THE UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND

“Disability Isn’t Contagious, Ignorance Is”

A Critical analysis of the socio-cultural construction of disability in rural Swaziland as portrayed in mainstream media

Minor dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree:

Masters in Critical Diversity Studies

Submitted by: Bonisile Sisana Dlamini

Wits Centre for Diversity Studies

Supervisor: Melissa Steyn

March 2020

DECLARATION

I declare that my research **'THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF DISABILITY IN RURAL SWAZILAND AS PORTRAYED IN MAINSTREAM MEDIA'** is my own work and all sources that have been used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged.

SIGNATURE:  **DATE: 30th OCTOBER 2020**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In loving memory of my mother Thembi Dlamini who would have definitely ululated, 'moon walked' and literally 'slaughtered a fattened beast' upon seeing me embark and successfully finish this academic journey.

I would like to pass my deepest appreciation to my husband, Brian Dlamini for being my muse & anchor until eternity. We serve a risen Lord!

My daughters, Noncedo Manana, Sikhulile Dlamini & Velemseni Dlamini for always thinking I make the sun shine.

To my siblings; Makhosi, Tanele, Mbali, Tanya, Tusani and Jabulani who believe I am their role model.

My heartfelt thanks go to all the guys at WICDS; Faith, Jamil Khan, Primus Tazanu, William Mpofu, Robert Maseko, Precious Muzite & Haley McEwen for their endless support.

Thanks to Professor Tommaso Milani for putting me on solid ground and validating me.

Special thanks to Professor Melissa Steyn for changing my life forever. Words fail me!

Last but not least, to God be the glory for making this challenging academic dream of mine a reality.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

MCDA	**Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis**
FODSWA	**Federation of Disabled people in Swaziland**
MCDA	**Multi-Modal Critical Discourse Analysis**
MoHSW	**Ministry of Health & Social Welfare**
NGO	**Non-Governmental Organizations**
PHC	**Population Health Census**
PLWHA	**People Living with HIV/AIDS**
SODV	**Sexual Offenses and Domestic Violence**
STBC	**Swaziland Television Broadcasting Corporation**
WHO	**World Health Organization**

Abstract

Disability happens to be one of the stigmatized discourses in rural Swaziland where myths and superstitions on just about any discourse abound (SINTEF, 2011). My research coincided with the 2018 national elections in Swaziland which is generally a period that is often marked by an alarming rate of ritual murders of people with disabilities. At the heart of ritual murders are ludicrous cultural and social constructions about people with disabilities. Socio-cultural constructions about people with disabilities tend to reinforce and reproduce existing stigma and social inequalities prevalent in rural communities and seldom are these cultural constructions publicly let alone privately challenged, dispelled or interrogated despite their harm. The media (print) being one of the key knowledge producers in Swaziland has often reproduced ableistic notions about people with disabilities thus reinforcing ableism and disability oppression. Entman and Paletz (1980, p. 154) assert that "however unsubstantial or fanciful, the media's depiction of reality influence the way people think and act politically, the messages affect power".

I therefore opted for this research because disability is amongst the most unpopular, less understood/misunderstood and least researched discourses in Swaziland which is evident in the little, scarce and scanty available resources on disability research. It is also still a less talked about taboo discourse or rather spoken about in hush tones due to misperceptions about it being 'dirty-linen that ought to be swept under the straw-mat'. Personally, being a rural resident, I have also been indirectly affected by disability through kinship relations whereby I have observed how everyday taken-for-granted language and clichés have propagated and reinforced ableism and disability oppression as is invisible naturalized and legitimated at the expense of people with disabilities.

The research also centres on rural communities because that is where about 86% of people with disabilities reside in Swaziland (MoHSW, 2000). Rural communities are generally characterized by a higher level of illiteracy and limited access to knowledge hence myths, misconceptions and superstitions easily breed and are perceived as 'gospel' truth (Dlamini, 2017). Socio-cultural constructions become powerful influences that often 'spread like gangrene' but when timeously 'nipped in the bud' significantly prevent or undo harm on those to whom they are directed or coined which is often marginalized minority groups.

It is against this background then that in this research I critically identify and analyse the socio-cultural constructions of people with disabilities as portrayed in mainstream media. This work is divided into five (5) Chapters namely; Chapter 1 contains the Introduction, Research problem, Rationale and Objectives of the study, Chapter 2 is the Literature Review, Chapter 3 is about the Methodology and Theoretical Framework, Chapter 4 is the Data Analysis and lastly Chapter 5 is the Summary Conclusion and the Bibliography. About 50 articles have been gathered as data.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

People with disabilities are still one of the marginalized and stigmatized minority groups of people in Swaziland (SINTEF, 2011) which is attributed to an array of often implicit ableistic stereotypes, superstitions, traditions, songs, fables, myths and figures of speech including inter alia clichés, maxims, metaphors about disability as a discourse which are passed down as oral traditions. In fact, the term 'disability' itself is controversial and fluid as it is sometimes used to explain less understood taboo discourses such as transgender and homosexuality. Ndlovu (2016, p.32) asserts that in African beliefs

> "there are no absolute, binding and categorical doctrines concerning disability. Instead, there are direct and indirect teachings, attitudes, perspectives, insights, and principles that can be inferred from what particular African peoples do and say under the auspices of prayers, healing practices, magical rituals, festivals, ceremonies, moral teachings, sayings, proverbs and normative behaviour".

Recent statistics by the Population and Housing Census (PHC) on disability prevalence in Swaziland are estimated at 16% of the population, which is approximately 150 000 people (Maziya, 2020). This research utilizes the World Health Organization three (3) typological definition of disability as;

> "A restriction or lack of ability (resulting from impairment) to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a whole being. An impairment is any loss or abnormality of psychological, physiological or anatomical structure or function. A handicap is a disadvantage for a given individual resulting from impairment or disability that limits or prevents the fulfilment role that is normal for that individual" (Deputy Prime Minister's office, 2011, p.5).

Mavundla (2015, p. 246) states that "the most prevalent form of disability in Swaziland is seeing disabilities…whereby out of the 171, 137 people with disabilities, 46% (78, 083) have seeing abilities followed by a group classified as other forms of disabilities at 28% (47, 691)".This thesis examines not just seeing disabilities but all the different types of disabilities according to

the UN definition, including albinism which has just recently been publicly declared as a disability and a national emergency by the Swazi government because of the increasing rate of ritual murder of people with albinism. The 2017 PHC notes that "a total of 7 332 people in the country are with albinism and that represents 0.7 percent of the population. Females account for 51 percent of the people with albinism while males stand at 49 percent." (Maziya, 2020)

This research follows two infamous and unfortunate ableistic incidents whereby in the first one, a prominent Swazi businessman who was identified as Mr Pieterse, who formed part of the business community entourage appointed to meet the Swazi King but the businessman was denied entry by virtue of him being a wheelchair user (Dube, 2013).The second incident is the 2018 national elections, which were marked by an alarming upsurge of ritual murders specifically on people with albinism. At the heart of these dehumanizing incidents is oppressive ableistic ideologies and stereotypes which are often reproduced and reinforced under the banner of Swazi culture. The first incident can be attributed to the socio-cultural belief that 'it is a very bad omen for the King to converse with or just be in close proximity with any persons with disability' (Dlamini, 2017) and the second one can be attributed to the infamous belief that 'the body parts of a person with disability can earn one a fortune' or 'body parts medicine of a person with disability has greater healing properties' (de Jong, 2015).

According to the Disability Policy Audit Research Final Report (2008) the oppression of people with disabilities is not only due to socio-cultural beliefs and practices but also due to the lack of political will and the failure to recognize disability rights as human rights on the part of the government. The impetus for this research has thus been to explore the socio-cultural construction of disability, ableism and disability oppression as portrayed in mainstream media especially with regards to women and children in rural Swaziland.

To this end, 50 newspapers articles have been used as the primary data. These have been sourced from 'The Times of Swaziland' and 'The Swazi Observer' between the 1st January to the 31st December 2018. Although few disability studies have been conducted thus far, statistical information on disability has been gleaned from various government and Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs) reports on past and current relevant studies on disability in Swaziland.

1.1 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The enactment of national disability legislations has often been mockingly coined as a 'toothless bull dog' because of its inability to 'bite' (address) long standing issues of ableism and also to address any issues that relate to disability rights as disability rights in Africa are often considered as a recent phenomenon (Possi, 2014).“Many of persons with disability's “specific” rights have been generally categorized as social rights…” (p.2). However, in some instances disability legislations have at times been misperceived as 'Western world-oriented' or “North-oriented” (p. 12). In Swaziland disability legislation is in place but the Swazi government lacks the political will when it comes to the implementation of laws, policies and domestication of international instruments (SINTEF, 2011). In spite of the commitment by African countries including Swaziland by enacting some legislative and policy steps as indicators of their commitment to advancing the rights of persons with disabilities, legal and policy gaps remain (Nyangweso, 2018, p. 24) .

Consequently, the prolonged overlooking of disability rights plus the narrow perceptions about disability rights plus the inability of the law to punish instigators and perpetrators woven together with false promises by the government and politicians in African countries has often caused people with disabilities to harbour some mistrust on the part of the government and their interactions with society and also to have a marred self-confidence (Possi, 2014). In Swaziland, one of the examples where the legislation has been glaringly ineffective is in the cases of ritual murders whereby arrests of perpetrators are unheard of and rare if not impossible (de Jong, 2015).

Rural women and more so disabled rural women tend to suffer the brunt of disability oppression on two fronts in what is termed by (Adams et al, 2013, p.322) as “double jeopardy.” The oppression of women with disabilities in the Swazi context becomes dual; firstly, as females in a patriarchal society and secondly as disabled in an ableistic society.

1.2 RATIONALE

This research is deemed relevant because of the following reasons;

1.2.1 The culture of silence, ableism and disability oppression

In Swazi culture, less understood discourses like disability are often either mystified or accorded ableistic interpretations or just plainly 'swept under the straw-mat' as they are considered to be 'dirty linen that should not be hung in the closet' or else spoken about in hush tones (Dlamini, 2017). It is therefore common to have people with disabilities to be excluded or hidden from the public eye (Khoza, 2018). For an example, often less understood discourses such as mental illness are often referred to as "an affliction" (Ndlovu, 2016, p. 32) that can be cleansed through African indigenous healing or the performance of magico-spiritual rituals which are prescribed and performed by diviners (p. 33). Traditional healers, often considered as key 'sacred' knowledge producers are believed to be able to contain, diagnose and cure disability (Magesa, 1997). Clichés such as 'a thorn is taken out using another thorn' (meaning 'African science (including witchcraft) challenges can be solved by African science solutions') are often used to legitimate the use of indigenous healing to cure disability. Therefore, this research seeks to challenge the culture of silence, ableism and disability oppression that is deeply embedded in Swazi culture.

1.2.2 Negative ableistic social constructions about disability or people with disabilities

"…Mental illness is caused by witchcraft" (Ndlovu, 2016, p. 33). This is one of the commonly held misconceptions about disability thus people with disabilities are often perceived to harbour evil spirits through bewitchment in their bodies. They are often apportioned the blame for being victims of disability because of their assumed failure to comply with core cultural rituals, thus well-deserving of witchcraft from rivals and ancestor's wrath (p. 32). Possi (2014, p.13) argues that "The stereotypes [against persons with disability] often go unchallenged and the cycle of exclusion is simply reinforced".

1.2.3 Ritual murders of people with disabilities (albinism)

Historically, Swaziland has observed an upsurge of ritual murders on people with disability around the period of national elections. Although current statistics as to the number of people with disability (albinism) that have been murdered are not available it is however indicated that a hand or tongue that has been harvested from a person with albinism fetches an amount of $500 on the black market (de Jong, 2015). However, "other scholars have revealed a transnational trade of body parts for medicinal use in Southern Africa" (Scheper-Hughes and Fellows as cited in de Jong, 2015). Also, legend has it that the body organs of people living with albinisms are endued with supernatural luck to win the jackpot, a fortune, and a seat in parliament or any high-ranking public office position amongst many other opportunities which are construed as monetary ambitions (Ndlovu, 2016).

1.2.4 Media misrepresentation of people with disabilities

The media in Swaziland is one of the vehicles through which often subtle ableistic and less obvious forms of disability oppression of minority groups are reinforced. "…the mass media are distinctive participants in the political, economic, social and cultural power dynamics of society" (Rowland and Scanel, 1994, p. 39). Mills (1995, p. 226) argues that "the discourse of the media in general is an instrument of cultural reproduction, highly implicated within power structures and reflecting values about the world". Popular radio programmes such as 'Khalamdumbadumbane' which are aired on Swazi national radio with an estimated listenership of 79% (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001) tend to perpetuate harmful discourses such as patriarchy, sexism, rape, gender inequality, child marriages and ableism under the guise of Swazi culture. Charlton (1998, p. 24) argues that "cultures are partial expressions of a world in which the dualities of domination / subordination, superiority / inferiority, normality / abnormality are relentlessly reinforced and legitimized".

1.3 THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study has the following specific objectives;

- To explore media representation of people with disabilities in print media.
- To explore the socio-cultural construction of people with disabilities with regards to Swazi customs or language (including clichés, tales, fables, metaphors, similes, enigmas and superstitions).
- To explore the ableism and the disability oppression that is encountered by people with disabilities, especially women and children in rural areas.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section of the research alludes to the ideas of other scholars on disability in Swaziland and other parts of Africa. The latest spate of murder of people with albinism during the 2018 election period in Swaziland and bizarre accounts like Ifeoma's, a Nigerian hunchbacked woman, who was kidnapped and butchered because of the erroneous belief that her hunch contained a magical substance that looks like mercury which has the power to make one wealthy (Nyangweso, 2018) amongst many other incidences and narratives throughout Africa exemplify people's behaviour and perceptions towards people with disabilities. Specifically deliberated here is the role of Swazi culture in the reinforcement and reproduction of ableistic cultural constructions about people with disabilities and harmful discourses such as ableism and disability oppression in rural communities. In Africa, it is argued that perceptions, attitudes and behaviour towards people with disabilities can be adequately interrogated within their social-cultural context (p.4).

2.1 Language, culture and disability

Culture is defined as the "customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious or social group" (MisicIlic, 2004, p. 2). Language is one of the vehicles through which culture is transmitted thus our language influences the society we build, the knowledge that we celebrate and despise, and also the institutions that we build (Machin and Mayr, 2012). In Swaziland language is one of the main ways through which people are socialized and the use of pregnant or indirect (also known as 'beat-around-the-bush') language is often considered as appropriate Swazi decorum and diplomacy (Dlamini, 2017). The Swazi language (SiSwati) itself has a rich array of figures of speech (often idioms, analogies, enigmas, metaphors and even sarcasm) through which often detrimental discourses are reproduced and sustained. Ndlovu (2016) argues that names which are given to children with albinism at birth are indicative of the stigmatization and devaluation of people with disabilities, for instance, names such as Siphesihle (a beautiful gift) and Siphosakhe (One's gift) appear innocent at face value but such names are pregnant with heavy irony, sarcastic stereotypes and stigma for they connote a sense of a rarity or uniqueness. These names serve as markers of difference as they accentuate

the perceived difference (skin pigmentation in this case) of children with albinism which is culturally considered to be an abnormality.

Some of the Swazi words that identify people with disabilities are also derogatory in nature. For instance, the word "inkawu" (p. 34) which is translated to mean a 'vervet' monkey, is the common name for persons with albinism. On the other hand, Ndlovu (2016, p. 36) argues that Swazi culture does condemn and warn against ableism and disability oppression. For instance, sayings such as; 'Linceba lendvodza alihlekwa' (loosely translated as 'One should desist from laughing at another man's wound or scar or injury') and 'Wahleka inkawu utayitala' (loosely translated as 'Once you laugh at a person with albinism, you will also bear a child with albinism') and 'Wahleka sichwala nawe uyawuchwala ngemuso' (translated as 'Once you laugh at a person with a disability, you will also have a disability in future').

Ndlovu (2016, p. 36) argues that these idiomatic expressions encapsulate the doctrine of personhood and 'ubuntu' (humanity) in that "a person is not defined in terms of his physical, mental or psychological qualities, but in terms of his and her social babyhood, childhood, teenage years, adulthood, communal membership, and nationhood." He adds that these are some of the African sayings that enjoin society to treat people with disabilities humanely, respectfully and empathically.

However, my contention to that premise is that these idiomatic expressions as well-meaning as Ndlovu and maybe others assume them to be, they still have an ableistic connotation about them as they still carry an implicit element of sarcastic objectification and devaluation about persons with disability or just disability. An example would be the saying "Linceba lendvodza alihlekwa" (translated as 'one should desist from laughing at another man's wound') (p. 36). The word 'linceba' itself which is translated to mean 'a wound, 'a scar' or 'an injury' is very sarcastic in that the comparison of 'a wound', 'a scar' or 'an injury' in the saying itself to a person with disability is rather replete with sarcasm or irony when one considers that people with disabilities are culturally assumed to cause or rather be the cause of (emotional) 'wounds' or 'pain' or 'injury' in families as they are perceived to be a symbol of breached taboos thus resulting in 'curses' and 'bad luck' by divinities or ancestors (Possi, 2014). Mbiti in Mabuza (2001, p. 81) asserts that ancestral spirits function to reward, punish guide, protect, heal and generally control the destiny of their living relatives thus ancestors are acknowledged at every domestic event; births, marriages, illness, building, moving homestead etc".

Wounds, injuries, scars and even curses and bad luck represent negative and undesirable feelings of 'pain' or 'agony' in the general African sense. Families often have to perform certain magico-spiritual rituals as a symbol of penitence to avert or rectify or alleviate the pain of curses and bad luck (Ndlovu, 2016).

Also, idiomatic expressions such as "Wahleka sichwala nawe uyawuchwala ngemuso" which is translated as 'Once you laugh at a person with disability, you will also have a disability in future as well' (Ndlovu, 2016, p. 36) still use highly stigmatized words such as 'sichwala'. In actual fact the literal translation of this idiom is 'Once you laugh at a person with a major deficiency you will also have a major deficiency in future as well'. This idiom is similar to the Asian notion of 'karma' (loosely translated to mean 'one's bad actions will eventually catch up with them'). 'Sichwala' is generally an ancient, indigenous and derogatory vernacular word used to refer to people with disabilities which literally translates as 'one with a major deficiency'. In recent years it has been replaced with the 'politically' correct language; 'bantfu labakhubatekile' (loosely translated as 'persons with disabilities'). 'Persons with disabilities' is considered appropriate because it is known as the 'people first' language which is said to humanize people with disabilities (Possi, 2014).

Perhaps if the idiom used the appropriate 'people first' language (that is persons with disabilities) it would suffice as encapsulating the doctrine of personhood and ubuntu as asserted by Ndlovu but rather by using the now irrelevant and forbidden word 'sichwala' (meaning 'one with a major deficiency') in a subtle way it reproduces and reinforces the inaccurate ableistic stereotype about people with disabilities being considered as deficient beings. If there is still a need to use these idioms in today's language then there is an urgent need to revise them so that they integrate the correct language.

Likewise, the derogatory word 'inkawu' (translated as 'vervet' monkey) is still used in some of the idioms such as 'Wahleka inkawu nawe utayitala' (loosely translated as 'Once you laugh at a person with albinism, you will also bear a child with albinism') (Ndlovu, 2016). Here also the literal translation is 'Once you laugh at a 'monkey' you will bear a 'monkey' as well as opposed to Ndlovu's translation. Notably here is that the idiom uses the derogatory word 'inkawu' which is a dehumanizing stereotype about people with disabilities. Idioms one of the many subtle and implicit ways in which less obvious forms of disability oppression and ableism are reproduced and reinforced. Morna and Shilongo (2004, p 68) argue that "Language (words and phrases)

can reinforce gender, racial, ethnic and other stereotypes as well as perpetuate stigma and discrimination against groups of people based on sex, race, ability, class, ethnicity and HIV status.". Language also shapes and maintains a society's ideas and values, it can also serve to create, maintain and legitimise certain kinds of social practices (p.18).

2.2 Ableism and disability oppression

Ableism is a term that is used "to describe the discrimination against and the exclusion of individuals with physical and mental disabilities from full participation and opportunity within society's systems and activities" (Adams et al, 2013). Some of the public incidents alluded to earlier in this research indicate that Swazi culture has been at the heart of ableistic oppressive ideologies. Nyangweso (2018, p. 7) asserts that the suffering of people with disabilities in Africa is not dire because they are stigmatized but because their suffering is rooted and justified by culture and religion. African culture and religious values offer a variety of misperceptions of disability (p.4). There has also been a couple of occurrences whereby Swazi culture demonstrated some resistance to diversity and social justice which was evidenced by the backlash by dominant groups in the face of oppression of subjugated groups.

According to the Swaziland Human Development Report (2007) diversity has not been embraced by Swazis as they are generally socialized to be suspicious of anything perceived new or different. For an example, practices like monogamy are considered as western and suspect. A recent incident in Swaziland has been shocking comments by a prominent Swazi parliamentarian calling for the amendment of the Sexual Offences and Domestic (SODV) which have been captured in the article "SODV Act 'unSwati'-MP" (Dlamini, 2019). The act, which advocates and protects human rights especially for subjugated groups (women, children and people with disabilities), is rather misconstrued by the parliamentarian to 'divide' Swazis (Kwakha Indvodza, 2019) as opposed to promoting equality.

Ableistic assumptions are common such as when a person with disabilities faces problems, it is assumed that the disability caused them (Adams et al, 2013) whereas there could be other underlying causes. Assumptions tend to be oblivious to the environmental or socio-political barriers but rather shift the blame to the victims (persons with disabilities). Subjugated groups often have the blame apportioned to them (Dlamini, 2017). In some instances, say maybe of violence, the perpetrator is often exonerated (Morna and Shilongo, 2004).

The apportioning of blame is often done to subjugated groups (persons with disabilities) as they are assumed to be 'victims' (Dlamini, 2017). Ndlovu (2016, p. 32) argues that indigenous African religions depict people with disabilities, especially mental impairment as victims of either witchcraft or ancestral anger due to their moral discretion. Ryan in Ferber (2012, p. 70) argues that

> "the blaming of people with disabilities for their own oppression is essentially a defence of privilege, for those who buy this solution are inevitably blinding themselves to the basic causes of the problems being addressed. They are, most crucially, rejecting the possibility of blaming, not the victims, but themselves. In this way the blaming of the victim allows privilege to remain intact and unexamined, not simply rationalizing, but reproducing, privilege".

The cultural construction of people with disabilities as 'victims' of misfortune tends to reinforce the ableistic assumption of them being 'sub-human', 'half-human' and even 'alien' or what Goffman describes as the "perception of the stigmatized as being 'not quiet human" (Adams et al, 2013, p. 337). The recognition of persons with disabilities as being 'alien' and 'sub-human' often depends on stereotypes that are already existent (p.37). For instance, the belief that 'persons with albinism do not die the same way as non-disabled but rather make an instinctive disappearance' (Sibandze, 2018). According to an Interview on the Swaziland Television Broadcasting Corporation (STBC) cited in Ndlovu (2016, p. 34) "the belief that people with albinism did not die a natural death was a discreet allusion to the fact that such people were killed for witchcraft purposes".

The notion of the person with disability being a 'victim' tends to shift the focus on essential social changes that should be made to combat ableism and disability oppression. Also, African beliefs often characterize disability as a form of suffering or curse or abomination (Nyangweso, 2018). The characterization of disability in this manner becomes untrue because then "disability is assumed as a biological injustice and the injustices that lie in its social treatment are ignored" (Adams et al, 2013). This is one of the ableistic blame- shifting tactics whereby the person with a disability is blamed for their condition. Also, it can also be viewed as intentional ignorance or indifference on the part of the able-bodied persons about disability as a discourse. Baldwin in Steyn (2012) identifies ignorance as an 'appalling achievement that has a core element that

one should not care to know. “Ignorance and domination are often interrelated, as ignorance may be ‘actively constituted or reproduced as an aspect of power…” (Feenan in Steyn, 2012).

The person with a disability is also often assumed to be a ‘charity case’ or as Adams et al (2013) posits that disability is often portrayed to be synonymous with begging, needing help and reliance on social support. He asserts that such assumptions are sustained by researchers who study and write about people with disabilities and omit people with disabilities in their discussions as providers of support. In the Swazi context, such assumptions are often birthed out of what Ngozi-Adichie (2016) describes as ‘the danger of the single story’ which is basically one-sided research. She argues that

> “The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story….The consequence of the single story is this: It robs people of dignity. It makes our recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It emphasizes how we are different rather than how we are similar” (p. 87).

In the Swazi context ‘sweeping statements’ deduced from a single incident or story are common. For instance, if a woman is caught in adultery, it is often generally assumed henceforth that all women are adulterous or if a person with disability is caught stealing then every person with disability is considered as deviant. Morna and Shilongo (2004, p.54) assert that “ Many stories in the media in Southern Africa suffer from being single-source stories with the single source often an official spokesperson or voice of authority (invariably these are men)”.

The assumption about persons with disabilities being ‘charity cases’ is often reinforced by the fact that people with disabilities are often faced with a different reality of economic deprivation which positions them at a much higher risk of exposure to poverty, violence, HIV/AIDS and diseases (SINTEF, 2011). Possi (2014, p. 8) argues that in Africa “persons with disabilities have limited livelihood opportunities that consequently lead them into a state of poverty and vulnerability. Like most parts of the world, persons with disabilities in Africa are among the poorest of the poor, more likely than their able-bodied peers to be uneducated, unemployed or under-employed”. In Swaziland persons with disabilities are occasionally depicted in the media receiving donations or what is considered as ‘freebies’ and also begging in the streets because of the lack of economic empowerment and systematic exclusion from mainstream society (p.

8). Nyangweso (2018, p. 17) asserts that in African societies, including Swaziland, discrimination and violence associated with disability includes the employment of children with disabilities for alms begging.

Disability is also a discourse that is often associated with feminity. Culturally, anything that is perceived to be bizarre, controversial and a strange phenomenon is automatically associated with women because men are considered to be the epitome of everything exceptional, perfect and flawless (Dlamini, 2017). For instance, infertility, which is considered a bizarre and strange phenomenon in a marriage. Mabuza (2001, p.23) argues that "In a traditional Swazi society fertility is the backbone of marriage. If a couple is childless the woman must shoulder the blame. She will be referred to as *inyumba* (barren). The man has no shortcomings." It is therefore against such sexist stereotypes that the Swazi man is assumed to be incapable of producing 'seeds' (children) that are perceived as 'incomplete' or 'degenerated' or 'defective'. Women, because of their child-bearing role are generally apportioned the blame for 'incomplete' babies. Swazi misogynistic humour considers 'ugly' babies to be like their mothers or their maternal family.

Here 'ugly' is inclusive of babies with disabilities. The adjective 'ugly' is often equated with disability. Thwala (2015) argues that derogatory names such as 'Silwane' (translated as animal) are used to express the 'ugliness' of babies with disability. Swazi mothers of children with disability often undergo the period of grieving which is similar to that of bereavement. They grieve the 'death' of the perfect child who existed in their minds. They feel ashamed that their child is not normal (Dobson in Thwala, 2015). "Parents attach to children through core-level dreams, fantasies, illusions and projections into the future. Disability dashes these cherished dreams" (p. 213). Thomson (1997, p. 28) argues that

> "In a society in which appearance is the primary index of value for women (and increasingly for men), beautification practices normalize the female body and disabilities abnormalize it. Feminization prompts the gaze; disability prompts the stare. Feminization increases a woman's cultural capital; disability reduces it".

This argument is in line with the Swazi ableistic notion about disability being synonymous with 'ugliness' or 'imperfections' whilst 'able-bodiedness' is considered to be synonymous with 'flawless beauty' or 'perfection'. It is thus a shallow, ableistic assumption that fails to acknowledge the existent diverse groups and their differences in society. It assumes that people are just one homogenous group whereas that is not factual. Ableistic assumptions such as these are indicative that certain aspects of Swazi culture are ignorant of or resistant to difference or diversity.

If a woman bears a child with a disability, it is assumed that the woman has most likely either committed adultery or has been cursed by the gods or else because of God's wrath on that woman for committing other assumed 'cardinal' sins such as murder or witchcraft (Ndlovu, 2016). Because Swazi culture is shame oriented, women who bear babies with disabilities are usually stigmatized and marginalized thus it is common for these women to be blamed for ignoring reproductive technology that eliminates defective foetuses (Burman, 2010) or on the contrary for using western methods of contraception (often considered to be disapproved by ancestors) as opposed to indigenous Swazi methods of contraception (often considered to be approved by ancestors) (Dlamini, 2017). Stigmatization and marginalization are very serious discourses in African societies where bonds and allegiances to families, village, neighbourhood and community abound (Gilbert and Walker, 2010). Swazis are generally recorded as having very strong family bonds which extends even up to clan level (Disability Policy Audit Research Final report, 2008) thus stigmatization and marginalization often becomes a matter of life and death.

People with disabilities are often culturally assumed to be asexual beings or what is commonly known as 'unmarriageable'. Thomson (1997) presents a two-fold opposing argument about people with disabilities and sexuality; the first argument being that women with disabilities often encounter what is known as "asexual objectification" (p. 55) which is based on the assumption that sexuality is inappropriate in people with disabilities and the second argument being that people with disabilities are often perceived as dangerous as they possess bodies that are just out of control. Chappell (2015, p.2) argues that "In actual fact the subject of sex and sexuality in relation to disability has often been described as an African taboo. This lack of connectedness also suggests that 'sexuality cannot be part of the disabled bodies' experience".

The dominant Swazi view of sexuality regarding people with disabilities is that they are highly promiscuous (Ndlovu, 2016) and such an ableistic assumption is derived from the racial discourse whereby "The Black woman is seen as a highly erotic being whose primary function is fulfilling sexual desire….being raped is attached to blackness" (Maldonado-Torre, 2007). Likewise, "rapeability" is considered to be the essence of the disability (p. 255). Inglesias (1998) cited in Nyangweso (2018, p. 17) argues that women with disabilities are raped and abused at a rate twice that of non-disabled women. Common misconceptions about people with disabilities possessing an insatiable appetite for sex but lacking sexual partners contribute to the sexual abuse of people with disabilities. Aley in Rohwerder (2018, p.9) argues that "Sexual abuse is sometimes considered a 'favour' to people with disabilities because it is assumed that it is the only way they will experience sex."

The assumption of being highly promiscuous also runs parallel with other myths and taboos not just about people with disabilities only but other stigmatized groups also such as People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) who are often perceived to be highly sexed beings (Dlamini, 2017). Rohwerder (2018) argues that in some African societies people with disabilities are perceived to be hypersexual beings in such a way that discussing sexual and reproductive issues with them will trigger their sexual feelings and they would not be able to control their sexual desires.

Findings of a study on disability policy and practice revealed that one of "the most painful story was that of the myth that some men still maintain that by "sleeping" with a disabled woman; particularly a disabled child, they will be cured of the positive HIV status" (Disability Policy Audit Research Final Report, 2008, p.55). Due to these ableistic and oppressive ideologies, parents or guardians often resort to the alienation and sterilization of children with disabilities to curb the dreaded consequences of unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (Khoza, 2018).

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This research is a desktop research. Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) has been identified as the most suited theoretical framework for interrogating deeply into Swazi culture. Implicit meaning is generally entrenched in the Swazi language (SiSwati) which may be difficult to detect at face value yet it is often pregnant with ableistic ideologies. These ableistic ideologies are often disguised in texts, ordinary everyday language and mostly in figures of speech such as; allegories, fables, tales, maxims, adages, values, traditions, norms, metaphors and even onomatopoeias. Ideologies and power can also be communicated not just through language only but also through semiotic choices as well (Machin and Mayr, 2012). MCDA is thus the best suited toolkit for exposing these hidden traditional ableistic ideologies embedded in Swazi culture.

Van Djik (2006, p. 252) argues that MCDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analysing and critiquing social life reflected in text and images and on the other hand Machin and Mayr (2012, p.12) argue that "CDA has traditionally been concerned with exposing ideologies that are hidden within language whether these are produced by authorities, ruling groups, institutions or in individual face-to-face situations" (p.15). The process of doing CDA involves looking at choices of words and grammar in texts in order to discover the underlying discourses and ideologies (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p 20).

MCDA is best suited because it also investigates how discourses are structured to mean certain things (Oostendorp, 2015). For instance, in the Swazi context, the meaning of disability is sometimes stretched to include and interpret culturally misunderstood and mystified taboo discourses such as transgenderism, homosexuality, cancer and even HIV/AIDS (Mavundla, 2015). Another example would be how ordinary words like 'children' may not be used literally but instead metaphorically to imply to either women or persons with disabilities (Dlamini, 2017).In the Swazi context, word choices may pinpoint less obvious discourses like power relations, sexism, ableism and oppression. Again, MCDA not only considers what has been included in discourse but also what or who has been suppressed (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Swazi language is generally replete with suppressions and implicit expressions (Dlamini, 2017). Due to prevailing taboos, myths and misconceptions it is often common to have certain groups

in society marginalized and excluded from the media (Machin & Meyer, 2012). MCDA is also thus the relevant toolkit for this research since it uncovers hidden power relations as well as hidden agendas in discourse (Machin and Mayr, 2012).

Through MCDA or CDA we are also able to answer these crucial and often taboo' questions; Who is speaking? Who is speaking the most? Who speaks on behalf of whom? Who speaks the least? Who speaks last? Are male and female subjects treated equally? Does the story exonerate the perpetrator? Does the story apportion blame on the subject? Is physical description relevant to the story? Does it apply equally to men and women? Does the story challenge or reinforce stereotypes? Does it examine the underlying issues? Are these approached from a human rights perspective? Are the experiences and concerns of people with disabilities trivialized in any way? Are all subjects treated with dignity? (Morna and Shilongo, 2004). These are crucial questions with regards to Swazi culture as culture is considered to be untouchable and infallible hence it cannot be questioned. These questions are often considered offensive and 'unSwazi' to be asked especially when they are asked by subjugated groups. Hleta-Nkambule (2001, p. 40) argues that custodians of Swazi culture often present it as "something so Godly that challenging it is blasphemy."

Through interrogating these questions, one is able to then expose the subtle and less obvious forms of disability oppression. The tendency in Swazi culture is that harmful discourses are often ignored, silenced or sugar-coated or unnamed or even plainly 'swept under the straw-mat' as they are considered to be taboo (Dlamini, 2017). Being able to name these dynamics of power and ableistic oppressive ideologies often times is the first step in challenging power imbalances (Steyn, 2015).

Distance, pose, gaze, angles, colour, layout, and framing are some of the tools used in MCDA. In the Swazi context, all these representational strategies have various cultural and ideological interpretations. An example would be; a pout by a woman in a 'selfie' photograph would be culturally misconstrued to signify sexual arousal as opposed to the same 'selfie' pout by a man; even if both man and woman are pouting in the same picture and probably the 'pout' pose may not be viewed the same way in another culture (Dlamini, 2017). The same applies to 'gazes' whereby if a woman is pictured looking at the viewer known as the "demand gaze" (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 71) that woman would be culturally interpreted as being downright insubordinate, insolent and even promiscuous whereas a man pictured in the same 'demand

gaze' would symbolize 'confidence', 'courage' or 'warriorship'. Also, children in a 'demand gaze' maybe interpreted as 'naughty' and 'deviant' since culturally children are not supposed to maintain eye contact with adults (Dlamini, 2017). An "offer gaze" which means the viewer is looking away from the viewer (p. 71) can be culturally interpreted to mean 'an admission of guilt' or deviance (p. 71). Also, colours can encourage the viewer to think about certain identities and values in a way that language could not have done (p.31). Without MCDA these representational strategies as presented in Swazi culture would be considered to be meaningless as they would be viewed at a superficial level whereas they are heavily pregnant with ideologies and discourses in the Swazi context.

Other perspectives such as intersectionality, privilege, disability oppression theory as well as what Young (1990) identifies as the "faces of oppression' such as marginalization, exploitation, cultural imperialism, powerlessness and violence will also be alluded to in an attempt to deeply interrogate Swazi culture. According to Steyn (2015, p. 381) the presence of these , singly or in combination, indicates the presence of oppression. These perspectives are also useful in unveiling how ideology and power are hidden in Swazi culture. The disability oppression theory for an example, describes the pervasive and systematic nature of discrimination toward people with disabilities referred to as ableism (Adams et al, 2013, p.320). Ableism is rooted and commonly justified by culture and religion (Nyangweso, 2018). As opposed to examining gender and class as separate systems of oppression, intersectionality explores how these systems mutually construct one another (Collins, 1998, p.63). Being able to identify these perspectives in the context of Swazi culture is the first step in exploring, challenging and changing the power balances.

A total of 50 newspaper articles about disability between the 1st January to 31st December 2018 have been collected as data for this research. These newspaper articles have been gleaned from the Times of Swaziland and The Swazi Observer respectively from my home library collection. In total there were over 110 stories on disability in general however only those that related to disability in Swaziland were selected as they were best suited for the research. Data collection was spread throughout the year to facilitate the collection of a maximum number of stories on disability as it is still considered as a taboo discourse.

Overall, most of the newspaper articles that have been used as data for this research have been extracted from the middle pages of newspapers between this range; pages 8, 14, 15 and 34. The location of the stories about people with disabilities in the middle and far end pages of newspapers coincides with the ableistic behaviour to 'invisibilize' and marginalize people with disability in most social spaces. For an example, the size and page number of the article with the sub-heading "People with disabilities also in attendance" (Hlatshwayo, 2018, p.13) which has only 5 paragraphs and is located on page 8 may not be coincidental but it speaks to the alienation and social exclusion of people with disabilities. Cultural ableistic ideologies often consider people with disabilities or their stories as not being significant or of 'news value' (Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

3.1 REFLEXIVITY

My positionality as a rural woman greatly facilitated my selection of the stories of disability especially with regards to women and children. As a rural woman myself who shares a kinship with disabled family members I can honestly say that I possess empirical knowledge on some of the ableistic oppressive ideologies and disability oppression that people with disabilities grapple with, with most of it disguised as well-meaning Swazi culture (values, norms, traditions and language) thus misperceived as common sense and often 'sugar-coated' to neutralize its detrimental effects.[NS1] As the research is about subjugated women also, I make no claims to be unbiased.

Being an insider with regards to Swazi culture offers me the advantage of accurately representing the experiences of subjugated groups such as women as opposed to maybe a man. Richie (1995) asserts that researcher's own experiences within various cultural locations can provide insight into culture. Therefore, this research unearths and delves deeply into these common oppressive experiences of subjugated groups of people with disabilities as portrayed in everyday language (text). Adams et al (2013, p. 337) argues that it is regrettable that whenever disability studies are done, it is in ways that reinforce and perpetuate existing stereotypes rather than question and challenge them[NS2].

My insider status with regards to Swazi culture also has an influence with regards to my data analysis because I already have some empirical knowledge on the subject. On the other hand, my 'outsider' status with regards to disability as a non-disabled woman prevents me from fully understanding the subject of disability. In some instances, I could resonate with the issues that

were raised about people with disabilities and where applicable issues raised by people with disabilities and for most instances I just could not resonate with their experiences. In instances where I 'missed it', I had to 'put myself in the shoes' of people with disabilities. This was the case especially with the stories of people with albinism whereby with my mind's eye I had to visualize their experiences. This experience was made easier by the fact that I was not dealing with live respondents unlike if I was dealing with live respondents whereby it would have been a very emotional experience. This lack of live respondents enabled me to also liberally address sensitive and taboo topics such as sex which perhaps would have been otherwise challenging in focus group discussions and interviews.

My training as a diversity studies practitioner and a trained independent critical thinker came in handy here as it allowed me to focus and be alert about my positionality and also about the issues at hand. For an example, the Critical Diversity Framework or critical diversity literacy equipped me with the analytical skill at unpacking how systems of oppression intersect, intersect, co-construct and constitute each other, and how they are reproduced, resisted and reframed as opposed to someone who is not conversant with the Critical Diversity Framework (Steyn, 2015). It allowed me to strike a fair balance in deconstructing ableism and disability oppression in the context of Swazi culture. For an example, where applicable, oppressive ableistic beliefs were highlighted and condemned on the other hand good African practices such as the principle of ubuntu with regards to disability were highlighted as well and acclaimed or approbated.

My outsider positionality as a non-disabled woman allowed me to strike a balance. This positionality allowed me to reflect on my own conscious and unconscious contribution towards disability oppression. The research became very informative to me and I consider it to be a learning curve for me as well as I was able to identify my own areas of improvement and 'penitence' with regards to disability oppression.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA ANALYSIS

Five (5) themes emerged and were analysed from the 50 newspaper articles that have been used as data namely; Ritual murders, Poverty, Begging, Oppression (marginalization & stigmatization) and Violence. Although these themes have been discussed in isolation, they tend to overlap due to the complex relationship these discourses have. Examples would be the relationship between poverty and begging, ritual murders and violence, and violence and oppression.

4.1 Ritual murders

10 over 50 articles fell under this theme which happened to be the most common discourse in the newspaper articles. The increase in the number of articles on ritual murders in 2018 can be hugely attributed to the 2018 national election. Due to an array of myths, national elections are generally marked by an alarming rate of ritual murders. One of the commonly held myths about persons with disabilities (albinism) is that certain appendages that have been harvested from their bodies are useful 'muti' ingredients which can potentially earn an aspiring politician a parliamentary seat or earn a mere 'commoner' a fortune or attain any monetary ambitions they may have. De Jongh (2015, p. 10) asserts that "a hand and a tongue can cost as much as $500 on the black market". "In 2000-2013 the UN Human Rights Office received more than 200 reports of killings and dismembering of people with albinism for ritual purposes in 15 countries" (Sibandze, 2018, p. 3).

Stories on the murder of people with albinism often create sensational news thus they are considered 'news value' because they often involve elite, influential people; which is political leaders in this context (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). The news value of 'follow-up' also makes them ideal for publication (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). However, ritual murder cases are often consistently followed up but arrests are generally unheard of (de Jongh, 2015). Also, 'frequency' and 'negativity' are also some of the sub-components of 'news value'(Galtung and Ruge, 1965, p.271-272) with regards to ritual murder stories. These stories are also considered as 'negative' news and as so ritual murder stories conform to the old adage 'negative news fly off the shelves' (Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

Traditional healers are sometimes implicated or misconstrued to be at the heart of ritual murders as indicated in some of the articles as they tend to enjoy 'epistemic privileges' (Mignolo, 2009). This provides them with the exclusive right to produce what is assumed to be sacred knowledge that cannot be repudiated because of its assumed divine origin which is perceived to have been 'downloaded' from the divinities or ancestors (Ndlovu, 2016). Because of their perceived rare clairvoyant skill to tap into the unseen realm they generally command a sizeable discipleship especially in rural areas where people are sometimes sceptical of modern science or rather embrace medical pluralism (Dlamini, 2017). Medical pluralism refers to "the use of more than one medical system for health and illness" (Moshabela et al, 2017). Ndlovu (2016) argues that diviners are regarded as custodians of Swazi culture as they are perceived to uphold dominant social and cultural norms.

The phrase "Our image as traditional doctors has been tainted" in the article "Was inyanga found with albino fat?" (Nsibande, 2018) highlights the notion of traditional healers being persons of esteemed and reputable character in Swazi communities. Also, the same article caption "Was Inyanga found with albino fat?" (Nsibande, 2018) implicitly incriminates traditional healers as being the main culprits in ritual murders. It is against this backdrop then that traditional healers or witchdoctors are often considered to be directly or indirectly at the heart of all ritual murders (De Jongh, 2015).

The same caption "Was inyanga found with albino fat" (Nsibande, 2018) poses a question to the reader. Notably in the Swazi perspective, questions like this one are often teasingly posed if the answer to that question is in the affirmative. In the context of ritual murders, the words 'inyanga' and 'albino fat' are generally considered as metonyms (Ahmed, 2013) for they are considered to represent the same thing. That is to say when one speaks of the discovery of 'albino fat', the general public conjures up notions and images of 'traditional healers' or 'traditional healing' and vice versa. The media has somehow successfully reinforced and reproduced this negative stereotype about traditional healers or healing thus making us buy into those stereotypes too. Van Djik in Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 78) define this as "ideological squaring" ; whereby the news align us alongside or against certain people, traditional healers in this instance. Also, "Crime reporting usually involves creating moral 'others', so that the perpetrator is not like 'us' (p.78). In this instance, the perpetrators being traditional healers and the moral 'others' being us as the readers of the newspaper article.

Articles such as “Inyanga arrested for albino murder in SA” (Motau, 2018) also tend to affirm the public’s suspicions and allegations of traditional healers and their perceived parallel association with ritual murder. Notably in the caption is the use of the word ‘inyanga’ which is the vernacular translation for ‘traditional healer’. Vernacular words often have a weighty meaning as opposed to English translations hence one can deduce that this word has been intentionally used by the text-producer for ideological reasons (Machin and Mayr, 2012).Culturally, a single incident has the tendency to spark the harmful reproduction of stereotypes or what is casually known as ‘sweeping statements’ about a particular group of people especially in rural areas where people have inconsistent access to information or readily invent ‘new’ myths (Dlamini, 2017). Morna and Shilongo (2004) argue that stereotypes are often rooted in objective realities and the problem with stereotypes is that it then takes generalities as norms, and often these are given a negative connotation. Examples would be the arrest of one traditional healer (inyanga) could spark the assumption that all traditional healers are guilty of ritual murder. It is against these assumptions then that cases of ‘mob justice’ on traditional healers occasionally occur in rural communities (Dlamini, 2017).

The words “3 tinyanga…” in the article “3 tinyanga deny confessing to ritual murder of Mozambican man” (Dlamini, 2018) connote some collusion between the three (3) traditional healers. The words “deny confessing...” plays into the contradictory stereotype about traditional healers being considered to be ‘liars’ or ‘fraudsters’. For instance, in Swaziland the colloquial synonym for ‘traditional healer’ is ‘bemanga’ (translated as ‘those who fabricate or foretell lies’) which is generally derived from incidences whereby traditional healers make false or inaccurate predictions of events like false claims about HIV/AIDS cures (Dlamini, 2017). According to Dickinson (2014) asserts that traditional healers often claim that what Western doctors label AIDS is the misdiagnosis of a traditional disease which they can cure.

In terms of quoting verbs, metapropositional (directive) verbs (Machin and Mayr, 2012) such as; ‘stressed’, ‘recommended’, ‘declared’ are used in quoting traditional healers throughout the articles. Culturally, these words signify authority and power. These quoting verbs make the traditional healers’ voices to appear assertive and authoritative. Quoting verbs can be used to communicate a person’s very character (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Traditional healers are generally considered to issue sacred directives, decrees, declarations and summons because of their esteemed position (Dlamini, 2017). In some of the articles, the adjective ‘popular’ has been used to describe the status of traditional healers. The adjective ‘popular’ speaks to the

relatively large discipleship that traditional healers often attract or command especially in rural areas.

Verbs such as ‘kidnap’, ‘abduct’, ‘murder’, ‘killed’, ‘overpowered’, ‘shoved’ in the articles under this theme speaks to the nature of symbolic violence that always accompany ritual murders. People with disabilities and their families often resort to voluntary alienation to protect themselves against such cruel oppression (Hlatshwayo, 2018). Bourdieu (2000, p. 163) argues that those who occupy awkward positions are forced to keep watch on themselves. This becomes the situation of what in Swazi adages is metaphorically termed as ‘the relationship between a leopard and a dog’. Leopards and dogs are culturally considered to be ancient natural archenemies.

Phrases such as “People with disabilities are our brothers and sisters…” in the article “Was Inyanga found with albino fat” (Nsibande, 2018) indicate the spirit of ‘ubuntu’ (humanity) which is often publicly cited as one of the core principles that African communities ought to embrace in the fight against ritual murders. The principle of ubuntu is based on the notion that ‘one is their neighbour’s or brother’s keeper’ or ‘everyone is a policeman’ (Ndlovu, 2016) or ‘you scratch my back and I scratch yours too’. The advent of Christianity has meant that the African principle of ubuntu is equated to the biblical principle of ‘The Good Samaritan’ which is considered a western, Christian principle.

In the article “13 year old girl will be finally laid to rest” (Times Live, 2018) it is indicated that upon investigation by the police forensic unit, some of the girl’s body parts were found in cliffs. The location of her head and other body parts in different locations indicates the distribution of her body parts for merchandise (SA, 2018). De Jongh (2015, p. 10) argues that “Other scholars have revealed a transnational trade of body parts for medicinal use in Southern Africa.” The stashing away of mutilated body parts secret locations (under cliffs) speaks to the underworld nature of the human body parts trade. The overlexicalization (Machin and Mayr, 2012) of the word ‘muti’ in most of the articles here connotes a sense of ‘wickedness’ or ‘evil’ and ‘dark activity’.

These words are commonly considered to be Christian rhetoric because of their attachment to the bible and their use is in the texts may not be a coincidence when one considers that the bible has often been used to explain disability and at times justify ableism. Nyangweso (2018) argues that often times religious norms are used to stereotype people with disabilities. She speaks of

‘disabling theology’ whereby verses such as Leviticus 26:14-16 are used to justify disability as a curse and a consequence of disbelief and ignorance. Leviticus 26:14-16 reads “I will bring upon you sudden terror, wasting disease and fever that will destroy your sight and drain away life from you” (Nyangweso, 2018, p. 16).

The Evangelical Christian fraternity has often been at the forefront in terms of demonising traditional medicine (muti) thus the use of ‘muti’ has always triggered a huge controversy (Mothoagae, 2014). Ndlovu (2016, p. 26) asserts that Swaziland “is a predominantly Christian nation that positively cherishes its indigenous customs and traditions”. According to Mothoagae (2014) the mandate of Christianity in Africa was to subvert African traditions and spirituality. “Dominant groups often project their particular beliefs, values, and perspectives (through hegemonic discourses) thereby rendering subordinated groups virtually invisible while simultaneously constructing stereotypes about these groups” (Young, 1990, p. 45).

The word ‘muti’ generally denotes traditional medicine which usually constitutes herbs, tree barks and animal flesh amongst other natural occurring components (Dlamini, 2017). The prevalent and open use of Western medicine; which is equated with ‘civilization’, ‘modernity’ and ‘the light’ or ‘enlightenment’, has often meant that traditional medicine is demonized and equated with ‘primitivity’, ‘shadiness’ and ‘darkness’ thus individuals who still use traditional medicine are generally considered to be primitive or referred to as still ‘being in the dark’ or simply ‘not enlightened’. Benatar and Landmar in Latif (2010) argue that under colonial rule, traditional medicine was condemned as ‘primitive’, ‘barbaric’ and ‘uncivilized’. The use of the word ‘muti’ thus reinforces the notion of traditional healing being considered as ‘demonic’ and ‘evil’. Perhaps the text producers here could have used other stigma-free words such as ‘medicine’ instead of the highly stigmatized, vernacular term ‘muti’. Machin and Mayr (2018) assert that since language is an available set of options, certain choices like ‘muti’ instead of ‘medicine’ in this instance are usually used by authors for their own motivated reasons and ideological work.

In most of the articles the word ‘albino’ to describe people with albinism has also been overlexicalized (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Culturally the word ‘albino’ is considered to be a pregnant noun or specifically a euphemism as it is often used interchangeably with the word ‘inkawu’ which literally translates to vervet monkey (Ndlovu, 2016). Here, the word vervet monkey becomes a metonymy whereby if one mentions vervet monkey the listener or reader

interprets it in whichever way they please. “The slide of metonymy works to generate or make likeness: the person with albinism becomes like the vervet monkey, an agent of fear who, may ‘harm’ the able-bodied individual. This results in the containment of the bodies of others, who henceforth become the objects of fear (Ahmed, 2013). Halliday (1978) defined wordings that generate new lexical items as ‘re-lexicalization’.

Though generally considered the most appropriate in reference to someone living with albinism because it places the person before the condition (Possi, 2014) the word ‘people with albinism’ also has to a certain extent been overlexicalized (Machin and Mayr, 2012) as well in the articles under this theme. Bold, capital letters have also been used to make the words ‘albino’ and ‘people with albinism’ more salient (p. 54). “Overlexicalization gives a sense of over-persuasion and is normally evident that something is problematic or of ideological contention” (p.37). The words ‘people with albinism’ or ‘albino’ or just ‘people with disabilities’ tend to generate negative effects on the average able-bodied Swazi because of the erroneous beliefs and perceptions about disability and the rationale used to justify these negative effects.

These words generate a distinct category of supposedly ‘fearsome’ people (Ahmed, 2004). Nyangweso (2018) opines that perhaps the negative treatment of people with disabilities could be a way of avoiding the influence of evil in society as African communities believe that disabilities are caused by witchcraft, God, gods and sex-linked factors. In African communities men do form sexual relationships with women with albinism but later on develop problems and even divorce them because of albinism. In some instances, the relationships are discreet due to the fear of the reaction of community members (Rohwerder, 2018).

Overlexicalization means the overemphasis of certain words to engage an emotional reaction from the reader (Machin and Mayr, 2012). An emphasis on a particular word will activate certain models of thought stored within the individual’s cognition thus the repetitive overuse of a particular term will generate an emotion within the readers within which this term is most associated with (Van Djik, 2008). Also, besides its direct vernacular translation of vervet monkey, the word ‘albino’ carries a heavy stigma and its use in everyday language has recently been contested. For instance, in a recent newspaper article in South Africa it is stated that in an effort to curb stigmatization, people with albinism have ‘invented’ the name ‘vanilla’ as a new name to substitute the word ‘albino’ (Mthimunye, 2018). Also, the word ‘albino’ is also akin

to the colloquialism ‘yellow-man’ which is another common derogatory word for people with albinism (Hagerman, 2015).

The following words; ‘unscrupulous’, ‘criminals’, ‘cannibals’, ‘evil’ have also been overlexicalized (Machin and Mayr, 2012) in 3 of the articles in these themes which speak about the condemnation of the perpetrators of ritual murders who are mostly identified as traditional healers. Ironically, these words are sometimes used to describe people with disabilities. Ndlovu (2016, p. 32) argues that human traditions often objectify and stigmatize disability as the embodiment of sin and social deviance. The word ‘cannibals’ itself is generally synonymous with ancient African fables or tales (Mabuza 2001) and the word ‘evil’ is synonymous with biblical rhetoric as previously indicated. Also, both words are also synonymous with the discourse of witchcraft and ‘juju’ (Nyangweso, 2018). Beliefs such as ‘the witchcraft ritual is more powerful if the victim screams during amputation’ or ‘the muti works best when the body parts are harvested or mutilated whilst the victim is alive’ or ‘the perpetrator should take a drink the blood of the amputated body part’ tend to reinforce the gruesome murder of people with albinism. Beliefs such as ‘the perpetrator must drink the blood of the amputated body part’ speaks to the cannibalistic and vampire nature of the violence (p. 8).

The word ‘fat’ in the article “Was Inyanga found with albino fat” (Nsibande, 2018) carries heavy stigma and negative connotations (Machin and Mayr, 2012) as well because of its medical association with obesity and other lifestyle diseases such as diabetes and hypertension. Diabetes and hypertension are considered to be relatively new chronic illnesses in Swaziland that emerged with colonialism and civilization hence they are often colloquially referred to as ‘white people’s diseases’ (Joe and Young, 1994). Thus, in the Swazi context, obesity (fat) is a relatively new clinical rhetoric that has been popularly ‘slammed’ or denounced by the health sector in its healthy lifestyle promotions. Gurrieri (2013, p. 202) argues that “fat is widely presented as something revolting and undesirable…” Adding to the stigma of ‘fat’ or ‘fatness’ is that it is generally considered to be an unattractive condition that is commonly associated with women and child birth.

The word ‘fat’ thus serves as a metonymy in this case. The work done by metonymy means that it can remake links-it can stick words like fat and woman together even when arguments are made that seem to unmake those links (Ahmed, 2013). Over the years, in an effort to de-stigmatize the word ‘fat’, words such as ‘full-figured’ have been considered more acceptable

and preferred. In the Swazi sense, the word 'fat' in the article here sarcastically presupposes (Machin and Mayr, 2012) that an 'obese, woman with albinism' may have been ritually murdered.

Again, in the same article "Was Inyanga found with albino fat" (Nsibande, 2018) one of the traditional healers is quoted as saying "….it is inconceivable that indigenous healing can exist without the use of plants and some animal body parts" (p.4). Here, the word 'animal' becomes ambiguous in that from a scientific point of view, the word 'animal' is inclusive of not just literal animals but human beings too. In the scientific sense, living things comprise of plants and animals (inclusive of humans). Here, the word 'animal' becomes a 'lexical ambiguity' (Machin and Mayr, 2012) which means the multi-definition of a word.

Also, culturally people with disabilities are often represented or termed as animals or "animal-like" (Nyangweso, 2018, p.5). In the aforementioned quote by the traditional healer, the reader is therefore left to decipher or conclude for themselves as to what the term 'animal' constitutes in the traditional healer's comment. One may interpret the word 'animal' to have been used either metaphorically or literally in this article. Charteris-Black (2004, p. 15) describes a metaphor as "any word or phrase that causes semantic tension at the linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic levels resulting in a shift in domain use and having persuasive potential of influencing opinions and judgements". Traditional healers as one of the custodians of culture are commonly known for their often implicit and figurative language use of figures of speech such as parables, fables, tales, enigmas, allegories, idioms and metaphors (Ndlovu, 2016).

Some of the articles begin with both a vernacular and an English introductory phrase such as the article "6 schools march against ritual murders" (Nene, 2018, p.20) whereby below it the phrase "Ngitsandze ungangibulali!" (p.20) translated as 'love and don't kill me!') is noted. The use of an exclamation mark culturally signifies a strong demand of the right to love and life by the people with disabilities in this context. In the Swazi sense, exclamation marks are considered to be impolite and 'crude' grammatical expressions because of their common use in swear words which are perceived to be uttered by insolent and deviant individuals. Ironically, people with disabilities are often considered to be insolent, grumpy, crude or deviant. Ndlovu (2016) argues that disability is often stigmatized as the embodiment of social deviance.

Article captions such as "Let's shun those myths" (Sibandze, 2018) and "We are one" (Sibandze, 2018) have been used by the author to align us alongside particular ideas. In this

case, ‘let’s…’ which is a first-person-plural-imperative (Machin and Mayr, 2012) is used to create a collective group of people who supposedly perpetuate myths about people with disabilities (albinism). ‘We…’ is used as a “pronoun” (p.84) to create some collectivity. Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 84) argue that “text producers can invoke their own ideas as being our ideas...” .Culturally, ‘collective’ language is sometimes used to conceal or suppress (Machin and Mayr, 2012) who exactly is responsible for something; the reproduction of harmful stereotypes in this context. Fairclough (2000) argues that collectives can be used by text producers and politicians to make vague statements and conceal power relations.

The articles “Lets shun those myths” (Sibandze, 2018) and “We are one” (Sibandze, 2018) also feature a page with pictures of animals with albinism with the title “Rare albino animals” (Sibandze, 2018). The depiction of animals with albinism parallel to an article on people with albinism can be viewed as a sarcastic mockery on people with albinism since they are often culturally equated to be “animal-like” (Nyangweso, 2018, p. 5) or to be animals such as vervet monkeys (Ndlovu, 2016). The following animals with albinism; a crocodile, a Burmese python, a reindeer, a peacock, a whale, kangaroos, a tortoise, a lion, deer and an owl are photographed in the article. Moreover, animals such as snakes (Burmese python) and an owl culturally represent stigmatized discourses such as witchcraft (Parrinder, 1956). Nyangweso (2018, p.5) argues that in some African societies children with severe special needs were sometimes described as being ‘animal-like’ and these children would often times be abandoned by river banks or the sea so that they could return to their own kind. The depiction of animals with albinism alongside stories about people with albinism reinforces the stereotype of people with disability (albinism) being animals or animal-like.

The word ‘rare’ in the article title “Rare albino animals” (Sibandze, 2018) denotes an ‘abnormality’ or ‘difference’. Ndlovu (2016) argues that factors that impact on disability include the attitudes of society that perceive those who have disability as being different or abnormal persons. Difference is thus used “to include or exclude, reward or punish, credit or discredit, elevate or oppress, value or devalue, leave alone or harass” (Johnson, 1997, p. 19). People with albinism are generally perceived to be rare ‘species’ due to the perceived difference; skin pigmentation (Sibandze, 2018) in this instance.

To further elaborate on the rarity of albinism in the animal kingdom, the author indicates that statistically for every 10 000 mammals born, just one will be albino (Sibandze, 2018).According to Van Djik in Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 84) statistics are often given by an author "to give the impression of objective research and scientific credibility". Surprisingly, the statistically data on the rarity of albinism in humans is not indicated by the author in the same article. One would expect that the author would state the statistics for people with albinism alongside those of animals with albinism as the article is chiefly about people with albinism. Fairclough (2003) argues that what is missing from a text is just as important as what is in a text. Machin and Mayr (2012) also argue that if there are certain absences in terms of elements, statistics and participants, then we can think about why that is the case that the text producer did not want us to think of these. This type of absence or omission is defined as a "suppression" or "lexical absence" (p.38).

Also, the pronoun 'we' and 'us' and 'our' are overlexicalised (Machin and Mayr, 2012) in the articles. For an example in the article "It's about time we treat people with albinism as human beings" (Sibandze, 2018, p. 3) the author uses 'we' to evoke a shared difference which is 'able-bodiedness' in this instance although the exact composition of this 'we' is not overtly explained in the text (Machin and Mayr, 2012). According to Fairclough (2000, p. 152) 'we' then becomes slippery in that it is often used to conceal power relations. The use of 'we' in the Swazi cultural sense is synonymous with the principle of 'ubuntu' which is a common practice especially in rural communities. According to Ndlovu (2016, p. 35) "ubuntu embraces communalistic notions of a holistic personhood, partnership, mutuality, the dignity of the Other…" 'We' thus denotes a sense of 'oneness' or 'unity'.

One of the articles also indicates the growing association of ritual murder and xenophobia. The article "3 tinyanga deny confessing to ritual murder of Mozambican man" (Dlamini, 2018) speaks to the myth that the body parts of a disabled and foreign (colloquially termed as 'exotic') person has an exorbitant value in the black market especially in comparison to that of the 'native' or a non-disabled person. The body parts' value for people who are considered 'exotic' is assumed to fetch a higher value as compared to those of natives. Here, difference in ethnicity is used to reproduce xenophobic and ableistic myths about people with disabilities. These ableistic assumptions are linked to existent stereotypical myths about certain African ethnic groups (Mozambican men in this case) who are often portrayed in old wives' tales or general folklore to possess certain exaggerated phenotypes like genitalia in comparison to the average

Swazi. The mythical depiction of the African genitalia (penis) as oversized is derived from racial discourse whereby the black man is depicted as an aggressive sexual beast who desires to rape women, particularly whites (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 255). According to Gordon (2005, p. 73-88) "For in an antiblack world, a black penis, whatever its size, represents a threat." De Jongh (2015) argues that genitals and lips are amongst the most exorbitant body parts in the black market.

In the article "To be albino" (Sibandze, 2018), two young female models are depicted in one pageful picture; one with albinism (disabled) and the other with no albinism (non-disabled). The girl with albinism is foregrounded (Machin and Mayr, 2012) whereas the other girl (non-disabled) is backgrounded (p. 54) and her image is made blurry. The other girl's image may perhaps have been blurred so that focus (p.55) is on the girl with disability (albinism) of whom the article is about. By the way, the excerpt is entitled 'Albinism issue'. At the same time the depiction of both models, one with a disability (albinism) and another of an able-bodied person speaks to the comparison that is often constantly made between the two; those who are perceived to be different (disabled) versus those who are perceived to be not different (non-disabled).

This portrayal aligns with the ableistic notion and understanding of disability often demonstrated by other groups that may not identify as disabled which is based on the common misconception that the person with a disability desires to be like the non-disabled persons (Goffman, 1963). It is based on the assumption that disability is central to the disabled person's self-concept, self-definition, social comparison and reference groups (Adams et al, 2013, p. 334). However, disability may be more salient to the non-disabled than the disabled who may define themselves as 'similar to' or worthy of comparison with people without disabilities (p. 334).

The poetic expression "Her albino hair illuminated my dreams, shining brighter than moonlight" (Sibandze, 2018) is featured beneath the image of the models. The words 'illuminated',' shining', ''brighter' and 'moonlight' connote a sense of light or the colour white or whiteness. Sometimes persons with disability (albinism) are colloquially and mockingly referred to as 'whites' because of their perceived pale skin colour. The word 'albino hair' in the aforementioned caption is derogatory in that it serves as a marker of otherness or difference between two 'kinds' of people. The notion of 'albino hair' speaks to the ableistic notion of

'other' types of attributes (hair) being considered to be more socially valued than others. In fact, the discourse of ableism in part describes how certain ideals and attitudes are valued or not valued (Wolbring, 2008). Johnson (1997) argues that the 'othering' of certain groups of people which is often based on assumed different phenotypes results in the pitting of groups of people against each other.

The person with albinism is featured wearing sunglasses, a cap and a white t-shirt. The non-disabled model is featured wearing a cap too and a black t-shirt. Sunglasses and white clothes are often worn by people with albinism as protective gear against dangerous ultra-violet (UV) lights (Sibandze, 2018). The wearing of the black colour by persons with albinism is often considered as an anomaly because of its perceived intense absorption of heat. Perhaps in this case the text-producer may have selected this picture to indicate the social deviation from what is considered normative (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Culturally, the wearing of caps is considered to be a habit of shady and unscrupulous individuals (Dlamini, 2017) and similarly persons with disability are sometimes constructed as unscrupulous and shady individuals. In part this is because people with disabilities who are considered to be "pariahs" (Ndlovu, 2016, p. 32) by their families often resort to criminal activities.

In another article "Comfortable in my own skin" (Sibandze, 2018) within the 'albinism issue', a girl with albinism is featured seated with her legs spread apart and her arm obscuring the crotch area. Culturally, this type of pose is considered suggestive especially when it is done by women as it is culturally linked to sexual immorality. Women are culturally groomed to sit with their legs closed (a posture of 'subordination') whereas men or boys are supposed to spread their legs (a posture of 'domination') (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001). Lott (1994, p. 41) asserts that 'girls and boys organize, relate themselves to their appropriate category, try out various behaviours, experience feedback from others and acquire a gender identity that matches to some degree the ideologies of their culture". Barthes in Machin and Mayr (2012, p.74) argues that "poses are one important realm of connotators in images that are able to signify broader values, ideas and identities." The angle of the image (Machin and Mayr, 2012) is very close thus creating some level of intimacy with the viewer. The image somehow reinforces the assumed ableistic 'promiscuous' stereotype about people with disabilities being generally considered to be highly sexualized beings in comparison to the non-disabled.

In another image the same girl is pictured holding a microphone, wearing a red lipstick and denim pants, with sunglasses perched on her head. Women who exude all these behaviour traits are considered to have been westernized hence they are considered to be cultural deviants (Ndlovu, 2014). Culturally, the wearing of a red lipstick connotes 'sleazy' behaviour which is considered to be synonymous with naughty, promiscuous women. The microphone on the girl's hand is a "potent cultural symbol" (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 54) that signifies public speaking. The depiction of a woman (disabled) in this way may have been used by the author for ideological work to indicate a social deviation since the act of public speaking is considered a taboo for women let alone a disabled woman (p. 48).Traditionally, a Swazi woman never reaches a stage where she gains freedom of speech (Mabuza, 2001). Perumal in Mabuza (2001, p. 50) argues that the 'theft of speech' is part of women's powerlessness.

Education is often blamed for the perceived corruption and erosion of Swazi culture (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001). Historically, it was assumed that 'educating a woman was a useless and dangerous exercise as it was beneficial for her parental home but rather her marital home'. Cott (1997, p. 101) argued that "Seventeenth century Englanders paid slight attention to the education of women. Since women's intellect was considered inferior to men's, extensive learning for women was considered inappropriate at worse dangerous. Perhaps this belief can in part be traced back to British colonialism of Swaziland since it is a belief that is not peculiar to Swaziland.

Also, the image of the girl is placed on the extreme left of the page. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1998, p. 189) indicate that the position that each part of a meaning making system occupies on a page or screen is an important meaning-making resource and generally images or elements that are placed on the right are regarded as new information whereby new information is presented as problematic and contestable. Culturally, the binary of right and left has differing representations. The right side or right hand is considered as the acceptable and normative whereas the left side or left hand is considered as unacceptable and deviant. It is against these reasons that left-handed individuals are often sanctioned against leadership roles because of the perceived uncleanness of the left hand (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001). Alhassan (2018, p.002) argues that "the stigma of 'dirty' lefties has persisted due to societal mores in Africa….at the very least, being left handed was considered unnatural and peculiar in antiquity".

Only one article "Was inyanga found with albino fat" (Nsibande, 2018) under this theme has featured an image of a traditional healer. The image depicts a traditional healer in a standing position who is flanked by two other traditional healers in what is stated to be a traditional healers' meeting. All the traditional healers, who by the way happen to be men, are pictured looking away from the viewer in what Van Leeuwen & Kress (1995) describe as the 'offer gaze'. In an 'offer gaze' the viewer is not demanding a relationship with the viewer. From a cultural perspective, an 'offer gaze' connotes a sense of admission of guilt and shame in relation to a crime. Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that the gaze of a person is one of the resources for guiding the viewer as to how they should evaluate the participant even if it is not explicitly stated. In this instance, the caption of the article "Was inyanga found with albino fat" (Nsibande, 2018) plus the image of the traditional healers in an 'offer gaze' somehow makes the viewer to answer the posed question in the affirmative which is to say 'yes indeed an inyanga was indeed found with an 'albino' fat even though such a conclusion or answer is not overtly stated.

In the article "To be albino" (Sibandze, 2018), a young boy with albinism is pictured in a close-up photograph. The boy is featured looking straight into the eyes of the viewer in what Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) describe as the 'demand gaze'. A 'demand gaze' asks something of the viewer in an imaginary relationship. Culturally, a 'demand gaze' is interpreted to mean some disrespect especially when it is done by a child. Swazi children and women are socialized to lower their gaze especially when interacting with adults and men (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001).

4.2 Oppression (Stigmatization and Marginalization)

According to Jones et al (1984), stigma is a 'mark' that links a person to undesirable characteristics such as stereotypes. Some of the headlines or headings of the articles indicate or carry a hint of stigma. For an example the article captioned "The 13-year-old girl with albinism" (Dlamini, 2018) connotes stigma on the girl with albinism. In the Swazi sense the preposition 'with' denotes a possession of a quality or element which others do not possess. In this instance, the preposition 'with' serves as a marker of difference. 'With' in this instance also connotes a sense of being 'sub-human' or 'an incomplete human- being' or "not quiet human" (Goffman, 1963, p.6). It also connotes the sense of affliction. Magesa in Ndlovu (2016, p. 32) argues that "As affliction, disability is viewed as an abnormality that represents a 'diminishment or destruction of the force of life, [and] something must be done to restore it."

Also, in the Swazi sense the preposition 'with' connotes a sense of 'extra-ness' or 'addition' of something abnormal and unnecessary. People with disabilities are often considered to be half-human or incomplete beings (Ndlovu, 2016). The labelling of certain people as being 'with' something indirectly or directly leads to certain groups of people being name-called or identified by that supposedly different or 'extra' condition or characteristic. Goffman (1963) argued that the stigmatized individual is thus seen to be a person who possesses 'an undesirable difference'. Ableistic conceptions often categorize individuals with disabilities as having either spiritual deficits or medical problems that could then be punished, segregated or cured (Blumenfeld, Castaneda, Hackman, Peters and Zuniga, 2013).

The article "Nurses turn away mental patients" (Swazi Observer Reporter, 2018) also speaks to the stigmatization and marginalization that people with disabilities are subject to on a daily basis in Swaziland. Ndlovu (2016) argues that indigenous African beliefs consider mental illness to be an affliction that can only be 'corrected' through divination by traditional healers. Magesa (1997, p.124) asserts that "In traditional African society, it is believed that witchcraft is the major cause of sudden insanity". The noun 'nurses' in the caption has been used as an anonymisation (Machin and Mayr, 2018) firstly to conceal or 'suppress' (p. 38) the identity of the nurses who turned away the people with disabilities and secondly to also 'conceal' (p.38) accountability for such an action on the part of the nurses. Leeuwen and Wodak in Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that where actual identities are hidden or replaced by generalizations, it is often a sign that there is ideological work being done. Moreover, the article is stated as having

been written by the Swazi News Reporter which may have been intentionally done to protect the identity of the author(s) of the article probably to avoid the risk of victimization and backlash probably from the public and concerned stakeholders.

The transitive verb (Machin and Mayr, 2012) 'turn away' indicates the notion of marking, policing of boundaries and also having those boundaries being transgressed (Ahmed, 2004). From a cultural perspective, persons with disabilities as assumed 'pariahs' are often expected to 'respect' the boundaries of the non-disabled (Ndlovu, 2016) which aligns with the ableistic assumption that the person with a disability is a victim (Adams et al, 2013). However, this is one of the ableistic attitudes that is often demonstrated by often ignorant non-disabled persons to marginalize people with disabilities whereby rigid cultural norms which are designed and instituted to exclude and to be hostile to those whose physical, cognitive or sensory abilities fall outside the scope of what is defined as socially acceptable (McClintock and Raucher in Adams et al (2013).

Descriptions such as 'epileptic boy' in the article "Epilepsy Org. donates E5 000 to epileptic boy" (Khoza, 2018) also connote some stigma. The fact that someone is described as not just being 'a boy' but as an 'epileptic boy' signifies that they are perceived to possess a supposedly 'additional' or 'abnormal' characteristic which indicates their 'exclusivity'. Epilepsy is also one of the totally misunderstood discourses that is commonly attributed to witchcraft in rural villages (Ndlovu, 2016).Jilek-Aall, Jilek, Kaaya, Mkombachepa and Hillary (1997, p. 784) posit that "To suffer from epilepsy in Africa thus often means to also suffer from …social trauma….Because of the belief that epilepsy may be contagious or caused by supernatural forces, epilepsy sufferers are often shunned and feared by their fellow men….".

Also, the article "School now admits handicapped pupils" (Majola, 2018) reveals that previously the school did not admit (marginalized) students with disabilities. The adverb 'now' indicates a new beginning in terms of the admission of students with disabilities in the school. Although the stance of the school to admit children with disabilities can be viewed as positive and progressive change in terms of disability oppression however it speaks to the existent ableistic attitudes of 'boundary marking' to marginalize people with disabilities which is often based on myths about disability being contagious (Possi, 2014). Adams et al (2013, p.320) asserts that "ableism affects those with disabilities by inhibiting their access and power within institutional structures that fulfil basic needs, like health, housing, government, education,

religion, the media and the legal system". Overall, the caption of the article also presupposes (Machin and Mayr, 2018) that the reader is aware that the school was previously discriminating against pupils with disabilities.

Articles such as "Widow, with disability, 8 mouths to feed" (Moahloli, 2018, p. 6) reveal not just the stigma-laden description of the woman (that is a helpless widow with disability) but also the unique intersectional (Bowleg, 2000) nature of the woman's oppression that is experienced by women in rural communities whereby in this instance the woman (a widow) is multiply oppressed because of the convergence of her sex (female), disability (polio) and social class (poor) which Bowleg (2008, p. 314) terms "triple jeopardy". Intersectionality indicates that "there is no one way that oppression is experienced because an individual's life is shaped by many factors and each of these can impact the degree to which discrimination is felt" Marnell and Khan (n.d, p. 18).Captions such as this one tend to reveal the ideological representation of subordinate groups such as women and persons with disabilities. Since headlines are designed to be short and catchy, authors usually exploit them to express their own ideological view of the stories they report (Van Djik, 1998).

The use of the preposition 'with' in the description of certain individuals like in articles such as "Widow, with disability, 8 mouths to feed" (Moahloli, 2018) tends to trigger certain negative effects such as dislike and disgust (Coleman, 1997). The media has often been at the centre of the reproduction of stigma through the overlexicalization (Machin and Mayr, 2012) of prepositions such as 'with' which tend to reinforce and reproduce negative notions about subjugated groups. Prepositions such as 'with' therefore on one hand serve to normalize certain people and on the other hand abnormalize other people (Goffman, 1963).Prepositions such as 'with' and pronouns such as 'them' foster ableism in that they culturally signify a strong negative marker of difference or an alterity thus consequently reproducing and reinforcing the stigmatization of people with disabilities based on those perceived differences (Adams et al, 2013).

The following phrase "Nine of *them* voted at Esigangeni as they *too* built the nation" (p.4) in the article "Visually impaired vote!" (Malinga, 2018) is noted for its discriminatory tone. From a cultural perspective, the pronoun 'them' typically connotes an othering (Johnson, 1997). In this context the pronoun 'them' is specifically used to 'other' visually impaired individuals. Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that pronouns like 'them' are used to align us alongside or

against particular ideas. Again, a pronoun such as ‘them’ connotes a sense of suspicious individuals. This connotation aligns with the stereotype about people with disabilities being deviant individuals (Ndlovu, 2016).

The adverb ‘too’ in the same phrase “Nine of them voted at Esigangeni as they too built the nation” from the article “Visually impaired vote” (Malinga, 2018) indicates an ‘addition’ or ‘excessiveness’. Culturally, it connotes many things such as; firstly, a sense of otherness with regards to people with disabilities as if to say that they are an ‘unwanted’ or ‘unwelcome’ addition (outcasts) (Ndlovu, 2016); secondly, ‘too’ connotes a sense of something being a nuisance; thirdly, it also connotes something that is burdensome or a burden; lastly, it connotes an impression of others as those who do not ‘belong’ but instead have invaded the space of others (Ahmed, 2004). Such a view is based on ableistic ideologies which often advocate ‘correcting’ people with disabilities in order to ‘fit’ inflexible systems and standards for them to be considered to ‘belong’ (Adams et al, 2013)’.

An example would be the article “Govt neglecting the visually impaired” (Dlamini, 2018) which connotes an impression of people with disabilities being an unnecessary burden on the government thus somehow deserving of neglect. This connotation conforms to the ableistic assumption about people with disabilities being ‘whiners’ who persistently ‘nudge’ the government supposedly about their assumed ‘many’ and ‘inexhaustive’ needs and rights (Possi, 2014). Ableistic assumptions often posit that when a person with disability faces problems, it is most likely the impairment causes them as opposed to attributing the challenges to environmental factors- architectural, social, economic, legal and cultural (Adams et al, 2013).

Also, article titles such as “Manzini unfriendly with people with disabilities” (Hlatshwayo, 2018), “Don’t divide people with disabilities” (Dlamini, 2018), “Govt neglecting the visually impaired” (Dlamini, 2018) and “We are disrespected on the roads-blind citizens” (Kunene, 2018) play into the stereotype about people with disabilities being people who are generally fond of whining or bickering. It also reflects the ableistic oppressive ideologies which view disability as inherently negative and an experience that includes losses only (Adams et al, 2013).Again, captions such as “Visually impaired vote!” (Malinga, 2018) have an ableistic, discriminatory tone to them in that why should an emphasis be placed on particular individuals who vote if voting is considered to be everyone’s constitutional right? However, the title

highlights the ongoing disfranchisement of people with disabilities as perceived pariahs in Swazi society (Ndlovu, 2016).

The use of an exclamation mark in the title in the same article "Visually impaired vote!" (Malinga, 2018) indicates an emphasis or strong feelings by the author (Machin and Mayr, 2012). An exclamation mark is also a warning or cautioning sign. Coincidentally, people with disabilities are often considered as a warning of doom or curses and pure bad luck to families. Ndlovu (2016) argues that Swazi traditions tend to stigmatize disability as either a punishment from ancestors (gods) or divinities or as the embodiment of sin and social deviance. For instance, the birth of a person with disabilities could be assumed as a warning that a family has breached or failed to observe crucial cultural rituals and rites hence the family should thereafter show penitence by observing those cultural rites and customs lest a worst calamity befalls that family again. Diviners are often entrusted with the duty to recommend steps that must be taken to obtain healing and cleansing (Ndlovu, 2016).

It is assumed that if the family obeys the family rituals, non-disabled babies will be born afterwards for the 'curse' would be rectified or averted in that family. The person with disability is thus viewed as a punishment or the gods' wrath upon that family or clan (p. 32) or an indication of ancestral displeasure (Dickinson, 2014). A non-disabled baby therefore is thus interpreted to signify that the gods have been appeased. These ableistic belief systems tend to legitimate and reinforce the stigmatization and marginalization of people with disabilities especially in rural communities where traditional customs and rites are still diligently observed.

For instance, in the article entitled "Shocker at Pigg's Peak Govt Hospital: Child born with no head" (Zulu, 2018), the Spokesperson for the Witch Doctors Association remarked that the birth of a headless baby is attributed to the mother's lack of self-restraint from certain things or taboos such as fetching water from the river whilst the mother was pregnant. Ndlovu (2016) argues that in the Swazi context the birth of a child with a disability is considered as a family misfortune thus the mother and the child are devalued as the 'other' from the birth onwards. Misfortune is regarded as punishment and restitution for misbehaviour (Mbiti, 1975, p. 210). The ableistic assumption describes the child as a 'challenge' or 'problem' without any consideration of the possible contributions, benefits, or pleasures the child born with a disability might bring to its family and society (Adams et al, 2013).

The article "5 200 attend Sibebe challenge 2018" (Hlatshwayo, 2018, p.8) has a 'special' sub-heading on the far end of the page which is captioned 'People with disabilities also in attendance'. The separate heading especially about people with disabilities is ironic in that people with disabilities are constantly excluded as assumed "pariahs" (Ndlovu, 2016, p. 32) from the mainstream. Here, the separate sub-title creates an exclusive section about an assumed 'exclusive' group of people thus making them more salient (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Culturally, the able-bodied should always evaluate their proximity to or amongst people with disabilities (Ndlovu, 2016). Though not implicitly indicated, the author reinforced the ableistic stereotype about people with disabilities being an 'exclusive' sect of society whose disability pose a danger to the non-disabled thus requiring a physical cleansing of their affliction before being integrated into human society (p. 32).

Perhaps the author could have integrated the separate section on people with disabilities into the whole article without necessarily allocating a special section about people with disabilities. The juxtaposition of both articles, about the non-disabled and disabled within the same article or page, also indicates the constant ableistic comparison and marginalization that is commonly reproduced and reinforced in subtle ways between the two groups. In the ableistic view the non-disabled individual is commonly associated with perfection and normalcy whereas the person with disability is associated with difference and abnormality (Thomson, 1997).

The 'red' colour of which some of the article titles are written is also indicative of stigma. Culturally, the colour red is normally associated with 'blood', 'calamity' and 'danger'. The article, "Homeless mum, paralyzed son sleep in RFM corridor" (Malinga, 2018, p.4) is also printed on the front page of the newspaper in bold, red letters. The same applies to the article captioned "Shocker at Pigg's Peak Govt Hospital: Child born with no head" (Zulu, 2018) whereby the 'No head' is made salient (Machin and Mayr, 2012) with a striking red colour. Representations such as these reproduce and reinforce ableism in rural societies in that it conforms to the ableistic assumptions about people with disabilities being a 'danger' thus the legitimation of their marginalization. The 'red' colour is culturally considered to be a 'screaming' or 'alarm-raising' colour thus considered as stigma laden and salient. "Salience is where certain features in compositions are made to stand out, to draw our attention to foreground certain meanings" (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 54).

Red also signals a warning or caution. Ironically, ableistic constructs often portray people with disabilities as signifying many things such as a warning, an anomaly, a disaster, a looming danger or wrath by the gods or ancestors and evil forces (Ndlovu, 2016). In these articles the colour red is used to make salient the assumed 'new' or 'unusual' or 'uncommon' for an example; the headless baby in this context. Janoff –Bulman and Frieze in Thomson (1997, 334) argue that "… What needs to be stated is that disability-while never wished for-may simply not be as wholly disastrous, anomalous and calamitous as imagined".

Also, articles such as "Inkhosikati LaMatsebula calls for removal of myths surrounding autism" (Khoza, 2018) indicate that based on ableistic cultural myths people with disabilities were or are still hidden from the public eye. Thomson (1997, p. 8) argues that "those bodies deemed inferior become spectacles of otherness while the unmarked bodies are sheltered in the neutral space of normalcy". The non-disabled persons thus occupy the central positions of social life whereas the persons with disability through normative ableistic superstitions and stereotypes is shifted to the margins. Due to ableism, people with disabilities experience a reality that is different from the non-disabled and therefore question, interpret and evaluate this reality differently (Kilomba, 2013).Culturally, things that are placed at the beginning are significant and those that are placed at the end are insignificant and either of little or no value. Machin and Mayr (2012) assert that size and placement or location can be used to indicate ranking of importance.

In the article "Don't divide people with disabilities, govt told" (Dlamini, 2018, p. 16) it is indicated that few private companies hire deaf people as interpreters whereas the government does not. However, the general expectation would be that the government by virtue of being the largest public employer in any country would hire more people with disabilities in comparison to private employers. The non-hiring of deaf people in the article by the government is indicative of government's neglect and marginalization of people with disabilities. Young (1990, p. 41) argues that "people whom the system of labour cannot or will not use are called marginals". A revelation such as this one indicates the reality of oppressive, ableistic ideologies about disability which is often considered to be tantamount to incompetence (Adams et al, 2013).

In another article, "Manzini unfriendly to people with disabilities" (Hlatshwayo, 2018) the adjective 'unfriendly' on the caption denotes hostility specifically on the part of the general

public. ‘Humiliation’ and ‘rage’ indicate the psychic affects that people with disabilities encounter from the public as stated in the article. Fear is also another psychic effect. According to Coleman (1997) fear is what gives stigma its intensity and reality. These adjectives and nouns are descriptive of the many ways in which people with disabilities are dehumanized, stigmatized and marginalized on a daily basis. Ndlovu (2016) argues that there is a proven correlation between marginalization and the denial of the humanity of the disabled.

Also, the word ‘Manzini’ which refers to one of the cities in Swaziland; popularly known as the hub of Swaziland. Manzini in this sense is used as a figure of speech that is known as a ‘hyperbole’ whereby to say the whole population of Manzini is unfriendly with people with disabilities is an exaggeration. Perhaps the pronoun ‘most’ could have been used instead or probably statistical data could have also been cited too. Culturally, the use of hyperboles, what is casually known as ‘sweeping statements’, in speech is a cultural norm (Hleta-Nkambule, 2000). Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 18) indicate that “…language can serve to create, maintain and legitimise certain kinds of social practices”. The use of hyperboles like this one reflects an ableistic notion whereby it is assumed that everyone in Manzini has a negative notion about people with disabilities and disability. Culturally, if an individual is negatively perceived or perhaps ‘avoided’ by everyone the problem is often assumed to lie with that individual (Goffman, 1963).

Hyperboles are often designed to transmit a negative and hopeless picture about events, identities and places when in actual reality that is not the case. One of the disadvantages of using hyperboles in language is that they can be inaccurate and misleading like in this article thus exacerbating the marginalization of people with disabilities. Language choices are therefore political in that they shape how people and events are represented (Kress, 1985).

In another article, the caption “Victim in albinism murder identified” (IOL, 2018, p.5) is erroneous in that albinism is a condition. If need be here the article caption would have read ‘correctly’ as ‘Victim in *person-with-albinism* murder identified’. The latter caption distinguishes between the condition of albinism and the person with albinism. Misprints or errors such as these are often indicative of the non-disabled person’s ‘I-don’t-care’ attitude, indifference or ignorance of people with disabilities and disabilities in general (Thomson, 1997). May in Steyn (2012, p.10) asserts that “....ignorance maybe actively constituted or reproduced... as a consequence of a refusal of a multiple ways of knowing.” It is a common

tendency for the non-disabled individual to use the nouns ‘albino’ and ‘albinism’ interchangeably as if the two nouns denote the same thing (Sibandze, 2018) and this careless tendency by the author reinforces and perpetuates ableism.

In the same article, the noun ‘victim’ connotes a coward or failure. ‘Victim’ is culturally akin to a coward. The person with disability is often stereotypically labelled as a ‘victim’; a victim of life’s unfortunate circumstances (Ndlovu, 2016). The construction of the disabled as a victim is often done to reinforce the ableistic belief that “the world is a just place and that bad things only happen to people for reasons” (Thomson, 1997, p. 333). Perhaps the word ‘survivor’ could have been alternatively used instead. Machin and Mayr (2012) assert that a choice of word might suggest kinds of identities, values and practices which is why we have to ask ourselves about the semiotic choices an author uses, why and what are the consequences of these choices? Sometimes the size of an article itself may be indicative of the trivialization of the oppression that is faced by people with disabilities. For instance, the article “13-year-old Gabisile Shabane will be finally laid to rest” (Times Live, 2018) is embedded on the bottom centre of the page, written with a small font in 3 small paragraphs.

In terms of images, articles on people with disabilities have been featured at the centre of texts. “Information that is organized in the centre is often regarded as the core…” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1998, p.196). For instance, in the case of Gabisile, her identity as a child with albinism is core to the story. Gabisile’ s identity can be identified as ‘news value’. News value is a term that is used to denote the factors which make an event or issue or story worthy of publication (Galtung and Ruge, 1965: Harcup and O’Neill, 2001).What makes this story newsworthy is its intensity and the fact that it is dramatic. Galtung and Ruge (1965) define this intensity of the story as ‘threshold’ whereby the extremeness of the murder increases its possibility for publication in comparison to other murder stories. Also, the possibility of continuity and follow-up (Galtung and Ruge, 1965) of the story may have been one of the factors that the author of the article used in determining the news value of this story. Extreme murder stories such as this one are generally sensationalized by the media thus generating a following by the public.

In the article, “5 200 attend Sibebe Challenge 2018” (Hlatshwayo, 2018); the images of people with disabilities are featured in the extreme, far right bottom of the page. Culturally, anything that is positioned at last is considered to be insignificant, of little or no value. Coincidentally,

ableistic beliefs often place people with disabilities as last in all spaces whether economic, social, political and religious (Ndlovu, 2014).

Noteworthy also is that in some of the articles people with albinism have been photographed wearing the colour black. However, the wearing of black by people with albinism is often considered a rare occurrence because of its 'notorious' characteristic of heat absorption which is detrimental to their skin pigmentation (Sibandze, 2018). Ironically, from a cultural point of view the colour black is associated with death or serious bad luck hence it is often defined as the colour of mourning. The colour black is thus considered as a 'cultural symbolism' (Machin and Mayr, 2012).For instance, widowed women wear the colour black to symbolize a mourning period for their husbands. Here, the author's use of pictures whereby the person with a disability is dressed in black could have been done for ideological work (Machin and Mayr, 2012).

Laughter is also one of the forms in which people with disabilities are stigmatized. For instance, in the article "A second chance with 'Operation Smile" (Dlamini, 2018, p. 14) it is revealed that Zakhe who previously had a cleft palate was consistently ridiculed by other children in her village hence she opted for the operation. Menninghaus in Tyler (2008) argues that laughter is an act of expulsion. It creates a distance between 'them' and 'us', asserting moral judgements and a superior position. Laughter is at the expense of another, and when we laugh we effectively "fix" the other, as the object of comedy.

Adjectives such as 'paraplegic' have a strong sense of stigma about them because of the prefix 'para' which generally relates to a form of paralysis, irregularity or abnormality. The adjective 'paraplegic' is used in the article entitled "Paraplegic emotionally relates how she was raped at knife point" (Nkambule, 2018). In the same article, the words 'strip', 'stripped off', 'stripping' have been overlexicalised (Machin and Mayr, 2012). The phrase 'stripped her' in the story gives a sense of consensuality on the part of the woman with disability whereas that was clearly not the case in the story. Culturally speaking, the verb 'strip' connotes 'notoriety' (Machin and Mayr, 2012) for it has often been 'notoriously' linked to the noun 'striptease'; a very highly stigmatized act that is often linked to women who are assumed to possess 'loose' morals. Ironically, the woman with a disability is often constructed to be a highly erotic being who has an insatiable desire and appetite for sex thus being seen as the legitimate victim of rape (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Also, culturally acts of sexual violence against women are often trivialized with women often being accused of having invited sexual violence upon themselves. Terminology such as 'temptresses' and 'seductresses' are often used to describe women that have supposedly 'lured' men and eventually or 'accidentally' got raped in the process and 'immodest' dress code often cited as one of the reasons why women get raped (Dlamini, 2017). Non-compliance to a strict sunrise and sunset curfew is often cited also as another reason for sexual violence on women (Lusweti, 2008). In the same story, the phrase "Sonto said in gaining entry, the man…" has a sense of sarcastic mockery to it. The words 'gaining entry' connote consensual penile penetration. The verb 'satisfied' on the part of the perpetrator aligns to the sexist and ableistic cultural belief which posits that 'women exist to satisfy men's insatiable sexual appetite' (Lusweti, 2008). According to Nyangweso (2018, p.17) "Statistics indicate that the risk of physical assault, robbery and rape is four times amongst people with disabilities compared to that of non-disabled individuals."

The lexical choices used here by the author indicate the ideological work done in the text and the clear stance of the author (Machin and Mayr, 2012). At the same time it is often assumed that men commit rape against women because of women's inability or failure to satisfy men's sexual needs (Lusweti, 2008).This tendency speaks to the act of 'blaming the victim'. According to Ryan (1971) the blaming of the victim allows privilege to remain intact and unexamined, not simply rationalizing but reproducing privilege. Victim blaming is thus essentially a defence of privilege (Ryan in Ferber, 2012).

The article captioned "Templars assist paralysed mugging victim" (Phungwayo, 2018) is a classic example of deviance and disability being correlated. Here, the author's conjoined use of both words '….paralysed mugging….' connotes a correlation of both commonly stigmatized discourses, that is, disability and deviance. Perhaps other lexical choices could have been used to characterise the man in this case. For instance if need be the adjective 'paralysed' could have been used as a stand-alone adjective (Machin and Mayr, 2012) or perhaps the man's name could have been stated.

The article captioned "25% of HIV infected kids experience hearing loss" (Khoza, 2018) indicates the interconnectedness that is often drawn between HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis (TB) and disability. In the same caption the words 'hearing loss' are made salient (Machin and Mayr,

2012) with a red colour. Here, 'red' serves to indicate that 'hearing loss' is an emergency matter that requires public attention. The red therefore serves as a colour of caution in this instance.

Articles such as "Lack of sight not an obstacle for love" (Sibandze, 2018) also point to the ableistic stereotype about people with disabilities being asexual beings which often times results in their social exclusion in sexual health and reproductive services. The notion of sexuality and sex in relation to disability is often considered as a Swazi taboo (Ndlovu, 2016). Also, the lack of connectedness suggests that "sexuality cannot be part of the disabled bodies' experience" (Kafer in Chappell 2015, p.2). The article depicts a visually impaired groom (Simelane) who weds an able-bodied bride (Mkhonta). In the article, the adjective 'visually impaired' is overlexicalized (Machin and Mayr, 2012) by the author probably to draw attention to the groom's condition. The cultural norm is that the able-bodied person is paired with another able-bodied person and the same applies to the person with disability for it is assumed to be normative and normal that way.

Overlexicalization (p. 38) in this instance may have been used by the author to signal a sense of deviation from the norm or social convention or cultural expectation (Machin and Mayr, 2012).The general ableistic tendency is to have the person with disability being constantly evaluated through their condition whereby it becomes normative that each time the person with a disability is mentioned, their condition is stated as well. Ableistic stereotypes often have it that the person with disability is identified by their condition (Thomson, 1997).

The phrase 'lack of sight' which is used specifically in reference to the groom in the article is inappropriate. Visually impaired is deemed appropriate. Culturally, the noun 'lack' connotes 'poverty' , 'insufficiency' or 'shortfall' of something often of significance. In the Swazi context, the noun 'lack' is often translated to mean poverty or an impoverishment of something. Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that where certain 'appropriate' words that we would expect but are lexically absent or suppressed or substituted in a text, it is often an indication of ideological work being done by the text-producer. Poverty is a highly stigmatized discourse in itself and greatly affects people with disabilities (SINTEF, 2011). According to the African Disability Rights yearbook (2004, p.123) "About 20 percent of the poor in developing countries are reportedly disabled". Stigmatized individuals are commonly stigmatized on the basis of their 'lack' of certain things that are considered vital or associated with normalcy (Ndlovu, 2014).

Articles such as “They have rights too” (Dlamini, 2018) reveal society’s inhibiting structures which fosters ableism and allow its debilitating mechanism to flourish (Adams et al, 2013). Often times the challenges faced by people with disabilities are attributed to biology rather than the human-made barriers of architecture or discriminatory cultural, social practices (p.333). Articles such as “Inkhosikati LaMatsebula calls for removal of myths surrounding autism” (Khoza, 2018) reveal that relatives of people with disabilities often resort to the isolation of people with disabilities because of the fear of embarrassment. Also, in the same article, the opening phrase ‘Autism is hardly known…” speaks to the prevailing ignorance about the condition itself. Again, this article reveals the dilemma of stigma and difference which affects both the person with disabilities and the able-bodied person (Coleman, 1997). Words such as ‘curse’, ‘contagious’, ‘punishment’, ‘evil’ which have been gleaned from most of the articles under this theme are some of the lexical choices that trigger, reinforce and perpetuate ableism especially when they are aligned with the word people with disabilities.

The word ‘autism’ has also been overlexicalized (Machin and Mayr, 2012) in the article. This could have been done by the text producer to draw the attention of the reader to this new and less known condition in the context of Swaziland. Such overlexicalization indicates some anxiety or pressure on the part of the author (p.37). Overlexicalization, from a cultural perspective is often done to draw people’s attention on a discourse or phenomenon that is considered relatively new, foreign, intrusive or mysterious.

4.3 Begging

Begging is also another common discourse that is often portrayed as being synonymous with people with disabilities. Five (5) articles in this research conform to the stereotype of disability and begging being at par. The verbs 'help', 'appealing' and 'assistance' which connote a 'needy status' have been overlexicalized (Machin and Mayr, 2012) in the five (5) texts thus implicitly indicating the ableistic portrayal of the disabled as dependant on the non-disabled. Ndlovu (2016, p. 127) describes begging as "soliciting charity" which is a discourse that is also generally associated with poor people. In Swaziland, people with disabilities are also considered as constituting the poor class (SINTEF, 2011).

Oliver (2013) asserts that generally whenever the disabled are mentioned they are mentioned as being on the receiving end of the helping transaction. Begging itself is a highly stigmatized discourse in Swaziland hence begging individuals are often mocked, physically assaulted and even blamed for their 'beggar' (poor) status. Other discourses such as crime, drug-abuse and prostitution are sometimes also correlated with the practice of begging. The juxtapositioning of articles such as "25% of HIV infected kids experience hearing loss" (Khoza, 2018) and the subtitle captioned "Free audiology services" (Khoza, 2018) on the same page or section speaks to the construction of the person with disability being misconstrued as a 'charity case'.

The juxtaposition of both captions on the same page connotes a sense of reliance on others on the part of the person with disability who is often culturally constructed as a chaser of freebies. Freebies are culturally associated with mostly slothful but also unemployed and illiterate individuals. Adams et al (2013, p. 336) asserts that "it must be asked whether assistance of the disabled would be necessary if environments were adapted to the needs of people with disabilities..." Also, "Attributing neediness to people with disabilities permits those who are not disabled to view themselves as having more control than may be the case" (p. 337).

In the article "Picture of the day" ("Picture of the Day", 2018) a visually impaired man is pictured with a placard hanging on his neck with the words 'Blind man' engraved on the placard. The man is pictured sitting on the ground whilst engrossed on browsing a cellular phone which implicitly portrays the man as being either partially visually impaired or as just not visually impaired at all which is often considered to be tantamount to fraud. At the same time the carrying of the phone may imply that the man has fraudulently acquired (pick-

pocketed) the phone since he may be assumed to have no capability to acquire one; depending on his begging history as well. The absence of a cane by the man's side which is commonly identified with visually impaired individuals in Swaziland also perpetuates the ableistic notion of the man being a fraudster or conman. Here, the picture of the man is placed on the discursive space of morality (Machin and Mayr, 2012). The construction that is created of the begging man is that of a man who is unscrupulous and conniving (Oostendorp, 2015). Kress (2005) argues that still images make use of gaze, posture, colour and position of space which enables the text producer to interpret them in different meanings from the verbal mode.

In this portrayal of the visually impaired man, the author of the article has played into the ableistic stereotype of people with disabilities being assumed to be unscrupulous beings. Ndlovu (2016) argues that indigenous African beliefs often depict people with disabilities as social deviants. The fact that the picture itself has been captioned 'Picture of the day' and also under the page that is captioned 'Leisure' implies that there is some comical sarcasm that maybe portrayed by the photographer. The 'Picture of the day' section of the paper usually depicts hilarious scenes or individuals or cartoons thus it is classified as comic and comics are pictorial images which are intended to convey information and or produce an aesthetic response in the viewer (McCloud, 1993). Comics such as this image of the visually impaired man, like cartoons can exaggerate individuals as well as stereotyped groups' characteristics (Machin and Mayr, 2012).

The same visually impaired man is pictured wearing sunglasses (colloquially known as 'dimmers'); a generally common characteristic of visually impaired individuals in Swaziland. Sun glasses (dimmers) are often culturally associated with disguise and dishonest behaviour. They are generally viewed as an avoidance to maintain eye contact. Eyes are culturally interpreted to be 'windows to a man's soul' hence roving eyes or 'shy' eyes are considered to mean an unscrupulous being. Deviant or guilty individuals are often assumed to shun eye contact. The lowered gaze (Machin and Mayr, 2012) by the man too can also be interpreted to be an avoidance of eye contact which translates to some unscrupulous behaviour. Culturally unscrupulous beings lower their gaze rather than looking upwards (Dlamini, 2017). Machin and Mayr (2012) assert that looking away has meaning potential hence the looking away by a participant is known as an "offer gaze" (p.71) because the participant is not demanding a response from the viewer.

At the same time, the visually impaired man is pictured using two cellular phones simultaneously whereby he has one placed in his right ear and browsing the other with his left hand. Here, the visually impaired man's possession of two handsets signifies a sense of affordability which in turn invalidates the purpose of begging. The simultaneous public use of two (2) cellular phones by the beggar may be culturally associated with 'showiness' and 'showiness' is often an attribute that is culturally associated with illiterate individuals. At the same time showiness is also akin to the infamous "urban youth phenomenon that has taken some of South African townships involving the preoccupation with and glorification of extreme forms of materialism…" commonly referred to as "izikhothane" (Mchunu, 2016, p.1-2).Here, the capturing of a photograph whereby the visually impaired man is using two handsets simultaneously may have been done by the photographer for ideological work (Machin and Mayr, 2012) whereby the photographer intentionally plays into the stereotype that beggars (often people with disabilities) are far 'richer' presumably by fraudulent means than most members of society perceive or imagine them to be (Ndlovu, 2016).

The author's portrayal of the visually impaired man in this way does reinforce the ableistic stereotype about people with disabilities being unscrupulous deviant beings (H. Ndlovu, 2016, p. 32). The fact that the beggar is a man in a subtle manner also plays into the racial stereotype about black (township) men, whether disabled or not, being potential deviants (T. Ndlovu, 2016). Begging is thus commonly constructed by society to be an untrustworthy, fraudulent stunt which is often assumed to be pulled by people with disabilities in an attempt to swindle or con unsuspecting public members. It is against this backdrop then that begging is often considered to be not just a lucrative 'business' by people with disabilities but an illicit one too.

'Lamented', 'requested', 'asked' are some of the quoting verbs (Machin and Mayr, 2012) that have been used to quote people with disabilities in most of the articles under this theme. These quoting verbs also speak to the needy status that is often commonly ascribed to people with disabilities. Adams et al (2013, p. 335) argues that "People with disabilities are perceived to be examples of those ever in need of help and social support". Descriptive quoting verbs (p. 57) such as 'lamented' connote a sense of bickering or whining on the part of the persons with disability. Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that descriptive verbs mark the manner and attitude of the speaker. On the other hand, the verb 'want' is used in the article "Ex-Senator Tom wants fund for the visually impaired" (Majola, 2018). Here, the verb 'want' denotes a demand or a command. Culturally speaking, the verb 'want' is considered to be an impolite and disrespectful

verb that is often associated with 'uncultured' Swazis (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001).Swazi decorum has it that diplomatic language or verbs such as 'request' are preferable instead of direct and frank language. In this instance, the author could have used culturally moderate or 'softer' verbs such as 'request' or 'appeal' which are generally considered as appropriate polite and respectful language in place of the verb 'want'.

Also, in the same article, the phrase "…Tom Mndzebele has challenged government…" is noted. The verb 'challenged' implies a provocation, defiance or confrontation on the part of the person with disability (Mndzebele in this instance). Sometimes people with disabilities are constructed as being grumpy, aggressive, crude, primitive and dramatic or even tantrum-throwing individuals (Ndlovu, 2014) which is commonly in line with the assumption that "the person with a disability is a suffering victim, as a stimulus object or as different and strange" (Adams et al, 2013), p. 337). The author's rhetoric in this example plays into these listed ableistic stereotype about people with disabilities. The verb 'challenge' especially when used in line with the Swazi government as evident in this case is generally associated with individuals who are assumed to be 'rebellious' hence the verb here carries a heavy stigma in this context.

Articles such as "Impaired man's twice failed attempts at UNISWA" (Nsibande, 2018) and "10 nomination centres a hindrance to people with disabilities" (Nhlabatsi, 2018) demonstrate a milder form of cultural imperialism whereby the dominant group's culture, values, perspectives is universalized and established as the norm (Young, 1990). Since people with disabilities are marginalized from every sector of society, the dominant group (non-disabled) projects and transmit their particular beliefs and perspectives through hegemonic discourses thereby rendering people with disabilities virtually invisible (Blumenfeld, 2006).

Services and facilities such as Braille, ramps and lifts thus do not become a priority not just in educational institutions but in all service providing institutions. This creates a situation whereby people with disabilities are shifted to the margins as secondary citizens (Kilomba, 2013). Articles such as "School now admits handicapped pupils" (Majola, 2018), "Sign language should be taught in schools" (Zwane, 2018) and "Govt neglecting the visually impaired (Dlamini, 2018) speak to the secondary citizenship status that is often ascribed to persons with disabilities whereby their needs are not considered a priority (SINTEF, 2011).

Also, the term 'government' in the articles "Government neglecting the visually impaired" (Dlamini, 2018) which is common in political rhetoric (Machin and Mayr, 2012) is used here

to conceal who exactly is the person that is responsible for disability grants. In the article it is stated that disability grants are said to be issued to people with disabilities that are in the database. Terminology such as 'database', 'assessment', 'statistics', 'access', 'legislation' which are considered as 'political or business rhetoric' (p. 33). These words have also been overlexicalized (p. 37) in the articles. Overlexicalization often suggests that something is problematic here (p.38). These terminologies speak to the unclear and often complicated corporate or business or political rhetoric which is often difficult for people with disabilities to understand especially in Swaziland where people with disabilities generally have a lower educational status (SINTEF, 2011).

Other 'difficult-to-understand' rhetoric such as 'Inclusive education', 'opportunities', 'competence-based education', 'financial inclusion', 'vocational training', 'improvement', 'employment' and 'innovations' are some of the common 'sugar-coated' political or business or corporate rhetoric. This type of rhetoric often sounds attractive and promising yet it is historically notorious for not yielding any lasting positive results (delivery of services) hence it is often befittingly considered as 'empty promises' by the masses (Machin and Mayr, 2012).

The term 'Good Samaritan' is commonly used throughout the articles especially in the description of donors or would be donors to the cause of people with disabilities. The notion of 'Good Samaritan' is commonly derived from the biblical "Parable of the Good Samaritan' (Luke 10:33, The New King James Version). It generally denotes an individual who voluntarily provides good or assistance to a stranger or their neighbour without the expectation of a reward for that good deed or assistance provided. The notion of 'Good Samaritan' is akin to the African principle of 'ubuntu' (Ndlovu, 2016) which is based on other sub-principles such as 'an injury to one is an injury to all', 'you scratch my back and I scratch yours' and 'one is their neighbour's keeper' (Dlamini, 2017).

In these articles, the notion of the 'Good Samaritan' also plays into the ableistic stereotype about people with disabilities being 'charity cases' or people who survive on hand-outs. Adams et al (2013, p. 335) argues that "Such an assumption is sustained both by what researchers study and write about people with disabilities and by their omission of disabled people in their discussions as providers of support". Also, he further argues that "rather than the world being divided into givers and receivers of help, we are all actually interdependent" (p. 337).

Articles captioned as “Maloma Colliery donates E36 000 to disabled women” (Times reporter, 2018), “Templars assist paralyzed mugging victim” (Phungwayo, 2018) and “Man seeks help for mentally-challenged daughter (Vilane, 2018) also connote a sense of dependence on the part of the person with disability. Specifically, in the aforementioned articles the words ‘donate’, ‘assist’ and ‘seek help’ connote a sense of dependence and helplessness or what is colloquially referred to as ‘parasitism’. The notion of donation is commonly associated with neediness or impoverishment (Adams et al, 2013). Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that since language is an available set of options, certain lexical choices are often made by the author for their own motivated reasons. Also, connotations help us to place events and people into particular frameworks of reference, stereotypes and discourses (p. 32). According to Kerbo (2006) abundant research on disability and poverty has disproved most of the these ableistic assumptions about people with disabilities being ‘helpless’, ‘dependent’, ‘needy’ and ‘charity cases’ whereby it has ‘surprisingly’ found that a majority of the poor and disabled like everyone else would rather have a decent job than receive welfare and ‘hand-outs’ or ‘freebies’ as often assumed.

4.4 Poverty

One of the common characteristic of people with disabilities in Swaziland is abject poverty, with the majority (86%) of people with disabilities in Swaziland residing in rural areas (SINTEF, 2011). In over 30 of the articles people with disabilities are described alongside negative ableistic, stereotypical adjectives such as 'poor', 'bedridden', 'sickly', 'homeless', 'unhealthy and 'suffering' . These adjectives connote a state of helplessness, deprivation and moreover the 'vicious cycle of poverty' which refers to a situation whereby one problem becomes the root cause of another problem and the consequence of the problem also becomes a root cause for further problems (UNICEF and REPSSI, 2015).

For instance, the article "Widowed, with disability, 8 mouths to feed" (Moahloli, 2018) is a classic account illustrating the spiralling vicious cycle of poverty whereby the breadwinner's death (husband) resulted to poverty (financial lack), financial lack led to disease (untreated poliomyelitis), disease (polio) led to disability, disability led to unemployment of the mother, unemployment led to the lack of education for the children and non-educated children resulted to another host of serious challenges thus the unending vicious cycle of poverty. According to Adams et al (2013) disability is often assumed to be tantamount to helplessness and neediness. Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 32) argue that "Since language is an available set of options, certain choices have been made by the author for their own motivated reasons".

Noteworthy, here is that Shongwe (the widow) has her story written in an African or Swazi folktale fashion whereby through the application of the element of suspense the reader is taken on a winding chronological journey of the disabled woman's story. The story is narrated by the author from the woman's commencement of poverty (widowhood) to where she is presently (disabled).Although not overtly stated, the story also connotes an unusual 'riches-to-rags' lifestyle as opposed to the common 'rags-to-riches' lifestyle by the woman with disability. This unusual depiction (riches-to-rags) by the author may be indicative of some ideological work by the author (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Shongwe's story is thus summarized as a confluence of factors such as; death, disease, unemployment, disability, illiteracy and other factors that cascaded to a 'web' of absolute poverty. Ironically, all these factors fall under the cultural category of 'misfortunes', 'evil forces' or 'bad omen' or 'catastrophe' (Dlamini, 2017) and "disadvantage" (Nyangweso, 2018, p.1) hence they are heavy laden with stigma. Nyangweso (2018) argues that in some African communities disability is viewed as resulting from

misfortunes such as incest, adultery (which is considered as a major abomination). An individual who 'possesses' all these assumed misfortunes is likely to face more stigmatization as opposed to one who 'possesses' one or two of these factors. Goffman (1963) argues that stigma does not only affect the individuals bearing them but it also affects those who are associated with stigmatized groups and individuals. Also, stigma is very serious in the developing world as bonds and allegiances to families, village, neighbourhood and community still abound (Gilbert, 2016).

The element of suspense has also been applied in the narration of other articles such as; "Blind brothers barely making ends meet" (Moahloli, 2018), "Why give up?-officer living with disability" (Moahloli, 2018) and "Disability doesn't exist in my vocabulary" (Moahloli, 2018). Interestingly, all these articles are indicated to have been produced by the same author. According to Myrick (2012, p.12) "Folktales contain common themes such as good versus evil, adversity versus triumph and problems needing solutions. They also clearly exhibit common universal truths and highlight human characteristics through character personas." On the other hand Mabuza (2001) argues that folktales often serves the function of amusement or entertainment and often times beneath humour often lies a deeper meaning.

The word 'poverty' is suppressed or lexical absent (Machin and Mayr, 2012) throughout most of the articles under this theme but rather other words that are characteristic of poverty are used and overlexicalized (p.37) as well. These are words and phrases such as 'predicament' , 'ordeal', 'sad story' , 'has never seen the inside of a classroom', 'go without food for days', 'does not have a cell phone' and 'the little they have' are used to refer to the poverty situation of people with disabilities. From a cultural perspective, words such as 'lack' which are a 'roundabout' way to say 'poverty' are usually used. The giving of 'subtle' implicit names such as 'trials', 'hardship', 'predicament' and 'struggles' or 'challenges' in some of the articles to refer to 'poverty' trivializes and makes invisible the oppression of women. These are often carefully selected implicit ableistic words used to deflect, obscure, downplay and trivialize oppression.

Steyn (2015) argues that being able to name oppression what it is, is the first step to challenging it. Also, this is done to have the victim blame themselves for their own oppression. Ferber (2012, p.70) indicates that "blaming of the victim is essentially a defense of privilege". Kerbo (2006, p. 261) also argues that "...the popular view of blaming the poor for their own poverty

has focused upon the "moral character of the poor"...many people think the poor are poor because they are lazy, waste their time and money, and simply do not have the self-control to succeed". Piven and Cloward (1971) assert that the perspective of 'blaming the victim' serves as a means of controlling the poor when the poor themselves come to believe it and thus the poor who blame themselves are not likely to disrupt the society or make demands for improved conditions. One would expect the word 'poverty' to be indicated as the stories detail accounts of poor people who also live with disabilities. According to Nyangweso (2018, p. 1) "Eighty percent of those with disabilities live in developing countries with twenty percent of those residing in the very poorest of these countries in Africa." Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 39) argue that in cases of the absence of certain words that one would expect to be included in a text, one can think about why that was the case that the author did not want us to think of these words

For some of the articles the captions themselves connote some negativity especially with regards to the portrayal of women in general. For instance, in the same story captioned "Widowed, with disability, 8 mouths to feed" (Moahloli, 2018) the caption itself reinforces the stereotype of women (disabled) being equated to not just poverty only but deadly diseases too. In Swaziland, women are generally considered to be the main carriers of diseases such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic; an assumption that is often derived from well-meaning HIV/AIDS statistical information. For instance, the Ministry of Health report (2013) reveals that in the context of the entire population, 31% of all women are living with HIV compared to 20% men. In part, the higher incidences of HIV/AIDS amongst women with disabilities specifically those living with albinism can be attributed to the erroneous belief that men who have contracted HIV/AIDS can be healed from this condition if they slept with girls with albinism (Nyangweso, 2018).

Also, the article captioned "25% of HIV infected kids experience hearing loss" (Khoza, 2018) reinforces the stereotype about children and though not overtly stated women being associated with diseases (HIV/AIDS in this instance).In the Swazi context children constitute both ordinary children and women (Dlamini, 2017). In the opening line of the article it is statistically stated that "Approximately 25 percent of HIV infected children experience hearing loss" (p.8). Here, the adverb 'approximately' is an "aggregation" (Machin and Mayr (2010, p.83). "These kinds of statistics are commonly utilised to give the impression of objective research and scientific credibility…" (Van Djik, 1991). Also, the notion of 'loss' in the same caption line connotes a sense of poverty and to some extent even a sense of death. According to Ashford &

Nattrass (2005, p.292) “stigma is related to the fact that having AIDS is ‘tantamount to saying a person is already dead”. Poverty and death are generally stigmatized discourses in Swazi culture (Moe-Ndlela, 2007) and on the other hand Simbayi et al in Gilbert and Walker (2016, p. 140) argues that “HIV/AIDS is perhaps the most stigmatized medical condition in the world”.

Again, in the article “Widowed, with disability, 8 mouths to feed” (Moahloli, 2018), the word ‘mouths’ in the caption is used derogatorily and metaphorically to represent children. Here, the word ‘mouths’ connotes a sense of ‘gluttony’ or ‘parasitism’ or ‘burden’ with regards to children. Words such as ‘mouths’ reinforce the multiple constructs and stereotypes about subordinate groups (both disabled / non-disabled women and children) thus being considered to be dependent beings and lacking agency thus requiring to be oppressed, marginalized and dominated (Adams, et al, 2013) . Zhao (2011, p.246) asserts that one of the constructs about “childhood is that childhood is considered as a period of lacking…”

According to Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 32) certain lexical choices are often made by authors of articles for their own motivated reasons as language is an available set of options. For instance, in the article “Homeless mum, paralyzed son (19) sleep in RFM corridor” (Malinga, 2018) the description of ‘homeless’ indicates the poor status or class of the mother and her son. Culturally, ‘homelessness’ is considered a foreign anomaly that emerged with industrialization or westernization. Over the years, the notion of homelessness has been considered as one of the key characteristics of poor people especially in urban areas. It is culturally believed that every child or an adult has many homes due to the extended nature of Swazi families (Lusweti, 2008). Therefore, people who are homeless are culturally assumed to be those who are ‘ungovernable’ or ‘unmalleable’ or ‘untameable.’ Thus, the notion of ‘homelessness’ somehow connotes a sense of ‘ungovernability’ or ‘unmalleability’ or ‘untameability’ on the part of the woman and all these characteristics are serious problems for patriarchy (Mabuza, 2001).

Women who are described as ‘homeless’ are highly stigmatized because it is often assumed that by the time a woman reaches adulthood stage, she should have secured a marital home or at least have a potential fiancé or suitor for the establishment of her own home. Childbearing is expected to follow suit (Mabuza, 2001). The failure to secure a marital home in adulthood is commonly considered to signal some bad luck, present or past promiscuity or infertility on the part of the woman (Dlamini, 2017). According to Adams & Laurities in Mabuza (2001, p. 48). “Because marriage is rated as an ultimate destiny of women, the wedding ceremony is

considered a more important event for women than for men....this is an indication of patriarchal priorities".

Single motherhood is commonly assumed to correlate with a sense of 'ungovernability' or 'non-conformity' thus assumed to eventually end in homelessness on the part of the woman. The fact that Sylvia Bennett in the article "Homeless mum, paralyzed son (19) sleep in RFM corridor" (Malinga, 2018) is pictured with her disabled son (Eric) that could be culturally interpreted to mean that she has most likely either failed to maintain her marriage or relationship with the father of her child hence her homelessness is in some measure well-deserved. Culturally, single women are often condemned for premarital sex (culturally described as 'opening the father's kraal or cow pen') or their shameful failure to keep a man (Lusweti, 2008). Van Djik (1995) argues that certain moral issues can sometimes be connoted by what is acceptable behaviour for a woman rather than a man.

Also, a correlation is often drawn between poverty and witchcraft which are discourses that are generally associated with women (Dlamini, 2017). For instance, the phrase "…they are not welcome anywhere even by her family members and Eric's father who is said to be based in South Africa" (p.4) in the article "Homeless mum, paralysed son (19) sleep in RFM corridor" (Malinga, 2018) connotes a sense of witchcraft or bewitchment on the part of the woman and her disabled son. Witches and wizards are often stigmatized people who are not welcome anywhere. Again, the article "Widowed, with disability, 8 mouths to feed" (Moahloli, 2018) implicitly alludes to the discourse of poverty and witchcraft. Women who are subjected to extreme levels of poverty are sometimes considered to be receiving a retribution for their past 'cardinal' sins (witchcraft being considered one of the cardinal sins) which have been committed in secret (Dlamini, 2017). Culturally, witchcraft is considered to be mainly a practice of not just women but very poor and very old and often the disabled. Witches are ostracized or rejected everywhere (Dlamini, 2017). According to Nyangweso (2018) in African communities like in Swaziland disability is associated with wizardry and "juju" (p.4).

One of the articles also unveils an implicit correlation between poverty, promiscuity and disability. Often times disability is sometimes attributed to "sex-linked factors" (p. 4). An example is the article "Homeless mum, paralysed son (19) sleep in RFM corridor" (Malinga, 2018) whereby the identity of the son's father being in South Africa (migrant) connotes a sense of promiscuity or 'infidelity' on the part of the mother thus the penalty (either by the 'gods' or

ancestors) being the bearing of a son who is disabled. Although not overtly stated by the author, culturally speaking the links between the woman bearing a son by a South African migrant (culturally interpreted as promiscuity), the son having a disability and eventually the mother and son being homeless (poor) are implicitly drawn. "Implicit meanings are related to underlying beliefs, but are openly, directly, completely or precisely asserted" (Van Djik in Machin and Mayr, 2012, p.30). This lexical structuring indicates that something is problematic here (Machin and Mayr, 2012).In fact lexical choices are able to signify broader sets of associations that may not be overtly specified (p. 15). Generally, women who date or rather get impregnated by foreign men (migrants) are misperceived to be 'loose' women who are basically 'adventure' seekers or just after 'exotic' sex escapades whilst on the contrary men who sire children with foreign women are generally lauded as legends in what is considered to be the 'sowing of one's wild oats' thus spreading their lineage beyond their national boundaries (Lusweti, 2008). This cultural belief highlights the unequal power relations due to patriarchy that are existent between men and women in Swazi culture. According to Hleta-Nkambule (2001, p. 13) men enjoy "sexual rights" and this is one of the many instances that exemplifies how Swazi culture and tradition favours men.

It is also observed that a number of Swazi figures of speech have been used for articles under this theme. These include, inter alia, hyperboles, clichés, maxims, metaphors and similes. For instance, in the article "Homeless mom, paralysed son (19) sleep in RFM corridor" (Malinga, 2018) the adverb 'anywhere' in the phrase "…they are not welcome anywhere…." (p.4) is used as a hyperbole or what is often culturally referred to as 'a sweeping statement' (Dlamini, 2017). The adverb is a misleading exaggeration in the sense that the article reveals that Sylvia and her son (Eric) are not welcome in only two places or by two parties namely; her family members and Eric's father which is relatively a few countable places or individuals.

Culturally speaking, the adverb 'anywhere' connotes a wider scale rejection (which is often the case with women who have been accused of practising witchcraft) by probably every place or home in Swaziland yet when it is considered in context it applies to rejection by just family members only. Witchcraft is a highly stigmatized discourse that is commonly associated with women (Dlamini, 2017) and wizardry (Nyangweso, 2018).The lexical choices used here indicate that text-producers often stretch facts for ideological work thus in the process reinforcing ableistic stereotypes about subordinate groups. Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 12) assert that "All of these language choices are political in that they shape how people and events

are represented". Culturally, the notion of belonging and heritage is of utmost priority to an extent that homeless individuals are considered to have no belonging and heritage thus the ableistic stereotype of 'alienship' because of their detachment from their lineage (Ndlovu, 2016).

The maxim '…has never seen the inside of a classroom' in the article "Homeless mum, paralysed son, sleep at RFM corridor" (Malinga, 2018) is a colloquialism that is often used as a sarcastic mockery to describe an illiterate individual. Illiteracy is common with people with disabilities because of their relatively poor status and general lack of facilities and equipment to cater for their 'special' needs pertaining education (SINTEF, 2011). Swazi language is generally replete with indirect often sarcastic language, also casually known as 'beat-about-the-bush' language or expressions thus often times harmful discourses are often 'sugar-coated' or just remain unnamed (Dlamini, 2017). For instance, the maxim '...has never seen the inside of a classroom' which is a cultural 'roundabout' cliché to say 'illiterate' or 'lack of education' and here it serves as a "suppression" (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 38) and where certain words are suppressed or lexically absent it is often an indication that some ideological work has been done by the author (p. 38).

Over 10 articles under this theme the captions or headlines blatantly reflect ableistic notions about the poor status of people with disabilities. Adams et al (2013) argues that it is often either people with disabilities or the disability and never the institutional or attitudinal environment that is blamed for their poor status. For an example, articles such as "Blind brothers barely making ends meet" (Moahloli, 2018), "Homeless mum, paralysed son (19) sleep in RFM corridor" (Malinga, 2018) and "Widow with disability, 8 mouths to feed" (Moahloli, 2018) speak to the abject poverty that is characteristic of people with disabilities in Swaziland especially in rural communities. The idiomatic expression 'make ends meet' in the article "Blind brothers barely making ends meet" (Moahloli, 2018) is often used when one barely has enough to survive or is extremely poverty stricken. The idiom also connotes a life of struggling or what is colloquially referred to as 'hustling'. Another idiomatic expression that connotes a sense of hustling is '…to be out in the streets…' in the article "Homeless mum, paralyzed son (19) sleep in RFM corridor" (Malinga, 2018). Also, these idiomatic expressions are slang expressions or what Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 46) describe as a 'lexis' of street vocabulary.

Subordinate groups (people with disabilities, women and children) are often considered to struggle for survival thus well-deserving of the dominant group's sympathy. Such a view is misleading in that the goal then becomes one of changing the poor (rather than aspects of the society) so the poor can become "more like us" (Kerbo, 2006, p. 264). Articles such as "Disability doesn't exist in my vocabulary" (Moahloli, 2018) and "Why give up?-Officer with disability" (Moahloli, 2018) would be considered as an exception or a deviation from the norm (Machin and Mayr, 2012) with regards to people with disabilities as they tend to portray people with disabilities as self-sufficient beings instead of the common misconception of dependent beings. These article captions are 'abstractions' as what they mean is not fully explained clearly nor is it clear from the text (p. 47).

The authors' lexical choices in most of the articles reinforce certain ableistic assumptions such as 'people with disabilities being 'ever needy individuals' or 'people with disabilities being seekers of pity or sympathy' (Adams et al, 2013). These are words and phrases such as 'sick', 'pity' , 'depressing', 'depleted', 'donated' ,'grounded', 'makeshift cupboard', 'does not have a cell phone' , 'has not eaten' amongst many others. Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that since language is an available set of options, certain choices are made by the author for their own motivated reasons and ideological work.

For an example, neutral words such as 'cupboard' instead of 'makeshift cupboard' in the article "Widowed, with disability, 8 mouths to feed" (Moahloli, 2018) could have been used. The word 'makeshift cupboard' connotes an improvisation, poverty, dilapidation and shabbiness. Although not overtly stated such lexical choices connote a sense of slothfulness. Slothfulness being one of the stereotypes that is often attributed to people with disabilities (Adams et al, 2013). Likewise, these lexical choices are often assumed to be characteristics of all poor people as if the poor constitute a homogenous group yet poverty is relative (Kerbo, 2006). According to the structural view of poverty, poverty can be understood and explained with reference to political and economic characteristics of the society rather than any characteristics of the poor (p. 268). Also, poor people have different lifestyles and preferences because they are poor, lack secure jobs, or simply lack opportunities to live up to values and standards held by most in society. In other words, the poor may be reacting realistically to their situation (p. 266).

Some of the articles under this theme have been written in a way that may generate mostly negative, sympathetic effects on the part of the reader about people with disabilities. These

could be effects such as; sympathy, pity, disgust, hatred, anxiety and fear on the part of the reader rather than perhaps 'positive' effects such as 'empathy' and 'love'. Sympathy in this instance is a viewed as a negative emotion especially when used alongside people as they are misperceived as those who are helpless, powerless and so called 'charity cases.' In this instance sympathy connotes a sense of being rescued from an unfortunate condition. Miller in Tyler (2008) argues that disgust not only motivates but it sustains 'the lower ranking' of peoples. On the other hand, "Anxiety and fear create the very effect of borders, and the very effect of that which "we are not," partly through how we turn away from the other, whom we imagine as the cause of our fear" (Ahmed, 2004, p.132).

Examples of articles that may generate 'negative' effects (disgust, hatred, fear) on the reader are namely; "Mentally challenged man sent to jail for stealing booze" (Dlamini, 2018), "Healed mentally ill murderer wants out" (Dlamini, 2018) and "Templars assist paralysed mugging victim" (Phungwayo, 2018). Articles that would most likely generate 'positive' effects (empathy, love or admiration) are; "Paraplegic emotionally relates how she was raped at knife point" (Nkambule, 2018), "25% of HIV infected kids experience hearing loss" (Khoza, 2018) and "Disability doesn't exist in my vocabulary" (Moahloli, 2018).

The word 'widow' has been overlexicalized (Machin and Mayr, 2018) in some of the articles. Widowhood is highly stigmatized because of its cultural association with poverty, curses, misfortune and death. Since Swazi society is patrilineal men are considered to be the only official providers and women are considered as official carers (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001). Because widowhood often results in role-reversal whereby widowed women then assume the provisional role thus it is frowned upon. Clichés such as 'men take charge' and 'women take care' are often used to reinforce and reproduce patriarchy (Dlamini, 2017).

In another strange twist, the correlation between widowhood and poverty is often stretched to include widows' sexual needs for it is often mockingly and comically assumed that widows like the disabled tend to suffer from another type of 'poverty' or 'hunger' which is 'sexual' poverty (Dlamini, 2017). Swazi culture dictates that after the death of their husbands, widows should stay celibate for at least a period of two (2) full years, known as the mourning period. This mourning period should be symbolized by the wearing of all black. It is during this 'long' mourning period wait, often considered as 'temporary celibacy', that widows are assumed to be sexually 'starved' thus widows are often stereotypically labelled as promiscuous (Dlamini,

2017). Once the two (2) years elapse, widows are ‘free’ to remarry someone else or preferably be ‘inherited’ by the late husband’s brothers, a custom known as ‘wife inheritance’ (Lusweti, 2008).The stereotype of widowhood promiscuity is similar to the racial depiction of the black woman in Fanon’s writings whereby the black woman is seen as always already sexually available to the raping gaze of the black man this time instead of the white man and as fundamentally promiscuous (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 255).

Likewise, in some instances the correlation between poverty and disability is drawn and further stretched to include sexual needs too because the person with disability is often cultural constructed to be a sexually ‘starved’ being who would appreciate the ‘privilege’ of sexual gratification even from strangers (Dlamini, 2017). The article “Paraplegic emotionally relates how she was raped at knife point” (Nkambule, 2018) speaks to the sexual violence on people with disabilities due prevailing myths about people with disabilities (SINTEF, 2011). The repeated rape (twice at the same time) of the person with disability in the article could be linked to the myth of the disabled being ever sexually ‘starved’ thus deserving of repeated rape to ‘quench’ the disabled’s assumed insatiable appetite for sex (Dlamini, 2017).

Also, the man with a disability is often misconstrued as suffering from sexual ‘hunger’ as well in a similar fashion as the black man in Fanon’s writings whereby the black man is depicted as an aggressive sexual being who desires to rape not white women this time but fellow black women, particularly non-disabled women (Fanon in Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 255).At the same time it can be linked to other notorious myths such as ‘Sex with a virgin or person with disability cures HIV/AIDS’ (Lusweti, 2008) or “AIDS and what is misdiagnosed as ‘AIDS can be cured through sex with a stranger or virgin or disabled’ (Dickinson, 2014). ‘Raping’ and ‘being raped’ are attached to the person with disability as if they were a part of the essence of people with disabilities, which is seen as a dispensable population (Fanon in Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Other lexical choices such as ‘breadwinner’ are used in reference to women which is considered as a cultural misnomer because of the bread winning role’s assumed association with masculinity. ‘Breadwinning’ or what is often referred to as the ‘provisional role’ is assumed to be strictly a masculine role thus it is culturally believed that ‘breadwinning’ looks inappropriate and morally wrong when it is carried out by women (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001). Stigma labels such as ‘women with balls’ are often used to name women who transgress the patriarchal order

by ‘usurping’ the provisional role (Dlamini, 2017). Therefore, the word ‘breadwinner’ in some of the articles has been overlexicalized (Machin and Mayr, 2018) to signal this deviation from social convention or expectation (p.37), for where there is an overlexicalization it is normally an indication that something is problematic or of ideological contention (p.88).

Again, the articles under this theme also make a link between poverty, disease and disability. For instance the article “Homeless mum, paralysed son (19) sleep in RFM corridor” (Malinga, 2018) which reveals that Eric Silindane, who is Sylvia Bennett’s son was paralyzed by meningitis. Meningitis is a relatively new health condition that has in recent times in Swaziland emerged with the advent of HIV/AIDS and in part it is also associated with poverty thus it also carries a heavy stigma (Ford and Wright, 1994). Actually, the same applies to diseases such as Tuberculosis (T.B) and cancer. Like HIV/AIDS, meningitis is also correlated with poverty as indicated in the article. The story reveals that Silindane was born a healthy baby but later on fell ill as he grew up.

Although this is not overtly stated by the author it however implicitly reveals some shifting of blame on the mother for neglect or carelessness. Machin and Mayr (2012) assert that authors are able to imply meanings without overtly stating them. One of the oppression Swazi women are often subjected to is the ‘shifting of blame’ to them for any ‘unexpected’ and ‘undesirable’ outcomes of the baby in their care giving during motherhood (Ndlovu, 2016). Culturally, women are generally apportioned the blame for bearing babies with disabilities whereas men are exonerated.

Traditional patriarchal societies like Swazi society attribute primary care-giving strictly to mothers for the cultural belief in women’s innate maternal instincts. Culturally, maternal care is equated to oxygen for a child or baby (REPSSI and UNISWA, 2015). Role-reversal in this regard is often met with a strong backlash as it is often assumed that such role-reversal can incite the wrath of the gods or ancestors which may manifest in the form of ‘tragedies’ such as child disability (Dlamini, 2017). A sexist and imbalanced power-relations based assumption such as this one is somehow akin to the Bowlby theory which proposes that maternal care is like vitamins for the healthy growth of a young child and negligence, abandonment or lack of emotional attachment on the mother’s part is often considered to give rise to either criminality or pathology (Burman, 2010).

Research on child care development still continues to link early child care with later social and cognitive development, thus enlarging the area for which mothers can be held responsible (Burchinal et al, 2014). However, Coltrane in Kerbo (2006, p. 292) argues that "when men have taken on the primary parenting role and share in household responsibilities, they display close emotional and nurturing ties to their children and are capable of developing "maternal thinking."

The article "Widow, with disability, 8 mouths to feed" (Moahloli, 2018) also though not overtly draws an ableistic correlation between the discourse of poverty, disability and disease (polio). The story reveals that Gcinaphi Simelane lost her husband and became poor and later contracted poliomyelitis, known as polio. The article implicitly connotes that Simelane's poverty resulted in her contacting polio and eventually being disabled whereas the cause of her polio is unknown or unspecified. Poliomyelitis like leprosy has been one of the contagious diseases in Swaziland that have been identified to be linked with poor and deplorable living conditions (Nkambule, 2020). However, these are implicitly stated discourses in the article due to the complex relationship between poverty, diseases and even disability (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Although, polio is a preventable disease however people residing in impoverished areas are prone to polio because of the inaccessibility of polio vaccinations in part due to a number of reasons namely; remote locations, inaccessible health facilities and resistance to western medicine in preference of indigenous medicine (Dlamini, 2017).

The articles under this category also reveal the association of disability and generational curses. Generational curses are often believed to be imputed by ancestors or gods and they are often a sign of the ancestors' wrath on the living. This belief is commonly based on the misconception that some disabilities are contagious thus can be passed down through family lineages (Ndlovu, 2016). Religious narratives on disability such as "a curse from God for perceived gross disobedience to God's commandments….misdeeds in previous life such as stealing..." are commonly used in African communities to justify disability especially disability in children (Nyangweso, 2018, p. 5).The word 'curses' itself is lexically absent or suppressed (Machin and Mayr, 2018) in the article but it is implicitly stated. For an example, in the article "Widowed, with disability, 8 mouths to feed" (Moahloli, 2018) it is both explicitly and implicitly stated that the widowed mother has a daughter who is disabled too. Although not overtly stated, culturally speaking the disability of both mother and child may be assumed to be 'generational' or transmitted from mother to child. Also, in another article entitled "Blind brothers barely

making ends meet" (Moahloli, 2018) it is indicated that the two brothers, named Damudi and Gwabi are visually impaired. Although it is not overtly stated in the article, the adjective 'blind brothers' connotes a sense of 'contagiousness' or transmission between the brothers or probably their maternal lineage. Maternal lineage because in Swazi culture women are associated with all things considered negative or abnormal or catastrophic. For instance, the attribution of catastrophic natural disasters such as cyclones, electric storms and drought as being a consequence of women who do not wear 'doeks' (head wraps). Head wraps are a traditional symbol of subservience to men (Dlamini, 2017).

Most of the images used in the articles here portray the person with disability in ways that denote a lower social class. According to Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 50) "there is no neutral denotation, and that all images connote something for us". Shabby clothes, unkempt hair and 'stick and mud' houses are connotators (p. 51) of poverty, slothfulness, sloppiness and even illiteracy. For instance, in the article "Blind brothers barely making ends meet" (Moahloli, 2018); the images of Damudi and Gwabi depict both brothers wearing shabby and dirty clothes with unkempt hair. Stick and mud houses are "Potent cultural symbols" (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 54) which signify absolute poverty or primitivity. Potent cultural symbols are one of the ways in which authors achieve salience and "Salience is where certain features in compositions are made to stand out, to draw our attention to foreground certain meanings" (p. 54).

Also, in the article "Homeless mum, paralyzed son sleep in RFM corridor" (Malinga, 2018), the young boy with disability is pictured sleeping on a 'thin' foam mattress which culturally is a connotator (Machin and Mayr, 2012) of a lower social class position. From a cultural perspective, sleeping on the 'corridor' or in a 'thin' mattress are connotators of poverty as opposed to sleeping on a 'thick' mattress or a bed which would be culturally considered as a connotator of a middle or upper middle class. According to Kerbo (2006) the depiction of people as poor often aligns with the popular view of blaming the poor for their own poverty which is often backed by various theories that suggest that the poor, criminals, disabled and others at the bottom of society are in fact biologically inferior or inferior due to character, and these defects are the cause of their behaviour. Also, the differing characteristics of the lower (poor) class from the middle class are not the causes of poverty but only a reflection of their situation (p. 267).

In the article “Good Samaritan to the rescue for Lomajoyina” (Maziya, 2018) in one of the images the old woman is pictured alighting from a ‘stick and mud’ house and a ‘stick and mud’ house is a connotator (Machin and Mayr, 2012) of a poor status as opposed to a concrete house which would be a connotator of a middle class. Although it is not overtly stated, the image draws a correlation between poverty and old-age. In Swaziland, the elderly are usually affected by poverty in part due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. According to Bandora in Joensuu and Roppanen (2012, p. 21) “The HIV/AIDS pandemic has been responsible for large numbers of elderly people losing support and having to care for grandchildren”.

In the article, “Widowed, with disability, 8 mouths to feed” (Moahloli, 2018) the widowed woman is “foregrounded” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 56) and her one-room, tin-roofed house is “backgrounded” (p. 56) with an inset image showing her makeshift shack kitchen. All these features are connotators (p.32) of a poor or lower social status. All these images implicitly define the lower, poor status of people with disabilities. Also, the ‘foregrounding’ (p. 56) of the widowed woman is contrary to the cultural custom which stipulates that widows should shun the public eye (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001) or at least lower their gaze. In fact, her foregrounding signals a deviation from the norm or social convention or expectation (p. 37).

4.5 Violence

Gender based violence (GBV) is also one of the main discourses that people with disability are faced with on a day to day basis (SINTEF, 2011).However, only one (1) article fell under this theme and this is not surprising considering the fact that GBV is generally one of the discourses that is still believed to be ‘dirt’ or ‘dirty linen’ hence it deserves to be ‘swept under the straw-mat’ or to be ‘hung in the closet’ (Lusweti, 2008). The situation becomes worst for people with disabilities whose visibility is often shunned, shamed, stigmatized and occasionally punished because of taboo beliefs. Also, sexual offenses are generally trivialized or have the blame shifted on the survivor and the perpetrator is usually exonerated (Morna and Shilongo, 2004).

Also, the coverage of a single article under this theme speaks to the cultural belief of ‘sweeping under the straw-mat’ of discourses that are culturally perceived to be ‘taboo’ and ‘dirty linen’ (Dlamini, 2017). The article is indicative of the sexual violence that is usually committed against women or girls living with disabilities in Swaziland (SINTEF, 2011). Sexual violence against people with disabilities is often derived from the myth about the assumed high insatiable

libido of the person with disability. Also, myths such as 'people with albinism cure people with HIV/AIDS' (Phungwayo, 2020). The person with a disability is perceived as violent and erotic, as well as the legitimate recipient of excessive violence, erotic and otherwise (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 255). Terminology such as 'complainant' with reference to the survivor is used in the article thus connoting a sense of 'grumbling', 'whining' or 'just making a fuss' on the part of the survivor as evidenced in the article "Paraplegic emotionally relates how she was raped at knife point" (Nkambule, 2018). 'Grumbling' and 'making a fuss' are stereotypes that are often ascribed to subjugated groups (Possi, 2014).

These stereotypes connote a sense of what is often mockingly called the 'turning or making of tissues into issues' which is to say a trivial matter is unnecessarily turned into a big matter; a characteristic that is often culturally associated with femininity (Dlamini, 2017). What is culturally deemed to be feminine behaviour, often whining and crying is often perceived to be acts of cowardice especially when it is displayed by men who are expected to always exude masculine behaviour (Lusweti, 2008)."Expressions of masculinity in Swazi society are characterized by risk taking including engaging in risky sexual behaviour" (p. 18). Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 35) argue that since language is an available set of options, certain choices have been made by the text producer for their own motivated reasons.

Noteworthy too is that the single story under this theme was covered from a court proceedings hence the use of the words 'alleged', 'allegedly' in the article. The word 'assailant' has also been overlexicalized (Machin and Mayr, 2012) in the article and an overlexicalization is often an indication that something is problematic or of ideological contention (p. 37). The pseudonym 'Mxolisi' is used in naming the perpetrator to protect his identity probably until he is proven guilty. The pseudonym 'Sonto' is also used to represent the victim.

Due to myths and misconceptions sex itself is considered to have 'healing' properties which can even 'cure' certain disabilities. This myth specifically is also tied to the myth that 'a celibate individual will eventually develop a disability' (Lusweti, 2008). On the other hand, the myth about the person with disability being a highly sexed being is contrary to the counter- myth about persons with disability being asexual beings. Kafer in Chappell (2015, p. 2) argues that the notion of sexuality and sex in relation to disability is often considered as an African taboo. The lack of connectedness also suggests that "sexuality cannot be part of the disabled bodies' experience".

Arrests of perpetrators is uncommon (Morna and Shilongo, 2004) in that the person with disability, mainly women, is often perceived to have had their assumed longstanding sexual desires quenched or quelled rather than have the sexual act being considered as a criminal act. Thomson (1997, p. 12) argues that "many parallels exist between the social meanings attributed to female bodies and those assigned to disabled bodies. Both the female and the disabled body are cast as deviant and inferior." The perception of sexual violence in this way is somehow an act of shifting the blame on the victim with regards to cases of sexual abuse. However, in cases where the perpetrators are arrested, evidence that has been produced by the person with disability is often considered to be doubtful because of the disabled's assumed 'incapability' to tell the truth or assumed doubtful veracity or assumed lower intelligence quotiency (IQ) or half-human status (Ndlovu, 2016).

The adjective 'helpless' and 'defenceless' in the same article "Paraplegic emotionally relates how she was raped at knife point" (Nkambule, 2012) connote a sense of weakness, powerlessness and vulnerability which are ironically characteristics that are culturally ascribed to subjugated groups such as people with disabilities, women and children in Swaziland (Moe-Ndlela, 2007). Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that certain words tend to carry particular connotations in a particular culture. These adjectives play into the cultural stereotype that women are 'weaker vessels' (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001) and the description in this particular article could also have a connection with the author's identity as a man whereby from a Swazi cultural point of view, women are constructed as helpless, defenceless, vulnerable and weak whilst men are constructed as strong and all-conquering (Lusweti, 2018). Descriptions of victimhood or powerlessness such as these also tend to be common constructs about people with disabilities too (SINTEF, 2011).

Noteworthy, in the same story, "Paraplegic emotionally relates how she was raped at knife point" (Nkambule, 2012) is also the fact that the rape occurred at the victim's home. The notion of home being a safe haven has been a contested one. The Violence Against Children (VAC) study by UNICEF Swaziland (2010) revealed that 1 in 3 girls have been abused and most of the abuses occurred in homes. Reports of child abuse occurring in the home are commonly hidden in what is culturally referred to as 'sweeping the dirt under the straw-mat' which is done mainly to protect the home and its 'conflict-free' reputation. Ursin (2011, p.225) asserts that "The family home can also be the site for domestic abuse, physically as well as psychologically".

Above this article is another article with the caption “10 years or E25 000 fine for masturbating an animal”. The positioning of both articles especially on the same page may not be coincidental but an indication of some ideological work on the part of the author (Machin and Mayr, 2008). Culturally, disability has been linked to animalism or certain animalistic tendencies and behaviours (Sibandze, 2018).Nyangweso (2018) asserts that disability is often described as ‘animal-like’. Also, the lexical choice of words ‘Woe unto…’ in the title are common biblical rhetoric and such words connote a biblical warning which is often followed by a punishment. It is derived from the famous seven (7) biblical woes (Matt 23: 13-16, The New King James Version). The same applies to the use of the word ‘ungodly’ in describing the act of rape which is common religious rhetoric.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION

The most common disability that was covered by my research is albinism. However, it is very unfortunate that 90% of the articles reveal that the arrest of instigators and perpetrators of ritual murder is very rare or unheard of. De Jongh (2015, p. 23) argues that

> "Due to large (professional) trade networks with many people involved it becomes harder to trace the receiver. Secondly, instigators who are willing to pay a lot of money for certain body parts usually do not attend the actual killing of the victim, but hire the services of at least one traditional healer and people who are in need of money; as a consequence the instigator does not get arrested".

I feel that this somehow speaks to the notion that the instigators and perpetrators of ritual murders, as often speculated, are mostly likely elite, influential figures who often happen to be the same lawmakers hence the difficulty in arresting them and finding evidence of murdered victims. De Jongh (2015, p. 12) argues that throughout Southern Africa, the existence of ritual murder and the mediating forces of political leaders are a known phenomenon.

I also deduced that Swazi culture is indeed not innocent nor blameless with regards to ableism and disability oppression because of the entrenched ableistic language, customs and traditions in it. In fact, in critically analysing the articles I realized that the level of ableism and disability oppression is very alarming. Newspaper titles or captions also reflect ableistic notions thus reinforcing and reproducing ableism and disability oppression. Double- barrel derogatory and discriminatory adjectives coined with ableistic attitudes such as 'mentally-retarded' instead of may be 'intellectual disability' are still being used by text-producers, for instance in the article "Inkhosikati LaMatsebula calls for removal of myths surrounding autism" (Khoza, 2018). The more non-disabled persons reproduce these words the more they become naturalized and legitimated thus the stigmatization and discrimination of the people with disabilities becomes common sense (Coloroso, 2007).

I also realized that at the core of the alarming ableism and disability oppression is a high level of ignorance and in some cases indifference on the part of the non-disabled persons. For instance, the non-disabled person often perceives physical incapacities as inevitably leading to

incapacities in other spheres in the life of the person with disability (Adams et al, 2013). For instance, the common assumption that people with disabilities, mainly women are asexual. According to Thomson (1997, p. 16) "the assumption that sexuality is inappropriate in disabled people is known as asexual objectification"

Also, some of the articles reveal that the non-disabled person shifts blame on the disability as being oppressive rather than the institutional, physical and attitudinal environment of the disabled (p. 336). For instance, the notion of disability being attributed to witchcraft and ancestral displeasure which opens an individual to misfortunes like disability and sickness (Dickinson, 2014). Claims such as these tend to shift the blame on the individual and exonerates the environment. The social model of disability posits that disability is caused by the way society is organized rather than by a person's impairment or difference (Oliver, 2013). One realizes that there is a still a greater need for education and sensitization in the area of disability rights and also demystifying disability as a discourse especially in rural communities.

I also observed that there is still the ableistic tendency to view people with disabilities as one homogenous group thus disregarding their differences. Oliver (2013) argues that people with disabilities are often presented as a unitary group whereas in reality our race, gender, sexuality and age mean that our needs and lives are much more complex than that (p. 1025). Disability is also presented as being the same thus disregarding issues of severity of the disability (Oliver, 2013). Also, viewing people with disabilities as one homogenous group tends to disregard the concept of intersectional nature of oppression. For instance, where people with disabilities are spoken for in the articles, it appears as if men and women for an example experience the same level of disability oppression thus their social locations are disregarded. We may all be members of one 'society', but we live our lives as members of large, imagined categories or groups with boundaries between them: middle class and working class; men and women, disabled and non-disabled, young and old. On the other hand, none of us belongs only to a single category but we belong to a whole series of identities (Payne, 2000).

Notably, it has been evident that some of the figures of speech such as clichés and idioms used in everyday Swazi language are heavily imbued with implicit ableistic notions. These are some of the less obvious forms of ableism inherent in Swazi culture. For instance, derogatory words such as 'sichwala' (translated as one with a deficiency) are still used in everyday language. There is also the tendency to mystify or automatically categorize culturally misunderstood and

less understood discourses to be forms of disability (Ndlovu, 2014). For instance; HIV/AIDS and disability, poverty and disability, disability and feminity and epilepsy and disability which are not just implicitly correlated but also incongruently correlated in some of the articles. Also, relatively new and less understood disabilities in the context of Swaziland such as 'autism' which has recently been a common feature in local media are still highly stigmatized as opposed to 'older' and familiar disabilities such as visual impairment. This could be in part due to the fact that they have recently been 'dug from under the straw-mat' and 'put on the table or spotlight' for open discussion by different stakeholders.

Open discussions about these relatively new discourses have been mostly facilitated by prominent figures. The use of prominent figures as ambassadors or patrons as a voice for autistic individuals in Swaziland has helped demystify autism as indicated in the article "Inkhosikati LaMatsebula calls for removal of myths surrounding autism" (Khoza, 2018). 'Inkhosikati LaMatsebula' in this instance is one of the King's wives. The act of open discussions on taboo discourses is a laudable effort to combat stigma. All these misperceptions are indicative of the ignorance about disability mostly on the part of the non-disabled. However, Steyn (2012, p. 21) argues that "Social groups may embrace ignorance even when 'facts' stare them in the face.

Also, in analysing the articles one realizes that the meaning of disability in Swaziland is still ambiguous as it is sometimes stretched to include relatively new misperceived discourses such as transgender and homosexuality. This is in part due to the fact that whatever the Swazi mind cannot explain or perhaps classify into specific binaries such as male or female, masculine or feminine it automatically categorizes as an abnormality which automatically translates into a disability (Ndlovu, 2016). Also, these 'new' emerging discourses in Swaziland unfortunately continue to be dismissed and 'swept under the straw-mat' as they are still considered to be cultural taboos (Dlamini, 2017). I strongly feel there is an urgent need to raise awareness on not just disability alone but also these other misunderstood or less understood discourses because they are founded on lay theories and at the centre of these discourses are lay observations and lay physiologies (Dickinson, 2014). Lay theories are put together from just observation that lie outside an established canon of knowledge (p. 20).

The lack of political will on the part of the government is quiet glaring and appalling to say the least. I personally found it very heart-breaking to read and critically analyse articles such as "E228 710 for disabled paid to wrong people" (Dlamini and Sukati, 2018). Articles such as

these speak to the State's violation and trivialization of disability rights. Noteworthy, also is the promises on the part of government and painfully slow implementation of programmes or policies for people with disabilities. Articles such as "They have rights too" (Dlamini, 2018) alludes to the empty promises often made by the government and stakeholders which are often unfulfilled or partially fulfilled. Also, it is indicated that where the promises on service delivery are made for instance, people with disabilities are excluded. Again, the marginalization of people with disabilities on their own issues speaks to the level of ableism in Swaziland. In the articles, a couple of instances where people with disabilities have been spoken for have been noted. Blumenfeld (2004, p. 199) argues that "...victims of marginalization and systematic oppression are susceptible to the effects of internalized oppression, whereby they internalize, consciously or unconsciously, attitudes of inferiority or "otherness." Politicians are also cited as being at the centre of empty political rhetoric.

However, I also observed that in all of the articles the title of traditional healer (life-givers) is ascribed to the witchdoctors (life-takers) as well thus making the occupation of traditional healing to be very controversial and ambiguous. Evidently, the media has been at the centre of this ambiguity and controversy whereby both traditional healers and traditional witchdoctors are viewed by the reader as one homogenised group. The representation of traditional healers and traditional witchdoctors as a homogenised whole is termed as 'collectivisation' (Machin and Mayr, 2012). In this instance, the authors' intentional and careless use of the occupation of traditional healing may have been done to influence the reader's perception of traditional healers as being negative or as 'could be' or 'would be' killers. Ahmed (2013) argues that the recognition and assumption of some groups of people as 'could be killers' depends on stereotypes that are already in place. In the Christian fraternity, both traditional healers and witchdoctors are considered as one homogenized group (Mothoage, 2014).

Thus, in recent years, it has been assumed that central to the growing human organs trade has been both traditional witchdoctors and traditional healers hence in some communities no distinctions are made between the two occupations which is why the term traditional healer may be used interchangeably to mean both the life-givers (traditional healers/ herbalists) and life-takers (witchdoctors) as evident in some of the articles. This is made complex by the fact that there have been instances as cited by the articles whereby supposedly 'genuine' traditional healers have also been found with human organs too. Perhaps the term 'witchdoctor' to define ritual murderers by the authors would have reduced this ambiguity (Machin and Mayr, 2012).

On a positive note, the recently passed Sexual Offences and Domestic Violence (SODV) act is one of the legal instruments that protect the rights of people with disabilities. The article "Woe unto those targeting disabled, mentally ill" (Zwane, 2018) states two of the provision of the law which have been extracted from Section 23 of the Act. The law states that "a person who supplies, exposes or displays to a third person an article which is intended to be used in the performance of a sexual act; a publication to instruct, encourage, persuade, or enable the third person to perform a sexual act with a physically disabled person, without the consent of that physically disabled, or mentally disabled person commits an offence and shall be liable to up to 25 years in jail". One can only hope that this type of legislation will be able to 'bite' (punish) hard on instigators and perpetrators of ableism and disability oppression.

My research will also be a 'drop in the ocean' with regards to disability research. It will also serve to unveil and challenge ableism and disability oppression in Swaziland. It will serve not just as a voice for people with disabilities but also as a form of resistance to ableism and disability oppression thus it will later on be utilized in community conversations, meetings and dialogues to challenge these less talked about harmful discourses in my rural community. Last but not least, this research has validated the birth of my NGO (Khutsata Foundation) whose aim is capacity- building and empowerment of both marginalized and non-marginalized groups on various topical issues such as disability amongst other discourses which are still deemed to deserve being 'swept under the straw-mat' specifically in my rural village until we all agree in unison that 'Disability is not contagious, but rather ignorance is!'.

6.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ability and Disability- A nations pride at Ekululameni, 2018, December 2, *Sunday Observer*, p. 26.

Adams, M., Blumenfeld, W.J., Castaneda, C.R., Hackman, H.W., Peters, M.L., & Zuniga, X. (2013). Readings for diversity and social justice. New York: Routledge. Selected Chapters.

Ahmed, S. (2004). Affective Economies. Social Text, 79, 22 (2), 117-139.

Alhassan, A. B. (2018). Left-handedness and Stigmatization in Africa: Implications for parents and teachers, *Global Journal of Archaeology & Anthropology*, Vol. 7 (3), 555713. DOI:10.19080/GJAA.2018.07.555713.

Alhassan, A. B. (2011). Concise Modern Dictionary of Educational Psychology. Zaria, Nigeria, Tamaza Publishing Company.

Ashforth, A. & Nattrass, N. (2005). Ambiguities of 'culture' and the antiretroviral rollout in South Africa. *Social Dynamics* 31, 285-303.

Berg-Moe Ndlela, E. (2008). A study of HIV/AIDS, and livelihoods in rural Swaziland. Master's thesis. Norwegian University of Life Sciences. Oslo. Norway.

Blumenfeld, W.J., (2006). Christian privilege and the promotion of "secular" and not so "secular" mainline Christianity in public schooling and in the larger society. *Equity & Excellence in Education,* 39(3), pp.195-210.

Bourdieu, P. (1999). The contradictions of inheritance. In P. Bourdieu & A. Accardo et al. (Eds.). The weight of the world: Social suffering in contemporary society (Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, Trans.) (pp.507-513). Stanford. CA: Stanford University Press.

Burman, E. (2008). Deconstructing Developmental Psychology. London: Routledge.

Chappell, P. (2015). Queering the social emergence of disabled sexual identities: Linking queer theory with disability studies in the South African context Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity.

Charlton, J.I. (1998). *Nothing About Us Without Us: Disability oppression and empowerment*. Berkeley, LA, California: University of California Press. Selected chapters.

Charteris-Black, J. (2016). *Politicians and rhetoric*: *The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. Palgrave Macmillan (Basingstoke).

Coleman, L.M. (1997). Stigma: An enigma demystified. In Davis, L.J. *The Disability Studies* Reader. New York, Routledge. Pp. 216-231.

Collins, P. (1998). It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation. Hypatia, 13(3), 62-82.

Coloroso, B. (2007). *Extraordinary evil: A brief history of genocide*. Ontario: Penguin. Selected Chapters.

De Jong, W. (2015). 'Makhosi a via (Chiefs Commit Ritual Murder)'- Why ritual murders in Southern Africa should be seen as meaningful violence (and not senseless), *Afrika Focus*, *28*, (2), 9-26.

Deputy Prime Minister's Office (2015). *The Persons with Disabilities Bill*, 2015. Mbabane, Swaziland: Swaziland Government.

Dickinson, D. (2014). *A Different Kind of AIDS*: *Folk and Lay Theories in South African Townships*. Johannesburg: Fanele.

Disability Policy Audit Research Report (2008). *Disability Policy Audit in Namibia, Swaziland, Malawi and Mozambique Final Report*. United Kingdom, University College London.

Dlamini, B.S.F. (2017). What are the socio-cultural practices, myths and misconceptions that exacerbate the spread of HIV/AIDS amongst rural Swazi women? Honours thesis. The University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg. South Africa

Dlamini, K. &Sukati, S. (2018, March 2). E228 710 for disabled paid to wrong people, *Times of Swaziland*, p.10.

Dlamini, K. (2018, April 13). 3 tinyanga deny confessing to ritual killing of Mozambican man, *Times of Swaziland*, p.13.

Dlamini, K. (2018, July 13). Hope training will help deaf easily access services, *Times of Swaziland*, p.13.

Dlamini, K. (2018, November 6). 'Healed' mentally ill murderer wants out, *Times of Swaziland*, p. 8.

Dlamini, S. (2018, October 9). They have rights too, *Times of Swaziland*, p.19.

Dlamini, S. (2018, December 2). Govt neglecting the visually impaired, *Sunday Times*, p.34.

Dlamini, T. (2018, November 18). A second chance with 'Operation Smile', *Sunday Observer*, p.14.

Dlamini, W. (2018, September 10). Mentally challenged man sent to jail for stealing booze. *Swazi Observer*, p. 11.

Dlamini, Z. (2018, April 22). It's triple 50 for people with visual impairment, *Sunday Observer*, p.11.

Dlamini, Z. (2018, November 11). Don't divide people with disabilities, govt told, *Sunday Observer*, p.16.

Dlamini, Z. (2018, November 24). Taiwan donates wheelchairs, walking sticks and canes, *Observer on Saturday*, p. 10.

De Jong, W. (2015). 'Makhosi a via (Chiefs Commit Ritual Murder)'- Why ritual murders in Southern Africa should be seen as meaningful violence (and not senseless), Vol. 2, 2, pp. 9-26.

Dube, E. (2013, 19 September). Disabled businessman stopped from seeing King. *The Times of Swaziland,* p.3.

Entman, R., M. and Paletz, D. L. (1980). *Journal of Communication.* Autumn, 30 (4).

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Harlow Longman. USA.

Fanon, F. (1986). Black skin, white masks. London: Pluto Press.

Ferber, A.L. (2012). The culture of privilege: Colour-blindness, postfeminism, and Christonormativity. *Journal of Social Issues*. 68 (1), 63-77.

Ford, H. & Wright, J. (1994). Bacterial meningitis in Swaziland: An 18 month prospective study of its impact. *Journal of epidemiology and community health*. 48.276-8-.10/136/jech.48.3.276.

Galtung, J. &Ruge, M.H. (1965). The structure of foreign news. The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2, 64-91.

Gilbert, L. and Walker, L. (2010) "My biggest fear was that people would reject me once they knew my status…"- *Stigma as experienced by patients in an HIV/AIDS clinic in Johannesburg*, South Africa. Health and Social Care, 18: 139-146.

Goffman, E. (1963) Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity. Penguin Books pp 11-54.

Gordon, L.R. (1995). *Bad Faith and Antiblack Racism*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J: Humanities Press.

Gurin, P. (1984). Review of Relative Deprivation and Working Men. Contemporary Psychology 29, 209-10.

Gurrieri, L. (2013). Stocky Bodies: Fat Visual Activism. Fat Studies: *An Interdisciplinary Journal of Body Weight and Society*, 2, (2). 197-209.

Hand in hand-How we think about disability, 2018, September 23, *Sunday Observer*, p.27.

Hagerman, B. (2015). Thank you Jah Jahfe give me this a colour: *Yellowman's revalorization of the dundus*, Social Identities, 21:6, 529-544, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2015.1106311

Harcup, T., & O'Neill, D. (2001). What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism Studies*. 2(2), 261-280.

Hlatshwayo, S. (2018, July 20). 'Manzini unfriendly with people with disabilities', *Times of Swaziland*, p.24.

Hlatshwayo, S. (2018, August 6). 5 200 attend Sibebe Challenge 2018, *Times of Swaziland*, p.8.

Hleta-Nkambule, N. (2001). *A Critical Analysis of the influence of the radio programme "Khalamdumbadumbane" on Swazi discourses of feminity*" (Masters Dissertation), University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.

Jele, S. (2018, July 16). Wheelchair basketball targets international tourneys-'Dee", *Times of Swaziland*, p.41.

Johnson, A.G. (1997). Privilege, power, and difference. Boston: McGraw-Hill. Selected Chapters.

Joe, R. J., & Young, R.S. (Eds). (1994) *Diabetes As A Disease Of Civilization: The Impact of Culture Change On Indigenous Peoples*. Walter de Gruyter.

Joensuu, H. & Roppanen, I. (2012). Elderly People's Quality of Life in the Rural Communities of Swaziland. Draconia University of Applied Sciences. Helsinki: Spring.

Kerbo, H.R. (2006). Social Stratification and Inequality: *Class Conflict in Historical, Comparative and Global Perspective*(6th ed.).New York: McGraw-Hill.

Khoza, S. (2018, July 3). Epilepsy Org. donates E5000 to epileptic boy, *Swazi Observer*, p.16.

Khoza, S. (2018, August 6). Inkhosikati LaMatsebula calls for removal of myths surrounding autism, *Swazi Observer*, p. 9.

Khoza, S. (2018, November 13). 25% of infected kids experience hearing loss, *Swazi Observer*, p. 8.

Kilomba, G. (2013). "Who can speak: Speaking at the centre, decolonizing knowledge". Plantation Memories: Episodes of everyday racism, 23-36.

Kress, G. R. (2005). Gains and losses: New forms of texts, knowledge, and learning. *Computers and Composition*, 22, 5-22.

Kress, G.R., & Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design.* London: Routledge.

Kunene, N. (2018, December 11). Skin treatment for people with albinism reaches Eswatini, *Swazi observer*, p. 16.

Kunene, N. (2018, December 19). We are disrespected on the roads-blind citizens, *Swazi Observer*, p. 15.

Lusweti (2008) Multiple and Concurrent Sexual Partnerships in Southern Africa: a ten country research.

Mabuza, T.J. (2001). 'A woman has no mouth': A feminist critique of the image of woman in SiSwati prescribed books. University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012), How to do Critical Discourse Analysis. London: SAGE Publications Ltd

Machin, D., & Van Leeuwen, T., (2005) "Language style and lifestyle: the case of global

magazine: DOI: 10.1177/0163443705054151n.

Magesa, L., (1997). African Religion: *The moral traditions of abundant life*. New York. Orbis.

Majola, S. (2018, March 15). Ex-Senator Tom wants fund for visually impaired, *Swazi Observer*, p. 16.

Majola, S. (2018, May 16). School now admits handicapped pupils, *Swazi Observer*, p. 9.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2007). "On the Coloniality of Being" Cultural Studies. 21:2, [NS3]240-270.

Malinga, L. (2018, May 22). Homeless mum, paralysed son (19) sleep in RFM corridor, *Times of Swaziland*, p. 4.

Malinga, L. (2018, September 22). Visually impaired vote! *Swazi News*, p.4.

Manzini news. (2018, December 12). Persons with disability programme rolled out, *Swazi Observer*, p. 7.

Marnell, J. & Khan, G. Creative Resistance- Participatory Methods for Engaging Queer Youth. Selected Chapters.

Maziya, S. (2018, June 30). Good Samaritan to the rescue for Lomajoyina, *Observer on Saturday*, p.12.

Maziya, s. (2020, March 21). Eswatini Population growth shows slight drop. *Observer on Saturday*, p. 7.

McCloud. S. (1993). *Understanding Comics. The invisible art*. New York: Harper Perennial.

Mchunu, K. (2016). Izikhothane youth phenomenon: the Janus face of contemporary culture in South Africa. *African Identities*, DOI: 10.1080/14725843.2016.1227691

Menninghaus, W. (2003). Disgust: Theory and History of a Strong Sensation, trans. Howard Eiland & Joel Golb, New York, State University of New York Press.

Mignolo, W.D. (2009). “Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial freedom.” Theory, Culture & Society (SAGE, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi and Singapore), Vol. 26 (7-8), 1-23.

Moahloli, Z. (2018, July 14). Why give up?-Officer living with disability, *Swazi News*, p.12.

Moahloli, Z. (2018, May 26). Blind brothers barely making ends meet, *Swazi News*, p.14.

Moahloli, Z. (2018, September 8). Widow with disability, 8 mouths to feed, *Swazi News*, p.6.

Moshabela, M., Bukenya, D., Darong, G., Wamoyi, J., McLean, E., Skovdal, M.…Wringe, A. (2017).Traditional healers, faith healers and medical practitioners: the contribution of medical pluralism to bottlenecks along the cascade of care for HIV/AIDS in Eastern and Southern Africa. *Sex Transm Infect*, (0), 1-5. Doi:10.1136/sextrans-2016-052974

Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (2000) Disability Profile in Swaziland. Government of Swaziland. Mbabane, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Morna, C.L. Shilongo P., (2004) Gender in entry level journalism. Gender Links.

Mothoagae, I.D. (2014). An exercise of Power as Epistemic Racism and Privilege: The Subversion of Tswana Identity, Souls: A critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society, 16:1-2, 11-27, DOI: 101080/10999949.2014.931085.

Motau, P. (2018, February 22). Inyanga arrested for albino murder in SA, *Times of Swaziland*, p. 2.

Morna, C.L. Shilongo P., (2004) Gender in entry level journalism. Gender Links.

Moya, P. (2011). “Who we are and from where we speak”, *Transmodernity*(Fall 2011), 79-94.

Mthimunye, B. (2018, October 24). Albinos: Call us Vanillas! *Daily Sun*, p.1-2.

National Representative Study. SINTEF Report no. STF 78 A034503. Oslo, SINTEF.

Ndlangamandla, F. (2018, October 14). No help for Imbali who broke leg doing Sikhanyiso’s vosho, *Sunday Observer*, p. 4.

Ndlovu, H. L. (2016). African Beliefs Concerning People with Disabilities: Implications for Theological Education, Journal of Disability & Religion, 20:1-2, 29-39, DOI: 10.1080/23312521.2016.1152942.

Ndlovu, M. (2014). “Just a bunch of unbearable, useless individuals”: A decolonial critique of Minister Mbalula’s rhetoric of South African exceptionalism. *African Journal of Rhetoric*, 6, 143-167.

Ndlovu, T. (2016). All poor together? Race and the stylistics of begging at traffic lights in Johannesburg, *Critical Arts*, 30 (4), 126-141. DOI 10.1080/02560046.2016.1226765.

Nene, K. (2018, June 25). 6 schools march against ritual murders, *Times of Swaziland*, p.20-21.

Nene, K. (2018, December 21). Perfect X-mas gift for bedridden elderly, *Times of Swaziland*, p. 18.

Ngai, S. (2005). *Ugly feelings Literature, Affect, and Ideology*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Ngozi-Adichie, C. (n.d.) The danger of the single story.

Ngwena, C., du-Plessis, I.G., Combrinck, H. & Kamga, S.D. (2014). African Disability Year Book. South Africa, Pretoria University Law (PULP).

Nhlabatsi, S. (2018, August 1). 10 nomination centres a hindrance to people living with disabilities, *Swazi Observer*, p.6.

Nkambule, S. (2018, July 18). Paraplegic emotionally relates how she was raped at knife point, *The Swazi Observer*, p.4.

Nsibande, A. (2018, June 29). Impaired young man’s twice failed attempts at UNISWA, *Times of Swaziland*, p. 26.

Nsibande, A. (2018, July 20). Was inyanga found with albino fat? *Times of Swaziland*, p.4.

Oliver, M. (2013). The Social Model of Disabilities: Thirty years on disability and Society Journal. Vol. 2,[NS4] 1024-1026.

Oostendorp, M. (2014). The multimodal construction of identity of politicians: Constructing Jacob Zuma through prior texts and multiple modes. Critical Discourse Studies.

Parrinder, E.O. (1956). African Ideas of Witchcraft, Folklore, 67:3. 142-150, DOI: 10.1080/0015587X.1956.9717545.

Payne, G. (2000). *Social Divisions*. New York: St. Martin’s Press. Selected Chapters.

Phungwayo, P. (2020, March 30). Fear grips people with albinism, Times of Eswatini, p. 9.

Phungwayo, P. (2018, November 2). Templars assist paralyzed mugging victim, *Times of Swaziland*, p.24.

Picture of the day. (2018, October9). *Times of Swaziland*, p.28.

Piven, F.F., & Cloward, R. (1971). *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Possi, A. (2014). Persons with Disability's Right to Work in Africa: A Comparative Study of Employment and Disability Laws, Policies and Relevant Institutional Mechanisms of Tanzania and Selected African states (Doctoral Degree), Friedrich-Alexander-Universitait Erlangen-Nurnberg.

Quijano, A. (2000). "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America. "Nepatla: Views from the South. 1.3, pp. 533-580.

Richie, B. (1995). Racism, ethnic stigma and gender violence: exploring the intersections of oppression. In: *Plenary, Midwest conference on child abuse and incest*, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.

Rowland, L. and Scannel, P. (1994). *Mass Communication- A comparative Introduction*. Manchester: University Press.

Ryan, W., (1971). *Blaming the victim*. NY: Pantheon Books.

SD Mavundla 'Country report: Swaziland' (2015) 3 *African Disability Rights Yearbook,* 245-264 http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2413-7138/2015/v3n1a11

Sibandze, N. (2018, March 4). Lack of sight not an obstacle for love, *Sunday Observer*, p.12.

Sibandze, N. (2018, June 24). To be albino, *Sunday Observer*, p. 2-8.

SINTEF (2011). Living Conditions among People with Disabilities in Swaziland. A National Representative Study: (Report No. SINTEF A20047). Swaziland.

Steyn, M. (2015). Critical diversity literacy: Essentials for the 21st century. In Routledge

Steyn, M. (2012). The ignorance contract: recollections of Apartheid childhoods and the construction of epistemologies of ignorance. Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 19(1), 8-25.International Handbook of Diversity Studies (Ed. Steven Vertovec).pp.379-389.

Swazi Observer Reporter. (2018, November 13). 25% of HIV infected kids experience hearing loss, *Swazi Observer*, p. 8.

Swazi Observer Reporter. (2018, December 14). Nurses turn away mental patient, *Swazi Observer*, p. 3

The United Nations (2006). *Conventions on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and its optional protocol.* Retrieved from http://www.un.org/disabilities/documents/convention/convopt-e.pdf

Thomson, R.G. (1997). *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring physical ability in American Culture and Literature.* NY: Columbia University Press. Selected Chapters.

Times Live. (2018, October 12). 13 year old Gabisile Shabane will finally be laid to rest, *Swazi Observer*, p.24.

Thwala, S. (2015). Lived Experiences of children with Disabilities in Swaziland. *Journal of Education and Training Studies.* 3, (4), 206-215. DOI 10.11114/jets.v3i4.902.

Tyler, I. (2008). "Chav Mum Chav Scum: Class disgust in contemporary Britain. *Feminist Media Studies*, 8, (1), 17-34.

UNICEF (2010). Violence against children study; *Ten things you should know about violence against children in Swaziland.*

Ursin, M. (2011) 'Whenever I lay my head is home'-young people experience of home in the Brazilian street environment, Children's Geographies,' 9:2,221-234, DOI: 10.1080/14733285.2011.562382.

Van Djik, T.A., (2006) Discourse and Context: Sociocognitive approach, Cambridge University Press, UK

Van Dijk, T. A., (2006). Discourse and Power. Palgrave Macmillan. New York.

Van Dijk, T. A., (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis: Discourse and Society. 4: 249.

Van Dijk, T. A., (1989). Discourse and Power. Palgrave Macmillan. New York.

Vilane, N. (2018, November 5). Man seeks help for mentally challenged daughter, *Swazi Observer*, p. 14.

WHO (2011) World Disability Report. World Health Organization and The World Bank. Geneva, World Health Organization.

Wolbring, G. (2008). The Politics of Ableism. *Development*. *51*. 252-258. DOI:10.1057/dev.2008.17.

Young, I.M. 2011 (1990). Justice and the politics of difference: Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Selected Chapters.

Zhao, G. (20110. The modern construction of childhood: What does it do to the paradox of modernity? Stud Philos Educ, 30, 241-256.

Zulu, J. (2018, June 29). Nominate us for Bucopho, MP-Visually impaired, *Times of Swaziland*, p. 20.

Zulu, J. (2018, January 13). Baby born with no head, private parts, *Swazi News*, p.2.

Zulu, J. (2018, November 30). 1 000 join Stukie Motsa Foundation, Times of Swaziland, p. 21.

Zwane, S. (2018, July 13). Sign language should be taught in schools-DPM, *Times of Swaziland*, p.12.

Zwane, A. (2018, August 11). Woe to those targeting disabled, mentally ill, *Observer Saturday*, p.10.

Zwane, S. (2018, October 9). Visually impaired graduate freezes in front of King, *Times of Swaziland*, p. 9.