

Conceptual Metaphors in Media Discourses on AIDS Denialism
in South Africa

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

According to Natrass (2007:138), the denial and questioning of the science of HIV/AIDS at government level by, amongst others, Thabo Mbeki (former State President) and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang (former Minister of Health) resulted in an estimated 343 000 preventable AIDS deaths in South Africa by 2007. Such governmental discourse of AIDS denialism has been the target of criticism in the media and by activist groups such as the Treatment Action Campaign. This study investigates the nature of this criticism, specifically considering the critical use of metaphor in visual texts such as the political cartoons of Jonathan Shapiro, who works under the pen name of “Zapiro”. The purpose is to determine whether the nature of the criticism in visual newspaper texts differs from that of corresponding verbal newspaper texts, possibly providing means of criticism not available to the verbal mode alone.

A corpus of texts published between August 1999 and December 2007 that topicalise HIV/AIDS was investigated. This includes 119 cartoons by Zapiro, and 91 verbal articles in the weekly newspaper *Mail & Guardian*. The main theoretical approach used in the analyses is Conceptual Metaphor Theory, developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1981), and its extension to poetic metaphor, developed by Lakoff and Turner (1989). Because of the socio-political nature of the problem of HIV/AIDS, the study also draws on Critical Discourse Analysis, including complementary concepts from Systemic Functional Linguistics.

The study reveals that visual and verbal texts make use of similar sets of conventional conceptual metaphors at similar frequencies, which confirms the predictions of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The study further reveals that the cartoons enrich these metaphors through four specific mechanisms of poetic metaphor, which the verbal articles do not. This indicates a significant difference between the two types of texts. Furthermore, it is found that the use of such poetic metaphors directly contributes to the critical power of the political cartoons. The study indicates that multi-modality in cartoons, which triggers single metaphoric mappings, adds a dimension to the critical function of the text that is absent in the verbal equivalent. The finding that the visual texts enable a form of cognition that is not available to verbal texts, poses one of the most significant avenues for future research. Thus, cartoons apparently achieve a type of criticism that is not found, and may not be possible, in the verbal texts alone. This makes the political cartoon a text type with an important and unique ability to articulate political criticism.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

This thesis reports on research that topicalises visual discourses commenting on AIDS denialism in South Africa. The aim is to investigate the use of conceptual metaphors in media texts reporting on, and especially those critical of, AIDS denialism. The specific research problem that this study seeks to address relates to the use of conceptual metaphor in visual texts, specifically political editorial cartoons of a critical nature. So far little research has been done in this field, and it has been shown in other studies (e.g. El Refaie 2003) that such research can contribute to a number of academic fields, including visual discourse in general and conceptual metaphor theory in particular. The topic of AIDS denialism was chosen because of the powerful impact of the problem of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, and the damaging effect that denialism has had over the past nine years of Thabo Mbeki's presidency (Nattrass 2007). This study seeks to understand the role that political cartoons play in establishing a critical, in this case anti-denialist discourse. The focus is specifically on the role of visual conceptual metaphors in the construction of this critical discourse. A brief background of AIDS denialism and the role it has played in South Africa is described in section 1.1.

1.1 AIDS denialism

On 28 October 1999, then recently elected South African president Thabo Mbeki told the National Council of Provinces that Zidovudine (AZT), a type of antiretroviral drug used in the treatment of HIV/AIDS, was toxic and should be investigated (Nattrass 2007:187). This preceded many years of statements and actions by the president and health minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang questioning the dominant scientific discourse on HIV/AIDS, and taking steps that undermined the treatment of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. According to Nattrass (2007:138), the denial of HIV/AIDS and particularly the resistance to prescribing antiretroviral (ARV) treatment in state health institutions was spearheaded by Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang and resulted in an estimated 343 000 preventable AIDS deaths in South Africa by 2007.

The AIDS denialist discourse takes many forms, but its defining characteristic is the questioning of the largely accepted scientific theories of HIV/AIDS. One of its main

claims is that the HI-virus is not the cause of AIDS (Natrass 2007:22-23). This sometimes includes the questioning of the existence at all of HIV. Another claim is that ARVs used in the prevention-treatment of AIDS are toxic, or that they themselves may be the cause of AIDS. In South Africa this has also included claims such as those by Thabo Mbeki on 12 October 2001 (Natrass 2007:190), that the conventional views of HIV/AIDS are a form of racist western conspiracy against the African people.

These claims made by AIDS denialists contradict a large corpus of scientific evidence (Natrass 2007) that show that HIV is the cause of AIDS, and that ARVs may be used safely in the prevention and treatment of the disease. The claims therefore go against international health recommendations by organisations such as the World Health Organisation.

1.2 Criticism through political cartoons

The AIDS denialist discourse of Thabo Mbeki and health minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang evoked strong criticism from both public and scientific sectors, including a number of activist organisations such as the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) founded by an HIV-positive AIDS activist, Zackie Achmat. The news media were also a source of criticism. Besides articles in virtually every written newspaper genre, there were also visual texts including a series of political editorial cartoons by South African cartoonist Jonathan Shapiro. Shapiro, who draws under the pen name of “Zapiro”, has a history of political activism, and has been producing editorial cartoons since 1987 when he became editorial cartoonist for the newspaper “*South*” (Shapiro 2008). Since 1994 his cartoons have appeared in the *Sowetan*, *Mail & Guardian*, *Sunday Times*, *Cape Times*, *The Star*, *The Mercury* and *Pretoria News*. Over the past nine years, Zapiro has published at least 119 cartoons topicalising the AIDS denialist discourse, and it is this corpus of critical texts that form the focus of the current study’s research into visual metaphor.

Zapiro’s work has received acclaim for the social and political relevance and strength of its criticism. One of his recent awards, the international Prince Claus Award in 2005, states that "the most important consideration of the jury is the positive effect of a laureate’s work on a wider cultural or social field" (Prince Claus Fund 2008). While cartoons have often been considered a light-hearted and humorous medium, with the

implication that they are harmless (Verwoerd & Mabizela 2000:vii), the importance accorded to them by such awards, as well as the strong reactions they sometimes draw from those that are targeted, suggest that they play an important role in political criticism. Verwoerd and Mabizela (2000) have commented on the importance of the work of South African cartoonists during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission process, of which Zapiro's work forms an important part. He has at times been challenged in courts of law by those criticised in his cartoons for a variety of issues, notably a R15 million lawsuit by Jacob Zuma in 2006. In 2008, a new surge of public debate surrounding the importance and rights of political cartoons erupted when Zapiro drew a cartoon of current ANC President Jacob Zuma appearing to prepare to rape a female personification of "lady justice".

In view of the fact that political editorial cartoons are taken as serious texts of political criticism in many quarters, and that they draw such strong reactions from politicians and readers, I have undertaken a thorough study of the mechanisms by which political cartoons make meaning. It is suggested that the visual medium of cartoons is a particularly powerful medium in which sharp criticism may be levelled, of a kind that may not be possible or permissible in verbal newspaper articles. Either there are medium-specific restrictions, or there are social restrictions such as the requirement that potentially defamatory verbal newspaper reports should be factually accurate. Esterhuysen (in Verwoerd & Mabizela 2000: 63) has called political cartoons "shapers of public opinion; creators of convictions ... and, not least, tools of propaganda." This indicates the relevance of the current research.

1.3 The focus of the research

Since political cartoons such as Zapiro's appear in newspapers alongside verbal articles, and often topicalise the same issues, the question arises as to the differences and similarities between the two modes when it comes to political criticism. One question is how the two modes differ in their approach to criticism, especially as regards their use of metaphor. Zapiro himself has commented on the importance of metaphor in his cartoons, saying that "you have a device, a metaphor whereby you are able to show all the things that you are feeling..." (in Verwoerd & Mabizela 2000: 155). It has been claimed by some theorists (Wolk 2007; El Refaie 2003) that metaphor is one of the central mechanisms of cartooning. In view of these

suggestions, I propose to study metaphor in cartoons from the theoretical approach of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) developed by Lakoff and others (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1981; Lakoff & Turner 1989), in order to determine the prevalence and nature of conceptual metaphors in the texts, and the role that these metaphors play in political criticism. The primary aim of the research is to come to a better understanding of how exactly cartoons achieve the criticism that they apparently do, based on established linguistic and cognitive theory. While verbal newspaper journalism has been the topic of much research, much less has been written on the mechanisms of cartoon criticism, especially on the use of metaphor. No such study appears to have been done on metaphor in South African cartoons. This work intends to provide the groundwork for expanding investigation into the nature of visual criticism.

The question that originally prompted this study of metaphor in cartoons is whether the visual mode can express stronger criticism than the verbal mode in newspaper articles. Through the course of the study it has become clear, however, that questions as to which is the “better” mode, are not useful. Rather, as Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) suggest, the two modes should be seen as differing but complementary. The current study therefore focuses on investigating the use of conceptual metaphors in cartoons to reveal how the visual mode may differ from the verbal, but also how it is similar as is predicted by Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The study will also seek to disclose what the particular advantages of the visual medium might be for political criticism.

1.4 Research questions

The following four questions will guide the research that will address the issues discussed above:

- (1) In a database of newspaper articles, both visual and verbal, that topicalise HIV/AIDS, to what extent are the same conceptual metaphors found in the two different modes?

If Lakoff and Johnson’s theory of conceptual metaphor, as explicated in section 2.1 of this thesis, is correct in stating that metaphor is primarily a mechanism of cognition, and is therefore found at a level preceding specific modal expression such as the

visual or verbal mode, then it follows that the same conceptual metaphors should find expression in both modes, since these are both mediums of expressing thought.

- (2) To what extent do either the visual or verbal texts employ the four mechanisms of poetic metaphor as described by Lakoff and Turner (1989)? In other words, can either set of texts be described as poetic?

Lakoff and Turner present a theory of Poetic Metaphor, explicated in section 2.2, according to which an author is able to increase the range and power of conventional conceptual metaphor by enriching it in four specific ways (Lakoff & Turner 1989:67-71). If the authors are correct in their claims, then the presence or absence of poetic enrichment should provide insight into the nature of criticism of a given mode, and into the way in which these mechanisms are used.

- (3) How does the use of poetic metaphor contribute to the critical power of the text?

Biberauer (1996:133) describes four functions that conceptual metaphor fulfils in discourse, namely structuring, illumination, compensation, and manipulation. I will argue that the poetic enrichment of metaphor increases the author's control of these four functions, and that poetic metaphor therefore has a stronger capacity for criticism than conventional metaphor. If hypothesis (2) below is correct that cartoons may be considered as visual poetic texts, then the answer to research question (3) may go some way towards explaining the power that political cartoons hold for criticism.

- (4) What is the role of multi-modality in the cartoons?

Cartoons do not employ the visual mode alone, but include verbal elements in the form of labels, captions, and speech bubbles as well. This question will seek to establish what the function is of these verbal elements in the cartoons. Kress and Van Leeuwen (in El Refaie 2003:86) have claimed that the verbal and visual "intermesh and interact at all times." This claim for the cartoons is examined, as well as the nature and function of this interaction. This issue will be specifically addressed from the perspective of conceptual metaphor theory, to determine what role if any multi-modality might play in the use of metaphors in the cartoons.

1.5 Research hypotheses

The four research hypotheses below are provided as tentative answers to the research questions given in section 1.4 above:

- (1) Both the visual and verbal sets of texts on the same topic contain the same set of conventional metaphors.

If Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are correct in claiming that metaphor is conceptual in nature, then both the visual and verbal modes should express the same metaphors, as different expressions of the same conceptual system. It is also hypothesised, however, that the cartoons contain a larger range of metaphors than the verbal texts, due to the poetic enrichment of higher order metaphors by the cartoonist into novel metaphors that are nonetheless based on the same set of conventional metaphors. Furthermore, the frequency of the occurrence of the metaphors may be influenced by the nature of the mode, as suggested by El Refaie (2003:85) and it is therefore hypothesised that the cartoons may contain more occurrences of spatial metaphors.

- (2) The visual texts incorporate all four of Lakoff and Turner's (1989) mechanisms of poetic metaphor to a greater extent than the verbal articles, and can therefore be considered as visual poetic texts.

It is expected that verbal newspaper articles will stick more closely to the conventional use of metaphor because of socio-political restrictions on these texts – specifically the restriction of “factual accuracy” which may be absent from cartoons. The verbal articles may, however, contain some instances of poetic enrichment. The cartoons, on the other hand, falling under the expectations of an “artistic” medium and therefore possibly not subject to the same kinds of restrictions as the verbal articles, will likely contain a significantly greater number of instances of poetic enrichment.. As far as I am aware, the theory of poetic metaphor by Lakoff and Turner (1989) has not been applied to visual texts before, and so the results, although tentative, could be significant not only for cartoons, but also for theories of visual communication in general.

- (3) The poetic enrichment of metaphor does contribute to the power of criticism by allowing the author greater control over the four functions of metaphor described by Biberauer (1996).

I will argue that the use of poetic metaphor contributes to the critical power of a text by opening more choices to the author than those available to an author restricted to conventional metaphor. While an author using conventional metaphor is able to choose among metaphors, he is not able to choose the way in which a metaphor is structured and used to the same extent as the poetic author. Chapter 5 will seek to set out a theory of how this works, based on the analysis of the data in Chapter 4.

- (4) The verbal elements found in the visual cartoons will support the critical nature of the text, and may serve to anchor the textual interpretation to a specific context, thus reducing possible ambiguity.

Since very little has been written about this question in the literature, it is not possible to posit more specific answers without a close analysis of the data. It is hoped that the analysis of multi-modality in the cartoons will reveal something about the nature and use of conceptual metaphors.

1.6 Chapter outline

Below I provide a brief outline of the content of each of the chapters in this thesis.

Chapter 1 describes the background and motivation for the research, including the phenomenon of AIDS denialism in South Africa. It also presents the research questions and hypotheses.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the relevant literature, including the main theoretical approach of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and other theoretical approaches that informed the research, including Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics. The chapter further describes previous research on cartoons, specifically by El Refaie (2003).

Chapter 3 describes the research methodology, including the kind of data analysed, the collection of the data, and the method of analysis. It describes the nature and composition of the visual and verbal databases that have been analysed.

Chapter 4 reports on the close analysis of the visual cartoons in terms of conceptual metaphor theory and poetic metaphor theory, including statistical data on the types of

conceptual metaphors used; the frequency of use of poetic mechanisms; and a detailed analysis of each of the most frequently occurring metaphors in the database.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the verbal articles as they relate to the cartoons, including statistical data on the types of conceptual metaphors used; the frequency of use of poetic mechanisms; and a detailed analysis of each of the most frequently occurring metaphors in the database. It also presents a theoretical argument on the contribution of poetic mechanisms to the critical power of texts, in answer to research question (3).

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis by summarising the main findings in answer to the research questions, as well as a discussion of the possible weaknesses of the study and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to answer the research questions presented in section 1.4, I will primarily make use of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their book *Metaphors we live by*. I will also make use of Poetic Metaphor Theory (PMT) as described by Lakoff and Turner (1989), which is an extension of CMT and builds on the same principles in an attempt to describe the unconventional use of metaphor in poetic texts. Because the research deals with social and political criticism and concerns a sensitive topic with socio-political implications, I also make use of the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), including complementary concepts from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and its extension to the visual mode by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996). Each of these theories is set out below in sub-sections 2.1 to 2.6.

2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

According to Lakoff (1993:3), the origins of conceptual metaphor theory can be traced back to the paper by Michael Reddy (1979) titled *The Conduit Metaphor*. In his paper, Reddy analysed the language that people use to talk about language and communication, and found that it was based on a systematic metaphoric understanding of the concept of ‘communication’ through the concept of a ‘conduit’. According to Lakoff (1993:2), Reddy demonstrated three points with his analysis, namely:

- i. Metaphor exists at the level of thought, not language.
- ii. Metaphor is indispensable to the conventional way of understanding communication.
- iii. Human behaviour reflects this metaphoric understanding.

Lakoff and Johnson attempted to apply these conclusions to other conceptual domains. According to Lakoff (1993:3), “a huge system of everyday, conventional, conceptual metaphors has been discovered since Reddy’s analysis.” Lakoff and Johnson (1981: 287) claim that Reddy’s conclusions apply not only to a few domains

of thought, but systematically underlie the whole of human conception. The fundamental claim of conceptual metaphor theory is therefore that the human conceptual system, with which we reason and on which we base our decisions and actions, is fundamentally metaphoric in nature (Lakoff & Johnson 1981: 287).

2.1.1 The classical view of metaphor

In order to understand the conceptual theory of metaphor, it is important to understand the classical theories that it seeks to replace. Lakoff (1993: 1) identifies a set of assumptions that defines what he calls the “classical theory of metaphor” – a concept which technically covers a range of theories, but which Lakoff discusses as a single group on the basis of them all subscribing to the same underlying assumptions. He claims that such earlier theories of metaphor subscribe to mistaken assumptions, and that the mistake is based primarily on the way that they draw a distinction between literal and figurative language (Lakoff 1993: 3). The central difference between CMT and the classical theory lies in this distinction, since the concept of ‘literal’ language entails the following assumptions:

1. All everyday conventional language is literal, and none is metaphorical.
2. All subject matter can be comprehended literally, without metaphor.
3. Only literal language can be contingently true or false.
4. All definitions given in the lexicon of a language are literal, not metaphorical.
5. The concepts used in the grammar of a language are all literal; none are metaphorical.

(Lakoff 1993: 2)

According to Lakoff’s (1993: 2) theory of conceptual metaphor, all of these assumptions are false. The classical theory claims that a metaphorical utterance is derived from a literal utterance by the application of an algorithm that works on the literal language, transforming it for “decorative” purposes into a metaphoric expression. The conceptual theory rejects this claim, stating that the level of cognition, even before linguistic expression takes place, is fundamentally metaphoric. That is, a metaphorical expression does not represent the outcome of a transformation

of literal into figurative language; rather, cognition, and therefore its expression in language, is inherently metaphoric. Although Lakoff (1993) claims that the literal-figurative distinction is misleading, and that most everyday concepts are understood metaphorically, he does acknowledge that there are some concepts that are non-metaphoric. According to him (1993:3), “concrete physical” concepts and experience, expressed in sentences such as “The balloon went up” are non-metaphoric, since they are not based on a metaphoric mapping between two domains, but rather express direct empirical experience. The presence of non-metaphoric concepts based on direct empirical experience is called the “grounding” of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1981: 312), since these literal concepts often serve as the source domains in metaphoric mappings. Nevertheless, when it comes to the understanding of abstract concepts or emotions, “metaphorical understanding is the norm.” (1993:3) To say that some concepts are not understood metaphorically is not the same as the claim of the classical theories that all concepts are non-metaphoric.

2.1.2 The conceptual view of metaphor

As has been mentioned above, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1981) argue that the conceptual system that forms the basis of everyday discourse (both linguistic and otherwise) is metaphoric in nature. According to this theory, people understand abstract or unfamiliar concepts via structural, conceptual mappings from more specific and familiar concepts. Even everyday concepts such as ‘time’, ‘state’, ‘change’, and ‘causation’ are understood metaphorically (Lakoff 1993:1). Because of this, the authors argue, metaphor influences not only our language, but also underlies our way of thinking, and therefore our decisions and actions. For the purposes of this study, then, metaphor is defined as in (Lakoff 1993:1):

Definition of ‘metaphor’ in Conceptual Metaphor Theory:

(1) A metaphor is a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system.

A ‘domain’ is a concept or semantic field of concepts. It may itself include, or be made up of, further concepts. An example is the concept ‘journey’, which includes the concepts ‘traveller’, ‘destination’, ‘obstacles’, and others.

By contrast, the concept ‘metaphorical expression’ is defined as follows:

Definition of a metaphoric expression in Conceptual Metaphor Theory:

- (2) A metaphoric expression is a “linguistic expression ... that is the surface realization of such a cross-domain mapping.” (Lakoff 1993:2).

In the classical theory this is what would have been referred to as the metaphor itself. For the purposes of this study I will extend the definition given in (2) to apply also to non-verbal / non-linguistic modes. The definition is therefore adapted as in (3) below.

Adapted definition of a metaphoric expression in CMT:

- (3) A metaphoric expression is an expression in either the visual or verbal mode, that is a surface realisation of a cross-domain mapping.

This extension can be justified on the basis of Lakoff’s (1993: 35) own comments that “metaphors can be realized in ... imaginative products such as cartoons, literary works, dreams, visions, and myths.” It is clear that Lakoff does not consider metaphor to be realised exclusively in the verbal mode, even though the definition he provides does not extend beyond this – perhaps because he works only with the verbal mode in his own study and therefore does not need a broader definition. El Refaie (2003) also showed that conceptual metaphor may find expression in the visual medium. This will be further illustrated in section 2.6.

2.1.2.1 Evidence and Examples

According to Lakoff (1993:3), there are five types of evidence for the reality of conceptual metaphor, of which the first three are the most robust. These types are identified as follows:

- i. Generalizations governing polysemy, that is, the use of words with a number of related meanings.
- ii. Generalizations governing inference patterns, that is, cases where a pattern of inferencing in one conceptual domain is used in another domain.
- iii. Generalizations governing novel metaphorical language (cf. Lakoff & Turner, 1989).
- iv. Generalizations governing patterns of semantic change.
- v. Psycholinguistic experiments.

(Lakoff 1993: 3)

When discussing metaphoric mappings Lakoff and Johnson (1980) adopt a specific convention, which I will also follow in this study. According to this convention conceptual metaphors are expressed in the format: TARGET-DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN or TARGET-DOMAIN AS SOURCE-DOMAIN (Lakoff 1993: 4). While they also refer to the concepts that form a single domain in this capitalised format, such as DOMAIN, I will adopt the standard linguistic convention of referring to them in single quotation marks, such as ‘concept’, instead. The notions of target and source domain will be described below.

To illustrate the theory of conceptual mappings, let us consider the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, introduced by Lakoff (1993). The following examples are all expressions of this metaphor:

- (4) a. Our relationship has hit a dead-end street.
- b. The relationship isn’t going anywhere.
- c. We’ve come very far in our relationship.
- d. We’ve had a bumpy road in our relationship.

In the development of his theory, Lakoff (1993:3) asked two questions concerning such conventional ways of talking about relationships, namely, (i) Is there a general principle governing how these linguistic expressions about journeys are used to characterise love?, and (ii) Is there a general principle governing how our patterns of inference about journeys are used to reason about love when expressions such as these are used? According to Lakoff, the answer to both questions is “yes”. He claims that this general principle lies within the conceptual system that underlies language. The principle is a systematic understanding of the concept of ‘love’ via the concept of ‘journey’. According to Lakoff (1993: 4), “the metaphor can be understood as a mapping (in the mathematical sense) from a source domain (in this case, journeys) to a target domain (in this case, love).” This means that there are certain correspondences between the concepts in the two domains, namely:

- (5) a. Lovers correspond to travellers.
- b. The love relationship corresponds to the vehicle.

- c. The lovers' common goals correspond to their common destinations on the journey.
- d. Difficulties in the relationship correspond to impediments to travel.

(Lakoff 2003: 4-5)

These correspondences between domains allow us to reason about love with the same knowledge that we use to reason about journeys. If one of the partners in a relationship were to say "We're stuck" the logic about journeys evoked by this utterance would map onto their relationship in the following way:

- (6) a. Two travellers are in a vehicle, travelling towards a common destination.
- b. The vehicle encounters an obstacle and gets stuck, making it non-functional.
- c. If they do nothing, they will not reach their destination.
- d. They therefore have a number of options for action.

(Lakoff 1993: 5)

Some of the options referred to in (6)d are:

- (7) a. They can try to get the vehicle moving again by getting past the obstacle.
- b. They can remain in the vehicle and give up on reaching their destination.
- c. They can abandon the vehicle.

(Lakoff 1993: 5)

It should be clear how the set of correspondences given in (5) above (namely lovers-travellers, relationship-vehicle, goals-destinations) map our understanding of journeys on to the concept of 'love'. The conceptual correspondences allow not only new conceptual understanding of the concept 'love' to be formed, but allow the associated logic itself to be mapped. The resulting understanding may be expressed, parallel to the scenario in (6) above, as:

- (8) a. Two lovers are in a love relationship, pursuing common goals.
- b. The relationship encounters some difficulty, which makes it non-functional.

- c. If they do nothing, they will not be able to reach their life goals.
- d. They have a number of options for action.

Lakoff describes these actions, parallel to (7) above, as:

- (9) a. They can try to get their relationship moving again by getting past the difficulty.
- b. They can remain in the non-functional relationship and give up on achieving their life goals.
- c. They can abandon the relationship.

(Lakoff 1993: 5)

I have presented Lakoff's explication of this example in detail because it is important to fully understand the mechanism of conceptual mapping and the implications that it holds for understanding and reasoning. Furthermore the example of a JOURNEY metaphor is relevant to the current study as it is found in both the verbal and visual databases that will be analysed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. A detailed analysis of how such mappings are realised in the visual medium will be given in the data analysis section in Chapter 4. In the following section I will elaborate on the concept of 'mapping', since it is the central concept in Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

2.1.2.2 Mapping

The previous section demonstrated through the example of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor what a metaphoric mapping entails. However, it is necessary to unpack the working and concept of metaphoric mappings in greater detail. Specifically, each metaphoric mapping consists of the following four aspects that are mapped from the source domain to the target domain (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 63):

- (10) a. Slots
- b. Relations
- c. Properties
- d. Knowledge

'Slots' are sub-concepts contained within any domain, such as the concept 'traveller' in the 'journey' domain, which may itself contain further slots, for example 'possessions'. In a metaphoric mapping, the slots in the source domain ('traveller') get mapped onto corresponding slots in the target domain ('lover'). Or, alternatively, the slots in the source domain may create slots in the target domain, as when the 'path' slot in the 'journey' domain creates a slot in the domain of 'relationship' which does not pre-exist the mapping, namely 'course of relationship' (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 63).

As was seen in section 2.1.2.1, it is not only the slots, or sub-concepts, that are mapped, but also the relations that hold between them. In the LOVE IS A JOURNEY example, the relation 'reaching' that holds between 'traveller' and 'destination' in the 'journey' domain is mapped onto the domain of 'love', so that two people in a relationship can speak of "reaching" or "not reaching" the goals set out for their relationship.

'Properties', including connotations, of the source domain are also mapped when a metaphor is activated. For example, we can say that a traveller can have certain strengths and weaknesses (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 63) that affect the way in which he conducts a journey and handles obstacles. These properties are mapped on the domain of 'love' so that it is possible to say that two people are "strong enough to break through any difficulty in their relationship." These properties may of course be negative. For example, if someone refers to another person with an utterance such as (11) below the metaphor A PERSON IS A PIG is activated. The reason the metaphor is offensive is because of the properties that are mapped as part of the metaphor. In this case properties are mapped from the domain of 'pig' onto that of 'person'. These properties are what are traditionally called "connotations." For the concept 'pig' these may include properties such as 'dirty', 'offensive', etc.

(11) He acted like a total pig!

Lastly, as was demonstrated in section 2.1.2.1, knowledge about a person's interaction with and relation to a concept is also mapped metaphorically. This type of knowledge is the reasoning that is applied to a situation. When 'love' is structured via 'journey', for example, it is possible to base one's decision-making about love on knowledge mapped from the 'journey' domain. As in the example discussed in (8)b, when a

relationship “reaches an obstacle” one can decide to “get around the obstacle”, “stay stuck where you are”, or “abandon the relationship.” The important point that Lakoff and Johnson make is that these are all conventional ways of talking and thinking about relationships, and would not be considered odd or even metaphoric by most people. Such metaphors that are used relatively unconsciously as the normal way of speaking are called “conventional metaphors.” These stand in contrast to unconventional or poetic metaphors that will be discussed in section 2.2.

In summary, apart from the fact that metaphoric mappings happen conceptually – that is, pre-linguistically – they also go deeper than simple conceptual comparisons. It is not just ones understanding of a concept that is taken from another concept (slots), but also one’s feelings (connotations or features) and decision-making and reasoning (knowledge), as well as one’s understanding of the relations that hold between concepts.

2.1.2.3 Highlighting and Hiding

One aspect of conceptual metaphor, namely its manipulative function, has important implications for a critical approach to metaphor in discourse; this will be discussed in section 2.1.4. The manipulative aspect of metaphor is referred to as “highlighting and hiding”. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1981: 294) the structural mapping that occurs between conceptual domains during the formation of a conceptual metaphor is only partial. This means that there are aspects of the target domain that remain unstructured by the source domain. This occurs because the source domain does not contain suitable elements for all the possible slots in the target domain. To illustrate this aspect of metaphor clearly, it is useful to compare the effects of two contrasting metaphors with the same target domain, namely POLITICS IS A JOURNEY and POLITICS IS WAR, illustrated in (12) and (13) below. In the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor in example (12), the ‘war’ domain does not include concepts for structuring the ‘politics’ domain in co-operative and mutually beneficial terms, as the ‘journey’ domain in example (13) does (Lakoff & Johnson 1981: 292). This is because war is based upon conflict between two sides, whereas in a journey two sides can travel together as partners towards a mutual destination, as discussed in section 2.1.2.1 above. As a result, the metaphor causes us to focus on those ideas that are successfully mapped from the ‘war’ domain, thus highlighting them in our

understanding of the situation (Lakoff & Johnson 1981: 292). Similarly, it encourages us not to consider those aspects that remain unstructured by the metaphor because they are not coherent with it, thus “hiding” them from us.

Examples of the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor:

- (12) a. Sibongile Manana was attacked by opposition parties and civic groups for her refusal to deviate from the national government line (Article 2002-02-28d)¹.
- b. The KwaZulu-Natal government has deserted the Department of Health in its fight against the Treatment Action Campaign (Article 2002-03-07f).

Examples of the POLITICS IS A JOURNEY metaphor:

- (13) a. I think the road map should be clear, simple, and we must all participate in this (Article 2005-03-31j).
- b. The government announced the long-awaited anti-retroviral treatment plan, paving the way for the challenges facing the country to be widely discussed (Article 2004-02-05a).

The POLITICS IS A JOURNEY metaphor used in example (13) above has implications that are different to those of the POLITICS AS WAR metaphor illustrated in example (12), because of systematic differences between the two source domains of ‘war’ and ‘journey’. As a consequence, different aspects of the target domain of ‘politics’ are highlighted as well as hidden. For example, the opposition parties are constructed in (13) as partners taking a journey together towards a unified and mutually beneficial goal, and as such need to enter into negotiations about which direction they should take. The WAR metaphor, on the other hand, systematically hides each of these aspects highlighted by the JOURNEY metaphor: in a WAR discourse, the different parties are not seen as “partners”, they do not share a “unified goal”, and winning is achieved by attacking the other parties, forcing them to retreat, concede, or be destroyed. The JOURNEY metaphor, similarly, systematically hides

¹ Throughout this thesis, I will cite newspaper articles in this format, which represents their date of publication. The articles can be found in Appendix B, arranged chronologically according to this date convention.

such opposition-of-force aspects highlighted by the WAR metaphor. In a journey, partners are expected to work together to reach their final goal.

This highlighting and hiding of different aspects of the same domain occurs because the conceptual domain of ‘war’ does not contain the structures and concepts of shared goals, mutually beneficial communication, and progress – all of which are salient within the ‘journey’ domain. Similarly, the ‘journey’ domain does not contain the structures and concepts of opposition and conflict that are salient within the ‘war’ domain. Because these structures do not exist within the source domain, they cannot be mapped onto the target domain, and because they are not mapped, we do not structure our understanding according to them, and we do not automatically consider them unless we consider a metaphor with different implications. Instead, the reader/listener’s attention is diverted to those aspects that are highlighted by the mapping. In the data analysis chapters, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, this aspect of conceptual metaphor is discussed on a case-by-case basis where it plays a role in the critical nature of a text.

2.1.2.4 Image metaphors

Another aspect of CMT that is relevant to the current study is what Lakoff (1993:25) terms “image metaphors”. Lakoff identified this type of mapping in linguistic examples, and then showed that they express an underlying visual rather than an abstract conceptual mapping. The fact that visual mappings are present in linguistic utterances provides interesting insight into the multi-modality of conception, and is especially relevant to the current study since these image mappings are also found in the visual mode, as will be shown in Chapter 4. It should not be assumed that all visual expressions of metaphor are image-mappings. As will be seen in Chapter 4, the conceptual metaphors that underlie visual cartoons are often standard conceptual mappings just like the examples discussed in the previous sections. Image-metaphors in this sense of the word are also found in cartoons, and according to El Refaie (2003) may be even more frequent in cartoons than in other visual media.

According to Lakoff (1993: 25), image metaphors belong to a special class of metaphor that “map one conventional mental image onto another.” He describes image metaphors as “one-shot metaphors” because they map a single image onto

another, as opposed to mapping a domain of concepts onto another domain. He uses the following Indian poem as an illustrative example:

- (14) Now women-rivers
belted with silver fish
move unhurried as women in love
at dawn after a night with their lovers

(Lakoff 1993: 25)

Here, according to Lakoff (1993: 25), the “slow, sinuous walk of an Indian women is mapped onto the image of the slow, sinuous, shimmering flow of a river”. The mapping here follows the same rules as other mappings, namely that the structure of one domain is mapped onto the structure of another domain, only in this case the structures are visual images instead of abstract concepts, activated by linguistic utterances.

As in non-image metaphors, it is not only the concept (image or otherwise) itself that is mapped but the relations, knowledge, and properties as well (Lakoff 2003: 26). It seems as though the image mapping activates a conceptual metaphor in the usual sense, resulting in a full mapping of all four aspects presented in (10) above. They are not simply the composition of one image onto another, rather they are full conceptual metaphors prompted and guided by the composition of two images.

2.1.3 The persuasive power of metaphor

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989: 63) conceptual metaphors can exercise persuasive power over participants in communication. They claim that we are predisposed to accept the validity of conceptual metaphors used by ourselves and other people because we rely on them “constantly, unconsciously, and automatically” to the extent that they are hard to resist or even notice. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 64) describe five sources of power of conceptual metaphor. These are the power to structure, the power of options, the power of reason, the power of evaluation, and the power of being there. Each is discussed separately in sections 2.1.3.1 to 2.1.3.5 below.

2.1.3.1 The power to structure

According to Lakoff (1993: 64), “metaphorical mappings allow us to impart to a concept structure which is not there independent of the metaphor.” The part of our understanding of a concept that is metaphorically structured is fully informed by the metaphor. If another metaphor were used, this understanding could be radically different, as was demonstrated in section 2.1.2.3 with the POLITICS AS WAR versus POLITICS AS JOURNEY metaphors. If one does not realise that one’s understanding of a concept is given by the metaphor used to structure it, one may accord it the status of reality, and assume it to be the truth. Metaphor therefore has the power to structure our understanding in different ways.

2.1.3.2 The power of options

Because cognitive schemas are general by nature, they allow a wide range of choices as to how they are filled in. This will be made clear in the analysis of poetic enrichment of metaphors in Chapter 4. The ‘journey’ schema, for example, does not need to include the concept of ‘vehicle.’ If it does, there is still a wide range of options available: a journey can be on land in any type of vehicle or by foot, by sea in any type of boat, or by air in any type of aircraft. A journey undertaken in a raft on a stormy sea, for example, is very different to a journey undertaken in a sports car on a racetrack. These choices have significant implications for how we understand the target domain, since they each have their own features, slots, knowledge and relations (c.f. section 2.1.2.2) that they bring to the target domain. If we agree with Fowler and Kress (1979: 188) that all choice is ideological in nature, and “serves the larger needs of the speaker in a given situation”, then the fact that conceptual metaphor, especially via poetic enrichment, allows so much choice at so many levels indicates that the power of choice is an important ideological tool, and also forms an important part of the reason that poetic metaphor is particularly powerful, since it increases the number of choices available. This will be further discussed in section 5.4 in answer to research question (3) as to the contribution of the poetic mechanisms to the critical power of a text.

2.1.3.3 The power of reason

Since metaphoric mappings map not only slots and features but also knowledge and relations (see section 2.1.2.2), metaphors provide us with a way of thinking about a target domain in terms of the logic of a source domain (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 65). We can base our reasoning, decision-making, and therefore also our actions on the logic imposed by the metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1981: 287). If Lakoff and Johnson are correct in claiming that much of this process happens unconsciously, then the person who is adept at using and enriching metaphors has a powerful device by which to manipulate discourse. I have used the RELATIONSHIP AS JOURNEY metaphor, illustrated by the examples in (4), to demonstrate how the reasoning of the ‘journey’ domain creates choices of action within the ‘relationship’ domain.

2.1.3.4 The power of evaluation

As was pointed out in section 2.1.2.2 with reference to example (11) “*He acted like a total pig!*” we not only map logical reasoning from the source domain onto the target domain, but also subjective evaluations and feelings, which I will refer to as “connotations” from now on (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 65). When Zapiro chooses to draw Dr. Matthias Rath through an image mapping as “chucky” from the famous horror films (see section 4.5), he is attributing all the fearful connotations of this character to Rath, as well as imposing the knowledge of how this character acts, what his motivations are, and so forth. Metaphor thus has the power to create evaluations of things based on implicit connotations. This aspect of conceptual metaphor relates to the notion of appraisal in Systemic Functional Linguistics that will be discussed in section 2.4.3.

2.1.3.5 The power of being there

It has been mentioned that much of the persuasive and manipulative power of metaphors comes from the fact they are so ubiquitous as to go generally unnoticed (Lakoff & Johnson 1981: 286). Most of the time we accept metaphors without realising that we are speaking about or understanding a situation metaphorically. According to Lakoff and Turner (1989: 65) this can make it difficult to question these metaphoric constructions of reality – or even to notice them in the first place. A person who is adept at using metaphor has a powerful tool at his disposal, because, as

Botha (1994: 269) states, he may not need to struggle with people's conscious reasoning about a concept, being able to step around the critical faculty through the use of metaphor. My own view is that it is important not to overestimate the manipulative power of metaphor to one of total control, since it clearly is possible to look critically at metaphors and bring them to question, otherwise it would not be possible to study them. Indeed, one of the four ways in which authors poetically enrich conventional metaphor is by questioning them (see section 2.2.3). On the other hand it is also important not to underestimate this power. While some authors might make it sound like metaphor has an unbreakable power over people, others make it sound as though it holds none. In my opinion the truth lies somewhere in the middle: simply because it is possible for any person to critically question the metaphors they encounter does not mean that every person does so, and this may leave them open to unconscious influence. Getting people to become aware of, understand and question everyday metaphor is part of the reason for conducting studies in the field.

2.1.4 The functions of metaphor

Biberauer (1996: 133) proposes four functions that conceptual metaphor fulfil in discourse. These functions describe the ways in which metaphors function in communicative interactions – that is, what they are used for – in a similar way that the focus of SFL is on the functional aspect of language rather than the formal or cognitive one (see section 2.4). According to her, any metaphor can fulfil one or more of the following functions, namely structuring, illuminatory, compensatory, and manipulative. Each is discussed under its own heading below.

2.1.4.1 The structuring function

The structuring function is based on the claim that conceptual metaphors structure one domain in terms of another, so that the target domain is understood in terms of the structure of the source domain. It allows us to provide structure to abstract concepts that may not otherwise have structure of their own. In this way the structuring function of metaphors allow us to understand concepts in certain ways by employing certain metaphors. The LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor discussed in section 2.1.2.1 is one example. Structuring love as journey allows us to understand love in certain ways which otherwise would not have been accessible. The 'journey' domain is

specific, while the 'love' domain is much more abstract. The mapping thus provides a specific way of thinking about and understanding the concept of 'love'.

2.1.4.2 The illuminatory function

The illuminatory function provides a way for an author / speaker to make a complex or unknown concept accessible to others by relating it to something they already know (Biberauer 1996:133). The metaphor makes unfamiliar concepts accessible by applying the structure of a concept already known by the reader. While Biberauer describes this function as "illuminating", which might suggest that a metaphor merely sheds light on a situation objectively, it should be remembered that what is highlighted by a metaphor is not necessarily true, and can not represent the full picture. While metaphor can be used to illuminate a concept, the very same mechanism can also be used to distort or even obscure aspects of a concept, leading to the manipulative function discussed under heading 2.1.4.4 below. The illuminatory and manipulative functions are closely related in my view; the author's intention determines which function is operative.

2.1.4.3 The compensatory function

According to Biberauer (1996: 133) metaphor can also be used when a speaker / author is unsure of the "correct" way of stating something, in which case they employ a metaphor to express the same concept differently. Biberauer provides the example of a patient referring to the body's immune cells as "body soldiers." While it is of course possible to use metaphor this way in discourse, I think it is important to keep in mind that much that is metaphoric in the conceptual system is fundamentally metaphoric – that is, metaphor is there to be begin with, it is not simply an artificial means of bypassing "normal" or "correct" language, as might be suggested by this function. The compensatory function may therefore describe poetic metaphor more than conventional metaphor (the phrase "body soldiers", for example, is an expression of the poetic extension of the WAR metaphor). It may also be a way to avoid directly referring to something that is socially taboo, as when one speaker referred to a person with HIV/AIDS as having "the slow puncture."²

² Heard in discussion with a colleague, Lauren Mongie.

2.1.4.4 The manipulative function

Because of the highlighting and hiding aspect of metaphor discussed in section 2.1.2.3, metaphor has the potential to distort and obscure concepts, and provide structures and thinking that do not fully accord with reality. According to Biberauer (2006: 133) this makes metaphor an “extremely effective manipulative device”. This aspect of metaphor is particularly relevant in the study at hand, because of the focus on metaphor as a tool of criticism. When metaphor is employed in critical texts it is necessarily used manipulatively in the sense that the attempt is to change or influence the reader’s understanding of the concept at hand.

2.1.5 Summary

The four functions of metaphor described above represent the ways in which people use metaphor discursively for their own socio-political purpose. I will argue in section 5.4 that the use of poetic mechanisms described in section 2.2 increases the authors control over these four functions of metaphor, thereby increasing the critical power of the text. Throughout the data analysis chapters I will demonstrate how the poetic features increase the range of choices open to the author in using metaphor for his/her ideological purpose.

2.2 CMT Extended: Poetic Metaphor Theory (PMT)

Since conceptual metaphor theory rejects the distinction between literal and figurative language and shows that metaphor is found frequently in every day language, it raises the following question: If metaphor is everywhere in language, how is poetry different from everyday language? In order to answer this question, Lakoff and Turner (1989) analysed the language of poetry in search of mechanisms that explain the difference, since it was no longer the mere fact that metaphor was present. In their findings, they reaffirm the claims of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that all metaphor is an expression of the underlying conceptual system, and is therefore not unique to poetry. They found that poets do not create “new” metaphors, as is generally thought. Instead they use conventional, everyday metaphors (Lakoff & Turner 1989: xi), and enrich these in specific ways. Lakoff and Turner argue that this is necessarily so, otherwise readers, whose interpretations are based on their own pre-existing knowledge, would not be able to understand poetic texts. The artistry comes from the ways in which poets

enrich these everyday metaphors. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 67) posit four mechanisms through which conventional metaphor can be enriched to become poetic metaphor. These are: extension, elaboration, questioning, and composition. Research question (2) concerns these four mechanisms and their use in verbal and visual texts. Below, I will discuss each of them in detail under its own heading, since they will be central to the analysis of the cartoons in Chapter 4.

2.2.1 Poetic extension

The poetic mechanism of extension may be defined as follows:

- (15) Extension is the mapping of previously unmapped slots in a conceptual metaphor.

As mentioned in section 2.1.2, metaphors are partial mappings across domains (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 67), which means that there are aspects of the source domain that are not mapped onto the target domain, and therefore do not form part of the metaphoric structure. These gaps in the mapping result in the phenomenon of hiding described in section 2.1.2.3. However, in their analysis of poetic texts, Lakoff and Turner (1989: 67) found that it is possible to map previously unused aspects of the source domain, and so extend the conceptual metaphor in ways that still adhere to the basic logic of the metaphor, but go beyond the conventional use of it.

As an example of a poetic text, Lakoff & Turner (1989:67) provide a passage from Shakespeare's play *Hamlet* (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 67), given in (16) below, where the author uses the conventional metaphor of DEATH AS SLEEP. In this conventional metaphor, the concept of 'dreaming' usually remains unmapped. That is, we do not conventionally think of a dead person as dreaming, even when we structure death through the 'sleep' domain in other respects. By using the phrase "Perchance to dream" the author extends the metaphor by mapping the previously unused aspect of 'dreaming' from the source domain of 'sleep' onto the target domain of 'death'. This allows the author to explore this new structure provided by the mapping, and through his questioning "what dreams may come?" to get the reader to consider a new understanding of death. The poet is calling forth this new conception of death by enriching a conventional metaphor in unconventional ways.

- (16) To sleep? Perchance to dream! Ay, there's the rub; For in that sleep of death what dreams may come?

2.2.2 Poetic elaboration

The poetic mechanism of elaboration may be defined as follows:

- (17) Elaboration is the filling in of existing slots in a metaphoric mapping with more specific, unconventional concepts.

The mechanism of elaboration does not use unused slots the way extension does. Instead, it fills in existing slots in unconventional ways (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 67). Because the slots that make up a concept are abstract, as discussed in section 2.1.2.1, it is possible to fill them with more specific instances in many different ways. Each possible concept that is introduced brings with it all four of the different aspects of mapping discussed in section 2.1.2.2, and so changes the nature of the metaphor being used. The example discussed there was the filling of the 'vehicle' slot with different concepts such as 'car', 'raft', 'boat', or 'aeroplane.' Since they are all hyponyms of 'vehicle' they are all possible elaborations of that slot.

Let us consider an example by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 68) from a poetic text. In the DEATH AS DEPARTURE metaphor, death is conceptualised as a departure on a journey away from the present. The metaphor does not conventionally contain more detail than this. It is therefore possible to fill in the general slots with specific examples (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 68). As mentioned, a journey might be taken in a number of different vehicles. It can also have different purposes: to take a journey of exile is very different to taking a journey home. Thus, when Horace refers to death as "the eternal exile of the raft" (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 67) he is extending the same metaphor in a different way to an author who says that a deceased person has "returned to the home of the gods". In the first case the 'journey' slot is filled with the more specific type of journey, namely 'exile', and in the second case with a journey of 'return' towards the destination of 'home'.

Filling in the slots with more specific concepts adds content to the metaphor in all four ways discussed in section 2.1.2.2, namely: slots, relations, knowledge, and properties. Because of this our understanding of the target concept is altered by the

elaboration (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 68). Filling the ‘journey’ slot with ‘exile’ constructs death as being lonely, beyond our control, and a loss, because these concepts are part of the concept of ‘exile.’ The concept of ‘home’ carries very different connotations, and thus constructs death as being a joyful event that leads to safety, comfort and acceptance.

The elaboration of conventional slots with unconventional concepts therefore allows the poetic author to give radically different interpretations to the target domain. As we will see in the data analysis in Chapter 4, the elaboration of general slots with specific elements is found with high frequency in cartoons. One aspect that may contribute to this is that an image is by nature specific, as El Refaie (2003) has pointed out. It is not possible to draw an abstract notion of ‘journey’ in the same way that the word “journey” refers to an abstract concept. The visual artist is forced to make a choice about how to represent, and therefore elaborate, the slot, and this choice will have conceptual and ideological consequences, as discussed by Fowler and Kress (1979: 188), and mentioned in section 2.1.3.2.

2.2.3 Poetic questioning

The poetic mechanism of questioning may be defined as follows:

- (18) Questioning is the act of pointing out a discrepancy between the understanding that a conceptual metaphor imposes upon its target domain, and a reader’s other knowledge about that domain.

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989: 69), “poets can call into question the boundaries of our everyday metaphorical understandings of important concepts.” That is, an author can ask questions about conventional metaphors in a way that points out their inadequacies. Lakoff and Turner (1989:69) cite the example from Catullus, given in (19) below. The metaphor used is A LIFETIME IS A DAY. Through this metaphor we conventionally conceive a person’s lifetime as going through the phases different phases of a day: ‘birth’ is structured as ‘morning’, ‘young age’ as ‘afternoon’, ‘old age’ as ‘evening’, and ‘death’ as ‘night’ (cf. the DEATH AS SLEEP metaphor in section 2.2.1). The author calls the truth of this metaphor into question, however, by pointing out that it fails to include the concept of mortality – the idea that a person has only one life, and will not receive another after death. He does this by

saying, “but when our brief light goes out, there’s one perpetual night to be slept through.” In this way, the reader becomes conscious of the metaphor being used through the realisation that it does not fully apply to his understanding of life. This allows an author to challenge conventional metaphors that are not in accord with his ideological purpose, allowing him space to provide other conceptual metaphors in their place.

(19) Suns can set and return again,
but when our brief light goes out,
there’s one perpetual night to be slept through.

(Lakoff & Turner 1989:69)

Another example of questioning discussed by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 69) comes from Othello, given in (20) below. Othello speaks to a lighted candle while contemplating whether to kill Desdemona. The metaphor called into question is that of LIGHT IS LIFE. An ordinary light such as a candle can be relit if it is put out. However, when a person is killed, the life cannot be restored.

(20) If I quench thee, thou flaming minister,
I can again thy former light restore,
Should I repent me; but once put out thy light,
Though cunning’st pattern of excelling nature;
I know not where is that Promethean heat
That can thy light relume.

(Lakoff & Turner 1989: 69)

An author using metaphor poetically therefore has the ability to reveal that which a metaphor conventionally hides, by purposefully speaking about it. By highlighting some aspect that was previously hidden, the author points out the discrepancy, and calls into question the logic that the metaphor would impose upon a situation (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 69). This is a means by which an author may criticise conventional

metaphors, and could therefore be expected to play a part in texts of a critical nature. It is possible that critical texts would use the mechanism of questioning as a means to undermine the established discourse, in an attempt to change the way people metaphorically construct, and therefore think about, a situation or person.

2.2.4 Poetic composition

The poetic mechanism of composition may be defined as follows:

- (21) Composition is the combined use of two or more conceptual metaphors in such a way that they form a complex structuring with parts of the one metaphor relying on parts of another.

An author may use metaphors in combination, with one aspect of a metaphor relying upon an aspect of another metaphor, so that a chain of metaphoric structuring is formed that says more than the metaphors do individually. According to Lakoff and Turner (1989: 70), this can happen because there may be more than one conventional metaphor for a given target domain, for example LIFE IS A DAY, and LIFE IS A PRECIOUS POSSESSION. This composition is realised linguistically as the simultaneous use of two or more such metaphors in the same passage, or even in the same sentence. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 70) give another example from Shakespeare's sonnet number 73, presented here in (22) below. In this quatrain, the concept of death is understood through a composition of at least five conventional metaphors, namely: LIGHT IS A SUBSTANCE, EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, LIFE IS A PRECIOUS POSSESSION, A LIFETIME IS A DAY, and LIFE IS LIGHT (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 70).

- (22) In me thou seest the twilight of such a day
As after sunset fadeth in the west;
Which by and by black night doth take away,
Death's second self that seals up all in rest.

(Lakoff & Turner 1989:70)

The simple clause, “black night doth take away [the twilight]”, contains all five of these conventional metaphors in composition. Night is the agent that takes away (EVENTS ARE ACTIONS) light (LIGHT IS A SUBSTANCE), which is metaphorically understood as life (LIGHT IS LIFE), and is therefore the stealing of a precious possession (LIFE IS A PRECIOUS POSSESSION) (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 71). Lakoff and Turner (1989: 71) point out that there are nearly as many conceptual metaphors as words used in the understanding of this clause.

2.2.5 Summary

Through the four mechanisms of poetic metaphor discussed above – namely extension, elaboration, questioning, and composition – an author is able to:

- a) Include, by extension, elements that are not conventionally mapped by a metaphor (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 71), thus introducing new ways of thinking about the target domain.
- b) Fill in abstract slots with specific concepts by elaboration, which introduces the understanding and logic of the new concept into the understanding of the target domain, and thus provides a new way of thinking about it.
- c) Comment on the limitations of conventional metaphors by pointing out, through questioning, where their logic breaks down.
- d) Combine metaphors, through composition, to produce inferences that may not be possible with the individual metaphors used separately (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 71).

When an author uses any of these four mechanisms, the metaphor is being used poetically, and thus forms an instance of poetic metaphor. The metaphor itself is changed in the process, even though it still relies on the conventional metaphors to be understood. It is the way in which it is used and enriched that can have significant ideological consequences. According to Lakoff and Turner (1989: 72), poets use these mechanisms to “lead us beyond the bounds of ordinary modes of thought and guide us beyond the automatic and unconscious everyday use of metaphor.” If this is the case in poetry, then it is possible that these same mechanisms could be employed in other texts that also seek to change the way people think about things. One of the main

hypotheses of this study, formulated as research hypothesis (2) in section 1.5, is that cartoons can be considered poetic texts, by virtue of their employing these four mechanisms of poetic metaphor, amongst other reasons, as tools of criticism. The validity of this hypothesis will be examined through the data analysis presented in Chapter 4.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

According to Anthonissen (2001:8), Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodological approach in linguistics grew out of the wider social and critical theory developed from the 1930s onwards, especially by a group of philosophers known as the Frankfurt School (Anthonissen 2001:39). This approach is concerned not only with the texts themselves, but also with the wider social contexts in which these texts are produced, including the institutions and the power relations that hold between them. A Critical Discourse Analysis proper would include a thorough analysis of the wider discourses, and their production and the power relations inherent in them. In this study, however, I am not presenting a Critical Discourse Analysis as such. My focus is rather on a cognitive (conceptual) investigation of one of the mechanisms, namely metaphor, used by certain institutions, in this case the media, to produce critical texts. For this reason I am not following any of the major approaches in CDA, such as, for example, the Discourse Historical Approach of Wodak (1996). I will therefore not present these theories and approaches here, since they have no bearing on the current study. Instead, in the following paragraphs, I present only the general framework of CDA as an approach to the critical analysis of language use. Even though I will not undertake a critical discourse analysis proper, it is important to place this study within the general framework of critical analysis, especially since it deals with the socio-politically sensitive topic of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. The importance of this framework is stressed by El Refaie (2003: 91) in her study of political cartoons in Austria, where she concludes that “future studies of metaphor must ... be careful always to take the socio-political context into account.”

According to Locke (2004:1) the approach of CDA is based on the following views:

- The prevailing social order is “historically situated and therefore relative, socially constructed and changeable.”

- The prevailing social order and social processes are constituted and sustained by the “persuasiveness of particular constructions or versions of reality ... referred to as discourses.” In line with this view, the current study analyses the way in which these discourses are acted out through conceptual metaphor in the visual medium of cartoons.
- Discourse is “coloured by and productive of ideology.”
- Power in society is an “inevitable effect of the way particular discursive configurations ... privilege the status and positions of some people over others.”
- Reality is “textually and intertextually mediated via verbal and non-verbal language systems,” and texts are “sites for both the inculcation and the contestation of discourses.” One of these non-verbal mediums is the visual medium of cartoons. The metaphor analysis in Chapter 4 therefore seeks to determine exactly how these texts become sites for the contestation of discourse. It has been hypothesised in section 2.2 that the four mechanisms of poetic metaphor may play a role in this.

According to Wodak and Meyer (2001:2), CDA is particularly concerned with the relation between language and power, which, for the present study and in line with authors such as Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) and El Refaie (2003) I would like to extend to “communication and power”, since language is not the only medium of communication.

It is possible to combine the approach of critical discourse analysis with the theory of conceptual metaphor because, as Locke (2004) says, CDA is a “scholarly orientation with the potential to transform the modus operandi of a range of research methodologies.” CDA seeks to bring a critical social and political awareness into any research being conducted, so that the researcher does not write under the pretext of being a purely objective analyser of the empirical world. The purpose is to become aware of the social and political impact of discourses, including one’s own subjective position as researcher, and to analyse the mechanisms underlying them in a systematic way.

One approach within the broad CDA framework is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), and even though this study will not draw much from this complex set of theories, there are certain concepts in SFL that proves useful in the analysis and comparison of different modes of texts. These concepts will be discussed in the following section. A further approach that developed out of CDA and SLF is the attempt at a grammar of visual analysis proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996). Although their approach is not based on conceptual metaphor theory and will not be employed in depth, it is important to take note of since it represents an attempt at detailed analysis of visual texts in a way that has not been extensively attempted before them (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996). I will therefore briefly describe some aspects of their theory that are relevant to the current study in section 2.5. First, I will elaborate on the theory of systemic functional linguistics.

2.4 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Central to the approach of Systemic Functional Linguistics is the idea that language is used to perform certain social functions in the world (Fowler 1991: 69). Hence SFL focuses on how language as a system of communication is used as a tool for social and ideological purposes. This approach is therefore relevant to the current study, which aims to describe the ways in which the visual medium of cartoons as a form of communication takes part in this ideological structuring of discourse.

At the core of SFL lie two perspectives on language. These are articulated as the three “strata” and the three “metafunctions” of language (Martin & Rose 2003: 3). These concepts will provide a vocabulary with which to describe the way in which the HIV/AIDS related texts function critically in the social world. Each of these concepts will be discussed under its own heading below. Another concept from SFL that is relevant to the current study is that of ‘appraisal’. It will be discussed in 2.4.3.

2.4.1 The three strata of language

Because SFL is concerned with language as a social tool, it subdivides the spectrum between the social world and language as a grammatical system into three levels called “strata” (Martin & Rose 2003: 3). These are the strata of:

1. “social activity”, which represents the culture and social interaction of people. This stratum is realised in the strata of:
2. “discourse” as socially regulated systems of meaning, which in turn is realised in the strata of:
3. “grammar”, which represents the specific expression of meaning in a physical medium.

None of these strata fully constitute each other. That is, discourse is not only grammar; just as social activity is not only discourse (Martin & Rose 2003: 4). Rather, each of the more abstract strata is said to be “realised” in the strata below it.

2.4.2 The three metafunctions of language

In SFL, (Halliday, in Fowler 1991: 69; Martin and Rose 2003: 3) language is said to perform three general functions, called the “metafunctions” of language. These are the ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions respectively, and describe three levels at which one may look at any given text to illuminate the way in which it functions within the social world (Martin & Rose 2003: 6). These concepts will provide a vocabulary for talking about the way that both the visual and verbal modes are used by authors in their construction of critical texts.

In their study of the visual medium that will be discussed in section 2.5, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 40) also adopt the framework of the three metafunctions. Importantly, they claim that these functions are “not specific to the linguistic,” and so I consider their use in the present study of cartoons as merited. Each of the metafunctions will be discussed briefly under its own heading below.

2.4.2.1 Ideational function

According to Halliday (in Fowler 1991: 69), language serves the function of expressing content or ideas, or as Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:40) put it, any representational system is able to “represent objects and their relations in a world outside the representational system”. It expresses the speaker’s experience of both the external world and the internal world of experience, cognition, emotion, perceptions, and actions – including linguistic actions such as speaking and understanding.

2.4.2.2 Interpersonal function

Language also functions as a mediator of relationships between people; for example between the author and the reader in any communicative situation, and any third parties being talked about. Through language an author is able to relate to another person through speech acts such as “informing, questioning, greeting, and persuading” (Fowler 1991: 69) as well as express his evaluations, comments and attitudes towards things, including the reader himself and any third parties.

This function of language is relevant to the present study because of its focus on criticism. In a critical text, a speaker or author tries to present a certain evaluation or opinion of a second or third party through the use of language. In this sense the author is using language to establish interpersonal relationships between himself and his reader, and between his reader and a third party being criticised. For more on this “evaluative” aspect of language, see the section on appraisal in section 2.4.3.

2.4.2.3 Textual function

Language also has as one of its functions the creation of texts (Fowler 1991: 69), which is the level at which discourse is constructed and negotiated. Texts are described by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 41) as “complexes of signs which cohere both internally and with the context in and for which they were produced”. An author is able to create a text that serves an ideational and interpersonal function, and a reader is able to recognise and interpret such a text.

In media discourse, these texts are available to a large audience and so can have a large influence. They can also be stored indefinitely, so that their potential to reach new readers rarely if ever diminishes.

Analysis of the textual function is relevant to the current study since I will be analysing two different kinds of texts based on different modes. The question of how these two different types of texts go about fulfilling the ideational and interpersonal function is important for the critical aspect of this study. This is fundamentally a question about the textual function of these modes.

2.4.3 Appraisal

According to Martin and Rose (2003: 16) appraisal is concerned with evaluation in texts, specifically the way in which “attitudes ... are negotiated in texts ... and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned.”

In critical texts such as the ones in this study, the authors are engaging in acts of appraisal, in the sense that they are, “evaluating things, people’s character and their feelings” (Martin & Rose 2003: 17).

Appraisal is an aspect of the interpersonal function of language (Martin & Rose 2003:16), since it is concerned with communicating an author’s beliefs and opinions about something to his readers, and in so doing affect the social strata.

2.4.4 Multimodal Discourse Analysis

According to Martin and Rose (2003: 255), Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) entails “going beyond linguistics into social semiotics and taking into account as many modalities of communication as we can systematically describe.” The current study will take this approach with regards to the visual and verbal mode, in the sense that I shall consider not only the visual aspects of the cartoons, but also how the verbal elements such as labels and speech bubbles that are found almost without exception in the political cartoons interact with the visual. I will seek to describe the role that they play especially with regards to the conceptual metaphors in the texts. One such way, discussed in section 2.6, is where the source domain is not realised visually, but rather evoked by the presence of a verbal label, as when a wolf is drawn with the label “AIDS” on its body. The metaphor AIDS IS A WOLF is thus evoked by an interaction of the visual and verbal mode, and the analysis is therefore not merely of one mode or the other, but is fundamentally a multimodal analysis. As the data analysis will reveal, it turns out that multi-modality plays a key role in evoking conceptual metaphors in this way in cartoons, as will be discussed in detail in section 4.9.

2.5 CDA & SFL in the visual medium

In their book *Reading Images*, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 13) set out to “broadened critical discourse analysis” by addressing the fact that CDA, including

SFL, has focussed mostly on verbal texts, largely ignoring the visual mode or seeing it as secondary to the verbal. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 45), pictures do not simply reproduce reality; rather, they “produce images of reality which are bound up with the interests of the social institutions in which the pictures are produced.” They see pictures as tools of ideology in the same way that verbal texts are seen as tools of ideology in CDA and SFL.

Since the primary theoretical approach of the present study is CMT, I will not employ Kress and Van Leeuwen’s theory. However, it is important to mention it here, and point out some aspects of their approach, since it is the first major study within CDA to focus primarily on the visual mode. They view the visual mode as an important mode of communication in itself, instead of one that is secondary or complementary to the verbal. This is the view that I also take here. I also share their views on the connection between “art” texts and social critique, since this has some bearing on the study of cartoons in a critical context. Specifically, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 13) state that “art can and should be approached from the point of view of social critique”. They place their own study, and the shift to the visual medium in general, in the context of a history of study of non-linguistic texts. I reproduce that context here since this current study should be seen as forming part of this progression.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 5) three schools of semiotics have applied linguistic ideas to non-linguistic modes of communication in the past, of which they place themselves in the third, or “social semiotic” school. The first school, the Prague school, during the 1930s applied the work of the Russian Formalists with a linguistic basis to many different semiotic systems. They applied formalist concepts such as ‘foregrounding’, ‘deviation’, and communicative functions such as ‘referential’ and ‘poetic’ to art, theatre, and cinema.

The second school, the Paris school, during the 1960s and 1970s applied ideas from authors such as De Saussure, Schefer, Barthes and others to photography, fashion, cinema, music and comic-strips (which differ from cartoons in that they are narrative texts consisting of multiple frames (McCloud 1994: 20-21)). This approach is often referred to as “semiology”, and is the background against which Kress and Van Leeuwen set their own work.

The third school, of which the work by Kress and Van Leeuwen forms part, is the “social semiotic” school. Starting in Australia, this movement applies the ideas of Michael Halliday and SFL to literature, visual semiotics, music and other modes. In their own approach, Kress and Van Leeuwen set out to apply the principles of CDA and specifically SFL to the visual mode (1996: 13). They claim that images fall “entirely within the realm of ideology” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 12), and that the production of images is driven by ideological interest. In describing the visual mode, they use a linguistic metaphor, talking about the creation of a “grammar” of visual design, to describe the way in which images “say” things, and are used to perform the three metafunctions of language from SFL that were described in section 2.4.2.

The influence of the critical approach to semiology has meant that Kress and Van Leeuwen’s use of certain terms differs from that of the other approaches. The first of these is the notion of a ‘sign’. Unlike as in the semiology approach, they do not see the sign as a “pre-existing conjunction of a signifier and a signified” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 6). They see it rather as a process of sign-making where signifier and signified are relatively independent. The focus is on sign-making as a complex process, guided by the interest of the sign-maker. This interest is situated within an author’s cultural, social, and psychological context and history (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 6). They claim that, as is clear in the case of cartoons, it is never the whole object that is represented. Rather, the interest of the sign-maker suggests certain criterial aspects, which come to represent the essential meaning of the object for the sign-maker in the specific context of the moment.

Kress and Van Leeuwen do not discuss metaphor at length; however, they do claim that the process of sign-making is metaphorical in nature. Specifically, they state that it is a “process of the constitution of metaphor in two steps” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 7). The example they provide is of a child drawing a car as a set of circles on a page, describing the process of this creation of the visual sign as consisting of the following two metaphoric steps: “a car is (most like) wheels” and “wheels are (most like) circles”. They describe this metaphoric process as a process of analogy of the form “X is like Y” in criterial terms. The interest of the child in the car at that instant is in the motion of a car. To the child at that moment, the most apt criterial features of the car are its wheels, so that the car comes to be understood metaphorically as

'wheels'. The 'wheels' are in turn understood as 'circles', which can be drawn (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 6). They claim that people are constantly engaged in the creation of such metaphors, guided by the interest of the moment. They also claim that the choice of which metaphors are considered conventional and which are not is the result of social relations (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 7). Since they do not say any more concerning metaphor or conceptual metaphor theory, it is unclear how exactly they understand this analytic or metaphoric process and how it differs from the approach of CMT. The most they say is that these analogies, like the forms of sign-making, are motivated by interest (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 7).

With this description of the metaphoric process of sign creation, Kress and Van Leeuwen seem to agree with Lakoff on two points. The first is that the process of meaning generation is at least partly metaphoric, and the second is that conventional metaphor is socially governed. Lakoff also conceives of the fundamental meaning that is to be expressed as metaphoric – unless it is based on concrete experience. Whether Kress and Van Leeuwen would agree with this is unclear.

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 2), "some things can be 'said' only visually, others only verbally." Some things can also be said in both modes, but the way in which it is said differs. They (1996: 6) claim that the author of a text chooses to express his message in "the semiotic mode that makes available the subjectively most plausible, most apt form". However, I question the universal validity of this claim. The choice of which medium to use is not necessarily free. If one works as a cartoonist, for example, and one is expected to produce cartoons, it may not be possible to switch over at whim to the production verbal newspaper articles, and back again, based simply on the ideas one wishes to express. The same is true for writers of newspaper articles. In this sense, then, it may not be true that authors of verbal and visual articles choose their medium purely because it is the best way to communicate their message, but rather because it is the medium which they know best, or prefer for some other social or personal, rather than textual, reason. I would also question the idea that there is a "best" medium for expressing a given message in all cases, though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to address this issue.

In the same way that CDA focuses on language, Kress and Van Leeuwen focus primarily on visual form. However, through CMT it becomes clear that the choice

open to an author is not only at the level of form, but also at the level of conception. Although an author uses the basic metaphors of his/her culture, there is choice in how such metaphors are enriched poetically, as discussed in section 2.2. Thus, even before the choice of form comes into play, there is already a choice of metaphor. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 7) refer to this when they say that the choice of “analogy” is driven by interest. They (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 7) claim that children have more freedom of choice, being less constrained by their culture and thus their metaphors. They suggest that the more freedom one has, the more control one has over the text and therefore the discourse. This is a question that will be discussed together with the contribution of poetic metaphor to the power of criticism of cartoons in section 5.4. The important point for this study is that it is not only the form of expression, but also the choice of conceptual metaphor that is motivated by ideological interest.

2.6 CMT and cartoons

El Refaie (2003: 76) states that “there is still no fully coherent account of how [visual metaphor] can be understood and how it differs from its verbal counterpart.” She also points out that most studies that analyse discourses of powerful institutions have tended to focus on the formal level instead of the conceptual level. That is to say, the studies have focussed on explaining the elements of the visual mode as though they were the words of a language, instead of looking at the underlying conceptual system and its realisation in the visual medium. She highlights Carroll (1996), Kennedy (1993), Morris (1993), and Gombrich (1971) to illustrate this. While this is of course an important research area, I agree with El Refaie that it is also important to consider the conceptual level in more depth. Specifically, El Refaie (2003: 76) argues that “the analysis of visual metaphors cannot be complete without detailed reference to the cognitive level.” It is to this end that conceptual metaphor theory is applied in this study, as it is in her study.

El Refaie (2003) applies Conceptual Metaphor Theory in an analysis of political cartoons in Austria. According to her (2003: 77), conceptual metaphor cannot be described universally, but must be “explored in specific socio-political contexts.” This is part of the reason why I have chosen to apply the study of CMT in cartoons to the

specific socio-political context of AIDS denialism in South Africa, as well as incorporating the approaches of CDA and SFL discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4.

El Refaie's article contains arguments in support of three main claims (2003: 75):

- “Visual metaphors are best described in terms of their underlying metaphorical concepts.”
- “Such a definition of visual metaphors in cognitive terms is not as straightforward as it seems, because the boundaries between the literal and the metaphorical are fuzzy and highly context dependent. This means that metaphors must always be studied within their socio-political context.”
- “The specific form in which a metaphor is expressed may have an important influence on its meaning and impact.”

According to El Refaie (2003: 77), there has also been the converse focus in studies of conceptual metaphor on the conceptual level in spite of the formal or surface level, as though the latter does not matter. I agree with her that both levels are important. For this reason, and since much research has been done on the conceptual level but very little on its expression in the visual medium, the present study focuses on identifying which metaphors are expressed in the political cartoons and how they find expression, including the role that they play in socio-political criticism. The focus is also on comparing this with the metaphors in verbal articles to shed further light on the role and nature of political cartoons in South Africa.

El Refaie (2003: 78-79) argues against a definition of visual metaphor as a “visual fusion of parts from two separate areas of experience into one new, spatially bounded entity”, as presented by, amongst others, Carroll (1996) and Gombrich (1971). As will be seen in the analysis in Chapter 4, the data from Zapiro's cartoons support this argument. There are indeed many metaphorical expressions that do not rely on a visual fusion. As El Refaie (2003: 79) points out, the reason for this is that the source and target domains are not always both visually present in the image. According to her (2003: 79), the explicit use of both source and target domains is rare in both visual and verbal metaphors. It will also be seen in Chapter 4 that one of the domains are often evoked through the use of a verbal label instead of a visual image, as mentioned

in section 2.4.4. A domain may also be completely absent, leaving the reader to infer its presence from the context (El Refaie 2003: 80) or socio-political knowledge.

El Refaie (2003: 80) also argues against another definition of visual metaphor as being too narrow: Forceville (1994, in El Refaie 2003) considers visual metaphor to be a “replacement of an expected visual element with an unexpected one.” El Refaie (2003) argues that this is merely one possible form that visual metaphor can take. As will be seen in Chapter 4, this argument holds for the Zapiro cartoons as well. El Refaie (2003: 80) stresses that the main problem with such a definition of visual metaphor is that it is based solely on formal criteria, and does not take the conceptual level into account. It therefore misses a large array of possible forms of expression of conceptual metaphor.

El Refaie (2003: 80) states that the metaphor often comes about through a complex of several interrelated signs, some of which may be verbal. She therefore agrees with Kennedy *et al.* (1993) that any image can be an instance of conceptual metaphor, “provided that its use is intended to occasion a metaphoric thought.” In short, El Refaie argues for a conceptual definition of and approach to visual metaphor, based on her own research into visual metaphors in Austrian political cartoons. Specifically, she (2003: 81) argues that a conceptual definition over a formal definition holds two advantages:

- i. It broadens the scope of what can be considered as visual metaphor.
- ii. It “makes it easier to compare and contrast verbal and visual forms of expressing the same metaphorical concept.”

It is especially the second point that this study draws upon, and why I believe it valuable to conduct such a comparative study in the South African context.

El Refaie (2003: 81) points out that the analyst of visual metaphor cannot assume that his analysis will correspond exactly to the way in which individual readers will interpret a text, since the reader brings much into his own reading of a text based on contextual knowledge. Forceville (1995, 1996, in El Refaie 2003: 81) showed that the more associative interpretations can vary greatly between readers. The central meaning of the metaphor, however, tends to remain constant.

2.6.1 Similarities and differences between verbal and visual metaphors

El Refaie (2003: 84) identifies a number of differences and similarities between the formal expression of conceptual metaphor in the visual and verbal mode. While the present study focuses more on the type and nature of the conceptual metaphors and their use in criticism than on an extensive analysis of their formal realisation, it remains an important aspect of visual metaphor, and so I present El Refaie's findings here. While these will not be analysed in detail, I will refer to them in the data analysis chapters where appropriate. Her findings are listed below as (23) to (26).

(23) Sequential and temporal concepts are expressed through spatial metaphors.

El Refaie (2003:84) argues that “while language is perhaps more precise in expressing some areas of meaning, other meanings may be shown more easily and more effectively in images rather than in words.” She cites a study by Kress (2000) in which he proposes that the visual mode may lend itself more to the representation of “relation” between elements because of its spatial display, while language may lend itself more to the representation of action and sequences because of its “sequential/temporal characteristics.”

(24) Both in language and in the visual medium, it is possible for the target domain to be implied rather than explicitly realised (El Refaie 2003: 85).

El Refaie (2003: 85) claims that, unlike in language where abstract concepts can be given verbal labels, in the visual mode abstract entities cannot be depicted except through symbols or metaphors. While the source domain may therefore be visually represented because it is by nature specific (recall that conceptual metaphors map more abstract target domains via more specific source domains), the target domain is “implied either through verbal or visual context.” As will be seen in Chapter 4, the abstract target domain is often depicted in the Zapiro database through the use of a verbal label. This represents an important aspect of the multi-modality of cartoons, which is discussed in section 4.9. El Refaie (2003: 85) mentions the claim of Barthes (2002) that the function of a linguistic message is to “anchor” the image, which is “by nature ‘polysemous.’” The claim is that the verbal fixes the denotational and connotational meaning of the image. While CMT would reject Barthes' claim that the visual necessarily relies upon the linguistic for meaning, it is true that the verbal is

almost always present in the cartoons, and so the notion of “anchorage” may play a role to some extent. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) state that the verbal and visual “intermesh and interact at all times.”

- (25) The visual mode lends itself to the personification of abstract concepts (El Refaie 2003: 87)

This point relates to the previous point, that abstract concepts cannot be expressed visually without some symbolic or metaphoric mediation. One such mediation is personification, also discussed in Lakoff and Turner (1989: 72). These personifications of abstract concepts can be shown as relating to one another, or even to representations of actual people, as though they were persons. According to El Refaie (2003:87), this kind of direct representation of the relation between abstract concepts is difficult to represent linguistically, and allows the cartoon to “convey a complex message in a much more immediate and condensed fashion than language.” As will be seen in Chapter 5, this kind of personification is indeed found in the Zapiro cartoons.

- (26) Large social groups tend to be reduced to one stereotypical image, since the visual mode is restricted in its portrayal of plurals.

This reduction of complex or plural concepts into single images also relates to the previous two points, and is referred to by Morris (1993) as “condensation”. Again, the data analysis chapters will show that condensation is indeed present in the Zapiro cartoons.

CHAPTER 3 - RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will describe the nature of the data to be analysed, the process by which the data was collected, as well as the way in which the data will be analysed. This includes a description of the process of analysis that I will use to attempt to answer each of the research questions. I have listed the four research questions again below in section 3.3, with a short paragraph for each setting out the type and nature of the analysis employed in addressing it.

3.1 Kind of data

This study makes use of documentary sources for its empirical investigation. The data consist of a database of visual and verbal texts that topicalise HIV/AIDS drawn from the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper, both the online and print editions. The visual texts consist of a collection of 116 unique (as well as 14 rerun) political cartoons on the topic of HIV/AIDS by Zapiro, as hosted on the *Mail & Guardian Online* Archive (Mail & Guardian Online 2008). The verbal texts comprise newspaper articles from the print edition archive of the *Mail & Guardian* weekly newspaper on the “SA Media” database available on Sabinet Online (Sabinet Online 2008). The database covers the period from 1999 to the end of 2007. The year 1999 was chosen as the start of the database span because the cartoon archive on the *Mail & Guardian Online* only reach back to this date. However, this was also the first year of Thabo Mbeki’s presidency, and since he plays a central role in the discourse of AIDS denialism in South Africa, this time span is sufficient as it covers the most important events in the recent history of AIDS denialism in South Africa.

3.2 Collection of data

For this study I chose to focus on texts drawn from the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper. A number of considerations guided this decision. Firstly, the choice of a single newspaper serves to strengthen the validity of the findings by ensuring a coherent data set. Using multiple newspapers could introduce confounding variables, leading to differences being ascribed to the nature of the texts, rather than to editorial differences between newspapers. It will therefore be left to future studies to compare the findings

of the present study to those for other newspapers. Because of the necessarily limited scope of the study, the analysis of multiple newspapers would have been impractical.

Secondly, the Mail & Guardian serves as the main publishing platform for Zapiro's cartoons. This study focuses on the work of Zapiro for the same reason as the choice of newspaper, namely to ensure the validity of the findings based on a coherent dataset. There may be differences among cartoon authors, which may introduce confounding variables and doubt about the cause of observed phenomena. The application of the approach to other cartoon authors is again listed as a suggestion for future research. The choice of Zapiro is justified on other grounds as well: besides being one of South Africa's most acclaimed political cartoonists, he has also authored a large corpus of texts that topicalise AIDS denialism, and therefore provides a large and coherent set of data on the topic.

3.2.1 Collection of visual data

The first step in the collection of data for the study consisted of going through the online Mail & Guardian Zapiro cartoon database (Mail & Guardian Online 2008), starting from the earliest cartoon on archive in August 1999 up to the end of December 2007. All cartoons published in this 101-month period that topicalise HIV/AIDS or AIDS denialism were extracted and included in the database. This resulted in a set of 130 cartoons, of which fourteen were reruns and 116 were unique. The reason that the entire set of cartoons that topicalise HIV/AIDS was selected was to ensure that a complete analysis of conceptual metaphors used in the visual texts could be compiled as the basis of not only a qualitative, but also a quantitative analysis.

All the cartoons were organised chronologically by date and entered into wiki-based software "WikidPad" (WikidPad 2008). This allowed me to add qualitative tags to texts, similar to other qualitative data analysis software packages, which allows the researcher to search and draw statistics across the entire database once tagging is complete. This allowed for more accurate descriptions of the database and the mechanisms and metaphors employed therein, in not only qualitative but also quantitative terms.

3.2.2 Collection of verbal data

The verbal articles were drawn from the Mail & Guardian print edition archive on the “SA Media” database available from Sabinet Online (Sabinet Online 2008). Unlike the visual texts, which comprise a much smaller set, it was not possible to include every verbal text published over the roughly seven-year period in the database. The verbal texts therefore had to be sampled to produce a manageable database. The sampling procedure consisted of the following two steps:

- i. Firstly, only those verbal articles that were published within a week prior to a cartoon were included in the database, producing a set of 366 articles. This was done for two reasons. Firstly, in order facilitate making comparisons between the verbal and visual texts in terms of how the visual texts draw from the verbal discourses and, secondly, to make it easier to determine how the same topics are handled in the two different modes.
- ii. From this set of 366 articles, which covered a number of articles for every cartoon in the database, a smaller sample was selected. This was done by randomly selecting one article per cartoon in the database. Since not all the cartoons had HIV/AIDS related articles preceding them by less than a week, this resulted in a database of 91 verbal articles, compared with the 114 original cartoons in the database.

The necessity of sampling the verbal database could be seen as a possible weakness of the study. However, since the final sample represents a random selection of texts that cover exactly the same time period as the cartoons, it was deemed sufficient for the purposes of this study.

After the articles were sampled, they were entered by date into the WikidPad software for qualitative and quantitative tagging and analysis. This in turn allowed for a comparative analysis of conceptual metaphors and poetic mechanisms found across the entire corpus of visual and verbal texts, aiding in the recognition of trends and patterns within the data.

3.3 Method of analysis

The data analysis section of the thesis is separated into two chapters. Chapter 4 deals with the analysis of the cartoons in terms of conceptual metaphor theory and poetic metaphor theory (as discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2 respectively). The focus of this chapter is on determining the set of conceptual metaphors used in the cartoons; on determining the poetic mechanisms used, and the extent to which they are used; and to go some way towards explaining how conceptual metaphor is used in the cartoons for critical purposes. The analysis will also focus on the metaphoric representations of role-players (see sections 4.2 and 4.6), since it was found during the analysis that such representations were very common, especially those of Thabo Mbeki and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang.

The method of analysis employed is the standard conceptual metaphoric analysis as it is applied to verbal texts. A different method is not called for, since the analysis is primarily a conceptual analysis, and therefore does not depend on the mode of the text. According to this method of analysis, a text is examined for the realisation of systematic conceptual mappings, including target domains and source domains. The focus of the analysis is to find which conventional metaphors are present in the texts, as well as which unconventional (poetic) metaphors are present. Because CMT does not consider instances of metaphor to be isolated, but rather as part of a systematic mapping, the focus is on identifying general patterns across the dataset, including the larger socio-political context of HIV/AIDS.

Following this, examples of each of the major metaphors that have been identified will be analysed closely to determine the way in which they are expressed in the cartoons, and the way in which they function ideologically – that is, the way in which they impart knowledge and properties and so take part in the larger discourse of HIV/AIDS and AIDS denialism. The focus of the analysis is therefore not only on the identification of conceptual metaphors but also on the three functions of communication in SFL as described in section 2.4 - namely the textual, ideational, and interpersonal functions. The analysis, primarily a conceptual metaphoric analysis, also has a critical discourse analytic side to the extent that it attempts to link the conceptual level of metaphor with the socio-political level of discourse and ideology.

The second data analysis chapter, Chapter 5, will present the analysis of the verbal articles as they relate to the cartoons. Since the primary focus of the study is on describing the visual mode as employed in cartoons, the verbal analysis will therefore not seek to describe the verbal texts for their own sake, since this has been done extensively in other studies (see for example Aitchison 2007). Rather, the verbal articles will be analysed for what they reveal about the visual texts. This includes an examination of which conceptual metaphors are present in the verbal articles, including their frequencies of use for comparison with the results from the cartoon database. In order to answer research question (2) (presented on page 5), the verbal analysis will also include an analysis of the poetic mechanisms used in the articles.

In analysing the data in the database, I will set out to answer each of the four research questions in section 1.4. I repeat these questions here, and also outline the method employed in addressing them one by one.

- (1) In a database of newspaper articles, both visual and verbal, that topicalise HIV/AIDS, to what extent are the same conceptual metaphors found in the two different modes?

As mentioned, this question will be answered by a standard conceptual metaphoric analysis in both Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. The use of the WikidPad software aided this analysis, since, once all the texts have been qualitatively tagged, it is possible to compile, tabulate, and thus compare the results to provide an overview of the data. These tables are presented in the data analysis chapters.

- (2) To what extent do either the visual or verbal texts employ the four mechanisms of poetic metaphor as described by Lakoff and Turner (1989)? In other words, can either set of texts be described as poetic?

This research question is also answered by conceptual metaphoric analysis, specifically its enrichment into poetic metaphor as discussed in section 2.2. Once the conceptual metaphors have been identified, they are analysed to determine which of the mechanisms of poetic metaphor they contain. Once all the mappings and domains have been identified, it becomes possible to ask the following questions:

- i. Does the mapping contain unconventional slots? If so, the mechanism of extension has been used (see section 2.2.1).

- ii. Does the mapping fill slots in unconventional ways? If so, the mechanism of elaboration has been used (see section 2.2.2).
- iii. Does the author question the mapping, or highlight any inconsistencies or incongruities in the mapping? If so, the mechanism of questioning has been used (see section 2.2.3).
- iv. Does the text contain multiple metaphors used in combination, so that they rely on each other, in an unconventional way? If so, the mechanism of composition has been used (see section 2.2.4).

Of course, the process of determining whether a slot, elaboration, or composition is “unconventional” is not exact, but depends on the researcher’s knowledge of the context in which the discourse being analysed takes place. This is another reason why I have placed such importance on the socio-political and discursive aspects of the current study. While it might be possible to do a standard conceptual metaphoric analysis without adequate knowledge of context, it is not possible to do the same with a poetic metaphor analysis, because the researcher must be aware of what is “conventional” in the discourse before he can decide what is “unconventional.”

- (3) How does the use of poetic metaphor contribute to the critical power of the text?

To answer this research question I will construct an argument based on the findings relating to the previous two research questions, as well as a theoretical argument based on Biberauer’s (1996) four functions of metaphor. Once the nature and use of conceptual and poetic metaphor in the visual and verbal texts is known, it should be possible to explain how exactly the use of poetic metaphor in the texts contributes to their critical nature. This discussion is found in Chapter 5, section 5.4

- (4) What is the role of multi-modality in the cartoons?

I will approach this question specifically from the point of view of conceptual metaphor theory in order to determine whether the multi-modality influences the use of metaphors in the text in any way.

CHAPTER 4 - DATA ANALYSIS I: CARTOONS AS VISUAL TEXTS

In this chapter I will present the analysis of the cartoon database. I will show through the close analysis of selected cartoons that conventional conceptual metaphors are found across the visual cartoon database. I will present a table showing which metaphors are used and their frequencies. I will present an analysis of how the most frequently found metaphors across the database are used, how they are realised in the text, and what role they play in the critical aspect of the text. I will show in Chapter 5 that these are the same conventional metaphors found in the verbal articles, which supports the claim by Lakoff and Johnson that metaphors are conceptual, not linguistic. This part of the chapter will therefore seek to answer the first part of research question (1), the rest of which will be answered in Chapter 5

I will also show that cartoons do use the four mechanisms of poetic metaphor (as discussed in section 2.2), and that they can thus be considered poetic texts. I will provide a table and graph of the frequencies of use of the mechanisms, as well as an analysis of the use of each of the mechanisms in the visual mode to demonstrate how they are used and what role they play in the critical aspect of the text. Chapter 5 will ask the same question of the verbal articles, and will show that the same is not true for them. This chapter will therefore provide part of the answer to research question (2), and the rest of it will be provided in Chapter 5.

I will also demonstrate the role of multimodality in the cartoons, namely that it is an important part of the evocation of metaphors. I will show that multimodality plays a role in triggering a metaphoric mapping at the conceptual level, in that the target and source domains of even a single metaphor are often expressed in different modes. As such this chapter will provide an answer to research question (4).

4.1 Overview and tables

I will start the overview of the cartoon database analysis by presenting the frequency of occurrence of various role-players in the database. During the analysis it was found that the cartoons focussed heavily on two people: Thabo Mbeki and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang. Across the nine-year period covered by the database, Mbeki

was the president of South Africa, and Tshabalala-Msimang was the health minister. They were the two highest-profile members of government to support the AIDS denialist discourse. This choice of focus on the part of the cartoon author has great significance for the way in which his ongoing discourse on HIV/AIDS denialism constructs the causes and problems at hand. I will therefore discuss this issue first, since it represents a systematic ideational (see section 2.4.2.1) choice by the author that is relevant to all the further analyses.

4.2 Roleplayers

Table 4.1 below presents the statistics for the frequency of occurrence of various role-players across the cartoon database. The role-players are presented in the order of the frequency of their occurrence. The number of cartoons in which they appear across the entire database is indicated, as well as the percentage that this number represents in the database.

Role-player Represented	Occurrences	Percentage of Database
Dr. Manto Tshabalala-Msimang	61	51.3%
Thabo Mbeki	41	34.5%
Zackie Achmat	11	9.2%
Representations of scientists	11	9.2%
Treatment Action Campaign	9	7.6%
Matthias Rath	6	5.0%
Nelson Mandela	5	4.2%
Catholic pope or priest	5	4.2%
Jacob Zuma	4	3.4%
Pharmaceutical companies	4	3.4%
Desmond Tutu	3	2.5%
Roberto Giraldo	2	1.7%
Nkosi Johnson	2	1.7%

Parks Mankahlana	2	1.7%
Peter Mokaba	2	1.7%
Thami Mseleku	2	1.7%
Essop Pahad	2	1.7%
Ronald Suresh Roberts	2	1.7%
Anthony Brink	1	0.8%
Makgatho Mandela	1	0.8%
Medicines Control Council	1	0.8%
Mswati III of Swaziland	1	0.8%
Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge	1	0.8%
Traditional healers	1	0.8%
Trevor Manuel	1	0.8%

Table 4.1: Frequency of role-players in the cartoon database

Across the database, the cartoons focus almost exclusively on the people involved in the AIDS denialist discourse. Thabo Mbeki and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang are by far the most frequently occurring figures. Taken together, either one or both of them appear in 86, or 74.1%, of the 116 cartoons that topicalise AIDS over the 101-month period covered by the corpus. Individually, Tshabalala-Msimang appears in 61, or 52.5%, of the cartoons, and Mbeki appears in 41, or 35.3%, of the cartoons. The main focus is therefore on Tshabalala-Msimang who appears in more than half of the cartoons.

Such a strong focus on these two role-players in the texts that are highly critical of AIDS denialism highlights their role in the problem of HIV/AIDS, and could make it appear as though they are solely responsible for the AIDS problem if one were to read the cartoon texts exclusively, without taking other media into account. Within the larger discourse, the cartoons, through their focus on these two role-players, highlight what the author constructs as their personal and political faults, and thus necessarily hides other aspects of the complex issue that do come through in a more balanced way

in the verbal articles. The focus of the cartoon author is almost exclusively on portraying Mbeki and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang in a negative light. In the rest of this chapter I will show how this is achieved through specific examples.

The focus on a few central role-players reduces the complex issue to a very simple formula where a small group of people are criticised. It could be argued that the author focuses on one small aspect of the complex issue because he sees this as the central aspect of the problem. In this regard, as well as in others, the cartoons tend to simplify and focus on the essential criteria (depending on what the author deems “essential”, as Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) indicated), while the verbal articles tend to cover a broader spectrum of information, topics and role-players. In this sense the cartoons that topicalise AIDS are part of a much larger discourse. They are unlike the newspaper articles in that they are not constrained by the need to provide news, factual information covering a wide spectrum of the topic at hand. They are free to include and exclude aspects much more freely according to the author’s purpose. This freedom to include and exclude aspects of the topic may also contribute for the critical power of political cartoons, since the cartoon author is not bound to be objectively truthful or present a “balanced and fair” (to echo the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa) representation of an issue. The silences or gaps in the cartoon discourse are therefore very important, and serve as another form of highlighting and hiding that is not based on the structure of metaphoric mapping, but rather on the ideologically driven choice of topic. This is therefore part of the ideational and interpersonal function of a text, as discussed in sections 2.4.2.1 and 2.4.2.2. Ideationally, the cartoon author chooses to represent ideas mostly surrounding people. This means that the focus in the cartoon database is also heavily on the interpersonal function (section 2.4.2.2) since, through his representations of these people, the author constructs the relationships between them and the readers in a way driven by his own purpose.

The power of cartoon metaphor may therefore lie to an extent in the freedom of expression that cartoonists are allowed in newspaper editorials. It is this freedom of expression that is also frequently questioned by those that are targeted by cartoons, in court cases and public statements such as has been seen recently with Zapiro’s depiction of ANC President Jacob Zuma apparently preparing to rape the personification of “Lady Justice”, which resulted in strong reaction from the ANC,

and public debates about the limits of freedom of expression for cartoons. This aspect, combined with the open-ended range of possible interpretations of visual representation, including its perception as being “merely humour”, seems to provide the cartoon author with greater licence to control the discourse he produces according to his own purpose than is usually the case with verbal newspaper articles.

4.3 Conceptual metaphors

Table 4.2 below provides the frequencies of the conceptual metaphors found in the cartoon database. This table includes both conventional metaphors (including higher-order metaphors), and unconventional metaphors. These will be analysed individually in order to demonstrate how they are used in the visual mode, and how they function within the larger critical discourse set up by the author, including their contribution to the functions of communication discussed in section 2.4.2.

Metaphor	Count	Percentage
Opinions are Positions	30	25.9%
Fantasy Metaphors:	22	19.0%
<i>Cartoon Character Metaphor</i>	17	14.7%
<i>... Wonderland Metaphor</i>	9	7.8%
<i>... Mad Hatter Metaphor</i>	9	7.8%
<i>... Dr Dolittle Metaphor</i>	8	6.9%
<i>... Pinocchio Metaphor</i>	1	0.9%
<i>... Chucky Metaphor</i>	1	0.9%
<i>... Wacko Planet Metaphor</i>	7	6.0%
<i>... Voodoo Metaphor</i>	2	1.7%
Knowing is Seeing	18	15.5%
Solving the AIDS Problem is a Journey	14	12.1%
<i>... Difficulties are Obstacles</i>	6	5.2%

Good is Up	6	5.2%
Bad is Dirty	5	4.3%
Good is Big	4	3.4%
<i>... Big Shoes</i>	1	0.9%
Wave Metaphor	3	2.6%
Nero Metaphor	2	1.7%
<i>... Fire Metaphor</i>	1	0.9%
Politics is a Game	1	0.9%
<i>... The Race Card Metaphor</i>	1	0.9%
Devil Metaphor	1	0.9%
AIDS is a Wolf	1	0.9%
The Struggle Metaphor	1	0.9%
Ideas are Poison	1	0.9%

Table 4.2: Frequency of conceptual metaphors in the cartoon database

I will first analyse the conventional higher order metaphors before analysing the more specific lower-order and unconventional metaphors.

4.4 Higher order metaphors

Higher order metaphors are those conventional conceptual mappings that map very abstract domains in the conceptual system that are applicable to a large number of situations. Not all the higher order metaphors are analysed here. The focus is instead on those which bear directly on the critical nature of the anti-AIDS denialism discourse constructed in the cartoons.

4.4.1 OPINIONS ARE POSITIONS

The OPINIONS ARE POSITIONS metaphor is a spatial mapping of the relation between ideas, in which ideas that are more similar are understood as being closer together in space and those that are less similar as further apart. It is therefore related

to the JOURNEY metaphor, which will be analysed later, where different goals are understood as different locations. Perhaps because this spatial orientation is natural to the visual mode, I did not recognise this metaphor in the cartoons during my first analysis of the database. Its explicit appearance in the verbal database prompted me to investigate its presence in the visual mode. It was found to be one of the most frequently used conventional metaphors contributing, although subtly, to the criticism of AIDS denialism. Consider Figure 4.1, in which Dr. Matthias Rath and Zackie Achmat are shown presenting their two separate claims in court. Rath and Achmat are drawn as separated spatially by the judge's bench. They are on two different sides of the cartoon, and kept separate by the judge in the middle. Their widely separate positions express the OPINIONS ARE POSITIONS metaphor. The same logic is also seen in the fact that Tshabalala-Msimang is drawn extremely close to Rath – peeking out from behind him. Her spatial closeness is the metaphorical expression of the similarity of her opinions to those of Rath. The same is true of the giant personified earth drawn next to Zackie Achmat. Nothing else in the cartoon reveals that Tshabalala-Msimang agrees with Rath, or that the “world” agrees with Achmat. However, this is naturally understood because of the logic of the conventional metaphor of OPINIONS AS POSITIONS, and Chapter 5 will show how this metaphor is also used in verbal discussions of HIV/AIDS.



Figure 4.1: Cartoon 2005-06-27: OPINIONS ARE POSITIONS

4.4.2 KNOWING IS SEEING

The KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor is discussed in Lakoff and Turner (1989: 48, 94, 158, 190-191, 206, 222). According to this mapping, knowing or being aware of an idea is structured metaphorically via the domain of ‘seeing’. According to this, someone who is not aware of something, or does not understand it, is understood as “not seeing” the idea, which in turn is structured via the IDEAS ARE OBJECTS metaphor. Linguistically, this metaphor finds expression in utterances such as *I see what you mean* and *They left me in the dark about the situation*, amongst others.

This metaphor is used with relatively high frequency (15.5%) in the cartoons. The message that the metaphor is used to communicate is that the person depicted is either ignorant of, or purposefully ignoring, the HIV/AIDS issue. In twelve cartoons Thabo Mbeki is the person depicted as “not seeing” and therefore not knowing or ignoring, according to the metaphor. There are four ways in which the person is depicted as “not seeing” and therefore “not knowing” across the database.

Firstly, as in Figure 4.2 below, a person may be depicted with their back turned towards an object. The object invariably represents some aspect of the HIV/AIDS issue, and is often also metaphorically constructed – as in this case where a flood of skulls represents the deaths caused by HIV/AIDS. In Figure 4.2, Thabo Mbeki is shown sitting in his chair facing two reporters. His comment, “What AIDS crisis?”, supports the visual KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor. Because his back is turned to the flood of skulls, it is understood through the logic of the metaphor that he is not aware of them, and by implication not aware of the deaths caused by HIV/AIDS. By contrast, the two reporters facing Mbeki are able to see the flood of skulls. Their expressions indicate their surprise that Mbeki is not aware of the skulls and hence of the deaths. Furthermore, the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor is strengthened by drawing Mbeki with his eyes closed, which reinforces the message. Because KNOWING IS SEEING is a conventional metaphor, the reader of the text will comprehend the logic that is structurally mapped by the metaphor. The logic can be described in the following sets of syllogisms:

- (27) a. To see something is to be aware of it.
- b. Mbeki does not see the skulls.

c. Therefore Mbeki is not aware of the skulls.

(28) a. The skulls represents the HIV/AIDS crisis.

b. Mbeki is not aware of the skulls (as per the conclusion in (28)c).

c. Therefore Mbeki is not aware of the HIV/AIDS crisis.

The fact that the skulls are drawn as flooding into Mbeki's office, under his chair, and one about to land on his head, serves to indicate that he should be aware of how casualties are piling up. This in turn suggests that he may be actively ignoring the skulls instead of simply not being aware of them.



Figure 4.2: Cartoon 2004-02-12: KNOWING IS SEEING

The second way in which the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor is used is by drawing a person with closed eyes, as was also seen in Figure 4.2. Another cartoon (2004-10-15) shows Mbeki sitting at his desk with his eyes closed, while three activists are drawn spiked onto an office paper holder, holding up posters reading "Rape Stats", "Crime Stats" and "AIDS Stats" respectively. A thought-bubble in the shape of South Africa with the word "Utopia" reveals that Mbeki is concerned with fantasies about the country, and ignores the statistics shown to him. The logic is again the same, based on the metaphor. Because Mbeki's eyes are closed, he cannot see the messages. Because he cannot see them, he does not know about them, or is ignoring them. The fact that the people are pinned onto an office paper holder suggests that Mbeki should

be paying attention to them (since this is the function of an office paper holder), but he isn't. The activists are also drawn very small in relation to Mbeki and his thought-bubble. This is an instance of the IMPORTANT IS BIG metaphor, which communicates the idea that these issues are not important to Mbeki. His "Utopia" dream bubble is both bigger and higher than the people holding the messages. The IMPORTANT IS BIG and GOOD IS UP, DOWN IS BAD metaphors here combine (although not in an instance of composition as defined in section 2.2.4) with the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor to communicate a whole set of ideas about Mbeki's attitude towards AIDS as ascribed to him by the author.

Related to the closed-eyes examples is the use of a blindfold to evoke the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor. In one cartoon (2006-04-11) Mbeki is shown wearing a blindfold with the word "DENIAL" written across it. The reason that denial can be constructed visually as a blindfold is because of the logic of the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor, which dictates that to "not see" is to "not know". By using this image, the author is again saying that Mbeki is unaware of issues that would be clearly visible to others.

The logic of the metaphor itself does not dictate the question of agency – whether a person chooses not to see something, or is simply unaware of it. However, across the discourse the implication appears to be that Mbeki and others choose to ignore the issue, or at the least are remiss in not seeing it, since it is often drawn as very large and invasive, and therefore difficult to miss. This is the case in Figure 4.2 with the flood of skulls.

The third way in which the metaphor is used is by drawing a person with their head in the ground (as in Cartoon 2007-02-09). This relates to the culturally held idea of an ostrich sticking its head in the ground when in danger, and thus suggests that the person depicted chooses to deal with the danger by ignoring it – which is visually represented as "not seeing" it.

The fourth way in which this metaphor is employed across the database is by the cartoonist leaving an empty space where one would expect content. One cartoon (2003-02-20) consists of a title "Government's AIDS Treatment Plan", below which is simply an empty page. What this cartoon communicates, again through the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor, is that the government does not have a plan.

4.4.3 SOLVING THE AIDS PROBLEM IS A JOURNEY

The JOURNEY metaphor was discussed in detail in section 2.1.2.1. It is found with a frequency of 12.1% in the cartoons. According to Lakoff and Turner (1989:61) the schema of ‘journey’ contains a number of slots, not all of which are compulsory. Some common slots are: ‘travellers’, ‘path’, ‘impediments’, ‘destinations’ and ‘vehicles’. All of these are found in the visual texts.

Thabo Mbeki and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang are often drawn as the travellers in a journey. In four cartoons they are shown travelling together, as in Figure 4.3 below. In two cartoons Tshabalala-Msimang is shown on her own, and in one Mbeki on his own. Structured in this way they are represented as the travellers on the journey towards a solution (according to the mapping SOLUTIONS ARE DESTINATIONS) to the problem of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. The use of this metaphor highlights (see section 2.1.2.3) the idea that they are solely responsible for the direction in which the journey is going, since they are the only travellers depicted. They are often shown as making a bad decision in terms of their journey. Either, as in Figure 4.3, by ignoring the many “signs” indicating that they are going in the wrong direction, or choosing an inappropriate vehicle as in Figure 4.11 on page 73, or as in Figure 4.6 on page 67 refusing to put wheels on their car that would allow it to complete its journey. All of their different choices communicate the same idea: they will not reach their destination. According to the structure of the metaphor this is understood as meaning that they will not be able to solve the problem of HIV/AIDS.

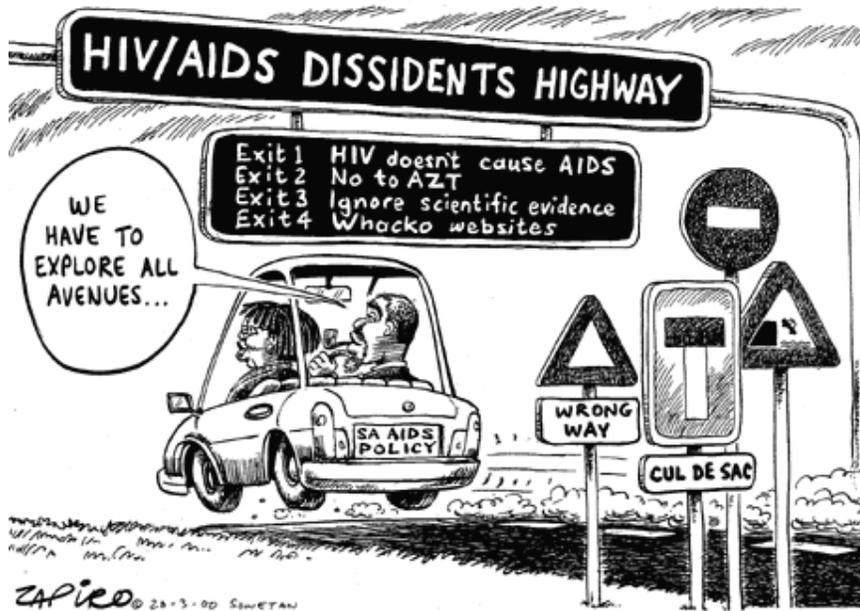


Figure 4.3: Cartoon 2000-03-28: PROBLEM SOLVING IS A JOURNEY

4.4.3.1 GOALS ARE LOCATIONS

In the JOURNEY metaphor, the solution is structured as the ‘destination’ of the journey. Since a destination is reached by following a path in a certain direction, opposite directions represent opposite destinations, and therefore opposite goals. There are a number of cartoons in which the idea of opposite directions in a journey is represented. For example, in Figure 4.4 below the words “denialism” and “action” are drawn on signposts pointing in opposite directions on a road. In Figure 4.11 on page 73, the words “dissidents” and “mainstream” are similarly represented as opposite directions on a journey towards a solution. It is important to note the use of multimodality here. In all of these cases the verbal labels are used to evoke the abstract target domain of the mapping, while the visual mode is used to represent the specific source domain, namely ‘journey’. This construction highlights the idea that these different “directions” are mutually exclusive. In both cases the direction in which the AIDS denialists are going is drawn as the incorrect one, by the logic of the metaphor. In the one case it is indicated verbally on a board that reads “AIDS: The way forward”, which is shown pointing the opposite direction to which the denialists are headed. In the other cartoon this is indicated by a group of people, by implication those suffering from HIV/AIDS and in need of treatment, standing at the end of a road, while Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang are shown going in the opposite

direction. Deputy health minister Madlala-Routledge, on the other hand, is shown going towards them. This refers back to an incident where Madlala-Routledge refused to obey the official policy on HIV/AIDS.

In all of these cases the cartoon author constructs Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang as purposefully making bad decisions (“going in the wrong direction”), and therefore leading away from the solution instead of towards it.



Figure 4.4: Cartoon 2007-08-08: GOALS ARE LOCATIONS

4.4.3.2 PROBLEMS ARE OBSTACLES

In the JOURNEY metaphor, the conceptual slot of ‘obstacle’ is also often used. In many of the cartoons Manto Tshabalala-Msimang is depicted as being the obstacle on a journey towards a solution to HIV/AIDS, as depicted in Figure 4.5 below.



Figure 4.5: Cartoon 2002-03-05: PROBLEMS ARE OBSTACLES

In this figure, Nelson Mandela is depicted as the traveller on a journey (“long walk”) towards the solution of “Free Aids Drugs”. He is impeded in his travel by Manto Tshabalala-Msimang and Thabo Mbeki, who are shown as resisting the forward motion of the journey. This representation not only establishes an interpersonal relationship between the reader and the people represented, but also between Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang on the one hand, and Nelson Mandela on the other. Ideationally the cartoon also draws rhetorical power from the connotations of the book “The Long Walk to Freedom” that describes Nelson Mandela and his role in the struggle against apartheid. This link between the HIV/AIDS issue and apartheid is also established in other cartoons, as discussed in the section on the STRUGGLE metaphor in 5.2.6.

4.4.3.3 THE VEHICLE DOMAIN

While the JOURNEY metaphor does not require the ‘vehicle’ domain to be used, it is often included via extension in the cartoons, as in Figure 4.6 below. In this example, the cartoon author presents his view of what is wrong with the AIDS campaigns run by Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang, namely that they do not include ARVs. This is achieved by a two-step poetic enrichment of the JOURNEY metaphor. In the first step the domain of ‘car’ is extended from the domain of ‘vehicle’, and mapped onto the ‘AIDS campaign’ domain. The second step involves the mapping of a sub-domain of

the newly introduced ‘car’ domain – namely ‘wheels’ – onto the ‘ARV’ domain. This allows the logic of how cars function in a journey to map onto how ARVs function in AIDS campaigns, according to the author. The logic can be simply described as in (29), and since the following mappings in (30) form part of the metaphor, the idea communicated is that of (31).

(29) A car without wheels cannot reach its destination.

(30) a. A SOLUTION TO AIDS IS A DESTINATION

b. THE AIDS CAMPAIGN IS A CAR

c. ARVs ARE THE WHEELS OF THE CAR

(31) An AIDS campaign without ARVs cannot reach a solution to AIDS

Since it is obvious that a car cannot reach its destination without wheels, the author is able to make Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang’s decision not to accept ARVs look ridiculous. This is because, as has been said previously, the metaphoric mapping causes us to think of the target domain through the logic of the source domain. While the claim that ARVs are “too expensive” may otherwise seem reasonable on economic grounds, when structured through the JOURNEY metaphor in this way it seems anything but reasonable, as the metaphor highlights the idea that ARVs are crucial to the journey. This is a good example of the ability of conceptual metaphors to construct, even distort, the understanding of a situation by highlighting some aspects of it and hiding others.



Figure 4.6: Cartoon 2000-12-04: THE VEHICLE DOMAIN

4.4.4 GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN

Another higher-order metaphor found frequently in the cartoon database is GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN. Since this is a spatial metaphor, it lends itself naturally to the visual mode. Consider Figure 4.7 below. Here the author is presenting his views on the direction of the ANC leadership. The cartoon therefore also employs the JOURNEY metaphor discussed in section 4.4.3. Along with the BAD IS DIRTY metaphor, this cartoon thus contains a poetic composition of a number of metaphors. The poetic composition in this cartoon will be further discussed in section 4.7.

In Figure 4.7 the characters are shown walking down a hill, which is marked by a verbal sign as “MORAL HIGH GROUND”. The phrase is a conventional verbal instance of the GOOD IS UP metaphor. However, the author’s message here is conveyed by the visual use of the same metaphor, since the ANC is shown as walking down from the hill into the quagmire below. The poetic composition of BAD IS DOWN with BAD IS DIRTY here serves to communicate the message that could be transcribed verbally as in (32). That one of the issues the author is concerned about is AIDS is represented verbally on a signpost.

(32) The ANC’s leadership is getting worse.



Figure 4.7: Cartoon 2002-03-22: GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN

4.4.5 GOOD IS BIG

In everyday terms, this metaphor is usually referred to as “bigger is better”. Here I employ Lakoff and Johnson’s technical format in referring to the mapping as GOOD IS BIG. Consider Figure 4.8 below, in which Mbeki is shown standing in a giant pair of shoes. The target domain is again marked verbally as “madiba’s AIDS LEADERSHIP” [sic]. The journey metaphor is therefore also employed here.

In Figure 4.8 the ideational function of the text is to communicate the message that Mbeki is not as good as Mandela in his leadership on the HIV/AIDS issue. It is important to note that the text itself does not state explicitly anywhere that Mandela’s leadership was better. It merely shows, by implication through the shoes, Mandela as being much bigger than Mbeki. By the logic of the conventional metaphor GOOD IS BIG, it is understood that the message is “Mandela is better”.



Figure 4.8: Cartoon 2002-12-03: GOOD IS BIG

4.5 Fantasy metaphors

There is a whole set of unconventional conceptual metaphors in the cartoon database that I have termed the “Fantasy Metaphors”. These metaphors all construct the AIDS denialist discourse as being out of touch with reality and having nothing to do with real life. Part of their rhetorical power is in making those who support the denialist viewpoint appear ridiculous, often in a humorous way.

The three most frequently used of these fantasy metaphors are the WONDERLAND metaphor, the WACKO PLANET metaphor, and the DR DOLITTLE metaphor. I will examine each of these below under its own heading.

4.5.1 THE WONDERLAND METAPHOR

In this metaphor, which could be described as AIDS DENIALISM IS WONDERLAND, concepts from Lewis Carroll’s “Alice in Wonderland” stories are used in metaphoric mappings about HIV/AIDS denialism. The most frequently used concept is of the Mad Hatter character, as portrayed in Figure 4.9 below in an image mapping with Mbeki. In this cartoon the metaphoric mapping THABO MBEKI IS THE MAD HATTER is established. This results in all four aspects of the concept being mapped onto the concept of Mbeki. As mentioned in section 2.1.2.2, this includes knowledge, or the logic related to the concept, as well as features, or the

connotations of the concept. The understanding mapped from the ‘mad hatter’ concept could be summarised as in (33) below, which in turn communicate the propositions in (34) via the mapping.

- (33) a. The Mad Hatter is insane, and believes things that are not true.
 - b. The Mad Hatter’s advice should never be followed.
 - c. The Mad Hatter is ridiculous and laughable.
- (34) a. Thabo Mbeki is insane, and believes things that are not true.
 - b. Thabo Mbeki’s advice should never be followed.
 - c. Thabo Mbeki is ridiculous and laughable.

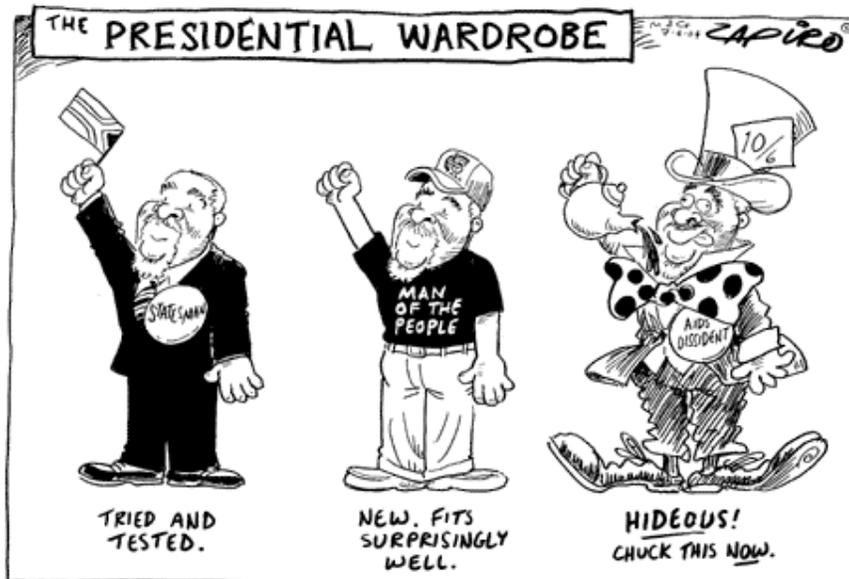


Figure 4.9: Cartoon 2004-04-08: THE WONDERLAND METAPHOR

4.5.2 THE WACKO PLANET METAPHOR

In the WACKO PLANET metaphor, the main ideational function is also to make the AIDS denialist discourse seem ridiculous. This is achieved through a set of mappings based on the concept of an ‘alien planet’. The overarching metaphor may be described as: AIDS DENIALISM IS AN ALIEN WORLD. Consider Figure 4.10 below. In this cartoon, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang is shown as receiving her statements about HIV/AIDS, as well as the controversial exhibit at the Toronto World AIDS

conference that was internationally criticised, from two aliens, who take them from a box labelled “gobbledy gook”. In another cartoon (2000-09-08) Tshabalala-Msimang is shown as being abducted by these aliens while they say “Brainwashing commenced”. In other cartoons, it is Thabo Mbeki who visits this alien planet, and receives his statements on HIV/AIDS from them.

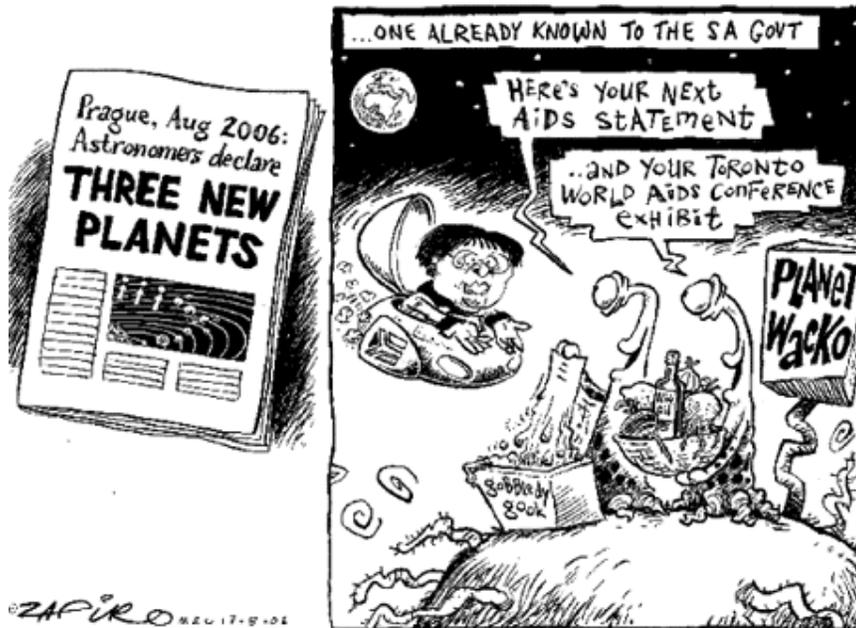


Figure 4.10: Cartoon 2006-08-18: THE WACKO PLANET METAPHOR

The purpose of the metaphor is to make the denialist discourse seem ridiculous and out of touch with reality. The aliens are consistently drawn in a humorous fashion, which communicates the idea that AIDS denialism should not be taken seriously. Furthermore, this metaphor often combines with the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor discussed in section 4.4.2. In cartoon (2005-12-01) for example, Mbeki, Tshabalala-Msimang and Rath are shown sitting on “Wacko Planet” while a big poster on the earth proclaims “World AIDS Day”. They are unable to see this because they are on a far away planet. As discussed in the section on the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor, the logic of the metaphor thus dictates the idea that they are not aware of the realities of HIV/AIDS, since they cannot see what is going on from so far away on “Wacko Planet”, which is metaphorically structured as the AIDS denialist discourse.

4.5.3 THE DR DOLITTLE METAPHOR

The DR DOLITTLE metaphor is found in eight cartoons, and is similar to the WONDERLAND metaphor in its use of a fictional character in order to undermine the AIDS denialist discourse. In this case, the cartoon character of Dr. Dolittle is used for humorous and rhetorical effect. The metaphor is partly a play on the name of the character, “do little”, through which the author suggests that Manto Tshabalala-Msimang does not do anything to solve the problem of HIV/AIDS. It is not just the name, however, but also the concept of the character that is used in a metaphoric mapping to represent Tshabalala-Msimang throughout as being inept, inactive, and uncaring. Consider Figure 4.11 below. Here she is shown sitting on a two-headed antelope that is also from the original Dolittle cartoons. This cartoon employs the JOURNEY metaphor in composition with the DR DOLITTLE metaphor to demonstrate how Dr. Dolittle’s attitude of “doing nothing” hinders the progress towards a solution to HIV/AIDS. Via the JOURNEY metaphor, the antelope is constructed as the ‘vehicle’ with which Tshabalala-Msimang is supposed to travel “forward” to reach the goal of a solution to HIV/AIDS, as was discussed in the JOURNEY metaphor section 4.4.3. Because the vehicle that she chooses to use has two heads trying to go in opposite directions, however, she gets nowhere.

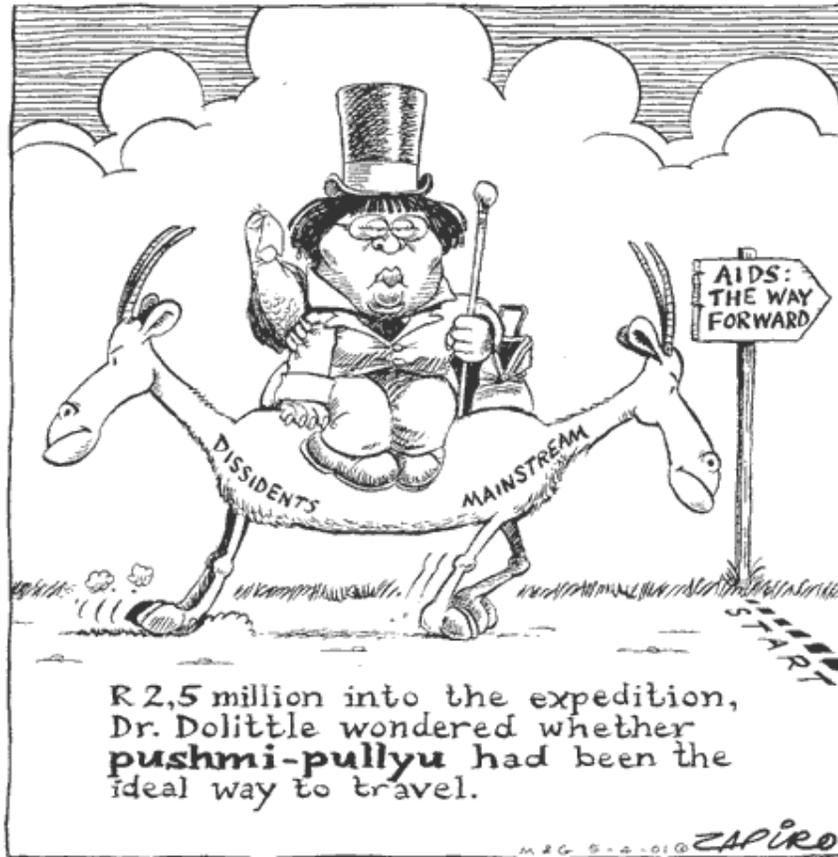


Figure 4.11: Cartoon 2001-04-06: DR DOLITTLE METAPHOR

4.6 Representations of Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang

Because Thabo Mbeki and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang appear in 74.1% of the cartoons in the database and form the main focus of the cartoon author's criticism of HIV/AIDS denialism, it is important to investigate the different ways in which they are metaphorically constructed for the purpose of criticism in the texts. I will present this analysis for each of them under their own heading below.

4.6.1 Manto Tshabalala-Msimang

Manto Tshabalala-Msimang appears in 51.3% of the cartoons. The following is the complete list of metaphoric constructions of Tshabalala-Msimang throughout the cartoon database:

- (35) a. An obstacle on a journey, including:

- i. A snake, in a snakes-and-ladders game, about to eat people heading towards the rollout of ARVs (Cartoon 2004-12-02).
- ii. A whale blocking a R712 million AIDS relief package heading on a boat towards KwaZulu-Natal (Cartoon 2002-07-23).
- b. A spanner jamming the wheels of a machine marked “ARV Rollout” (Cartoon 2004-12-22).
- c. Dr. Dolittle, discussed above (Figure 4.11).
- d. Different kinds of vegetables (Cartoon 2006-08-22).
- e. A used condom marked as “defective” (Figure 4.15 on page 87).
- f. The Devil (Cartoon 2003-08-15).
- g. A rat-tailed maggot (Cartoon 2006-04-20).
- h. An overthrown statue (recalling the pulling down of a statue of Saddam Hussain that was widely televised; Cartoon 2003-04-17).
- i. An ostrich with its head in the ground (Cartoon 2002-12-12).

In each case the item listed represents the source domain in a metaphoric mapping in which Tshabalala-Msimang is the target domain. The ideational content of the resulting text constructs her in a negative light in each case. In metaphoric mappings with concepts such as ‘devil’ and ‘rat-tailed maggot’, ‘snake’ and ‘defective used condom’ it is mainly the negative connotations (the features discussed in section 2.1.2.2) that are used to make the author’s ideological point against Tshabalala-Msimang, and in so doing attempts to establish a negative interpersonal relationship between the reader and the health minister. Note that these metaphors do not make any logical arguments against Tshabalala-Msimang’s views. Rather, they have an emotional impact that seeks to structure her, as a person, negatively. According to Botha (1994) this type of use of conceptual metaphor is particularly powerful, since it proposes no logical propositions against which one may argue.

The image of an ostrich with its head in the ground relies on the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor that was discussed in section 4.4.2. The ideation of the text is thus

that Tshabalala-Msimang chooses to ignore the problem, instead of seeking a solution.

The image of her as an overthrown statue relies on the BAD IS DOWN metaphor discussed in section 4.4.4, as well as the historical-contextual knowledge of the reader about the symbolic pulling down of the statue of Saddam Hussein, which was constructed as a great and positive victory for “good” in the media. By drawing on this knowledge, as well as the emotional connotation, the message conveyed is that Tshabalala-Msimang’s defeat in court by the TAC is a similar great and positive victory for good. As such this construction also echoes the WAR metaphor, but does not use it explicitly.

4.6.2 Thabo Mbeki

Thabo Mbeki appears in 34.5% of the cartoons. The following is the complete list of metaphoric constructions of Mbeki throughout the cartoon database:

- (36) a. “Not seeing” (KNOWING IS SEEING). Specifically because of:
- i. Having his back turned towards the issue (Figure 4.2).
 - ii. Wearing a blindfold or blinker (Cartoon 2006-04-11).
- b. Emperor Nero playing the fiddle while the country burns (Cartoon 1999-11-19).
- c. With his mouth zipped shut (Cartoon 2007-02-08).
- d. With his head in the ground (KNOWING IS SEEING; Cartoon 2007-02-09).
- e. Too small to fit into Mandela’s shoes (GOOD IS BIG, BAD IS SMALL; Figure 4.8 on page 69).
- f. An obstacle on a journey (discussed in section 4.4.3.2; Figure 4.5).
- g. Pinocchio with a long nose (Cartoon 2003-10-04).
- h. The Mad hatter from “Alice in Wonderland” (Figure 4.8).

- i. Marie Antoinette turning away from the crowd of HIV/AIDS victims (Cartoon 2003-10-04).
- j. A space-traveller in the WACKO PLANET metaphor (Cartoon 2001-05-04).
- k. A voodoo-priest (Cartoon 2003-03-26).
- l. A Devil and an Angel arguing over HIV/AIDS (Cartoon 2004-02-10).
- m. A snake, along with Manto Tshabalala-Msimang (Cartoon 2004-12-02).

The expressions of the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor have been discussed in section 4.4.2, the GOOD IS BIG metaphor in section 4.4.5, and the Fantasy metaphors, which include the Pinocchio metaphor, in section 4.5.

As in the examples of Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, the cartoon author uses a number of different approaches in his construction of Mbeki. One is to draw on contextual knowledge, such as the ‘Mad Hatter’, ‘Pinocchio’ and ‘emperor Nero’ concepts. The other is to employ conventional metaphors such as KNOWING IS SEEING to represent the author’s view of Mbeki as aloof and out of touch. This is reinforced by the WACKO PLANET metaphor that was discussed in section 4.5.2. The depiction of Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang in Cartoon (2003-03-26) as practitioners of Voodoo has the same ideational purpose as the fantasy metaphors, namely to make their discourse of AIDS denialism appear ridiculous and out of touch with reality.

4.7 Use of poetic mechanisms

In this section I will address research question (2) for the cartoon database, namely the nature and extent of the use of poetic metaphor in the cartoons. Each of the cartoons were analysed for their use of each of the four mechanisms discussed in the literature review section 2.2. This allowed for statistical analysis of the presence and absence of the features, including combinations of features. The means by which each feature functions in each cartoon was analysed to determine what role, if any, it plays in the construction of the critical discourse. The frequency of occurrence of each of the four mechanisms is given in Table 4.3. Each mechanism will be discussed under its own heading, in this order.

Mechanism	Occurrences	Percentage
Elaboration	75	64.7%
Extension	35	30.2%
Composition	27	23.3%
Questioning	6	5.2%

Table 4.3: Frequency of poetic mechanisms in the cartoon database

4.7.1 Elaboration

The definition of elaboration was given in section 2.2.2 as (17), repeated below:

- (17) Elaboration is the filling in of existing slots in a metaphoric mapping with more specific, unconventional concepts.

Of the 116 cartoons in the database, 75, or 64.7%, employed the mechanism of elaboration. It is thus by far the most frequently occurring poetic mechanism in the cartoon database. This may be due to the requirement for visual texts to be specific, as mentioned in section 2.6. If a specific slot in a schema has to be filled by a specific concept – and cannot as in verbal language simply be left at the abstract level – then it is a natural step to have that concept contribute to the author’s ideological purpose with the metaphor. In this way the natural elaborative nature of the visual medium encourages the poetic elaboration found in the cartoons.

Consider again Figure 4.6 on page 67. This is one of fourteen instances in the database where the ‘vehicle’ slot in the ‘journey’ schema is filled with specific concepts such as ‘aeroplane’, ‘spaceship’, ‘donkey’ or, as in this case, ‘car’. Because the author is using the visual mode he is unable to leave the expression of concepts abstract in the way that can be done with words, for example the word “journey”. He has to convey the journey metaphor by drawing concrete images of objects. In many of the cartoons this elaboration occurs as a specific vehicle on a road of some kind. Since the vehicle slot can not be left abstract because the author is forced to draw a certain kind of vehicle, this naturally leads to elaboration which serves not only to evoke the conventional metaphor visually, but contributes new content to the metaphor in an unconventional way. With each new concept that is introduced, such

as 'car', a whole new schema is also introduced that can itself form further metaphoric mappings, introduce new logic, and new connotations.

Such elaboration allows the conventional metaphor, such as SOLVING THE AIDS PROBLEM IS A JOURNEY, to be enriched by the new content. The new concept has its own set of associations and slots, all of which then becomes available for use in the conventional metaphor, thereby enriching it beyond its conventional use. In Figure 4.6 the concept of 'car' may be extended (see the following section on extension) with the concept of 'wheels' so that the 'car' schema itself can be the source of further metaphoric mappings within the larger conventional metaphor of a JOURNEY. This new sub-metaphor, AN AIDS CAMPAIGN IS A CAR, then allows cross domain mappings of its own slots, in this case resulting in the sub-metaphor ARVs ARE THE WHEELS OF A CAR. The logic of the source domain, namely that cars cannot drive without their wheels, is then mapped onto the domain of 'AIDS campaigns', which is in its turn seen as a subpart of the journey towards a solution for AIDS. In this way a discourse is constructed that would not be possible through use of the conventional metaphor in its unelaborated state alone. The message conveyed by the author of the cartoon through the use of this elaboration in combination with extension is that the government AIDS policy simply cannot succeed without antiretrovirals. More than this, the fact that it is obvious that a car cannot drive without wheels, and thus not reach its destination, is also mapped via the metaphor so that Mbeki and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang are made to look ridiculous for not understanding the need for ARVs. The elaborated metaphor that results constructs antiretrovirals and the people involved as having certain kinds of relations to each other that may not be thought of as true, or perhaps as clearly, without the metaphor.

The use of elaboration in the cartoon is therefore not simply a poetic flourish meant to entertain the reader – rather it is a fundamental method of constructing and undermining discourses that introduces new logic and emotional connotations into the reader's interpretation of the text.

The previous paragraphs demonstrated how elaboration can introduce new logic and conceptual relations within a metaphor. I will now show how elaboration can result in the introduction of new emotional connotations (features, as discussed in section 2.1.2.2) not present in the conventional metaphor. Consider Figure 4.12 below:

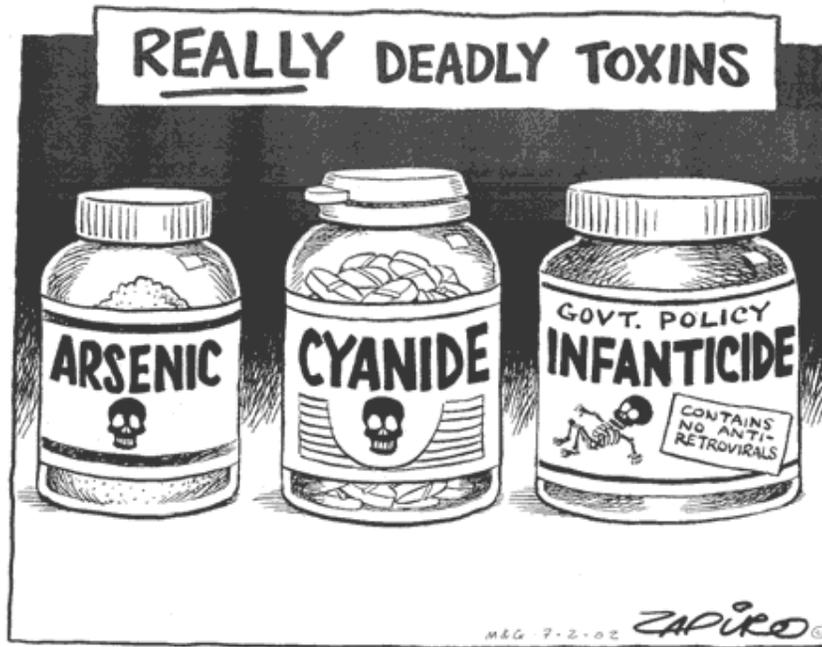


Figure 4.12: Cartoon 2002-02-08: Elaboration

The metaphor used here is GOVERNMENT POLICY IS A TOXIN. The ‘toxin’ slot is not required by the metaphor to be filled in specifically. In this case the slot, via the representation of a bottle marked “GOVT. POLICY”, is elaborated specifically with something that is not in reality toxin, but sounds like one because of the ending “-ide” also found in “cyanide”. Through this elaboration, the negative connotations of both the ‘toxin’ concept, and the ‘infanticide’ concept are mapped onto the domain of ‘government policy’. The GOVERNMENT POLICY AS TOXIN metaphor is further elaborated by constructing ARV as one of the possible chemicals in the metaphorically understood toxin, triggered by the phrase “contains no antiretrovirals.” This ironically plays off of statements by Tshabalala-Msimang and others that ARVs are poisonous. The ideational purpose of the text could be verbalised as in (37):

(37) The government is murdering children by not including ARVs into its policy.

Such a claim stated verbally might be unacceptable in a verbal newspaper article. Since the cartoon employs metaphor, and is subject to less stringent socio-political restrictions, it is able to communicate that message.

4.7.2 Extension

The definition of extension was given in section 2.2.2 as (15), repeated here:

- (15) Extension is the mapping of previously unmapped slots in a conceptual metaphor.

The use of poetic extension was found in 35, or 30.2%, of the 116 cartoons in the database. Consider again Figure 4.6 on page 67. This cartoon contains poetic extension as well as the elaboration discussed previously, and is a good example of how the different poetic mechanisms work together to achieve an effect. Once the metaphor AN AIDS CAMPAIGN IS A CAR is created through elaboration, it becomes possible to extend the metaphorical mapping of the schema of ‘car’ by including the slot of ‘wheels’, a concept that forms part of the ‘car’ schema but is not conventionally required by the metaphor. In the cartoon author’s understanding of the AIDS problem, antiretrovirals play a central role in its treatment, and so forms the natural target element for the slot of ‘wheels’ to map onto. By choosing to extend the metaphor to include ARVS ARE THE WHEELS OF A CAR the author is able to impose the logic of the car schema onto the AIDS issue. As discussed earlier, the fact that a car cannot go anywhere without its wheels informs the message the author intends to convey: that an AIDS policy without ARVs simply cannot work.

Notice that the sub-metaphor is created via extension according to the author’s own understanding of the situation, and by drawing it in the visual medium he is able to communicate this understanding – he is able to impose his metaphor. Another person might have a completely different understanding of the situation, and, if they were to extend the ‘wheels’ slot into the metaphor, might map this slot not onto antiretrovirals but something else, such as ‘condom use’, or ‘education’. In each case the same message would be sent about whichever target schema is chosen, because it is the logic of the ‘car’ schema that informs the resulting structure. It is this thought-structuring aspect of metaphor that Lakoff, Johnson, and Turner place great importance on in their theory.

Next consider Figure 4.13 below:



Figure 4.13: Cartoon 2002-05-07: Extension: LIGHT IS LIFE

The conventional idiomatic phrase “lights a candle” evokes the LIGHT IS LIFE metaphor to communicate a positive message and intention. In this cartoon, the author creates humour by extending this conventional metaphor in a way that is consistent with his discourse about Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, but that undermines the conventional metaphor. In the conventional use of the metaphor the ‘light’ slot in the ‘candle’ schema is used for the mapping, but not the ‘fire’ slot, which has greater potential for negative understanding, because fire can burn, as shown in the cartoon. By introducing the ‘fire’ and ‘burn’ aspects into the text through the visual representation of the burning court order, the author is able to undermine the verbal message that headlines the cartoon. This is an instance where the visual aspects of a cartoon respond ironically to the verbal aspects. This simultaneously creates humour while also communicating the authors ideational purpose, namely what he considers Manto Tshabalala-Msimang’s true intentions to be. By using extension in this way the author is thus able to undermine the discourse usually created by the conventional metaphor he employs. He essentially takes the metaphors provided by conventional use, and comments on those by extending them poetically in unconventional ways. This parallels what Shakespeare did with the DEATH IS SLEEP metaphor (16) in section 2.2.1, repeated below:

- (16) To sleep? Perchance to dream! Ay, there's the rub; For in that sleep of death
what dreams may come?

By doing so the author is also undermining the positive conceptualisation created by the mapping of 'sleep' onto 'death' by his use of extension. As such, the extension of the LIGHT IS LIFE metaphor in this instance is also an instance of poetic questioning, discussed in section 2.2.3 above and 4.7.4 below. This is another example of how the mechanisms function interdependently, and how the use of one mechanism may lead to the use of another.

4.7.3 Composition

The definition of composition was given in section 2.2.2 as (21), repeated below:

- (21) Composition is the combined use of two or more conceptual metaphors in such a way that they form a complex structuring with parts of the one metaphor relying on parts of another.

Composition occurs in 26, or 22.4%, of the 116 cartoons. Consider Figure 4.7 given on page 68. Here, a number of conventional metaphors are used in composition to create a unified message that would not be possible by using the metaphors individually. Each metaphor extends from another one, creating layers of metaphoric meaning within one overarching metaphor, in this case LEADERSHIP IS A JOURNEY. The metaphors used in composition are:

- (38) a. LEADERSHIP IS A JOURNEY
b. GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN
c. GOOD IS CLEAN, BAD IS DIRTY
d. AIDS IS A QUAGMIRE
e. MORALITY IS A COMPASS

What makes this a case of composition is that the metaphors are not simply used independently. It is possible for there to be more than one conventional metaphor present in a text without composition. In the case of composition, however, the metaphors used each rely on the mapping results of another metaphor for their source

or target domain, and therefore cannot function independently, while still conveying the same message.

In this cartoon, the overarching metaphor is LEADERSHIP IS A JOURNEY. The journey is shown as coming from a hill, marked “Moral High Ground”, into a lower area, evoking the GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN conventional metaphor. Further composed into the logic of the metaphor is the GOOD IS CLEAN, BAD IS DIRTY metaphor, which is evoked by the images of dirt and rubbish, and the label “quagmire” (itself an extension of the metaphor) in the lower area. By contrast the higher part is drawn as being clean with radiant lines coming from the sign. This quagmire which the ANC is shown as going through, indicating via the logic of the metaphor that their leadership is bad, is then mapped onto the domains evoked by the words “AIDS / ZIM / ARMS”. The logic of the metaphor thus communicates the idea that the country is being led into these three problem areas by the ANC. The reason for this is given by yet another metaphor joining the composition, namely that MORALITY IS A COMPASS, which in the case of the compass carried by the ANC is shown as breaking apart. The compass evokes and relies upon the ‘direction’ slot in the ‘journey’ schema.

The message that this complex composition of metaphors communicates could be summarised as in (39):

(39) The problems of AIDS, etc., are caused by a lack of morality by the ANC.

Of course, to simplify the message in this way, removing the metaphors, excludes a large part of the message, and includes only the most basic logic – which is merely one of the four aspects of a mapping (see section 2.1.2.1).

It is important to note that if any of the conventional metaphors in the composition were to be removed, then the message as it is would fail to be delivered. The resulting message is constructed by the composition itself, so that composition is seen to be not merely a poetic flourish for aesthetic purposes, but a way of constructing understanding at the conceptual level.

Next consider the cartoon in Figure 4.11 on page 73. The metaphors used in composition here are:

- (40) a. AIDS LEADERSHIP IS A JOURNEY
- b. THE AIDS PANEL IS A TWO HEADED ANTELOPE
- c. THE TWO HEADED ANTELOPE IS A VEHICLE IN THE JOURNEY
- d. EACH FACTION OF THE PANEL IS A HEAD GOING IN OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS

Here, a signpost points the way “forward”. This, along with a starting line, evokes the JOURNEY metaphor. The ‘vehicle’ slot of the journey schema is filled by the concept of the ‘antelope’, which in turn is metaphorically constructed as the ‘AIDS panel’ as per (40)b. Manto Tshabalala-Msimang as the ‘traveller’ is drawn sitting complacently on the antelope, while the two sides struggle to move in opposite directions, with the result that they do not go anywhere. Moving in opposite directions is consistent with the logic of the journey metaphor – to move in opposite directions is to head towards different destinations, evoking the GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS sub-metaphor of the JOURNEY metaphor. According to the logic of the two-headed antelope construction of the AIDS panel, the two factions, here named “dissidents” and “mainstream”, can never head in the same direction and therefore never reach the same goal. The position of the cartoon author on the matter is communicated by which head is facing in the direction marked “forward”. The use of the label “forward” on the sign by the same logic indicates the direction of the metaphoric destination, and thus towards the goal of a solution to the AIDS problem. By labelling the head that is going in that direction as “mainstream” the cartoonist makes his position against the discourse of AIDS denialism clear.

It is seen here again that the unified message results from a complex composition of metaphors that are interlinked – their source and target domains linking up in a metaphoric chain-formation, each link relying on the previous link for its metaphoric significance.

4.7.4 Questioning

The definition of the poetic mechanism of questioning was given in section 2.2.2 as (18), repeated below:

- (18) Questioning is the act of pointing out a discrepancy between the understanding that a conceptual metaphor imposes upon its target domain, and a reader's other knowledge about that domain.

Questioning essentially brings to light that which is hidden by a metaphor, and in so doing reveals that the metaphor is not an exact correspondence to the reality it is used to describe. The unconscious and automatic acceptance of the metaphor may thus be removed, and in this way questioning can serve to undermine established discourse.

Consider Figure 4.3 given on page 63. In this cartoon the JOURNEY metaphor is being called into question. In a journey towards a destination there are conventionally many different routes that a person can take to reach the same destination. In this cartoon the author questions the use of the JOURNEY metaphor by Thabo Mbeki by indicating through the warning signs that the road he is taking cannot lead to the desired destination – metaphorically understood as a solution to the problem of HIV/AIDS. The implication of the questioning is that, unlike conventional journeys where one can explore different routes but still reach the right destination, in the case of the HIV/AIDS problem this is not valid. The implication is that there is only one correct “direction” to take in solving the AIDS problem, and that the president and his health minister are not currently taking it.

By using extension in this case the author is able to bring into question the discourse and language used by the president and his health minister. As will be seen in the other examples, this is the main purpose that questioning is put to by Zapiro in the cartoons collected in the database, and could also explain why questioning is used so infrequently – the author mostly focuses on representations of the people themselves, and dedicates very few cartoons to the contents of the discourse of AIDS denialism. Where he does, questioning is usually employed.

Next consider Figure 4.14 below. In this cartoon Manto Tshabalala-Msimang is shown sitting on top of a monster or dragon resting on a pile of skulls, while the people in the monster's grip are saying, “relax, the minister says they're on top of it.” This evokes the metaphor CONTROL IS UP (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 149) and also GOOD IS UP. However, the health minister is drawn small compared to the monster, and it is clear from the drawing that she is not in control of it. It is shown resting with a very relaxed facial expression. As in the previous example where Mbeki says “we

have to explore all avenues”, this cartoon achieves questioning by the use of irony set up between the verbal component of the cartoon and the visual component, which undermines the verbal. In this way the author calls into question the AIDS denialist discourse, by calling into question the validity of the conventional metaphors contained therein. In this case the message may be simplified verbally as “being on top of something does not always mean you are in control of it”, which is contrary to the metaphor.



Figure 4.14: Cartoon 2001-03-23: Questioning

In the examples of questioning found in the database, the questioning is often aimed, as here, at the discourse of the AIDS denialists. It is used to undermine and call into question the validity of what they are saying. It is clear that questioning via the visual medium is possible, as shown in the example above. In the database, however, most of the cartoons are not aimed at directly questioning the discourse of the AIDS denialists. Rather, they are aimed at undermining the image of the denialists by using

metaphors that present the people in a negative light, or say something negative about their leadership, values, intelligence, or ability to solve the problems.

4.8 Image mapping

Image mappings, as described in section 2.1.2.4, also occur in the cartoons. Consider Figure 4.15 below. Here the mapping MANTO TSHABALALA-MSIMANG IS A CONDOM is evoked by the visual expression of an image mapping. As with linguistic expressions of image mappings, the mapping itself takes place at the conceptual level. The two concepts are mapped together, but the basis of the mapping here is on their visual form. So the head of Tshabalala-Msimang maps onto the metaphorically understood ‘head’ of the condom, and the same with the body. As was discussed in the literature review section, such an image mapping triggers a full conceptual mapping, so that all four aspects of mapping (section 2.1.2.2) are mapped, namely: slots, relations, properties, and knowledge. In this specific instance, the primary contribution towards the critical discourse of the text comes from the mapping of the negative properties from the source domain of ‘condom’. In this way, the author is able to construct a negative interpersonal relation between the reader and Tshabalala-Msimang (see section 2.4.2.2 on the interpersonal function of communication).



Figure 4.15: Cartoon 2007-08-29: Image Mapping

4.9 Multimodality in the cartoons

When analysing the multimodal aspects of the visual texts, a pattern emerged that supports the conceptual view of metaphor as described in the literature review section. Consider again Figure 4.4 given on page 64, in which Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang are shown on a road along with Madlala-Routledge. In this cartoon the PROBLEM SOLVING AS JOURNEY metaphor is evoked. However, here, as in the other cartoons, the verbal labels, “HIV/AIDS RD.”, “DENIALISM”, and “ACTION”, are used to evoke the abstract target domains that cannot be directly represented in the visual mode. Throughout the cartoon database it has been found, as here, that:

- The target domain is represented verbally (here ‘HIV/AIDS’)
- The source domain is represented visually (here ‘road’)

This is a significant finding, because it means that the visual and verbal modes do not only complement each other in the cartoon, but in fact work together to evoke a single metaphoric mapping. In other words, a single metaphor in a cartoon may be evoked multi-modally. When one considers that metaphoric mappings occur at the conceptual level, this means that the two different modes function together in combination to trigger a mapping at the conceptual level that might not have occurred if either of the modes were left out. The fact that multimodality plays such a core role in triggering metaphors at the conceptual level in cartoons is, in my opinion, a strong indication of the importance of multimodality, and that it would be valuable for future studies to pursue it further.

Furthermore, the fact that the target domain is represented verbally while the source domain is represented visually is consistent with the claims of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Recall that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state in their theory that the source domain is always the more specific and grounded while the target domain is the more abstract. El Refaie (2003: 91) points out that the visual mode is not able to represent an abstract concept in the same way that language can. It is possible to use the abstract word “*journey*”, without giving further details. It is not however possible to do this visually. If one wants to draw the concept ‘journey’ one is forced to make specific choices, since one is reproducing a grounded, empirical mode. One would have to choose whether to draw a car or an aeroplane, or a person walking, or some

other specific symbols that would evoke the concept. Language is not forced to be this specific because it can represent abstract concepts via arbitrary association with a phonological form such as “journey”. It is thus natural for multimodality to find such an expression in cartoons that use metaphor extensively, since the verbal component is able to easily express the abstract target domain, while the visual is able to easily express the specific source domain. This finding also supports Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996) statement that the verbal and visual “intermesh and interact at all times.”

Of course, as in other forms of visual texts such as paintings that also use metaphor, an author is not required to explicitly represent the target domain, verbally or otherwise. El Refaie 2003:91 states that “the token [target] or vehicle [source] or both” may be absent, in which case they are “implied by context”. Since there is not a single cartoon in the database that does not have a verbal component, it seems that this approach of leaving domains implicit rather than evoking them explicitly is not the dominant approach in the cartoons. Doing so would leave them open to broader interpretation, whereas making both the target and source domain explicit allows the reader to easily and quickly grasp the intended construction, since both domains are represented by the medium that does so most effectively.

To the question of whether there are things which either the visual or verbal mode more easily achieve in communication, the answer, as far as metaphor is concerned, seems to be that the visual mode is adept at representing the source domain in detail – which accounts in part for the large amount of elaboration found in the cartoons – while the verbal mode is adept at representing the abstract target domain.

4.10 Summary

In summary, I have shown in this chapter that conventional conceptual metaphors are found across the visual cartoon database. In Chapter 5 I will show that these are substantially the same conventional metaphors found in the verbal articles. This supports the CMT claim that metaphors are conceptual, not linguistic. CMT would predict that the same metaphors should find expression in any mode that expresses thought, which includes the visual, and I have shown that the cartoon data supports

this. This chapter has therefore provided the first part of the answer to research question (1); the verbal part of the answer will be provided in the next chapter.

I have also shown that cartoons do use the four mechanisms of poetic metaphor (as discussed in section 2.2) extensively, and they can thus be considered poetic texts. As will be shown in Chapter 5, this is not the case for the verbal articles, which include only two of the poetic mechanisms at very low frequency. This chapter has therefore provided the first part of the answer to research question (2), namely that cartoons can indeed be considered poetic texts. The next chapter provides the answer for the verbal texts.

In this chapter I have also shown that the poetic mechanism of elaboration is the most frequently used of the mechanisms. I have proposed an explanation in terms of the natural specificity of the visual medium that was discussed in section 4.9. Elaboration has to do with filling slots with specific detail, and, since the visual mode requires a high level of specificity, I have proposed that this naturally encourages poetic elaboration in the texts.

In this chapter I have also demonstrated the role of multimodality in the cartoons, that it plays a core role in the evocation of conceptual metaphors. The multimodality is not merely a way for the modes to complement each other. Rather, multimodality plays a role in triggering a metaphoric mapping at the conceptual level, in that the target and source domains of even a single metaphor is expressed in different modes. One may therefore speak of cross-domain triggers for conceptual metaphor in cartoons. This is a very significant finding for research into multimodality and, even though I had not foreseen this finding in my hypotheses, it is fully consistent with the claims of Conceptual Metaphor Theory that source domains are abstract and target domains specific. It therefore also answers the question as to the difference between the two modes. As such, this chapter has provided an answer to research question (4).

CHAPTER 5 - DATA ANALYSIS II: METAPHOR IN VERBAL TEXTS

In this chapter I will present the analysis of the Mail & Guardian newspaper articles. The purpose of this analysis was to compare the verbal mode with the visual cartoons analysed in Chapter 4, in order to complete the answers to the research questions. Since the aim of this study is to enlighten the function of cartoons as critical texts, the analysis of the verbal articles does not constitute a full discourse analysis for their own sake. Rather, the purpose here is to compare verbal articles from the same newspaper with the cartoons, in order to shed further light on the functioning of the cartoons as critical texts.

Specifically, I will show in this chapter that the conventional metaphors found in the cartoon database are to a significant extent the same ones found in the verbal articles. This supports the CMT claim that metaphor originates at the conceptual level, and completes the answer to research question (1). I will also show that the verbal articles do not employ the four poetic mechanisms to a significant extent, unlike the cartoons. They can therefore not be considered poetic texts. This marks an important difference between the visual cartoon texts and the verbal articles, and completes the answer to research question (2).

Since the verbal metaphor analysis serves mainly for comparison with the visual, the analysis presented here will not go into the details of every conceptual metaphor, but will instead focus on the ideological use of metaphor for criticism. Conventional conceptual metaphor is pervasive in all language use, including newspaper articles, so to analyse each metaphor would not contribute to the answering of the research questions. After giving an overview of the conceptual metaphors used, I will present an analysis of each of the most frequently occurring metaphors in order to demonstrate the nature and extent of their use in the articles. It will be shown that, unlike the visual cartoons, the verbal articles resort very little to the use of conceptual metaphor beyond the everyday, conventional metaphors that can be found in all linguistic texts. Where metaphor is used poetically for ideological purposes it is generally isolated and does not form the core of the text or argument. In the cartoons exactly the opposite is the case, as was shown in Chapter 4.

Following this I will present the analysis of the nature and extent of use of poetic mechanisms in the articles. I will provide the statistical data for their presence, comparing it directly with the same data for the cartoons, in order to demonstrate that the articles use poetic metaphor to a significantly lesser extent than the cartoons. For comparison with the cartoons, I will present an analysis of the ones that did occur.

Following this analysis I will present a theoretical argument based on Biberauer’s (1996) four functions of conceptual metaphor, in order to show that the use of poetic mechanisms in the cartoon texts increases the author’s capacity for criticism by giving him greater control over these four functions. This control stems from the greater set of choices available to the poetic author through the use of the poetic mechanisms. That section will therefore complete the answer to research question (3).

5.1 Overview and statistics

Table 5.1 below presents the frequency of occurrence of conceptual metaphors in the verbal database. The highest-level instance of a conceptual metaphor is presented in bold text, while sub-metaphors are prefixed with ellipses and presented in ordinary type. Both the number of occurrences and the percentage that this makes up of the total database are presented. The metaphors are ordered from the highest occurrence to the lowest, and include only those with more than a single occurrence.

Metaphor	Occurrences	Percentage
War	38	41.8%
...Argument is War	21	23.1%
...Overcoming AIDS is War	23	25.3%
Problem solving is a journey	16	17.6%
... Problems are Obstacles	3	3.3%
Knowing is Seeing	8	8.8%
Opinions are Positions	7	7.7%
Good is Clean, Bad is Dirty	5	5.5%
Overcoming AIDS is a Struggle	4	4.4%

Good is Up, Bad is Down	4	4.4%
Politics is a Game	3	3.3%
The spread of HIV is a Wave	3	3.3%
A Difficulty is the Devil	2	2.2%
Emotional response is an Erupting Volcano	2	2.2%

Table 5.1: Frequency of conceptual metaphors in the article database

Figure 5.1 and Table 5.2 below show the list of metaphors found in both the cartoon and article databases, the frequency of occurrence of each, and the difference between these two figures. The significant finding here is that the conventional metaphors are found with similar frequencies in both the visual and verbal texts. This confirms research hypothesis (1). The only exception to this is the WAR metaphor, which will be discussed below. This lends strong support to the CMT claim that metaphor is conceptual in nature, and that verbal articles and visual cartoons are different expressions of the same underlying thought system. The biggest difference between frequencies of these metaphors is 6.7% in the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor, occurring less frequently in the articles than the cartoons. The average difference across the table is 2.7%.

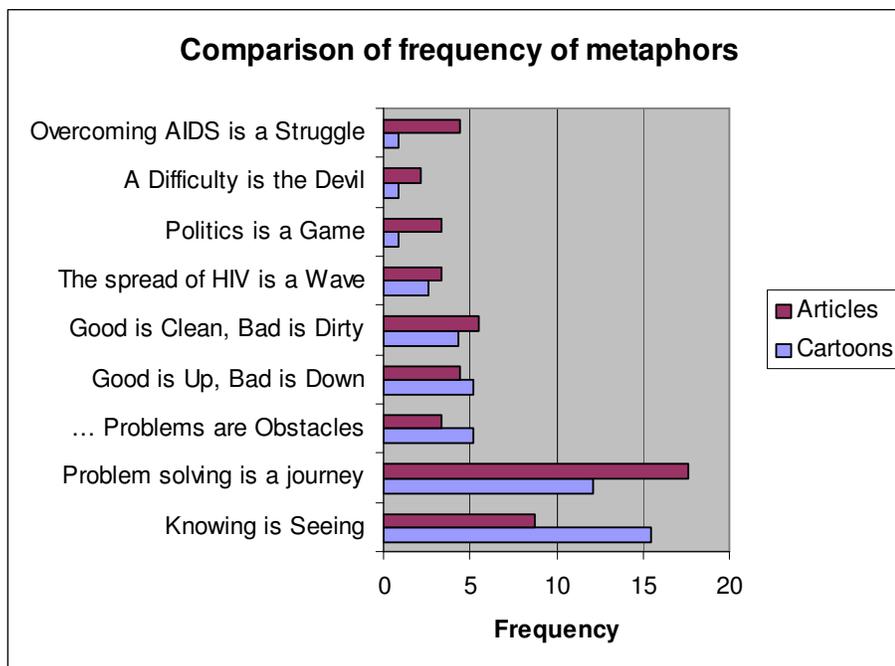


Figure 5.1: Comparison of frequency of metaphors found in both modes

The data from Figure 5.1 is presented below in table format:

Metaphor	Cartoons	Articles	Difference
Knowing is Seeing	15.5	8.8	6.7
Problem solving is a journey	12.1	17.6	5.5
... Problems are Obstacles	5.2	3.3	1.9
Good is Up, Bad is Down	5.2	4.4	0.8
Good is Clean, Bad is Dirty	4.3	5.5	1.2
The spread of HIV is a Wave	2.6	3.3	0.7
Politics is a Game	0.9	3.3	2.4
A Difficulty is the Devil	0.9	2.2	1.3
Overcoming AIDS is a Struggle	0.9	4.4	3.5
Average Difference			2.7

Table 5.2: Comparison of frequency of metaphors in both modes.

The most frequently occurring metaphor in the verbal texts is the OVERCOMING HIV/AIDS IS A WAR metaphor, which does not occur in the cartoon database. What makes this curious is that it is the only exception in a set of results that otherwise strongly supports the research hypothesis. It is possible that the absence of this metaphor in the cartoon database reflects the cartoon author's choice of focus – in other words, that it is a difference in the ideational purpose of the texts, and not a difference grounded in conceptual metaphor. In the articles the focus is most often on HIV/AIDS and on ways to treat, prevent and eradicate the disease. In the cartoons the author focuses almost exclusively on the role-players involved in the debates, especially Thabo Mbeki and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang. In such cases the WAR metaphor does not enter, since it concerns AIDS, not the role-players. While it is beyond the scope of this study to provide an adequate answer to the question of why the WAR metaphor is not found in the cartoon database, it presents an interesting topic for future research. It would be especially interesting to see whether this

metaphor is used by other cartoonists, in which case its exclusion may be a conscious choice by Zapiro.

It also emerges that the unconventional (poetic) metaphors found in the cartoon database are not found in the article database. This finding foreshadows the finding that the newspaper articles do not employ the poetic mechanisms to any great extent, as will be shown later in this chapter.

The PROBLEM SOLVING IS A JOURNEY metaphor occurs frequently in both databases, though more in the articles (17.6%) than in the cartoons (12.1%). The KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor also occurs frequently in both databases, with the articles at 8.8% and the cartoons at 15.5%. The BAD IS DIRTY metaphor occurs with similar frequency in both the cartoons (4.3%) and the articles (5.5%). The CURING AIDS IS A STRUGGLE metaphor could be seen as part of the WAR metaphor, but is analysed separately here due to its political significance in post-apartheid South Africa. It occurs only once in the cartoon database (0.9%), and only with a slightly higher frequency in the article database (4.4%). The UP IS GOOD AND DOWN IS BAD metaphor occurs with similar frequency in both the cartoon database (5.2%) and the article database (4.4%).

5.2 Conceptual metaphors

Because of space limitations it is not possible to present an analysis of all the conceptual metaphors found in the verbal articles, nor will such a wide ranging presentation contribute to the answering of the research questions. Therefore I will present a brief analysis of the use of each of the most frequently occurring metaphors, in order to demonstrate the role that they play in the texts.

5.2.1 War metaphors

The WAR metaphor was analysed in Biberauer (1996:130) based on the work of Ross (1988), who called it the MILITARY metaphor of AIDS. Through the WAR metaphor, HIV/AIDS is structured as an enemy that needs to be fought. Biberauer (1996), Ross (1988), and Sontag (1991) have all discussed the social and political dangers of structuring AIDS in this way. Ross has pointed out that the use of the metaphor can lead to people considering not only the virus but also the victim as an

enemy (Biberauer 1996). Similarly, Sontag warns that the metaphor can lead to negative overreactions and the “stigmatization of the ill” (Biberauer 1996). Even though Biberauer defends the use of the metaphor in a medical context, she too agrees that in the public sector the WAR metaphor may lead people to “lose sight of compassion as they race to *beat the enemy* rather than soothe the sick.”

The metaphor is evoked linguistically in the articles by the use of words and phrases such as: “fight”, “combat”, “battle”, “hit”, “enemy”, “united front”, “wage war”, and “bombshell”. The following are examples from the newspaper articles that evoke the WAR metaphor of AIDS:

- (41) a. South Africa is failing in its fight against HIV/AIDS (Article 2000-03-16d).
- b. Combating HIV/AIDS has come to be seen as an esoteric area (Article 2000-06-29a).
- c. AIDS has become the number one killer (Article 2000-06-29a).
- d. Leader of the opposition Tony Leon has called for a united front to wage war against this illness (Article-2000-10-26f).
- e. The Global Fund to fight AIDS ... awarded Uganda a new grant ... to battle the disease (Article 2004-10-14a).
- f. Baby mortality bombshell (Article 2007-08-23b; Title).
- g. Southern Africa is still hardest hit by HIV/AIDS (Article 2006-11-30c).

Biberauer (1996:138) presents the following five accusations made against the WAR metaphor of AIDS by various authors.

Accusation I: In the doctor-patient context, the metaphor encourages doctors to aggressively over-prescribe drugs in an attempt to reach a “victory” that is impossible.

Accusation II: The metaphor constructs death as an undesirable outcome, “thereby denying people the benefits of an acquiescent approach to death”.

Accusation III: The metaphor increases the power differential between doctors and patients by assigning the doctor a powerful role as “MILITARY COMMANDING OFFICER”.

Accusation IV: The metaphor provides only negative roles for patients, such as VICTIM or BATTLEFIELD.

Accusation V: The metaphor may lead people to consider not only the virus as the ENEMY but also the victims of the virus, thereby leading to the stigmatisation of people.

Biberauer (1996) argues against these accusations, especially within the medical context. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to present her arguments in depth; especially since the instances of the metaphor found in the newspaper articles are not about the medical context but rather the social and political context of AIDS.

Within the social and political context the metaphor may be used manipulatively. Those people accused of not doing enough to help in the “fight against AIDS” may be seen as being “on the side of the virus” and therefore also as enemies. For example, in Article (2000-10-26f), the author starts in the first paragraph by saying that Thabo Mbeki has announced that he will withdraw from the debate around HIV/AIDS. It states that Mbeki’s statements have “caused confusion” and follows with the use of a number of war metaphors, saying that R2-million rand will be invested to “combat” the illness, and that Tony Leon has “called for a united front to wage war against this illness”. The effect this has is to construct not only HIV as the enemy, but to implicate Thabo Mbeki himself. The reader may get the impression that the war is also being fought against Thabo Mbeki, without this being explicitly stated.

The other use of the ‘war’ domain is the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor, which is discussed in detail by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and is relevant here because it is used to construct the debates surrounding HIV/AIDS. The following examples from the articles evoke the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor:

- (42) a. The Northern Cape MEC for health was blasting a Kimberley hospital for giving the infant anti-retroviral medication (Article 2002-01-17c).
- b. Sibongile Manana was attacked by opposition parties and civic groups for her refusal to deviate from the national government line ... (Article 2002-02-28d).

- c. The KwaZulu-Natal government has deserted the Department of health in its fight against the Treatment Action Campaign ... (Article 2002-03-07f).

Here it is not HIV/AIDS that is structured as the ENEMY, but rather some person or group. In a discourse such as HIV/AIDS where the WAR metaphor is already so prevalent via the CURING AIDS IS WAR metaphor, the use of the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor has powerful manipulative potential, since it tends to implicate the person at the opposite side as being responsible for HIV/AIDS, since it structures them by the same domain as the virus, namely that of ENEMY.

5.2.2 SOLVING THE AIDS PROBLEM IS A JOURNEY

The JOURNEY metaphor is found in both the visual and verbal texts with similar frequencies (see Table 5.2). The structure of this metaphor has been discussed in sections 2.1.2.1 and 4.4.3, and will therefore not be repeated here. I will only discuss its use in the verbal texts. Examples of this metaphor from the articles are given in (43):

- (43) a. Drugs are not the way forward for us (Article 1999-09-16a).
- b. Mbeki's actions are ... taking us backwards (Article 2000-03-23e).
- c. This impoverished country [Mozambique] is already a step ahead of South Africa when it comes to HIV/AIDS treatment (Article 2003-11-20b).
- d. The government announced the long-awaited anti-retroviral treatment plan, paving the way for the challenges facing the country to be widely discussed (Article 2004-02-05a).
- e. Tenofovir has been the biggest stride forward in antiretroviral drug development for the last few years (Article 2007-02-08a).

These are all conventional uses of the PROBLEM SOLVING IS A JOURNEY metaphor as applied to HIV/AIDS. The metaphor is expressed by phrases such as "forward", "backward", and "paving the way", which evoke a conception of problem solving and interventions as movement towards the goal of eradicating HIV/AIDS.

As was shown in section 4.4.3, Zapiro makes frequent use of this metaphor in the visual cartoons, poetically extending and elaborating it in various ways to indicate that the way the problem is being handled will not “reach the destination”. The images that he uses do not always express anything about the reason why he thinks they will not work. They merely use elements of the source domain of ‘journey’ to indicate that they will not. In some cases the author does indicate the reason for failure, as when he labels the wheels that are missing on the car “Anti-retrovirals”.

The following are all instances of the metaphor PROBLEMS ARE OBSTACLES, which is a sub-metaphor of the JOURNEY metaphor:

- (44) a. Minister of Health Manto Tshabalala-Msimang's blocking of a R720-million grant to fight AIDS in KwaZulu Natal ... (Article 2002-07-18e).
- b. Acquiring HIV medicine for victims of sexual assault is "an obstacle course for women" (Article 2003-08-14e).

As mentioned above, this metaphor forms part of the JOURNEY metaphor. Anything that hinders the problem solving process is seen as an obstacle in the way of the traveller, understood as the group or person trying to solve the problem. In (44)a, for example, the health minister is constructed as an obstacle in the way of the AIDS grant. The cartoonist used this same metaphor on the same topic in cartoon (2002-07-23), but elaborates it with a complex image mapping of a whale and Tshabalala-Msimang’s head, blocking a ship carrying the AIDS package, represented by a box.

In example (44)b the JOURNEY metaphor is similarly elaborated to OBSTACLE COURSE such that the domain of ‘obstacle’ becomes prominent. It indicates that the journey, because it includes a lot of obstacles, is difficult for the travellers, in this case women. This metaphor becomes a tool of criticism through the way the ‘obstacle’ slot is filled. In this case the obstacle is constructed as the government. The title of the article is the quoted phrase “An obstacle course for women”, following which the article starts by saying “Confusion still reigns over the degree of government commitment to providing treatment for rape survivors.” Although, as in previous examples, the mapping of ‘obstacle’ to ‘government’ is not explicitly done, it is still strongly implied by the narrative structure of the text.

5.2.3 KNOWING IS SEEING

The KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor was discussed in section 4.4.2. According to this metaphor, knowing something or having some idea in one's mind is to see an object (via IDEAS ARE OBJECTS). Conversely, not seeing the object is to not know, not think about, or ignore the idea. The following are examples of the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor in the verbal articles:

- (45) a. Have they been blinded by their sense of infallibility? (Article 2003-05-15a)
- b. President Thabo Mbeki ... faced with the spectre of a new struggle, this time against HIV and AIDS, turned his face away (Article 2007-02-08c).
- c. The Eastern Cape Department of Education and the tender board's inability to make a transparent decision have caused us to lose well-deserved business (Article 2004-02-19d).
- d. Doctors [are] helpless in the face of hidden AIDS therapy costs (Article 2001-04-05b).

In example (45)a, the author evokes the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor through the word “blinded” to suggest that the AIDS denialists under discussion are not aware of the truth, which the author conceives as the dominant scientific view that HIV causes AIDS. The use of this metaphor presupposes that this view is the truth – that is, that what it refers to exists in reality and so can be “seen” unless one has been “blinded.” Zapiro uses this metaphor of not seeing in the cartoons quite frequently as discussed in section 4.4.2.

Example (45)b is a verbal example of this metaphor applied to Mbeki, where it is said that he “turned his face away”. The implication is that he actively chose not to see, and therefore, according to the metaphor, to ignore, the problem of HIV/AIDS. The logic of the metaphor dictates that if Mbeki's face is turned away he is not thinking about the issue – he is, in effect, trying to make it “unknown”. Turning ones face away is therefore an apt metaphor to imply denial, since, unlike merely not seeing something, it describes an active choice not to see something.

Example (45)c illustrates another interesting conventional use of the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor in AIDS related texts, namely the use of the word “transparency”.

If an object is transparent, one can see inside to its contents. If a decision is said to be untransparent, the metaphoric implication is that one does not know what is going on inside or behind the surface of the decision, which refers metaphorically via ESSENCE IS CENTRAL (Lakoff & Turner 1989:148) to that which is most important or most true about the decision.

Example (45)d also uses the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor in that something that is “hidden” is unseen, and therefore unknown, implying that people are not aware of the costs under discussion.

5.2.4 OPINIONS ARE POSITIONS

The OPINIONS ARE POSITIONS metaphor was found very frequently in the cartoon database, at 25.9%, most likely because of the visio-spatial basis of the metaphor. When characters are drawn in a cartoon they have to be placed somewhere specific, so that the ‘position’ domain is already active, and requires a choice. This could naturally lead the cartoonist to employ this metaphor for his own ideological purpose, and draw parties with different opinions in noticeably opposed or far apart positions. It could alternatively simply be a natural and unconscious expression of a conceptual understanding that is already metaphoric, as claimed by CMT. In the verbal texts the ‘position’ domain is not required, which could explain why the metaphor is found less frequently, at 7.7%, in the article database.

The metaphor is related to the JOURNEY metaphor in the sense that it is a spatial representation of a mental phenomenon, ideas. The opinion that a person holds is considered to be a position in which that person is standing. Consequently, to “stand firmly” is not to change one’s opinion, and people with different opinions are considered to be in different positions, sometimes even in positions that lead to opposite directions, as in the journey metaphor; or are in some other way opposed to each other. The following are examples of the OPINIONS ARE POSITIONS metaphor in the articles:

- (46) a. The TAC's position is that VCT is an essential part of the overall mother-to-child transmission program (Article 2002-02-28a).

- b. Mpumalanga stands firm on which hospitals can provide drugs (Article 2002-02-28d).
- c. The national government's ruling against providing anti-retroviral drugs ... is one of the more controversial aspects of the government's stance on the disease (Article 2002-01-17c).
- d. The increasingly vocal unhappiness within the African National Congress and the government about the state's stance on HIV/AIDS ... (Article 2002-04-25a).
- e. The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) threatened the MCC with legal action for failing to take a public stance on the efficacy of anti-retroviral drugs (Article 2005-04-28a).

This is a very common conventional metaphor that is not unique to the HIV/AIDS debates, but is also found in other domains where people have differing opinions. Here it is used to represent the different opinions regarding the solution to the HIV/AIDS problem and related issues. In the articles it does not appear to have been consciously used for any specific critical purpose. Even in the cartoons the OPINIONS ARE POSITIONS metaphor is not a striking presence in the critical aspect of the discourse, except in a few cases where the positions are radically different, such as when Mbeki and others are having a “tea party” on a planet far away from earth where an HIV/AIDS conference is being held (Cartoon 2005-12-01), or when Matthias Rath and Zackie Achmat are drawn at opposite sides of the judges bench, with a personification of the Earth standing on Achmat's side to indicate that his opinions coincide with global opinions (Figure 4.1; page 58).

5.2.5 BAD IS DIRTY

In the BAD IS DIRTY metaphor something that is considered undesirable or wrong is structured via the conceptual domain of ‘dirty’. Like most conceptual metaphors, it structures something that is abstract and non-empirical by a domain that is specific and observable. Being dirty is undesirable in everyday life, and so this logic is mapped to the target domain. An example from the visual database was given in Figure 4.7 on page 68. The following are expressions of this metaphor in the articles:

- (47) a. The TAC believes Rath is using smear tactics to further its commercial interests (Article 2005-04-28a).
- b. Ntshangase needs to clean his own house before attacking his neighbours (Article 2003-05-15a).
- c. The debate around anti-retroviral provision has been tainted ... by the creation of two artificial factions (Article 2003-03-19a).
- d. The move nimbly lifts the province from the murky controversy surrounding the national government's apparent reluctance to extend a programme to reduce the number of babies getting HIV from their mothers (Article 2002-03-07f).

The use of this metaphor has a strong critical aspect, in that it is used by speakers to construct someone or something in a negative light. It therefore has a destructive interpersonal function in the texts. When the TAC accuses Rath of using “smear tactics” it implies both that the tactics are bad and that Rath tries to make other people look bad. The effect of the use of the ‘dirt’ domain is to bring the full emotive connotations of this concept to play on how Rath is constructed. Similarly, in example (47)b, when the speaker says that Ntshangase must “clean his own house” the house is a further metaphor mapping onto the domain of ‘life’, so that the speaker implies that Ntshangase’s life is full of bad things, and that he therefore has no right to accuse other people. When the author in (47)c says that the debate has been “tainted” it implies that it has gone bad. Since dirt also covers things up so that one can no longer see the original item or see through it, the BAD IS DIRTY metaphor lends itself to being used in combination with the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor. When the debate is said to be “tainted” it is therefore not only said to be bad, but also that it is no longer possible to see clearly, or know correctly, what it is about. The same applies to (47)d, where the controversy is said to be “murky”.

5.2.6 OVERCOMING AIDS IS A STRUGGLE

I have chosen to analyse this metaphor separately from the WAR metaphor because it has a particularly sensitive political history in South Africa, namely the “struggle against apartheid”. To evoke the struggle metaphor is therefore to evoke a whole

history of activism against a system of gross human rights violations. It is therefore a call to action that leaves no question as to the necessity of overcoming the “enemy”. When the author writes then, as in (48)a below, that Thabo Mbeki has “turned his face away” from the “new struggle” of HIV/AIDS, it is a particularly strong accusation, not merely because of the AIDS issue, but because of the whole history of the struggle against Apartheid and Mbeki’s involvement therein. Zapiro also uses this metaphor in one of his cartoons where he redraws a famous photograph from the 1976 Soweto uprisings of a man holding a slumping child in his arms, this time with the label “HIV/AIDS” on the child’s shirt and the caption “the new struggle” at the top (Cartoon 2006-06-15). The following are examples of the STRUGGLE metaphor in the verbal texts:

- (48) a. President Thabo Mbeki, fresh in office and faced with the spectre of a new struggle, this time against HIV and AIDS, turned his face away (Article 2007-02-08c).
- b. Countless programmes with youth groups have taught this couple many skills in engaging people in the struggle against AIDS (Article 2000-09-07b).
- c. All those who are committed to the struggle against HIV and AIDS ... (Article 2003-04-10a).
- d. HIV/AIDS had become a struggle between the experts and ignoramuses ... (Article 2002-02-28b).

When the speaker in (48)c talks about “all those who are committed to the struggle against HIV and AIDS” there is an implicit statement that those who are not committed to the struggle are wrong, even traitors, an implication that it receives from the apartheid connotation of the word “struggle.”

5.2.7 GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN

The GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN metaphor is also found with similar frequencies in both the cartoons (5.2%) and articles (4.4%), and was discussed in section 4.4.4. The following are examples of this metaphor in the verbal texts:

- (49) a. The move nimbly lifts the province from the murky controversy ... (Article 2002-03-07f).
- b. You are likely to get a picture of a country on the precipice of collapse (Article 2006-08-31a).
- c. So it was heartening to see these pitfalls being avoided in a new book called Long Life ... (Article 2004-02-05b).
- d. The throwaway line about sliding towards a one-party state ... suggests some kind of wrongdoing and manipulation of the political system (Article 2006-08-31a).

In example (49)a the KwaZulu-Natal province, in choosing to no longer back the government in its legal battle against the TAC over provision of nevirapine, is said to be “lifted out of” the controversy. In example (49)b the image of a country as an object teetering on the edge of a cliff before it falls down is created. In example (49)c the mistakes that can be made, according to the author, in a book on HIV/AIDS are said to be “pitfalls”. All of these represent instances where taking action that is seen to be bad is structured as downward movement, and taking action that is considered good is structured as upward movement.

As was shown in section 4.4.4, this metaphor is also found in the visual mode. The cartoonist uses this metaphor in Figure 4.3 on page 63 when he shows Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang headed down a road, with a sign indicating that it ends at a cliff, or as in Figure 4.7 on page 68 where he draws the ANC as heading down from a hill labelled “moral high ground” into a quagmire below.

5.2.8 POLITICS IS A GAME

The POLITICS IS A GAME metaphor occurs in 0.9% of the cartoons and in 3.3% of the articles. In the Zapiro cartoon (2005-01-04) Thabo Mbeki is shown opposite a person at a table. On the table the person has placed a row of cards that together spell “AIDS SCIENCE”. Mbeki is seen slamming a single card down on the table, yelling “trump!” On the card is written, “The race card”. This refers to comments by Mbeki that the interpretation of the AIDS pandemic by western nations is racist (Natrass

2007:190). The following are examples of the POLITICS IS A GAME metaphor in the verbal articles:

- (50) a. The extremely unreasonable thing to do is to score a philosophical point at the expense of thousands of people's lives (Article 2003-05-15a).
- b. Refrain from cynical point-scoring about HIV/AIDS (Article 2000-10-26f).
- c. Mbeki had put his cards on the table (Article 2002-07-11d).

Through this metaphor, as in examples (50)a and (50)b, the author is able to trivialise the political conflicts behind the AIDS issue and in so doing places more focus on solving the problem, or highlighting the serious nature of the issue by contrasting it to the politics as a “trivial” game.

In the cartoon Zapiro does the same, by trivialising Mbeki’s claims of racism as being merely a game. This interpretation urges the reader not to take the statements seriously and perhaps also to see the person who does, for example Mbeki, as being trivial or frivolous as well.

5.2.9 THE SPREAD OF HIV IS A LIQUID MOVEMENT (A WAVE)

The LIQUID metaphor is also used with similar frequency in the articles (3.3%) and the cartoons (2.6%). In it, the spread of HIV/AIDS is seen as a liquid, often water or a wave, that flows outwards, covering an increasing surface area. In the cartoons this is drawn in two instances as an ocean wave rushing towards Mbeki or Tshabalala-Msimang, or a flood of skulls (a further poetic elaboration) flowing in through the window of Mbeki’s office. The following are examples of this metaphor in the verbal articles:

- (51) a. MEC for Health Molefi Sefularo says his department has embarked on several programmes in an attempt to stem the HIV/AIDS tide (Article 2001-10-18a).
- b. HIV/AIDS is devastating Africa’s armed forces in a wave of infections (Article 2004-07-08b).
- c. A looming wave of child mortality (Article 2007-06-21d).

d. Unless there is a concerted effort to put child survival strategies in place, the country faces an “unstoppable wave of child mortality”, paediatricians have warned (Article 2007-06-21d).

In (51)a the spread of HIV is seen as a tide that rises and needs to be stemmed, the way that one stems the rising tide of the ocean to avoid a flood. In (51)b the word “wave” is used to describe the infections, and in (51)c to describe the child mortality as a result of HIV/AIDS. The wave is described as “looming”, and thus large and powerful. This is similar to Zapiro’s depiction of waves in the cartoons as being much larger, and looming over, Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang on the beach.

5.2.10 A DIFFICULTY IS THE DEVIL

The DEVIL metaphor is also found only a few times in the articles (2.2%) and only once in the cartoons (0.9%). The following are examples from the verbal articles:

- (52) a. The devil is in the detail, said a senior health official, explaining the six-month delay in the release of the “top secret” report (Article 2003-07-24a).
- b. Sex is a marvellous part of life ... and nudge-wink secrecy plays the devil with it (Article 2001-02-15e).

The single instance of the metaphor in the cartoons appears to have been drawn from article (2003-07-24a), quoted in (52)a, which reports on the statements of a government health official. Explaining why the government is late in releasing a report on the affordability of HIV/AIDS medication, the official is quoted as saying “the devil is in the details”, explaining that the government is not questioning the larger issues, but merely struggling to work out “contextual issues”. The cartoonist takes this idiomatic expression and elaborates it by drawing Tshabalala-Msimang as the devil, peeking out from the pages of the report (Cartoon 2003-08-15). This communicates the cartoonist’s opinion that the reason the report is not released is because of interference by Tshabalala-Msimang. By representing her as the devil, the cartoonist maps all the negative knowledge and features of the ‘devil’ concept onto the health minister. This type of poetic enrichment of conventional idiomatic expressions (which are, according to CMT, merely conventional metaphors) is found often in the cartoons, as was seen in section 4.7.

5.3 Use of poetic mechanisms

In Chapter 4 the first part of research question (2) was answered, namely that the cartoons do employ all four mechanisms of poetic metaphor. In this section the second part of this research question will be answered for the verbal articles. Figure 5.2 below presents these results in comparison with the cartoons. As can be seen from the graph, it was found that the verbal articles employ only two of the four poetic mechanisms, and do so at very low frequencies, especially when compared to the cartoons. Elaboration was present in only 7.7% of the articles, as compared to 64.7% of the cartoons. Extension was present in only 2.2% of the articles as compared to 30.2% of the cartoons. Composition and questioning was not found at all. It is not only the presence, but also the nature of use of the mechanism that differed, however. The poetic mechanisms occurred in the articles as isolated instances that did not play a central role in the text in the same way that they do in the cartoons. These results confirm hypothesis (2) that the cartoons are poetic texts, while the articles are not.

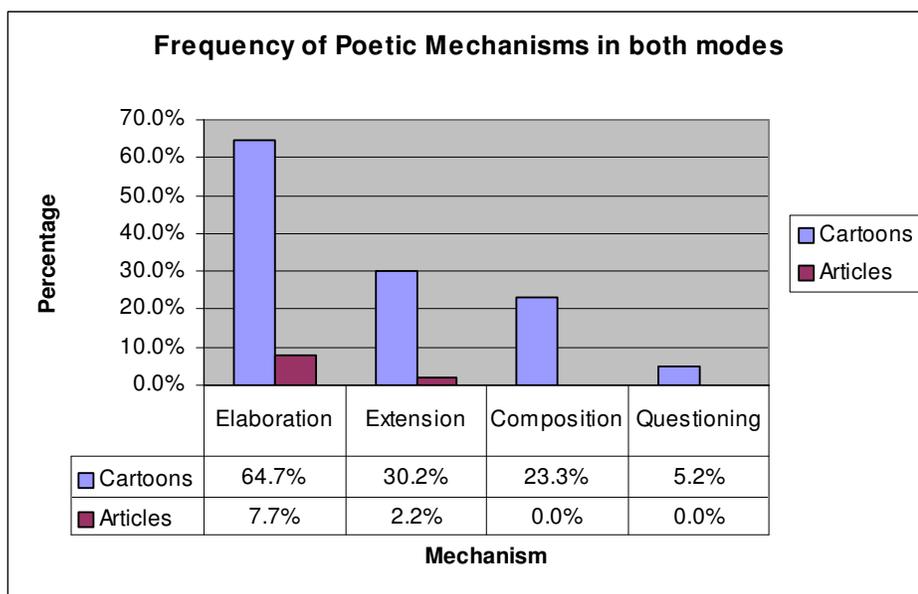


Figure 5.2 Graph of frequency of poetic mechanisms in both modes

In order to demonstrate their limited use in the articles, I will analyse the instances of poetic mechanisms that did occur, for comparison with the cartoons. It will be seen that while these have been analysed as possible poetic uses, they are often still largely conventional. The degree, and not only the number, of poetic enrichment is much less than in the cartoons.

5.3.1 Elaboration

Only seven instances of elaboration, amounting to 7.7% of the verbal database, were found in the articles. This compares with 64.7% in the cartoon database. For completion, I will present all seven of them here. These elaborations involved two metaphors, namely the WAR metaphor and the JOURNEY metaphor. The following are the two instances of elaboration of the WAR metaphor:

(53) a. Baby mortality bombshell (Article 2007-08-23b; Title)

b. Unlike the virus, we have not been aggressive enough. Unlike the virus, we have not been integrated and comprehensive in our strategies (Article 2002-07-25c).

In example (53)a, the ‘weapon’ domain is elaborated with the concept of ‘bombshell’. The metaphoric mapping is A REPORT IS A BOMBSHELL. The report under discussion was a Medical Research Council (MRC) report stating that 20% of infant deaths in South Africa were avoidable. The metaphor therefore structures the receiving of bad news as an attack, through the WAR metaphor of HIV/AIDS. The effect of this elaboration is to bring the metaphor out of its conventional abstract level and into a more specific level with stronger negative connotations. The elaboration therefore increases the emotional impact through these extra features that are mapped, and in so doing serves to increase the level of blame placed on the health department, and especially the AIDS denialism of Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang.

Example (53)b is a direct quotation by the author from a speech by Graca Machel at the AIDS conference in Barcelona in 2002. This type of direct quotation appears to be one of the ways in which newspaper articles can bring strong criticism into their texts without breaking the restriction of objectivity and factual accuracy. By including a direct quotation, the responsibility for the statements lie with the person quoted, and not the journalist. Of course, the responsibility for the inclusion of the quotation does lie with the journalist, but this is still a less direct means than if the journalist penned the metaphor himself. In this quotation Machel elaborates on the WAR metaphor, where the “virus” (HIV) is structured as the enemy. She elaborates by evoking specific qualities and actions that an enemy might take and have, by talking about its “aggression” and its “integrated and comprehensive ... strategies”. This elaboration,

just as in the previous example, serves to make the threat appear more real and dangerous in the minds of the listeners, by making it more visceral. In so doing it also places greater blame on the people she criticises in her speech, namely the AIDS denialists.

The following are the instances of elaboration of the JOURNEY metaphor:

- (54) a. She [Tshabalala-Msimang] was sent on her absurd HIV/AIDS denialist safari by her boss ... Thabo Mbeki (Article 2006-09-14a).
- b. Irrational AIDS debate rides rough-shod over patients (Article 2000-03-16d; Title).
- c. Some observers fear the TAC and the government are on a collision course (Article 2005-04-28a).
- d. Abdullah says infrastructure and the cost of the drugs are not huge hurdles (Article 2002-02-28a).
- e. I think the road map should be clear, simple and we must all participate in this (Article 2005-03-31j).

In (54)a the author elaborates the 'journey' slot in the JOURNEY metaphor with the more specific concept of 'safari'. This concept has a number of features which come to bear on the critical use of the mapping in this case, such as those given in (55) below. The result of this mapping is to undermine the serious light in which Tshabalala-Msimang and Mbeki wish to portray their thoughts and actions. It trivialises their discourse, and sets this up against the serious nature of the problem of HIV/AIDS. What the author therefore achieves with the use of this elaboration is to make Tshabalala-Msimang and Mbeki appear guilty for trivialising the problem and not taking it seriously. Whether these implicit claims are true or not is not relevant to the metaphor. The metaphor achieves its power because its claims are implicit, making them harder to pin down exactly, and therefore harder to counter.

- (55) a. A safari is not a serious journey.
- b. A safari is a trip into the wilderness.

In example (54)b the concept of ‘vehicle’ is elaborated with a slightly more specific concept of ‘vehicle with wheels’. A sub-metaphor is created, namely, AIDS DEBATE IS A VEHICLE WITH WHEELS. This allows the author to say that this vehicle “rides rough-shod over patients”. The implication of the metaphor is that the debate is causing harm to the patients – the physical damage being understood as emotional and health damage. Instead of stating this conventionally, the author has chosen to express this logic through metaphoric elaboration that, as in the other instances, draws on the negative features associated with the source domain – the idea of being run over by a car – to increase the emotional impact of the statement.

The other instances of elaboration of the JOURNEY metaphor work in a similar fashion, and will not be analysed here in detail. The examples discussed above clearly demonstrate the use of elaboration in the verbal mode, and that it serves essentially the same kind of purpose as it does in the visual mode, even though its occurrence in the verbal mode is very rare, and the extent of the enrichment lower than in the cartoons.

5.3.2 Extension

Only two instances of extension, amounting to 2.2%, were found in the verbal database. This compares with 30.2% in the cartoon database. I will present and analyse both instances here:

(56) a. KZN jumps state AIDS ship ... In an acrobatic and aerial manoeuvre, the KwaZulu-Natal government has deserted the Department of Health in its fight against the Treatment Action Campaign (Article 2002-03-07f).

b. What bent Mbeki? (Article 2002-04-25a; Title)

In example (56)a, the conventional metaphor TO QUIT IS TO JUMP SHIP is used. This is itself a more specific instance of the OPINIONS ARE POSITIONS metaphor, but is in this case not an instance of elaboration since poetic elaboration must be unconventional, which the idiom “to jump ship” is not. The concept of ‘jumping’ is however poetically extended in this case through the use of the words “acrobatic and aerial manoeuvre”. These concepts are not conventionally part of the metaphor. This extension does not seem to play a strong role in the criticism of the text, but serves to

portray the unexpected and radical nature of the move via the mapping of features from the concept of ‘acrobatic aerial manoeuvre’ which is perhaps most strongly associated with circus acts. Since this metaphor is not taken further in the article, it is not possible to say more about its possible implications, and this once again illustrates the limited use of unconventional metaphor in the articles, as opposed to the central role that they play in the cartoons.

Example (56)b is an instance of the SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IS PRESSURE metaphor, found in utterances like “the government’s shift was the result of irresistible pressure from all quarters” (Article 2002-04-25a). In this case the metaphor is extended so that the conventionally unused concept of ‘bending’ is applied to the metaphor. This is consistent with the logic of the metaphor because many things do bend when pressure is applied to them. The metaphor is again not taken further in the article, and does not appear to play a strong role in the criticism of the article. Actually, the strongest role it seems to play in this case is the alliteration between the words “bent” and “Mbeki”.

5.4 The critical power of poetic metaphor

As was discussed in section 2.1.4, Biberauer (1996) discusses four functions that metaphor can have in discourse, namely: structuring, illuminatory, compensatory, and manipulative. I have already demonstrated the critical contribution of each of the poetic mechanisms in my analysis of each in 4.7. Here I will provide a brief theoretical explanation of this critical power in terms of Biberauer’s functions. If she is correct in stating that these are the purposes for which metaphors are used in discourse – which must also include critical discourse – then the contribution of the poetic mechanisms as enrichments of metaphor must also fit into this framework. I will attempt to show below that it does. I will do this by discussing each of the functions individually. This will not be a detailed empirical analysis, since that has already been provided, but will merely be a summary and explanation in terms of Biberauer’s theory.

As mentioned in the literature review section 2.1.4.1, the structuring function allows the author to provide systematic ways of thinking about abstract concepts that might not be available without the use of the metaphor. By using a metaphor, the author is

able to suggest a certain way of understanding the concept under discussion. If an author is forced to use the conventional conceptual metaphors that are already available within a society for speaking and thinking about a concept, then the author is limited in how he structures that concept. By contrast, the use of poetic metaphor enables the author to introduce new structure to the target concept, and therefore determine the way that concept is understood. This structuring aspect of poetic metaphor was demonstrated in the data analysis section, for example where the elaboration of the 'vehicle' slot with the concept of a 'car without wheels' allowed the author to introduce the idea that no AIDS campaign can be successful without antiretrovirals (Figure 4.6 on page 67). Since there is a large range of options available to the author using poetic metaphor, there is also a large range of different structures that he can use. Using poetic metaphor therefore greatly increases the author's range of choices of how he structures a concept for his readers. In short, the poetic author has a much larger say in the construction of discourse in new and unconventional ways. Since the act of criticising relies partly on the undermining of conventional discourse and metaphors, this freedom of choice increases the critical power of a text.

As mentioned in the literature review section, the illuminatory function of metaphor concerns the use of metaphor to make complex or unknown concepts accessible by relating them to something already known to the listener. It therefore also relates to the manipulatory function, in which the same highlighting and hiding aspect of metaphor is used, but in this case for deceptive purposes. In cases where the listener does not have first hand experience of the concept under discussion, a large part of their understanding of the concept is determined by the metaphoric mapping in use. Because the use of poetic mechanisms allows the author greater choice in structuring the target concept, and especially about which concepts to include and exclude (through elaboration and extension), the poetic author has greater freedom of choice over which aspects of a target concept to hide, and which to highlight, as discussed in section 2.1.2.3. The author can choose to highlight either negative or positive aspects of the target concept, as in Figure 4.5, where Zapiro chooses to elaborate the 'obstacle' slot with the concept of 'Manto Tshabalala-Msimang'. Through doing this, the author is able to highlight the idea that Tshabalala-Msimang actively resists the effort to cure HIV/AIDS. This interpretation hides the idea that she might have

positive intentions, or have the same goal in mind. For those who do not have first hand knowledge of Tshabalala-Msimang's thoughts and goals, and who must therefore rely on discourses about her, this power to illuminate, or highlight, certain aspects of the reader's conception of her – which necessarily involves the hiding of others – is a very powerful way to influence how they see her. As such, it relates to the interpersonal function of texts, as discussed in section 2.4.2.2. This ability to highlight and hide otherwise unknown aspects of a concept is an important part of the power of poetic metaphor.

In conclusion, and in answer to research question (3), the act of poetically enriching a conceptual metaphor appears to be an act of exercising greater choice about how the metaphor is structured, which results in greater control over how the four functions of metaphor are used in the text. This in turn supports the author's ability to undermine or change conventionally accepted discourses. Specific examples of how this is achieved were analysed in section 4.7.

5.5 Summary

In conclusion, I have shown in this chapter that the conceptual metaphors used in the verbal articles overlap to a large extent with those used in the cartoons. They do so not only by type but also by frequency. It was also found that there was one significant exception to this, namely the WAR metaphor of HIV/AIDS, which is not found in the cartoon database. It was suggested that this could be due to ideational choices by the author, instead of conceptual metaphoric reasons. The other metaphors, however, correspond closely in both modes, confirming research hypothesis (1).

As far as the articles themselves are concerned, it was found that they tend to use formal, conventional language. Where metaphor is found, it is usually a single or a few isolated cases. There is no sustained use of metaphor, and unlike the cartoons the text is not centred on the metaphor, and does not rely upon it to achieve its ideational and interpersonal purpose. The metaphors are conventional almost without exception. The examples that were unconventional were isolated and did not play a central role in the critical aspect of the text. They often occurred in quoted text rather than the author's own words. The articles also have a much wider ideational scope than the cartoons, and tend to present more sides of the story, including facts, figures, and

dates that are absent from the cartoons. The cartoons by contrast focus on one unified metaphoric representation to achieve their ideational and interpersonal purpose, and omit the fine details of the discourse, thus simplifying and amplifying the point. This is in line with McCloud's (1994:31) statement that cartooning is "amplification through simplification". McCloud further says that "the ability of cartoons to focus our attention on an idea is ... an important part of their special power..." The fact that the cartoons tend to be enriched poetically adds to this power, in an ideological sense as well as for purposes of humour.

To complete the answer to research question (2), I have also shown that the poetic mechanisms are used to a significantly lesser extent in the verbal articles than in the cartoons, and that two of the mechanisms, namely composition and questioning, are not used at all. Unlike the cartoons, the verbal newspaper articles can therefore not be classified as poetic texts. The use of poetic metaphor marks an important difference between the visual cartoons and the verbal articles. This discussion completed the answer to research question (2), and confirms research hypothesis (2).

In connection with this, I demonstrated through an analysis of the visual data, as well as through a theoretical argument based on Biberauer's (1996) four functions, that the use of poetic mechanisms serves not only an aesthetic purpose, but actively contributes to the criticism of the texts at hand. I have shown that they do so primarily by giving the author greater control over the metaphor, and therefore over the four functions of metaphor. This therefore answers research question (3).

All the research questions of this study have therefore been answered. In the final chapter I will summarise these findings, as well as present suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to explore the nature and use of conceptual metaphors as tools of criticism in political cartoons. The purpose of this study was to draw on the field of knowledge of conceptual metaphors and to consider the role they play in visual texts, especially cartoons. To date very little has been published on political newspaper cartoons as a type of visual discourse. The study sought to answer the broad question as to the use of conceptual metaphor as a device in criticising public institutions and those who hold positions of authority. In order to answer this question empirically, four specific research questions (introduced in section 1.4) were established, investigated and answered. I will repeat each of them here, along with its corresponding research hypothesis, and present a summary of the answer to the research question as revealed by the study.

6.1 Summary of research findings

Research question (1) reads as follows:

- (1) In a database of newspaper articles, both visual and verbal, that topicalise HIV/AIDS, to what extent are the same conceptual metaphors found in the two different modes?

The research hypothesis was as follows:

- (1) Both the visual and verbal sets of texts on the same topic contain the same set of conventional metaphors.

This research hypothesis was confirmed by a conceptual metaphor analysis of a corpus of the newspaper articles and political cartoons. This finding supports the claim by CMT that metaphor is conceptual, and thus should find expression in any mode, either visual or verbal, that expresses thought. More than simply using the same set of metaphors, however, it was also found that the metaphors were employed at similar frequencies, a fact not pre-empted by the hypothesis. This lends further support to the claim. It was also found that there was one exception, namely the metaphor that constructs the process of CURING AIDS AS WAR, which was not

found in the cartoon database. Since this was the only exception in a list of similarities, it is suggested that the reason for its absence in the cartoons may lie in the author's choice of ideation, rather than in the nature of conceptual metaphor.

Research question (2) reads as follows:

- (2) To what extent do either the visual or verbal texts employ the four mechanisms of poetic metaphor as described by Lakoff and Turner (1989)? In other words, can either set of texts be described as poetic?

The corresponding research hypothesis read as follows:

- (2) The visual texts incorporate all four of Lakoff and Turner's (1989) mechanisms of poetic metaphor to a greater extent than the verbal articles, and can therefore be considered as visual poetic texts.

This hypothesis was confirmed by the data, which showed that the cartoons employ the poetic mechanisms to a far greater extent than the articles. Specifically, it was found that the cartoons employ the mechanism of elaboration the most frequently, at 64.7% of the 119 cartoons that formed part of the investigated corpus, while the articles employ this mechanism in only 7.7% of the corpus of articles. The mechanism of extension was employed in 30.2% of the cartoons, but only in 2.2% of the articles. Composition was employed in 23.3% of the cartoons and questioning was found in 5.2%, while neither of these two mechanisms were found in the verbal articles.

Research question (3) reads as follows:

- (3) How does the use of poetic metaphor contribute to the critical power of the text?

The corresponding research hypothesis read as follows:

- (3) The poetic enrichment of metaphor does contribute to the power of criticism by allowing the author greater control over the four functions of metaphor described by Biberauer (1996).

This research question was confirmed by the data. It was shown that the use of poetic mechanisms gives the author a greater range of choice in the four aspects that form part of a metaphoric mapping, namely knowledge, features, relations, and slots. It was

demonstrated that the use of poetic mechanisms contribute directly to the critical nature of the text, specifically the ideational and interpersonal functions of the cartoons. The author is given greater freedom to decide which conceptual elements will be mapped; this includes the author's freedom to introduce new elements. It was argued that this freedom of choice can be related to Biberauer's four functions of metaphor in that conceptual elements can be manipulated to gain a particular kind of social effect.

Research question (4) reads as follows:

- (4) What is the role of multi-modality in the cartoons?

The corresponding research hypothesis read as follows:

- (4) The verbal elements found in the visual cartoons will support the critical nature of the text, and may serve to anchor the textual interpretation to a specific context, thus reducing possible ambiguity.

The data showed an even more significant interplay between the visual and verbal mode than was hypothesised. Instead of the verbal elements in the texts merely supporting the critical nature of the multi-modal text, it was found that these two modes function together to evoke even single conceptual mappings. It was shown that a single mapping at the conceptual level may be triggered multi-modally, with the target and source domains each depicted in a different mode. More specifically, it was found that, where multi-modal evocation occurs, the target domain is expressed in the verbal mode, while the source domain is expressed in the visual mode. This supports the claim by CMT that source domains are more specific and grounded in sensory experience, while target domains are more abstract. The abstract target domain is thus more easily depicted in language, which is able to express abstract concepts via an arbitrary association with a phonetic form; by contrast, the specific source domain is more adequately represented in the visual mode, which is able to express grounded visual data easily. Using the mode that is best suited to the expression of each of the two domains present in a metaphoric mapping allows the cartoonist to quickly and effectively communicate the metaphor, removing the possibility of ambiguity that may arise when domains are left implicit.

This study was therefore able to answer all four research questions in a manner that not only confirmed the hypotheses, but that also revealed additional findings that were not anticipated. Such findings are consistent with and provide strong support for the claims of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

It has therefore been shown that political cartoons do employ conceptual metaphor as one of their core means of producing criticism. Because of their use of multi-modality and poetic metaphor their means of achieving this criticism is very different to the means available to verbal articles covering the same topic. The claims by several authors, presented in Chapter 1, that cartoons are a strong and important means of political criticism therefore appear to be justified. Especially on the topic of HIV/AIDS denialism in South Africa, the corpus of cartoons by Zapiro seems to have played an important critical role, of a kind that could not have been achieved in the verbal articles alone. Interdisciplinarily, Zapiro's cartoons on AIDS denialism are often used to illustrate aspects of HIV/AIDS, even when the topic is primarily medical or scientific, as in HIV-testing, rather than political (cf. Wolfgang Preiser, public lecture on Clinical research & HIV/AIDS, at Stellenbosch University on 15 October 2008) .

6.2 Possible weaknesses and recommendations for future research

Because of the wide scope of the media coverage of AIDS denialism in South Africa, it was not possible to analyse all the newspaper articles that topicalised HIV/AIDS over the roughly nine year period of Thabo Mbeki's presidency. This study therefore used a sample of articles from the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper. A suggestion for future research would be to extend the investigation to include texts from other newspapers and to compare the findings. A further suggestion is to investigate the work of other cartoonists such as Stephen Francis and Rico Schacherl (*Madam & Eve*) and again compare the findings. Zapiro was chosen for the current study because of the large corpus of texts that he produced on the topic of AIDS denialism and the prominent position his work has in popular culture in South Africa. This allowed for a thorough and coherent analysis in which confounding variables could be eliminated, but could to a certain degree have restricted the generaliseability of the findings. In this study it seemed to be more important to produce an extensive analysis of a single

author's work. This may be fruitfully compared with analyses of other authors' work in future studies.

A further suggestion for future research is to compare the current findings with texts that criticise other topics than HIV/AIDS denialism. Political cartoons cover a wide range of topics in their criticism, and it would be valuable to compare the nature and use of metaphor in criticism of other issues, such as crime or unemployment, other politicians, such as role-players in the recent split in the ANC following Thabo Mbeki's forced resignation, and in other countries and communities, such as the United States elections, the war in Iraq, or the current global financial crisis. While I suspect that the basic mechanisms outlined in this study will be constant, the exact nature of their implementation could be different when applied to different topics and contexts.

The finding that conceptual metaphors are evoked multi-modally in cartoons presents perhaps the most promising topic for future research. It is clear that multi-modality may play a far more important role in political comment and criticism than has previously been considered. The fact that single metaphoric mappings are triggered multi-modally reveals a very close-knit interaction between different modes. Future studies may wish to explore this question of multimodality and metaphor in other types of texts, or compare the findings with other modes, such as the auditory.

It is my hope that this study will encourage further academic research into the medium of cartoons and comics as a serious (even if humorous) and powerful tool of communication that provides mechanisms not available in the verbal mode alone, and so lift them out of the realm of entertainment, and into the richer realm of critical public discourses.

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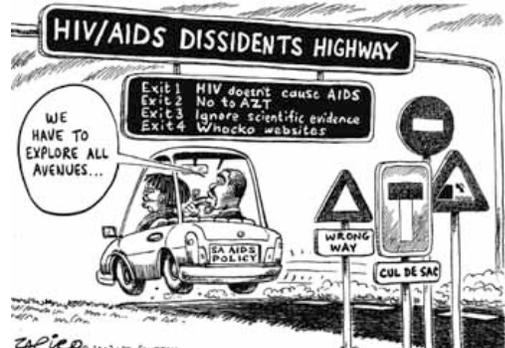
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APPENDIX A – CARTOONS REFERENCED IN THE TEXT

This appendix lists all the cartoons cited in the text, but not included as figures. They are listed chronologically according to their date of publication in the *Mail & Guardian* archive.



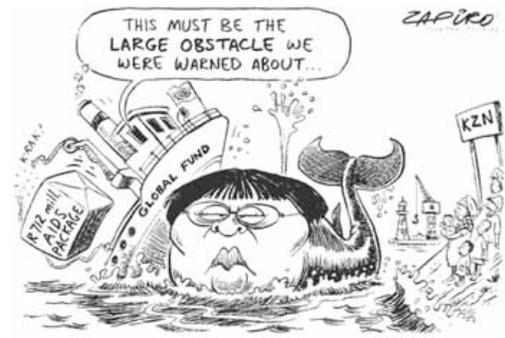
Cartoon 1999-11-19



Cartoon 2000-03-28



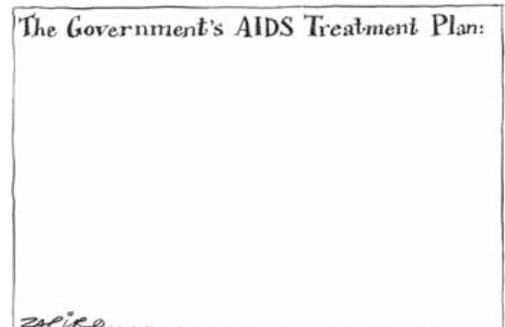
Cartoon 2001-05-04



Cartoon 2002-07-23



Cartoon 2002-12-12



Cartoon 2003-02-20



Cartoon 2003-03-26



Cartoon 2003-04-17



Cartoon 2003-08-15



Cartoon 2004-02-10



Cartoon 2004-10-15



Cartoon 2004-12-02



Comic 2005-01-04



Comic 2005-12-01

APPENDIX B – ARTICLES REFERENCED IN THE TEXT

This appendix lists all the newspaper articles cited in the text. They are listed chronologically according to their date of publication in the *Mail & Guardian* print edition.

Article 1999-09-16a

Aids vaccine tests positive

Sex workers in Kenya have provided scientists with the tools to develop a trial vaccine against HIV. David Gough reports from Nairobi

Majengo, a slum area of the Kenyan capital, Nairobi, is a sprawling maze of narrow alleys and paths scored by the open flow of untreated sewage. About 80 000 people live among the detritus of the red-light slum, where a sex worker's home is marked by an empty stool placed outside the door.

Hadija is 38 years old and has been a sex worker for 17 years. She knows that she is having sex with HIV-infected men, yet refuses to heed the dangers.

Pulling aside a flimsy curtain draped over the entrance to the shack where she lives and works, Hadija says that she has lost count of the

number of HIV tests that she has had.

On the floor of the shack, a stretch of tattered linoleum barely covers the mud that seeps through the cracks. A pristine white sheet is spread across the wooden bed.

Hadija says that she has four or five customers every day and apart from the risks of disease she enjoys her job. "Before Aids, I used to have as many as 30 customers per day," she says, adding that the cost of her services is 30 shillings (about R3).

"Five of my regular customers have died of Aids and some of my friends who shared the same men as me have also died."

Hadija maintains that she always

used condoms but reported to the clinic last week with syphilis. "Only God knows why I don't have Aids," she says.

Hadija is one of more than 50 sex workers that British and Kenyan scientists believe have helped unlock the secrets of a possible vaccine for the Aids virus.

Having spent the past 15 years studying HIV in sex worker communities in Majengo and an area of Gambia, scientists from the universities of Nairobi and Oxford discovered more than 50 sex workers who have repeatedly tested negative for HIV, despite continual exposure to the disease.

They have now utilised that knowledge to develop a vaccine designed to combat the strain of Aids prevalent in Africa.

It has already been tested on primates with encouraging results. According to Dr Omu Anzala, a senior laboratory technician with the University of Nairobi team, about 70% of the animals became HIV resistant after being administered the vaccine.

Toxicity trials on humans are due to start in Oxford early next year.

The Majengo HIV study began in 1985 when 60% of the sex workers there tested positive. Five years later the team had identified a group of sex workers who remained negative despite having as many as 30 clients per day.

"Our first priority was to show

'Irrational Aids debate rides rough-shod over patients'

Mxolisi ka-Mankazana

South Africa is failing in its fight against HIV/Aids at a time when other countries that have less economic, political and scientific clout than we do, such as Uganda and Tanzania, are gaining ground against it.

This is despite the appointment by the previous health minister of a special director to deal with the epidemic, and although we have seen high-profile publicity by the president which involved a train ride from Pretoria to Cape Town.

There has been the realisation that all is not well with the Department of Health's strategy to combat the epidemic, resulting in the president appointing a national council. This will, hopefully, lead to the appointment of a task force as a strategy to orchestrate and collate all aspects of a total onslaught against Aids.

The government has shown ambivalence in fighting the epidemic. On the one hand it has pushed for Virodene, despite its serious side effects, while on the other it has rejected AZT therapy for pregnant women because of serious side effects.

There appears to be a rift between the politicians and scientists on the ground regarding prophylactic therapy for pregnant mothers. The minister of health has rejected two reports from the Medicines Control Council about the efficacy of anti-retroviral treatments like AZT. The government is also sitting on the reports of two research projects by the Medical Research Council in favour of the use of anti-retroviral agents.

There is irrationality in the content of the debate around the fight against the epidemic, and the issue is becoming merely a political football. This poses the danger that the powers that be

might ride rough-shod over doctors who are passionate about the plight of Aids/HIV victims.

There is a lack of an adequate information management system to intervene appropriately. The good suggestion that people should be testing for HIV anonymously, which could be applied to all target age groups to show what drives the epidemic, was slow in coming.

Are there any "bridging communities" that have been overlooked which are pivotal in driving the epidemic in some geographical areas?

There is a tendency for over-reliance on antenatal HIV testing to assess the size of the problem rather than as a monitor of the effectiveness of intervention measures. Combating Aids/HIV has come to be seen as an esoteric area.

The politicians and the scientists are now seen as the only people with enough wisdom to make things happen. What about inputs from the social

sciences, religious groups, the lay members of the community (*izakha muzi*) and the like? What is their role in fighting this enemy at their door?

The existing approach is not in keeping with the presidential statement on this issue delivered on October 9 1998 that our aim was "to defeat the spread of HIV/Aids lies in our partnership. This is a call to every business, organisation, woman, worker, religion, parent, teacher, student, healer, farmer, young and old, rich and poor hands as partners against Aids."

The kind of questions the public out there are asking are: What areas of intervention are now operative? How well are we doing in these areas (strengths and weaknesses)? What then are the gaps in our intervention strategy in South Africa?

To start a dialogue about these questions, one has to divide the Aids/HIV scenario into three areas. One is the biological features of HIV, the

second the epidemiological pattern/s, and the third intervention components of the epidemic.

Biological scientists need to tell us: What is the up-to-date scientific knowledge about this virus? Do the scientists know all that needs to be known to intervene? What are the gaps in our knowledge base regarding this virus? Do vaccines hold any favourable future for us, or will their contribution be marginal, just as the tuberculosis vaccine has been? How far are we in producing the vaccine in terms of stage of production and availability for clinical use?

Epidemiologists who deal with the factors that drive and perpetuate the epidemic must tell us: What are the critical demographic factors? Are there any "bridging groups" we have not yet identified that drive the epidemic? What are the various sexual behavioural patterns that spread the epidemic to different geographical locations?

What is the role of the socio-economic status in the likelihood of infection? What are the salient socio-cultural factors — for example, circumcision, indigenous value systems, religious influences on moral behaviour — in the spread of the disease. Are there any cultural no-go areas of a kind that cannot be included in the dialogue?

The intervention strategy must be multi-faceted. It must be everybody's business. We must identify clear roles for politicians, biological scientists, epidemiologists, clinicians, all age groups, civic organisations, religious organisations and each one of us. We must empower people to make informed decisions for themselves and their communities so that we can all play our role against the common enemy.

Mxolisi ka-Mankazana is director of the Health Development Institute

SA's Aids doubts baffle the experts

Statements questioning the cause of Aids have caused dismay among local and international scientists

**Khadija Magardie
and David Le Page**

Leading international Aids scientists and researchers this week unanimously dismissed the South African government's suggestion that the link between HIV and Aids be "re-examined".

Head of the Medical Research Council Professor Malegapuru Makgoba also lashed out at the so-called Aids dissidents, describing them as "failures in their own countries" and warning that South African is becoming "fertile ground for pseudo-science".

Their statements came as the government's apparent readiness to overturn the principles behind its own Aids policies began to attract further — disbelieving — international attention. A lengthy story in New York's influential *Village Voice* this week is subtitled: "South Africa's president may become the first world leader to believe that HIV is not the cause of Aids."

The scientists are in Johannesburg for a preparatory meeting ahead of the International Aids 2000 conference, to be held in Durban in July. The group, comprising influential academics and doctors involved in local and international Aids research, criticised moves by President Thabo Mbeki to

consult with United States-based dissident Aids scientists — who believe that Aids is caused not by HIV but by drug use and other risk factors.

HIV discoverer and co-discoverer of Aids, Professor Françoise Barre-Sinoussi of the internationally renowned Pasteur Institute in Paris, said the link between HIV and Aids remains clear, while her colleagues

pointed to the considerable supporting evidence that has emerged since her discovery.

"HIV was discovered in 1983, 17 years ago. We have accumulated so much evidence of the link with Aids — it is nonsense to try to separate the virus and the disease," said Barre-Sinoussi.

"Certainly, people are not killed by the virus itself. But there is no doubt that HIV initiates the process of immune deficiency."

Dr Helene Gayle, a director at the world-renowned Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, in the US, expressed concern that failure to resolve the fundamental issue over what actually causes Aids will lose valuable time and resources.

"This virus moves quickly — the damage in prolonged questioning and debating issues that have long ago been discussed and refuted is enormous."

She said that, given the highly politicised nature of HIV/Aids, it is understandable that policymakers at national level had questions regarding alternatives.

In this case, however, she said there is "no merit in questioning conventional wisdom".

Regarding the governmental policy on AZT, she said it was unfortunate that the efficacy of the drug, despite well-documented evidence to the contrary, is still being questioned as potentially dangerous to Aids sufferers.

Following the government's announcement in December last year that there was evidence to suggest that AZT was highly toxic, and carried more risks than benefits, a number of HIV sufferers discontinued their treatment. Gayle said this was damaging, as it "could erode people's beliefs in things that could greatly reduce their suffering".

Dr Ruth Nduati, a paediatrician at the University of Nairobi has been heavily involved in studies on the transmission of HIV/Aids through breast milk, and on the usage of anti-

retroviral therapy in preventing mother-to-child transmission.

She described Mbeki's actions as "unfortunate".

"It's taking us backwards, and it is our worry that such discussions may unravel our significant gains in terms of managing the disease."

She acknowledged that questions like Mbeki's will constantly surface, and needed to be answered, but she emphasised that science has proven what Mbeki now questions.

"There is no doubts in my mind that HIV causes Aids," she said.

Nduati cited a number of African and international studies that proved the effectiveness of AZT in preventing mother-to-child transmission.

Last year, the government justified its refusal to provide free AZT to pregnant mothers and rape survivors, adding to the claims of toxicity the suggestion it could even exacerbate the symptoms of Aids.

Nduati said the numbers of AZT users who had severe side effects were

extremely minimal, and that there is "no evidence to suggest that the drug had side effects dangerous enough to warrant its discontinuation".

It is not only the international experts who are alarmed by the government's actions.

"Patients are saddened and confused," said Dr Ashraf Grimwood, president of the National Aids Council of South Africa and former chief medical officer for Cape Town. Grimwood said medical personnel already struggle to persuade HIV-positive men in good health to seek treatment.

He pointed out that all the dissidents' claims have been refuted scientifically. "This threatens any gains we have made in response to the pandemic. The debate is taking us back 15 years. Why are we going into denial?"

Dr James Matjile, senior lecturer and principal specialist in Medunsa's community health department, commended the efforts the government has made so far to tackle HIV and Aids.

"We can only hope that whatever doubt there is will be cleared up fairly quickly," as it "could have a disastrous effect on programmes intended to change dangerous behaviour".

Matjile said that inevitably, when a disease is first discovered, scientists don't have all the answers. "But errors that have been made are continuously being corrected."

He said there is no doubt malnutrition and poverty play a role in Aids, as suggested by the dissidents, but he dismissed the notion that the virus is not involved in such cases.

Interviewed separately, Makgoba described Mbeki's actions as "foolish and harmful" and said it was worse, given that Mbeki is "medically and scientifically naïve".

Makgoba said he was confident that nearly "all respectable scientists" stuck to the irrefutable facts about HIV/Aids, and that the dissident scientists are opportunists "out to get famous".

"One mustn't mix the established facts with all the debates going on around policy," he said.

He said he welcomed the establishment of a committee that would examine a way forward for HIV/Aids management, but said it would be "annoying" if, instead, politicians merely focused on revisiting issues that science has already cleared up.

Meanwhile, controversial Pan Africanist Congress national health secretary Dr Costa Gazi intends bringing a class action suit against Minister of Health Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, for refusing to supply the anti-retroviral drug AZT to pregnant HIV-positive women.

Gazi made headlines last year after he was fined for calling for manslaughter charges against former minister of health Nkosazana Zuma over the non-issuing of the drug.

According to Gazi, the right to life of "tens of thousands of pregnant women" and their babies is restricted by the department's refusal to supply AZT.

Time to break the silence

**Michel D Kazatchkine
and Didier Fassin**

The controversy generated by President Thabo Mbeki's statements on the role of HIV as the causal agent of Aids has led some investigators to question their participation in the forthcoming 13th international conference on Aids to be held in Durban in the second week of July.

In a letter to the secretary general of the United Nations and United States President Bill Clinton, Mbeki, after reiterating the commitment of South Africa to the fight against HIV/Aids and calling for specific African solutions to control the pandemic, questioned whether Aids was indeed caused by HIV. In this respect, Mbeki relied on old theses originally put forward by Peter Duisberg and David Rasnick that have been unanimously rejected by the scientific community.

By raising this discredited issue again at a gathering of international experts to discuss these matters, the president has provided the dissident scientists with an unexpected forum and taken the risk of increasing doubt in the general population of South Africa about facts that should not be called into question.

The fact that the virus is found in every patient with Aids, the chronological link between infection and the occurrence of the disease, the beneficial effect of anti-retroviral drugs on disease manifestations, the information gained from animal models and many other experimental lines of evidence have all led the scientists to unreservedly recognise the virus as the cause of Aids.

Beyond this controversy, one may, however, discern in Mbeki's statements deep concern over the disarray that African countries have in the face of the pandemic, and his worry about the inability of the international community to intervene in an appropriate and effective manner.

Indeed, the terms of his letter raise a number of issues of a historical, social, ethical and political nature that need to be taken into consideration.

More than two-thirds of the world's 34-million HIV-seropositive people live in sub-Saharan Africa, which itself only represents one-tenth of the world population. Aids has become the number one infectious killer in this part of the world.

In South Africa it is estimated that more than four million people are infected with HIV. In some of the largest cities in the region up to one in four people are infected with the virus. Aids is now a threat to the life expectancy of the population, to the stability of families and communities, and also to the national economy and development.

Given the growth rate of the epidemic and the current lack of access to care, it is difficult to imagine that the situation will improve in the coming years. It is in this context that Mbeki's letter calls for answers.

Even if HIV Type C, which is the predominant type of virus circulating in South Africa, were to be more infectious than other strains, a number of other factors would still have to be considered to explain the rapid progression of the epidemic and the high prevalence of HIV infection in the country.

The emergence and initial spread of the disease occurred at a time in South Africa's history which was marked by decades of segregation and apartheid. An accelerated growth of the epidemic coincided with a period of instability at the end of this era. Similar phenomena were observed in other countries subjected to comparable regimes, such as Namibia.

An increased risk of infection with HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases is strongly linked with poverty, vulnerability and social and sexual violence. Such risk is also associated with migration of labour far from home, inherited from

the systems of the bantustans, or else with alcohol consumption that started in the mining economy and is perpetuated through unemployment.

Examples from other regions of the world, such as previously Soviet countries, demonstrate that the end of long periods of social and political

cal turmoil is associated with an increased susceptibility to infectious epidemics. This, we believe, is what Mbeki is saying, when discussing apartheid and the distinct epidemiological context of HIV infection in South Africa and in the region in his letter.

The president's remarks also refer to the inability of the international community to put forward appropriate answers to the Aids pandemic. According to UNAIDS, \$165-million is spent each year for prevention in Africa where 70% of infected people in the world live, whereas \$3-billion is spent on anti-retroviral drugs for the richest countries that represent 10% of infected individuals worldwide.

Prevention programmes may only be effective, from a public health perspective, if they are implemented in the context of programmes aimed at reducing inequalities and violence and of actions aimed at improving access to care.

If the Security Council of the UN, the World Bank and the G8 are now putting these issues on the political agenda, and if some hope has been generated by the recent agreements passed between UNAIDS and some of the major pharmaceutical companies marketing anti-retroviral drugs, the moves are still too slow and too limited, and certainly not adapted to the scale of the epidemic that South Africa is facing. This is also in Mbeki's statement and is the context in which

one should interpret the controversy that recently followed the observation of adverse effects in therapeutic trials in South Africa.

The International Conference on Aids is held every second year. In 1996, at the time when much hope was generated by the first reports of the results obtained with triple-combination therapy, the conference slogan was global and full of enthusiasm: "One world, one hope". Two years later, in Geneva, the message was still one of hope: "Bridge the gap". This year in Durban, the conference emphasises the anxiety of the international community and the need for telling the truth: "Break the silence".

We thus hope that Mbeki's statements, rather than being limited to a useless controversy, will generate the necessary discussions between scientists and politicians. If HIV is undoubtedly the cause of Aids, the control of the pandemic will require that social, economic and political issues are addressed appropriately from a public health perspective. These are reasons for us to go to Durban and for "breaking the silence".

Michel D Kazatchkine is professor of medicine at the University of Paris and director of the National Agency for Research on Aids in France. Didier Fassin is professor of sociology at the University of Paris and director of the Centre for Research on Public Health Issues

Adoring children is no job for sissies

Cedric Mayson
SPIRIT LEVEL

The Salvation Army is full of red tape. Being responsible for the lives and money of other people it has systems and procedures to be followed like any huge bureaucratic organisation.

But Major Lena Jwili ignored it all when a young girl arrived at her home behind Baragwanath taxi rank in Soweto with a two-day-old baby needing care: the child was HIV positive.

Lena took the child in. Her leaders backed her, and that began the major work of the Salvation Army in caring for children with Aids, and linking them to other families.

"Children don't belong in institutions: they belong in a home," she told last week's strategy planning workshop for HIV/Aids support in the religious sector:

Thea Jarvis had the same idea but a different approach. Weighed down by the thought of thousands of children in orphanages, and having five of her own, she decided to enlarge her family and some of the eight they have adopted are HIV positive.

"Fears are not needed," she says. "Action is needed. Children need champions, and when they are adored they become adorable."

More than 100 other families have joined her group in recent years and adopted children.

"It's not a job for sissies," she said. One of her beloved children lay cold and still in the mortuary even as she spoke to us.

The Muslim Aids Programme links, through the Islamic Medical Council, with projects in all parts of the country.

Diminutive Suraiya Nawab poured out her experience in this work which is focused mainly on counselling and support structures for people with Aids and their families. Like Jwili, she finds that most affected young women had no understanding person to talk to. It's a call to a specialised ministry.

Christo Greyling of Stellenbosch, towering over Nawab, is a giant of a man with a voice to drown Boeings and a laugh to blow them into the air again.

When he and his wife, Liesel, discovered he was HIV positive they decided to spend the rest of their time spreading hope to young people about Aids, and Old Mutual backed them. Countless programmes with youth groups all over the country have taught this couple many skills in engaging people in the struggle against Aids, at many levels.

Greyling held a recent workshop, hosted by the National Religious Association for Social Development (NRA SD) with the South African National Aids Council, spellbound with a slide programme that summarised their experience, and turned it into a model for faith communities to apply in their own circumstances nationwide.

With more than 60 religious activists present from every

major faith community the workshop was a hotbed of action and experience, and from the other side came the government input.

Minister of Welfare and Population Development Zola Skweyiya opened proceedings, supported by Director Maria Mabetsa and Dr Bongani Khumalo of the deputy president's office, with a major factual contribution from Dr Nono Simelela, Director in the Department of Health.

There was plenty of hard criticism and some ruffled feathers, but a growing sense of partnership: both faith communities and the government are clearly committed to solving the HIV/Aids pandemic, and both have problems. They need one another at every level: grappling with the global financial issues; pursuing the medical answers; providing the vast social and care services needed for a decimated population both rural and urban; tackling poverty; solving the internal inadequacies within the civil service; challenging the media; changing the sexual habits of society; and stirring the religious communities into action.

Most clergy are scared stiff of talking about sex, said Johannesburg Anglican social officer Reverend Doug Torr, yet the clergy are a crucial factor in mobilising the community on the

HIV/Aids issue. Christnet and other groups are sending youth teams out nationwide — but how can clergy, youth, and congregations be trained? We train trainers to train others quickly or we are dead.

Sheik Achmed Sadiq of the Muslim Judicial Council had the whole group behind him — Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Pentecostals, Buddhists, Bahais, Hindus and African independent churches — when he spoke of the underlying moral values which had to be recovered. But how do you do that?

And — with all the talk of programmes for women and youth — how do you tackle the men of South Africa, whose sexual pressures are hardly ever mentioned?

And what support can be given to the people of 60 and 70 who will be caring for the nation's children as many of the working-age population die out in the next few years? Ideas flowed in.

A small group was given two months to summarise the proceedings, consult with faith communities, the government and funders and turn the inputs into outcomes.

Renier Koegelenberg of NRASD set out the philosophy behind it. NRASD is a low-profile interfaith group which seeks to focus on specific issues one at a time. This time it was Aids.

Those who want to be kept in touch with developments can contact the facilitators Noluthando or Lulama at Chronicle Communications on (011) 860 0220 or e-mail

info@chronicle.co.za

A lot of criticism goes a little way

Timothy Trengove-Jones
CROSSFIRE

In the rather tautologous words of the famous song, the times they are a-changing. It was reported last weekend that President Thabo Mbeki has told the African National Congress's national executive committee that he is to withdraw from public debate over the science of HIV/Aids.

His contributions, he repeated, have "caused confusion". In keeping with the minister of health's recent insistence that we focus on the government's five-year strategic plan, it has also been announced that R2-million will be invested in a publicity campaign to promote "conventional approaches" to combating the illness. A major pressure group, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) sent an open letter to all members of Parliament ahead of last week's parliamentary debate urging them to "refrain from cynical point-scoring about HIV/Aids" and "to take seriously the enormous impact that HIV is having on our society".

And, after a number of acrimonious exchanges, leader of the opposition Tony Leon has called for a united front to wage war against this illness.

All of this suggests a new mood characterised by a belief that, for the good of the country, we need to get beyond controversy in order to move ahead. This is evident in the TAC's letter where it calls for an "end [to] the public debate on the link between HIV and Aids."

After all, we now have it on record that the government's strategic plan and all its thinking is based on "the thesis that HIV causes Aids". In what can be taken as a practical demonstration of this, the health minister has authorised seven hospitals in KwaZulu-Natal to administer Nevirapine to HIV-positive pregnant women as a way of extending the feasibility studies on the drug.

So far so good? Yes and no. While one can — in politics at any rate — kill two birds with one stone, the president's decision to remove himself from public wrangling largely of his own creation is as much a sign that these disputes might have damaged his credibility as they are in the interests of promoting health.

That said, let us be gracious and acknowledge a small triumph of democracy: pressure from within and without the ANC has largely been responsible for the president's decision

and that suggests, at last, that criticism still has an effective place in our political life. To acknowledge this small, but important, victory is to balk at talk of political "point-scoring". What one commentator last week referred to as "the desire to make political mileage" out of HIV is, in effect, sustainedly courageous criticism that has won these small recent gains.

At this moment of reappraisal and — one hopes — a turning tide, we need to be very cautious. Calls for the avoidance of "point-scoring" are essentially calls to depoliticise the debate. While at one level this might seem absolutely axiomatic, from another perspective it is foolhardy because impossible.

The HIV/Aids debate can't be depoliticised because questions about Aids policies ask difficult questions about wider social and political forces. Tensions are high because the stakes are high: misjudgement affects the lives of thousands.

Questions, for instance, about the distribution of resources and benefits raise difficult issues of distributive justice. So, for instance, it is not possible to discuss the matter of the provision of mother-to-child-transmission prophylaxis outside the escalating costs — now set at around R41-billion — of the arms procurement programme. This observation is not about point-scoring.

In an irony that should be glaringly apparent, government representatives and many commentators habitually invoke the metaphor of "war"

when addressing the HIV/Aids issue. Both health and defence issues are about our security. Both matters affect crucially our economic prospects. But our health imperatives relate to current and identifiable security issues, whereas the arms procurement deal — increasingly a damp squib it seems — con-

cerns some far from identifiable “threat”.

The Constitution’s guarantee of the “right to access health care service including reproductive health” is “subject to available resources”. In largely denying women the choice of mother-to-child-transmission prophylaxis and using, in part, the “costs too much argument,” in doing this while spending an estimated R41-billion on new military hardware for a guaranteed return of R3-billion, the state surely opens itself to searching questions about the just and responsible deployment of resources, questions that any movement towards a national consensus — or united Aids front — must not be allowed to silence.

If we look at the publicity to promote “conventional approaches” of combating the illness, we see the fruits of the strategic plan’s commitment to an “information, education and communications strategy”. For R2-million we now have the “ABC strategy”. As its name implies, it is elementary, the start of what the programmers hope will be an alphabet of survival. It aims to be an exercise in health promotion rather than therapeutic intervention. The latter, we are told, is too costly, the former emphasises prevention as the best of cures, and seems to be eminently commonsensical: Abstain, be faithful to your sexual partner, condomise “if you do have sex”.

But this is all too elementary. Researchers and workers in the field report a high incidence of HIV/Aids awareness in South Africa. The problem, perversely, is that this goes along with the highest incidence of sero-conversion in the world. What is the point of telling people what they already know? Moreover, all research indicates that generalised campaigns of the sort represented by the ABC ads don’t work. What is required, rather, are highly specific, targeted

interventions. As with the debate around the HIV-Aids link, so with the ABCs: we seem intent on reinventing the wheel and so squarely at that.

Ironically, the ABC adverts ignore the very elements of context stressed by the president’s emphasis on poverty. All epidemiological discourse operates within perceptions of risk factors that, broadly speaking, concern behaviour on the one hand and environment on the other. The ABC adverts are a waste of money in that they emphasise behaviour at the expense of environment. They urge specific behaviours without taking into account the material constraints or possibilities individuals may have of following through on them.

Theoretically, “the nation” or we its citizens, may all

be equally at risk of HIV infection, but the risk factors that affect on the daily realities of different groups within our society are not equally distributed. Any useful health promotion campaign has to begin with this insight. And the ABC campaign does not.

It needs to be openly acknowledged that, in many ways, health promotion campaigns are trickier than therapeutic interventions. This is because they have to work through cultural and social contexts.

Health promotion is itself not value free — the religious right condemns the advocacy of condoms as this leads to “promiscuity” — but is intimately concerned to promote a view of the “good life”. As with the provision of therapies, so with this education programme, squabbles over “morality” will make it inevitable that no consensus can be achieved.

The ABC adverts themselves contain an implicit critique of those who operate sexually outside conventional “family values”. Rather than seeing health as involving an evolving set of continually revised decisions and possibilities, different in different material conditions, the programme seems to opt for a static, prescriptive view of sexual morality. One need not be a prophet to forecast limited success.

We have just had the second anniversary of the Mbeki-led "Partnership against Aids". With the government facing legal action for its refusal to supply mother-to-child-transmission prophylaxis and with its being increasingly asked to deliver results that deliver us from a grave national crisis, that partnership seems to be in tatters. As we try to reconstitute it, do not expect controversy to die down. The debate is inherently contentious if only because what is required is a huge exercise in social engineering. A national Aids programme will need to change structures of society as well as individuals' behaviours.

As such, it has to recognise and address the deep inequalities that exist within this culture. That is why it seems easier to hide behind a "strategic plan", or to set up further committees to conduct further "research".

Rather than belittling criticism as point-scoring, we need to understand that the key practical issue is not whether a specific programme is beyond criticism, but whether it will improve things or not. Planners need to decide whether a programme should exist and what is its optimal form. On the matter of the ABC adverts, the answer is that they should not exist. On mother-to-child-transmission prophylaxis, we should not praise the new seven test sites, but ask why there is no nationwide implementation. If it is necessary to demonstrate without any doubt whatsoever that a specific intervention is beyond all criticism, no policy could be implemented. And, on the mother-to-child-transmission issue, that is what we've been landed with for the past five years.

As the times change, this is my criticism aimed at encouraging a necessary and sufficiently defensible policy decision.

Timothy Trengove-Jones is a Wits academic and Aids researcher

Put sex back in the pulpit

Cedric Mayson
SPIRIT LEVEL

Let us hope we hear plenty about sex from our pulpits this weekend. Next week is National Sexually Transmitted Disease and Condom Week, and understanding about controlling sexually transmitted diseases (STD) and HIV/Aids is needed in every sector of society.

Many of our friends are HIV-positive and we may be ourselves. You can get it from blood, needles or unprotected sex.

In addition, one in 10 pregnant women have syphilis; one in 10 South Africans picks up a new STD each year (four million people) and can be cured with pills or injections. Without treatment they are much more likely to contract HIV/Aids.

Getting it talked about everywhere from the bedroom to the boardroom and classroom is a crucial part of removing the stigma of sexual problems.

Sex is a marvellous part of life, but like all parts of life it can go wrong, and nudge-wink secrecy plays the devil with it. People need information, respect, and encouragement to discuss it openly.

Listening to a partner with patience and sympathy, tramping on reactions that lead us to judge people harshly; replacing discrimination by caring: these are the things that matter.

Many religions have had hang-ups about sex, but then who hasn't? Some misled men developed the incredible idea that sex was wrong, and sexual attraction was a bad thing to be blamed on women, but the idea of a celibate clergy did not come from Jesus, Mohammed or the great Jewish and Hindu sages.

The apostles and most priests married normally for more than 1 000 years. Celibacy was imposed on priests in 1074 by Pope Gregory, causing havoc that lasted for centuries, and has little to teach

teenagers who know that sex is good.

All religions know that people are physically capable of making love long before they are socially or emotionally capable of making families, and advocate virginity as a highly attractive and satisfying aspect of early development. But what happens after the virgin phase?

Sex is a most complicated part of being human. At one level it is simple: an irrational overwhelming instinct that perpetuates the species and does not give a damn about romance or love or responsibility. The sperm must be blasted into the egg and the future can look after itself.

Like food and drink, sex demands self-gratification, but sex dresses its passion in romantic dreams and the music of emotion.

The whole process is linked to

powerful feelings that lift people to a new level of experience capable of making poetry, music and philosophy which are out of this world. I love you and you love me and therefore we do this wonderful thing together. But when the passion is spent and the concert is over does the love and romance have the responsibility to handle the silence?

A major factor in today's culture is the attempt to remove the romantic emotional aspect altogether, and accept sex between humans on the same basis as between dogs and cats, with no love or emotional commitment.

The coupling couple in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty Four* expressed it: "You like doing this? I don't mean simply me: I mean the thing in itself?" "I adore it—the animal instinct, the simple

undifferentiated desire."

Sex becomes an end in itself, something to do for amusement or comfort or titillation, just bonking or shagging some person or other, neither expecting any commitment, but just a passing pleasure like a casual kiss or a cream cake to end a party hooked to the passion, booze or drugs culture. This is the type of sex encouraged by the beat and bang and artificial voices of so much modern music, the in thing which the media say you must buy as one of the major globalised industries.

It is in this situation of instant irresponsible gratification that most religious leaders—like Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris and Desmond Tutu—advocate condoms. Bishop David Beutge upholds the Christian discipline of abstinence outside marriage, but says: "We have to

accept that not everyone is committed to this Christian way of life, and we must encourage safer sex and the use of condoms."

Religion has a responsibility to all people, which demands the encouragement of safe sex.

Under the frenetic pace and noise with which modern capitalistic culture is destroying humanity some observers believe we are experiencing the upheaval of transition to a new society.

Sex—like politics, economics, education, the media, ecology and religion itself—is working out a renaissance of being human. Moral regeneration no longer limits goodness to individual behaviour but to social experience. So let's hope the pulpits go beyond personal morality to social responsibility—and condoms.

Doctors helpless in the face of hidden Aids therapy costs

Belinda Beresford

The doctor, staring into the bottom of his coffee mug, had watched a man and a woman decide who was going to die first. In their early 30s and with young children, they have less than a tenth of a healthy person's immune system between them.

From their joint income — a disability pension and occasional work — they could squeeze R600 a month for basic anti-retroviral therapy. This could help the immune system of one of them to recover, so that at least one parent would be able to raise their children for a few months — or even years — longer.

Since the man was the sicker looking of the two, they decided that he should get the drugs.

But for the doctor there were three problems. The first was that it was the wife who was about to die. Very soon. Her disability pension would stop and the man would have no chance of raising R600 a month.

The second problem is that this is the theoretical price for a basic triple cocktail of anti-retroviral drugs, based on pharmaceutical company promises to sell cheap drugs to developing countries.

One good first line triple therapy combination is ddI/d4T (now being offered for \$1 a day by Bristol-Myers Squibb) and efavirenz. Price reductions by Merck mean that efavirenz is now about R360 a month. Add the cost of the ddI/d4T and you get good

triple therapy for R600 a month.

But the third problem facing the doctor is, who is going to pay for the tests needed to keep someone safely and healthily on anti-retroviral drugs?

The national Department of Health says it has no policy on what to do with poor patients who use the public health service, are not medical aid members and yet who could — when cheaper drugs materialise in pharmacies — afford to pay for double or triple therapy.

Even the basic costs of maintaining someone on such therapy are

high.

Patients need multiple tests for viral load (the number of viral copies in the blood); CD4 (a measure of the strength of the immune system), as well as liver function tests, glucose tests and full blood counts.

A doctor from the clinical HIV research unit at Wits University has calculated the kind of hidden costs involved in anti-retroviral therapy,

assuming the patient has no problems with the treatment.

Ignoring pre-treatment costs, a patient would need a viral load test probably four or five times in the first year and a CD4 count twice. A baseline full blood count would need to be given, so the cost of approximately four visits a year to the doctor should also be added in.

If a non-nucleoside inhibitor such as efavirenz is being used, then patients need glucose and cholesterol tests probably twice yearly. If nevirapine is being used, they need at least four liver function tests in the first year, and the same number of full blood counts would be needed for patients taking AZT.

In the private sector viral load tests cost more than R800 and CD4 counts are more than R200. A full blood count is about R80, with liver function tests more than R200 each. So a patient taking ddI/d4T and

efavirenz would probably be looking at private sector costs of at least R4 000. Even at cheaper rates available to the state it would cost several thousand rand.

All these ballpark figures assume that no extra costs are incurred to treat the side effects that are so common with this kind of treatment.

The doctor who treated the couple had also seen four other patients that day who had seen reports on drug price reductions and hoped they could afford anti-retroviral therapy.

But the lower price promises have not yet been translated into action. For example, the Bristol-Myers Squibb offer in mid-March to cut the price of the ddI/d4T combination to \$1 a day only applies to four countries: Senegal, Rwanda, Uganda and Côte d'Ivoire.

Bristol-Myers Squibb representative Bob Laverty said South Africa was not eligible to benefit from the offer, because the government had

not yet expressed an interest in it. He was unable to say whether private sector representatives could approach the company for the same prices.

Such uncertainty is cold comfort for a doctor having to face people who are racing against time and asking him for what seem to be illusionary drug prices that could save their lives. Weeks matter to people enduring full-blown Aids. And the comfort is even colder for the doctor who doesn't know whether he'll even be able to treat patients with the drugs when they do manage to get them or whether he'll just watch people self-medicate.

At best they will be wasting their money, at worst damaging their health further — and maybe contributing to the levels of drug resistance, which could mean HIV becomes uncontrollable.

Additional reporting by Suzan Chala

HIV/AIDS barometer

**Estimated worldwide HIV
infections:** Thursday October 11
3.30pm 43 675 229

Passing it on: A Malawian court has sentenced a 60-year-old woman to seven years in jail for infecting an 11-year-old boy with HIV. Emmie Nkumbira forced the boy to have sex with her on August 24. The boy told his parents after developing genital sores. Police arrested the woman and took her to hospital where she was diagnosed as having syphilis and HIV.

The good news: The rate of HIV infection in the North West province has dropped by 0,2% from 23,1% to 22,9%. MEC for Health Molefi Sefularo says his department has embarked on several programmes in an attempt to stem the HIV/Aids tide. The department has increased its voluntary HIV/Aids counselling and testing sites from 11 to 55 and plans to open more in the near future.

Hijack warning: The Earth Summit to be held in September next year is in danger of being hijacked by HIV/Aids issues if the South African government fails to properly manage the Aids debate, the labour union, MWU Solidarity says. "Just as the recent anti-racism conference in Durban was hijacked by the Palestinian and Israeli debate, the Aids question may do the same in respect of the coming Earth Summit."

*Source: www.redribbon.co.za,
news organisations*

State fury over AZT for raped baby

A top government official has barred doctors from giving anti-retrovirals — even to raped infants

Khadija Magardie and Nawaal Deane

As South Africa was reeling at the news of an alleged gang-rape and sodomising of a nine-month-old baby in Upington last November, the Northern Cape MEC for health was blasting a Kimberley hospital for giving the infant anti-retroviral medication.

It emerged this week that after widespread media coverage of the incident, MEC for Health Elizabeth Dipuo Peters telephoned the Kimberley hospital to scold its CEO for having given the infant the drugs. Deon Madyo confirms he received the phone call after television and newspapers quoted the hospital's medical director Hamid Shabbir saying the child had been treated with AZT.

Madyo says Peters "raised the matter very sharply with me"; "in a very serious way" cross-questioned him on why the incident had been allowed to occur, and demanded to know whether the practice was widespread, or whether doctors had given the drugs only in this case.

One doctor who recently worked at the hospital, Beatrix Weber, claims it had a policy of administering the drugs, but had to stop when the "national government" intervened after the case of the nine-month-old hit the headlines. It could not independently confirm that national, as opposed to provincial, government intervened.

Madyo, who says he had to file a written report on the matter, believes Peters's reprimand was justified "out of concern". The hospital subse-

quently released a circular reminding doctors they were barred from administering the drugs to rape victims. The circular, released on December 4, says: "In accordance with the National Department of Health HIV/Aids policy, anti-retroviral drugs should not be issued to the victims of

rape or sexual assault. Please refer to policy guidelines."

It appears that as in many other provinces, doctors had been administering anti-retroviral drugs despite national government policy banning the provision of the drugs in government hospitals. The national government's ruling against providing anti-retroviral drugs — even in the case of rapes or pregnant women — is one of the more controversial aspects of the government's stance on the disease. However, Aids activists and doctors say several provinces have quietly continued providing the drugs.

In a letter to the *Mail & Guardian*, Weber says doctors in the province had been prescribing the drugs at their discretion for some time, until the media interest generated by the Upington baby case. Weber says: "The media attention had the serious side-effect that the Northern Cape policy was reviewed. Once media attention shifted away from this rape story, a new policy was introduced, which may well be fatal to future Northern Cape rape victims."

Weber says she was suspended from the hospital for, among other things, questioning President Thabo Mbeki's beliefs about HIV/Aids.

The Kimberley hospital's Madyo denies receiving any reprimand from national government, but adds that "even if there had been, it would be expected" — since the provision of AZT in Kimberley hospital would constitute a deviation from national policy. "I see nothing wrong in that: it's rightfully their role," he says.

Repeatedly referring to the admini-

stering of AZT to the raped infant as "a mistake", Madyo says Kimberley hospital was the only state institution in the province where such an incident had occurred. This, he says, provided conclusive proof that the action taken by the paediatrician was "a mistake".

The "mistake" has been blamed by the provincial health authorities on an outdated circular issued in 1997 by the then deputy director general for health in the province, Dr Barry Kistnasamy.

Owing to the lack of a formal policy on anti-retrovirals at the time — the national Department of Health issued official guidelines only in 1999 — Kistnasamy ruled that doctor discretion should be used in the administering of anti-retroviral medication in rape cases.

The doctor who treated the infant

told Madyo he was not aware that the policy had changed, and, according to other sources, this policy was never reviewed and continued to be followed — with the full knowledge of the health authorities — until the media arrived.

"The truth of the matter," Madyo says, "is that it was never about the child. We are not recommending it [AZT] for any rape victims."

Anti-retroviral medication is kept in most hospitals as a matter of course, as it is used as a prophylactic for health-care workers in the case of needle-stick injuries, or other cases where doctors or nurses have been exposed to HIV-contaminated blood.

Zachie Achmat, chairperson of the Treatment Action Campaign, says: "Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape are taking a stand but Mpumalanga and Northern Cape are toeing the political line."

He says: "It is tragic that Peters put political expediency above the safety of women and children."

The child has since been transferred to the Red Cross children's hospital in Cape Town, where she is due to undergo reconstructive surgery. She received a full course of anti-retroviral treatment at the Kimberley hospital.

All the president's provinces

Nawaal Deane

The HIV storm has erupted in Aids-wracked KwaZulu-Natal after Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the province would give nevirapine to all pregnant women, whether or not they could be tested for the virus.

Last week Buthelezi criticised national government's Aids policy, noting that KwaZulu-Natal has the highest prevalence of HIV/Aids in the country. He said the Inkatha Freedom Party has advised the premier, Lionel Mtshali, to distribute nevirapine "even in those areas where testing and counselling cannot take place; it should be made available to all mothers whether or not they are HIV positive". The province cannot wait for years to build a infrastructure wherein the HIV status of women can be determined and counselling provided, he said.

Moving now would directly contradict the government's Aids strategy which puts nevirapine at the heart of a package of care and counselling. Yet the national government has failed to publicly attack Buthelezi as it has done Gauteng Premier Mbhazima Shilowa.

Giving nevirapine without offering voluntary counselling and testing for the virus is a controversial issue.

Glenda Gray, director of the perinatal HIV research unit at Chris Hani Baragwanath hospital, says administering nevirapine without VCT raises ethical questions. "This may be acceptable as a short-term approach or in a crisis situation," says Gray. "But women have a right to know their HIV status".

A study in Kenya found a significant proportion of women would prefer to take nevirapine without knowing their HIV status

Mark Heywood of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), which has sued the government for failing to provide nevirapine nationwide, says such an approach is an emergency short-term measure. "TAC's position is that VCT is an essential part of the overall mother-to-child-transmission programme and cannot be divorced from the anti-retroviral intervention."

But testing positive can mean women facing stigma. A study in Kenya found a significant proportion of women would prefer to take nevirapine without knowing their HIV status.

In KwaZulu Natal confusion continues to swirl about what is actually being provided for pregnant women. Health MEC Dr Zweli Mkhize contradicts Buthelezi, saying: "If a hospital says they need nevirapine, we will support them if they have implemented a programme that includes voluntary counselling and treatment. Nevirapine cannot be taken in isolation."

The provinces seem bewildered by how to respond to the politically sensitive issue of nevirapine.

In Gauteng Shilowa has taken a public hammering from the ANC and Minister of Health Manto Tshabalala-Msimang after he announced that the province's Aids programme would roll out within the next 100 days. He said nevirapine would be made available in all facilities in the next financial year. Department of Health Director General Ayanda Ntsaluba had previously said the much praised Gauteng

programme was within national guideline parameters.

Western Cape

The Western Cape has been the forerunner in administering nevirapine to HIV-positive mothers. "Our pilot phase is completed. Currently we have 38 sites and two national sites which are part of our system," says Faried Abdullah, deputy director of health in the Western Cape. He points out that the Western Cape has been rolling out since January 2001 and at present is reaching 70% of women, looking at 100% in March 2003.

Abdullah says infrastructure and the cost of the drugs are not huge hurdles. "Our roll out took place in phases with formal counsellors and testing facilities at every site. At present we have 101 follow-up baby facilities where we monitor the child up to 18 months." Asked what he thinks of other provinces' positions on administering anti-retroviral drugs, he says, "We stuck to our guns and my advice would be to get on with it."

Eastern Cape

The Eastern Cape's Makhenkesi Stofile seems to be "getting on with it" with his announcement that a roll out plan making nevirapine available in all health facilities would begin once the results of pilot sites have been analysed. He said the province is embarking on the training of midwives to administer the anti-retrovirals.

"There is no national or provincial policy which says anti-retroviral drugs in general or nevirapine in particular should not be given to HIV-positive mothers," said Stofile. No time frame was placed on the programme.

Free State

At the opening of the provincial legislature, Free State Premier Winkie Direko implied that the nevirapine programme could be extended throughout the province. "The Free State provincial government will extend the present two prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV research sites by increasing the number of clinics per site to fulfil the na-

tional criteria," she said. However, Health MEC Ouma Tsopo said this was only to bring its two pilot sites into line with national criteria.

Limpopo

It was reported that Limpopo — formerly Northern Province — is considering extending its anti-retroviral treatment to six major district hospitals beyond the pilot projects. In a statement Premier Ngoako Ramatlhodi said there is evidence that its HIV/Aids campaigns are successful. "We are drawing lessons from the two sites," says provincial spokesperson Aluwani Netsianda.

North West

North West will continue to support the national pilot sites to study the effects of nevirapine on HIV-positive mothers. Premier Popo Molefe said the infection levels at antenatal clinics had stabilised and there had been a 2% drop in sexually transmitted diseases.

Northern Cape

Provincial health MEC Dipuo Peters has come out in strong support for national guidelines. She said: "We are rightfully within the national guidelines and we are analysing the process at the sites. We are going to stick to the guidelines until the national decision is changed."

Ironically, those at the forefront of challenging the government's misguided policies on HIV/Aids are from white institutions.

Why have black academics been silent for so long?

Get the balance right

NO BLOWS BARRED

Sipho Seepe

Now and then, nations are called upon to respond to extraordinary challenges. Those that appreciate the enormous power and crucial importance of intellectuals and experts turn to the best minds available. In doing so, they hope that "the voice of reason" will inform and prevail in the formulation of their responses. At other times nations may appeal to public sentiment. The latter is usually driven by emotional and short-sighted considerations. In reality, we rarely find complementarity and coalescence between "the voice of reason" (rationality) and public opinion. The challenge of leadership, in such situations, is to find a balance between the two.

The need to balance and to resolve the tension between rationality and public opinion was highlighted by two issues, seemingly unrelated, that have dominated the media over the past fortnight. The first relates to the president's so-called shift to allow the expansion of the provision of nevirapine to HIV-infected pregnant mothers to prevent mother-to-child transmission. The second relates to the report on the National Plan on Higher Education.

Issue one. President Thabo Mbeki's softening on the provision of nevirapine to pregnant women comes in the face of months of growing impatience by civil society. It fol-

lows closely on the decision by the medical profession and medical associations to embark on an open defiance of the government's misguided policies. This was before Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu took public positions on the matter. Fortunately, they were spared the abuses that were the lot of those who dared to voice their concerns earlier.

Secondly, the decision comes after the country was bombarded with doses of denials, obfuscations, half-truths and misrepresentations around HIV/Aids. Arguments shifted from debates about what causes what to costs, toxicity and infrastructure. Ironically, those politicians who present themselves as experts on toxicity were, not so long ago, enthusiastically touting a poisonous industrial solvent Virodene as a possible cure for HIV/Aids. Virodene was endorsed without any scientific evidence and despite the fact that its inventors had bypassed all the research protocols and controls at universities.

HIV/Aids had become a struggle between the experts and ignoramuses, between life and death, and between government and the people. Mbeki's shift is a victory for those who dared to challenge the absurdity and irrationality of his policies. In summary, we witnessed the concurrence and convergence of both "the voice of reason" and public opinion on the one side, and the political leadership on the opposite side.

Issue two. The national working group's report on the National Plan on Higher Education evoked strong passions and invited great scorn from black students and academics. Respondents invoked passionate and rabble-rousing discourse — "declaration of war", "institutional genocide on black universities and technikon", "betrayal of the strug-

gle", "intellectual disgrace, a political disaster". Oddly enough, the passion displayed over the report stands in glaring contrast to the stand one would have expected from these intellectuals with regard to black life. Some respondents have been conspicuously absent from the debate on HIV/Aids. Has black life become less important than black education?

Somehow black academics failed to appreciate that the HIV/Aids debates, as advanced by the medically ill-informed, have had the effect of undermining expertise and the role of higher education in general. Those academics desperate for political affirmation have been preoccupied with ingratiating themselves with the powers that be and have failed to provide intellectual and moral leadership. Ironically, it is academics and researchers at the so-called privileged white institutions — University of Witwatersrand, University of Natal and University of Cape Town — who have been at the forefront of challenging the government's misguided policies on HIV/Aids.

Given the passions the report evoked, it may be useful to play

Somehow black academics failed to appreciate that the HIV/Aids debates, as advanced by the medically ill-informed, have had the effect of undermining expertise and the role of higher education in general

devil's advocate. It is necessary to dispense with the obvious. The contribution of black institutions to the struggle and to professional and intellectual life in this country is beyond doubt. They not only serve the poorest of the poor, but also continue to accommodate academically under-prepared students. Had it not been for these institutions, most of us would not have had the benefit of higher education. Historically located in rural and black communities, the institutions could serve as developmental nodes in line with the government's integrated rural developmental strategy. There is no reason to assume that, given the support that historically white institutions have enjoyed, these institutions would be unable to set themselves on a developmental trajectory that would result in their becoming world class African universities. Only those who do not expect anything of value from Africans would suggest otherwise.

Notwithstanding this, we should not lose sight of the fact that the identity and geographic locations of South African institutions reflect the geopolitical imagination of apartheid. Black institutions were created to prevent and to stem access to white institutions. These institutions, as the noted scholar Mamood Mamdani reminds us, were intellectual counterparts of Bantustans. As such they "were designed to function more as detention centres for black intellectuals than as centres that would nourish intellectual thought. As such, they had little tradition of intellectual freedom or institutional autonomy. They were driven by the heavy hand of bureaucracy."

Neither can we be blind to the fact that conditions in black institutions

leave much to be desired. Enrolments have been declining and financial deficits have been steadily on the increase. As a result of the crisis of leadership and the culture of non-payment, some of these institutions are perennially embroiled in student protests. In other words, in defending black institutions we need to ask ourselves: what is it that is being defended? Can we honestly argue that their programmes are in line with a black agenda (whatever that is)? The glorious history of these institutions notwithstanding, there is no gainsaying the fact that they do not represent black excellence. They are caricatures of their former selves. Should they therefore be protected at the expense of broader institutional transformation simply because somewhere in the past they made important contributions?

Shouldn't we rather consider the report as a first step towards inviting workable arrangements in which African scholars are not treated as junior partners in the transformation of the higher education landscape?

Accordingly, we need to ask: what is it that was problematic with the composition, the methodology and benchmarks that were used by the national working group? Were black institutions aware of the benchmarks and performance indicators central to their evaluation? Which of these — graduation rates, research outputs, staff qualifications and financial stability — did they disagree with? Why have black academics been silent all along?

Evidently, reliance on racial solidarity has not worked. Let's hope that the voice of reason will find common cause with public outrage/opinion.

Aids treatment

Mpumalanga stands firm on which hospitals can provide drugs

**Sizwe samaYende
and Justin Arenstein**

Mpumalanga has hit the headlines repeatedly as its controversial health MEC refused to allow an NGO and doctors to provide anti-retroviral drugs for rape survivors.

This week Sibongile Manana was attacked by opposition parties and civic groups for her refusal to deviate from the national government line and make nevirapine available for HIV-positive pregnant women.

Manana instead told the provincial legislature that nevirapine use was strictly confined to just two pilot sites at Shongwe and Evander hospitals.

"Drugs are not the only answer. We need to fight poverty in order to fight HIV/Aids as has been stressed by President [Thabo] Mbeki and Premier [Ndaweni] Mahlangu," said Manana.

"Nevirapine is not just a [headache pill]. We will not issue it over the counter without proof of its effectiveness, and not before we have proper infrastructure for counselling and

follow-up treatment."

Manana said the province would upgrade its nevirapine trials at the two hospitals by finally allocating money for counsellors and nurses.

She admitted that very few rural mothers had signed up for the treatment, because of under-funding of the Mpumalanga trials, delayed implementation and an absence of qualified personnel.

Manana also said Mpumalanga simply did not have the numbers of skilled medical staff needed. "We

refuse to distribute the drug just for the sake of handing it out. We first need to renovate hospitals, build counselling rooms, train new staff, and appoint non-profit organisations to help. Procedures have to be followed," she insisted.

But she was unable to say when the necessary infrastructure and staff would be in place, when the trials would be complete or how many new children would become infected with HIV/Aids while the province followed procedures.

United Democratic Movement's women's organisation secretary Khosi Mncedane said Mpumalanga's hardline policies relegated women and children to second-class citizenship and condemned babies to death.

Mncedane dismissed Manana's reasoning as "flawed", asking whether Manana was "advocating that the province also not treat or stop treating cancer patients because the hospitals in the province are not up to standard?"

Provincial Democratic Alliance leader Clive Hatch added that it was

already national policy for hospitals to have private examination rooms for survivors of rape and abuse. "These rooms should already exist; therefore no alterations would be necessary," he said.

Manana rejected the comments as cheap politicking.

Meanwhile support is growing for anti-retroviral champion Dr Thys von Mollendorff. The Rob Ferreira Hospital superintendent was found guilty of gross insubordination by a government tribunal last week

after he allegedly embarrassed government by allowing volunteer workers to facilitate the provision of free anti-retroviral drugs to rape survivors.

The 40 volunteers, working for the Greater Nelspruit Rape Intervention Project (Grip), also provided rape survivors with counselling, fresh clothes, toiletries and legal advice.

Manana accused Von Mollendorff of allowing "poison" to be distributed to illiterate black women, and twice appealed unsuccessfully to the high court to evict Grip from Rob Ferreira,

Themba and KaNyamazane hospitals.

Manana refused to comment on Von Mollendorff's case this week, but told the legislature that any non-profit, non-government or volunteer organisations that continued to defy provincial policy would be frozen out of the public health sector.

Von Mollendorff is still waiting to hear his sentence, but his attorney, Richard Spoor, insists the career hospital administrator was merely fulfilling his Hippocratic oath and will appeal the verdict.

HIV/Aids

KZN jumps state Aids ship

Belinda Beresford

In an acrobatic and aerial manoeuvre, the KwaZulu-Natal government has deserted the Department of Health in its fight against the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) over curbing mother-to-child transmission of HIV.

Instead Premier Lionel Mtshali says KwaZulu-Natal will obey the "moral imperative" and supply nevirapine to all pregnant women who wish to take it. The move nimbly lifts the province from the murky controversy surrounding the national government's apparent reluctance to extend a programme to reduce the number of babies getting HIV from their mothers.

Meanwhile, it has emerged that the government has for a month had access to a state-ordered report that says there is no reason to delay extending the nevirapine programme where adequate facilities exist. Although this report was presented to a health ministers' meeting several weeks ago, Minister of Health Manto Tshabalala-Msimang last week publicly attacked Gauteng Premier Mbhazima Shilowa for announcing further roll-outs of the

provincial programme in compliance with the recommendations of the report.

Produced by the Health Systems Trust (HST), the study looks at the pilot sites providing nevirapine as part of the government's national Aids plan.

It highlights the massive problems inherent in the health service, including the lack of infrastructure, staff training and management, and the stigma surrounding HIV/Aids. It also details uncertainties on how best to reduce transmission of HIV through breast milk, including the arguments for and against formula feeding.

"The systemic weaknesses and infrastructural constraints identified by this evaluation are not reasons for delaying action, but are important for informing the planning and expansion of [mother-to-child transmission] services," says the report.

The recommendations are likely to weaken further the government's defence in its legal fight with the TAC. In December the TAC won a court battle to force the government to produce firm timelines for the implementation of a nationwide mother-to-child nevi-

rapine programme. Today sees the national and provincial departments of health in the Pretoria High Court seeking leave to appeal.

Although KwaZulu-Natal's MEC will be listed among the defendants, it is effectively in name only. Mtshali has submitted an affidavit to the court saying that his province does not support the application for leave to appeal, although it will abide by the decision of the court.

The provincial premier also backs a request by the TAC that the Departments of Health be forced to obey the court judgement, even if an appeal is pending. The KwaZulu-Natal premier is therefore supporting a legal action against his own MEC.

Mtshali's hard-hitting affidavit says it will supply nevirapine to all pregnant women who wish to take it, even

**Mtshali's affidavit says
KwaZulu-Natal will supply
nevirapine to all pregnant
women who want it**

if they have not been tested for HIV. Such universal use of nevirapine breaches national government protocols. These say the drug should only be provided as part of a complete package of care for mother and child, including counselling, testing, and formula feeding, if necessary.

The HST study emphasises the importance of a comprehensive service, but says that while this is being developed "nevirapine can and should be provided immediately to all pregnant women who are already known to be HIV-positive, with appropriate counselling and information".

Mtshali also acknowledges that such a holistic programme is the desirable goal. But he says: "Where there is inadequate capacity for the purposes of testing and counselling then I propose immediately to administer nevirapine to all [pregnant] mothers as a prophylactic measure, subject to these mothers agreeing to the administration of nevirapine. It should be noted that it is in the poorest areas of the province where the infrastructure does not exist for comprehensive counselling and testing. It is in these areas

that the greatest urgency and emergency exist, and hence there must be an intervention without further delay."

Such prophylactic use of nevirapine has echoes in other universal precautionary treatments that can cause adverse health consequences, such as anti-tetanus injections and polio vaccines, says the affidavit.

In his statement Mtshali says that 35% of KwaZulu-Natal's population is HIV-positive and last year about 40 000 children caught the virus from their mothers. To cut HIV infection by up to 50%, pregnant women are given one pill of nevirapine during labour and the baby is given a dose within three days of birth. This easy treatment regime "is well within the capabilities of all the public health facilities of KwaZulu-Natal".

"The programme of administering nevirapine would be warranted even if there were a small number of innocent lives to be saved, such is the elementary moral fact that the sovereign value of life is a fundamental right under the Constitution and therefore imposes the principle obligation to act upon any responsible government."

Sanity has prevailed and the real war against Aids can begin, writes **Belinda Beresford**

What bent Mbeki

The internecine strife within the government over the HIV epidemic appeared to swing towards the forces of orthodox science this week.

In what looks to outsiders to be a remarkable reversal — but which government spin doctors suggest is just a matter of better communication — the Cabinet this week publicly accepted the usefulness of anti-retroviral drugs.

And, in a move that took the Department of Health by surprise, the Cabinet announced that rape survivors should be able to demand anti-retroviral drugs from state hospitals to help protect them from catching HIV from their attackers.

Highly placed sources say that the government's shift was the result of irresistible pressure from all quarters. Helping this reach a critical mass is said to be the increasingly vocal unhappiness within the African National Congress and the government about the state's stance on HIV/Aids. Sources say this has involved threats by members of the government and the ruling party — including the highly regarded Director General of health Ayanda Ntsaluba — to resign over the government's Aids policy. Ntsaluba has denied cutting short his three-year contract, which is approximately half run.

Former president Nelson Mandela recently added his immense moral authority to the calls for a more proactive government response, including anti-retroviral treatment.

On the propaganda front, the national and provincial departments of health have so far lost every stage of their epic court battle with the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) over the speed at which the state nevirapine mother-to-child programme has been rolled out. In May they have their last-ditch appeal before the Constitutional Court. Win or lose, it has been a public-

relations disaster.

Since President Thabo Mbeki mused about unanswered questions on HIV/Aids, including the link between the two, South Africa has seen a resurgence of Aids dissidents — people who doubt in varying degrees the orthodox scientific view on HIV and Aids.

The ruling party came under strong internal and external criticism for the anonymously authored and virulent document, *Castro Hlongwane, Caravans, Cats, Geese, Foot & Mouth and Statistics*, which was submitted to the highest levels of the ANC last month.

A printed handout with the Cabinet statement acknowledged the acrimonious attacks on orthodox scientists but tried to distance the government from them: "As the government focuses its efforts and resources ever

more intensively on the public policy challenges of HIV/Aids, it will draw whatever it can from science to use in this fight. As in all areas of science, research and debate will continue, but the government is not a protagonist in those debates."

Additional pressure on the government may have come via the annual encounter between heads of all South Africa's missions abroad and Mbeki and Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana Zuma at the weekend.

It is understood that the participants received a briefing from the International Marketing Council on foreign perceptions of South Africa. Although the diplomats did not challenge the government's policy, they are understood to have raised the issue of lack of timely information — and specifically the government's slow reaction to the recent court judgements ordering it to provide nevirapine.

Senior ANC sources said many ministers, particularly those in the

economic cluster, are worried about the adverse publicity South Africa has been receiving abroad on the Aids issue. The ministers have been particularly concerned over the impact of ANC chief electoral officer Peter Mokaba's fiery Aids dissident remarks, which have been published in international publications including *The New York Times*, might have on investor confidence.

Mokaba told a Johannesburg newspaper last month: "The story that HIV causes Aids is being promoted through lies, pseudo-science, violence, terrorism and deception ... We are urged to abandon science and adopt the religion and superstition that HIV exists and that it causes Aids. We refuse to be agents for using our people as guinea pigs and have a responsibility to defeat the intended genocide and dehumanisation of the African child, mother, family and society."

Mokaba has also attacked the president of the Medical Research Council (MRC), William Malegapuru Makgoba, for his public stance on HIV/Aids.

This week a forensic audit cleared Makgoba of leaking an MRC document, the *Impact of Aids on Adult Mortality in South Africa*, to local newspapers last year.

The forensic investigation was ordered by the MRC board after it received a letter from the minister of health, which directly accused Makgoba of leaking the document.

Dated September 17 2001 — before the report was officially released but after its contents had appeared in the media — the letter says that the director general of health had advised that the report not be released until its contents had been digested by the Cabinet. “Instead the MRC President ignores the advice of the Director General and publishes the report anyhow, and this is also done while he is overseas.”

Although the minister did not call for an investigation into who leaked the document — actually a widely distributed independent work of research neither commissioned nor owned by the government — she told the MRC president: “I would like the MRC Board address themselves to the contents of this letter; to explain these action to me; and to inform me about the corrective actions they intend taking.”

For the first time this week the Cabinet also appeared to accept in principle the use of anti-retroviral drugs to treat people with HIV/Aids.

“On anti-retroviral treatments in general, Cabinet noted that they could help improve the conditions of PWAs [people living with Aids] if administered at certain stages of in the progression of the condition in accordance with international standards. However, because these drugs are too costly for universal access and because they can cause harm if incorrectly used and if the health systems are inadequate, government will continue to work for the

lowering of the cost of these drugs.”

The announcement that anti-retrovirals would be offered to rape survivors marks a total reversal of previous ANC statements. Department of Health officials had been hoping for a go-ahead to run pilot studies on post-exposure prophylaxis for victims of sexual assault. Instead they were told to create the protocols and guidelines needed to roll out a national programme to help rape survivors.

Head of the Aids directorate Nono Simelela indicated that the guidelines could be drawn up within a week, and said the department would move as fast as possible. Women would have the right to be given Combivir — a combination of AZT and 3TC — after receiving counselling on the risks. Combivir is supposed to be available in state medical institutions to treat workers who become exposed to HIV during their work.

This one month of anti-retroviral therapy will form part of a package of care for rape, counteracting the inadequate treatment presently given to rape survivors.

Anti-retrovirals will form part of a package of care for rape, counteracting present inadequate treatment

A post-exposure prophylaxis regime helps curb the HIV epidemic. A woman is at greater risk of infection after a sexual assault because of the physical damage. Protect her from HIV and you prevent her from infecting partners or children.

By aiming to improve the overall treatment of rape survivors, this scheme has echoes of the government's scheme to curb mother-to-child transmission of HIV. Both aim to use an anti-retroviral drug intervention as part of a holistic package of care, and both are largely targeted at women.

But this time the government looks set to avoid the debacle of the nevirapine mother-to-child programme, which has seen it dragged through the courts.

However, it continues to insist that it will only look at a national roll-out of the nevirapine programme after December this year. That is when the 12-month data from the pilots sites will be available.

Simelela was at pains to emphasise the efficacy of nevirapine in protecting children from HIV during the birthing process was not in doubt.

Additional reporting by Bongani Majola, Jaspreet Kundra, Drew Forrest

The triumph of unreason, Page 28

Deadlock over Aids grant looms

Charlene Smith

Minister of Health Manto Tshabalala-Msimang's blocking of a R720-million grant to fight Aids in KwaZulu-Natal is causing major ructions between the government, on one hand, and the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), the province and international donor agencies, on the other.

Mark Heywood, director of the Aids Law Project, interviewed at the 14th International Aids Conference in Barcelona, said that "the R720-million grant for the Enhancing Care Initiative of KwaZulu-Natal was part of a well-thought-out proposal for prevention, care and treatment".

"The Ministry of Health, and the minister of health in particular, is trying to block that grant. It is urgent that this situation be resolved quickly."

In a tense stand-off with UNAids director Peter Piot last Sunday, Tshabalala-Msimang reportedly said that South Africa was capable of managing and funding its own Aids programmes, "without outside interference".

Earlier that day a journalist had recorded her saying that nevirapine was poisoning "my people".

Tshabalala-Msimang has not blocked similar grants to loveLife for R68-million and to Soul City for R28-million from the Global Fund, but they lacked any provision for treatment and care.

The government's own application for money from the fund was turned down, but it was invited to resubmit an application for the second round of funding in September.

A journalist recorded the health minister as saying that nevirapine was poisoning "my people"

The TAC said it might bring an urgent legal action against the government if it did not agree to the funds for KwaZulu-Natal within the required period, which ends in two weeks.

The grant would fund prevention, care and treatment for more than four million people in the province hardest hit by Aids in one of the most extensive and dramatic programmes in the world.

The programme has aroused intense international interest and approval.

In a powerful speech in Barcelona yesterday, Graça Machel, wife of former president Nelson Mandela, said that "governments must design and implement strategies that are as comprehensive as the virus itself. We must have prevention, and a continuum of care and treatment within one paradigm."

But South Africa, which managed to become the focus of controversy two years ago at the conference in Durban, is again the object of intense criticism.

In March governments around the world submitted applications to the Global Fund for funding to combat Aids. In April, the UN announced successful candidates.

Earlier this week Piot said that governments that blocked funding for care and treatment projects may in future have to be bypassed, with funding going to civil society instead, "as happened under apartheid".

Those worst affected by Aids need much more than anti-retrovirals, argues **Sean Muller**

The best medicine for the people

The day before last week's edition of the *Mail & Guardian* came out, I was fortunate to attend a seminar at the University of Cape Town where Nathan Geffen, spokesperson for the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), presented the research and arguments that were contained in the article "Counting the cost of three million lives" (March 7). Fortunate because it was an opportunity to question some of the assumptions behind the statistical and policy conclusions, as well as hear the researchers' views on some of the issues. The experience was far from convincing.

First of all, let's acknowledge something: the TAC is a lobby group. It is not morally omniscient and neither is it, judging from statements by the National Association of People Living with Aids (Napwa), representative of the majority of people living with HIV/Aids.

This point is important because the debate around anti-retroviral provision has been tainted (as, unfortunately, have most areas of the HIV/Aids crisis) by the creation of two artificial factions: Aids dissenters and denialists, and everybody else who want the government to provide anti-retrovirals. There is, in fact, also a third group: those who ideally would like the government to provide anti-retrovirals but are concerned that, given the many problems of this country, the money could be better spent. This distortion has been exploited by the TAC

and its leaders.

At the seminar Geffen was questioned on whether the money – if it was available – should go towards anti-retroviral provision. His response was that the necessity of providing anti-retrovirals "follows directly from the recognition that HIV causes Aids". This response blatantly exposes the TAC's

unwillingness to allow for any reasonable debate on the matter and its attempt to maintain public perception of only two positions on the matter.

Furthermore, from a public sector-economics perspective, lobby groups are seen as potentially important in that they draw attention to important but unrecognised social needs, but distortionary because they exist to ensure a greater-than-is-fair allocation of public resources to their constituents. The most powerful of these are often middle class (as many of the TAC's leaders are) because of the greater time, resources and social connections (especially in the media) at their disposal.

In our country this is especially relevant because it is impossible to meet many of the most basic constitutional rights of citizens. The fact that the TAC has the financial clout to take the government to court does not mean that its case is more important than that of people living in rural poverty.

It is disappointing that one of the most public acknowledgements of Napwa's existence is in the form of a negative report about an attack on the organisation by the TAC and its allies. Whether the attack is justified

is not particularly relevant. What is relevant is that the TAC perspective dominates virtually all media coverage of the anti-retroviral issue (except, of course, for the occasional letter from a raving Aids dissident).

The TAC commissioned the above-mentioned research and, while this does not invalidate its conclusions, having seen some of the assumptions and exclusions made, it is patently clear that it would not be difficult to do plausible research that would come to the opposite conclusion – that anti-retroviral therapy is not feasible. The study assumes, among other things, that viral load

counts are not used to monitor patients receiving anti-retroviral therapy, which is within World Health Organisation guidelines, but that CD4 (white blood cell) counts are used instead. It also assumes that patients only go through two stages of anti-retroviral therapy, whereas patients could go through many more but, of course, that would be more costly. These are not unreasonable assumptions per se, but had the researchers' mandate been to see if anti-retroviral therapy was unfeasible rather than feasible, one questions whether they would have been made at all.

At least one of the researchers has lent her name to public accusations of genocide against the government for its handling of the HIV/Aids problem. Such accusations are at best misplaced and at worst crass and ill-considered. The government has nothing to gain from having a large chunk of its support base destroyed by Aids and, while a senior Department of Health official broke down in Parliament in frustration at the policy dilemma facing the government, the same cannot be said of any of the opposition MPs. The relevance of this accusation is that it indicates a clear bias of at least one of the researchers prior to the research being done — so this is not impartial research.

In his presentation Geffen casually mentioned education, but as Rob Dorrington, one of the Centre for Actuarial Research actuaries, acknowledged: the assumption that people will change their sexual behaviour once they have been through counselling and

The TAC perspective dominates virtually all media coverage of the anti-retroviral issue

undergone treatment is a crucial one, because if wrong it would mean "the epidemic will explode". This would occur because of the increased life expectancy of sexually active HIV-positive people.

All models by nature must make assumptions, but it is important to be aware of the different interpretations that will be made by different researchers with different mandates. Geffen exaggerates his case by comparing orphan and HIV-infection figures from a policy that only treats opportunistic infections with figures from a policy that includes both treatment *and* prevention — the latter of which the government is in the process of implementing.

Life expectancy gains from highly active anti-retroviral treatment (HAART) are expected to be four to five years a patient, so many more orphans will be over the age of 18 when their parents die, thus reducing the figures. The argument might be made that less orphans implies less government support but, realistically, many of those who would be 18 years and older when their parents die will still require social welfare of some sort.

The TAC had a much stronger argument regarding the mother-to-child transmission prevention programme on both cost and, therefore, moral grounds, because when money is limited, cost and morality are inseparable. The programme is aimed at preventing infection with all the long-term benefits this entails. This, however, is completely distinct from the proposed HAART programme, which can only have short-term effects and whose monetary sustainability and hence moral legitimacy is questionable.

The above are not merely academic concerns. The main issue is a socio-economic one: what is best for the people, given South Africa's limited fiscal resources? For many (including

many HIV-positive people, judging from Napwa's statements) the roll-out of a HAART programme is not the way to help those worst affected by Aids. The worst affected are those whose decline into Aids is hastened by poor nutrition, lack of access to potable water, adequate sanitation and residence in living areas rife with disease. Anti-retrovirals will probably reach these people much later than those in the urban centres (where health-care infrastructure is better). But even if they got them now it would do little good (and perhaps some harm) because successful anti-retroviral therapy requires at least basic levels of nutrition.

The government can and should do more to ensure the availability of cheaper generic anti-retrovirals for rape survivors, medical workers (whose work puts them at risk) and those fortunate enough to be able to afford them.

The assumption that we have the money to pay for the TAC's proposal remains questionable, despite the research, because the issue of fiscal sustainability is not addressed: where will the money come from, other than the deficit, and how will it be repaid?

That said, if the money is available it should arguably be spent on extending social welfare, basic services and supporting subsistence agriculture as well as boosting prevention programmes (that are sustainable) if we really want to help those worst affected by HIV/Aids.

As the World Health Organisation, the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organisation said in a recent statement: "A good diet is one of the simplest means of helping people live with HIV/Aids and may even help delay the progression of the deadly virus."

Sean Muller is an economics honours student at the University of Cape Town

This is everyone's fight

The TAC should join the ANC in the battle against HIV/Aids, argues the party's **Confidence Moloko**

Zackie Achmat's article in last week's edition of the *Mail&Guardian*, "A long walk to civil disobedience", deserves consideration and a response that is rational and measured. It will be a serious mistake if anyone, in his or her right-thinking mind, would stoop to the level of the author and personalise the important subject of HIV/Aids.

The country needs to be made aware that both the African National Congress and the government have, for a long time, and long before 1994, committed themselves to a better life for all. The HIV/Aids policies that are in place now are a result of years of evolution and years of struggle at the helm of the people of South Africa.

All the answers to Achmat's concerns are contained in public documents that are published by both the government and the ANC. The resolution on HIV taken by the ANC's national conference in December last year should serve as a point of departure. The latest and most comprehensive statement by the Cabinet is freely available both electronically and in print – that is the statement by the Cabinet released on March 19. It is interesting and ironic that none of the influential media organs have carried these important documents and statements. It is also ironic that Achmat preferred to ignore these important statements.

The government's policy is based on decisions of various forums of the ANC. Among the decisions and resolutions of the most recent conference on HIV and Aids, the following can be regarded as very important:

- To strengthen and accelerate the implementation of the national Aids strategy, as amplified in the Cabinet statement of April 17 last year.

- The ANC is to be at the forefront of community mobilisation and leadership around HIV and Aids, especially around awareness, prevention, voluntary testing and counselling, treatment and care.

- To accelerate research and testing on vaccines, as well as immunity boosters.

- To strengthen the functioning of national, provincial, district and local Aids councils with appropriate accountability mechanisms.

- To investigate making HIV and Aids a notifiable disease, taking account of the issues of patient confidentiality and stigmatisation.

- To continue to fight the continued discrimination by insurance companies against dependants of people who have died of Aids-related diseases.

All those who are committed to the struggle against HIV and Aids are asked to consider seriously the ANC resolution and Cabinet statement referred to above. The statement is available for all to interrogate, though its most important points include the following gains on the prevention front.

Prevention of HIV infection is critical, because there is no known cure for Aids. Surveys confirm a high level of awareness of the disease among South Africans, and the youth in particular. The Khomanani campaign, with R98-million of government funds, is reinforcing this.

Voluntary HIV counselling and testing is now available at nearly 1 000 public health sites, and more funds have been allocated.

The government's programme to prevent mother-to-child transmission of HIV, already the largest on the African continent, is being expanded towards universal access to nevirapine.

Provision of anti-retroviral drugs to survivors of sexual assault is now national policy and sites are being expanded.

Although an HIV vaccine is still many years away, progress is being made with government support.

The following gains have been made on the treatment front.

Public health facilities must treat opportunistic infections irrespective of HIV status. The government is working with pharmaceutical companies to lower the cost of drugs for these infections. Tuberculosis treatment is free in the public health sector.

Nutrition is central to strengthening the immune system. It is essential for effective drug therapy.

We have said that anti-retroviral therapy can improve the health of people living with HIV/Aids if used appropriately. The government continues to address barriers to introducing it – high drug prices, weaknesses in health infrastructure and treatment compliance.

A joint Department of Health and National Treasury task team looking into resource implications of an

The HIV/Aids policies that are in place are a result of years of evolution and struggle

expanded treatment response, including anti-retrovirals, is finalising its work for the Cabinet's consideration — the response has to be sustainable.

The Medicines Control Amendment Act will facilitate more affordable drugs when it comes into force this year. South Africa continues to work for an agreement in the World Trade Organisation that will provide new opportunities.

I've outlined the essence of the Cabinet's statement. The cause of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) is noble. It is in line with the efforts of the ANC and the government: that of getting safe and affordable drugs for our people.

The greatest flaw of the TAC campaign is that it appears to be aimed at attacking individuals and groups who do not agree with it, while ignoring all points of convergence between the TAC and other organisations, and between the TAC and the government.

The constant attacks by the TAC and Achmat on the ANC, the president, ministers and other members of the ANC are unwarranted. The viciousness of Achmat's actions is matched only by the statements that were made after the tripartite alliance's march at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, which frustrated the TAC and its ilk because of its demonstration of our partnership and unity. I hope that Achmat will consider more constructive ways of communicating his anger.

Dr Confidence Moloko is the deputy chairperson of the ANC's national health committee. He is writing in his personal capacity. This response is drawn, in large measure, from a Cabinet statement made in March

Letters

Think like politicians, not philosophers

In a recent debate about the existence of God on SAfm a Cambridge academic made the following statement: "We cannot prove that God does not exist, but all the good reasons to believe that he does exist have been eliminated." This leaves the rational person in no-man's-land, although in the religious sphere it can be resolved by the act of faith that God does exist.

HIV/Aids denialists like Valendar Turner (Letters, April 25) exploit the logical void where rigorous thinkers refrain from going to deny the existence of the HIV. No matter how many times evidence is presented that the HIV does exist, it is always a logical possibility that an alternative explanation for the phenomena associated with HIV/Aids may be found. That opens the door for radical sceptics of the theory.

While the role of theory and evidence in the creation of knowledge is important in the philosophy of science, for those of us who live (and die) in the real world HIV/Aids is a concrete reality. If we applied the same logical rigour for everyday living as required for a sound philosophical argument we would end up unable to act because of our doubt. So we accept less than perfect evidence and we take actions on the balance of probabilities.

Turner is right that the proposition that HIV causes Aids is a theory. But even if it is possible that a better explanation for HIV/Aids may be found in the future, the current theory that HIV/Aids does exist has been sufficiently validated for it to serve as a reasonable basis for action. In fact, the extremely unreasonable thing to do is to score a philosophical point at the expense of thousands of people's lives.

What's more, politicians are not philosophers. They have to act and be judged in the real world. President

Thabo Mbeki and Minister of Health Manto Tshabalala-Msimang need to answer for why they allow themselves to be led by the nose by bogus philosophers. — Anton Grutter, *University of the Western Cape, Cape Town*

In his attack on Judge Edwin Cameron's Harvard paper, member of the Presidential Aids Advisory Panel Valendar Turner makes the extraordinary statement: "Like Einstein's relativity, HIV is only a theory." Einstein's theories provided the theoretical basis for the atom bomb!

Turner does not believe the HI virus exists. Interviewing Professor Robert Gallo, the co-discover of the virus, journalist Gus Cairns cited a denialist's "assertion that the pictures of HIV particles don't show HIV but 'retrovirus-like particles' that aren't

true viruses ... and that the gp120 'knobs' on the surface of HIV have never been photographed." Gallo replied: "What the **** is he on about? I've seen beautiful pictures of HIV with knobs on, that Hans Gelderblom of the Koch Institute in Berlin took."

Gallo further notes: "I cannot think of any disease ... where we know more about the [viral] cause than Aids. Short of seeing someone run over by a car, you'll never be more certain as to the cause of a medical problem.

"I understand that if I was HIV-positive, because of the stigma, because sexuality and death are so intertwined, because there still isn't a cure, I might want to believe [denialist] Peter Duesberg."

Could the *Mail & Guardian* please publish a photograph of the HI virus?

It is astonishing that the debate on complex scientific matters ends up in the public domain, and that some laymen are so arrogant that they feel able to assess the status of HIV/Aids research. Why does Turner ask us to believe Mbeki is able to evaluate his

interpretation of the facts? Mbeki is not qualified.

Is it because their scientific peers reject them that the denialists seek recognition and approbation from laymen and politicians?

It is Turner's responsibility, as a scientist, to provide research findings that will stand up to the scrutiny of his peers. The denialists have not been able to conduct research and arrive at conclusions that the medical community finds convincing.

Have they been blinded by their sense of infallibility and their conviction that the medical fraternity is too stupid to appreciate their brilliance?

Had the debate remained in the academic sphere, they would not be in their present position.

It is almost impossible for them

now to publicly admit they have erred, for they would have to acknowledge that their theories have caused enormous and unnecessary suffering. — *Rory Doepel, Melville*

African National Congress spokesperson Khulekani Ntshangase needs to have his head examined. His comment a week ago that the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) leadership should be arrested because they are murderers is an insult to people living with HIV/Aids.

Ntshangase needs to clean his own house before attacking his neighbours. Youths across the country need his attention, because of unemployment, the need for skills development and youth crime. These are the issues he should be looking at.

He should come to our TAC meetings and listen to what is going on around treatment issues. He should shake hands with those receiving treatment and see how well they are.

I've buried friends and relatives, and I watch people deteriorate every

day. These deaths can be prevented; the nation is drowning unnecessarily.

When the World Health Organisation recommends the use of anti-retrovirals, who are you to tell us they are poisonous? Have you done any research about this “poison”, or is this just information you are fed by your masters?

So, my brother, stop confusing our brothers and sisters. You are the worst kind of opportunistic infection and health danger for people living with Aids. Your tongue is a more deadly virus than the one we have in our bodies.

The treatment we need is for you to stop poking your nose into issues you know nothing about, and implement what your constituency has elected you for. — *Isaac Skosana, person with Aids*

The devil is in the detail

The delay in releasing the HIV/Aids treatment costing report is about more than just the money

Nawaal Deane

The government conceded this week that it can afford an Aids drug treatment programme to prolong the lives of 1.7-million people. The devil is in the detail, said a senior health official, explaining the six-month delay in releasing the "top-secret" report, which was leaked this week.

The Department of Health is not disputing the report's finding that 1.7-million fewer people will die between now and 2010 if 100% of people with HIV/Aids are treated with anti-retroviral drugs.

Ayanda Ntsaluba, Director General of health, admitted to John Perlman, presenter of SAfm's *AM Live*, that the reason for delaying the health and Treasury costing report was "contextual issues" and had nothing to do with affordability.

The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) leaked the costing report,

which calculates whether South Africa can afford anti-retroviral treatment, earlier this week.

The report says the benefit of anti-retroviral treatment is that it reduces Aids mortality significantly. The government lambasted the TAC for releasing the document, saying work on it was continuing. The version presented to all provincial health ministers at a meeting in May was the same as that leaked this week.

Ntsaluba said this version had subsequently been reworked, though the core figures had not changed.

Perlman asked whether the costing report was delayed by "quibbling" over the core figures. Ntsaluba replied: "I don't think it is fair to present it as misgivings that delay action on [the re-

port]. But I think it is far more an issue of clarification." The report is still under review but is expected to be presented to a Cabinet meeting on July 23, according to sources.

Legal experts slammed the government this week for creating the impression that the costing report was a secret and had to be "leaked".

"We have a Constitution that promotes transparency and openness. There is nothing top secret about the document. The mere fact that the government commissioned this study makes it a public document," said a senior attorney. He says the costing report can be used in a legal case against the government to compel it to implement a national anti-retroviral programme. Such a case can be argued on the constitutional right to life and the right of access to public health care.

Nathan Geffen, TAC spokesperson, said the government could stop all civil disobedience and legal action by announcing a treatment plan.

The secrecy around the costing report also defies the constitutional judgement of July 5 2002 on the universal provision of nevirapine, which calls for transparency when dealing with the HIV/Aids challenge.

The judgement reads: "The magnitude of the HIV/Aids challenge facing the country calls for a concerted, coordinated and co-operative national effort ... This can be achieved only if there is proper communication, especially by government."

The report has a section that looks at the constitutional and legal aspects of

a treatment plan. It says: "Phased implementation of the plan is acceptable. The state must have a clear, transparent and reasonable plan, which has the flexibility to address the changing circumstances."

Its rationale, says a government official, is that "South Africa is close to its epidemiological peak of the disease. Curative policy needs to form the bulk of government work."

The report acknowledges that sites need to have doctors familiar with HIV medicine. In terms of infrastructure there is a proposal that there will be one site per district or region and 156 sites within the first two years.

The report says not everyone who is HIV-positive needs anti-retroviral treatment. It also emphasises that adherence to the drugs is critical to avoid treatment failure.

The cost of a year's supply is calculated at the current South African price of R12 232, which includes laboratory and service delivery costs, and government officials expect this to fall.

While the initial costing is based on patented drugs, Treasury officials anticipate the use of cheaper generics.

This treatment plan would make South Africa the largest purchaser of anti-retroviral drugs in the world. "Fifty percent is not a constraint, if there's an acceptance, we will increase the take-up. Once it's up and running, it will be the largest ARV programme on the planet. Most [of] the drugs should be manufactured locally," says a government official.

An obstacle course for women

Nawaal Deane

Confusion still reigns over the degree of government commitment to providing treatment for rape survivors. And where such treatment exists it remains difficult to access.

The controversy arose when a Sunday newspaper report said the Cabinet had removed a clause from a new Sexual Offences Bill that obliges the government to pay for medical treatment to rape survivors.

On Wednesday Nono Simelela, HIV/AIDS director in the Department of Health, denied the report, saying the government will not halt the treatment and that it is drafting guidelines for the care of rape survivors.

On the same day the Cabinet issued a statement expressing "its concern at the misinformation being spread around a decision by Cabinet not to

include a provision on preventative treatment (prophylaxis) in a Bill dealing with victims of sexual assault. The fact of the matter is that provision of this relief is already government policy, decided upon in April last year and being implemented incrementally in all parts of the country. This programme will continue."

But health experts say these attempts at clarification repeat the status quo — namely that the government is refusing to commit itself legislatively to bear the costs of such treatment.

"If there is a big government commitment to the post-exposure prophylaxis [PEP] programme, then why take out the provision in legislation?" asks Liesl Gertholtz of the Aids Law Project at Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Gertholtz says the availability of these programmes has been "patchy"

despite the Cabinet ruling that the general roll-out of PEP would happen by the end of last year.

Research by the Centre for Aids Development, Research and Evaluation says that to qualify for PEP women who have been raped must report the case to the police, obtain a case number, present themselves to a public health facility within 72 hours of the incident and undergo testing.

But there is no clarity over the provision of these packages for those who do not want to take the test, Gertholtz says, and there is a need for counsellors to be trained to deal with women who tested HIV-positive anyway, not necessarily following a sexual assault.

Sexual assault services are not just about providing anti-retroviral treatment to rape survivors, but providing psychological support and awareness of crisis centres, says Doreen Schultz,

a researcher at Wits Medical school who presented her study at the Aids conference in Durban this week.

Schultz based her recommendation on a study of 687 cases of sexual assault from the Sunninghill hospital, where she discovered that 16% of the women were HIV-positive before the rape took place. The majority of these women did not know their HIV status.

"A woman who has just been raped suffers from severe stress and injuries but then has to undergo an HIV test and be told that she is HIV-positive." She says providing the drugs is the easy part, but these women need comprehensive pre- and post-counselling.

Shultz calls for a holistic approach when caring for women who have been raped. She says counselling should be a common practice in all clinics as well as integrating police services to deal with survivors of rape.

Donor dollars in Aids battle

But health workers face difficulties advising about the virus when starvation is rife

Kerry Cullinan

Maputo's antiquated airport comes as a shock after the shimmering consumer seduction of Johannesburg International airport's duty-free zone, a mere 50-minute flight away.

On the drive into town, the power of the donor dollar is evident in the large billboards proclaiming what donors are doing for the country.

Ten years ago Mozambique emerged from civil war as one of the world's poorest nations. Three years later its economy was growing by a healthy 10%. But in 2000 it was knocked flat by devastating floods.

The economy has slowly picked itself up again and now has a growth rate of 4.4%. But the government is heavily dependent on donors to deliver basic social services to its citizens.

It is thus surprising to learn that this impoverished country is already a step ahead of South Africa when it comes to HIV/Aids treatment. Mozambicans have been able to get free anti-retroviral drugs at two sites since the beginning of the year.

Funding for Mozambique's ambitious HIV/Aids programme is coming largely from the Clinton Foundation (\$330-million), a \$54-million Global Fund grant, and \$55-million from the World Bank.

Mozambique's national Health Director, Dr Alexander Manuel, told

the recent Metropolitan Aids conference that his country had an HIV prevalence rate of 13.5%. South Africa's HIV prevalence is 11.5%, according to a Human Sciences Research Council survey conducted last year.

"We are seeing lots of deaths, especially in strategic sectors such as health and education," said Manuel. "This is having dramatic consequences for families and the economy."

Ironically, economic progress has

brought with it a greater risk of HIV. The country's most developed Central province has the highest prevalence rate at 17%, almost triple the 6% prevalence of the rural north.

One possible reason is that the Maputo Corridor, which runs through the Central province, has provided easy access to the country with many truck drivers now moving between South Africa and Mozambique.

Other developments that pose potential risks are the aluminium smelter, Mozal, and a gas pipeline being developed by Sasol. These developments mean that very poor communities are coming into contact with workers with money.

"Unequal social relations is a risk factor for HIV/Aids," says Metropoli-

tan Aids strategist Stephen Kramer. "What impact [are these developments] having on the spread of HIV/Aids?"

However, the Mozambican government is well aware of the dangers and has already formulated a comprehensive HIV/Aids plan. But it is seriously short of resources to implement the plan.

"Mozambique only has 461 doctors in the whole country to treat a population of 18.5-million people. This is one of the lowest figures per capita in the world. So this is a very ambitious programme," says Dr Marc Biot, country representative for Médecins sans Frontières (MSF).

Unlike South Africa where relations between the government and the MSF are frosty, MSF is in partnership with the Mozambican government to address HIV/Aids treatment.

The Mozambican model is similar to that being envisaged for South Africa's anti-retroviral roll-out. It is built around "integrated health networks" with day hospitals at the heart of these.

HIV-positive people are referred to day hospitals that manage whatever treatment they need, including anti-retroviral therapy. Doctors see patients every three months, while nurses see them monthly.

Since January, two integrated health networks have been set up, one in Maputo and the other in Tete. Remarkably, these have already tested 17 000 people, 32% of whom were HIV-positive. The two centres manage the treatment and care of 4 000 patients, 282 of these are taking anti-retroviral drugs.

"Patients were very sick to start with, with an average CD4 count [measure of immunity] of 85," said Biot. Most healthy people have CD4 counts of over 500.

"Seven patients have died in the past 50 days, and a quarter of patients had to adapt their treatment programmes to feel better," said Biot. "But the good thing is that most had to adapt their doses because they

gained weight.

“The vast majority of patients [89%] are taking the drugs properly. “Only 7,3% had severe side effects. Average weight gain is 8kgs and the average CD4 count has jumped to 148,” said Biot.

The painful part about weight gain is that patients start feeling hungrier and ask their health workers for food — something that the programme cannot afford to give.

Hunger is a constant enemy of HIV prevention. Nyeleti Mondlane from Vida Positiva, an organisation for people living with Aids, says it is very difficult to warn communities about a virus that could kill them in the next few years when they have no food to eat in the next few days.

Before being given anti-retroviral drugs patients have four sessions of treatment training, which teaches them how the drugs work and what side effects to expect.

“Patients also have to sign an adherence contract in which they promise to take their drugs properly and they choose a treatment buddy, someone close to them to give them moral support,” said Biot.

Over the next five years, 129 integrated networks are planned and the country aims to have 132 000 people on anti-retroviral treatment.

Biot is optimistic: “Although Mozambique has a very poor health infrastructure, the vaccination rate of children by the age of a year is 88% and 75% of TB patients finish their six-month treatment.” — Health-e News Service

“ Dapper Danny
hasn't slept
in days and his suit
is hanging off him
like newsprint
off a bum ”

Pitch & Mutter, Page 62

Article 2004-02-05a

More about sense than cents

Nawaal Deane

THE MORAL ECONOMY OF AIDS IN
SOUTH AFRICA by Nicoli Nattrass
(Cambridge University Press)

Mix economics with Aids and generally my first response is a glazing of eyes, shifting of feet and quick dash to the nearest exit. But *The Moral Economy of Aids in South Africa* by Nicoli Nattrass, an economist at the University of Cape Town, makes even financially-challenged individuals like me grasp the concept of budget deficits, gross domestic product and how we can afford to pay for an anti-retroviral treatment plan.

In October last year the government announced the long-awaited anti-retroviral treatment plan, paving the way for the challenges facing the country to be widely discussed. Nattrass, in a no-nonsense approach, tackles these issues, looking at whether the introduction of drugs will lead to riskier sex as well as endorsing prevention and nutritional campaigns.

The book is devoid of economic jargon on budgets and deficits. Nattrass places these economic decisions against a social background of poverty-alleviation programmes and nutritional needs of people living with HIV/Aids. She captures a brief history of the pandemic, and does not shy from the fact that treatment is going to cost the country a lot of money.

Nattrass puts forward a strong argument for Aids prevention and treatment to be linked to a basic income grant, saying it would address poverty directly by "channelling an income into the hands of the poor", helping to lower the spread of HIV. But financing a full-scale Aids intervention programme and a basic income grant would mean a significant increase in taxation.

"Either we are going to have to cut back on spending elsewhere," she says, "or we are going to have to bite the bullet and increase taxation."

For Nattrass the constant harping on about complexity and the need for endless planning effectively delays the moment when tough financial choices have to be made. "This may be a good short-term electioneering tactic for the ANC, but we will be paying for it in terms of human lives."

A journal that maps out the experiences of 13 HIV-positive women stands out in the pile of Aids books on **Nawaal Deane's** desk

Living out loud

Another HIV book arrives on my desk to add to the groaning pile of what I call my "HIV/Aids bandwagon" collection.

It is with skepticism that I view books on HIV/Aids because the pandemic has become an income-generating industry that tends to leave out its victims. Making money off Aids — even indirectly — is not politically correct, especially among activists, when the vast majority of people with the disease suffer poverty and are disempowered.

Don't get me wrong, I am the first to admit that even journalists benefit from reporting on the pandemic — whether it is through awards or even free trips to Barcelona.

So it was heartening to see these pitfalls being avoided in a new book called *Long Life*, a compilation of stories from 13 HIV-positive women who are refreshingly not just the subjects of an Aids book but also the authors.

The women's group was born out of participants from the Memory Box Project at the University of Cape Town, run by a team of Aids researchers and psychologists. Project leader Jonathan Morgan says the book was the result of a "definitional ceremony, where people who may experience themselves as sick, shameful, hopeless, unemployed and useless tell their stories in the support group with members hearing and encouraging each other". The women in the group were asked if they would like to share their stories with a wider audience — and from 30 participants, 13 volunteered.

It is hard to digest all the stories in one sitting because of the intimate nature of the narratives. It feels as though one is peeking into a diary with all the secrets written down and decorated with private photographs. Every page in the book is unique.

The book also works as a cultural-political campaign in response to the government's delay in rolling out anti-retroviral (ARV) drugs. Although the government has since released the treatment plan, the book stands as an educational guide to anti-retroviral treatment.

The women take the reader into their lives, where they share their dreams in a simplistic style. Imperfect spelling and grammar reinforce the authenticity of the stories.

The book does not shy away from some "Thabo-bashing". There is an amusing scenario where President Thabo Mbeki is answering God on his failure to provide treatment for his people. In the book Nondumiso Hlwele writes: "Here in South Africa the president is not always telling the truth. Jussus, it is bad."

This is echoed in other criticisms of government's inaction until last October. "Many people in the government say that poor people are too stupid to understand how to take ARVs. We love these drugs. We never forget. This is the most important thing to us," writes Bulelwa Nokwe.

Flipping through the glossy pages, one is struck by the intriguing use of body maps to illustrate the stories. Jane Solomon, art director of the project, came up with the idea of each woman having her own body map. "Your body has recorded many memories — some positive and others painful. There are scars, beauty spots and feelings that you carry on your body," says Morgan.

"You could see yourself lying there, your pain is lying there and you have released what you feel"

The women were told to lie down on big sheets of paper, where their physical outlines were traced. They then had to colour and paint the map in an image of themselves. "First we did not know what we were doing, we just thought we were playing around with colours," writes Hlwele. "But when we were finished, you could see yourself lying there, your pain is lying there and you have released what you feel."

Many of the women drew the HI virus in their bodies together with the scars and babies they carried. Morgan said that the process and publication of the book has become an empowering experience for the women.

Hlwele, who was chosen to go to New York to launch the book, says she was bombarded by art dealers who raved about the body maps. The Constitutional Court has also offered

to buy their original body-map paintings. The burning question remains: "Who gets the royalties?"

Hlwele says the Bambanani group will but it has decided to share it with members of the project and other contributors to the book. "My life has changed since I joined the project and [Morgan and Aids researchers] came to us when we had no hope. Now I have been offered a job at the university."

Morgan says they have approached an intellectual property rights lawyer and the group signed consent forms. "They could withdraw their stories or withhold their surnames at any point up until the book went to the publisher," he says.

The women retain full copyright over the paintings and will receive all the money if the originals are sold.

'Aids is not urgent'

The Eastern Cape Education Department stands accused of unnecessary delays in providing schools with HIV education material

Yolandi Groenewald

For four years Eastern Cape schools have had no HIV/Aids-awareness material in their classrooms. The cause is bureaucratic delays, bungling and a startling lack of urgency.

"Aids is not urgent. It will always be there among us," NZ Mtshabe, chairperson of the province's tender board, is recorded as saying in board minutes from 2001 that the *Mail & Guardian* has seen.

And yet, after years of declining to use material from a publisher that has provided Aids education materials to other provinces, the department took the material without the publisher's permission, and sent it to the government printers to be used as Aids-awareness material in the province.

The disks of the material were delivered to the government printers in March last year, before a High Court

interdict obtained by Johannesburg-based publishers Lectio in April prevented the printing of the material. In a later court case, begun in May, in which Lectio challenged tender procedures relating to the Aids materials, it was admitted that the department had taken the material from the publishers.

Lectio approached the High Court in Bisho in May last year to review the refusal of the tender board to grant permission to the Eastern Cape Department of Education to purchase their materials from them.

The hearing began in October, and last week the court ruled in favour of the Department of Education. It said the department's unauthorised taking of the material was not disputed, but the court could not force one party to enter into a contract with another. Judge AJ Hole recommended the process go out to tender to select an appropriate supplier.

In fact, it had gone out to tender on a previous occasion — a 2001 tender was withdrawn by the department because, it said, the advertisements were not clear and because quotes it received were too high. There was no subsequent tender process and there is still almost no Aids-awareness material in Eastern Cape schools. Ironically, what there is is probably material bought from Lectio (during the court case) by a middleman in the Eastern Cape.

The Eastern Cape Department of Education declined to answer questions from the *M&G*, claiming the case was still sub judice.

Lectio publishers told the *M&G*: "The Eastern Cape Department of Education and the tender board's inability to make a transparent decision have caused us to lose well-deserved business. And their budget is largely unspent each year."

Mariette Linde, a director of the

company, said: "We thought we had a good relationship with the department's special needs unit, though we never received one order till this year. But we remained hopeful till they tried to print our material. That is when we realised we had to take action."

Linde said that for four years the Eastern Cape Department of Education had promised lucrative orders without following through. "I believe they were sincere, but time and again they came up against the tender board, who refused to grant them exemption from the tender process to buy the materials."

The minutes of the procurement committee for 2000, 2001 and 2002 reveal that, despite the pleas of special needs unit officials to be permitted to buy the ready-made material from Lectio, the committee recommended that the contract should be put out to tender.

“But,” said Linde, “that did not happen and no purchases of HIV/Aids educational material were made.” Lectio had submitted new, updated material to the department every year. The department ordered no materials — then the material was sent directly to the government printers.

In an affidavit, special needs coordinator Noxolo Gwarube said she “was not aware of the copyright in the applicant’s materials prior to the cancellation of the order placed with the government printers”.

Linde claims Gwarube cannot plead ignorance because the quotations she received from Lectio made it clear that the material was copyrighted.

Tembani Mtyida, the department’s director of special needs in education, said in his affidavit to the court: “Where textbooks or materials can only be obtained from one source, tenders can still be called for, and it is not a given fact that tenders will then not be called for.”

The procurement committee made the decision to award the HIV/Aids awareness contract to the government printers in February last year. According to the minutes of its meeting: “The government printer has materials which are used by most provinces and only need to be reproduced when required. No quotations were requested from other companies because of this and the fact that there is an agreement to do printing with the government printer.”

Lectio will appeal Judge Hole’s decision. “We just want the opportunity to do fair business in the Eastern Cape,” Linde said. “We still do not know why our materials were not ordered from us.”

HIV decimates troops

Rory Carroll

HIV/Aids is devastating Africa's armed forces in a wave of infections driven largely by foreign peacekeeping missions, according to new research.

The disease has overtaken combat and malaria as the leading cause of death among soldiers and sailors.

Western diplomats and military officials have expressed alarm that sub-Saharan countries will be left without the means to tackle insurgencies, disorder and terrorism.

A study on the Nigerian armed forces this week confirmed suspicions that military personnel are far likelier than civilians to be infected with HIV.

"Aids is now the leading cause of death in military and police forces in some African countries, accounting for more than half of in-service mortality," it reported.

Most of the Nigerians surveyed knew that HIV could be transmitted through sex, but that knowledge was undermined by the false belief that there was a cure for Aids.

Published by *BioMed Central*, an independent peer-reviewed public health journal, the research put Nigeria's armed forces in the same league as those of Angola, Cameroon, South Africa and Uganda, which separate studies have shown to have high rates of infection.

"Personnel in the military are at increased risk of HIV infection.

"Naval personnel who have been transferred abroad reported significantly more risky sexual behaviour than others." — © Guardian Newspapers 2004

HIV/Aids barometer

Estimated worldwide HIV infection rate:

59 383 707 at noon
on Wednesday
October 6

Funding the fight:

The Global Fund to Fight Aids, Tuberculosis and Malaria awarded Uganda a new grant of \$70-million last Friday to battle the disease and expand life-prolonging therapy with anti-retroviral drugs.

Mary Muduuli, Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Finance who signed the agreement on behalf of Uganda's government, said the new funding would not just be used for buying anti-retrovirals.

"Among others, the money will be used on activities to prevent the spread of the virus, provide seed money to people living with HIV/Aids and to monitor drug resistance to anti-retroviral drugs," she told a news conference in the capital, Kampala.

The grant means the Geneva-based fund has now approved more than \$270-million in funds for Uganda.

The government says about 1.2-million Ugandans are infected with HIV, and doctors say about 100 000 have Aids and would benefit from drug treatment.

Last week a

Ugandan support group for people living with the disease questioned the country's much-acclaimed official statistics, saying the real prevalence of the virus was higher than the 6% claimed by the government.

The Global Fund was set up in 2002 as the brainchild of United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, but the public-private partnership is not part of the UN bureaucracy.

The fund has committed \$3-billion to more than 300 programmes in 128 countries, of which \$500-million has been disbursed.

Source: Reuters

Securing the future in the present

Nawaal Deane speaks to Kate Miszewski, manager of the Old Mutual Foundation, and Benna van der Merwe, the foundation's CSI practitioner, about their projects which empower communities to support Aids orphans

As business, how do you step into the intimate space of children who have lost their parents?

Kate Miszewski: Five years ago we started examining the issue of Aids orphans and vulnerable children. On our regular trips to our community projects we came face-to-face with various poverty and welfare issues, and noticed that many children were not at school. This influenced our thinking towards a child-centred approach because in five to 10 years' time, business will be employing people from this generation and we need to help create a well-educated, healthy, value-based society.

Why did the foundation decide to take up the issue of Aids orphans and vulnerable children?

KM: Orphans and vulnerable children became an increasingly noticeable trend and we were in a position to ... start addressing the problem in consultation and link these initiatives with other projects that the foundation is involved in. The foundation spent more than R75-million from 2001 to 2004 on four focus areas of HIV/Aids, local economic development, education and staff volunteerism.

How do you plan your work in communities?

KM: Always in collaboration with the communities, in dialogue around the issues that confront them. Orphans and vulnerable children are a part of

these communities. We have to find a way, collaboratively, to support them and care for them in situ rather than following the institutional route. We engage to help address and resolve those issues. Part of the planning is examining who has what resources and how best these can be used. For example, if there is a small existing structure, we could help finance the additional building costs for a community centre and the community will manufacture the bricks, do the construction and run the project.

Why is it important to get community involvement?

Benna van der Merwe: I think if you go into the community and want to do it on their behalf, there is no way you can succeed. People that come in and want to change the community's lives generally do more damage than good. You cannot run this kind of programme from the outside. Once there is consensus about how the initiative will be implemented, structures are put in place and we provide training — but it must be sustainable, the community must be able to continue with the initiative long after it has been established. Early in the process we seek out NGOs in the field and learn what they do in the community, then create partnerships. It is a multi-sectoral approach.

What is the best approach for orphans or child-headed households?

BvdM: There is a difference between rural and urban areas — in rural areas there must be a place of safety, not for children to live in, but a place for them to go where there is adult

supervision. We cannot expect the volunteers to visit child-headed households on a daily basis. Typically we want a centre where children can receive support, where they can be fed, learn valuable life skills, leave younger siblings while they attend school, receive help with their homework and learn how to set up their own food gardens.

How does this translate into a successful programme for the foundation?

BvdM: It's vital that every vulnerable child has access to support, education and health care. It is about a nine-year-old not going to school because he is worried about feeding his younger brothers and sisters. Those children have a far better chance of succeeding if they receive support from a model such as a community centre and can go to school — as without the centre they would have been out looking for food. Collectively such examples translate into a successful programme because the foundation has to date donated R5,3-million to Aids and vulnerable children programmes operating in five provinces.

Through our support of the Rural Economic Development Initiative, funding has been allocated to Aids and food security projects, with about 140 projects established from 2001 to 2004. Through our staff Adopt an Orphan project, 650 orphans receive monthly financial support from 375 staff members. Of these children, 156 receive additional funding, held in trust, towards their tertiary education. We also make donations to Aids-related projects, such as hospices

caring for mothers with Aids, and programmes set up to help ~~grandmothers caring for their~~ grandchildren.

KM: You only have to ask yourself what will happen to business generally if we don't get involved. With one million orphans today and possibly two million in five years — if we don't manage this crisis now we never will get a grip on it.

There are so many children needing support. How do you draw the line between what business, the government or communities can do?

KM: Our approach is to focus on selected projects — we would prefer to do a few things really well. This is not the only way to approach social development, but it is our preferred approach. The government sets the development agenda and has certain critical targets, business supports these goals, and one of the strengths of business is that we have the ability to respond swiftly to issues. The communities are the operators at the coalface, ensuring that programmes work. There needs to be collective agreement around the priorities; a common agenda around social development. I think the road map should be clear, simple and we must all participate in this.

Don't confuse Aids debate – MCC

Medicines council will stop Rath Foundation's SA operations if its claims are proven false

Nawaal Deane

The Medicines Council Control (MCC) has defended itself against charges that it is failing to crack down on the Dr Rath Health Foundation's anti-Aids drug campaign, saying it does not want to further polarise the debate on Aids treatment and confuse patients.

MCC registrar Humphrey Zokufa said the council's inspectors were investigating the foundation's claims. If they were found to be false, action would be taken to prevent it from operating in South Africa.

This week the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) threatened the MCC with legal action for failing to take a public stance on the efficacy of anti-retroviral drugs and for not acting against the Rath foundation for its claims "that anti-retroviral drugs

should not be taken and that multivitamins are a treatment for HIV/Aids".

Zokufa said: "It is a concern that the debate has become polarised [between advocates of anti-retrovirals and advocates of vitamins]. Our view is that a comprehensive approach is needed."

He said vitamins did contribute to health and were provided as part of the package to people with HIV and Aids. At the same time, anti-retrovirals were registered subject to carrying health warnings about their toxicity and side-effects. "But if Rath is claiming vitamins should be used instead of anti-retroviral drugs, that is incorrect."

At a media conference this week, the TAC accused Rath of peddling high doses of vitamins in Cape Town's black townships and "conducting unauthorised, unethical and dangerous experiments on people with HIV". However,

at a Durban conference two weeks ago Minister of Health Manto Tshabalala-Msimang backed Rath's views on the role of micronutrients in combating Aids. Some observers fear the TAC and the government are on a collision course, despite the fact that both sup-

port the goal of rolling out a comprehensive treatment plan.

Next week a judge will hear a TAC plea for an urgent interdict against allegedly defamatory statements by the Rath foundation, which claim the Aids lobby group is funded by pharmaceuti-

cal firms and the Soros Foundation.

The Rath foundation's representative, Anthony Brink, will argue that it should not be deprived of the right to free expression and robust participation in a debate of public interest. In court papers Brink says contentious questions about Aids have been elevated "from a matter of public health to one of national politics ... elements in the media desire [the foundation's] voices to be silenced and arguments stifled".

The TAC believes Rath is using smear tactics to further its commercial interests. An affidavit from TAC leader Zackie Achmat argues that the right of free expression does not include the right to defame others. "If Rath did not attack the integrity of TAC [we] would not have brought this application ... A sustained campaign of slander and incitement by the respondents misuses the vulnerability of people with HIV/Aids and undermines our work and reputation."

Why I never quite fell for journalism by stereotype

Comment



The more I read Rory Carroll's piece ("Why I never quite fell for South Africa", August 18) the more I was reminded of a recent letter from the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) to Fifa, explaining to world football's governing body why it had made a mistake by letting South Africa host the soccer World Cup in 2010.

Carroll says there is no need for alarm, yet he is nothing short of alarmist.

On the evidence of this and other articles, Carroll abhors easy racial profiling, and is likely to be devastated by any association of his views with those of the whites-only HNP. But in this case the similarities are striking. Both the HNP and Carroll rely on the HIV/Aids and crime statistics to conclude that South Africa

is a country at war with itself.

The HNP's language is more dramatic. He asks in the letter: "Are you prepared to expose your soccer stars and countrymen to a situation where law and order is seriously in jeopardy? Are you prepared to expose them to violent crimes such as robbery, battery, assault, rape and possibly murder?"

Carroll dispenses with the hyperbole, but lets it slip that South Africa's crime situation has challenged his opposition to capital punishment.

As Sepp Blatter proclaimed in

astonishment at the bad-mouthing of this country: "Mamma Mia."

So what do we say about our man in Johannesburg? That he at least, unlike the HNP, was not motivated by racism, but was just penning his objective feelings about South Africa based on his experiences?

Carroll's anguished outpouring coincided with a conference in Nairobi last week that discussed how the world media covers Africa. The overwhelming feeling from African journalists was disgust at how, at a stroke of a pen, international

correspondents misrepresent the continent and consign it to the realm of stereotype.

Carroll makes bold, sweeping statements about this country that appear to stem more from his generalised opinions about Africa. Reading his piece you are likely to get a picture of a country on the precipice of collapse. Save for the qualifications about South Africa's unique race relations, he could have been describing the European or North American journalist's stereotypical Africa.

Carroll says he "watched the country inch closer to a one-party state". What image springs to mind? Idi Amin's Uganda? Mengistu's Ethiopia? Bokassa's Central African Republic? Is this just one more example of natives battling to handle power and the post-colonial bequest? Where a power-hungry ruling party is typically abusing its majority to suppress opposition and entrench itself as the sole custodian of democracy?

This is not the South Africa that I know. The throwaway line about sliding towards a one-party state (which this country is manifestly not) suggests some kind of wrongdoing and manipulation of the political system. Carroll should know better.

His reference to his "Zulu gardener" pilfering his radio cassette player betrays an inclination to explain black South African behaviour in terms of peculiar tribal origins. Need we recall that this sort of sociological exposition is an outgrowth of colonialism?

In all his time here, Carroll probably never found a single newspaper article that talked about a "Zulu gardener", a "Xhosa businessman" or a "Sotho journalist". Such characterisations have largely fallen away in democratic South Africa, and people do not relate to each other in this way, because it is simply irrelevant. What if it was a "Tswana gardener"? What difference does that make?

But what the hell. If a hackneyed phrase works for your international audience, why give it up?

Carroll's views about sleeping with black women are a dead giveaway. It is a shocking judgmental view about the millions of us who are, or who sleep with, the dreaded black women. His attempt to rationalise this in statistical terms looks very thin when viewed against a constant, snooty theme that runs throughout the piece.

Back in London, does he have a similar moral dilemma socialising with Muslim men, as some hack is sure to assert that "statistically" they are more likely to belong to al-Qaeda than any other segment of

the population? Or trouble hanging around with

British royals, who seem more statistically inclined to make fools of themselves in public?

In one fell swoop, Carroll has defined this country (maybe even the continent) and closed the subject. Is he coming back for the World Cup in 2010? Or like the HNP, would he not want to expose himself and his family to the possibility of rape or murder?

*Rapule
Tabane is
associate
deputy editor*

HIV/Aids barometer

Aids-related deaths in South Africa: 1 967 490 at noon on November 22 2006

Deadly and rising:

The global HIV/Aids epidemic is expanding, according to new figures released this week by UNAids and the World Health Organisation (WHO), with sub-Saharan Africa still carrying the heaviest burden. Of the estimated 4,3-million new infections in 2006, 65% occurred in the region.



Despite a major scale-up in antiretroviral treatment, the area accounted for almost three-quarters of Aids-related deaths. Overall, the region is now home to an estimated 24,7-million HIV-infected people, up from 22,6-million two years ago.

The *2006 Aids Epidemic Update* records alarming evidence of a resurgence of HIV infection in countries that previously had some success in stabilising or reducing prevalence.

Southern Africa is still hardest hit. In this region, Zimbabwe is the only country where HIV data indicate a decline in adult HIV prevalence from around 30% in the early 2000s to 24% in 2004. The report says that "inconsistencies and biases in some of the data mean that the extent of the decline in HIV prevalence might not be as substantial as indicated by the antenatal clinic data".

In other countries, such as Lesotho and Malawi, UNAids points out that rising mortality rates could be masking the impact of new infections, rather than the success of HIV-prevention efforts creating an apparently stable level of HIV infection. In countries where the epidemic emerged a little later, such as Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa, HIV levels are rising.

Source: *Irin/Plus news*

MCC stalls new Aids drugs

Activists plan worldwide action against Medicines Control Council and pharmaceutical companies

Belinda Beresford

South Africans have been denied the "biggest advance" in antiretroviral therapy over the last few years because of a lack of urgency in the drug registration process in South Africa, according to the Treatment Action Campaign.

The TAC is calling for the urgent registration of Tenofovir, which is considered one of the safest antiretroviral (ARV) drugs and needs only to be taken once a day. Tenofovir was submitted for registration to the Medicines Control Council (MCC) in 2005. More than a year later, there is no sign of a decision.

The TAC is planning a campaign of action against the MCC and the pharmaceutical company Aspen Pharmacare, which holds the South African licence for Tenofovir. The Aids Law Project has, on behalf of the TAC, sent letters to the MCC and Aspen demanding that they explain the delay by February 2. The TAC has planned a day of worldwide demonstrations on February 22.

The TAC is also turning its attention to the potential registration of Atripla, a three-in-one combination pill that also needs only to be taken once a day.

Tenofovir, which was registered by the US Food and Drug Administration in 2001, is already being used

in the private sector in South Africa under an exemption clause that allows the use of unregistered drugs on a "named patient, named doctor" basis. However, Tenofovir cannot be considered for inclusion in the government's national HIV treatment guidelines until it is registered.

Aspen chief executive Stephen Saad says his company has no problem with the speed of the Tenofovir registration process, and that he is confident it is being fast tracked in the registration process. The fast track process generally allows the drug to be assessed within nine months after application for registration. However, the Tenofovir registration was submitted more than a year ago, and as yet Aspen has no idea when registration will be complete. The company has already started manufacturing the drug, and currently has almost a quarter of a million pills ready for sale.

The MCC said it could not answer many of the *Mail & Guardian's* questions. However, the Registrar of Medicines, Mandisa Hela, said the national guidelines for ARV treatment "are reviewed when there is a necessity to do so". She said 1 130 applications for registration were received by the MCC in 2006.

AIDS Law Project senior researcher Jonathan Berger says his organisation is acting for the TAC because it is concerned about barriers to appropriate health care interventions. "The delayed registration of Tenofovir is symptomatic of the broader problem of drug registration, which is agonisingly slow and non-transparent, putting the public's health and welfare at risk. We need access to newer and better medicines — we should not be held hostage by bureaucratic bungling and inaction," says Berger.

"There are probably many reasons for the slow registration process, but if one is a shortage of resources

at the MCC, then government has a duty to ensure that the MCC is able to do its job."

"The consensus among HIV clinicians is that Tenofovir is an excellent

product. Sure, it might make ARV treatment slightly more expensive in the short term, but it will reduce costs associated with the monitoring and treatment of side effects. More importantly, its use will improve the quality of life for many people on ARV treatment. We have no financial interest in this matter. Neither the ALP nor the

TAC will accept money from either the brand-name or generic pharmaceutical industry."

Tenofovir is a nucleotide reverse transcriptase inhibitor (NtRTI) which blocks the replication of HIV, but it does so at a different point to all other inhibitors. As a result it can be used as a substitute for other classes of ARVs, and is particularly useful for patients who have already developed drug resistance.

In South Africa, doctors would particularly like to use Tenofovir as a substitute for d4T, which is widely used because of its cost and efficacy, but which is associated with higher levels of side effects, and particularly a potentially fatal condition in overweight women, lactic acidosis.

The head of the Southern Africa HIV Clinicians Society, Dr Francois Venter, is enthusiastic about the drug: "Tenofovir has been the biggest stride forward in antiretroviral drug development for the last few years. If we could get this drug registered fast, it would be of huge benefit to many South Africans needing or on treatment. People with side effects could substitute with Tenofovir. People starting antiretrovirals could even commence on Tenofovir, in conjunction with other antiretrovirals, and avoid the risk of the side effects we see with the other drugs."

The rights to Tenofovir are owned by US company Gilead Sciences, but Aspen has been given the licence in South Africa. Aspen already distributes many ARVs, especially cheaper generic versions of drugs for which it received licences from the patent owners. The granting of these licences was in part the result of lobbying by the TAC and other activist groups.

Mail & Guardian

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A new age of denial

The signs are there. We are in a new age of denial. In 1999, President Thabo Mbeki, fresh in office and faced with the spectre of a new struggle, this time against HIV and Aids, turned his face away. He dabbled with fringe science, establishing a panel to attempt to refute that which was accepted by the world: that HIV causes Aids.

Nothing could sway Mbeki. For four painful and death-filled years he stuck to his guns: Aids, he believed, was an imposed crisis which gave black men the reputation of animals who could not control their sexual craving.

Antiretrovirals, the drugs which have proven that Aids can be downgraded from a life-threatening to a chronic disease, were poisons. In 2003, facing an internal party rebellion, Mbeki recanted and retreated into a sullen silence on this most pressing of leadership challenges. We will never catch up the lost time.

In 2007, the signs are there again. This time it is crime, arguably one of the most acute crises facing his government. Crime is ripping into the heart of the country and not only into its white heart, as Mbeki and his lieutenants still seem to believe.

He is at it again: in his sonorous intellectual voice Mbeki has denied that crime is out of control. He is using and misusing statistics as he did at the height of Aids denial. Now, as then, he is not feeling the (weakening) pulse of his people. And, again, he is revealing his propensity to trust in conspiracy theories.

To wit, his letter to the nation on the party's website last week: "In the face of a sustained campaign by some to seek political gain from the problem of crime, the people of South Africa need to maintain a steady focus ... We cannot allow this important work to be diverted by the feverish denouncements that have preoccupied so many in the media in the [past] two weeks ..."

If the complaints about his attitude continue, Mbeki will start blaming whites in general and foreigners in particular.

He is the Nero in our midst. It is progress, but still cold comfort, that the numbers of murders have dropped from 25 965 in 1994 to 18 258 in 2005/06.

That's still 50 people every day, and even as the murder rate falls, the number of victims continue to grow. The thing about murder and death is that you cannot rationalise its horror and the ensuing fear. And you certainly cannot deny it. Mbeki may be right as a statistician, but he is dead wrong as a politician.

Crime caused the adjournment of parliamentary work this week as the chairperson of its public accounts committee, Themba Godi noted. Business Against Crime executive Alan McKenzie was shot and almost fatally injured; he could not make a presentation to Parliament. And again, South Africa was in the international headlines for crime as the murder of the celebrated historian, David Rattray, reverberated across the globe.

A politically weak Mbeki must not be allowed by the ruling party to turn his face away from crime. It reduces democracy and entrenches poverty. There is no shame in fighting crime; as there is no shame in doing our damndest to ensure the next generation is born HIV-free.

A looming 'wave of child mortality'

Anso Thom

HIV is the driving force behind South Africa's high child death rates. Unless there is a concerted effort to put child survival strategies in place, the country faces an "unstoppable wave of child mortality", paediatricians have warned. The knock-on effects for the future of South Africa's youth, and therefore the economy, could be dire.

Speaking at the national Aids conference in Durban two weeks ago, Professor Nigel Rollins, head of the department of paediatrics and child health at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, said South Africa was one of nine countries where child mortality was increasing.

Rollins had warned earlier this year that fatigue over prevention of mother to child Transmission (PMTCT) of HIV had set in and that multitudes of children were getting infected needlessly.

His comments were in response to the health department announcing with great fanfare that it would soon have "100% coverage for PMTCT".

Rollins reported that a study of 2 470 infants (all six weeks old), who attended up to 11 different immunisation clinics around KwaZulu-Natal, revealed that more than 7% were HIV-infected by the time they reached the clinic and that "the story was only going to get worse because more

children were going to get infected" through a mix of formula and breastfeeding.

This meant that in KwaZulu-Natal the rate of children born to HIV-infected mothers who become infected was 20,8%. In other parts of South Africa it is 7%. It stands at 2% in other parts of the world, said Rollins.

He added that while there might be some centres of relative excellence within the country, the overall picture was poor. "Transmission of HIV to infants is one area of HIV that genuinely falls within the sphere of influence as more than 90% of HIV-infected pregnant women attend antenatal clinics and could therefore be reached with preventive interventions. Avoiding transmission would be possible with concerted and focused actions," said Rollins.

"Even at sites where PMTCT is delivered, the story is pretty dismal. Between 40% and 80% of women at antenatal clinics accept voluntary counselling and testing, while only between 10% and 60% of HIV-infected women get nevirapine and fewer than half of their babies get tested

after birth," he said. Rollins added that the quality of counselling offered to women was often poor.

Dr Harry Moultrie of the Harriet Shezi Children's Clinic at Chris Hani Baragwanath hospital said it was critical for the PMTCT programme to function optimally because the health system would not cope with the rising number of HIV-positive children.

He said one-third of children were dying before they were 12 months old.

"We are facing an unstoppable wave of child mortality," he said.

Given the high mortality rate, Moultrie said it was critical to introduce mandatory HIV-testing of all children at their six-week immunisation visit to the clinics.

Dr Tanya Doherty, senior scientist at the Medical Research Council and Health Systems Trust, said there was room for improvement of the PMTCT programme.

She said results from the *District Health Barometer* suggested that the quality of the services currently being provided needed greater attention.

The overall rate of HIV-testing uptake among antenatal clients for the country in 2005/06 was 45,2%, and there had been virtually no improvement since 2004/05.

"This highlights the need for HIV-testing to be integrated as a routine

part of antenatal care, specifically with the introduction of a routine offer testing strategy," said Doherty.

This strategy has been shown, most notably in Botswana, to increase uptake of ante-natal HIV-testing dramatically.

The *Barometer* also found that only half of the women who tested HIV-positive were recorded as having received nevirapine. —
Health eNews

Baby mortality bombshell

MRC report says one in five infant deaths is avoidable

Belinda Beresford

A newly collated Medical Research Council (MRC) report cites healthcare workers as saying that 20% of the 23 000 newborn babies who die in South Africa each year could probably have been saved.

The bombshell report comes against the background of the dismissal of deputy health minister Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge shortly after she declared there was crisis at East London's Frere Hospital over its high infant death toll and other aspects of care.

Madlala-Routledge was publicly repudiated by Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang and President Thabo Mbeki.

Two senior doctors at the East London Hospital Complex, the medical superintendent of Cecilia Makiwane Hospital, Nokuzola Ntshona, and Nared Pandey, head of clinical services for the complex, have since been suspended for backing Madlala-Routledge in statements to the media.

Ntshona told the *Sunday Times* that Frere was hastily spruced up and fitted with equipment — including some taken from her own hospital without authority — before a visit by Tshabalala-Msimang. She had previously written a letter to Mbeki detailing concerns about the hospital.

Another letter she submitted to Parliament's health committee during its visit to the East London Hospital Complex last week reportedly quoted a paediatrician as saying that 200 children a month were dying in each hospital from bacterial infections.

The latest *Saving Babies 2003-2005* report, compiled annually by the national Perinatal Problem Identification Programme (PPIP) and collated

by the MRC, covers the period October 2003 to March 2006. It cites the healthcare workers who provide data as saying that 20% of perinatal deaths were "clearly avoidable by addressing factors within the health system. The intrapartum [during birth] period was the area in which clearly avoidable deaths were most frequent."

In rural areas, cities and towns 25% of neonatal deaths were avoidable, compared to about 12% in met-

ropolitan areas.

The report remarks that there has been a "disturbing" lack of progress in reducing infant mortality in South Africa. Since the national database began in 2000, neither the perinatal (including still and live births) nor the neonatal (after birth) death rate had changed. By contrast, Malawi had managed to quarter its perinatal death rate over the past five years.

The report adds that the avoidable deaths "are not complex or expensive to prevent — improving the quality of care during childbirth is a top priority".

Madlala-Routledge told a press conference she had come to the "shocking realisation that some of these deaths were avoidable and that the situation is not unique to Frere Hospital".

The report details avoidable or modifiable factors that could reduce deaths among infants and classifies them as patient, healthcare worker or administration related. The latter included insufficient equipment and staff.

Delays in seeking medical attention during labour are "mostly due to lack of transport from home to a healthcare institution", it says, estimating that transport problems had played a

role in 656 infant deaths.

Other South African studies have found the main obstacles for women seeking antenatal care are getting to the clinics — in terms of opening times, costs and time of travel — and the attitude of nurses. The report says these should be considered health system problems.

Using data from 15 hospitals, a subdivision of the PPIP system, the Child Healthcare Problem Identification Programme (Chip) found that more than half of infant deaths occurred before the child turned one.

The majority (58%) of clinical records were incomplete, inadequate or missing. The HIV status of half the

There has been a "disturbing" lack of progress in reducing infant mortality in South Africa

children was unknown at the time of their death, and in 65% of cases it was uncertain whether the child received nevirapine to reduce its chances of acquiring HIV from the mother.

Fewer than one in five children dying of PCP — a pneumonia commonly associated with HIV — were known to have been given prophylactic antibiotics to prevent the disease, the Chip found.

The report says that for each child who died, there are an average of 2,3 occurrences of “sub-standard care that may have contributed to that child’s death”.

Of these “modifiable” factors, 78% occurred within the health service.

“For each death there was more than one instance of sub-standard/modifiable care attributable to clinical personnel, and most were due to insufficient case assessment, monitoring and management,” it says.

A total of 807 “administer-related” modifiable factors, or 52 per 100 deaths, was noted, mostly involving inadequate facilities and a lack of personnel, particularly professional nurses.

Writing in the foreward, Dr Joy Lawn says that the neonatal mortality rate in South Africa is, at 21 per 1 000 live births, lower than the regional average of 41 per 1 000 live births but higher than countries with comparable average national incomes.

A significant factor noted by the *Saving Babies* report is HIV infection, which is thought to increase spontaneous preterm deliveries but may also contribute to the high rate of “unexplained” deaths in the womb.

Previous research has found that HIV was a factor in four out of five deaths among children under the age of five and implicated in two out of every five maternal deaths.

It details serious problems with the prevention of mother-to-child transmission programme, identifying “inadequate counselling and the continued lack of universal testing for mothers, gaps in nevirapine prophylaxis to mother and babies, poor feeding choices and follow-up/identification of infants receiving PCP prophylaxis or ART”.