research question is the news value of ‘entertainment’ – news that is of a “compelling nature” (Nel, 1998: 35 and Richardson, 2007: 92) and therefore to a high degree of interest to the reader. This commercialised news value of providing drama and entertainment to the market audience can easily transform into what is known as the news trend of sensationalism. Sensationalism is born from the desire of media practitioners to connect with their readers in as direct and immediate a way as possible (Richardson, 2007: 122). Sensationalism has also had, however, a negative connotation with its use of sleaze, hyperbole, violence, discrimination and scorn to attract readership. Discourses of patriarchy, racism and sexism often serve the purposes of sensationalism and stand in direct opposition to the media ethics of the ‘professional’ media practitioner. As in the case of the monitorial role, the media practitioner acts within the discursive practices of the media as institution despite the contradictory nature of news value, which can lead to sensationalism as opposed to the news media as advocate for the public good of the community.

This tension forms the basis of my research question about the representation of the birthing women in the studied texts. The articles all meet the requirement of the news value of entertainment as defined by Harcup & O’Neill as “stories concerning sex, show business, human interest, animals and unfolding drama” (2009: 168). The entertainment value of the articles is determined by the human drama - deaths of infants and mothers due to scandalous and shocking state medical services – as well as the former taboo subject matter: birthing. Even though birthing is a phenomenon associated with the private sphere and considered to be a ‘feminine’ topic in patriarchal discourse, it is placed within the public sphere as it is

linked to public health institutions. Birthing as a former private 'feminine' experience becomes newsworthy in the public arena. My research determines whether this crossover from private to public serves more noble purposes of investigating and exposing the inadequate health services or whether it served the commercialised imperatives of the newspaper.

2.5 Conclusion

In summary, the poststructuralist feminist position provides the theoretical approach for my research question. The concepts of discourse and truth, power and knowledge as well as subjectivity are central to this position. Not only does the approach offer a feminist lens through which to view how the representations of the birthing women had been shaped by discourses of race, class and gender but it also identifies the media as a discursive regime (Hall, 1997). The institutionalised journalistic practices of the public sphere, monitorial role, professional objectivity and news values offer insight into the production of the texts within my scope of research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The methodological approach used in conducting the research “When Motherhood makes the news: the depiction of birthing in Eastern Cape printed news” is qualitative and critical in design. A sample of news reports about mothers giving birth in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* are qualitatively analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is an encompassing method that involves critically analysing different spheres of the texts, discourses and socio-cultural practices. This approach enables me to achieve rich data for my findings in which the layered discourses in the texts are made visible and explained in terms of socio-cultural practices external to the texts. I start this chapter by explaining why my research falls within the qualitative methodological approach; I continue to discuss the sampling method used to determine the scope of the research; and finally I deal with CDA as an approach and a method, and describe the analytical tools I make use of to do the critical reading.

3.1 Why qualitative?

With qualitative research, the researcher “begins with just a question, not with a clear, well-defined theory or hypothesis” (Van den Bulck, 1995: 60). It has also been termed the ‘theory comes last’ approach that is based on the “logic that reasons from a specific case to a general theoretical conclusion” (Van den Bulck, 1995: 60). The specific case of the representation of mothers in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* revolves around a few central questions underpinning my research: how are these women represented; why are they represented in this manner; and what do their representations reflect about the environment the texts were created in? These specific research questions are answered by making use of qualitative and critical research methods in order to lead to general theoretical conclusions in the findings chapter of my thesis, particularly with regard to the depiction of race, class and gender in the South African context.

The differences between qualitative and quantitative research methods have been identified as “conceptual-theoretical, methodological and analytical” (Van den Bulck, 1995: 59).

Theoretically, qualitative research is grounded in an interpretative tradition that assumes that “there is no such thing as an objective, social reality, but instead that ‘reality’ is a social and cultural construction” (Van den Bulck, 1995: 59). This concept is a central premise of the poststructuralist approach that I discussed in Chapter Two. The methodological approach to qualitative research seeks to be “flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data is

produced, aiming at compiling ‘rich’ data” (Van den Bulck, 1995: 59). Analytically, the researcher must be aware of the complexity, context and detail (Van den Bulck, 1995: 59) of the text. This understanding of qualitative research speaks directly to the methodology I use in my research. CDA is therefore not only the theoretical but also methodological and analytical approach I employ to establish rich, detailed and complex data from the texts - typical of a qualitative approach.

I do not employ quantitative methods such as content analysis, in which, for example, in considering my chosen body of texts the researcher can count how often women giving birth are depicted as the objects of a text. Instead of counting the ‘quantities’ of a large body of texts, I focus on the ‘qualities’ of the texts (Henning, 2004: 3). Instead of counting the birthing women, I ask questions about how the women are represented and placed at the centre of the texts and about the nature of the discursive or power relations that inform these articulations. I do this in my attempt to make meaning from the data “by seeing the bigger picture and by converting ‘raw’ empirical information (the ‘thin description’ of the phenomenon) into what is known in qualitative research as a ‘thick description’” (Henning, 2004: 6). With a qualitative approach to research, information is interpreted in the light of the theoretical framework that locates the study in order to give a thick description of the research phenomenon.

My intention is to make visible discourses of gender, race and class, where they occur as discussed in the theory chapter (chapter 2), and to contextualise the texts in terms of power relationships as well as the socio-cultural practices in which they are constructed. As a researcher, I am “directing attention to some things rather than others,” (Henning, 2004: 2). Qualitative research and CDA in particular aim to make visible these power relationships at work at a deeper level than what quantitative analysis of the texts can achieve and to make interpretative links between the texts, discourses and socio-cultural practices. The thick description of research phenomena has layers of depth and not only aims to find a pattern of representation but also a reason for this representation (Henning, 2004: 6) i.e. why situations are defined in a particular way in the texts.

3.2 Sampling method

The focus of my research, as stated above, is the way in which a particular group of women, mothers giving birth, are represented in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* over a three-year period. The

texts were thus purposefully sampled (Deacon, 1999: 41) to reflect aspects of news reporting on a certain subject (birthing mothers) over a specific time period (three years). My research findings do not propose to be representative of a universal truth but in making use of this specific sample of news texts, I aim to give a reflective view of several contesting discourses within the socio-cultural environment in which the texts were created. The sampling method falls within the qualitative sphere of research methodology as “illustrative of the broader social and cultural processes” (Deacon, 1999: 43).

My sampling method can be described as a purposeful sampling method, a sampling method that is “not determined by chance” (Deacon, 1999: 53) but rather determined by the researcher and the research phenomenon. I did not make use of the theoretical sampling technique in choosing my sample of texts since contrasting types of representations, and thus discourses, are at work within the chosen texts. I therefore did not choose these texts with a specific hypothesis in mind. The specific form of purposeful sampling, although organic and informally selected, can best be defined as a typical case sampling technique that “seeks to identify a case that exemplifies the key features of a phenomenon being investigated” (Deacon, 1999: 53). The key features the texts chosen for my case study had to adhere to (beside for the fact that it had to be printed in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* over the specified three-year period) were that the texts had to deal with women and birthing under so-called newsworthy circumstances.

The analysis looks at news articles sampled over a period from January 2004 to January 2007 that report women giving birth under difficult circumstances, including under degrading conditions at government hospitals or in public open spaces. The body of texts also deals with the consequences of the birthing-process: miscarriages, deaths of infants and breastfeeding. I purposefully choose this focus to allow for in-depth analysis: “qualitative research tends to use comparatively small samples which are generated more informally and organically than those most typically used in quantitative research” (Deacon, 1999: 43). I link my research findings with theories of hegemonic power relationships between different genders, races and classes in South African society. My research ideally aims to make visible broader social and cultural power relationships within the South African context.

To establish the sample my initial search used words such as “geboorte” (birth), “baba” (baby), “Dora Nginza-hospitaal” (Dora Nginza Hospital), and “ma” (mother) on the official search engine of *Die Burger* at <http://www.koerantargiewe.media24.com>. I refined my search

according to the theme of women giving birth under newsworthy circumstances in the Eastern Cape and found 15 Afrikaans texts in the archive system of *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*. Of the 15 texts found, nine were translated into English and posted on the News24 website at <http://www.news24.com/News24/Home/>. News24, part of the same group as *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*, sources news items from all the Media24 publications for the site. In total 15 texts within the time frame (January 2004 to January 2007) are used in my research. I use the translations of five of these texts as it appeared on the News24 website for my close critical analysis. In my research, I refer only to the Afrikaans versions when meanings are lost in translation or parts of the original texts are left out, as well as for the visual analysis of the original texts as it appeared in print. The five core texts are studied critically and links are made between them and the other ten texts with intertextual* referencing in Chapter 4.

In sampling the five core texts (Text 5, 8, 10, 11 and 12), a degree of practicality led to the decision to use the specific texts since not all the texts were translated and used on the News24 website. In reducing the sample from the nine translated articles to the five core texts, I chose the articles that manifested the strongest themes. The following table (Table 1) sets out the 15 chosen texts (in chronological order) and how they are grouped into core texts and intertexts:

	Text Name:	Writer:	DOP:	Intertext:	Translated:	Theme:
1	“Baba in drom: Ma het dalk inkopies gedoen” (Intertext)	Sauer, D.	19-02-04	Text 8	No	Birth mother represented as neglectful.
2	“Hartseer: Seuntjie per abuis in massagraf begrawe” (Intertext)	Preller, C.	20-02-04	Text 5, 8, 11, 12.	Yes, “Baby burial horror”.	Hospital staff represented as neglectful. Links to media as hero with follow-up article (Text 9).
3	“Vrou van 1,28 m verbied by baba se sterfbed” (Intertext)	Schoeman, V.	12-03-04	Text 4, 5, 10, 11, 12.	No	Shows Dora Nginza Hospital as neglectful.

* My unique understanding and use of intertextual referencing is explained later in this chapter.

4	“Hospitaal ‘het plig nagekom’” (Intertext)	Schoeman, V.	13-03-04	Text 3	No	Follow-up to Text 3.
5	“Vrou en baba dood na hul glo sleg in hospital behandel is” (Core Text)	Claassen, E.	12-10-04	Text 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12.	Yes, “Women must give birth alone”.	Neglect at hospital by staff. Stronger news element than Text 6.
6	“Dora Nginza: Hospitaal weer in nuus oor geboortes” (Intertext)	Claassen, E.	13-12-04	Text 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12.	Yes, “Mom’s horror hospital ordeal”.	Neglect at hospital by staff.
7	“Baaise baba gebore voordat ambulans opdaag” (Intertext)	Van Staaden, H.	11-06-05	Text 8, 10, 11, 12.	No	Lack of government transportation for birthing mothers. Some referencing to HIV.
8	“Drawwer vang haastige baba op sy padjie” (Core Text)	Silke, N.	31/05/06	Text 7, 10, 11, 12.	Yes, “Jogger delivers baby”.	Birthing in public open space due to lack of transportation. Some referencing to HIV.
9	“Ma kry R700 000 na baba verdwyn” (Intertext)	Williams, L.	26-07-06	Text 2, 10, 11, 12.	Yes, “Money can’t fill the void”.	Follow-up to Text 2. Media represented as hero. Neglect due to hospital staff.
10	“Baba met MIV-besmette melk gevoed” (Core Text)	Currie, M.	04-09-06	Text 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.	Yes, “Baby fed HIV-tainted milk”.	First article in running story on HIV baby swapping drama.
11	“Ma wil glo baba hê na sy hom dalk MIV gee” (Core Text)	Silke, N.	05-09-06	Text 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15.	Yes, “PE mom ‘kept from seeing baby’”.	Second article in HIV drama, written in different style.
12	“Ma kry baba terug na omruil-drama” (Core Text)	Silke, N.	06-09-06	Text 5, 8, 10, 11, 9, 13, 14, 15.	Yes, “PE mom gets ‘her’ baby back”.	Conclusive article in 3-day series of events surrounding HIV

						drama.
13	“Dis ernstige nalatigheid” (Intertext)	Verwey, G.	06-09-06	Text 10, 11, 12.	No	Letter by reader regarding HIV drama.
14	“Siek diens”. (Intertext)	Editor on duty	06-09-06	Text 10, 11, 12.	No	Editorial comment on HIV drama.
15	“Twee uitgewys vir tugverhore na baba geruil word” (Intertext)	Silke, N.	03-10-06	Text 10, 11 and 12.	Yes, “HIV feeding: 2 staff in trouble”.	Follow-up on action taken after HIV drama.

Table 1: The sample of 15 texts (in chronological order) and their grouping into core texts and intertexts.

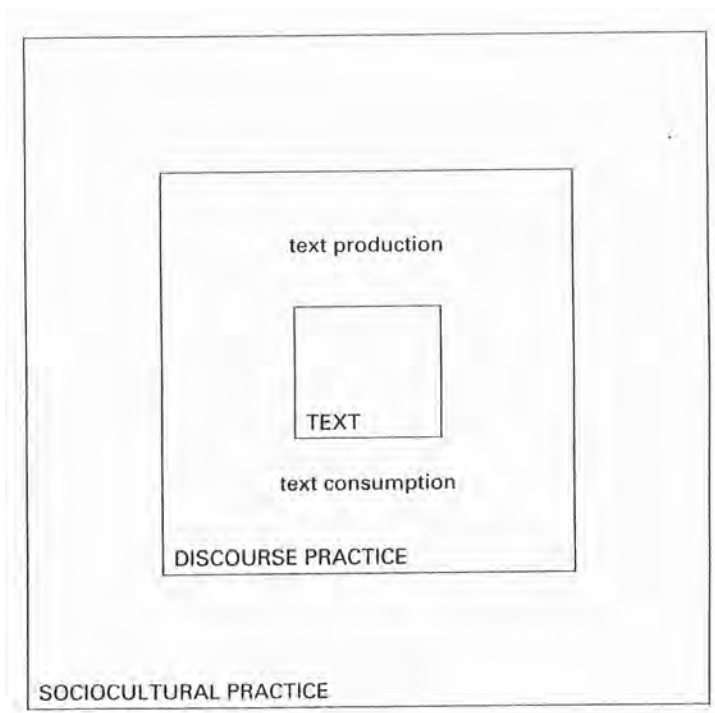
Text 1, 2, 3 and 7 did not have translated versions and this is the reason why they were not chosen as core texts. In deciding between Text 5 and 6, two very similar types of articles dealing with negligence at Dora Nginza Hospital, I decided to make Text 5 a core text since the newsworthy element came across stronger than with Text 6. Text 8 was chosen as another core text because it illustrated strong discourses of race, gender and class and also made reference to HIV, which is a theme in the remaining core texts: Texts 10, 11 and 12. Text 2 and 9 dealt with a story that I personally wrote as a reporter for the publication, which would have made the close analysis more problematic and this is the reason why they are only identified as intertexts and not core texts. Texts 10, 11 and 12 deal with a running story over a three-day news period, which makes the analysis of how the articles differ and agree with one another very useful in identifying discourses of gender, race and class in the texts. Texts 13, 14 and 15 are commentary and follow-up articles relating to Text 10, 11 and 12 that cannot be justified as core articles but still serve as good intertexts for the last three core texts in the sample.

3.3 CDA

Discourse analysis as method is interpretative, explanatory and historical (Richardson, 2007: 27). However, a *critical* discourse analysis takes the analysis further as the imperative is to unmask discourses and make certain power relations in the texts visible. CDA seeks to do this by linking language to the social context, which other forms of qualitative textual analysis alone fails to do. A critical discourse analyst seeks to probe the discourses inscribed by means of the symbolic forms or representations that are created by the powerful (and powerless) in a

specific social and historical context. It is concerned with social justice and underpinned by the questions of at what or whose cost hegemony is maintained? Hegemonic discourses are “mobilized for the maintenance of relations of domination” (Thompson, 1990: 8) within specific societies. In other words, the symbolic forms are strategically deployed to maintain certain subject positions (e.g. birthing women as inferior), power relationships (e.g. women vs. men/ medical staff/ government) which are ultimately upheld by discourses (patriarchy, racism, class). With a thorough CDA of the chosen texts, my research aims to unmask the various discourses present in the texts which are arguably indicative of the socio-historical environment of the birthing women represented in the articles.

An appropriate model to use for this purpose is Fairclough’s analysis of a communicative event that connects the systematic links between text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice.



(Fairclough, 1995: 59)

The dimension of ‘text’ refers to written, oral or visual texts and in the case of my research sample, the texts of the birthing women in the print news media are written (linguistic elements of the article) and visual (photographs, layout and/ or other graphics). Sociocultural practice is the wider context in which the communicative event is being created. Discourse

practice can either reproduce hegemony or reconstruct it (Fairclough, 1995), which is a question central to my research. The dimension of ‘discourse practices’ links the texts to the ‘sociocultural practice’ by text production and consumption (Fairclough, 1995). In the case of my scope of research, the focus is on the production element of the discourse practice within the institution of the media. For practical reasons the element of text consumption is not dealt with in this research. Text production is the sphere of research where the normative order of discourse is manifested with the exploitation of the birthing women in the sensationalistic portrayals of birthing for commercial imperatives. Text production can also include sensitive representations of birthing which reconstruct hegemony.

Discourse practices act as mediator or link between the text and the sociocultural practice. Sociocultural practice refers to the social and cultural context in which the text is produced and can be classed as “situational, institutional, societal” (Fairclough, 1995: 16). In the case of my research, this includes the health-care conditions in Port Elizabeth (situational), the media institution of *Die Burger* (institutional) and the race, class and gender discourses (societal) as outlined in Chapter 1. The discourses in the texts exist in a dialectical relationship with the broader social and historical context and conventions within which the texts have been created (Henning, 2004: 44, 45). For this reason, it is important that texts need to be analysed in relation to their historical specificity and situated within this socio-historical cultural framework.

All three dimensions of a CDA are included in my research as I study the texts with an in-depth critical textual analysis; I interpret these textual findings by identifying the discourse practices at work within the texts (from a production perspective only) and finally I explain the discourses in terms of a social analysis. Informed by poststructuralist feminism, as discussed in Chapter Two, my research interrogates how the mothers in the texts were, for instance, represented in terms of patriarchal power relations, an aspect of the socio-cultural practices of the culture in which they lived. The socio-cultural practices respond to the context in terms of the women’s immediate environment (situational), the media institution the texts were produced in (institutional) and the cultural framework at the time (societal). In Chapter One I discussed the socio-cultural context in and further build onto this contextual background when making the links between the discourses at work in the texts about the birthing women and their socio-cultural environment in Chapter Four of my research.

CDA as method does not operate neatly in linear boxes, as the illustration of Fairclough’s

model may appear to represent. In my research I adopt a set of tools to help me unpack the social constructedness of the texts and the discourses within the socio-cultural environment. In identifying the relations of power at work within the texts, the discourses can be connected to the situational, institutional and cultural socio-historical practices in the contextual environment (Richardson, 2007: 37). In order to achieve this, my critical textual analysis broadly begins by linking each text thematically with one another and I move into smaller representational elements of these discourses within the texts - by analysing the semiotic, narrative and lexical structures of the core texts. Richardson's model of textual analysis works in the opposite direction to mine, from the level of Micro-textual analysis - words and sentences - to the level of Macro-textual analysis – presupposition, rhetoric and narrative (Richardson, 2007: 47). My research approach to textual analysis resembles that of Deacon (1990) more closely. He moves from macro textual elements to micro textual elements by analysing texts firstly for position, composition and intertextuality, secondly for narrative and framing elements, then for lexicalisation and finally he links the themes in the textual analysis (Deacon, 1999: 183-184). Based on Deacon's model, I make use of additional methods and approaches in my analysis.

CDA moves beyond simply identifying themes in the texts, which is often why textual analysis is criticised for being too text-based, but links the themes emergent in the texts with discourses and the socio-cultural environment. An eclectic use of analytical approaches draws on different academic disciplines: media studies use of the intertextual, semiotic and narrative approaches, social theories of the modes of ideology in language, as well as Critical Linguistics' use of lexical approaches to the texts. I have combined these approaches for my analysis. I only report the relevant research findings and make use of the approaches that best suit the research phenomena studied. "Often the analysis of the separate elements produces patterns that are confirmed across the elements" (Janks, 1997: 335) and the following methods help me find these patterns in order to identify the discourses present in the texts.

3.3.1 Intertextuality

The linking or relatedness of different texts, referred to as the phenomenon of intertextuality by linguists such as Fairclough is as important theoretically as methodologically for the purposes of my research. Intertextual analysis "is a bridge between the 'text' and the 'discourse practice' dimensions in the critical discourse analysis framework" (Fairclough, 1995: 75). This CDA view of intertextuality is differentiated from Media Studies in which

media genres are foregrounded (Fiske, 1987: 108). Intertextuality is central to the model of CDA I employ in my scope of research. Not only do themes and discourses connect different texts in a CDA but by linking and cross-referencing these texts their similarity and relationship to the socio-economic environment can be made clear. This similarity is due to hegemonic power relations in the social contexts the texts were created. An important characteristic of poststructuralism as defined in Chapter Two is intertextuality – the manner in which texts ‘speak’ to each other, often repeating one another and in doing so, (re)producing important facets about the socio-cultural environment.

Intertextuality is a pervasive element in modern culture, especially in the media, and people’s social maps consist of a complex web of intertexts: “reality itself, is intertextual” (Fiske, 1987: 115). In line with a poststructuralist framework, texts cannot be analysed in isolation from each other and it is by linking them intertextually that the discourses within them are made visible. Texts are not produced or consumed in isolation: “all texts exist, and therefore must be understood, in relation to other texts” (Richardson, 2007: 100). While I focus on five texts, I compare the sample of 15 texts published between January 2004 and January 2007 in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* as intertexts linked to one another while I demonstrate the links between the discourses and themes emerging in the texts. I coin and use the term ‘intertexts’ to refer to these 10 intertexts which I cross-referenced with the five core texts.

A distinction is often made between internal and external intertextualities (Richardson, 2007: 100) of which internal intertextualities would refer to referencing within the text itself and external intertextualities would be reading the texts in relation to other texts and other social practices (Richardson, 2007: 100). The fragmented internal intertextual nature of newspaper articles consists of quotes from various role players or sources, technical information (medical jargon) as well as the personal opinions of the narrator that all form a part of one text. The internal intertextuality of the texts is explored in the lexical analysis part of the CDA and I therefore focus more specifically on the external intertextualities in the intertextual section of my analysis of the 15 texts.

A running story in news reporting is an example of external intertextuality where the same theme in a story is followed up on the next day in the same publication. In my research, the texts are all external intertexts of one another: one story refers to another story as background, quote from it or even just loosely follows the same theme of birthing women and/or poor health-care. Discourses either are confirmed or disconfirmed (Janks, 1997: 331)

in the various texts reporting on the birthing women. In linking the intertextual discourses in my research focus, I aim to identify the positioning of the women within the texts and the similarities and differences to the women in the other texts.

3.3.2 Denotation

A good place to start with critical textual analysis of the individual text is the visual signs (Fairclough, 1995: 57) by determining how factors such as the page layout and design, photographs and graphical devices (charts, graphs and even cartoons), captions, headlines, fonts, and other visual devices shape the news representation. When taking this approach, it is important to do a “multisemiotic analysis in the case of the press and television, including analysis of photographic images, layout and the overall visual organization of pages” (Fairclough, 1995: 57). A semiotic analysis of a visual sign should identify it with the second set of signifieds, where the “completed sign is interpreted in terms of the wider realism of social ideology” (Hall, 1997: 38, 39). The basic level of meaning, the denotation, therefore has a second level of meaning that is culturally constructed and is known as the connotative meaning of a sign.

In studying visual signs more closely, wider social practices and questions of power are identified as influencing the visual representation. The discursive approach is concerned with “relations of power, not relations of meaning” (Hall, 1997: 43) and much more historically grounded than the semiotic approach. Discourses are made visible through this approach to visual representation in the texts and the institutional or discursive environment is often the context where these discourse practices about how visual signs should be represented, are constructed and thrive. In print news media, visual elements of a news story are generally accepted as illustrations and authoritative, stemming from a “strong belief in the camera as an automatic recording device” (Richardson, 2007: 186). This authoritative acceptance of visual illustrations is created with the conventional use of photographs alongside news stories.

The common-sense practice of news reporting as ‘objective’ is also institutionalised in the graphics departments of media houses where layout artists are taught to do their work in a certain manner - they do it without really thinking about why they design a page in a specific ‘naturalised’ manner. “[C]hallenging this assumption by uncovering the social processes at work beneath the appearance of ‘business as usual’ is essential to any research project that aims to offer a critical perspective” (Deacon, 1999: 190). In print hard news the positioning

of the article in the newspaper is significant in terms of what is deemed important by the media producers. The angle from where pictures are taken, whether it is a full, medium or close-up shot, as well as lighting and colour, are all devices used by photographers to position subjects in certain ways in visual news reporting. Such techniques in analysing the visual signs offer a critical lens to view the images and identify connotative elements, which can be linked to discourses in the written texts as well as the context in which it was produced and consumed.

3.3.3 Narrative

Narrative analysis provides a valuable analytical method to probe beneath the surface of a text to reveal discourses within the socio-cultural environment in which the text was created. In my research, the narrative theories of Labov & Waletzky, Propp and Todorov are applied to reveal discourses within the texts. Narrative theory as analysis responds to the ability of storytelling as a sense-making mechanism. Since the beginning of time people have been telling stories to make sense of events and actions in their lives and, arguably, in the modern day the media has become one of the biggest battlegrounds of contesting narratives today. The close study of narrative structures in media texts unmasks the stories as cultural constructs and illustrates how these stories “relate to the wider disposition of social power” (Rayner, 2004: 29).

Social power is contested and secured through various discursive struggles within the socio-cultural environment in which the media texts are created, mostly within the institutional context of the media - but the discourses are also constituted within the social and situational context. The institution of journalism is a commercialised and modern form of storytelling and in news production the ideal is often to be ‘objective’ in the reporting (telling) of stories. Poststructuralism recognises the impossibility of this and Fairclough argues that “journalists don’t only recount events, they also interpret and explain them, try to get people to see things and to act in certain ways, and aim to entertain” (Fairclough, 1995: 91). Several narrative elements are present in news ‘stories’ and the manner in which these methods are employed to favour certain discourses is of importance for a CDA of news texts.

The genre of news production in the texts analysed is called hard news. The institutional conventions shared between different genres of news productions might constitute a “formula” which is determined by the economically-driven aspects of news production. In

addition to this, as Fiske states “Genres are popular when their conventions bear a close relationship to the dominant ideology of the time” (Fiske, 1987: 112). Hegemonic discourses are therefore generally present in hard-news stories, presented as objective accounts of the world. It is a common journalistic practice within print news production to give account of events considered newsworthy in a *realistic* manner. However, such texts are never “objective reproduction(s) of the real world” (Fiske, 1987: 130) as is often aspired to by journalists, but instead a “transparent mode that attempts to hide its nature as discourse” (Fiske, 1987: 131).

These discourses are prevalent not only in the institutional conventions of news stories as genres but also dependent on the actual structure of news stories. “At the heart of a personal narrative is the sequence of events” (Bell, 1994: 105) and this is true of both storytelling and news reporting. The actions in a news article are seldom in chronological order as with everyday storytelling. In contrast to the sequential format of events, the action considered most newsworthy to the reporter is in the lead paragraph of a news story. Journalists regularly use the most commonly practiced structure of a news story, the inverted pyramid, where the most newsworthy information is placed at the beginning of the article. The ‘climax-first’ institutionalised structure (Richardson, 2007: 71) of hard news stories is a simple way of identifying discourses within the social and situation environment in which the texts were created by looking at what people, ideas or places were foregrounded in the texts.

Labov & Waletzky

Apart from this fundamental difference in structure, personal narrative and news stories share similar narrational elements which Labov & Waletzky (Bell, 1994: 101) classify into six elements. The first element - the *abstract* - is the main point of the narrative and in news stories the *abstract* can often be found in both the headline and the lead paragraph. Similar to comparing the chronological events with the structure of the news story, discourses come to light when what is considered as the most important factor in an event (*abstract*) is isolated in research and identified as being ‘the most important aspect’ in the text. The *orientation*, also known as scene setting, includes the 4 W’s of basic journalistic practice and can be found in the first two to three paragraphs of the story: who?; what? when? and where? Discourses can also be identified in this manner in news stories when persons or places are omitted or deemed more important than others. Often what is not said in a news text is just as important

as what is said and CDA researchers should therefore be “sensitive to absences as well as presences in texts” (Fairclough, 1995: 57).

The *complicating action* is the central part of the story and sets off the sequence of events (Bell, 1994: 105). The manner in which actions are listed in a story by a reporter to serve a certain purpose (also referred to as the angle of a story) demonstrates why events are reportable and this is called the *evaluation*. *Evaluation* is the element of Labov & Waletzky’s theory of narrative structure that involves the newsworthiness of a text. These two elements of story-telling are very important when analysing a news text critically since power relations will often emerge clearly when the angle the story was written from (*evaluation*) is identified as well as the cause of the newsworthy event (*complicating action*) as determined by the narrator. Only the complicating action and some degree of evaluation are obligatory components of the personal narrative (Bell, 1994: 101) whereas, in a traditional hard news story, all four of the narrational elements discussed thus far must be present in the text.

The last two elements of Labov & Waletzky’s narrative theory – *resolution* and *coda* – are often absent from news stories but are typical elements of a personal narrative. The *resolution* serves as a conclusion to events and the *coda* “serves as an optional conclusion to the story, to mark the finish” (Bell, 1994: 106). Very few news stories have a *coda* but *resolutions* sometimes do occur in news stories. Because of the pressure of deadlines and time-based production of news stories, the resolution to one news story published on a specific day is sometimes only given in a follow-up story published a day or more after the first story. Follow-ups “cover any action subsequent to the main action of the event” (Bell, 1994: 113).

Todorov

Another useful narrative method to identify discourses in the texts is Todorov’s model in which the structural events in a narrative are divided into a state of equilibrium, or social harmony, and disequilibrium, or disruption to the social order. “Newsworthy events, then, are those that disrupt or restore equilibrium” (Fiske, 1987: 139) and what is significant when using Todorov’s technique to analyse a news story is to scrutinise what is regarded as an equilibrium and what is regarded as a disequilibrium in the socio-historical context the text is produced in. The equilibrium is in most cases a state of hegemony within the socio-cultural environment. The equilibrium is seen as a “reproduction of the values of the current social order” (Fiske, 1987: 140) and “mythologized into the taken-for-granted, the common-sense view of how things really are” (Fiske, 1987: 140).

In general the equilibrium of a news story would reflect the socio-cultural environment and/or beliefs and practices people in this environment ascribe to. The disequilibrium represents the “conflict between the social order and disruptive forces” (Fiske, 1987: 139). Mostly news articles report on a disequilibrium – something unusual disrupting everyday life - and therefore it fits the media’s standards of a newsworthy event. As text analysts, it is important to scrutinise who or what event had caused the disruption of the social harmony in the narrative since this often reveals discourses present in the socio-cultural environment. The disruptive forces – a person or group of persons responsible for causing the disequilibrium - are regarded as the enemy of the hegemonic conditions of the socio-cultural context. This enemy is identified in Propp’s character functions (to follow below) as the ‘villain’ (Fiske, 1987: 138). When the conflict is reconciled in the equilibrium a second, more stable equilibrium is achieved (Brierley, 1995: 165) in the narrative but this is not often the case in news reporting, since the disequilibrium is the most newsworthy aspect of the narration.

Propp

Propp’s narrative theory consists of 32 narrative functions that he identifies as universal to most narrative texts. Even though the narrative functions can be applied to certain hard news articles, I consider it generally more suitable to other media genres. However, I found the characterisation of the different actors in Propp’s narrative theory very useful for my research focus. Propp’s characters are defined in terms of their spheres of actions (Fiske, 1987: 137) and this type of analysis is more concerned with what the characters do than with who they are. Propp’s analysis “is not concerned with the definition of characters in the psychological terms of ‘beings’, but rather as participants in the discourse” (Wigston, 2001: 159). In other words, who is saving the day and who is making life unpleasant for the others? This is again a very simple but significant exercise in determining the discursive practices present in a text.

Propp’s characters that I use in my analysis are the villain, hero, false hero and helper.

Similar to Todorov’s narrative theory, the Villain or person who disrupts the equilibrium and the Hero or person who restores or defends the equilibrium are significantly placed in a news text. The hero recognizes a problem and takes action whereas the villain “harms a member of the family” (Proppian narrative function 8 as identified in Fiske, 1987: 135). In identifying these character roles in a news narrative, discourses present in the socio-cultural context are made visible and the reason why subjects were positioned either as heroes or villains can be explained by these discourses. The false hero generally makes “unfounded claims to the

hero's sphere of action" (Fiske, 1987: 137) and appears as good but eventually is revealed as bad in the narrative (Wigston, 2001: 160). The helper "solves difficult tasks and transforms the hero" (Fiske, 1987: 137). Propp's model has a universality about it that can be used to analyse the role players within the narrative of many media texts.

3.3.4 Thompson's Modes of Operation of Ideology

Social theorist J.B. Thompson illustrates how language use can be mobilized socially as "meaning in the service of power" (Thompson, 1990: 7). His definition of ideology is linked to domination and the negative use of power (Janks, 1998: 198) and instead of a concern with unequal power relations between classes only, like his Marxist predecessors, he broadens this to race, gender and nation, for example the unequal power relationship between black and white races, female and male genders and First and Third World nations. Thompson proposes that the study of symbolic forms (texts) should be "historically specific, socially structured and characterized by institutions of various kinds" (Thompson, 1988: 362). He calls this the depth hermeneutic-approach. In the analysis of a newspaper article, for instance, it would be important to situate it socio-historically, critically evaluate the type of media institution that published this article and the conditions it was produced in as well as the symbolic meanings embedded in the text. I have aimed to situate the texts of my research focus socio-historically and institutionally in Chapter 1 and will now explore why Thompson's approach to textual analysis is useful for my research purposes.

Thompson distinguishes five general modes through which ideology can operate which I use as method in my CDA to make visible the discourses in the texts. These modes have different sub-categories as to how they can be achieved. *Legitimation* is the process by which relations of domination may be established and maintained (Janks, 1998: 199) and it is achieved through rationalisation, universalisation and narrativisation. *Dissimulation* is the process by which relations of domination are concealed or obscured (Janks, 1998: 199) and it is achieved through euphemism, displacement and trope. "*Unification and fragmentation* are related processes in that they work in opposite directions – one seeks to unite and join people for ideological purposes and the other seeks to split people off from one another" (Janks, 1998: 199). Unification is achieved through standardisation and symbolisation while fragmentation is achieved through differentiation and the expurgation of others. *Reification* refers to the act of turning processes into that of an object or event: "Reified things just are – their socio-

historical origins are concealed” (Janks, 1998: 200). Reification works with devices such as naturalisation, externalisation, passivisation and nominalisation.

Not all these modes are present in all the texts I analyse and the modes have the ability to crossover, interact and reinforce one another in the selection of texts about the birthing mothers. This type of approach to the media cannot be successful without creative interpretation: “the role of interpretation is to explicate the connection between the meaning of symbolic constructions and the relations of domination which that meaning serves to sustain” (Thompson, 1988: 372). The creativity lies in linking the modes identified in the texts with the discourses in the socio-cultural environment, as established in terms of the institutional, situational and social context. Thompson’s modes present a very useful method to apply to texts. While Thompson’s focus is on ideology, this research frames its concerns in relation to discourse in a Foucauldian sense. Although Thompson’s conception of ideology and power is different to that of Foucault’s conceptualisations of discourse and power, his approach is valuable in its description of the five modes of ideology. It is not incompatible with discourse analysis since both Richardson (2007) and Janks (1998) draw on Thompson.

3.3.5 Linguistic analysis

A useful strategy for analysing the verbal elements within my texts of the birthing mothers represented in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* sample is to draw on Halliday’s checklist for linguistic analysis (Janks, 1997: 335 and 336). Halliday’s checklist is fairly technical from a linguistic point of view but offers constructive tools in identifying power hierarchies in the written texts. In terms of the theoretical aspects of CDA and news reporting, this reinforces the point that the text is constructed not by an individual reporter but by the discourses and socio-cultural practices influencing the reporter to construct the specific words in the media text to the benefit of specific power relationships in the outside world.

Halliday’s checklist for linguistic analysis

The use of language, according to Halliday, has ideational, interpersonal and textual functions (Janks, 1997: 335) which in terms of the CDA framework can be understood as “systems of knowledge and belief (ideational function) and social relations and social identities (interpersonal function) in text” (Fairclough as quoted in Deacon, 1999: 150). In order to identify the different levels of the functions of language in texts, Halliday compiled a checklist of elements to analyse: “lexicalisation; patterns of transitivity; the use of active

and passive voice; the use of nominalisation; choices of mood; choices of modality or polarity; thematic structure of the text; information focus; cohesion devices” (Janks, 1997: 335). In my analysis, I start with the macro elements in Halliday’s checklist like thematic structure and modality before moving to the micro-elements such as nominalisation and active and passive voice. In making use of these general linguistic methods, discourses can be identified in the texts. The taken-for-grantedness of something as simple as sentence construction (active and passive voice), choice of words and the manner in which sentences are structured together, offers a rich body of analysis for the CDA when analysed critically in this amount of detail.

System of transitivity

Even though the system of transitivity is part of Halliday’s checklist for linguistic analysis, I treat this as a separate linguistic analytical tool since it offers rich data for the purposes of my research. While “[t]ransitivity is not as easily visible to producers and readers as other linguistic features because of the complexity of its encoding” (Janks, 1997: 338), it is a good technique in identifying discourses in the texts. Transitivity elements are difficult to pick up when looking at a text for the first time. This suggests “less conscious control by the writer and it require more conscious effort for the reader to analyse it” (Janks, 1997: 338).

The system of transitivity is a method that simply involves identifying every verb and its associated process (Janks, 1997: 336). This method of analysis is very detailed but offers fruitful data in terms of the actions of the subjects and how they are positioned because of their actions in the text. The verbs are simply categorised in six different types of clauses. These can be material e.g. doing or creating something; verbal e.g. saying something; mental e.g. feeling, thinking or perceiving something; relational e.g. different states of being and having; behavioural e.g. physiological or psychological; and existential e.g. things that exist or happen (Janks, 1997: 336). On an interpersonal functional level of language this method is important in identifying how the characters are constructed in the texts, for example, active (many material verbs), intelligent (many mental verbs) and have the right to voice their opinions (many verbal verbs).

Conclusion

The critical analysis of my texts’ lexical and visual elements does not follow a specific formula but instead the CDA makes use of an eclectic use of linguistic tools, modes of

ideology, narrative, semiotic and intertextual approaches. By moving from the macro textual elements towards the micro textual elements, I analyse the components in the texts and link them to themes, which identify the discourses in the socio-cultural environment in which the texts were produced. If any analysis of discourse is “therefore necessarily an analysis of power” (Janks, 2008: 196), this serves the purpose of the study: to identify prevalent discourses and contestations in the texts reporting on the birthing mothers in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* over a period of three years. Because CDA “is not always linear” (Janks, 1997: 330) the techniques are adapted and combined to the needs of my research. Only the most useful findings are presented in Chapter Four.

Chapter 4: Critical Discourse Analysis

This chapter critically analyses the 15 texts in which the birthing mothers were represented in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* over a period of three years (2004 – 2007) drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and employs an eclectic approach that goes beyond the linguistic strategies presented by Fairclough (1995). The analysis consists of two stages. First I conduct work at a macro textual level where I consider all 15 sampled texts. Then I move to a micro level to undertake a detailed analysis of the five core texts, as described in Chapter 3. In stage 1 I identify four common or intertextual themes in the sample of 15 texts, and in stage 2 I look at how the core texts and their intertexts correspondingly manifest discourses of race, class and gender in their representations. Here the research becomes more detailed with a close visual and verbal analysis of the narrative structure, semiotics and lexicalisation of the five core texts. The four themes and their associated discourses, as identified in the first section of the research, are comprehensively identified with the close reading of the core texts and linked to the socio-cultural environment in which the texts were produced.

4.1 STAGE 1

As established in the previous two chapters, intertextuality is not only an important characteristic of my theoretical approach, poststructuralist feminism, but also a vital element of the discursive approach in a Critical Discourse Analysis. External intertexts (Richardson, 2007; Fairclough, 1995) occur when a news article refers to another as background, quote from it or even just loosely follow the same theme, i.e. birthing women or poor government health-care. Internal intertextuality, which was discussed in the methods chapter and refers to intertexts that are references within the article itself, will be dealt with in the close lexical analysis of the core texts (stage 2). I continue now to discuss how these broad themes are externally intertextually linked.

All 15 texts share the same thematic external intertextuality since they report on women giving birth under difficult circumstances either at government hospitals or due to ambulances being unavailable. I categorise the different focuses of the texts under four themes. Some focus more on the consequences of the birthing-process: miscarriages, deaths of infants and breastfeeding while others focus on the actual birthing process. Either the mothers (Text 1, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15) and/ or public medical services (Text 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15) are portrayed as neglectful and the cause of the birthing

blunders. Some mothers are stigmatised as HIV infected (Text 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15), which is depicted as a disease that is loathed and feared by the general public. The heroic role of the media is another theme that is present in certain texts (Text 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15). The 15 texts that make up the sample are thematically presented in the following table (Table 2) to show the intertextual links to one another:

Inhumane, neglectful mother	Incompetent, neglectful medical services	HIV stigmatisation and discrimination	Media as hero
“Baba in drom: Ma het dalk inkopies gedoen”. (1)			
	“Hartseer: Seuntjie per abuis in massagraf begrawe” (2)		“Hartseer: Seuntjie per abuis in massagraf begrawe” (2)
	“Vrou van 1,28m verbied by baba se sterfbed” (3)		
	“Hospitaal ‘het plig nagekom” (4)		
	“Vrou en baba dood na hul glo sleg in hospital behandel is” (5)		
	“Dora Nginza: Hospitaal weer in nuus oor geboortes” (6)		
	“Baaise baba gebore voordat ambulans opdaag” (7)	“Baaise baba gebore voordat ambulans opdaag” (7)	
“Drawwer vang haastige baba op sypaadjie” (8)		“Drawwer vang haastige baba op sypaadjie” (8)	
	“Ma kry R700 000 na baba verdwyn” (9)		“Ma kry R700 000 na baba verdwyn” (9)

“Baba met MIV- besmette melk gevoed” (10)	“Baba met MIV- besmette melk gevoed” (10)	“Baba met MIV- besmette melk gevoed” (10)	“Baba met MIV- besmette melk gevoed” (10)
“Ma wil glo baba hê na sy hom dalk MIV gee” (11)	“Ma wil glo baba hê na sy hom dalk MIV gee” (11)	“Ma wil glo baba hê na sy hom dalk MIV gee” (11)	“Ma wil glo baba hê na sy hom dalk MIV gee” (11)
“Ma kry baba terug na omruil-drama” (12)	“Ma kry baba terug na omruil-drama” (12)	“Ma kry baba terug na omruil-drama” (12)	“Ma kry baba terug na omruil-drama” (12)
			“Dis ernstige nalatigheid”. (13)
			“Siek diens”. (14)
			“Twee uitgewys vir tugverhore na baba geruil word” (15)

Table 2: The categorisation of 15 texts according to theme.

4.1.1 Theme 1: Inhumane, neglectful mother

The recurrence of representing the mother as inhumane and neglectful constitutes the first theme and is evident in text 1, “Baba in drom: Ma het dalk inkopies gedoen”/ Baby in bin: Mom apparently did shopping³ (Sauer, 2004), which links strongly to Text 8 “Jogger delivers baby” (Silke, 2006), one of the core texts analysed in more detail later in this chapter. In Text 1 the anonymous mother gives birth in a public toilet at a shopping centre. Her actions are described as ‘throwing’ the baby in a sanitary bin (“vullisdrom gegooi het”) and letting a blood trail follow her as she carries on with her shopping at two clothing stores (an allegation made by eye witnesses at the shopping centre, according to the text). This text not only portrays the birthing mother as grossly neglectful and uncaring but also uses visceral images to describe biological processes associated with birthing: leaking blood (“druppende bloed”) and birthing cord (“naelstring”).

³ The title of the original Afrikaans text is presented first when dealing with a text with no English translation. A rough translation in English is given thereafter. I refer to the English translated title for all other translated texts.

The description of the birthing process and representation of the mother as inhumane in Text 1 links intertextually to the description of the birthing mother of Text 8 who gives birth on a sidewalk. This mother may not be portrayed as neglectful as the anonymous shopping centre mother but the representation similarly has racial and gendered undertones. The racial identity of both mothers is evident in the photos accompanying the articles. In Text 1 the baby has a dark skin, which implies that the mother is probably black. This can become racist if the pattern is repeated without further commentary or more compassionate detail. In Text 8 the birthing mother is identified as a black woman as opposed to the white woman in the photo next to her. The mothers are one-dimensional characters described only in terms of their biological processes of giving birth in a sensationalised manner. They are portrayed as being negligent towards their babies and inhumane in their actions. This is arguably a gendered discourse for they are judged in relation to not fitting the conventional position for mothers – the emphasized femininity of nurture. No background detail is led that might depict the mothers' plight.

4.1.2 Theme 2: Incompetent, neglectful medical services

The birthing mothers of the 15 texts are either presented as inhumane and neglectful as in Text 1 and 8, the first theme I identified, or as the victims of the failing public health-care system, which is a common theme found in almost all the texts in the sample. To some degree, the birthing mothers are allowed agency in a few of the texts (Text 2, 9 and 10) but they are still portrayed as helpless victims who are subjected to the incompetent public health system. In Text 10, 11 and 12, which deals with an HIV mother who breastfed the wrong baby at the Dora Nginza hospital, the mother of the breastfed baby is portrayed as a victim whereas the other mother, who has HIV, is represented as neglectful and inhumane. Similar to Text 1 and 8, a raced and gendered discourse frames this portrayal. I will explore the negation of the two mothers in Text 10, 11 and 12 in more detail with the close analysis of these core texts later in this chapter.

Text 3 “Vrou van 1,28m verbied by baba se sterfbed”/ Woman of 1,28m denied at baby's deathbed (Schoeman, 2004) also depicts the birthing process in a graphic manner. It emphasizes the circumstances as bizarre as the mother is a midget whose baby was too big for her to give normal birth. The explicit imagery links to Text 1 and 8, which is dealt with in more detail in stage 2 of the analysis, but the more dominant theme emerges in this text where the medical services are represented as at fault. One of the allegations against the

hospital is that the mother, Nafisa Brown, was forced to give natural birth at the hospital even though her clinic scheduled her for a C-section due to her small body size. The article further states that ‘to top it all’ (“om alles te kroon”) Brown and her parents were not allowed to see her child until he died from brain trauma the next day: “stoksielalleen in die broeikas dood is” – ‘he died completely alone in the incubator’. The hospital is not only represented as neglectful but also as inhumane. Comment from an official at the hospital was only published the following day in a smaller article as a conventional follow-up inside the newspaper, Text 4 “Hospitaal het plig nagekom”/ Hospital did its duty (Schoeman, 2005), whereas Text 3 was published in colour on the front page.

Text 6 “Mom’s horror hospital ordeal” (Claassen, 2004) similarly uses visceral imagery to describe the birthing process and birthing mother. It deals with the story of Eleanor Fourie who gave birth unattended at Dora Nginza Hospital and laid in her bed for five hours with a dead baby between her legs before staff removed it. This article similarly fits the theme of the neglectful, inhumane hospital facility and staff who fail to care for the birthing mothers and their unborn infants. Text 6 not only links thematically with the other intertexts and core texts, but in the last two paragraphs it also refers directly to Text 5 “Women must give birth alone” (Claassen, 2004). Core text 5 is analysed in greater detail in stage 2. It recounts two narratives in which a mother and her unborn child as well as another baby died within a week of each other at the hospital, ostensibly due to a lack of medical attention.

Text 6 was published on 13 December 2004, two months after Text 5 appeared on 12 October 2004 with similar themes of death and neglect at Dora Nginza Hospital. By referring to a previous news article published two months previously, the journalist presents background information to Text 6 (Nel, 1998), which covertly serves as social commentary by implying that it is not the first time that a baby or mother have died at the hospital. In this way blame for the deaths is therefore attributed to the hospital by the media. Text 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 present government medical services, government ambulances and/or government hospitals, as neglectful. Text 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 refer specifically to Dora Nginza Hospital whereas Text 7 “Baaise baba gebore voordat ambulans opdaag”/ Bay baby born before ambulance arrives (Van Staaden, 2005) and Text 8 “Jogger delivers baby” (Silke, 2006) relate to state ambulance services. In Text 8 the mother is forced to give birth on the sidewalk after she started walking to the hospital with her partner because the ambulance never arrived at her home. Text 7 deals with a woman who gave birth at a

community member's house after waiting for four hours for an ambulance to arrive. Apart from the shopping centre mom (Text 1), all the other texts partially or completely blame the lack of government health services on the difficult births and associated chaos to which the birthing women were subjected.

4.1.3 Theme 3: HIV stigmatisation and discrimination

The general theme of neglect at government health institutions continues with a series of articles that deal with HIV. They relate to a series of events that deal with an HIV mother who breastfed the wrong baby as a consequence of a baby being swapped by staff at Dora Nginza hospital. The manner in which the HIV mother is stigmatised and discriminated against, comes across strongly as a theme in the core texts I analyse closely later in this chapter: Text 10 "Baby fed HIV-tainted milk" (Currie, 2006), Text 11 "PE mom 'kept from seeing baby'" (Silke, 2006) and Text 12 "PE mom gets 'her' baby back" (Silke, 2006). The texts form a running story, a common news convention and an obvious example of external intertextuality where the same story is followed up on the next day in the same publication, often with new facts or events (Nel, 1998). The ongoing story recounts new mother Liezel Jacobs' initial shock at finding out that her baby was breastfed by another mother at the hospital, who was identified as being HIV positive, the hospital's refusal to show either mother their babies, and the final reunion between Jacobs and her baby in Text 12.

Subsequent intertexts give commentary on the HIV baby-swapping drama. In the same day's publication the opinions of both a reader who wrote a letter to the Letter's Column of the newspaper, Text 13 "Dis ernstige nalatigheid"/ This is serious neglect (Verwey, 2006), and the editor in the Editorial comment section of the paper, Text 14 "Siek diens"/ Sick service (*Die Burger*, 2006), are given. Both are equally condemning of the actions of the hospital and staff. Text 15 concludes the HIV drama in which two staff members were identified and summoned to a disciplinary hearing and in which Liezel Jacobs still awaits the blood tests of her baby to confirm whether the child contracted HIV through the breast milk. In this running story both the anonymous other mother, who is identified only as being black and HIV positive, as well as the HIV disease itself are demonized. HIV is depicted as an evil disease which is stigmatised and discriminated against as the close analysis of the three core texts dealing with the HIV baby-swapping drama demonstrates later in this chapter. The editorial piece (Text 14) describes contracting HIV through the 'tainted' breast milk as a mother's worst fear ("grootste vrees").

In addition to this running story, Texts 7 and 8 in the sample make reference to HIV. As previously mentioned, Text 7 reports on the neighbour who delivered a baby while the mother waited for an ambulance for four hours. The neighbour is quoted as saying that she is always aware that she can contract the HIV virus (“met die MI-virus besmet kan word”) when assisting community members in giving birth. This statement implicitly implicates the birthing mother, Nadine Potberg, who is not given a voice in the text although it is implied that she could have HIV. Similarly in Text 8 the white jogger is represented as “fortunately” wearing gloves when she delivers the black women’s child on the sidewalk in Uitenhage, implying that she was protecting herself against possible HIV infection from the mother’s blood. Again, this mother is given no agency but impugned by implying that she could have HIV. These depictions of HIV, although not the main theme in the texts, portray HIV as a feared disease loosely associated along lines of race and class, or more specifically poor black people.

4.1.4 Theme 4: Media as hero

The visceral descriptions of the birthing process and mothers, the representation of government health services as incompetent and neglectful as well as the discrimination and stigmatisation of HIV are strong themes revealing race, gender and class discourses in some or all of the texts. Another theme links Texts 2, 9 and 10 to 15: the media assumes the role of the saviour of the birthing women in the chaos of the medical blunders committed at the government health facilities. However, in all 15 of the sampled articles, a type of heroism is at least implicitly attributed to *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* for exposing the conditions at government hospitals like Dora Nginza as well as exposing poor ambulance services in the public domain of the news media. The monitorial role (Christians et al, 2009) of the media as Fourth Estate (Carey, 1993) can be described as being exercised by *Die Burger* when they act on behalf of the birthing women to expose apparent poor government health services in the country. The research explores the tension between the sensationalistic parameters of news production and the media’s monitorial role that aims to hold public figures and institutions accountable to the community.

Text 2 “Baby burial horror” (Preller, 2004) is about a couple whose child died during birth at Dora Nginza Hospital after which the baby’s body was “unwittingly discarded in a mass grave filled with unknown babies”. As a former reporter for the newspaper, I wrote this article myself. Even though it is difficult to present a close reading of this text, my personal

experience as the writer enables me to present inside information that relates to the article as an intertext, especially when linking it to the HIV series of articles. In both the HIV series and “Baby burial horror”, lawyers contacted the newspaper after reading the articles in *Die Burger* and requested to be put into contact with the mothers in order to represent them legally. I personally gave the details of the lawyer to the mother (“Baby burial horror”), after which it would have been up to her to pursue the legal route against the Department of Health. Similarly, after the appearance of the first article in the series of articles that dealt with the baby being nursed by an HIV positive mother (Text 10), a lawyer from Pretoria contacted *Die Burger* in order to represent the mother and her baby in a civil court case. No case has been lodged for this mother in court yet but in the event of the baby burial blunder of Text 2, the case did go to court and the mother subsequently was awarded R700 000 by the Department of Health, though she told *Die Burger* in another follow-up article, Text 9 “Money can’t fill the void” (Williams, 2006), “there is a void in my heart that money will never be able to fill”. I study the manifestation of the media as hero in more detail with the close reading of the core texts within the HIV series of articles (Text 10, 11 and 12) to follow.

4.2 STAGE 2

Here I consider the five texts chosen for close analysis by focusing in on a detailed reading with attention to the textual elements of the core texts. The close reading of the core texts will further highlight the broad themes as identified in stage 1, which linked the sample of 15 texts intertextually. Stage 2 hones in on these broad themes by making visible discourses of race, class and gender in the five core texts. Each individual text is analysed firstly from a general point of view, where the visual and verbal features of the texts are considered in greater detail, whereafter the research delves even deeper by analysing the internal elements of the texts in terms of specific narrative, semiotic and lexical methodological tools. Only the most relevant findings about the themes, as identified in stage 1, are discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

4.2.1 Core text 1: Women must give birth alone

Overview

The first of the core texts I consider is “Women must give birth alone” (Text 5), published on page two of *Die Burger* of Tuesday, 12 October 2004. The dateline and by-line indicate that it was reported from Port Elizabeth and that the reporter was Enrico Claassen. The main story on page two on this day, also written by Claassen, reports on the threat posed to the dolphins

at Bayworld Aquarium by people throwing plastic balloons filled with water into the pools. “Women must give birth alone” is therefore not the main story on the page and has no photo attached to it. The stories that appeared on the front page of *Die Burger* on 12 October 2004 reported on the Schabir Shaik’s corruption court case⁴ (nationally newsworthy) and problems with the Eastern Cape’s Matriculation Examinations (provincially newsworthy).

In “Women must give birth alone” two narratives are recounted in one news text: the story of Lisa Jansen whose baby was stillborn and the story of Nkowezi Adams, who died along with her unborn baby at the Dora Nginza Hospital. Their stories are told together because they relate to a single theme: complications during childbirth at the same hospital which occurred a week apart. Covering more than one event with a similar news theme in one article is a common news technique (Nel, 1998). In using the transitional phrase “Meanwhile” (paragraph 10), the story of Adams in paragraphs 1 to 9 is linked with the story of Jansen in paragraphs 10 to 14. The lead and headline encompasses the stories of both women: “Women must give birth alone” and “Pregnant mothers are allegedly left to give birth on their own” (Paragraph 1). The lead and headline presents the reader with the central issue of the narrative: women are forced to give birth alone at Dora Nginza hospital that leads to the deaths of both infants and mothers.

Comment from the medical superintendent of Dora Nginza in paragraphs 15 to 17 relates to both women’s situations. Significantly, the comment from the hospital is placed at the end of the text. This positioning of the hospital’s comment is thus relegated to low importance according to the conventional inverted pyramid-structure of journalism (Nel, 1998). According to the inverted pyramid convention whatever is deemed the most important or newsworthy aspect comes at the top of the article followed by less important information (Nel, 1998). The comment from the medical superintendent, although placed as almost an afterthought, fits another journalistic criteria that proposes that events must be told in an ‘objective’ or balanced manner which requires ‘both’ sides of the story be reported on (Nel, 1998). Although the story of Jansen is more immediate - it happened “on Monday” (par 10), the story of Adams is considered more newsworthy for its degree of negativity since both her and her baby died (“last week” par 2) compared to the death of a single stillborn baby in

⁴ The Schabir Shaik trial was arguably one of the most important court trials of the decade in South Africa and involved a corrupt relationship between Durban-based businessman Schabir Shaik and South African president Jacob Zuma.

Jansen's case. Unlike the chronological order of events, the text starts off with the most shocking (and thus newsworthy) detail of the events: the death of both mother and baby (par 1 and 2) and the death of a stillborn baby (par 10). The fact that Jansen's baby died is repeated in paragraph 14 and so emphasised.

The article merges the stories of Jansen and Adams for the purpose of stressing the bad conditions women are forced to give birth under at the Dora Nginza Hospital. This unification is achieved through referring to the women as a collective in paragraph one "pregnant mothers...left to give birth on their own" and again in paragraph 11 "pregnant women had to give birth without any help". The medical superintendent, Dr Ntombi Qungule, refers to the mothers only as "patients" (par 15 and 16) and their hardships in the hospital as "cases" (par 17). This detachment appears inhumane, as it presents the mothers as faceless cases rather than suffering people. In unifying the two women's stories, the newspaper similarly moulds their personal suffering and different experiences in a sensational manner, while perhaps presenting it as the practice of the Fourth Estate.

Critical reading

The application of Todorov's narrative model (Fiske, 1987) to this news narrative helps to clarify the discursive positioning in the text. The state of equilibrium presents the values of the current social order "mythologized into the taken-for-granted, the common-sense view of how things really are" (Fiske, 1987: 140). The state of equilibrium or social harmony in this news text is assumedly when both women and their unborn children were still alive but, more importantly, the equilibrium was when proper health-care was given at public health-care facilities. The complicating action of storyline 1 is when Adams is found in a shocking condition at Dora Nginza hospital by her colleagues (par 5). Then, although the reporting of Jansen's birthing experience (storyline 2) is very condensed, possibly due to space constraints in the newspaper, its complicating action relates to her birthing experience in paragraph 12 when Marran looks for a bed for her daughter and the nurses ignore her. In both storylines the complicating action involves the first experience of negligence at the hospital, which eventually leads to the death of the infants and one mother. The disequilibrium is what is reported on – the chaos of the hospital as opposed to the places of relative order and care they are meant to symbolize. The final equilibrium is not achieved in this account since no change has been reported on taking place at the hospital.

The value of applying Proppian character functions (Fiske, 1987) to a text enables an analyst to identify what constitutes the quest and the identity of the hero and villain, thus discursive positioning becomes clear. Adams and Jansen, as well as their babies, are portrayed as victims in Propp's terms, as "members of the family" who "lack or desire something" (Fiske, 1987: 135) and who have been harmed by a villain. Not only are they identified in terms of others with more power than them (see further analysis below of how the women are positioned in terms of an employer, husband and mother), but they also have no voice to speak for themselves. There is a generic villain in this narrative in the form of the negligent public health system with its agents the nurses and the doctors. The nurses "ignored" (par 12) Lisa's mother when she wanted a bed for her daughter and in general it is implied in the story that the medical staff were not present when the women were in severe pain. By not attending to Jansen or Adams and letting the deaths happen in the hospital under their care, the medical staff are depicted as the negligent and uncaring villains.

In Adams' storyline, it is significant to see how her employer Dave Webber, who is the owner of the coffee shop where she worked, is presented as opposed to Adams' husband, Louis. When she fell sick Webber took her to the doctor (par 3) and when his employees (Adams' colleagues) who visited her at the hospital, found her in shocking conditions at the hospital, they "immediately notified the manager of the coffee shop about Adams' condition" (par 7). Webber, a white man obviously financially better off, is represented as someone who Adams and her colleagues turn to in a time of crisis. However, he had no idea that she was eight months pregnant. This relates to the issue of financial insecurity for working class women who hold onto employment late into their final trimester of pregnancy, which is simply absent from this narrative. Louis Adams is incidental to the narrative structure as an inactive character compared to Webber (see also their patterns of transitivity below). Webber is quoted as an authoritative source much sooner in the story than Louis Adams, suggesting that what he has to say is more credible than Louis Adams' comments. Adams is quoted as only saying "Nothing will bring back my wife and child" (par 9).

The positioning of an active Webber as opposed to the inactive Louis Adams, as well as the women and babies as helpless victims, is confirmed through a transitivity analysis. The system of transitivity in the clause involves identifying every verb and its associated process (Janks, 1997: 336) in order to determine the positioning of characters in the text. Webber is attributed with verbal and material processes that illustrates that he has the power to speak

and act as opposed to the women and their babies who do not. This has significance in terms of the dominant patriarchal and race discourses, which the women are locked into in the text. Louis Adams is given mental processes to express his emotion about the loss of his wife and child as well as verbal processes but he is depicted as inactive with no material (doing) processes. His status as a man gives him some agency from within the patriarchal discourse but this is undermined by his class and race position as a poor black man. The most powerful character in this narrative according to the transitivity analysis is not the hospital staff, who uses relational processes and is depicted as the villains, but in fact, the white upper-class male in an authoritative role.

The representation of Adams and Jansen as victims of the negligent hospital, as identified through their Proppian character functions, is further evident when undertaking a transitivity analysis in order to examine the processes attributed to them. Adams and Jansen have no material (doing), verbal (saying) or mental (thinking) actions in the text. The verbs used to describe their processes and that of their babies' are behavioural e.g. "didn't feel well" (par 3), "lying curled up", "give birth" (par 11) and "born" (par 14) as well as existential: either being pregnant (par 4) or dead (par 14). These behavioural processes are also almost exclusively physiological and relegate them to being victims of their anatomy in terms of birthing and pregnancy.

That Adams and Jansen are described only in terms of their biological functioning "curled up", "moaning with pain" and "full of blood" (par 6), emphasises their victim status and also positions them as binarily opposed to the hospital staff in various ways. The women, their babies and their bodies, seemingly out of their control because of the birthing experience, represent chaos as opposed to the order of the hospital. Order is achieved through various hospital practices – health is supposedly restored with the use of objects like "needle" and "drip" (par 6) as well as "bed" (13) by the subjects of the hospital order - the doctors and nurses. However, it is clear that these objects and subjects of order do very little, if anything, to contain the chaos or disequilibrium. While critical of the hospital's neglect, the text simultaneously rehearses the hegemonic discourse that naturalises the western medical or allelopathic knowledge ('truth') and discursive practices (including hospital procedures) and the assumption that they heal the sick. This extends to the assumption that giving birth should occur in a hospital. This assumption is naturalised in the text and so gets legitimisation in Thompson's terms (Janks, 1998).

When the naturalised assumptions surrounding birth and the medical discourse are not achieved, the reliability of the discourse is thrown into tension and events become newsworthy. This is identified as a narrational element by Labov & Waletzky (Bell, 1994: 101), which is called the evaluation. The evaluation is evident in what counts as the disruption of the news narrative and in text 1 this is established in paragraphs 1 and 11 where the shocking fact that pregnant women are forced to give birth alone at a government hospital, where they are legally entitled to proper medical care, is stated. In the case of these two women no legal action was taken and although their cases were investigated (par 17), it can be deduced that no other resolution to the tragic events occurred. It could perhaps be argued that the only recognition they receive lies in the telling of their stories in this news article. In this sense, the newspaper did bring some form of recognition to the women through the publication of their stories, albeit with racial, class and gendered undertones. The media's role of holding the state responsible for poor health-care at state hospitals has been achieved despite the sensationalism. In shocking the readership with the stories of Jansen and Adams, the conditions at Dora Nginza Hospital, a state hospital, are brought to the public's attention. However, it is not clear whether any action was taken by the state after the publication of the article.

4.2.2 Core text 2: Jogger delivers baby

Overview

The next core text "Jogger delivers baby" (Text 8) was published on the front page of *Die Burger* of Saturday, 13 May 2006. The dateline reveals that the events occurred in Uitenhage and the by-line indicates it was written by reporter Norman Silke. The topic was regarded as newsworthy enough to be placed on the front page although it is not the lead story. The lead reports on the death of three workers at Volkswagen South Africa's (VWSA) factory in Uitenhage and is distinguished from the two other front page articles by means of bold typographical choice. Perhaps to balance the very serious matter of the three deaths of VWSA workers in the weekend paper (published on a Saturday) in line with the convention of daily news reporting, two lighter stories were chosen for the front-page to contrast with it: Bukelwa Yesi's pavement birth and Jake White choosing a new captain for Springbok rugby. This is an example of the "entertainment" and "humour" (Harcup & O'Neill, 2009) news values of conventional journalism.

The story of Yesi giving birth is placed above the lead story with a smaller picture, attributed to Heilie Combrink⁵, of Yesi, her newborn baby and the woman who jogged past her and delivered her baby. This type of article is colloquially termed a “stoep-storie” in the Afrikaans media to refer to stories that are not always terribly newsworthy but written with humour and generally placed at the top or bottom of the front page to amuse and entertain readers. The picture depicts a smiling white jogger (Margie Du Toit) who holds the new baby boy while Yesi looks on. Yesi does not look at the camera but down at the baby, with a strained half-smile on her face. This representation is echoed in the print component. Du Toit is depicted as in control, the active participant in the visual text, with Yesi as the silent observer, not even holding her own baby in the photo. The baby’s eyes are closed, indicating that he is sleeping, but I suggest this also gives him a passive submissive quality in relation to the people surrounding him in the visual text.

Similar to a personal narrative (Bell, 1994) the article about Bukelwa Yesi giving birth on a pavement in Uitenhage develops chronologically with very few variations, except for the lead of the article. The lead refers to “a baby born on a pavement in Uitenhage” (par 1), an event which occurs halfway through the chronological events but is selected as lead for its perceived newsworthiness. Apart from this, paragraphs 2 to 11 follow the chronology of events. The last four paragraphs (12 to 15) do not introduce any new information. Paragraph 12 presents background information in relation to the jogger Margie du Toit who assisted at the streetside birth: “Du Toit, who has two children of her own, said that she knew how to care for babies as she helped new mothers having trouble breastfeeding”. Paragraph 13 and 14 restate the event described in paragraph 9 when Du Toit pulled the membrane from Yesi’s new-born baby’s head while paragraph 15 repeats a detail described in paragraph 10 (when the baby started crying).

A comparison between the Afrikaans text and the translated version provides especially interesting insights in relation to the discourse of race that emerges. The comparison indicates three omissions in the English version. A section of narration is omitted from paragraphs 10 and 11, when Du Toit flags down a bakkie to give her and Yesi a lift to the hospital and when Yesi and her baby are admitted to the maternity ward, thus omitting the trip to the hospital in

⁵ A reporter at the free community newspaper in Uitenhage and Despatch, entitled *UD*, which is a sister publication of *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*.

the translated English version of the text. The excluded sentence in the Afrikaans text reads, “Yesi is agter op die bakkie gelaai en Du Toit het die baba in ‘n ou T-hemp toegedraai en voor ingeklim” which directly translated means: “Yesi was loaded on the back of the bakkie and Du Toit wrapped the baby in an old T-shirt and climbed in the front”. This sentence was arguably cut to avoid offending readers since it points to racist practices and attitudes whereby black people are loaded onto the back of vans, while their white counterparts travel inside, especially in rural areas.

The other two Afrikaans version paragraphs that were left out in the English version are less significant in relation to the discourses articulated and relate to the production practices of the newspaper. A paragraph identifying the running club Du Toit belongs to is omitted, possibly because it is deemed irrelevant to the national readership of news24.com in contrast to local Eastern Cape readership of *Die Burger*. The last paragraph, which according to journalistic practices is cut first when space is a problem (along the lines of the inverted pyramid story structure), was possibly cut to save space because it was not deemed important information. The paragraph quotes a spokesperson from the hospital saying that Yesi and her baby were doing well in hospital. The resolution in the English version is that Yesi and her baby were admitted to the Maternity Ward of the hospital. This choice carries implications in relation to the media’s role here - the welfare of Yesi and her baby counts as less important than the entertainment factor of giving birth in public.

Critical reading

The orientation, according to Labov’s model (Bell, 1994) as discussed in the previous chapter, is provided in the first two paragraphs and it frames the actors of the story. Yesi’s husband is identified as only that, with no other identity or name. The de-personalisation extends to the baby who is similarly unnamed. The informal settlement where Yesi and her unidentified husband come from, Mandela Village, is clearly identified and stands in contrast to the affluent suburb which is identified as Du Toit’s home, namely Vanes Estate. It is noteworthy that the state hospital is much further away from Mandela Village than Vanes Estate, and accounts for the ‘newsworthy’ incident occurring as it did. However, the disruption (according to Todorov’s model) is not the great distance lower-income families have to travel to get access to state health-care in Uitenhage, but rather it is playfully identified as the fact that “the baby decided to arrive” (par 2) early.

The initial equilibrium relates to Du Toit jogging along her usual route with no woman in labour “Margie du Toit, who jogged from her home in Vanes Estate through Ross Gradwell every morning” (par 4) and Yesi planning to have her baby in hospital (out of sight of the public eye) or being at home in Mandela Village. This disruptive event is evaluated as newsworthy for its unexpectedness for the baby was not born in the hospital but out in the open street on a pavement. The final equilibrium occurs when the baby and mother are doing well in hospital and Du Toit is free to jog again in Uitenhage’s suburbia. Significantly the equilibrium and disequilibrium are created in the text from the point of view of Du Toit and not Yesi and/ or her husband. It is Du Toit who recognises the disequilibrium and who acts and it is therefore her quest that is fore grounded and not Yesi’s.

If Todorov’s model enables the identification of the five stages, it is clear that Du Toit is the hero figure in the narrative that acts and goes on a quest in terms of Propp’s narrative functions (Fiske, 1987). She is depicted as knowing exactly how to act to save Yesi and her baby’s life. Yesi and her nameless husband are voiceless and the only source quoted in the English text is the depicted hero herself, Du Toit. By silencing the black woman and her husband and depicting the white woman as a hero, this text articulates a discourse that has both race and class dimensions. Yesi, her baby and her husband are depicted as the victims in the text, having no control over the birthing process and in need of intervention from the white, middle-class women (Du Toit). No clear villain emerges from the text. The baby certainly is the cause of all the drama because it “decided to arrive” (par 2) on the way to the hospital and not in the hospital.

Through narrativisation, one of the strategies Thompson identified as working to the legitimisation of ideology (Janks, 1998), Du Toit is legitimated as heroic in the text. Her actions are seen as appropriate, even to the wearing of gloves during the birthing process which is constructed as ‘fortunate’ (par 8). Quite why is not clear, but one might well deduce that it relates to the fear and danger of HIV transmission through bodily fluids. The discourse of race is implicitly legitimised. The rationalisation that the gloves are protecting her against the cold is construed as ‘fortunately’ there to protect her against Yesi’s blood: “Du Toit, who was fortunately wearing gloves to protect her hands against the cold, bent down just in time to catch the baby boy” (par 8). The adverb ‘fortunately’ is linked to preconceptions, that are class and race based, and relate to township-living and HIV/Aids.

Such insights in terms of race and class can be further made evident by considering

transitivity and the processes used to represent these social actors. Yesi, her husband and baby are primarily constructed with behavioural and material processes in reaction to the events happening to them outside of their control. The baby is, understandably, attributed with largely behavioural processes in relation to the physiological birthing process: “born” (par 1), “was blue” (par 9) and “started crying” (par 10). Yesi’s husband reacts to the birthing by “hurrying” (par 2) and he “ran to get help” (par 3) for Yesi when she went into labour in the street. Even their admission to hospital is expressed in the passive and therefore outside of Yesi and her baby’s control: they “were admitted” (par 11). The three characters are effectively rendered powerless and unable to control events around them or in Propp’s terms, they are victims in this narrative construction.

Although the so-called victim, Yesi, has some material verbs attributed to her, they relate to the birthing process and tend to be involuntary actions. She “sat down” (par 3) on the pavement because she went into labour. When Du Toit sees Yesi, Yesi is “groaning” (par 5), presumably because of the pain which is not mentioned. In contrast to the act of groaning like an animal, Du Toit runs towards Yesi and “asked what was wrong” (par 6), Yesi “immediately pulled down her pants” (par 7) according to the text. Again, no words are attributed to Yesi and she is simply depicted as out of control, arguably in a dehumanising manner.

In contrast to Yesi, Du Toit is represented with more than 10 verbal and mental processes (apart from other material verbal processes) in the text. She is depicted as capably thinking through her actions when delivering the baby: she “*pulled* the membrane from his head and *patted* him on his bottom” ([my italics] par 9) (material), “she *knew* how to care for babies” (par 12) (mental), “motherly instinct led her to *remove* the membrane from the baby’s head” (par 13) (material) and “*make sure* he was breathing” (par 15) (mental). As the main source of information in the text, she also does all of the talking “asked” (par 6) and “said” (par 12, 13 and 15). Du Toit’s intelligent, competent actions are in stark contrast to Yesi’s silence and behavioural reactions to the birthing process.

The contrast between the active, decent Du Toit and silent, somewhat indecent Yesi is an example of Thompson’s mode of ideology referred to as fragmentation (Janks, 1998) in which differences are created and emphasized in the text. Not only is Yesi contrasted with Du Toit but she is also, I suggest, expurgated as the Other, as a groaning, silent black mother in need of assistance by Du Toit to restore order and decency. The only source of information in

the text is Du Toit whereas the other role players (Yesi, her husband and baby) are silent participants in the narrative events. This could be for practical reasons i.e. the journalist could not get hold of Yesi and her husband but unfortunately it presents a one-sided depiction of events, which articulates racial as well as class discourses. This is exacerbated by the playful tone of the article.

A very serious social problem, the lack of access to basic health-care services for poor black people living in the township, is presented in a humorous, tongue-in-cheek manner. In the lead paragraph of the article, humour is created by the suggestion that this street should be named after the baby boy since he was born there, even though “[f]ew streets are named after children” (par 1). The honour of having a street named after a person is in stark contrast to the dishonour of giving birth on a street pavement and thus is arguably an inappropriate and misplaced metaphor. The tongue-in-cheek style of writing continues in paragraph 2 with the words “the baby decided to arrive” instead of foregrounding the mother who went into labour under non-ideal circumstances. This example of a euphemism is used in the text for humorous effect, at the cost of the serious issue of access to state health-care. The metaphor in paragraph 8 “catch the baby boy” indicates an unwillingness of the author to use more neutral or serious words to depict the birthing process. Rather the physiological process that implicates women is framed as humorous in terms of its unexpectedness or newsworthiness of the situation. In this instance in the potentially life threatening event of a mother giving birth on a pavement is presented as a distraction in relation to the main news event.

4.2.3 Core text 3: Baby fed HIV-tainted milk

Overview

“Baby fed HIV-tainted milk” (Text 10) was the lead story on the front page of *Die Burger* of Monday, 4 September 2006. The dateline and by-line indicates that it took place in Port Elizabeth and was written by reporter Maïke Currie. In the original Afrikaans copy of the article a subheading reads “Ma se angns nadat baba omgeruil is” (Mother’s anguish after baby was swapped). It is positioned alongside a political story detailing overpopulation in the Eastern Cape prisons. The placement of the report on the mother whose child was breastfed by a HIV-positive woman as lead story is indicative that it was considered more newsworthy than the prison story. That it is shocking, sensational and immediate to the living conditions of the readership meets the news imperative of “surprise”, “bad news” and “relevance” (Harcup & O’Neill, 2009). Also on the front page is a captioned photo of a cabaret singer

which is in strong contrast to the only other image, indented in the text of the HIV-breastfeeding story, of the mother, Liezel Jacobs. The pretty blonde cabaret singer, who confidently looks at the camera with styled hair and manicured nails, stands in stark contrast to the shocked and slightly dishevelled Jacobs who looks away from the camera rubbing her eyes with short nails with scraps of nail polish on it and hair that sticks up. Whether intentional or not, before a word is read Jacobs is already visually depicted as a victim.

Unlike the chronological account of the previous core text, “Jogger delivers baby”, the sequence of events presented in the text “Baby fed HIV-tainted milk” follows hard news conventions with facts considered most newsworthy presented in the lead paragraph. They relate to the swapping of two babies, an experience construed as “a young mother’s worst fears” (par 1). The lead is followed by an even more explosive event: the swapped baby was breastfed by an HIV-positive mother in paragraph 2. The second paragraph deals with the revelation that a baby was fed HIV-tainted milk in a hospital, thus serving as both the abstract and evaluation of the article since the concern has shifted from the initial swapping of the babies after birth in hospital, to one of the babies possibly contracting HIV due to this error. As noted in Chapter 2, HIV is frequently represented discursively as an abject disease and treated with fear and loathing in the broad socio-cultural environment through discourses of exclusion, discrimination and ostracising (Sontag, 1991). The possibility that the innocent baby might have contracted HIV is what makes the text highly newsworthy. A slippage occurs in the text with the displacement of the medical condition of the mother, who is HIV positive, to AIDS (par 6 and 7). This displacement acts as a hyperbole in the text with the severity of the disease being highlighted: the baby might have HIV, which will lead to AIDS and finally, it is assumed, death.

Paragraph three focuses on the mother, Jacobs, who “cried as she told” what happened from when she gave birth on Thursday to when the newspaper interview is conducted on Sunday. In this way, the reporter evokes empathy for Jacobs before continuing with the narrative. The rest of the text follows a chronological order as told by Jacobs to the reporter. Comments from both the Medical Superintendent of the hospital, Dr Aydin Vebhi (par 16 and 17), as well as the Communications Director of the Department of Health, Mzukisi Ndara (par 18), are placed at the end of the article. Even though this gives a platform for the hospital to defend the staff or give another side of the story, their version is considered less newsworthy and neither representative gives substantial comment. The opinion of Jacobs’ sister, Heidi

Smith, precedes the comment of the medical spokespersons and her point of view, which condenses the newsworthy elements of the story: “What will we do if the baby has Aids? All because the hospital was negligent” (par 15).

Critical reading

Drawing again on Todorov’s narrative model (Fiske, 1987), the event that serves as the disruption in this narrative occurs when the babies’ name tags are swapped and they are given to the wrong mothers to breastfeed, with one being HIV-positive. This misfortune effectively makes it newsworthy. Similar to the first core text, “Women must give birth alone”, the equilibrium must be assumed to refer to a more perfect context in which such mistakes do not occur in public health-care facilities. The second/final equilibrium, or final resolution in Labov’s terms, has not been reached since the mistake of swapping the babies had not yet been rectified: Jacobs’ baby “was still in the incubator at Dora Nginza paediatric unit, right next to the baby she had been swapped with” (par 13).

The HIV-positive mother is identified and positioned as ‘Other’ than Jacobs. Neither she nor her baby is named and this anonymity distances the reader from them. In contrast, greater detail is given for the named and emotional Jacobs with her “first-born” (par 2) baby daughter. Neither the sex of baby X nor whether Jacobs also breastfed this baby is mentioned. The HIV-positive mother, identified early in the text by only her ‘diseased’ status, is also called the “wrong mother” (par 8). She is further implicitly represented as neglectful for leaving the hospital and ‘going missing’. Direct translation of the Afrikaans “glo nêrens te vind nie” (par 13, Afrikaans text) would be “she was apparently nowhere to be found”. Jacobs and her baby girl are portrayed as victims or as “members of the family” who “lack or desire something” (Fiske, 1987: 135). They are identified mostly by the injustices they experience. Jacobs is characterised as a “young mother” (par 1), “18” (par 3) who cries (par 3) as she speaks to the media about what had happened to her at Dora Nginza.

Even though the HIV mother is represented as someone who potentially causes harm, the true villain in terms of Propp’s character functions (Fiske, 1987: 137) in this text is the nursing staff. Not only did they make the fatal mistake of swapping the babies (par 8) because they got the tags mixed up (par 4) but they are represented as acting in an underhand manner. They took blood samples from Jacobs without explaining to her what they were for (par 5) and they also apparently stole her file (par 11) – which implies that they did it to cover up their own involvement in the swapping of the babies. The staff also treats Jacobs “as if she

had done something wrong” (par 15) according to her sister. There is one exception and this is the doctor in the paediatric unit who is represented differently and serves as a helper to the hero in Propp’s sense: he tells Jacobs the truth about her baby (par 3). Not only does he apologise to Jacobs (par 8) but he “was very angry about what had happened” (par 9). He also treats the baby with antiviral drugs to prevent her from contracting the HIV virus.

However, it is clear the media recognises, acts and so takes on the role of the true hero. The media becomes more heroic than the doctor in the sense that the events surrounding Jacobs and her baby are exposed in the public domain with the publishing of the article. Both the Medical Superintendent of the hospital, Dr Aydin Vebhi, and the provincial Communications Director of the Department of Health, Mzukisi Ndara, are made aware of the apparent negligence at the hospital by the media and Vebhi promises to investigate the matter. The narrative is moved closer to resolution because of the recognition and action of *Die Burger* as hero-figure. That *Die Burger* can be identified in the hero role apropos Propp links to the central concern of the thesis: the tension between holding public figures and institutions to account and sensationalism to attract readership. The newspaper takes on the role of the Fourth Estate by exposing the shocking (sensational) events surrounding the baby swapping drama at the state hospital.

A transitivity analysis enables further important insights in relation to the construction of the Proppian characters. This is the first of the five core texts where the birthing mother is used as a source in the text, as worthy of an interview. She is depicted in an empathetic manner and this becomes evident in the close analysis of the verbs or processes. Not only is Jacobs given the authority and power to speak through four verbal processes in the text, she is also attributed with five mental processes which shows that she is a feeling, thinking and perceiving human being. She is the first ‘victim’ who speaks and thinks for herself. Despite this very different depiction of the birthing mother, Jacobs is however not an active character in the text. She existentially “shares” (par 10) a room with another mother because the staff moved her there. She is further represented with behavioural processes – she “gave birth by Caesarean” (8) and “she cried” (par 3). She is depicted as a victim in the text with the absence of any material processes attributed to her. Despite her victim status, Jacobs uses a variety of verbal processes and is a rounded character in the text with *some* authority over her body and personal circumstances despite the actions of the hospital staff.

In contrast, the other mother is depicted in a one-dimensional manner. Besides the passive behavioural action of breastfeeding Jacobs' baby (par 2 and 6), the other mother is described through existential processes: she "had Aids" (par 6) and "went missing" (par 13) as well as the behavioural process of giving birth (par 8). She is therefore defined only in terms of her gendered and diseased status, as an HIV positive woman who had given birth at the Dora Nginza Hospital. Her actions are construed implicitly as being negligent towards another woman's baby as well as towards her own for going missing in the midst of the baby-swapping crisis.

The other construction of a group of people to be critical of is the Dora Nginza staff, similarly negligent, but they are represented primarily with material and some verbal processes, thus with more agency than the HIV mother. It is precisely their careless actions (material processes), mixing up the names tags (par 4) and giving the baby to another woman to breastfeed (par 6), as well as their devious handlings (material processes) towards Jacobs (taking her blood without any explanation [par 5] and removing her file from her bed [par 11]) that depicts them as actively negligent. The other characters held responsible for the baby drama, the Medical Superintendent of the hospital, Dr Aydin Vebhi (par 16 and 17), as well as the Communications Director of the Department of Health, Mzukisi Ndara (par 18), are assigned only verbal and mental processes in the texts to indicate that the incident was being investigated by the authorities at the hospital and Department of Health.

A more rounded and complex character is the authoritative doctor at the paediatric unit of the hospital who shared the news of the baby swapping drama with Jacobs. Even though he works for the hospital and therefore represents the hospital, the doctor is "angry" (par 9) and "sorry" (par 8) about the events. These adjectives present him as more humane than the staff and authoritative figures representing the hospital in the text. He acts as a messenger with several verbal processes (par 3, 6, 7, 8) revealing the events surrounding her baby possibly contracting HIV at the hospital, to Jacobs, giving her the truth which the other staff members deliberately seemed to have withheld from her. His actions include two material processes, namely giving an anti-retroviral drug to Jacobs' baby (par 7) and doing blood tests (par 7) on the child that are medically informed and indicative of a sense of professionalism.

In line with news practices to validate 'objectivity' and 'balance' (Nel, 1998), the journalist refrains from placing blame on the hospital, staff or the HIV mother by making use of nominalisation (Janks, 1998). The journalist evades the issue of blame by quoting two

characters, the doctor and Jacob's sister, who openly attribute the negligence to the hospital staff. The doctor at the hospital tells Jacobs that "staff had got her baby daughter's name tag mixed up" (par 4) and that "they had given my [her] baby to another woman to breastfeed" (par 6). Jacobs' sister plainly states, "It was Dora's mistake...because the hospital was negligent" (par 15). The hospital is framed through euphemistic and evasive language. The actions that make it possible to contract the potentially life-threatening HIV-Aids is referred to euphemistically as "the 'mistake'" (par 6), "the incident" (par 16, 17), and "something like this" (par 18). Similarly, Jacobs' file euphemistically "disappeared" (par 11) from her hospital bed instead of stating that a nurse concealed the file to cover up her/ his involvement in the baby swapping incident.

As the above nominalisations might suggest that the text is objective, consideration of the modality and polarity is revealing. The choice of words and sources of information - or information focus as identified by Halliday (Janks, 1997) - create sympathy towards Jacobs and her baby for the shocking treatment they received at Dora Nginza Hospital. In using Jacobs (par 3 to 13) and her sister (par 14 and 15) as the main sources of information and placing their version of events before the more diluted comments from the representatives of the hospital in paragraphs 16 to 18, an affinity towards the women and their situation and an alienation towards the hospital staff and the HIV mother is created. The sense of serious negligence as well as sympathy for the young mother and her baby is established early in the text with the introduction "young mother's worst fears" (par 1) and the first description of this mother is that she is crying (par 3). This polarity occurs throughout the text where Jacobs and her baby are depicted as the victims as opposed to the hospital staff and HIV mother as the villains. Even though the journalistic practices of seeking 'balance' informs the construction of this text, the article is clearly sympathetic towards Jacobs. This positioning can however be justified as the newspaper acting on behalf of Jacobs. Despite the sensational theme of the article, events are presented in an empathetic manner towards the victim (Jacobs) who is allowed to speak for herself in the text.

4.2.4 Core text 4: PE mom 'kept from seeing her baby'

Overview

PE mom 'kept from seeing baby' (Text 11) written by Silke in Port Elizabeth again, appeared on the front page of *Die Burger* of Tuesday, 5 September 2006. Even though Currie broke the first story ("Baby fed HIV-tainted milk") about Jacobs and her baby the day before, Silke was

the Health Reporter at the time of publication and therefore took over the story from Currie on the Monday when the full staff complement was back at work, as is common newsroom practice at daily newspapers. That it is the lead on the front page indicates that it was deemed more newsworthy than the accompanying environmental and rugby stories, despite the fact that the HIV baby drama was headlined the previous day. The layout includes a heading, first and second sub-headings to signify its importance. The article is accompanied by a photo taken by Ewald Stander, which takes up equal space with the written text.

Jacobs is foregrounded in the picture with a white man, identified in the caption as her lawyer Ruann Kruger, who is positioned in the background. Kruger, who is deliberately photographed out of focus, is looking at Jacobs' back with a serious, albeit expressionless, face while the focus is on Jacobs, who is wiping her eyes, staring emotionally straight into the camera. The close-up eye contact photo of Jacobs creates a sense of intimacy with the young, shy-looking mother. She is wearing a headscarf and dark, casual clothing which is in contrast to the light-coloured formal shirt Kruger is wearing. The picture appears posed, a common photographic practice when there is little or no action or spontaneous moments. Kruger is presented as the protector or helper of Jacobs, who is depicted as the crying victim of circumstances. It is significant to note that the white male is represented in the photo as the helper or guardian of the black female.

The "PE mom 'kept from seeing her baby'" article follows the sequence of a typical news story by first presenting facts deemed most important to those considered least important or newsworthy. The introduction of the article presents what is considered the most newsworthy or the latest revelation in the HIV drama: the other mother "apparently claimed she was the baby's mother" (par 1). Nowhere else in the text is there another mention of this claim or the source of this information. The next two paragraphs (2 and 3) give background information in this running story of the HIV drama with a short synopsis of what was published in the previous article. It thus provides background to readers who did not read the previous article.

The abstract of the article occurs in the headline and the introduction of the story. It highlights the unfairness of the situation and contrasts one mother, the innocent victim who was 'kept from seeing [her] baby', with another mother, who apparently deviously "claimed she was the baby's mother" (par 1). This audacity, as previously mentioned, is not subsequently substantiated and forms the most shocking or newsworthy part of events as presented for a second news day by the media. It even contradicts facts given later in the text

where the other mother is exempt from the blame: “baby was *accidentally* [my emphasis] breastfed by the wrong mother” (par 3). These inconsistencies in the text, in contrast to the previous text, are written less professionally arguably serving to sensationalise (rather than expose) conditions at the hospital.

The sequence of paragraphs is slightly altered in the English translation of this article with comment from the CEO of the Port Elizabeth Hospital Complex (par 7 and 8) moved down lower than in the original Afrikaans article, where it appears in paragraph 4 and 5. Comment by the local CEO on the baby swapping drama might be newsworthy to locals and relevant to an attempt at balanced reporting in the Afrikaans text. It is, however, less relevant for the news24 website since the audience is national and international. The next five paragraphs follow a chronological order where *Die Burger* – now an active character partaking in events – accompanies Jacobs’ family to her bedside. Thereafter in paragraphs 11 and 12 there is a flashback by Jacobs of what her baby looked like at birth and paragraphs 13 and 14 deal with initial tests done after the birth to determine the two babies’ HIV-status.

The typical news story format (inverted pyramid) moves between the past (birth, tests, etc), present (*Die Burger*’s visit to the hospital) as well as the future. In paragraph 15 and 16 it is mentioned that more tests have been sent to Pretoria and will only be available in 10 days time from the publication date. It is also insinuated that a court case may follow should Jacobs “decide to sue the hospital” (par 18) since an attorney offered his assistance free of charge to Jacobs and her family. Ruann Kruger from Ludik and Booysen in Pretoria flew to Port Elizabeth after reading about Jacobs online on the news24 site. The monitorial role of the newspaper becomes significant since it is the publicity of Jacobs’ story the previous day that had caused Kruger to offer his assistance.

Critical reading

Continuing the saga on day two of the news topic in “PE mom ‘kept from seeing baby”, the news report picks up on a further disequilibrium which is established when hospital staff continue to act negligently (par 5 and 6) towards Jacobs despite the newspaper publicity of the previous day. As an update follow-up news story anticipates, a similar re-equilibrium as the previous text, which implies a time or space when women received adequate care at the state hospitals, exists.

Again the other mother is left voiceless. The sources called upon to give their opinions are Jacobs, her sister, and the authoritative voices of officials of the medical institution and a related NGO: the CEO of the PE Hospital complex, Dr Lulamile JamJam, and the EC Spokesperson for the Treatment Action Campaign, Phillip Mokoena. The manner in which the hospital is depicted as a negligent space is important in terms of the scene setting in positioning or orientating this text. Even though reports are being compiled (par 7), tests are being done (par 15) and people expressed their shock (par 19) about the incident, the cause of all the trouble has not been addressed, i.e. “Jacobs’ baby was still wearing a name tag with the other woman’s name on it” (par 10). This is related to the complicating action of the news story: Jacobs was kept from seeing her baby by nursing staff (par 5). This angle gives the story, which broke the previous day, a fresh perspective which still has enough shock factor to be deemed newsworthy enough for the front page. A hint at a possible resolution to the narrative is that the lawyer (par 18) will sue the hospital on behalf of Jacobs and her baby.

Applying Proppian insights in terms of character functions, it becomes clear that the villain in this narrative is the nursing staff. The staff were attributed with this role in the initial drama of swapping the name tags of the babies (par 2) and continued acting carelessly or cruelly towards Jacobs by refusing her access to her baby (par 5) and telling her that she must not establish a bond with her baby since “she had already been fed by the other woman and was closer to her” (par 6). This action is contrasted with the victim status of a “tearful Jacobs” (par 6). The nurses “harm a member of the family” (Fiske, 1987) in the Proppian sense by acting negligently and as bullies towards the victim, Jacobs.

Significantly Jacobs’ sister, Heidi Smith, and legal guardian, Jeannie Jass, do most of the talking for Jacobs in this text and act on her behalf by insisting on visiting the nursery and seeing the baby. In spite of this, the newspaper claims the hero role in the text. By writing in the first person (par 4), the newspaper becomes a character in the text. Since making the story of the HIV drama public in the first text (“Baby fed HIV-tainted milk”), in one day *Die Burger* has forced a demand for a comprehensive report on the incident by the CEO of the PE Hospital Complex, Dr Lulamile JamJam, for more blood tests to be done and resulted in a lawyer offering free legal representation. The role of the newspaper as hero is evident in bringing this helper, a lawyer, to Jacobs through the act of publishing her story.

The character roles again become more clearly delineated if one considers how the hero and victim versus the villains are constructed to achieve what Thompson refers to as

fragmentation (Jank, 1998). The fragmentation is effected through the differentiation and expurgation of the 'Other'. In this case there are two sides: on the one Jacobs, her baby, *Die Burger*, lawyer Ruann Kruger, Jacobs' sister, Heidi Smith, and legal guardian, Jeannie Jass and on the other the nurses, other mother and her baby. The first camp is represented as unified, despite their differences of race and class, in their plight for Jacobs and her baby. The second camp is not represented as unified but is grouped together as the enemy, or the 'Other', who has caused all the pain and suffering Jacobs has had to endure. They are directly and indirectly blamed for the possibility that Jacobs' baby contracted HIV at a government hospital.

In par 4 the first camp collectively visits the hospital to get some answers and they are differentiated from "the nurses" (par 5) and the "other woman" (par 6). Playing on the double-meaning of the phrase 'other woman' during infidelity in the marriage, the woman who breastfed Jacobs' baby is referred to twice as the "other woman" (par 6 and 10) as well as the "wrong woman" (par 3) and the "HIV-positive woman" (par 1). She is contrasted with an emotional Jacobs who is represented as a more rounded character with feelings, thoughts and agency in the text. The babies are similarly also contrasted with one another. The HIV woman's baby, who is still not identified by name or by gender, is described as "another" (par 2) and "black" (par 12) while Jacobs' baby is described as "healthy baby girl" (par 2), "first-born" (par 2), and notably with a "very light complexion" (par 12). This detail highlights the issue of race in the text: Jacobs' baby is a so-called coloured baby with a lighter complexion than that of the other woman's baby – who has darker skin pigmentation. As insignificant as the race differences between the first camp's members (reporter and lawyer are white and Jacobs and her family are not) are presented in the unification process in the text, the significance of the race difference between the HIV mother and her baby and Jacobs and her baby is marked.

A transitivity analysis reveals that the victim status of Jacobs is once again emphasised and extended her. Jacobs' relative autonomy evident in speaking for herself, almost exclusively in the previous core text, is limited in the subsequent text of the running HIV series. *Die Burger*, lawyer Ruann Kruger, Jacobs' sister, Heidi Smith, and her legal guardian, Jeannie Jass all act on her behalf. Jacobs' single verbal process ("said" par 5) is in contrast with the six verbal processes associated with *Die Burger*, Kruger, Smith, Jass and "the family" (par 15) where Jass and Smith are grouped together. Even more telling is Jacobs' lack of any material

processes, compared to the four material processes attributed to the lawyer, Jass and *Die Burger* (“accompanied”[par 4], “went into” [par 9], “flew”[par 18], and “offer”[par 18]). Not only does this group act on behalf of Jacobs, they also speak on her behalf. This portrayal of Jacobs as the almost silent victim reverts back to the first representations of the birthing women of the core texts, “Women must give birth alone” and “Jogger delivers baby”.

Both babies are unsurprisingly represented as merely passive victims. The HIV mother is attributed one verbal process “she apparently claimed she was the baby’s mother” (par 1) but this claim is based on hearsay and cannot be validated as the HIV mother’s own words. She is further described only in terms of the fact that she breastfed (par 1 and 3) the wrong baby. The nursing staff also features very little in the text even though they are depicted as the villains that are responsible for the exchange of the babies. Again, their verbal process is hearsay for Jacobs recounts the events “They said I must not...” (par 6). Despite the conventional comment from the CEO of the Port Elizabeth Hospital Complex (par 7 and 8) and a TAC Spokesperson (par 19 and 20) the article appears to be one-sided and sensationalised.

Despite the first two texts in the HIV series sharing a similar choice of polarity: sympathy towards Jacobs and her baby and condemnation towards the nursing staff and other mother, the styles of writing are very different. As mentioned previously, the information focus has shifted slightly from exposing the huge mistake at the hospital (Baby fed HIV-tainted milk”) to the continuing negligent treatment of Jacobs and her baby (“PE mom kept from seeing her baby”) by nursing staff. However, in order to give the story, which broke the previous day, a fresh perspective the reporter/ editor sensationalised some of the known facts to make it newsworthy enough for the front page. This sensationalism includes the unsubstantiated claim that the HIV mother said “she was the baby’s mother” (par 1), the remark by nursing staff that the HIV mother and Jacobs’ baby had already formed a bond (par 6), as well as the racial implications of the light skin of Jacobs’ baby as opposed to the black HIV baby.

A strong theme in this text is the heroic role the newspaper takes on in the depiction of events. The newspaper not only becomes an active participant in the text by visiting Dora Nginza Hospital with Jacobs’ family, it also manages to bring about free legal council for Jacobs. The metaphor used to describe this legal aid brought on by the newspaper exposing the baby swapping drama the previous day is “an unexpected helping hand” (par 17). In the original Afrikaans text the lawyer, Ruann Kruger, is also metaphorically described as a

‘Good Samaritan’ (“Barmhartige Samaritaan” par 17). No mention is made of the financial gain such a court case would hold for Kruger’s company if successful or the free publicity he would get by this act of ‘kindness’. Despite the newspaper’s role of acting on behalf of Jacobs, the production premise of sensationalism and the discourse of race affects this ideal and arguably makes the prominence of the newspaper in the article seem self-serving.

4.2.5 Core text 5: PE mom gets ‘her’ baby back

Overview

Unusually, another article on the same topic appeared for the third day running and again as the lead story on the front page of *Die Burger* of Wednesday, 6 September 2006. “PE mom gets ‘her’ baby back” (Text 12) shares the front page with two shorter crime stories below it. The layout of the article is very similar to the previous core text, “PE mom ‘kept from seeing baby’” (Text 11), with an even bigger close-up picture of Jacobs and her baby as well as the same sophisticated layout of a heading, first and second sub-headings. Jacobs is wearing the same black headscarf as in the main photo of the previous day but instead of crying, she is now smiling shyly while holding her daughter next to her face. In the caption, she is described as “’n Emosionele me. Liezel Jacobs” (an emotional Ms. Liezel Jacobs) and her baby’s name is revealed as “Tamia”. The headline from the previous day “Nog trane oor baba” (More tears over baby) evolves into the heading “Trane word vreugde” (Tears become joy). Similarly the English headlines of the translated versions that appeared on the web, “PE mom ‘kept from seeing baby’” develops into “PE mom gets ‘her’ baby back”. The text becomes the conclusion to this series of front page articles about Jacobs and her baby and meets the news criteria of “good news”, that is “stories with particularly positive overtones such as rescues and cure” (Harcup & O’Neill, 2009: 168). By splashing this last article, as is evident by the bold layout and positioning of the article on the front page, the heroic role of the media is further highlighted and the newspaper takes credit for reuniting Tamia and Jacobs with one another.

The text deploys the inverted pyramid format of news reporting, foregrounding the most newsworthy event: the happy reunion of mother and baby after several days of anguish due to the baby-swapping drama. The next three paragraphs (par 2 to 4) elaborate on the reunion of Jacobs and Tamia but no mention is made whether the reunion of the other HIV-positive mother and baby even occurred. Some background is given in paragraphs 5 to 7 by recapping events reported on in the first two articles in the series. Paragraphs 8 to 14 present

information supplied by Dr Aydin Vebhi, medical superintendent at Dora Nginza Hospital, which chronicles the chronological order of actions taken by the hospital since the discovery of the baby switch from the initial basic testing (par 9) to future testing and action to be taken by the hospital (par 15 to 18).

The placement of the two sources, Jacobs and Vebhi, is in order of importance as opposed to the representation of their credibility as sources. Jacobs is placed first but only three paragraphs (par 2 to 4) deal with her actions and words. In contrast, after presenting the background (par 5 to 7), a total of ten paragraphs (par 8 to 18) consist of comment and information supplied by Vebhi. Even though Jacobs is placed first as a source in this text, her credibility is undermined in comparison to Vebhi's. He is presented as an expert who is authoritative through his medical control. He offers scientific knowledge by using medical jargon e.g. "Nevarapine" (par 10), "colostrum" (par 12) and "antibodies" (par 13). In contrast, Jacobs is represented as emotional: "crying with happiness" (par 4) and irrational: "It doesn't even matter if she is HIV-positive or not" (par 4). Vebhi is presented as masculine and is therefore rational, logical and knowledgeable. Jacobs is presented as feminine and is therefore emotional, illogical and ignorant. They are positioned as opposites and this representation articulates a hegemonic gender discourse.

Critical reading

Both the headline and lead paragraph (the abstract of the narrative) refer to the reunion of Jacobs and Tamia – signalling it as the central focus of the article. It is interesting to note that instead of blaming the nursing staff as in the previous two core texts in the HIV series, the hospital is attributed responsibility for the error in the lead paragraph: "The hospital allegedly responsible for allowing a newborn girl to be breastfed by the wrong mother..." (par 1). The shift in blame is further explained in paragraph 14, 15 and 16 where either the doctors (par 16) or the nurses (par 15) can be held responsible through an internal investigation into who caused the "problem with the mothers' medical files" (par 14). The problem with the medical files had led to the switching of the babies and would therefore also be considered the complicating action of the narrative – similar to the complicating action of the previous two core texts (Text 10 and 11).

Contrary to most news stories, and certainly the two texts discusses in this series of the baby swapping drama, it is not the disequilibrium that is reported on but the restoration of the equilibrium which makes events newsworthy in "PE mom gets 'her' baby back". The reunion

of mother and daughter, the action taken by the hospital to correct their mistake and the restoration of some degree of justice for Jacobs brought on by the efforts of the media institution are the key elements of this second equilibrium. “PE mom gets ‘her’ baby back” shares a similar disequilibrium with the previous two core texts (Text 10 and 11) but reports on the successful conclusion of the newspaper’s intervention in events.

When seeking to establish the discursive positioning or the orientation of the narrative, significantly on day three of reporting on the same events, the voice of the other mother is still missing from the text. She is described only by her HIV status “a woman with HIV” (par 1) and her race “unknown black woman” (par 5). None of the other persons in this article is identified by their race although her baby’s race was identified in the previous article, “PE mom ‘kept from seeing baby’” (Text 11). The purpose of identifying both mother and baby as black serves no news value and reveals the discourse of race within the text. The ‘Ethical Code for Reporters, Photographers and Graphic Artists of *Die Burger*’ states: “The race of a person may not be mentioned in a news report unless: [t]he person’s race is relevant” (Claassen, 2002: 6). No reason why the race of mother and baby may be relevant is evident in the text. The ‘wrong’ mother’s baby is finally identified by her sex (par 5) but remains as anonymous as her mother in terms of any further identification. This representation is in stark contrast to the emotional representation of Jacobs and Tamia.

The newsworthiness (or evaluation in Labov’s terms) of the narrative is closely linked to the resolution of this series of news texts (Text 10 to 12): a conclusion to events is reached when Tamia and Jacobs are reunited. The role of the media in orchestrating this reunion is considered elemental by the media institution and therefore the story is written from the angle that a happy ending has finally been achieved thanks to the help of the media putting pressure on the hospital to act. The media’s role is represented as being vital in righting the wrongs at the hospital and providing Jacobs with a sense of justice. This resolution is not necessarily the end of the extended narrative. Jacobs can still institute a civil case against the hospital, Tamia’s HIV-status is not yet determined and the internal investigation into the matter at the hospital is not yet resolved. Due to the immediacy of news production compared to institutions such as the law, administration and medical laboratories this final stage is not achieved. However, as mentioned when discussing Text 15 earlier in this chapter, two nurses were eventually found responsible for the baby switch and were awaiting their punishment. If

baby Tamia was to be found HIV-positive, a subsequent civil case would almost certainly follow but nothing has since been reported on by *Die Burger*.

In terms of Proppian character functions, the hero of the text, similar to Text 11, becomes the newspaper itself, *Die Burger*. The paper as hero recognises the problem and acts by going on a quest to make the baby switch drama public knowledge and pressurise the hospital with three front page stories on the matter. Dr Vebhi is represented as a helper in the sense that he took action by doing further “DNA tests” (par 8) and leading an “internal investigation” (par 14) into the matter. Yet he represents the hospital where the baby switch drama occurred and therefore the newspaper takes the final credit despite Vebhi’s role, especially since the article the previous day (Text 11) reported that very little had been done about the situation by the hospital leadership.

The villain and victims of this narrative remains the same as in Text 10 and 11. The ‘wrong mother’ is still partially blamed for her involvement in the breastfeeding drama although the hospital is held responsible for the baby switching, which caused all the problems in the first place. The villain has shifted from the nursing staff to the collective ‘hospital’ in Text 12. Jacobs and Tamia are still represented as the victims in the narrative, especially Jacobs who is described as being in an emotional and fragile state. The manner in which she has been represented in the studied text has regressed from her fairly independent representations in Text 10 and Text 11. The representation of Jacobs’ first response when seeing her baby for the first time in five days was to breastfeed her (par 2). In this text, this act is represented as an essentialised mother/ feminine instinct. The tone in this paragraph is sensationalistic, fuelled by the news value and irony of Jacobs now breastfeeding, the same act which resulted in most of the drama of the narrative in the first place. The possible danger that Tamia has contracted HIV also still gives her a victim status, despite her mother’s claim that it didn’t matter whether she had HIV or not (par 4).

The prejudice towards people with an HIV-positive status, i.e. the ‘wrong’ mother, as well as the horror of baby Tamia contracting this fearful disease is naturalised and reified in terms of Thompson’s modes of ideology (Janks, 1998). The ‘wrong’ mother is openly ostracised in the text because of her HIV status: she is depicted as anonymous (par 5), villainous (par 7) and in a racially charged manner (par 5). Even though it is stated in *Die Burger*’s code of ethics (Claassen, 2002) that “[t]he fact that someone is HIV positive may not be mentioned without the person’s permission” (2002: 8), it follows that “[r]eporters must at all times in their

reporting avoid the stigmatisation of people suffering from HIV/Aids” (2002:08). This mother could have been offered the dignity of a voice to give her side of events – whether it be under her real or a false name. Alternatively, the way in which she was represented could have been done in a less discriminatory manner. As in Text 11, however, the ‘wrong’ mother is represented as the ‘Other’.

The construction of HIV as a dire disease is further perpetuated in the article with the words spoken by Vebhi. He states it is a “good aspect that the baby was only breastfed once” (par 11) by the HIV mother. This statement further naturalised the stigmatisation associated with HIV. The status of HIV as a feared disease is reified. Vebhi arguably dissimulates and prevaricates in his account of the baby swapping drama. Though baby Tamia has been identified, he calls her “the baby breastfed by the wrong mother” (par 10) and “the baby” (par 11). He uses the metaphor that the hospital is “now 99.99% sure which baby belongs to which mother” (par 8). Words used to describe the negligence at the hospital that caused the baby swapping drama are euphemised as a mere “confusion” (par 9, 14) and “problem” (par 14).

As in Text 10 and 11, the babies and HIV-positive mother are given very little agency and mostly use passive material and behavioural processes in relation to breastfeeding (par 1, 6, 11, 12) and birthing (par 5). Jacobs is given more agency than the other mother and the babies with four material processes in relation to things she is doing with her baby (par 2 and 3), a mental process “pleased” (par 3) and behavioural process “crying” (par 4). Far fewer verbal processes are attributed to her, however, in comparison to Vebhi’s: Jacobs has three verbal processes (par 3, 5 and 6) in comparison to Vebhi’s five (par 8, 9, 12, 13 and 14). His mental process “didn’t want to” (par 14) is also a lot stronger than Jacobs’ mental process “pleased” (par 3).

Race, gender and class remain implicit discourses in this concluding text in the HIV series reporting on Jacobs and baby Tamia. The other mother is not only racially represented but also ostracised for her HIV status. Jacobs is contrasted with Vebhi in terms of gendered characteristics and lacks the agency of Text 10. The theme of the media as hero reaches a climax in this final front-page article on the baby swapping drama with the newspaper taking the credit for the happy reunion of mother and baby. *Die Burger* again claims the monitorial role acting on behalf of the women in the text but similar to Text 11, sensationalised depictions taint this ideal.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the account of the critical analysis of the 15 texts in which birthing mothers were represented in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)* over a period of three years (2004 – 2007). After initially establishing four common intertextual themes in the sample, I did a close reading of how these themes, and the inherent discourses ascribed to them, were manifested in the five core texts selected from the sample. I made use of several methodological tools for this analysis and firstly presented an overview and secondly a critical reading of the individual core texts. This enabled me to closely analyse all aspects of the core texts, which varied greatly in terms of the manifestation of discourses and sensationalised depiction of the birthing women. The positioning of the articles, however, did not negate the media's role as acting on behalf of the women since the injustices occurred through poor state medical services were made public knowledge. I discuss this finding in the next conclusive chapter.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 The plight of the birthing women

The majority of the articles in the sample of texts are concerned with exposing poor state health-care facilities in Nelson Mandela Bay, with the focus being on the plight of birthing women. All of these texts, to some degree or another, reveal the level of deterioration of the state health-care system in the region with the publication of the articles. A tension exists within this depiction of women as a newsworthy item in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*, in considering the news media's monitorial role towards the women to fight for their basic right to efficient health-care and the news value of representing birthing primarily in a sensationalist manner to attract audiences and sell newspapers. The question that has developed from this body of research is, were the women helped despite or because of their sensationalist depictions.

The topic of birthing locates these events within a gendered discourse. A close critical discourse analysis, through the lenses of feminist poststructuralism, reveals gender, race and class positioning which continues to inscribe unequal power relations. An illustration of this inequality is Core text 2, "Jogger delivers baby". The birthing woman is overtly constructed from within sexist, racist and class discourses. As argued in chapter 4, Bukelwa Yesi's pavement birth dehumanises her, rendering her an object of comic humour for the news value of entertainment. Other texts in the sample, for example Core text 3: "Baby fed HIV-tainted milk", inscribe these discourses more covertly. The birthing woman, Liezel Jacobs, is represented with significant agency in contrast to Yesi, and issues of birthing and reproduction are treated with more dignity and sensitivity despite the sensational topic. Both articles, however diverse in style of writing and positioning in terms of discourses of race, class and gender, do bring the issue of poor state health-care under the public's attention.

I have asked myself whether Liezel Jacobs has been helped more than Bukelwa Yesi, or any other birthing woman represented in the news media, with the publication of her story. Is a sensitive approach to the topic of birthing more successful in publicly finding justice for the birthing women than a sensationalist depiction? The findings in the previous chapter were concerned with whether the different styles of representation and positioning, sensationalism vs. sensitive reporting, affected the media's monitorial role (Christians et al, 2009) in any way. Conclusively both women served as subjects of the publication to expose poor state

health care in the Nelson Mandela Bay region. Despite gendered, racist and class representations in some of the texts studied, the purpose of exposing the flaws in the region's health-care system was achieved. This finding came as a surprise, considering the tension that exists in defining the news media's role towards the birthing women.

5.2 Marrying the media's monitorial role with sensationalism

The diverse constructions of Bukelwa Yesi (core text 2) and Liezel Jacobs (core text 3) in the publication both served to expose poor state health-care in the region. These texts, and in fact all the texts within the scope of research, were to a certain degree beneficial towards the birthing women, and the greater community, by making injustices such as the state's deteriorating ambulance and hospital services public knowledge, thereby holding them to account. Despite the discriminatory portrayals in terms of race, class and gender in some of the texts, the media's role as "acting on behalf of" (Garnham, 2004) the birthing women for the "public good" (Habermas, 2004), independently from the State, was arguably still achieved. This monitorial role (Christians et al, 2009), as discussed throughout the thesis, is achieved with *Die Burger* publishing Yesi's, Jacobs' and the other women's stories and in so doing drawing attention to and holding the government accountable for the public health interests and general wellbeing of the population.

The tension between the news media taking on the mantle of hero and its commercial agenda is documented elsewhere in this thesis and forms the central question of my research in terms of how newspapers justify the reproduction of hegemony, particularly in terms of gender, in the interest of the public good. By publicizing the plight of the birthing women the media necessitate the public authorities to respond to the criticism and, ideally in some case, the women get justice and sometimes headway is even made into similar incidents of poor government health-care and negligence being avoided in the future. This professional ideal of the news media's monitorial role is taken on by *Die Burger* that assumes the position as guardian on behalf of the women who had received poor health-care from the state authority. The newspaper therefore succeeds in exposing the inequities despite some sensationalized copy, as identified in chapter 4, for the purposes of publicity and profit.

In order to sell more newspapers hegemonic depictions in texts reproduce the sexist and racist assumptions that underpin the conditions under which we live. One of the extreme forms of this type of sensationalist news reporting in the hard news media today is tabloids. The

runaway success of *Die Burger*'s sister publication, *Daily Sun*, is illustrative of how financial and circulation gains can be achieved with this style of writing. *Daily Sun* is the most widely-read daily newspaper in South Africa with a current readership of 4.3m (Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010). I briefly look at tabloids as an example of sensationalist news media to illustrate the concluding finding of my research that a text, which is racist and sexist in its representation of women, can hold the state accountable for its actions towards the very same women.

5.3 Closing the gap between mainstream media and tabloids

The recent explosion of tabloids in the South African media landscape has raised the question of whether this type of popular news media, which is highly criticised for being 'trashy' and sensationalistic, can be considered emancipatory to the working class people it represents. One of the formal qualities of tabloids that define this complex media phenomenon is "sensationalism" (Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010), but the lines between the so-called serious newspapers and tabloids are blurred in terms of making use of sensationalism to sell newspapers (Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010). As seen in the findings part of this thesis, *Die Burger* as one of the country's serious mainstream daily newspapers, did make use of sensationalism in some of the articles reporting on the birthing women with visceral descriptions in terms of gender, race and class.

Another definition of tabloid journalism which obscures the division between mainstream newspapers and tabloids is the concept of service journalism: "the role of the journalist is as advocate and campaigner on behalf of consumers. The journalist is an advisor, 'the hero or good-helper'" (Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010). Tabloid journalism therefore can and does also fulfil the monitorial role of the journalist as hero who takes on a position which was traditionally only associated with the normative journalism practices of 'serious' news media. Local tabloids regularly report on complications that occur during child birth at state hospitals, of which the Dora Nginza Hospital is a regular guilty party (Potgieter, 2008).

Academic elitism towards tabloids in the South African news media landscape is also criticised by Glenn and Knaggs (2008) who argue that South African tabloids are in fact community-driven and publish socially relevant stories (Glenn & Knaggs, 2008). When studying tabloids, which is often harshly judged by academics and mainstream media alike as overly sensationalistic and 'inferior' journalism, the contrary is sometimes achieved with meaningful local reporting in the voice which the readership, the working class, understands.

Tabloids deal with issues affecting the working class' everyday lives and give meaning to them (Wasserman, 2010). This positive view of tabloids in the South African news media is defined as a type of "new institutionalism" (Glenn & Knaggs, 2008) in which tabloids are seen as an "alternative public sphere" (Wasserman, 2008). Several cultural studies scholars (Glenn & Knaggs, 2008; Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010; Wasserman, 2008, 2010) call for guarding against, what they term "media racism" (Glenn & Knaggs, 2008) towards tabloids.

The purpose of tabloids and new institutionalism in the conclusion of my research findings is not to romanticize sensationalist reporting in any way. I am not unaware of the sexist, xenophobic and false reporting that characterize tabloids in the South African media landscape on any given day. This genre of news reporting is, however, illustrative of my research finding that sensationalist reporting can still fulfil the monitorial role of the media to hold government and institutions accountable despite the very nature of news values producing gender inequality. While my research sample is concerned with the topic of birthing over the three-year period from 2004 to 2007, the issues it raises remain relevant to birthing women. As long as government hospitals face the challenges they do, the news media (tabloids and mainstream) need to report on these injustices. Yet, one important question remains: Does this mean that it is acceptable for newspapers to make use of sensationalistic imagery to represent birthing women, arguably at one of the most vulnerable stages in their lives, in a degrading manner?

5.4 Call for sensitive reporting on the topic of birthing

Putting aside issues of 'high brow' and 'trash' (Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010; Glenn & Knaggs, 2008) reporting as well as the monitorial role of service journalism, the common news topic of complicated births at government hospitals can and should be reported on in a more acceptable manner in relation to maintaining the dignity of those involved - the birthing women. Sensationalised copy where women's bodies are being degradingly represented to sell more newspapers or grab the attention of the readers can (and should) be avoided by media practitioners. Constructing women in line with the hegemonic discourses in newsrooms should be challenged and alternative ways of reporting on birthing in a more inclusive and diversified manner should be explored. This can be achieved with a greater sensitivity to the discourses prevalent in our socio-cultural environment among news practitioners when reporting on birthing in the media. These include hegemonic gender, race

and class discourses, of which an awareness must be internalised when representing the volatile South African milieu in which journalism is practised.

George Claassen, former ombudsman of *Die Burger*, finds ethics to be the only answer to the challenges of news reporting in South Africa. The media has tarnished its ‘watchdog’ reputation with false journalism (Claassen, 2005) and the only manner in which to regulate the monitorial role of the media, he argues, is for a personalized set of ethics to be practiced by journalists everyday, which get enforced by an ethical code and ombudsman (Claassen, 2005). The public’s right to be informed should be guided with sound ethics, be it institutionalized or not, and this is an equally important factor whether reporters are writing for tabloids or mainstream newspapers. In the ten commandments for ethical journalism which Claassen coins, the last two are of particular importance to the reporting of birthing as a topic: “Refrain from any kind of stereotyping” and “Be socially responsible in referring to matters of indecency, obscenity, violence, brutality, blasphemy and sex” (Claassen, 2005). While the last ‘commandment’ may be harder to follow when reporting for a tabloid in a specific register for the readership, or for a mainstream newspaper on a sensationalized news topic, it is important for the reporter to recognize and consider the discourses from which he or she is reporting.

The complicated act of practicing journalism every day in the South African media is recognized by Guy Berger as one of particular difficulty when considering issues of race, class, gender and HIV (2005). Despite being criticized for his narrow view of South African tabloids (Steenveld & Strelitz 2010; Glenn & Knaggs 2008), Berger describes the importance of the media’s monitorial role as holding not only government but also businesses and individuals accountable, “watchdog journalism represents the public interest and it upholds human rights” (2005). Like Claassen, he sees ethics as essential to serving the public interest and he calls this “foundational ethics for making wise decisions” (Berger, 2005). Whether it is a response to a ‘gut feeling’ or operating from within a regulated ethical code enforced at the publication, news practitioners should be more aware of the manner in which they represent birthing as a topic of newsworthiness.

At the beginning of the thesis I set out to determine the discourses present in the apparently socially-concerned texts about the failing health-care system in the country. I identified discourses of race, class and gender in several of the texts that depicted birthing women as a newsworthy item in *Die Burger (Oos-Kaap)*. My research further identified the monitorial

role of the media in the texts and the contradicting news values of sensationalist depictions of the birthing women. Despite the manifestation of gender, race and class inequalities in the texts, the monitorial role of the media was still fulfilled in holding the state authorities accountable for negligence at the hospitals. However, news practitioners and media institutions should challenge unequal power relations. Journalists should guard against dominant discourses by being held accountable to a clear ethical code of human dignity. Only then will birthing women and their bodies be truly emancipated within the news industry.

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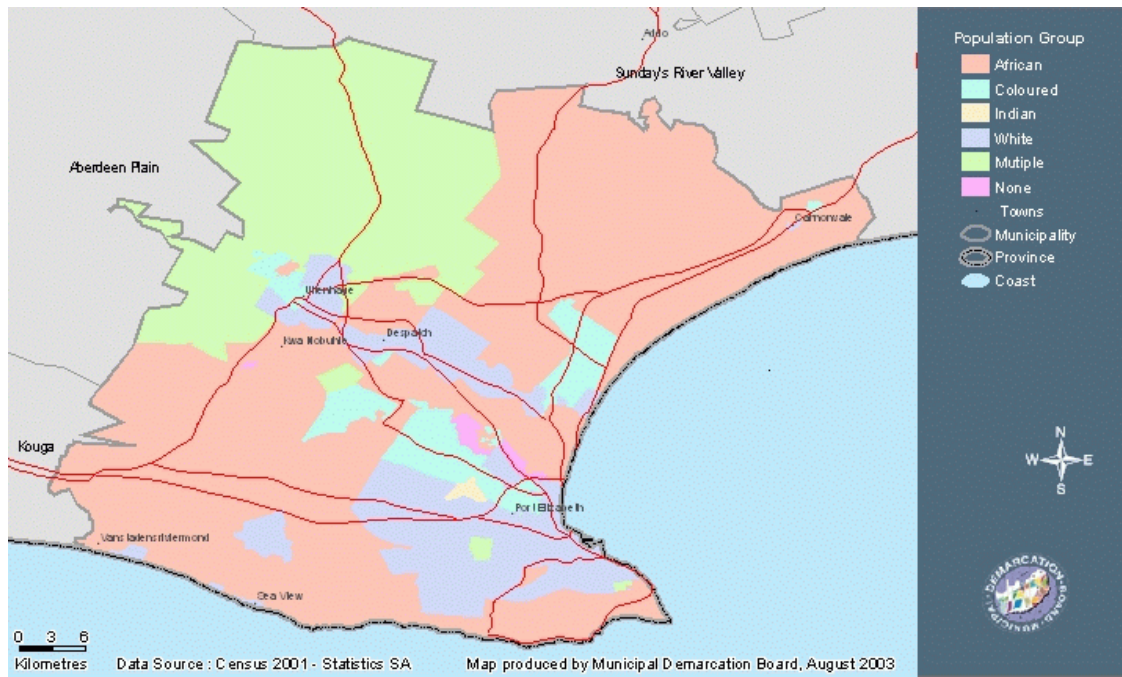
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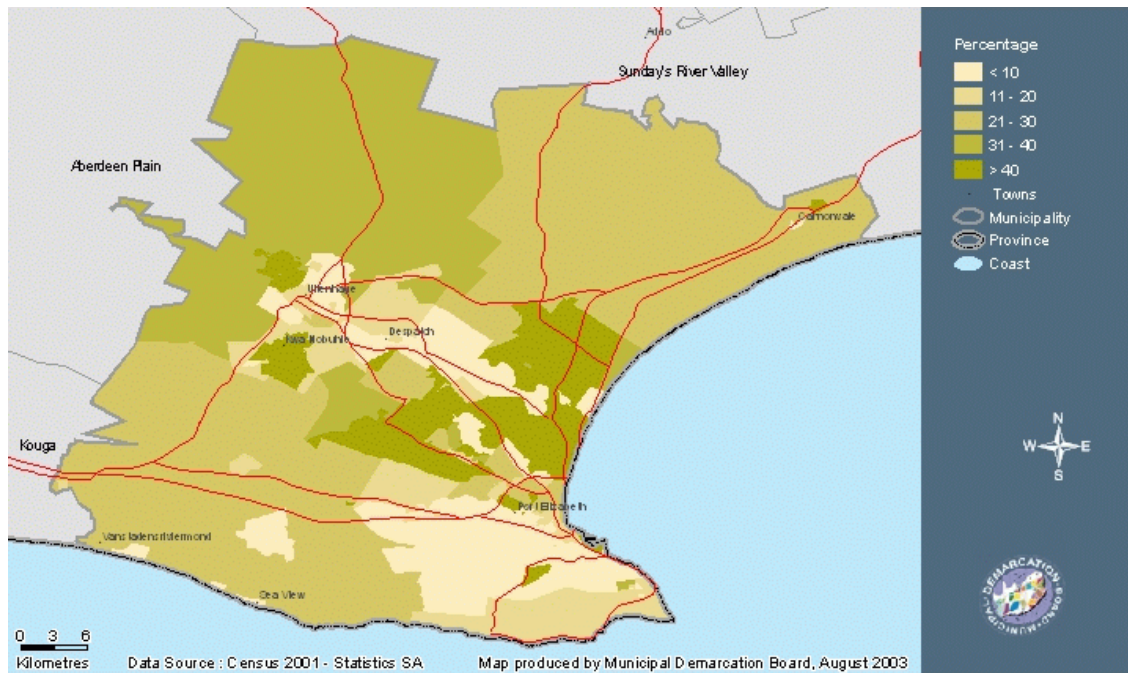
Appendix 1:



Appendix 2:



Appendix 3:





DIE BURGER

FREWIN-WENNER: BESTE KOERANT 2005

Een-en-negentigste jaargang

Ton Vosloo-Mediasentrum, Ivor Benn-slot, Port Elizabeth
Woensdag 31 Mei 2006

Prys R2.90 (BTW ingesluit)



LEES VANDAG

Sekere perke opgehef

Ná die onlangse goeie reën is besluit om sekere perke op die gebruik van water in die Nelson Mandelabaai-gebied op te hef. **NUUS/2**

Begroting styg skerp

'n Reuse- voorlopige bedryfs- en kapitaalbegroting van R4,6 miljard vir die komende jaar is vir die Nelson Mandelabaai-metro ter tafel gelê. **NUUS/4**

Verskuiwing verwelkom

Die beoogde verskuiwing van die mangaanertshope en olietenks van die Baaise hawe na Coega is uit alle oorde verwelkom. **NUUS/5**

Dienste kan geraak word

Veral passasiersdienste kan geraak word wanneer 5 5000 Satawu-lede in die Oos-Kaap hulle by stakende sekerheids-wagte gaan aansluit. **NUUS/6**

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meubels vir die fynproewer

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WINKELSENTRUM
HOOFWEG
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NUUS

►Die toestand van huise in parlementêre woonbuurte is glo haglik – bl. 7.

KUNS

►Die flielk *X-Men: The last stand* is vol mutasies met

Drawwer vang haastige baba op sypaadjie

NORMAN SILKE

UITENHAGE. – Min strate word vernoem na kinders, maar as dié eer een spesifieke baba te beurt behoort te val, is dit beslis die baba wat gister hier op 'n sypaadjie gebore is.

'n Hoogswanger me. Bukelwa Yesi en haar man was omstreeks 07:00 inderhaas van die Mandela Village-woonbuurt op pad na die plaaslike provinsiale hospitaal toe haar haastige kleinding net meer as 1 km van die hospitaal in Ross Gradwellstraat besluit het dis tyd om gebore te word.

Yesi het dadelik op die sypaadjie gaan sit en haar man het na die hospitaal gehardloop om hulp te ontbied.

In daardie stadium het me. Margie du Toit, wat elke oggend van haar huis in Vanes Estate deur Ross Gradwell draf, op die petalje afgekom.

Volgens Du Toit was dit omstreeks 07:50 toe die

kreunende Yesi haar oog gevang het.

"Ek het na haar toe gehardloop en gevra wat fout is. Sy het dadelik haar broek afgetrek en toe ek kyk, was die baba se koppie reeds besig om uit te kom," het Du Toit die toneel beskryf.

Du Toit het gelukkig handskoene aangehad om haar hande teen die koue te beskerm en het net betyds gebuk om die seuntjie te vang.

"Toe hy uitgekome het, was hy baie blou en ek het dadelik die vliesie om sy kop afgehaal en hom op sy boudjies geslaan. Hy het gelukkig begin huil en ek het onmiddellik 'n verbygaande bakkie se aandag getrek om ons na die hospitaal te neem."

Yesi is agter op die bakkie gelaai en Du Toit het die baba in 'n ou T-hemp toegedraai en voor ingeklim. By die hospitaal aangekom is Yesi en haar nuwe spruit na die kraameenheid geneem.

"Alles het baie vinnig gebeur en ons het haar reeds omstreeks 08:00 by die hospitaal gehad," het

Du Toit gesê, wat ook die voorsitter van die plaaslike Muirite Striders-hardloopklub is.

Dié ma van twee het gesê sy is redelik vertrouwd met babasorg, aangesien sy hulp verleen aan nuwe moeders wat sukkel om te borsvoed.

"Dit was moederlike instink wat my gedryf het om die vliesie om die baba se kop te verwyder. Ek wou hom net hoor skreeu."

Volgens me. Anna-Marth Goosen, woordvoerder van die hospitaal, het Du Toit definitief die baba se lewe gered.

Sy het bevestig moeder en kind is springlewendig en gesond en behoort vandag ontslaan te word.

Mes. Margie du Toit en Bukelwa Yesi spog met Yesi se babaseuntjie by die provinsiale hospitaal op Uitenhage. Du Toit het Yesi bygestaan toe die baba gister langs die pad gebore is.

Foto: HEILIE COMBRINK



Volkswagen: Man val 30 meter na sy dood

Hyskraan eis 3 werkers

VEELS GELUK, JEAN



Ongelukke teister bouwerk op terrein van motorreus

GISHMA ABRAHAMS

UITENHAGE. – Drie konstruksiewerkers is dood en een ernstig beseer toe 'n hyskraan waarop hulle gewerk het, gistermiddag by Volkswagen Suid-Afrika (VWSA) gedeeltelik inmekaar gestort het.

Die oorledenes en beseerde was deel van 'n gesubkontraakteerde span van die konstruksie maatskappy Grinaker LTA, wat besig is met konstruksiewerk aan VWSA se nuwe aanleg van R750 miljoen.

PE mom gets 'her' baby back

09:00 01-11-2010

Norman Silke

Port Elizabeth - The hospital allegedly responsible for allowing a new-born girl to be breastfed by the wrong mother - a woman with HIV - has re-united the mothers with their own babies.

Related Links

- PE mom 'kept from seeing baby'
- Baby fed HIV-tainted milk
- Mother's milk may fight HIV
- Parents sue for HIV+ baby

Shortly after Liezel Jacobs, 18, held her daughter for the first time in five days, she gave her a name, Tamia, and began breast-feeding her.

She said: "I'm so pleased I've got my child back and that I eventually can take her home.

"It doesn't even matter if she is HIV-positive or not," said Liezel, crying with happiness.

The "baby-switch" took place on Thursday last week when Liezel and an unknown black woman gave birth to daughters at Dora Nginza Hospital.

Hospital is 99.99% sure

Liezel said a doctor told her on Saturday that her baby had been accidentally breast-fed by an HIV-positive woman.

However, the other woman is adamant that Tamia is her child.

Hospital medical superintendent Dr Aydin Vehbi said: "We're now 99.99% sure which baby belongs to which mother, but we've taken more blood samples from all parties for DNA tests just to confirm our decision."

Vehbi said basic blood tests and comparing the times that the two women were in theatre virtually cleared up the confusion about which baby belonged to which mother.

"Nevirapine (an anti-Aids product administered to prevent the transfer of HIV from mother to child) has been given to the baby breast-fed by the wrong mother.

"Another good aspect is that the baby was breast-fed only once in the first 24 hours after birth."

He said the baby could have just ingested colostrum, a watery milk discharge, which starts early in pregnancy and is still found in the breasts for the first couple of days after birth.

He explained colostrum contained fewer of the mother's antibodies than regular mother's milk.

Although Vehbi didn't want to elaborate about the internal investigation taking place, he let slip that a problem with the mothers' medical files could have caused the confusion.

If it was found a nurse was responsible for exchanging the files, the case apparently would be referred to the South African Nursing Council.

Additional HIV tests

By the same token, if a doctor were to be found guilty of negligence, the matter would be reported to

the Medical Association of South Africa.

An attorney from Ludik & Booysen in Pretoria, Ruann Kruger, who offered to represent Liezel free of charge if she wanted to sue the hospital, said the extent of the claim would depend on additional HIV tests done on Tamia.

She tested negative in initial tests, but would have to undergo additional tests in the next few months to be sure.

- Die Burger

news24

Breaking News. First.

Print this article

PE mom 'kept from seeing baby'

2010-09-05 09:05

Norman Silke

Related Links

Port Elizabeth - The HIV-positive woman who breastfed another woman's baby after the two babies were exchanged, apparently claimed she was the baby's mother.

Baby fed HIV-tainted milk

Liesel Jacobs, 18, who gave birth to a healthy baby girl in the Dora Nginza Hospital on Thursday, said a doctor told her on Saturday that the name tag of her first-born could possibly have been exchanged with that of another baby.

The baby was accidentally breastfed by the wrong woman and Jacobs was worried that her baby could have been infected with HIV.

Die Burger accompanied Jacobs' sister, Heidi Smith, and her aunt and legal guardian, Jeannie Jass, to the hospital.

'Closer to another woman'

A tearful Jacobs said the nurses would not let her visit the nursery to go and look at her baby.

"They said I must not establish a bond with my baby, because she had already been fed by the other woman and was closer to her."

The CEO of the Port Elizabeth Hospital complex, Dr Lulamile JamJam, confirmed he was waiting for a comprehensive report about the incident before commenting further.

The report will be compiled and submitted to the hospital's medical superintendent, Dr Aydin Vehbi.

Shortly afterwards Jass went into the ward and insisted on seeing the baby.

She said Jacobs' baby was still wearing a name tag with the other woman's name on it.

Jacobs said she saw her baby in theatre, shortly after the C-section, and she knew how her child looked.

"The child has a very light complexion, while the other baby, in the same ward, is black.

Smith says the initial HIV-tests showed the one baby was negative and the other positive.

Smith said: "The doctor has acknowledged that he knows the one who tested negative is my sister's baby, but blood tests have to be done."

The family said blood samples of the baby, and the two women, will be sent to Pretoria on Tuesday for further HIV- and also DNA tests.

Jass said the results will be available only in 10 days time and both mothers and babies will remain in hospital.

An unexpected helping hand appeared shortly before visiting time was over.

An attorney of the firm Ludik & Booysen in Pretoria, Ruann Kruger, flew to Port Elizabeth to offer free legal representation to Jacobs should she decide to sue the hospital.

The Eastern Cape spokesperson of the Treatment Action Campaign, Phillip Mokoena, said the incident shocked him and the absence of a sense of responsibility among health workers was above his comprehension.

Mokoena said the problem was the result of too many patients and a shortage of medical personnel.

- Die Burger

Bloedspoor lei tot by klerewinkels in Baai

Seuntjie is gesond en in veilige plek

DEBBIE SAUER

PORT ELIZABETH. - Dit lyk asof 'n vrou wat gister die lewe geskenk het aan 'n babaseuntjie in 'n toilet in die Greenacres-winkelsentrum met druppende bloed gaan inkopies doen het by klerewinkels nadat sy die huilende baba in 'n sanitêre vullisdrom gegooi het.

Skoonmakers en 'n lid van die publiek was gister geskok toe hulle die gehuil van 'n baba in 'n toilet in die Greenacres-winkelsentrum gehoor en die pienk voetjies in 'n vullisdrom gesien het.

Volgens mev. Salome Abrahams, bedryfsbestuurder van die Greenacres-winkelsentrum, het 'n werknemer van die Steiner Hygiene-maatskappy, wat een maal per week die sanitêre vullisdromme skoonmaak, 'n lid van die publiek en 'n skoonmaker van die sentrum op die babaseuntjie afgekom.

Die baba is tussen 09:30 en 09:45 in die toilette by die Computicket-ingang gekry.

Abrahams het gesê die lid van die publiek het aanvanklik gedink die stemmetjie wat sy hoor, is die radio se gebel, maar het gou agtergekom alles is nie plus nie. Hulle het die baba nog bebloed en met sy naelstring aan in die vullisdrom gekry.

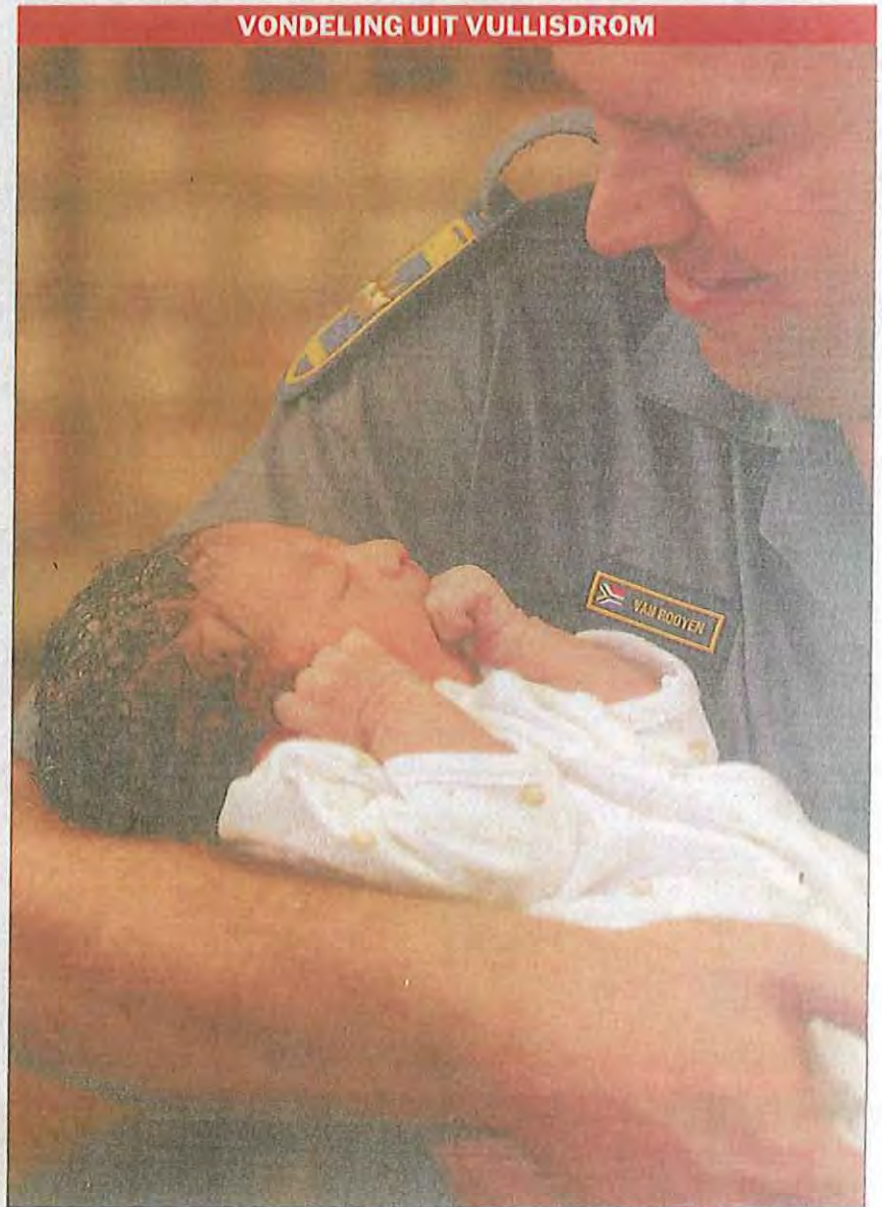
Volgens Abrahams het hulle die baba met die vullissak uit die drom gehaal en hom in die babakamer probeer skoonmaak. Die skoonmaker het haar in kennis gestel en sy en haar medewerkers het die baba by hul kantore gebad en aangetrek.

'n Verpleegsuster wat in die sentrum inkopies gedoen het, het ook toevallig verbygegaan en die babaseuntjie ondersoek. Hy het gesond gelyk en het selfs gehuil. Die polisie is intussen gebel.

Abrahams het gesê hulle het filmmateriaal van die kringtelevisie by die toilette dopgehou, maar kon niks ongewoon sien nie. Die ma is skoonveld, maar lede van die publiek het daarna glo bloedspore gesien wat na Foschini- en Truworths-winkels gelei het.

Die polisie het die baba na die Dora Ngiza-hospitaal geneem, waar dokters ook bevestig het dat hy blinkend gesond is. Hy is gistermiddag in die sorg van die Erica Plek van Veiligheid geplaas.

Met *Die Burger* se besoek aan die Mountweg-polisiekantoor het alle personeel om die baba gekloek, ter-



Insp. Werner van Rooyen van die Mountweg-polisiekantoor hou 'n babaseuntjie vas wat in 'n sanitêre vullisdrom in 'n toilet in die Greenacres-winkelsentrum gekry is. Foto: CARLIE NORVAL

VONDELING UIT VULLISDROM

Web-adres: www.weathersa.co.za

Gevaar

- Stormsee
- Stormwaaier
- Brandgevaar
- UV-straling

Donderdag:

Gelye in Algoabaai:

Hoogwater:	Laagwater:
Vandag 08:23 en 15:37	Vandag 05:27 en 21:49
Môre 03:59 en 15:13	Môre 10:04 en 22:20

Reënvalsyfers:

Reënval vir die 24 uur tot 8 vrn. gister:

Durban 3mm	Indaba 13mm
Jamiesburg 3mm	Kanga 3mm
Plettenberg 3mm	Queenstown 8mm
Matieland 14mm	Keimond 2mm

Son en Maan:

20 Feb. 7 Mrt.	28 Feb. 13 Mrt.
Sonopkoms: Vandag 05:55	Môre 05:57
Maanopkoms: Vandag 04:30	Môre 05:41
Sonsondergang: Vandag 18:06	Môre 19:05
Maanondergang: Vandag 18:57	Môre 19:22

Nieu-Seeland plat

koue afgeskud. Smith se neus is botte en die Protea-kaptein het gesê hy voel glad nie goed nie.

Hy hoop hy sal slaggereed wees om môre hier in die Westpac-stadion in die derde eendaagse kragmeting teen Nieu-Seeland uit te stap. - (Johann de Jager)

wyl hy stropsoet aan sy vingers gesuig het.

Behalwe vir 'n ruimte-kombersie waarin die ambulanspersoneel hom toegedraai het, was hy blitsvinnig ook in 'n blou handdoek toegewikkel, omdat hy nie snoesig genoeg gelyk het nie.

"Het hy al melkies gehad? Ek wil hom sommer huis toe neem," was van die opmerkings in die kantoor, terwyl sommige die traane weggepink het.

Abrahams het gesê mense doen reeds navraag om die kleinding aan te neem.

Die polisie ondersoek 'n saak van kinderverlating.

PROMOSIE: MERCANTILE-HOSPITAAL

Mercantile spog met top-kraamgeriewe

DIE private hospitaal Mercantile is 'n groot ondersteuner van nasionale swangerskapweek, wat Sondag begin het en tot Maandag 23 Februarie duur.

Afrox Healthcare, die Oos-Kaap se grootste private hospitaalgroep, is die trotse eienaar van die private hospitaal Mercantile.

Dié 172-bed hospitaal het moderne geriewe en toerusting, en bied 'n pasiënt-vriendelike atmosfeer. Dit word ondersteun deur die gehalte-sorg wat deur die hospitaelpersoneel verskaf word.

wel as radiografie- en patologie-departemente en 'n dag-en-nag-ongeval-eenheid, wat gereed is om in al jou mediese behoeftes te voorsien.

'n Gewaarborgde pasiënt-vriendelike omgewing en 'n koffiewinkel op die terrein, sal verseker dat jou verblyf in die hospitaal so gemaklik as moontlik is.

Die hospitaal beskik nie net oor gespesialiseerde geriewe soos die kraamsaal, intensiewe-sorgseenheid (ISE), voor-geboorte- en nageboorte-klasse en 'n apteek nie, maar alle groot eenhede, soos pediatrie, obstetrie, ginekologie, ONK-chemie-



INNE

kontrakte

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Kan op otis slaafmaak!

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n George Uren
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en Cats begin van-
-Afrika se aanslag
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SE WEER

Port Eliza-
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SWAAR

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RY WEG MET HOPE KONTANT



Daaglik! WEN HOPE KONTANT EN SELFS 'N VIERWIEL-MOTORFIETS MET DIE NUWE AVONTUUR-PRYSLYNKAART

Hartseer: Seuntjie per abuis in massagraf begraw

Kissie al wat ouers t

Baba raak weg voordat sy familie hom nog kon sien

CINDY PRELLER

PORT ELIZABETH. - 'n Leë kisse is al wat die ouers van 'n ontslapen dogter baba kan troos nadat dié babatjie se lyk in 'n groot flater saam met onbekende babas in 'n massagraf gestort is.

Me. Chrissie Botha (31) en die pa van haar oorlede baba, mnr. Winston McCabe (29), het die afgelope week deur 'n reeks skokke gegaan nadat hul baba gestort het in die Dora Ngizha-staats-hospitaal alvorens enige van die ouers die geleentheid gegun is om die seun te sien.

Nie net moes hulle die baba se lyk in haglike omstandighede uitken nie, maar die lyk is eers as vermis aangemeld. Later moes die geskokte ouers aanhoor dat die baba saam met ander lykies in Motherwell begrawe is deur die staat se begrafnisondernemers.

"My baba is verlede Dinsdag om 4:00 met 'n noodkeisersnee gebore. Later die dag het die verpleegsters gesê ek moet self gaan kyk hoe gaan dit met my kind," het Botha vertel.

Haar suster, mev. Judy Kido, vertel Botha het flou geword in die babasaal voordat sy nog haar kind lewend kon sien. Die sekuriteit in die Dora Ngizha-hospitaal wou ook nie McCabe later die dag toelaat in die saal waar sy baba geleë het nie.

Die baba is teen 21:00 oorlede. Botha is Woensdag ontslaan en die verpletterde ouers en familie het Donderdag na die Dora Ngizha-hospitaal se lykshuis gegaan om die baba te gaan sien.

"Die yskas is net so oopgelos en ek moes na al die ander babalyke kyk. Ek

het gevra dat die lykshuiswerker net die yskas asseblief moet toemaak. My baba is op 'n vullisdrom gesit en aan my gebring. Die personeel het gesê as ek huil en aangaan, gaan hulle my uitjaag," het 'n steeds geskokte Botha gesê.

Die hartseer familie het begrafnisreëlings begin tref, maar toe die ondernemer Vrydag by die lykshuis opdaag, was daar geen personeel nie.

Maandag het die ondernemer laat weet die baba se lyk is vermis. Dinsdag moes die ouers hoor hul baba is aan die staatsondernemer gegee wat al die hospitaal-lyke Vrydag begrawe het.

"Ek wil my kind se lyk terugkry vir 'n nadoode ondersoek, maar die hospitaal het gesê dit gaan te lank neem om die graf te laat oopmaak deur die polisie," het McCabe gesê.

Die hospitaal se mediese superintendent, dr. Patrick Sendyose, het gister gesê 'n amptenaar in die lykshuis wat onlangs van Queenstown verplaas is, het die baba vir 'n doodgebore kind aangesien, hoewel die kind volgens hospitaal-verslae nege uur geleef het.

"Hy het aangeneem die kind is doodgebore en die kind laat begrawe deur die staat. Ons is jammer oor wat gebeur het en die werker sal vir 'n tyd lank nie aktiewe diens in die lykshuis doen tot hy heropleë is nie," het Sendyose gesê.

Botha se ma, Marie, is steeds baie ontsteld oor haar kleinkind se dood. Sy het nog skaars die skok verwerk van haar jongste dogter, me. Laverne Botha (25), se dood enkele maande gelede in die grubsongeluk naby Graaff-Reinet. "Ons is nog almal hartseer oor Laverne. Nou word my dogter so mishandel en my kleinkind se lyk word verloor."

BEDROEFDE HARTE



'n Hartseer mnr. Winston McCabe dra die leë kisse wat bedoel was vir sy eersteling, wie hospitaal. Die rouklens moes in die United Congregational kerk in Bloemendal gehou word. Agter hom is die kind se ma, me. Chrissie Botha, en ander familielede.

Trent moes Van Jaarsveld om verskor

KUPIDO BARON

PORT ELIZABETH. - "Geen wonder sy kon nie haar man behou nie."

Dié gewraakte opmerking van mev. Elizabeth Trent, DA-leier in die Nelson Mandela-metropool, wat gemik is teen me. Anne-Marie van Jaarsveld, NNP-leier hier, het gister vir groot oproer op die metropool se raadsvergadering hier gesorg.

Trent het dit gesê aan mnr. Rocky Ridgway (DA) wat langs haar gesit het, terwyl Van Jaarsveld die DA in 'n debat aangeval het.

Me. Shirley Frolick, NNP-koukus-

leier, wat skuins agter Trent gesit het, het die gesprek gehoor en het gou die speaker, mev. Nohle Mohapi, daarvan in kennis gestel.

"Ek is baie ongelukkig dat daar op só 'n manier van 'n raadslid in die raadsaal gepraat word," het Frolick gesê.

Ridgway het kapse gemaak en gesê Frolick moet na 'n ander plek verskuif word, omdat sy hul gesprekke kan af-luister.

Die speaker het nie hierop ag geslaan nie en onmiddellik 'n verskoning en die terugtrek van dié stelling geëis.

"Vra om verskoning - eerstens as 'n vrou en dan as 'n raadslid," het Mohapi



Mev. Trent



Me. Van Jaarsveld

aangedring.

Trent het ietwat verbouereerd om verskoning gevra en die stelling terug-trek.

Mnr. Nceba Faku, uitvoerende burge-meester van die metropool, het ook ingespring en Van Jaarsveld gevra om die venyn van die stelling te minag en te aanvaar dat die verskoning wel opreg is.

Van Jaarsveld se huwelik met die NNP-parlementslid mnr. Alie van Jaarsveld is Dinsdag amptelik in die Baaise hooggeregshof beëindig.

Mnr. Van Jaarsveld het groot opsae in koerante gemaak toe hy 'n vuurwarm buite-egtelike verhouding met me. René Thompson, 'n NNP-navorsers, aangeknoop het.

Me. Van Jaarsveld het gister aandagtig na Faku geluister terwyl hy haar

[Print](#)

Baby burial horror

20/02/2004 10:31 - (SA)

Cindy Preller , Die Burger

Port Elizabeth - An empty coffin was all a young couple had to console them after their day-old son's body was unwittingly discarded in a mass grave filled with unknown babies.

This followed a series of shocks endured by Chrissie Botha and Winston McCabe.

Their baby boy died in the Dora Nginza state hospital before either parent was allowed to see him.

Body missing

Not only were the parents forced to identify the baby under horrific conditions but they were also later informed the boy's body was listed as missing. They were then told he had been buried along with other babies by government undertakers.

Botha said she had a Caesarean last week Tuesday but that her son, Marcus, died before either parent got to see him. Staff said he was diabetic and that his heart had been too weak.

Botha was discharged on Wednesday. On Thursday the devastated family went to the mortuary to identify the body.

She said that the fridges were standing open and she had to look at a host of dead babies. Her baby was put on a dustbin and brought to her. She said she was also told that she would be chased out if she cried.

The family then began funeral arrangements but when the undertaker arrived at the mortuary on Friday there were no staff to be found.

On Monday the undertaker informed the family the baby's body was missing. He said all fridges had been unpacked but mortuary staff had been unable to find Marcus.

On Tuesday they were told their baby had been buried in a mass grave.

Want autopsy

McCabe said he wanted his baby's body so that an autopsy could be carried out. But he said hospital staff told him that getting the grave opened by police would take too long.

The Dora Nginza hospital's medical superintendent, Dr Patrick Sendyose, said that a mortuary official mistakenly thought the baby had been stillborn.

Botha said they were also still waiting for a death certificate.

DIE BURGER



Print

'Women must give birth alone'

12/10/2004 08:40 - (SA)

Enrico Claassen, Die Burger

Port Elizabeth - A woman and her unborn baby died in a Port Elizabeth hospital, where pregnant mothers are allegedly left to give birth on their own.

Nkowezi Adams, 32, of the Walmer township, and her unborn daughter died in Dora Nginza Hospital in Port Elizabeth last week.

Dave Webber, owner of Café Capellini, where Adams worked for the past six years, said he took her to a doctor about a month ago because she didn't feel well while at work.

Adams was eight months pregnant at the time.

One of Adams's colleagues said on Monday they found her in a shocking condition in hospital when they went to visit her.

"Nkowezi was lying curled up on her bed and was moaning with pain. Her arm was full of blood where the needle of the drip had come loose," said a colleague who didn't want to be named.

Webber said his employees immediately notified the manager of the coffee shop about Adams's condition.

Adams's husband, Louis Adams, did not want to say much on Monday.

He said: "I am very unhappy about what had happened. Nothing will bring back my wife and child. I am heartbroken."

Meanwhile, Marlene Marran said on Monday her daughter, Lisa Jansen's baby was stillborn in Dora Nginza Hospital after she allegedly gave birth without any medical assistance.

Marran said she found it shocking to see how pregnant women had to give birth without any help.

"It was terrible to see. I ran around in the hospital, looking for a bed for my daughter. The nurses ignored me.

"I was hysterical. I grabbed a doctor by the arm to help me search for a bed."

Marran said her daughter's baby was dead by the time it was born.

Dr Ntombi Qungule, medical superintendent of Dora Nginza, said nursing staff never ignored patients when they needed help.

She said: "Everything possible is done for every patient. If patients die, it is definitely not because of negligence."

She undertook to investigate the two cases.

DIE BURGER

Vandalisme: Dolfyne se meer met waterballonne bestook

Dollie en kie deur booswigte gepla

ENRICO CLAASSEN

PORT ELIZABETH. – 'n Nuwe euwel het sy kop Vrydag by Bayworld hier uitgesteek toe hoosdoeners' dolfyne in die akwarium met watergevulde ballonne geterroriseer het.

Volgens me. Sylvia van Zyl, direkteur van Bayworld, het die voorval skuins ná 22:00 plaasgevind toe vier waterballonne in die dolfynneer gegooi is. Van Zyl het gesê dat Dolly haar twee

Negatiewe uitwerking as diere dit sluk – Bayworld se bestuur

weke oue kalfie weggehou het van die plek waar die ballonne in die meer geval het. Sy het gesê dat Domino vlugtig ondersoek ingestel het, maar later teen 'n hoë spoed weggeswen het.

Volgens Van Zyl het Domino na 'n rukkie nie meer bedreig gevoel deur die ballonne nie. Die kurators het egter later op hom afgekom waar hy besig was om aan een van die ballonne te kou.

"Dié vorm van vandalisme is 'n groot bron van kommer vir die bestuur van Bayworld, omdat die diere negatief hierdeur geraak kan word indien hulle dié items sou sluk," het Van Zyl gesê.

Volgens haar is dit nie duidelik waar die hoosdoeners die ballonne met water gevat het nie.

"Bayworld het al die sekerheidsmaatskappye wat in die omgewing werk, ge-

nader en hulle versoek om enigeen wat vreemde voorwerpe oor die muur gooi, vas te trek," het Van Zyl gesê.

Sy het gesê dat dié persone aangekla kan word van poging tot opsetlike saakbeskadiging.

Bayworld het by monde van Van Zyl mense in die omgewing versoek om soortgelyke voorvalle onmiddellik aan te meld.

'n Beloning sal uitgegee word vir enigeen met inligting wat hegtensinnig van die bal...

"Die dolfyne in Port Elizabeth is al die hart. Om senes en kinders aan te moedig om promosiemateriaal wat hulle ontvang, op só 'n manier nie skade aan diere en die algemeen sal berokkeel. Mnr. Pierre van Tonder, direkteur van Spur Suid, het restaurant daar het, by na...

REG VIR BLINDE STRYD



Die Oostelike Provinsie se blinde kriketspan pak sy eweknie van die Grens Saterdag om 10:30 in die Dan Qeqe-stadion. In die voorwedstryd speel die Joe Slovo-skool teen die Primêre Skool Emmafin. 'n Optog van skoolkinders van die Hoërskool Kwezi af sal voor die wedstryd plaasvind. Hier slyp Thandiso Bosi, die spanbestuurder, Gekwa Xolani (middel) en Mangqidi Bangela hulle vir die groot stryd. Foto: CHARLES PULLEN

Vrou en baba dood ná hulsleg in hospitaal behande

ENRICO CLAASSEN

PORT ELIZABETH. – 'n Gesin van hier is in rou gedompel nadat 'n ma en haar ongebore baba verlede week in die Dora Nginza-hospitaal hier gesterf het.

Die oorledenes was mev. Nkwezi Adams (32) van die Walmer-township in die Baai en haar ongebore dogter.

Volgens mnr. Dave Webber, eienaar van Café Capellini, waar Adams die afgelope ses jaar gewerk het, het hy haar sowat 'n maand gelede na 'n dokter gemaak omdat sy olik by die werk gevoel het.

Adams was toe reeds agt maande swanger.

'n Hartseer kollega van Adams het gister aan *Die Burger* vertel van die skokkende toestand waarin hulle Adams by die hospitaal aangetref het toe sy en nog 'n paar van haar kollegas haar besoek het.

"Nkwezi het opgekrul in haar bed gele en kreun van die pyn. Haar arm was vol bloed omdat die naald vir binnearse voeding van haar arm losgekom het," het die kollega, wat anoniem wil bly, gesê.

Volgens Webber het sy werknemers die bestuurder van die koffiewinkel onmiddellik van Nkwezi se toestand in kennis gestel.

Adams se man, mnr. Louis Adams, wou gister by navraag nie veel sê nie.

"Ek is glad nie gelukkig deur dit nie. Niks sal my nou terugbring nie. My baba is dood," het 'n hartseer mnr. Mangqidi Bangela gesê.

Intussen het mev. Mangqidi gister vertel van haar dogter, wie se baba dood is, en sonder enige mediese behandeling we moes skenk.

Volgens Marran was skokkend om te sien hoe sonder enige hulp op eie moet skenk.

"Dit was verskriklik om te sien. Ek het in die hospitaal op soek na 'n dokter. Die verpleegsters het my gesteur nie.

"Ek was hysteries. Ek het 'n dokter aan die arm gegryp om te help soek."

Volgens Marran was die baba by geboorte reeds dood.

Dr. Ntombi Qungule, mediese rintendent van die Dora Nginza-hospitaal, het gesê dit gebeur pleegpersoneel pasienten hulle hulp nodig het nie.

"Vir elke pasient word ke gedoen. As pasient nie weens nalatigheid nie gesterf het."

Sy het onderneem om te stel na die twee voorvalle.

Gesinsmoord op Potchefstroom twee Baaise kinders we

LIEZE DU PREEZ

POTCHEFSTROOM. – Twee meisietjies is wees gelaat nadat 'n weermagsant, voorheen van die Baai, sy vrou en homself doodgeskiet het ná 'n beweerde woordewisseling hier in die militêre woongebied.

Sers. Elliot Tanda (40) en mev. Ruth Tanda (38) se lyke is in 'n kamer in hul huis in Radarlaan gevind.

Die tragedie het Vrydag omstreeks 18:00 gebeur terwyl klein Nonthandazo, die egpaar se tweejarige dogtertjie, lê en slaap het.

Xoliswa, hul sewejarige dogter, het skynbaar nog voordat die eerste skoot geklap het, uit die huis in Radarlaan gestorm om hulp by bure oorkant die straat te soek.

Volgens mev. Elize Pretorius het sy Xoliswa aangetref waar sy gespook het om die tuinkhekke oop te kry.

Sy was erg verbouereerd en het in Engels aan Pretorius gesê: "Kom, kom, kom! My pa gaan my ma skiet."

Hulle was skaars in die middel van die straat toe twee skote geklap het. Vol-

gens Pretorius het Xoliswa gesê sy het gesien haar pa met vuurwapen in die hand.

Hy het haar glo bevestig dat hy mer te gaan.

Volgens supt. Louis van der Merwe, woordvoerder, het die waarskynlik eers sy vrou se lyk in die kop geskiet.

Tanda se private vuurwapen is in sy hand toe die polisie aangekom het.

Tanda, 'n lid van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek, is sowat 'n jaar gelede by Elizabeth na Potchefstroom verhuis.

Die Baaise weermagsant sident bevestig. Tanda was die tegniese eenheid van die weermag.

Sy begrafnis sal op Vrydag word.

Sy ma, mev. Yaliwe, het haar huis in New Brabant, gesê haar kleinste dogter Ruth Tanda se ouers gister in Potchefstroom die kinders te gaan haal.

Squires onpeilbaar soos pokerspeler

IAN-IAN JOUBERT

DURBAN. – Adv. Kessie Naidu SC, ster van die Hefer-kommissie, het gister 'n laaste encore, en 'n gepaste herinnering aan die drama van Bloemfontein, verskaf by die aanvang van die verwante verhoor van mnr. Shahab Shaik in die Durbanse hooggeregshof.

Maar al wat die gevreesde gryskop gesê het, was dat sy verskyning namens die Franse wapenmaatskappy Thint kort sou wees. Dit was, want die aanklagte teen Thint is teruggetrek. Toe kon die rolspelers in die nuwe drama na vore tree.

Regter Hillary Squires is 'n lang, adellike, bykans asketiese man wat in sy rooi mantel iets van die kwesbare intellektuele verbotenheid van die kardinaal in Leopold se drama *Die Heks* versinnebeeld.

Hy praat sag en is geneig om sy woorde in te sluk as die belangrikste deel van sy sin verby is, maar sy vroeë snelheid deur die regspanne se woordryke argumente na die kern van die saak. Hy luister so onpeilbaar soos 'n goeie pokerspeler en het die hele oggend net een keer geknik – om te wys hy begryp 'n punt.

Nogtans is daar reeds tekens van 'n onderliggende geestigheid. Op 'n vraag van Shaik se regspan om die beskuldigde verskoon kan word terwyl e.tv se aansoek om die verrigtinge uit te saai voor die hof dien, het Squires gesê: "Ja, maar net tot Woensdag!"

En toe adv. Gilbert Marcus SC met verwysing na die nie-teenwoordigheid van adj. pres. Jacob Zuma opmerk die saak kan die landsregering raak, het Squires droogweg laat hoor: "Is die implikasies van die saak dan soveel wyer as die saak?"

Squires word hygestaan deur twee assessore: landdros J.I. Jacobsz, 'n afgetrede streeklanddros, en adv. A.B. Mohamed SC, 'n lid van die Durbanse balie.

Jacobs, wat aan Squires se regterkant sit, het 'n sierlike, grys snor. Hy luister met sy mond effe oop en tol sy pen deurgaans stadig tussen sy vingers. Hy maak min aantekeninge.

Mahomed het 'n netjiese bokbaard. Hy sit kiertregop en maak heeltyd aantekeninge.

Hofsaal A is dié ene donker hout en baie oud. Die enigste versiering is 'n ronde muurhorlosie wat geruisloos tik en 'n televisiestel. Agter die drie mame op die regbank pryk die ou Suid-Afrikaanse ampwapen as onverwagte herinnering van die ou bedeling, te midde van 'n hofsak wat ongemaklik bestek moet opneem van die nuwe.

Harige begin vir eksamen

KAAPSTAD. – 'n Matrikseun aan die Hoërskool Brackenfell hier kon gister eers 'n halfuur ná ander leerders eksamen begin skryf omdat hy onder 'n groep was wat beveel is om eers hul

Pretorius het gesê die skool het 'n brief van die onderwysdepartement gekry wat lui dat die skoolreëls steeds tydens die matrikeksamen geld.

Die betrokke leerders is gisteroggend tydens die skool se algemene

begin skryf. "Ek was verskriklik kwaad en dink ek sou (andersins) beter punte gekry het."

Hy beweer ook dat seuns met baie langer hare oor die hoof gesien is. Hy het nie verwag om oor die kole gehaal te word nie.

Clifford-verhoor kan vandag begin waarneming in psigiatriese hospitaal

PORT ELIZABETH. – Die omstredende vermeende piramide-baas Maureen Clifford se hofsak begin vandag in die Baaise hooggeregshof nadat 'n psigiater bevind het sy is geskik om verhoor te word.

Clifford se psigiater, dr. Peter Crawford, het vroeër in 'n aansoek in die

testoestand is goed en kan verhoor word.

Mnr. Marius Stander, advokaat, het gesê dat meer as 700 getuienes wat getuig.

Hy wou egter niks sê oor die saak nie.

[Print](#)

Mom's horror hospital ordeal

13/12/2004 09:39 - (SA)

Enrico Claassen , Die Burger

Port Elizabeth - A woman allegedly had to lie helpless for hours with her dead baby between her legs after giving birth without medical assistance despite her desperate cries for help.

A traumatised Eleanor Fourie from Schauderville said on Sunday a doctor told her on Thursday her unborn baby - her first child - was very active.

She saw the child's heartbeat when the doctor performed an ultrasound scan on her.

Fourie said she was admitted to Dora Nginza Hospital after getting labour pains.

"I was moaning in pain for about two hours before I was given painkillers," she said while her partner, Clive Kettledas, supported her.

Fourie said she suddenly heard a tearing sound and realised her water had broken.

"I kept calling the nurses to come and help me. I could feel the baby coming out. One of the nurses shouted at me from wherever she was 'What is it?', Fourie said.

She said she was lying on her stomach while the child was born. She could feel the baby moving after it had been born, "but suddenly, everything became still".

"I battled to lift myself up. I saw that it was a boy but that he was already dead. I was too afraid to look at the child again," Fourie said.

She claimed she lay on her bloody hospital bed for about five hours before the nurses came to her the next morning.

Fourie said nobody examined her after the birth, and none of the staff members comforted or supported her after she had lost her baby.

"We looked forward to the baby so much. They could have done something to save my child's life."

Dr Freddie Rank, chief medical superintendent of Port Elizabeth, said he was unaware of the case.

He gave his assurance that the matter would be investigated as soon as he had all the facts at hand.

In October, Nkowezi Admas and her unborn baby girl died under similar circumstances in Dora Ngiza Hospital.

At the time, Dr Ntomi Qungule, medial superintendent of the hospital, said nursing staff never ignored patients.

DIE BURGER



DIE BURGER

Een-en-negentigste jaargang

Ton Vosloo-Mediasentrum, Ivor Benn-slot, Port Elizabeth
Woensdag 31 Mei 2006

Prys R2.90 (BTW ingesluit)

LEES VANDAG

Drawwer vang haastige baba op sypaadjie

NORMAN SILKE

UITENHAGE. – Min strate word vernoem na kinders, maar as dié eer een spesifieke baba te beurt behoort te val, is dit beslis die baba wat gister hier op 'n sypaadjie gebore is.

'n Hoogswanger me. Bukelwa Yesi en haar man was omstreeks 07:00 inderhaas van die Mandela Village-woonbuurt op pad na die plaaslike provinsiale hospitaal toe haar haastige kleinding net meer as 1 km van die hospitaal in Ross Gradwellstraat besluit het dis tyd om gebore te word.

Yesi het dadelik op die sypaadjie gaan sit en haar man het na die hospitaal gehardloop om hulp te ontbied.

In daardie stadium het me. Margie du Toit, wat elke oggend van haar huis in Vanes Estate deur Ross Gradwell draf, op die petalje afgekrom.

Volgens Du Toit was dit omstreeks 07:50 toe die

kreunende Yesi haar oog gevang het.

"Ek het na haar toe gehardloop en gevra wat fout is. Sy het dadelik haar broek afgetrek en toe ek kyk, was die baba se koppie reeds besig om uit te kom," het Du Toit die toneel beskryf.

Du Toit het gelukkig handskoene aangehad om haar hande teen die koue te beskerm en het net betyds gebuk om die seuntjie te vang.

"Toe hy uitgekrom het, was hy baie blou en ek het dadelik die vliesie om sy kop afgehaal en hom op sy boudjies geslaan. Hy het gelukkig begin huil en ek het onmiddellik 'n verbygaande bakkie se aandag getrek om ons na die hospitaal te neem."

Yesi is agter op die bakkie gelaai en Du Toit het die baba in 'n ou T-hemp toegedraai en voor ingeklim. By die hospitaal aangekom is Yesi en haar nuwe spruit na die kraameenheid geneem.

"Alles het baie vinnig gebeur en ons het haar reeds omstreeks 08:00 by die hospitaal gehad," het

Du Toit gesê, wat ook die voorsitter van die plaaslike Muirite Striders-hardloopklub is.

Dié ma van twee het gesê sy is redelik vertrouwd met babasorg, aangesien sy hulp verleen aan nuwe moeders wat sukkel om te borsvoed.

"Dit was moederlike instink wat my gedryf het om die vliesie om die baba se kop te verwyder. Ek wou hom net hoor skreeu."

Volgens me. Anna-Marth Goosen, woordvoerder van die hospitaal, het Du Toit definitief die baba se lewe gered.

Sy het bevestig moeder en kind is springlewendig en gesond en behoort vandag ontslaan te word.

Mes. Margie du Toit en Bukelwa Yesi spog met Yesi se babaseuntjie by die provinsiale hospitaal op Uitenhage. Du Toit het Yesi bygestaan toe die baba gister langs die pad gebore is.

Foto: HEILIE COMBRINK

Volkswagen: Man val 30 meter na sy doc

Hvckraan die ? we

ere perke opgehef

onlangse goeie reën is besluit ere perke op die gebruik van die Nelson Mandelabaai-gebied ef. **NUUS/2**

oting styg skerp

e-voorlopige bedryfs- en gegroting van R4,6 miljard vir ende jaar is vir die Nelson baai-metro ter tafel gelê.

uiwing verwelkom

ogde verskuiwing van die ertshope en olietenks van die awe na Coega is uit alle oorde m. **NUUS/5**

te kan geraak word

sasiërsdienste kan geraak word 5:5000 Satawu-lede in die hulle by stakende sekerheidsaan aansluit. **NUUS/6**

**Print**

Jogger delivers baby

31/05/2006 08:20 - (SA)

Norman Silke, Die Burger

Uitenhage - Few streets are named after children, but if there ever was one that should have this honour, it would be that of a baby born on a pavement in Uitenhage on Tuesday morning.

A heavily pregnant Bukelwa Yesi and her husband were hurrying from Mandela Village, where they live, to the local provincial hospital about 07:00 when the baby decided to arrive. They were still about 1km from the hospital in Ross Gradwell Street.

Yesi sat down on the pavement while her husband ran to the hospital to get help.

Margie du Toit, who jogged from her home in Vanes Estate through Ross Gradwell every morning, happened to be passing by.

It was about 07:50 when a groaning Yesi caught her eye, said Du Toit.

"I ran to her and asked what was wrong.

"She immediately pulled down her pants, and when I had a look, the baby's head was already there."

Du Toit, who was fortunately wearing gloves to protect her hands against the cold, bent down just in time to catch the baby boy.

"He was very blue. I immediately pulled the membrane from his head and patted him on his bottom.

"He immediately started crying, and I flagged down a passing bakkie to take us to the nearest hospital," said Du Toit.

Yesi and her new baby were admitted to the maternity ward.

Du Toit, who has two children of her own, said that she knew how to care for babies, as she'd helped new mothers having trouble breastfeeding.

She said motherly instinct led her to remove the membrane from the baby's head.

"It was like seeing a child with a plastic bag over its head.

"I wanted to hear him cry to make sure he was breathing," she said.

DIE BURGER

Ma kry R700 000 ná baba verdwyn

LYNN WILLIAMS

PORT ELIZABETH. – 'n Leë kissie en die troos van R700 000 is hoe die tragiese verhaal van 'n Baaise ma wie se baba in 'n plaaslike hospitaal gesterf het, maar nooit opgespoor kon word nie, hier afgesluit is.

Me. Chrissie Botha (33) het Dinsdag in die hooggeregshof hier geseëvier in haar eis teen die minister van gesondheid en die superintendent van die Dora Nginza-staats hospitaal ná haar nagmerrie-ondervinding in dié hospitaal.

Hoewel die hof die verweerders beveel het om dié geld binne 21 dae aan haar te betaal, sal dié jong ma nooit weet wat van haar ontsape dag oue babaseuntjie geword of selfs of hy enigsins dood is nie. Oomblikke van rou emosie het tydens die verhoor voorgekom toe Botha oor die skokkende gebeure voor en ná haar baba se geboorte getuig het.

Botha se baba het volgens inligting wat deur die hospitaal aan haar verskaf is, gesterf en is later weens 'n reuse-flater sonder haar toestemming in 'n massagraf begrawe.

Botha het deur middel van haar regsverteenvoerders, mnr. Francious Swanepoel en adv. Pieter Mouton van GP Van Rhyn Minnaar-prokureurs, 'n eis van meer as 'n R1 miljoen teen die verweerders ingestel.

Die hof het Dinsdag 'n bevel uitgereik wat die departement van gesondheid gelas om binne 21 dae 'n bedrag van meer as R570 000 aan Botha uit te betaal.

Dié bedrag is benewens die bedrag van R100 000 wat die departement as deel van 'n interim-betaling beveel is om te betaal.

Die verweerders is verder verantwoordelik vir Botha se regskoste en vir die betaling van sekere kenners wat tydens die verhoor getuig het.

Getuienis van hoe Botha en haar familie hul seuntjie se “lyk” in haglike omstandighede moes gaan uitken, het ook in die verhoor aan die lig gekom.

Volgens Botha is haar kind eers as vermis aangemeld en het hulle op 'n grootskaalse soektog deur die hospitaal gegaan voordat die nuus dat hy dood is, aan haar oorgedra is.

Sy moes hom hierna by die hospitaal se lykshuis gaan uitken en het getuig hoe sy na talle ander dooie babas in 'n oop yskas moes kyk en hoe 'n werker by die lykshuis gedreig het om haar uit te jaag “as sy daar kom huil en aangaan”.

“Dié man het 'n dooie kind wat in 'n plastiëksak toegebind was, op 'n vullisdrom geplaas en my gebied om te kyk of dit my kind was,” het Botha in trane getuig.

Later het die hospitaal haar laat weet dat 'n baba wat deur die staat se begrafnisondernemers in Motherwell begrawe is, hare (Botha s'n) was.

DNS-toetse op dié dooie baba het egter bewys dat ook nie dié baba haar seuntjie was nie.

'n Bewoë Botha het gesê sy spook nog steeds met tergende vrae, soos of haar kind dalk nog leef en of ander mense hom iewers grootmaak.

“Die hospitaal sal nooit weet watter pyn hul optrede veroorsaak het nie.

“Daar is 'n leemte in my hart vir my kind wat geld nooit sal kan vul nie.”

[Print](#)

'Money can't fill the void'

26/07/2006 09:22 - (SA)

Lynn Williams , Die Burger

Port Elizabeth - An empty coffin and the comfort of R700 000 has brought to a sad close the story of a Port Elizabeth mother whose baby died in a local hospital, although the body was never found.

Chrissie Botha, 33, savoured a bittersweet victory in the High Court when her claim against the minister of health and the superintendent of the Dora Nginsza State Hospital was granted after her nightmare experience at the hospital.

Even though the court ordered the respondents to pay the money to the mother within 21 days, the young mother would never know the fate of her day-old baby boy's body, or if he had indeed died. Raw emotion was displayed during the hearing when Botha testified about the shocking incidents before and after her baby's birth.

Initially reported missing

According to information supplied to Botha by the hospital, her baby had died and was buried in a mass grave without her consent because of a huge misunderstanding.

Botha, by means of her legal representatives Francois Swanepoel and Pieter Mouton from GP van Rhyn Minnaar Attorneys, sued the respondents for more than R1m.

The court ordered on Tuesday that the department of health pay the amount of R570 000 to Botha within 21 days.

This amount was in addition to the amount of R100 000 the department had been ordered to pay in the interim. The respondents were also liable for paying Botha's legal costs and the remuneration of specialists who testified during the hearing.

Testimony about how Botha and her family had to identify her son's body in horrible circumstances, also came to light during the hearing.

According to Botha her child was initially reported missing and a large-scale search took place in the hospital, before she was informed that he was dead.

Left with many questions

She then had to identify him in the hospital's morgue where she had to look at several other dead babies in an open fridge. A worker allegedly threatened to chase her away if she "started crying and performing".

"The man put a child, who was in a sealed plastic bag, onto a dustbin and ordered me to look whether it was my child," Botha testified in tears.

Later the hospital informed her that the baby, which had been buried by the state's undertakers in Motherwell, had been hers. DNA-tests on the dead baby, however, indicated that this baby was also not her son.

A heartbroken Botha said she was still battling with questions, such as whether her child was still alive and was being raised by someone else.

"The hospital will never know what pain their acts caused. There is a void in my heart that money will never be able to fill," she said.

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Baba kry vigsme

Ma se angs nadat baba omgeruil is

MAIKE CURRIE

PORT ELIZABETH. - Nie net is die ergste vrese van 'n jong ma van hier bewaard toe haar baba met 'n ander vrou s'n in die Dora Nginza-hospitaal omgeruil is nie, maar sy vrees ook dat haar eersteling MIV-positief is nadat haar kind geborsvoed is deur 'n vrou met MIV.

Die 18-jarige me. Liezel Jacobs was gister in tranes toe sy die *Die Burger* vertel het hoe 'n dokter in die pediatriese eenheid van dié hospitaal haar Saterdagoggend die skoknuus meegedeel het.

Volgens die dokter het personeel haar babadogtertjie se naambandjie omgeruil met 'n ander baba s'n, wat glo op dieselfde dag gebore is as haar kind.

Jacobs het gesê sy het Vrydag vermoed iets is verkeerd toe een van die susters haar bloed kom trek het. "Sy wou nie vir my sê hoekom nie, maar het my 'n klomp snaakse vrae oor my baba se identiteit gevra."

Jacobs is toe eers die Saterdag deur 'n dokter ingelig oor die hospitaal se "blaps". "Die dokter het vir my gesê hulle het my baba aan 'n ander ma gegee om te borsvoed en dat dié vrou vigs het.

"Hy het gesê hy het vir my kind 'n teenmiddel gegee teen die virus, maar moet ook bloedtoetsing doen om vas te stel of sy nie dalk vigs kon gekry het nie.

"Hy het gesê hy is baie jammer, hy weet nie hoe dit kon gebeur het nie."

Jacobs het Donderdag met 'n keisersnee die lewe geskenk aan haar eersteling. Die "verkeerde ma" het glo ook op dié dag die lewe geskenk met 'n keisersnee.

"Die dokter was só kwaad oor wat gebeur het. Hy het vir my gesê dit is nie die eerste keer dat só iets by Dora gebeur nie."

Nadat sy die nuus meegedeel is oor haar baba is Jacobs na een van die isolasie-kamers in die hospitaal se kraameenheid verskuif, wat sy met net een ander ma gedeel het.

Sy het gesê een van die susters het Saterdagoggend haar lêer kom haal en sy het gister gehoor dat haar lêer "verdwyn" het. Niemand kon sehoertdien vir haar sê waar haar lêer is nie.

"Ek het Sondag een van die verpleegsters by die pediatriese eenheid gevra oor my baba se toetsuitslae. Sy het gesê die 'vinnige toets' wat hulle gedoen het, het gewys dat my baba negatief is, maar hulle wag nog vir die laboratoriumtoets."

Intussen lê haar babadogtertjie steeds in die broeikas in die Dora Nginza-hospitaal se pediatriese eenheid, rég langs die baba met wie sy omgeruil is.

Dié baba se ma is glo nêrens te vinde nie. Jacobs se suster, me. Heidi Smith, het haar gister bygestaan by die hospitaal.

"Dit is Dora se fout en nou behandel hulle haar of sy iets verkeerd gedoen het.

"Wat staan ons te doen as haar baba wel vigs het? En dit alles oor die hospitaal se nalatigheid."

Dr. Aydin Vehbi, superintendent van die Dora Nginza-hospitaal, het gister gesê hy is bewus van die voorval, maar kan geen kommentaar lewer nie.

"Die voorval is Vrydag onder my aandag gebring. Ons ondersoek dit en ek kan niks sê voordat ek weet hoe dit gebeur het nie."

Mnr. Mzukisi Ndara, direkteur van kommunikasie van die Oos-Kaapse departement van gesondheid, het gesê hy weet nie hoe só iets kon gebeur het nie.

HELENA MAAK ALBUM IN BAAI



Die bekende kabaretsanger Helena Hettema was die afgelope week hard aan die werk terwyl sy haar nuwe album stillertjies in die Baai opgeneem het. Sy het nie haar gotroue aanhangers afgeskep nie, en hulle het die geleentheid gehad om haar gister in die Barn-teater op die planke sien. Hier is sy in ligte lulin by twee diere-aanhangers.
 Foto: EWALD STANDER

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KAAPSTAD bars uit hulle stert.

Dit is hoe die provinsie beaandeel is aan die Oos-kaap se ledigheid in die

Luidens die oorsake van korrekte korrekte tronke in die By die Midgenes in April snap het, is die soneel het gelyk.

Vroulike ptieme verhoort kinders by die speel selfs die Middelrif vangenes akkevangenes.

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Baby fed HIV-tainted milk

2006-09-04 07:27

Maike Currie

Port Elizabeth - A young mother's worst fears came true when she found that her baby was swapped with another woman's baby at Dora Nginza Hospital.

But her ordeal was not over once the child was found. She learnt that her first-born might be HIV-positive after she was breastfed by a woman with HIV.

Liesel Jacobs, 18, cried as she told how a doctor from the paediatric unit at this hospital gave her the shocking news on Saturday morning.

According to the doctor, staff had got her baby daughter's name tag mixed up with that of another baby that had been born on the same day.

Jacobs said she suspected something was amiss on Friday when one of the nursing sisters took blood samples from her. "She didn't want to say why she needed the blood, but asked me a lot of strange questions about my baby's identity."

'What will we do?'

Jacobs was only informed about the "mistake" by the doctor on Saturday. "The doctor told me that they had given my baby to another woman to breastfeed, and that woman had Aids."

"He said they had given my child an antiviral drug, but also had to do blood tests to determine whether she had contracted Aids."

"He said he was very sorry, he didn't know how it could have happened." Jacobs gave birth by Caesarean section on Thursday. The "wrong mother" also gave birth by Caesarean on the same day.

"The doctor was very angry about what had happened. He told me it was not the first time such a thing had happened at the Dora either."

After being informed about her baby, Jacobs was moved to a private ward, which she shares with only one other mother.

She said one of the nursing sisters fetched her file on Saturday evening. She found out on Sunday that the file had disappeared, and nobody had since been able to tell her what had happened to the file.

"I asked one of the nurses at the paediatric unit about my baby's test results on Sunday. She said a 'quick test' indicated that my baby tested negative, but that they were still waiting for the laboratory test."

Meanwhile her daughter was still in the incubator in the Dora Nginza paediatric unit, right next to the baby she had been swapped with. This baby's mother subsequently went missing.

Related Links

[Burnt-alive mom: Dept blamed](#)
[Teen, unborn baby burn to death](#)

Jacobs's sister, Heidi Smith, supported her at the hospital on Sunday.

"It was Dora's mistake and now they are treating her as if she had done something wrong. What will we do if her baby has Aids? All because the hospital was negligent?"

Dr Aydin Vehbi, superintendent at the hospital, said on Sunday he was aware of the incident, but didn't want to comment.

"The incident was brought to my attention on Friday. We are investigating and I cannot say anything before I know how it had happened."

Mzukisi Ndara, communications director for the Eastern Cape health department, said he also didn't know how it was possible that something like this could happen.

- Die Burger

Coega-aanleg kom

'n Flambojante Russiese oliemagnaat het aangekondig dat hy 'n ferro-allooi-aanleg van \$1 miljard (R7 miljard) in Coega gaan bou. **SAKE/S13**

'Steek Manto in pad'

Altesame 65 van die wêreld se top-wetenskaplikes het pres. Mbeki gister gevra om dr. Manto Tshabalala-Msimang onmiddellik af te dank. **NUUS/2**



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Trane word vreugde

Nóg toetse moet vir MIV gedoen word

NORMAN SILKE

PORT ELIZABETH. - Die hospitaal wat glo daarvoor verantwoordelik is dat 'n pasgebore baba verkeerdelik deur 'n vrou met die MIV-virus geborsvoed is, het uiteindelik die moeders met hul regte babas herenig.

Me. Liezel Jacobs (18) het haar dogtertjie vir die eerste keer in vyf dae in haar arms gehou, haar dadelik 'n naam gegee en haar dadelik begin borsvoed.

"Ek is só bly dat ek my kind by my het en haar uiteindelik kan huis toe vat. Dit maak nie saak of sy MIV-positief is of nie," het 'n verheugde Jacobs gehuil.

Die voorval het Donderdag plaasgevind toe Jacobs en 'n onbekende swart vrou op dieselfde dag in die Dora Nginza-hospitaal die lewe geskenk het aan dogtertjies.

Volgens Jacobs het 'n dokter haar die Saterdag meegedeel dat haar baba, wie se naam nou Tamia is, per ongeluk deur die ander vrou, glo 'n MIV-lyer, geborsvoed is.

Intussen maak die ander vrou ook glo aanspraak op die baba wat Jacobs beskou as hare.

"Ons is nou 99,99% seker watter baba aan watter ma behoort, maar ons het nog bloed by al die partye getrek en weggestuur vir DNS-toetse, net om seker te maak," het dr. Aydin Vehbi, mediese superintendant van die hospitaal, gister bevestig.

Volgens Vehbi het basiese bloedtoetse en die vergelyking van die twee vroue se tyd in die teater bykans die kwessie van moederskap opgeklaar.

"Nog 'n goeie teken is dat die baba net een keer binne die eerste 24 uur van haar geboorte geborsvoed is," het Vehbi bevestig.

Volgens hom het die baba moontlik net kolostrum (biesmelk) ingekry. Dit is 'n waterige melkafskieding wat vroeë in swangerskap begin en binne die eerste paar dae ná geboorte nog afgeskei word.

Hy het verduidelik die kolostrum het minder van die ma se teenliggaampies as gewone moedersmelk.

Ofskoon Vehbi nie veel wou se oor die ondersoek wat die hospitaal gaan doen



'n Emosionele me. Liezel Jacobs is gister herenig met haar baba, wat sy Tamia godoep het.

Foto: CHARLES PULLEN

nie, het hy wel gesê 'n probleem met die moeders se mediese lêers is moontlik die rede vir die omruiling van die babas.

As daar bevind sou word dat 'n verpleegster verantwoordelik was vir die omruiling, sal die saak na die Suid-Afrikaanse Verpleegstersraad verwys word.

Ofskoon Vehbi nie veel wou se oor die ondersoek toon dat 'n dokter nalatig was, sal hy of sy voor die Me-

diese Vereniging van Suid-Afrika verantwoordig moet doen.

Mr. Ruann Kruger, 'n prokureur van die firma Ludik & Booysen in Pretoria wat aangebied het om Jacobs gratis te verteenwoordig in 'n eis teen die hospitaal, het gister gesê die grootte van die eis sal bepaal word deur verdere MIV-toetse op Tamia.

Die voorlopige toetse toon dat sy negatief is, maar sy sal oor die volgende paar maande verskeie kere getoets moet word om seker te maak.

Intussen het me. Nomsa Jajula, LUR vir gesondheid, gister by die hospitaal besoek afgelê om die vordering met die opening van 'n nuwe brandeheid in die hospitaal te besigtig.

"Ek het die geval van die omgeruilde babas onder haar aandag gebring en sy het gesê 'n deeglike ondersoek moet gedoen word," het dr. Lulamile Jam-Jam, uitvoerende hoof van die Port Elizabeth-hospitaalkompleks, gesê.

"Sy het my gevra om haar op die hoogte te hou van die vordering met die ondersoek."

Saagmeul-boelie kry pak voor tjommies

MARISKA SPOORMAKER

makkers opgeruk het na Botha se huis. "Met twee bakke en twee vierwiel.

Polisie krap kop oor twee lyke

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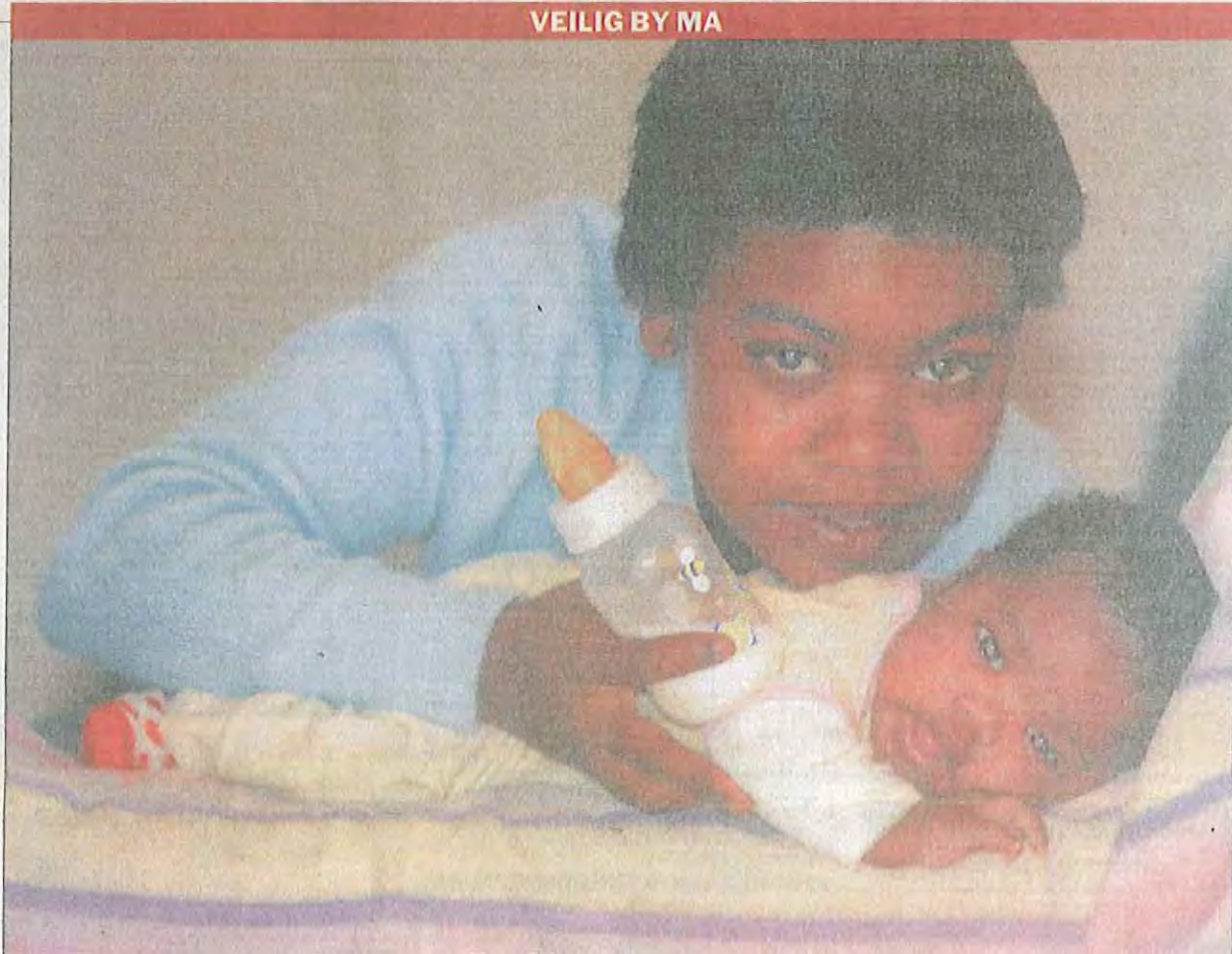
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VEILIG BY MA



Me. Lizeel Jacobs (18) en haar babadogtertjie, Tama, wat 'n bietjie meer as 'n maand oud is, het gister doodgelukkig gelyk in hul huus in Bethelsdorp. Tama is kort ná haar geboorte in die Dora Nginza-hospitaal omgeruil en deur 'n MIV-positiewe vrou geborsvoed. Tama se MIV-status is nog nie bekend nie, maar verder is sy perdfrits en gesond. Lees volledige berig op bl. 5.

Foto: CHARLES PULLEN

Weerkantoor maan oor swaar reën en sneeu

GISHMA ABRAHAMS

PORT ELIZABETH. – Die Oos-Kaap hou vandag wêre asem op vir moontlike vloede nadat die weerkantoor gewaarsku het oor swaar neerslae en sneeu. Dit kom nadat reën Sondag weens 'n kouefront uit die weste oor groot dele van die provinsie begin uitsak en gister voortgeduur het.

Die somerklere moet volgens die weerprofete Donderdag weer uitgehaal word. Bloedige warm weer – wat kan lei tot weghol-veldbrande – word vir Vrydag voorspel. Mnr. Evert Scholtz, meteoroloog van die nasionale weerkantoor in Pretoria, het gister gewaarsku dat swaar reën en sneeu vandag in die Oos-Kaap verwag word.

Gister se nat, koue en winderige toestande sal na die binneland versprei met sneeu op die hooggeleë noordoostelike gebiede vanaand en môre-oggend. Swaar neerslae sal na verwagting vandag voortduur aan die suid- en suidooskus en in Transkei. Bitter koue weer word in die binneland verwag met mak-

Kapt. John Fobian, Oos-Kaapse polisie-rampbestuurder, het gister gesê duikers en nooddienswerkers is steeds in Transkei besig met reddingswerk ná verlede week se vloede.

"Ons is steeds gereed en hou die weer noukeurig dop."

Nadat gerugte die ronde gedoen het dat huise in Amsterdamhoek in die Baai weens vloedwaters uit die oorstromende Groendaldam ontruim moes word, het die Nelson Mandelabaat-metro by monde van mnr. Lourens Schoeman inwoners geruggestel dat daar teen gistermiddag geen rede tot paniek was nie.

Hy het verwys na veral laaggeleë gebiede langs riviere wat deur die onlangse vloede onder water gelaat is.

Volgens Schoeman oorstrom die dam reeds sedert die vloede op 2 Augustus sy walle. "Die munisipale rampbestuursplan hou die situasie noukeurig dop en waarskuwings sal deur middel van die media bekend gemaak word."

Sapa berig swaar reën het die afgelope week 'n skool op Nggeleni buite Mthatha verwoes. Leerlinge van die Ju-

skok om te sien hoe slegs 'n hoop klippe geleë het waar die landelike skooltjie nog voor die vakansie gestaan het. Dieselfde lot het 'n ander landelike skool, die Junior Sekondêre Skool Mvilo in die Zinduneni-nedersetting, te beurt geval toe dit ook ná swaar reën in mekaar getuimel het.

Tisha Steyn berig etenaars van huise teen steil hellings op Wildernis wat kan meegee as dit baie reën, is gister gewaarsku om gereed te wees om te ontruim.

"Anders as by die Dolphin's Point-gastehuis langs die N2 in Kaanmanspas woon hier mense wat hul lewe kan verloor as 'n grondverskuiwing plaasvind," het mnr. Freddie Henning, raadgevende ingenieur van Element ITS, wat betrokke is by die herstel van die N2, gister gesê.

Die N2 by Dolphin's Point het sowat 'n maand gelede gekraak en intussen meters diep weggesak. Die berghang waarop die Dolphin's Point-gastehuis geleë is, skuif 'n tempo van sowat 4 mm per uur seewarts.

"Ek het vroeg vanoggend (gister) gend) die Eden-munisipaliteit s-

strofe. Eden en die George munisipaliteit moet 'n bietjie daarop fokus en maar wakker staan, veral as dit baie reën," het hy gewaarsku.

Volgens die weerfasie by die George-lughawe is daar 'n 80% kans op reën oor die volgende twee dae.

Volgens Henning het ingenieurs wat helikoptervlugte bokant die N2 in die Kaanmanspas onderneem het om gespesialiseerde foto's te neem, verskeie gebiede geïdentifiseer waar nog grondversakings of verskuiwings kan plaasvind. Dit sal sowat 'n maand daerduer om inligting wat uit die foto's verkry te word.

Volgens mnr. Gerhard die Eden-rampbestuurder die teer van die N2, gister gesê. Die stude dat die hele tweekantoor Sokei bo-

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HIV feeding: 2 staff in trouble

02/10/2006 23:07 - (SA)

Norman Silke, Die Burger

Port Elizabeth - Two employees of the Dora Nginza Hospital here are in hot water after a mother's newborn baby was given to an HIV-positive woman to breastfeed.

The incident happened on August 31 after Tamia, the baby daughter of Liezel Jacobs, 18, was born in the hospital and inadvertently given to an unknown woman to feed.

The woman, also had given birth that day to a baby girl.

Later, it was found that the unknown woman was HIV-positive. An internal investigation, led by hospital superintendent Dr Aydin Vehbi, was launched after the incident.

Test result still not known

The executive officer of the Port Elizabeth hospital complex, Dr Lulamile JamJam, said: "Two staff were pointed out as ones who might have acted negligently and they will have to face a disciplinary hearing."

Meanwhile, Jacobs has complained because the result of the HIV blood tests done before she and Tamia were discharged early in September is still not known.

A doctor apparently had said the results would be available 10 days later.

Vehbi said that because there should be a six-month window period allowed for the HIV to manifest itself, the test results will not be completely conclusive.

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Liezel Jacobs a Tamia, back hc after the baby inadvertently t woman to brea Pullen, Die Bur

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Twee uitgewys vir tugverhore ná babas geruil word

norman silke

PORT ELIZABETH. – Twee werknemers van die Dora Nginza-hospitaal hier is in die moeilikheid ná 'n ma se pasgebore baba aan 'n MIV-positiewe vrou gegee is om te borsvoed.

Die voorval het op 31 Augustus plaasgevind toe me. Liezel Jacobs (18) se dogtertjie, Tamia, in die hospitaal gebore is, en per abuis aan 'n onbekende vrou, wat op dieselfde dag ook aan 'n dogtertjie die lewe geskenk het, gegee is om te voed.

Daar is later vasgestel dat die onbekende vrou MIV het.

'n Interne ondersoek, gelei deur dr. Aydin Vehbi, superintendent van die hospitaal, het ná die voorval gevolg.

'n Verslag is saamgestel en oorhandig aan die uitvoerende beampte van die Port Elizabeth-hospitaalkompleks, dr. Lulamile JamJam, om te besluit oor verdere optrede.

“Twee personeellede is uitgewys as beamptes wat moontlik nalatig opgetree het en verantwoording sal moet doen tydens 'n tugverhoor,” het JamJam gesê.

Hy het verduidelik dat iemand reeds aangestel is om op te tree as voorsittende beampte, maar dat 'n datum vir die verhoor nog nie bevestig kon word nie.

Volgens Jacobs is haar eie en Tamia se bloed getrek kort voor hul ontslag vroeg in September en weggestuur vir MIV/vigs-toetse.

“Die dokter het gesê dat die uitslae tien dae later beskikbaar sou wees, maar ek het nog steeds niks gehoor nie,” het sy haar ongelukkigheid uitgespreek.

As gevolg van die vensterperiode van ses maande vir die MI-virus sal die uitslae van die toets egter nog nie heeltemal bevestigend wees nie, het Vehbi gister aan Die Burger gesê.

Mnr. Mzukisi Ndara, woordvoerder van die Oos-Kaapse departement van gesondheid, het gesê dat daar moontlik nalatigheid aan die kant van hospitaalpersoneel was en dat 'n tugverhoor sal volg.

Hy het ook die LUR van gesondheid, me. Nomsa Jajula, se misnoeë uitgespreek met feit dat Jacobs nie onmiddellik na afloop van die voorval berading van die hospitaal ontvang het nie.

Vehbi het egter verduidelik dat sy wel voor haar ontslag berading ontvang het, maar hy kon nie bevestig of sy teruggekeer het na die hospitaal vir opvolgssessies nie.

“Twee maatskaplike werkers het my kom besoek, maar hulle het nie berading gegee nie.

“Hulle het gesê dat ek nie moeilikheid moet veroorsaak met prokureurs en hofsake nie, maar eerder bly moet wees dat ek my kind teruggekry het,” het Jacobs beweer.

DIE BURGER

Siek diens

DIT is ongelukkig so dat sekere van ons land se staats-hospitale sinoniem geword het met swak diens, nalatigheid en swak bestuur. Dit is oor dié hospitale se skrikwekkende rekords van onprofessionele diens en nalatigheid dat die media dikwels berig.

In die jongste voorval van onaanvaarbare diens by die Dora Nginza-staats-hospitaal in Port Elizabeth, is die ergste vrees van 'n jong ma, me. Liezel Jacobs (18) bewaarheid toe haar baba deur hospitaalpersoneel omgeruil is met dié van 'n MIV-positiewe moeder en toe deur dié moeder geborsvoed is.

Hierdie hospitaal het al verskeie kere landwyd die nuus gehaal met berigte oor swak diens. So onlangs soos 'n maand gelede het die Port Elizabeth hoogge-regshof 'n jong ma skadevergoeding van R700 000 toe-gestaan nadat haar pasgebore baba in dié hospitaal gesterf het, maar die lyk nie ooit opgespoor kon word nie. Skokkende getuies oor die onprofessionele op-trede van hospitaalpersoneel asook die haglike om-standighede waaronder lyke in die hospitaal se lyks-huis hanteer word, is toe gelei.

Jaar na jaar hoor die publiek van planne om dienslewering te verbeter, maar min gebeur in die praktyk. Die klagtes van grootskaalse personeel-te-korte, te min beddens, gebrekkige hulpronne, diens-verlating en diefstal is oorbekend.

Daar durf nie uit die oog verloor word nie dat staats-hospitale die enigste toegang tot beskikbaar of gratis gesondheidsorg vir miljoene minderbevoorregtes is. Maar dit beteken nog lank nie dat dié sorg nie vol-gens die algemene riglyne vir voortrefflikheid kan wees nie. In die geval van die Dora Nginza, het dit dringend noodsaaklik geword dat toestande by dié hospitaal indringend ondersoek word.

Dit is tyd dat die minister van gesondheid daad-werklik ingryp en, indien nodig, dat koppe rol.

Baie skade is al aangerig, maar dis nog nie te laat om die situasie om te keer nie.

Chinese invoer

'n STORM het in die plaaslike klere-en-tekstielbedryf losgebars. Dit rakende 'n plan wat bedoel was om ver-ligting in dié sukkelende bedryf te bring.

Nie te lank gelede nie, is daar met groot opwinding geskryf en kommentaar gelewer oor China se vrywil-lige ooreenkoms om die uitvoer van produkte in dié bedryf te beperk en hoe dit verligting vir die plaaslike bedryf sal bring.

Nou blyk dit dat die implementering van die oor-eenkoms nie met soveel lof besing word nie. Dit is veral die groot klerekleinhandelaars wat die grootste bohaai maak. Hulle troefkaarte is inflasioneêre druk op die prys van klere, leë rakke oor die feesseisoen en potensiële werksverlies in 'n bedryf wat reeds so-wat 65 000 poste in die afgelope drie jaar verloor het.

Een van die kleinhandelaars het dit selfs as 'n ver-loor-verloer-situasie beskryf.

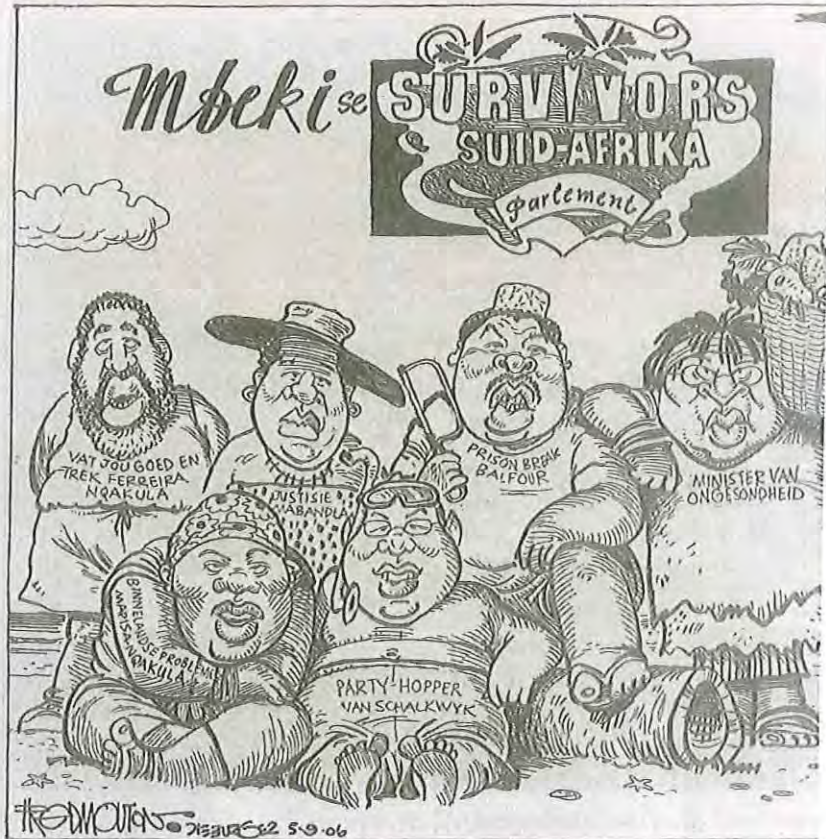
Maar is hulle besig om net oor hul eie belange te baklei? Moet 'n mens dit nie teen die agtergrond van reuse-wins wat juis deur die kleinhandelaars in die afgelope drie jaar gemaak is, sien en beoordeel nie?

Moet 'n mens nie nou terugstaan en besef dat juis die toename in invoer uit China ons plaaslike bedryf op sy knielê gedwing het nie? Talle fabriekse moes hul deure sluit, terwyl duisende opgeleide werkers van-dag nog werkloos is.

Dalk is hier nou 'n geleentheid om op lang termyn opnuut na almal se belange te kyk.

Plaaslik meen die vervaardigers dat hulle in die kleinhandelaars se behoeftes kan voorsien, mits die kleinhandelaars bereid is om hulle te ondersteun.

Dit sal egter nie 'n vinnige proses wees nie en kan op kort termyn kleiner winsmarges vir die kleinhandelaars beteken. Maar ter wille van die groter bedryf se welstand is dit seker nie te veel gevra dat een van die rolspelers tydelik terugstaan nie.



Tegnologie maak deure oop vir Afri

DIE wind van verandering waai weer in Afrika – dié keer aangedryf deur tegnologie en geld, nie politiek en ideologie nie.

Deesdae skop jy 'n internetkafee agter omtrent elke bos op ons vasteland uit. En hulle is meestal vol – selfs op dorpie diep in platte-landse gebiede.

Min mense het tuis 'n vaste telefoonlyn en 'n rekenaar, maar teen 'n taamlik klein be-drag kan hulle nou e-pos stuur en ontvang, op die hoogte van wêreldgebeure bly, toegang tot studiemateriaal kry en werk soek.

Op Bunia, 'n dorp in die Ituri-gebied in die noordostelike hoek van die Demokratiese Republiek van die Kongo (DRK), gebruik han-delaars die internet om die goudmark in Lon-don en New York te monitor. S6 bepaal hulle die plaaslike prys vir die kilogramme spoel-goud wat informele myners daagliks te koop aanbied.

Dit is nie duur om een van dié kafees in die boendoes te besoek nie. 'n Uur op die internet kos jou minder as 'n Amerikaanse dollar (so-wat R7) – veel minder as die R1 per minuut wat jy op sekere plekke in Suid-Afrika daar-voor betaal, tensy jy toevallig in 'n voorstede-lyke winkelsentrum op 'n internetkafee af-koem waar die tarief soms billiker is.

In die relatief ontwikkelde Suid-Afrika geld blykbaar die aanname dat die meeste mense tuis of in hul werkplek toegang tot die inter-net het.

Terloops, as jy minder wil betaal, probeer 'n internetkafee naby 'n taxi staanplek. In Randburg se sakegebied kos 'n halfuur op die web byvoorbeeld net R5.

Nog 'n tegnologiese ontwikkeling wat stil-weg 'n omwenteling in Afrika teweeggebring het, is die selfoon. Omtrent elke tweede per-soon dra een rond. S6 bly mense met mekaar in kontak en doen hulle sake. In Gulu in die



UIT NAIROBI
DESMOND THOMPSON

noorde van Uganda stel kleinboere deesdae met een teksboodskap vas wat die prys van 'n bepaalde gewas op 'n sekere mark is. Vroeër het hulle ure lank met hul produkte gereis – sonder om voor die tyd te weet wat hulle te wagte kan wees.

Private selfoonmaatskappye het geslaag waar staatsbeheerde ondernemings misluk het. Afrika het die minste vaste telefoonlyne ter wêreld – gemiddeld een vir elke 500 vaste-landbewoners – maar sy selfoonmark groei met rasse skrede.

Soos in die Weste, is die alomteenwoordig-hed van selfone soms in Afrika 'n probleem. In Bukavu, 'n stad aan die oewer van die Kivu-meer tussen die DRK en Rwanda, het 'n wer-ker dit onlangs moeilik gevind om 'n slag in een van die Kongo se swak paale op te vul – omdat hy 'n graaf en twee selfone gelyktydig probeer hanteer het.

Die oproepkoste is nie altyd laag nie. In die DRK koop 'n mens oral op straat selfoonlug-tyd teen \$5 (nagenoeg R35) per kaartjie, maar dit hou nie vreeslik lank nie. As jy egter 'n selfoon het wat jou toegang tot die internet gee, kan jy in die Kongo die wêreldwye web na hartelus besoek, want dit is soms selfs goedkoper as 'n internetkafee – na gelang van hoeveel inligting jy aflaai.

Dit voel eienaardig om op dorpie waar lo-pende water en elektrisiteit skaars is, jou e-pos oor die internet per selfoon na te gaan, maar dit is die sprong wat hier danksy teg-nologie gemaak word.

Selfs groepe wat verbete aan hul ou ge-

bruike vas in die noon om 'n Ma met 'n self ry nie.

Tegnoloj 'n restaur swak omd op hul dra langgestel

Maar te nie – nie v daarby ba vervelens reld – byve – gehoor d

“konnekti magtiging

In Afrik groot deel voet met d stens wat

Die uitd verskeer c gewend w Sommig ter deur d In hierdie fersse Groc heer. En j jag ingest litieke idt

Wat nou is dat lan verantwo spiere vir

Dalk he Kennis is • Desmon burohoof buitelan

...nasionale rol, moet klaar-
maak. Dit kan vertolk word as die soveelste aanslag
op Afrikaans as onderrigtaal, en dis iets wat ouer-
geenskappe nie sonder 'n geveg sal aanvaar nie.

Ten derde beveel die taakspan aan dat onderwysers
leer die sentrale regering na skole ontplooi word. Ge-
sien die geweldige ontevredenheid wat 'n soortgelyke
beleid met dokters veroorsaak het, gaan ook dit 'n
kwaai geveg afgee.

Dit lyk of talle aanbevelings groter probleme gaan
mebring as wat dit oplossings bied.

DIS VIR HAAR MAAR
'N BETER-PIE-
BEET OM TE SLUK.



Miskenning van taal trap op armes se regte

Poetin-besoek

PRES. WLADIMIR POETIN se besoek aan Suid-
Afrika geskied nie om dowe neutre nie. Albei lande,
Rusland en Suid-Afrika, kan aansienlike voordeel
daaruit trek.

Vir Rusland is daar die vooruitsig op groter handel
en beleggings in Suid-Afrika. Poetin word nie
erniet van 'n groot handelsafvaardiging vergesel
in Rusland se ekonomie het die laaste jare sterk ge-
roei ná die chaotiese bewindstyd van pres. Boris
elstin, en Russiese maatskappye het voldoende kapitaal
om hier te belê en werkgeleenthede en welvaart
te help skep.

Vir Rusland geld ook die wete dat China die laaste
jare op groot skaal politiek en ekonomies in Afrika
beveel het. Rusland voel hy kan nie agterbly nie.

Poetin, synde 'n veteraan van die KGB, reken waar-
kynlik daarop dat sy bande met die ou Sowjetunie
in hom 'n sentimentele voorproeg by die regerende
ANC kan verskaf. Die ANC/SAKP was indertyd 'n in-
eme praktiese en ideologiese bondgenoot van die
kommunistiese diktatuur.

Omgekeerd is Rusland se rol as een van die vaste
lede van die Veiligheidsraad met vetoreg belang-
rik in Suid-Afrika se strewe om self tot die uitgeslede
ub toe te tree. Vandaar dat Suid-Afrika in sy stem-
ding by die VN - 'n mens dink aan kwessies in die
Ooste, die Franse kernprobleem, ensovoorts -
mik naby aan Rusland en China bly.

Is natuurlik 'n ope vraag of dit so verstandig is
Amerika, Brittanje en Frankryk is eweneens perma-
nte lede, maar Suid-Afrika aarsel nie om 'n polit-
ieke afstand van hulle te handhaaf nie. Dit ondanks
dat sy ekonomiese bande met die Weste dras-
ter is as dié met Rusland en China.

Die oer ook al, Poetin se besoek is uit 'n Suid-Afri-
kane oogpunt te verwelkom.

DIE beraad oor 'n volhoubare plek vir Afri-
kaans kan nie op 'n meer geleë tyd gekom het
nie. Dit is egter kommerwekkend, selfs belag-
lik, dat so 'n beraad oor een van die land se
kosbaarste erfenisse en iets wat so baie mense
se lewe regstreeks raak, ná 12 jaar van demo-
krasie en vryheid hogenoemd nodig was.

Die Afrikaans nie op tersiere gebied sy do-
minansie kan handhaaf nie, gee ek toe; maar
om Afrikaans só af te skaal tot op die punt
waar dit nou is, rym nie met 'n demokratiese
bestel nie.

Die regering se standpunt is bekend. Binne
'n demokratiese bestel kry hy dit reg om nie
net op tersiere gebied nie, maar ook in alle
sfeere van die samelewing Afrikaans sy regmatige
plek te ontnem.

Die volhoubaarheid van Afrikaans is nie 'n
voorgesig nie, maar 'n reg. 'n Baie groot deel
van sy sprekers kan nie 'n menswaardige
lewe sonder opleiding in Afrikaans lei nie.

'n Demokratiese bestel eindig nie by die
stembus nie. Dit behels sigbare geregtigheid
vir almal. Dit sluit in die taal wat die hart,
siel en verstand van die mens is.

Geregtigheid vereis dat die fokus rondom
Afrikaans as sodanig verskuif moet word na
die menslike element, naamlik die arm, onge-
letterde bruin en swart Afrikaanssprekende
mense. Die getalle van hierdie mense, wat nie
Engels kan praat of verstaan nie, gaan nie
minder word nie, maar meer.

Om hierdie mense maatskaplik en ekono-
mies, asook geestelik en sielkundig uit die
moeras van ellende te trek, is die volhoubaar-
heid van Afrikaans nie net in skole of op ter-
siere gebied noodsaaklik nie, maar ook in die
breë samelewing, soos op die televisie.

Wat niemand tot nog toe sigbaar opgestaan
het oor die onreg wat op daardie gebied teen-
oor die Afrikaanssprekende bruin mense ge-

BRANDPUNT

ABRAHAM PHILLIPS

pleeg word nie, is skokkend, absoluut skok-
kend.

My bejaarde moeder, wat geen woord En-
gels kan praat of verstaan nie, moet soos so
bale ander haar laaste jare in haar geboorte-
land slyt met groot hartseer en pyn - nadat
sy 'n leeftyd van verdrukking en ontbering
oorwin het.

Ek het oor die jare dosyne oproepe na die
SAUK gemaak, asook talle blyewe aan hom ge-
skryf, sonder sukses.

Hoe kan ons veg vir die volhoubaarheid op
tersiere gebied as ons toelaat dat geen opvoed-
kundige of gewone programme vir Afrikaans-
sprekende bruin mense bestaan nie? Dit is vir
hierdie mense sieldoed. Baie van hulle be-
gin glo dat hulle geen geskiedenis het en dat
geen stories oor hulle te vertel is nie, wat
daartoe bydra dat frustrasies vinnig na haat
oorsaak.

Hierdie toedrag van sake veroorsaak gees-
telike en sielkundige agteruitgang, wat die
selfbeeld van die Afrikaanssprekende bruin
mense ondermyn en wat baie bydra tot die
hoë ongeletterdheidsyfer en hoë drank-
en dwelmissbruik, wat in groot mate die oor-
sake is van die benedigeweld, moord, aanran-
dings, verkragtings en vroue- en kindermis-
handeling wat onder Afrikaanssprekende
bruin mense woed.

Daar sal gewaak moet word daarteen dat
die mooi en pragtig geskrewe Grondwet nie
net vir die magtiges deur die magtiges geskryf
is en dat die Grondwet nie vertolk word deur
die magtiges vir die magtiges nie. Die onreg-

verdige behandeling van Afrikaans kan nie
losgemaak word van die vele ongeregthede
in die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing nie.

Die voorstel dat dosente en voornemende
studente (aan die US) ná twee jaar Afrikaans
moet verstaan en praat, is die dood in die pot.
Die enigste weg is jou Godegewe reg. Daar
moet ten minste twee Afrikaanse universi-
teite wees. Daardie twee inrigtings moet op
wees vir almal, ongeag ras, kleur of geloof.

Die nie-Afrikaanssprekende student wat
daar wil studeer, weet by voorbaat dat hy/sy
lesings in Afrikaans gaan ontvang. Die nie-
Afrikaanssprekende student het in elk geval
só 'n wye keuse van inrigtings dat dit nie-
mand behoort te ontstel nie.

Wat hierdie beraad se taak soveel moeiliker
maak, is die ongeliktheid en kwaadwillig-
heid wat in die taaldebate rondom Afrikaans
by die Universiteit Stellenbosch woed. Onge-
voeligheid is aan die orde van die dag.

Nog 'n kwessie rondom die taaldebate is dié
van globalisering en uitnemendheid. Wat is
regtig vir die universiteit belangrik? Wêreld-
wye aansien of die arm Afrikaanssprekende
bruin en swart mense rondom hom?

Geen mens bou sy huis op die grafte van an-
der nie, veral nie op die grafte van die armsa-
liges en armoediges van hierdie wêreld nie.
Die menslike element in enige debat moet al-
tyd eerste gestel word, hoe eenvoudig in sta-
tuur of getalle daardie menslike elemente ook
al is. Ons durf ons nie van die waarheid en
van geregtigheid verveem nie. Want die
waarheid en geregtigheid was nog altyd nie
wieg reg is nie, maar wat reg is.

● *Dié artikel is 'n verkorte weergawe van 'n toespraak wat die Afrikaanse skrywer Abraham Phillips op 1 September vanjaar op die Stellenbosse beraad oor 'n volhoubare plek vir Afrikaans op tersiere vlak gelewer het.*

DIE BURGER, BRIEWELAD, POSBUS 525, PORT ELIZABETH, 6000 TEL 041 503 6111 FAKS 041 503 6138 E-POS: oos@dieburger.com

Te kla oor Mbeki e huis onnodig

WIE wil ek my onvoorwaardelike steun toesê
aan die redakteur van *Die Burger* se siening oor die
leaan 'n beter opposisie (DB, 4/9). Die strate-
gie "waar die karkas lê vergader die aasvoëls"
rekkend, teenproduktief en grens aan 'n ge-
aan 'n uitvoerbare opposisiebeleid.
DA blyk deurlopend en obsessieel aktief te
te wees by 'n heksejag. Geen wonder die
an nie hond haarf maak by die swart kle-
e. Die kiesers wil nie dag in en dag uit hoor
ansuis korrup en onbevoeg die regerende
nie.

aan hulle soek, is 'n alternatief wat hul le-
standighede en kwessies soos werkloos-
die voorsiening van basiese behoeftes soos
mitêre geriewe en elektrisiteit sal verbeter

in die bohaai oor 'n aftreewoning vir die
1 van ons land? Waarom die uitbarsting
oortuigendheid dat die projek met staatsgeld
ler word? Pres. Thabo Mbeki het, te midde
re flaters, in sy termyn meer vir ons land
as vyf van sekere van sy voorgangers.

die opposisie dat hy in 'n woonwark
n bly? Wat soos 'n paal bo water staan, is
i ná verstrikking van sy termyn as presi-
use- en invloedryke internasionale rol
l.

dan van hom verwag word om wêreldle-
ent te ontvang en onthaal?
siek benadering van die DA herinner my
nominasie waarin ek grootgeword het,
te gelede by die "groot geeste" onder die
benadering was van: "Lord, you keep
stoor - of is dit die president?) humble,
him poor."

ANDRÉ POTGIETER
Woodstock

Eer Tambo behoortlik

DIE brief "Dan eerder Oliver Tambo" van Tambo-
tango (Briewebblad, 2/9) verwys. Ek stem volmondig
met die skrywer saam oor die voorgenome wy-
siging van die Johannesburgse Internasionale Lughawe
se naam. In die mond van wêreldreisigers sal die
OR Tambo-lughawe maar bra niksseggend en
vreemd klink.

Soos die naam Jan Smuts van ouds - die naam
van 'n man wat lank die kollig op die wêreld se ver-
hoog gesteel het - sal die naam Oliver Tambo nie
net baie beter klink nie, maar ook veel meer waar-
digheid verleen aan die nagedagtenis van 'n groot
Afrika-leier.

Ek stem nie saam met al die naamsveranderings
van die ANC nie, maar indien die regering ons
grootste lughawe se naam wil verander, kan ek net
hoop dat hy aan Tambo die eer sal gee wat hom toekom.

ESJE DU TOIT
Hermanus

Hou media heeltemal vry

PRES. THABO MBEKI was in die hospitaal vir 'n
moontlike hartprobleem... Dalk behoort ek dit nie
so hard te sê nie.

Volgens sy uitstygter-lyfwagte is dit in nasionale
belang dat niemand daarvan weet nie (DB, 1/9). 'n
Moontlike hartprobleem is 'n ernstige saak en dit
is in die nasionale belang dat die bevolking die feite
weet. Dit raak die mense en die ekonomie - en die
mense sal graag vir hom wil bid.

Geheimsinnigheid verwek net nare gerugte.
Waarom is joernaliste se kameras gegryp? Is dit
deel van die nuwe persvryheidsvernietigingswet?

Volgens *Die Burger* is verneem dat daar in die
teater waar Mbeki ondersoek is, vir agt lyfwagte
voorsiening gemaak is. Wat?

Vertrou hulle nie die chirurg nie? Wat sou die
uitsmyters gedoen het as die dokter die president

met 'n mes genader het? Sou hulle hom uitsmyt?
Hulle het net die vertrek met kleme besmet.

Ek sal nie gemaklik voel om in 'n operasietheater
in te gaan as ek weet dat daar 'n uitsmyter is wat
in die dokter se nek staan en blaas nie. Die presi-
dent seker ook nie.

Die pasiënt se vertroue is in die kundigheid van
die dokter, en dié het nie die toetsing van 'n uitsmyter
nodig nie.

Nietemin, ons bid vir pres. Mbeki se goeie ge-
sondheid en dat hy voortaan sal verseker dat die
media onbelemmerd vry sal bly.

L.J. BOTHA
Kirkwood

Dis ernstige nalatigheid

DIE foute wat deesdae in hospitale gemaak word,
is regtig kommerwekkend. As dit nie naambandjies
is wat omgeruil word nie - ek verwys na die berig
"Baba kry vigsmeik" (DB, 4/9) - word verkeerde
babas in 'n massagraf begrawe.

Liezel Jacobs se baba is met 'n keisersnee gebore.
Die heel eerste ding wat die verpleegster dus moes
doen voordat sy die baba weggenote het, was om
'n naambandjie in die teater om die baba se armpie
te sit. So 'n fout is ernstige nalatigheid.

Luidens die berig weer die verpleegsters by die
Dora Nginza-hospitaal nou dat me. Jacobs haar
baba mag sien, want volgens hulle het 'n ander vrou
reeds Jacobs se baba geborsvoed, en daarom het die
baba 'n nouer band met die ander vrou as haar eie
ma. Dit is pure snert.

Vyftal is al verby en die hospitaal het nog steeds
nie dié nodige toetse gedoen om te bepaal wie die
baba se ma is nie. Dit lyk vir my die ander vrou
wil twee babas hê, want sy het reeds 'n tweede me-
ning aangevra oor die kind se ouerskap.

Volgens 'n TAC-woordvoerder spruit die pro-
bleem uit 'n oorvloed van pasiënte en 'n tekort aan
mediese personeel. Dis nie 'n verskoning nie.

Die regering sal moet ingryp in die gesondheids-
departement. Dit is besig om in duie te stort.

Gedagte vir die dag

Moenie dit wat vir jou goed is, as pynlik
bestempel nie - Euripides.

Uit die Woord

As ons beweer dat ons nie sonde het nie,
bedrieg ons onself en is die waarheid nie
in ons nie. Maar as ons ons sondes bely
Hy is getrou en regverdig, Hy vergewe ons
ons sondes en reinig ons van alle ongereg-
tighede - 1 Johannes 1:8, 9.

Uit die Koran

O julle wat glo, moenie voorbarig in die
teenwoordigheid van Allah en Sy Bood-
skapper wees nie, en kom hulle plig teen-
oor Allah na - Koran 49:1.

'n Mens maak nie foute met menselewe nie. Vi-
die res van Jacobs se lewe gaan die nagmerrie ha-
ry. Dink aan al die trauma waardeur sy moet gaan
as gevolg van 'n agtelose verpleegster wat nie ver-
antwoordelikheid kan aanvaar nie.

Ek is regtig verheug dat 'n prokureursfirma van
Pretoria gratis regshulp aan Jacobs gee, want sy
gaf dit beslis nodig kry.

GEN VERWEY
Kirkwood

Oor meer as vergifnis

MNR. ADRIAAN VLOK se versoenningsgebaar deun
eewr. Frank Chikane se voete te was, het wyd aan-
dag getrek en baie lesers het daarop gereageer. Di-
val op ontrent al die briefskrywers die voorval
sien as 'n gebaar van vergifnis.

Ek wonder of sommige (dalk almal) van die brief

Baaise baba gebore voordat ambulans opdaag

HELGA VAN STAADEN

PORT ELIZABETH. – 'n Vroedvrou van Helenvale het Donderdag 'n 10de baba in die lewe help bring nadat 'n swanger vrou glo ure lank op 'n ambulans moes wag.

Me. Charmaine van der Merwe van Voisinweg het gister uitgevaar oor die diens wat hulle van die metro-ambulansdiens gekry het. Sy het gesê baie mense se lewe word in die gevaar gestel deur die swak diens. Volgens haar het sy die ambulansdiens ses keer gebel toe sy sien dat me. Nadine Potberg in kraai gaan en later het haar neef, mnr. Jeffrey Botha, ook gebel.

Botha het gesê hy was gekok oor die houding van een van die beamptes aan diens. "Toe ons die situasie aan die man verduidelik en hom vra dat die ambulans so gou moontlik kom, het hy gesê daar is nie nou 'n ambulans beskikbaar nie en ons kan maak wat ons wil en selfs die koeraut bel."

Van der Merwe het gesê die eerste oproep na die ambulansdiens is teen 03:00 gemaak toe Potberg begin kraai het. Die ambulans het eers om 06:45 by Potberg se huis opgedaag. Die baba is reeds 'n uur vroër gebore.

"Hulle het vir my gesê daar is net twee ambulans beskikbaar en dat een na 'n skietvoerval is."

Volgens mnr. Ansley du Plessis, waarnemende direkteur van die ambulansdiens, sal hy ondersoek instel na die beweerde voorval.

"Alle kommunikasie word op band opgeneem. Ons sal daarna luister en bepaal of die beamptes verkeerd opgetree het. Indien wel,



Mev. Charmaine van der Merwe (regs) het Donderdag me. Nadine Potberg bygestaan met die geboorte van haar babadogtertjie. Foto: EWALD STANDER

sal tugstappe ingestel word. Dis onaanvaarbaar dat die ambulans so lank gevat het om op te daag. Daar kon ook nie net twee ambulans beskikbaar wees nie. Daar is gewoonlik te alle tye vyf tot nege ambulans in die PE-distrik beskikbaar."

Van der Merwe het gesê sy het al dikwels gekla oor swak diens, maar dit gaan net nie beter nie. "As ek

dink hoeveel belasting ons kinders betaal, kan ons seker op beter diens aandring."

Volgens haar was dit 'n uiters moeilike geboorte en sy was bang dat sy die skuld sou kry indien enigiets verkeerd sou gaan. Sy het lank gelede 'n noodhulpkursus gedoen en help dikwels in die gemeenskap wanneer iemand hulp nodig het,

ongeach of dit meswonde of geboortes is.

"Ek het nie 'n noodhulpkissie of chirurgiese handskoene nie. Ek is altyd bewus daarvan dat ek met die MI-virus besmet kan word," het Van der Merwe gesê.

Potberg en haar babadogtertjie is later na die Dora Nginza-hospitaal geneem.

Metro tre wat nie

LISA-MARIE VAN SCHALKWYK

PORT ELIZABETH. – Motoriste met uitstaande lasbriewe vir verkeersboetes moet in hul pasoppen wees.

Die Nelson Mandela-metropoolmunisipaliteit se verkeersdepartement het gewaarsku hy het nuwe toerusting om van uitstaande boetes en lasbriewe werk te maak.

Motoriste met uitstaande boetes sal voortaan maklik by padversperings in hegtenis geneem kan word.

'n Faksmasjien wat die verkeersafdeling onlangs gekry het, is met die Star Ranger gekoppel aan die databank met al die uitstaande verkeersboetes en lasbriewe in die metropool.

Steytlerville-raadsle

STEYTLERVILLE. – Vyf jaar nadat 'n paar raadslede sowat R170 000 geleen het van die voormalige Steytlerville-munisipaliteit (nou Baviaans-munisipaliteit) is 'n groot deel van die lening steeds uitstaande.

Mnr. Wilhelm le Roux (DA-LP) het Donderdag sy misnoeë oor die toedrag van sake aan die adjunkminister van plaaslike en provinsiale regering, me. Nomatyala Hanganu, uitgespreek en op antwoorde aangedring.



Wil jy beter lees?

WISE EYE

Leeslaboratorium

Verbeter jou:

Leesspoed	Begrip
Woordeskat	Spelling
Visuele en korttermyngeheue	Kitswoordherkenning
Gemaklike, ontspanne oogkoördinasie	
Lengte van oogspan	Oë se visuele opsporsingsvermoë
Effektiewe links-tot-regs oogbewegings	
Woordontsluiting	Selfvertroue
Voorgrond - agtergrond onderskeiding	
Visuele diskriminasie	

Die Wise-program se sukses kan toegeskryf word aan verskillende faktore. Een daarvan is dat die leser gemonitor word deur 'n opgeleide Wise Eye-lees-terapeut. Die rekenarterapie word by die praktyk gedoen en word gekombineer met 'n tuisterapie-program wat leesvermoë, woordeskat, leesspoed, visuele persepsie, begrip en nog vele meer verbeter.

Ouers en kinders is ewe opgewonde oor die verskil wat Wise Eye in hul leesvermoë en werk gemaak het. Dit verbeter ook selfvertroue en die vermoë om op skool en universiteit te presteer. Sommige skole het die Wise Eye-span al uitgenooi om al hul leerders in die skool te kom toets om so te verseker dat die standaard van lees in hul skool verhoog word.

Verbeter jou leesvlak met ten minste 2 skoolgrade!!!

Kom besoek ons gerus by Kaapweg 197
of skakel ons vir jou leestoets by 041 373 2908 of 084 4751814.



Pick 'n Pay en die Hellsleër beoog om ten minste twee miljoen maaltye aan armes te voorsien hierdie winter. Die sop met die Pick 'n Pay-handelsmerk word deur die maatskappy gesubsidieer om klante aan te spoor om sop te skenk. 'n Pakkete sop kos R1,49 en vier mense kan daarvan eet. Die maatskappy beoog om minstens 500 000 pakkete sop in te samel. Voertien van die maatskappy se hipermarkte landwyd het reeds elk 1 500 pakkete sop aan die Hellsleër geskenk. Alle skenkings kan by deelnemende winkels in slaapwaentjies geplaas word. Die slaapwaentjies maak ook deel uit van 'n promosie en kan later gewen word. Hier is mnr. Ernest Zeiss en Ian Hughes van Pick 'n Pay en Clive Adams van die Hellsleër met sop wat reeds geskenk is. Die promosie eindig vandag. Foto: WERNER HILLS



Die plaaslike media is deel van die Boardwalk deel van die R100-toekyk Denver Burns. 'n hold kan losdobbel. LH



'Die Port Elizabeth-tastreekwenners in die met Nedbank aangeblikte Stone, Danel Buwalda