Deviant Doodling: Contextualising the Discourses of Zapiro in a Socially Responsible Press.

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I, Sandra Pitcher, hereby declare that:

All work that follows is my own work and that all sources have been properly acknowledged.
All illustrations, that are not my own, have been referenced.
This thesis has not been submitted to any other institution for similar qualification.

Signature: _____

Date: 28 January 2016

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Abstract

Visual satire has been used as a way to lampoon leaders and society for centuries, particularly in Africa (Eko, 2007; Parton, 2012). Over time, this type of communicative art has developed into the political cartoons that one recognizes in newspapers today, and is acknowledged to be an important type of commentary that records an alternative social history (Lamb, 2004). However, over the past few decades there has been a marked increase in the number of cartoonists who have been censored, threatened and killed as a result of their often controversial representations, such as the highly publicised attack on the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in January 2015. Even in South Africa (where freedom of speech is a Constitutional right) political cartoonists are not necessarily safe from those who wish to restrict their sometimes offensive commentary. Zapiro, the country's most widely syndicated cartoonist, for example, has been embroiled in lawsuits for defamation, most notably with South Africa's president Jacob Zuma at the helm.

The debates which ensued as a result of these legal battles inspired this thesis, leading the researcher to consider the role of political cartoonists in a socially responsible press system, focusing particularly on the work of Zapiro. Consequently, the thesis tracks the historical development of political cartoons in South Africa, and focusses on how social responsibility has been interpreted as a normative framework in the South African context, with particular attention on the African concept of *ubuntu*. From these discussions, the researcher developed a Social Responsibility Reasoning Sheet which allowed the researcher to assess the discourses of Zapiro's work in light of social responsibility. Consequently, this thesis concludes that Zapiro, while being offensive at times, is socially responsible, and to silence the voice of social commentators is not only irresponsible, but undermines the foundations of *ubuntu*.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Rewind to 7 September 2008: it was a day which infuriated, shocked and made many South Africans question if legendary political cartoonist Jonathan Shapiro (Zapiro) had finally taken opinion too far, and opened the door for indecent editorial cartooning. The *Sunday Times*, South Africa's most popular weekly newspaper, chose to print his *Rape of Lady Justice* cartoon (Figure 1) in which soon-to-be South African president, Jacob Zuma, is seen unbuttoning his pants, while the symbolic figure of Lady Justice is held down by four of his cadres: then-African National Congress (ANC) youth league president Julius Malema[1], ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe, South African Communist Party (SACP) leader Blade Nzimande and then-Congress of South African Trade Unions' (COSATU) secretary-general Zwelinzima Vavi[2]. The figure of Mantashe urges Zuma on with, "Go for it, boss!" – implying the imminent rape of Lady Justice.

Figure 1

South Africans were divided. Many felt that the cartoonist's gritty portrayal of Zuma hit far below the belt. Some argued that it was a disgraceful depiction in a society struggling with gender violence and high rape statistics (Mason, 2010a).

[1] Expelled from the ANCYL in 2012. Now leads South Africa's newest political party, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF).
[2] Dismissed from this post in 2015 for allegedly breaching COSATU's code of conduct.

Zapiro had not only belittled Zuma, but had, some activists felt, belittled the survivors of gender violence through the simplification of their trauma into a pervasive metaphor (Solomon, 2011). Loyal Zuma supporters, who were already critical of Zapiro's depiction of Zuma's showerhead[3], were even more outraged by Zapiro's damning portrayal of Zuma as a rapist; a label they believed had been dismissed legitimately by the South African legal system (Harvey, 2008). Zuma felt the same, and sued Zapiro for damaging his reputation and dignity for R7-million (Swart, 2008). Others felt, however, that this cartoon presented a valid, hard-hitting and thought-provoking metaphor for the dilemma in which South Africa found itself at the time (Smuts cited in O'Grady, 2008; Saunderson-Meyer, 2008). Zapiro himself "vociferously defended the cartoon as a legitimate expression of his role and mandate" as a political cartoonist (Mason, 2010a: 212).

In 2012 the case against Zapiro was dropped hours before it was due to be heard in court, and as a result Zapiro's criticism of Jacob Zuma and the ANC appears to be on the rise. One of his most offensive pieces published in the last few years was a cartoon in which he chose to portray President Zuma as a giant penis (Figure 2), in response to the banning of Brett Murray's painting *The Spear*[4]. This time, however, Zapiro admitted that perhaps his portrayal had overstepped the mark in regard to 'good sense', and that it 'lacked [his] usual nuances', but denied that his work was immoral or illegal (Mail & Guardian Literary Festival, 2012). Critics argued that the media should be more responsible, but where does one draw the line in relation to political cartooning, especially when cartoonists themselves admit that they sometimes overstep the mark in relation to good taste? The answer lies in the discussions to follow, and, as the most widely published and syndicated political cartoonist in South Africa, the work of Zapiro is used as this thesis' primary case study.

[3] As will be discussed later, Zapiro began depicting Jacob Zuma with a showerhead during Zuma's rape trial in 2006 after he stated that taking a shower would help prevent contracting HIV.

[4] In 2012, artist Brett Murray painted a portrait of Zuma with his genitals exposed in an exhibition entitled "Hail to the Thief II". The painting, which was vandalised to 'cover-up' Zuma's exposed penis, elicited a vast amount of criticism for being disrespectful, and led to suggestions that artists should be censored.

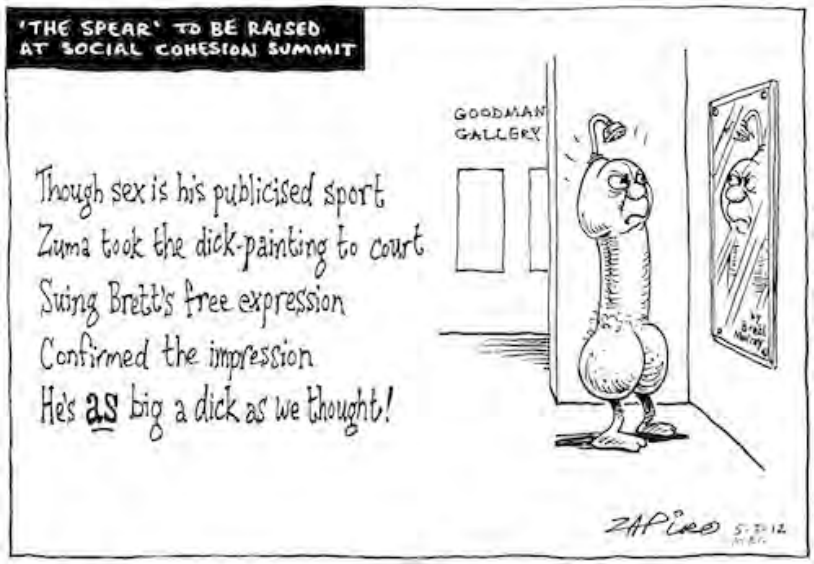

Figure 2

Initially, this thesis explores of the history of cartooning in general, and considers how political cartoonists and satirists have developed to become alternative social watchdogs attempting "to keep a jaundiced eye on democracy and those threatening it" (Lamb, 2004: 4) by lampooning society's elite. Ultimately, they are now regarded as a counter-balance to the fair and objective nature of traditional journalism. Editorial cartooning aims to take the facts presented in the news, and distort and exaggerate them in an attempt to pass comment and create debate among citizens (Lamb, 2004). Zapiro clearly succeeds in doing this, because South Africa is often wrought with debate over why his cartoons are either justified, insulting, unfair or just plain irrelevant (Mthembu, 2012). However, with each new controversial cartoon that is published more is being written about the role of political cartooning in South Africa, and why this type of commentary is one of the reasons there is a need for more rigid press regulations (Mason, 2010a).

In part, the advocation for more stringent regulation appears to stem from the belief that the current South African press is more concerned with perpetuating sensationalism than operating in a socially responsible manner. Jeremy Cronin (2010), of the South Africa Communist Party (SACP), argues that the print media in South Africa are driven by "a narrow commercial imperative of presenting news and particularly politics as a shallow spectacle [creating] a climate in which serious political analysis and debate are marginalized". And unfortunately, due to their

distorted and exaggerated ideas, political cartoons are often mistaken as propagating a sensationalist agenda. Ironically, it appears that many social commentators have lumped political cartooning into the same regulatory category as traditional journalism, citing that it should be fair and accurate, rather than accepting that its very nature is required to be unfair and stereotyped in order to spark critical political debate (Seepe, 2008; Brown, 2008; Mason, 2010b).

Brian Sokutu, a spokesman for Jacob Zuma, was quoted as saying that Zapiro's cartoons abuse free speech and undermine journalistic ethics (Hess, 2011). However, as explained by Chris Lamb (2004: 102), the role of the political cartoonist is not one confined to traditional newspaper ethics; rather, it is a tool "to awaken society and demand its involvement in protecting democracy, regardless of how unpleasant the intrusion might be." But as debates surrounding many of Zapiro's cartoons prove, there are times when the unpleasantness of intrusion borders on the socially and culturally unacceptable, and questions are raised as to whether the right to free speech outweighs other personal constitutional rights in the South African context.

South Africa is a nation which has a tumultuous history, both politically and socially. As a result, many civil liberties are considered hard fought and won battles, and free speech is possibly one of the most treasured rights, as South Africans reflect on more than 40 years of government censorship. Simultaneously, the right to dignity also has a pivotal role to play in a country where many individuals were treated as sub-human for decades under colonial and apartheid rule. In order to balance these freedoms, the mass media are often called to act in a socially responsible manner, whereby free speech is protected as long as it does not aggravate underlying social tensions or propagate hate speech, in order to protect individual dignity (South African Constitution, 1996; Mason, 2010a; McQuail, 2010). Problematically however, these principles are often subjective interpretations which differ between each individual. Conventional media ethics aim to create a navigational path for traditional journalists to follow in regard to this, but political cartooning relies entirely on cartoonists' personal judgements, guided by the (usually) traditionally trained editor under which the cartoonist works (Lamb, 2004).

Fundamentally, cartoonists are not journalists, and the aim of cartoons is to operate as visual editorial commentary that works in conjunction with other opinion pieces regarding topical social and political issues (Lamb, 2004; Harrison, 1981; Eko, 2007; Mason, 2010a; Mason, 2010b). Importantly, they have to be read in conjunction with the 'news of the day' if the reader is to grasp their full meaning, and generally consist of a one-panelled illustration which aims to depict visually and comment on a particular social event or issue in the news. As Chris Lamb (2004: 42) explains, political cartoonists "distort the news of the day to express what they regard as the truth about someone or something." Consequently, editorial cartoons are often considered to be counter-discourses that aim to undermine and challenge dominant ideologies that leaders permeate through traditional news stories (Eko, 2007).

During the early days of South African cartooning, for example, cartoonist Daniel Boonzaier frequently ridiculed Jan Smuts [5]and Louis Botha[6], depicting them as "lackeys of British imperialism and of capitalist Randlords" (Mason, 2010a: 48). The questions raised by these cartoons forced Botha to address various political issues, which allegedly created great stress and ill-health for him, and ultimately earned Boonzaier the title of the "man who killed Botha" (Mason, 2010a: 48). Today, we could argue that Zapiro has the same type of relationship with Zuma, while other South African cartoonists, like Jeremy Nell, have chosen their own political targets (Julius Malema) to hold accountable. Consequently, political cartooning could be understood as an alternative social commentator, operating alongside, and in conjunction with, more traditional forms of social inquiry and debate within the press. However, unlike traditional editorial copy, political cartooning does not offer realistic truth, but an interpretative narrative.

In doing so, cartoonists are expected "to be provocative, which often requires stretching the limits of taste" (Lamb, 2004: 162), and often leads critics to question the fairness of the images being portrayed. Consequently, together with the fact that this type of commentary appears alongside more traditional types of journalism, some critics have argued that editorial cartooning should be scrutinised under the

[5] Prime minister of the Union of South Africa between 1919 and 1924, and again between 1939 and 1948.
[6] First prime minister of the Union of South Africa

same standards of ethical practice; but cartoonists are not journalists. Few cartoonists have gone through the same training processes as journalists, thus they have not been conditioned to consider the conventional guidelines that govern a modern newsroom. As explained by British cartoonist John Jenson (2012) in an interview with *Sky News*, cartoonists will often intentionally attempt to offend, especially if the person who is being depicted has offended the sensibilities of the artist in some way. And because of this lack of typical journalistic values, the work of the political cartoonist is usually monitored by a traditionally trained editor who is better equipped to judge the social milieu in which the cartoon will be interpreted (Lamb, 2004; Mason, 2010a). Andy Mason (2010a: 73) explains that the acceptability of an editorial cartoon "depends on the intention that lies behind it, the context in which it appears and the attitudes of those who are on the receiving end". Consequently, it could be argued that an editor is better equipped than the cartoonist to know the measure of these key elements based on past experience, in-depth knowledge of audience demographics and core journalistic responsibilities.

In his book, *Drawn to Extremes,* Chris Lamb (2004) presents the findings from a number of interviews with both editors and prominent American cartoonists, in an attempt to understand the relationship that exists between traditional journalism and the contentious art that is editorial cartooning. Overall, he discovers that the relationship is a difficult one as cartoonists appear stubbornly 'hard-wired' to push the limits of public decency. *Doonesbury* creator Garry Trudeau is quoted as saying that to "[tell] a cartoonist to walk softly is like asking a professional wrestler to show a little class" (Lamb, 2004: 32), and believes that it is the right of the cartoonist to be as controversial and unforgiving as possible. More recently, Jeremy Nell (Jerm), a cartoonist who was fired from *The New Age* for being too controversial, tweeted that "satire is glorified trolling" (Nell, 2013); cartoonists play with audience's sensibilities purposefully to offend and react. Editors, therefore, are seen as the long-suffering voice of reason attempting to curb that which borders on the socially unacceptable. And while much of Lamb's (2004) research is sympathetic towards the plight of the cartoonist, and highly critical of overly cautious editors, it does force one to consider the political economy of the press as a mitigating factor in the success of a cartoonist. After all, if a cartoonist does not conform, in some manner, to the whims of their editor, the work of the cartoonist will remain unpublished in the mainstream

press. Therefore, Lamb (2004) highlights that for political cartooning to operate effectively in the press, free speech should be balanced with key journalistic responsibility, and it is this point which is pertinent to the South African context.

The current South African media system is one which has emerged out of the strict restriction and censorship of the authoritarian apartheid government. As a result, academics such as Botma (2011) have argued that the press has grown increasingly liberal (a point to be debated later in this thesis) under the new dispensation of democracy, which emerged after the fall of apartheid in about 1990. Initially, this model of practice was seen as an important counter in preventing the same types of censorship and secrecy that prevailed under the apartheid government, and consequently the press has since worked as a self-regulating institution which combined "the watchdog (so-called Fourth Estate) role of the media with their social and ethical responsibility towards society" (Botma, 2011: 76-77). Problematically, however, there have been a number of recent incidents which have resulted in a barrage of criticism from the ruling African National Congress (ANC) government. The ANC argue that the media has lost sight of ethical and responsible reporting in favour of profit-driven sensationalism. As a punitive measure, the ANC has proposed a number of new restrictive laws and policies to help curb what they consider to be an increasingly sensationalist press. And while it is not the aim of this thesis to debate the legitimacy or constitutionality of these measures, an understanding of their formation is important in contextualizing the ruling party's vision for the South African media, and thus the types of commentary that they believe should be presented within it.

The two most controversial measures which have been proposed, and which have been given the most attention by media writers, academics and activists, are the Protection of Information Act[7] and the proposed Media Appeals Tribunal[8] (MAT). And while the Protection of Information Act would have enormous ramifications for the press if passed (it is currently under revision), it is the MAT which is of most interest in terms of political cartooning, as it has more to do with the restriction of free

[7] A Bill proposed to protect the distribution and classification of state information
[8] A proposal that would see the press accountable to Parliament rather than self-regulate through the Press Ombudsman

speech within the press. Interestingly enough, it was, as Jane Duncan (2011: 93) explains, an "allegorical painting [painted by Yiull Damaso] depicting former President Nelson Mandela as a corpse, modeled on Rembrandt van Rijn's 'Professor Tulp's anatomy lesson', which led the ANC to re-propose the need for a media tribunal" (See Figure 3).

Figure 3

As with the criticisms relating to the *Rape of Lady Justice* cartoon, this illustration was considered to be a violation of individual dignity and, since then, the ANC has frequently cited that one of the main reasons a media tribunal is required is that "the existing system of the council and the courts do not give sufficient protection to those whose rights to dignity, reputation or privacy have been violated" (Duncan, 2011: 92). This argument is bolstered further by the ANC's belief that the South African print media are devoid of responsible journalism and are inherently 'unAfrican' in their approach to representing society (Dubin, 2012; Waldner, 2011); unlike the ANC's values which include building a "developmental state, collective rights, values of caring and sharing community [*sic*], solidarity, *ubuntu,* non-sexism [and] working together", the mainstream press is driven by "neoliberalism, a weak and passive state, overemphasis on individual rights [and] market fundamentalism" (ANC, 2010: 7). However, critics of the ANC have argued that its attempts to regulate the mainstream press are derived from the need to hide corruption, stifle criticism and maintain control of public opinion (Chaykowski, 2011; Manson, 2011). And while it is not the aim of this thesis to comment or reach a conclusion on the legitimacy of these claims, it is useful to use the arguments presented by both sides

as a way to measure and contextualise their expectations of the press, in order to pass comment on the discourses and themes portrayed in Zapiro's cartoons.

In order to do this, a number of key issues need to be considered. Consequently, this thesis dedicates the next three chapters to a discussion that examines the role of political cartoons within a socially responsible press. Chapter 2 begins by outlining the origin and history of political cartooning, then moves on to explain the social requirements needed for political cartooning to operate effectively in a society, and finally, explores the differences between political cartoons and other forms of comic art and editorial satire. In doing so, Chapter 2 will help to contextualise the terms and expectations associated with political cartooning to be discussed through the remainder of the thesis.

Once the context has been established, this research will move from the more general discussions of the second chapter, and discuss the role of political cartooning in a South African context in its third chapter. This section highlights the importance of political cartoons in recording South Africa's political and social history. From here the thesis moves to Chapter 4 in which it expands on the issues discussed in this introduction and considers the debates surrounding political cartoons and free speech that have emerged since the fall of apartheid. This chapter examines how various gatekeepers, such as editors, audiences, the government and publishers are used as a gauge to balance free speech and political cartooning rather than relying on the traditional self-regulatory processes linked to professional journalism. This chapter also takes note of the conflicting and contradictory nature of South Africa's constitution in relation to individual rights and the country's more general democratic rights, such as freedom of expression. The final chapter of my literature review also explores the development of the media landscape in democratic South Africa using McQuail's (2010) various normative approaches, including the African paradigm of *ubuntu.*

Chapter 5 is dedicated to methodology and explains how samples of Zapiro's cartoons were both selected and analysed in terms of thematic structure and discourse schemas found therein. This chapter also outlines the interpretative

nature of this method, acknowledges its shortfalls, and explains how these limitations were overcome.

Chapter 6 offers an analysis of all Zapiro cartoons that have been published between 1994 and 2013. This chapter explores if the overall discourses found in Zapiro's cartoons during this period can be deemed socially irresponsible, or if they provide valuable social and historical commentary of South Africa's newly established democracy. This thesis establishes the various ways in which political cartoons are able to represent society through their reflections, intentions and constructions by mapping, categorising, and comparing the way in which Zapiro deals with various themes over the history of South Africa's new democracy until 2013. This data is also supplemented with the discussions made in earlier chapters about political cartooning in order to examine and compare the various techniques used to portray specific issues. This helps the researcher link the content of each cartoon with other overarching social forms of knowledge, as well as the ability to tie these together with general social perceptions and understanding. Therefore, this analysis will help to determine if the devices and connotations garnered from various samples are merely offensive rhetoric, or if the themes found therein offer important social commentary, thus contributing to the press' role as a socially responsible commentator. It will also help corroborate data collected from the conceptual analysis, and determine through a thorough scientific analysis of each cartoon, if the current literature is valid or merely idealistic theorising.

The final chapter of this thesis discusses the key findings and highlights the benefits of political cartooning in a democratic nation, while simultaneously acknowledging that many of the problems plaguing the work of Zapiro have to be explored on a case-by-case basis, and often, are only found to be offensive due to a number of other social factors, thus arguably not simply because he is socially irresponsible or unethical. The chapter concludes with a number of suggestions for the further research in the field and how the press can avoid socially contentious cartoons without compromising their watchdog status or resorting to self-censorship.

Chapter 2 – What is Political Cartooning?

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to outline and explain what constitutes a political cartoon, and the social context required for them to operate effectively. In order to achieve this, the chapter begins by outlining the basic history of political cartooning, mapping its development from ancient caricature through to renaissance and revolutionary satirical prints, and eventually to the current form which appears in most major newspapers across the Western world. The next section identifies the principal components that make up a political cartoon in order to define and differentiate it from other forms of comic art and satire. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion that highlights the types of social conditions that are needed for political cartoons to flourish and what elements can hinder the publication and overall understanding of the messages contained therein.

2.2 From Caricature and Satire to Cartoons

From caricatures, to Sunday comic strips, to the live animation of *South Park*, the modern world is saturated with comic art. So what sets political cartooning apart from other forms of cartooning? Perhaps the best way to answer this question is to understand how it began, and the conditions under which it originated. Wigston (2002) offers a useful argument which highlights how political cartoons have developed from the art of caricature, but like most 21st century writers (Lamb, 2004; Mason, 2010a), he seems content to go back only as far as the mid-18th and 19th centuries to the work of William Hogarth, George Cruikshank, and John Leech when examining the art of political satire. The reality however, is that the history of political cartooning goes back centuries, even if it was not originally called cartooning.

Harrison (1981) indicates that some of the first artistic political commentaries were drawn as far back as 1360BC, during the reign of King Tutankhamen's father in ancient Egypt, while Hodgart (1969) argues that many artefacts originating from ancient Greece display satirical renditions of the gods. However, Harrison (1981) emphasises that ancient political satire was limited, and ancient Greece was the only

society that had the necessary freedoms to allow the vigorous scathing of public officials and institutions on a regular basis (a more thorough explanation of these freedoms will be discussed at the end of this chapter). This, he argues, changed during the Middle Ages, a fact which is corroborated by Spielman (1895), who explains that the birth of modern political cartoons emerged during the reign of King Charles I. At that stage, they were coined as 'hieroglyphics', and it was only when George Cruikshank emerged in the early 1800s that the word 'caricature' became synonymous with political commentary. It is thought that the term 'cartoon' only became commonplace with the introduction of *Punch* in the latter part of the 19th century (Spielman, 1895).

Going back to Wigston (2002), it can be noted that the art of political cartooning can be traced back to the art of caricature, which for thousands of years has portrayed leaders and events through a subjective lens as a way to illustrate the caricaturist's version of reality (Mason, 2010a). And while many caricatures were considered distasteful renditions of individuals, their place in contextualizing historical events have been incredibly useful because as Lynch (1926: 11) explains, the role of caricature is an important "weapon of subjection against authority". He argues that it was used as a cultural tool through which individuals were able to belittle their rivals, create visual portrayals of dominant ideologies, and in later years, create a medium through which they were able to challenge authority in order to bring about modern reform. Mason (2010a) highlights that this type of subjective artistry is one which is able to shed light on the ideas and viewpoints which permeate a society's mindset during a particular time in history. Harrison (1981) confirms this view, arguing that caricaturing should be seen as a way in which artists are able to 'capture the personality' of the individual or event being portrayed in order to pass comment on them. Consequently, caricature can be considered an artistic tool used to refine and clarify personalities to help magnify and examine particular traits and mannerisms (Harrison, 1981).

Figure 4

If we examine Figure 4, known as “The Study of Five Grotesque Heads”, drawn by Leonardo da Vinci, and considered to be the “inspiration of all subsequent caricatures in Europe” (Hodgart, 1969: 29), we are able to note the key features that allow the artist to achieve such magnification. But before we begin analysing these features, it must be made clear that this caricature does not aim to capture any specific individual; rather, the heads are meant to act as types that represent the “infinite depths of vice and folly” (Hodgart, 1969: 29). Consequently, da Vinci’s work exemplifies how caricature aims to utilise the concept of physiognomy, and play on those features which depict personality to exaggerate and magnify that which is seen to be the ‘hidden’ personality of an individual. Therefore, if we continue analysing da Vinci’s work above, we are able to determine those features which were attributed to distinct personalities of the time, and those which still feature in the work of caricaturists and political cartoonists today.

As already mentioned, da Vinci’s images over-exaggerate various aspects of each individual’s physical features. The central figure in the foreground has a large hooked nose with a protruding chin, and his mouth is turned downwards, representing the figure’s stern and authoritative personality – reminiscent of the busts of political and military leaders found in ancient Rome. However, the head’s

weathered and sallow features indicate the strain that such responsibility takes on the individual. The figure in the right foreground, however, who also features a large hooked nose, creates an entirely different representation. The addition of a protruding bottom lip that forces his chin to disappear into his neck, creating a double-chin, and heavyset eyes, creates a more docile individual who appears gluttonous and lazy. Interestingly, the heads foregrounded on the left and backgrounded on the right also have hooked noses, but both appear more ominous than the previous two figures. This is achieved in two different ways; firstly, the figure on the left has a protruding bottom jaw, but unlike the first head discussed, his mouth his open, which creates a stronger jawline, and a number of teeth are seen to be missing. In addition to this, the frown and deep-set eyes create the impression of a haggard old man, but unlike the first figure discussed, the change of angle shifts the perception of the viewer.

Unlike the side-on image of the first head, the head on the left is positioned in a way that creates the impression that the viewer is looking down on the head; consequently, the head's eyes are shadowed by his knitted brow which creates a more diabolical leering persona. The second more ominous head in the background on the right, however, creates a different kind of impression that is far more threatening than any of the other figures. He is positioned higher than the other types, thus emphasising a higher status, but unlike the central figure is more threatening as he stares directly at the viewer from under his brow, emerging from the malevolent shadows drawn behind him. These same shadows help to cast the final figure in the background on the left as a desperate madman, screaming as he is enveloped by the darkness.

What this brief analysis demonstrates, is how "[c]aricature requires two artistic impulses: to observe reality objectively and to transform it subjectively" (Lamb, 2004:49). Each head is quite realistic, but through da Vinci's subjective transformation of human characteristics, he is able to exaggerate those features which reflect specific social connotations. The end result is a drawing that "is no longer a mirror [of realism]; rather, it is a magnifying glass and microscope […] that calls attention to certain attributes [associated with] a crook, a hero, a bumbler, or a genius" (Harrison, 1981: 54-69). As these techniques became more commonplace,

the work of satirical political artists began to change, and more and more commentators began adopting the tool of caricature. If we compare a typical image, in Figure 5, taken from 1438 in which the Landgrave of Hesse and his coat of arms are shown hanging upside-down from a gallows, we note that there is no trace of caricature. Instead, as Gombrich (1999: 190) points out, pictorial satirists were more concerned with using their artistry "as an instrument of hostile impulses" than to bring light the flaws in an individual's personality or ideologies.

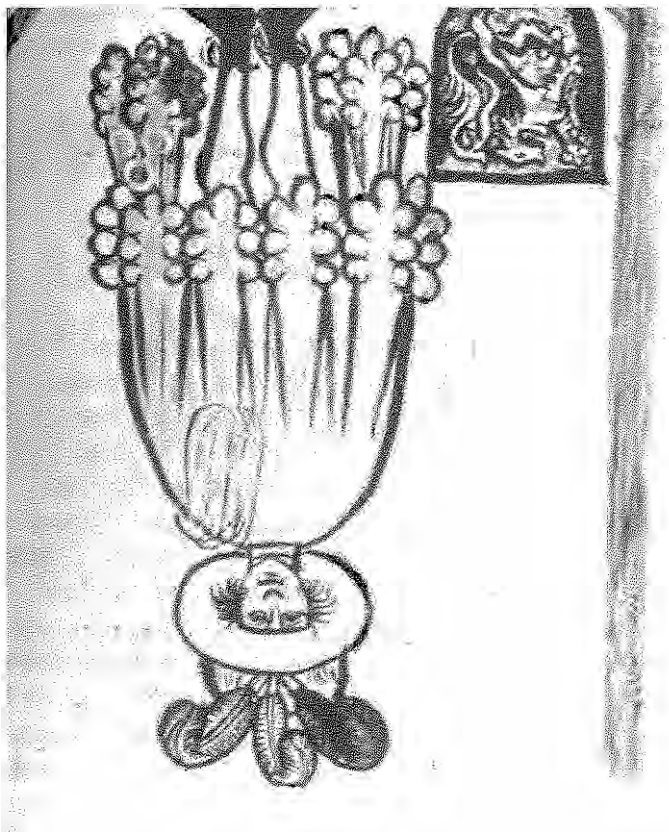

Figure 5

The art of caricature changed this as more and more artists began using it as a way to criticise and undermine the choices and ideologies of various individuals. These same tools are used by modern cartoonists, but it took a few centuries after da Vinci before it became commonplace to use it as a way of depicting high ranking politicians. Instead, caricature in the Middle Ages, up until the 16th century, "was mainly confined to the presentment of good and evil, of God and the Devil. Then with the great cleavage brought about by the Reformers and later, the Puritans, the art became the weapon of warring sects" (Lynch, 1926: 19). There are hundreds of

caricatures that have survived to prove this point, but one of the most well-known can be seen in Figure 6, in which Enoch Schön characterised Protestant reformer Martin Luther as a mouthpiece of the devil. In this drawing we can see the devil playing the head of Luther as a set of bagpipes, ultimately making Luther 'play his tune', while simultaneously listening to the devil in his ear.

Figure 6

However, as the Church began to lose power and the great revolutions of Europe unfolded, so emerged the modern political cartoon, and the great cartoonists of the 18th and 19th centuries. The most notable, as already mentioned, were John Leech, William Hogarth and George Cruikshank, who shaped the modern political cartoon of today. Unlike the caricatures of the Middle Ages, which aimed to undermine the Church (Hodgart, 1969), the likes of Hogarth and Cruikshank took to chastising political figures and European royalty. Figure 7, for example, is one of Cruikshank's many criticisms representing the gluttony of the British Royal family (exaggerated by King George III's fat and ruddy appearance) while the majority of citizens suffered a life of harsh struggle and poverty who can be seen crying in the

background of Cruikshank's cartoon while King George III drinks and dances in his palace.

Figure 7

But the most marked difference between the works of these modern commentators and their predecessors was their reach. As clerical power rescinded and printing became less costly, it became possible for the work of political cartoonists to move out of the upper echelons of society and into the hands of the growing middle class, thus effecting a far larger awareness than was possible when most printing was previously confined to wealthy aristocracy and the Church (Briggs & Burke, 2009).

From this brief introduction to caricature, one can conclude that it has played an important role in understanding and contextualizing social mindsets throughout the ages, and consequently has become an important tool adopted by political cartoonists to help bolster their arsenal of visual opinion. However, while caricature can be considered as the historical foundation for editorial cartooning, it must be acknowledged that the two art forms are fundamentally very different. Firstly, as can be noted in the more modern work of Cruikshank, caricature is merely one of the tools used by political cartoonists to help exaggerate and distort the physical appearance of specific individuals in order to draw attention to prominent features or

traits that the cartoonist wishes to highlight. Alongside caricature, political cartoonists also utilise elements such as humour, irony, metaphor, satire, sarcasm, and ridicule, in order to comment on and lampoon social values, political issues, public figures, and economic vices (Lamb, 2004). Secondly, and possibly more importantly, is the fact that political cartooning and caricaturing operate in entirely different contexts.

Caricature is often presented in its individual capacity, or as part of larger artistic collections, which need to be read as such in order to create any comprehensive meaning (Lynch, 1926). Political cartoons, on the other hand, aim to operate within the press as a way in which to offer visual editorial commentary of newsworthy events (Lamb, 2004; Harrison, 1981; Eko, 2007; Mason, 2010a; Mason, 2010b). Importantly, they have to be read in conjunction with the 'news of the day', in order to grasp their full meaning, and generally consist of a one-panelled illustration (as noted by Wigston [2002])) which aims visually to depict and comment on a particular social event or issue in the news. However, unlike Wigston's (2002) description which separates political cartoons from social cartoons, this thesis argues that in modern 21st century cartooning these two types of cartoons cannot be split. As Chris Lamb (2004: 42) explains, political cartoonists "distort the news of the day to express what they regard as the truth about someone or something", and includes both politics and social issues. Consequently, editorial cartoons are often considered to be counter-discourses which aim to undermine and challenge the dominant ideologies which leaders and social elites permeate through traditional news stories (Eko, 2010).

However, in order for political cartoons to operate effectively as counter-discourses, they require one of the most fundamental literary tools to complement their art form. Overall, along with caricature, satire is possibly the most important and defining feature that helps differentiate the modern editorial cartoon from other forms of political commentary. As with caricature, one of the most important elements of satire is its ability to reveal "distortions based on an appearance of reality" (Hagstrum, 1972 cited in Lamb, 2004: 34). Ernst Gombrich (1999: 190) argues that pictorial satire, in particular, relies on the "oscillation between dream and reality, between myth and metaphor" to bring its psychological effects to life.

Matthew Hodgart (1969: 11) explains that satire aims to take "the criticism of the world […] from its ordinary setting, […] of say political oratory and journalism, and [transform] into a high form of play". This, he argues, allows us to recognise and deal with our responsibilities as a society through the irreverence and joy of make-believe. Satire, therefore, whether literary or artistic, aims to distort our reality into a fantastical rhetoric that demonstrates the absurdity and ironies of our common lives. Political cartoonists aim to combine this rhetoric with the exaggerations and distortions of caricature in order to cast light on both public individuals and their social and political ideologies. This is apparent when examining George Cruikshank's *Monstrosities of 1818* shown as Figure 8 below.

Figure 8

This drawing not only distorts the features of the 19th century's high society as found in typical caricature, but Cruikshank has also exaggerated the fashions worn by these individuals into an absurd parade of gaiety and grandeur. In essence, he has managed to convert the seemingly ordinary and mundane into a fantastical parade, thus criticising the overabundant and decadent lifestyle of the newly emerging bourgeois class. Consequently, if used effectively, "satire forces us to look at ourselves for what we are and not what we want to be" (Lamb, 2004: 23), and the example above effectively demonstrates how Cruikshank was able to capture the

ridiculous nature of the new middle class, in contrast to the believed superiority that their new wealth afforded them.

Along with dissolving complex issues into imagined lands of absurdity, satire possesses “one fairly constant element, and that is obscenity” (Hodgart, 1969: 27). Hodgart (1969) explains that through the use of the obscene, the satirist is able to reduce whomever or whatever they are ridiculing to the level of the common man. To take the obscene one step further, in which man is reduced beyond nakedness to the state of an animal, the satirist is able to strip an individual’s social and divine status as well. However, many writers have failed to note that while political artists and satirists have, for centuries, reduced humans to animals, this tool has in fact stemmed from essentially African traditions, and ancient Egypt in particular (Parton, 2012; Eko, 2007). Parton (2012) documents a number of examples, ranging from foxes impersonating high priests to lions and unicorns playing chess. In Africa, “human beings who are considered unworthy of their humanity are transformed into animals or things, or otherwise transmogrified for purposes of satire” (Eko, 2007: 225). However, “it was from Egypt that the classic nations caught this childish fancy of ridiculing the actions of men by picturing animals performing similar ones” (Parton, 2012: 33). This technique was enthusiastically adopted by ancient Greek and Roman artists, integrated into the work of Renaissance commentators, and is found today in the work of modern political cartoonists (Parton, 2012; Eko, 2007; Hodgart, 1969).

But whatever the method, the aim of using satire in political cartoons is “to make the reader uncomfortable, to shake him out of his complacency and to make him an ally in the battle against the world’s stupidity” (Hodgart, 1969: 131). This idea is supported by Lamb (2004: 41), who argues that satire is “intended to shake us out of apathy or indifference and bring about reform”. Even if somewhat idealistic, Lamb’s (2004) argument highlights the most important element of political cartooning: to shock its readers into a reaction. This does not necessarily mean reform, but rather it should create, as Harrison (1981: 115) states, “serious discussion”. Harrison (1981) describes cartoons as a bitter pill, swallowed and accepted by society because of their humourous ‘sugar-coating’. Therefore, a cartoonist who reduces an individual to the status of an animal, or merely draws

attention to aspects of their naked form, is continuing a long tradition that has been used for centuries to help reveal and comment on underlying and often unspoken traits and issues.

2.3 Political Cartoons and Democracy

It is important to note, however, that many cartoonists do not have the social conditions needed to comment and criticise freely. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, most writers agree that the ancient Greeks were the only civilisation until the Middle Ages that had social conditions which were conducive to true satirical caricature (Hodgart, 1969; Lynch, 1926; Spielman, 1895). In part, cartoonists were restricted by the fact that the Church was primarily responsible for controlling the print industry, so many artists were unable to distribute their work widely, and also, because the Church had strict control over the dominant ideologies of the time, restricting anything that was critical of their control. However, due to the various revolutions which took place throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, a number of opposing sects took root and political artists were utilised by different sides to help reinforce criticism regarding their opponents (Gombrich, 1999; Hodgart, 1969; Lynch, 1926).

This became increasingly apparent during the late 18th and early 19th century when artists began concentrating on political figures rather than the Church. Exemplified in Figure 9, William Hogarth portrays John Wilkes Esquire, who was deemed, at the time, a radical libertine. Wilkes supported the American rebels during the American War of Independence, and was charged with libel for criticising King George III's opening address in Parliament in 1763 in his weekly newsletter, *The North Briton* (Lynch, 2003). Hogarth, however, was a known moralist and had objected to the American War of Independence, and famously ridiculed the anti-war effort in this satirical drawing (Thackeray, 1867). He took particular offence at the ideologies of Wilkes and his scathing attack on the monarchy. Consequently, he exaggerated and satirised Wilkes' cross-eyed appearance, using it as a tool to render him a liberal fool, capped by an unstable 'liberty bell'.

Figure 9

While modern political cartoonists are supposed to be free from political influence, their aim is still the same as those employed during the time of Hogarth: to create dialogue. Chris Lamb (2004: 102) argues that "it is up to editorial cartoonists to awaken society and demand its involvement in protecting democracy, regardless of how unpleasant the intrusion might be". However, because the intrusion, as Lamb (2004) puts it, can be damning and full of insult, most writers agree that in order for cartoons to operate effectively, four fundamental things need to occur (Lamb, 2004; Hodgart, 1969; Lynch, 1926; Spielman, 1895):

- Free speech;
- Spread of democratic ideas;
- Cartoonists need to be influential; and
- A politically-savvy audience.

Firstly, free speech is paramount. Without a society in which free speech is protected and encouraged, political cartoonists are at the mercy of those in power. Either their work has to be censored, as occurs in many African, South American, Middle Eastern and Asian countries, or they become government mouthpieces who help fuel propaganda. Lyombe Eko (2007: 220-221) explains that even though

“satire is part of African comic art and oral communication systems, it was banned during the postcolonial era by authoritarian, one party regimes”, and that newspapers, editors and journalists were forced to practice “journalistic restraint for the sake of social tranquility”. For that reason, many of these countries have been forced to abandon any political cartooning in which counter-discourses are pursued.

The protection of free speech is irrefutably linked to the second fundamental social condition: the spread of democratic ideas. Overall, editorial cartoons help to cushion “the hardness of crushing and stifling official discourse that monopolise the public sphere” (Nyamnjoh, 2009: 99), while simultaneously providing “a vehicle for dialogue between the governing and the governed” (Ibid: 108). Authoritarian regimes prevent the dissemination of alternative viewpoints, and there is little negotiation between those in power and the common man. Consequently, there is no room for change, or for anything that may spark or outrage society into forcing change. This however, does not imply that political cartoonists should have absolute *carte blanche* in relation to what is published, but if democratic ideas are allowed to be spread freely, a cartoonist should be given the opportunity to voice an opinion, no matter how outrageous.

Ultimately, it is the responsibility of an editor and newspaper to decide if the material produced by their political cartoonist is fit for public consumption and debate (Mason, 2010a; Lamb, 2004). “It is the job of the editorial cartoonist to be provocative, which often requires stretching the limits of taste, and it is the job of the editor to decide what goes into the newspaper” (Lamb, 2004: 162). Mason (2010a), however, believes that this responsibility can also lie with a cartoonist, so long as they are provided with mentorship from journalists and editors. This, he argues, allows an editorial cartoonist to grow in a journalistic environment and gives them a sense of industry norms, thus creating a more likely chance that their work is able to push the lines of good taste without over-stepping the values of the newsroom.

Thirdly, cartoonists have to be confident that they can be influential. In other words, they need to believe that their work has both reach and imparts a message that is worth disseminating. It is impossible to influence society, force change, or propose counter-discourses if one does not have a mass audience whom to direct

that message. Consequently, not only are editorial cartoonists bound by the norms of their editors, but also by their readers. If a cartoonist cannot reach a viable audience that is susceptible to their tastes and ideologies, the work of a cartoonist will not enter the discourses of the general public sphere. For the most part, political cartoons aim to "preach to the converted" (Gombrich, 1999: 195), but their derogatory and visual nature often fuels 'converted' audiences into believing that the cartoonist has overstepped the mark, thus generating more discussion around an issue than would have otherwise been possible with a written editorial.

In line with the above, the final element that needs to be present in order for political cartoons to flourish is the audience. The cartoonist needs readers that are savvy and politically conscious. Without an audience that understands the conventions of political cartoons, such as satire and caricature, the messages that are contained therein can be lost, and the message is often not interpreted in the correct manner (Hodgart, 1969). In addition, audiences also need to have a clear understanding of political and social issues. Each of these factors plays an important role in determining how a reader decodes the messages contained within a particular cartoon. Many of the codes used within political cartoons have developed over time, and have become common symbols in reference to various cultural conventions, such as Father Time, the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, Uncle Sam, Baby New Year or capitalist pigs to name a few (Spielman, 1895). However, it is becoming increasingly difficult for cartoonists to make reference to these archetypes because people in a globalised world are less likely to engage in the same ritual activities such as religion, speech, fables, and pop culture, and thus it is more likely that audiences will fail to understand the nuances and cultural references made by cartoonists (Hodgart, 1969).

If we consider Figure 10 below as an example, in which South African cartoonist Zapiro depicts a number of South African politicians cooking a dish labelled 'economy', there is obvious reference to the well-known English proverb that too many cooks spoil the broth. However, if you are not familiar with the axiom, the cartoon could be interpreted in a remarkably different way. A savvy audience would understand that Zapiro is attempting to convey that there are too many opinions and

beliefs in relation to how the economy should be handled, and the last thing that is required is for anybody else to interfere in the process.

Figure 10

However, if a reader who is not familiar with the proverb makes a literal reading of the cartoon, they could interpret that these government officials are ruining the economy and require the help of Zuma (portrayed as the waiter in the background) to remedy the situation. Therefore, it is vital that a cartoonist understand his audience and the context from which they come, otherwise the audience could lose aspects of the intended message when interpreting various cartoons.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined three key issues in an attempt to understand how political cartoons function:

- The history of cartoons
- The development of caricature and satire; and
- The social context required for political cartoons to flourish.

Following the argument laid by Wigston (2002), this chapter followed the history of cartooning from its roots in caricature and satire. It was established that

political cartoons aim to exaggerate and simplify complex issues in order to create debate and discussion surrounding that which is being portrayed. While original caricature concentrated largely on issues pertaining to the clergy, modern political cartoons utilise the same tools to help hold those in power accountable. In doing so, editorial cartoonists aim to reduce public figures to the level of the common man and "to renew and reinforce the ties of common faith and common values that hold the community together" (Gombrich, 1999: 195).

However, this chapter also acknowledged that in order for political cartoons to operate effectively, a number of social factors must come together in order to guarantee success. The protection of free speech and the dissemination of democratic ideas have to be present in order to allow cartoonists to circulate counter-discourses, while they remain accountable to their editors, the newsrooms in which they work and most importantly, their audience. An audience has to understand the context from which cartoonists draw their ideas, as well as understand the political and social issues under scrutiny. If these factors are not present the message can be decoded incorrectly and the message lost. The most important point to draw from this chapter is that it is becoming increasingly difficult for cartoonists to convey their intended message as more and more individuals draw their social knowledge from a wider pool than was possible in previous centuries. There is a greater likelihood that individuals will not share the same types of knowledge as they draw information from multiple resources rather than the same few seminal texts as was usual in the past, and thus there is greater opportunity for commentary to become 'lost in translation'.

Chapter 3 – Cartooning in South Africa

3.1 Introduction

In order to understand many of the themes and tools which underpin the work of Zapiro, it is important to consider the history of cartooning in South Africa. Many of these elements are carried forward into Zapiro's work and one is often able to draw comparison to socio-political themes introduced during the early development of cartooning in South Africa. Consequently, this chapter analyses the historical development of cartooning in a South African context. Initially, this section unravels the prototypes of South African cartoons, plotting its lifecycle from its early roots in colonial publications, through the apartheid era, and finally, to the post-apartheid cartooning of today. Through the course of this discussion, cartoonists who have been deemed influential within historical texts will be analysed in order to demonstrate how their cartoons are both important historical social documents, and how their codes, themes and conventions still influence the drawings of current South African cartoonists like Zapiro. However, this chapter will delve further than an historical blueprint, and will explore the concept of representation as explained in the work of Stuart Hall (1985; 1997) with particular attention dedicated to the formation of stereotypes and their use in political cartooning. This discussion concludes by highlighting the work of Hans Robert Jauss (1982) who explores a concept he terms as the "horizons of expectation" within the reception of text. Consequently, the chapter outlines why South Africa is so unique in its reception of political cartooning and explores why political cartoons are so often met with contempt and misunderstanding.

3.2 In Black and White, There is No Grey

The previous chapter outlined the long history of political cartooning, dating as far back as ancient Egypt, but acknowledged that the profession only became popular when men were given the freedom to **openly criticise** the Church and later, the governments and monarchies of Europe. In South Africa, however, the emergence of political cartooning appears to have lagged behind their European counterparts, and according to Vernon (2000), only came to the forefront of South African publication at about the same time as *Punch* was gaining popularity in

Britain. Before South African newspapers began publishing their own cartoons in the late 19th century, the representation of the country was dependent on the work of cartoonists who were situated in Britain and who had never set foot in the new colony (Vernon, 2000). Consequently, Mason (2010b: 4) argues that the images of these cartoonists should "be seen as the prototypical South Africa[n] cartoons" because most of the cartoons which featured South Africa had more to do with criticising the policies of the British government in relation to their dealings with the colony, or in providing commentary on the imagined life of the colonists, rather than with South Africa directly (Mason, 2010a; Mason, 2010b). However, their conventions set the tone for South African cartoonists to come.

This thesis has already credited George Cruikshank as one of the most fashionable cartoonists of 19th century London, but he must also be credited as one of the more outspoken commentators on Britain's policies regarding South Africa. In Figure 11 below, known as *Forlorn Hope*, Cruikshank criticised the British government's plan to cut over-population in Britain by sending five thousand Britons to the Cape in 1819 (Mason, 2010a).

Figure 11

In this immensely detailed cartoon, a group of recently impoverished middle-class British citizens look upon a cartoon depicting the abundance and opulence of the South African colony, where even the workers of the land, depicted by the black family on the right, are well-fed and happy. On the pile of sacks, labelled 'The Fat of the Land', sits the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, labelled 'Honeymouth' for his sweet talking, regaling the onlookers of the opportunity that awaits them if they leave for the colony. He is seen describing South Africa as a second Paradise in which everything is made of 'sugar and brandy' – a literal land of 'Milk and Honey'. Castlereagh promises that if these individuals leave Britain they will 'live like a Prince and grow as fat as a hog'. However, to convey his own dissatisfaction of the government, Cruikshank depicts the greed of the British government through the Foreign Secretary who, apart from sitting on the 'Fat of the Land', concludes by stating: "And to give you a proof of our attachment towards you, and to convince you that we'll never leave you, we'll allow you still the pleasure of paying taxes!".

This is read in conjunction with the cartoon to the left of the group gazed upon by two young boys. This image depicts what is known as the Peterloo Massacre in which a gathering of disgruntled textile workers were charged by cavalry in Manchester, England in 1819, leaving a number dead and many more severely injured (Mason, 2010a). The text underneath reads: 'If your children ask ye for Bread, will ye give them a Bullet?!!'. Again, this highlights Cruikshank's dissatisfaction with the government, comparing it to an abusive parent who is willing to deny their children the fruits of their labour. Instead, they offer to re-locate their subjects to a land far away to help further enrich and deepen the government's coffers. Consequently, this image, while not dealing directly with issues pertaining to South Africa, is useful in understanding how South Africa was seen and used by the British during this period – ideas which were then exported and often adopted by later cartoonists in South Africa.

This is evident to a larger extent in Cruikshank's 'All the Hottentots Capering Ashore', seen in Figure 12 below. Most analysts agree that Cruikshank was reinforcing the alarmist notions of ignorant colonials in relation to the 'African savage' (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2008), but Mason (2010a) offers a different view, and one that

this thesis believes to be a more critical and realistic interpretation. He argues that while cartoonists over-exaggerate various features, corroborating the conclusions of the previous chapter – that caricature is a tool used to draw attention to specific elements within a cartoon – the representations in this cartoon bear no resemblance to South Africa's indigenous people when compared to the more life-like images of South Africa's locals which were shipped back to Britain by anthropologists. It must be remembered that black people were no more uncommon than white citizens in Britain by the 19th century, as many freed slaves began making their home in the colonial motherland, and it seems absurd to believe that the 'cannibalistic savage' was still a prevalent image used to depict a people that had begun to integrate into British society. Mason (2010a) argues that even though Cruikshank, like all political cartoonists, had the liberty to portray events as their mind's-eye sees fit, they are generally bound by public imagery to ensure that their message is not lost in interpretation. While it is true that Cruikshank could have been representing 'the savage', an alarmist's response to the dangers of the 'dark continent', as Mason (2010a) himself concedes, what most of these interpretations forget is that it is the job of the cartoonist to parody. Consequently, he argues that 'All the Hottentots Capering Ashore' should not be read as truth, as any expert on political cartoons would agree, but rather as a parody on the British public's inherent racist personality.

Figure 12

In addition, this cartoon should be read in conjunction with Figure 11. As can be seen, this is labelled No.2 while the former cartoon discussed is labelled as No.1. More importantly, however is the direct textual correlation between the two images. As discussed, the former cartoon boasted about the abundance of the colony, in contrast to the starvation and poverty that many 19th century Britons faced. This is juxtaposed with this cartoon in which one of the Britons being devoured by a 'savage' exclaims: 'Oh, L-d! Oh, L-d! I might as well have stayed in England to be starved to death as come here to be eaten alive!'. Therefore, it could be argued that Cruikshank is actually representing the British government as the cannibal ogre, who is eating the new inhabitants alive; especially if the audience remembers the 'Fat of Land' on which the Foreign Secretary sits on so proudly. But, as Mason (2010a) states, nobody can be sure how these cartoons were interpreted or what Cruikshank really meant. We merely use our own discretion and understanding of history to draw our own conclusions, so the ogres, which this thesis argues should be considered as the British government, will historically be seen as an ignorant white cartoonist's representation of South Africa's indigenous population, because it is usually viewed with the inherent assumptions of 19th century predujice. But whichever way you look at it, these two cartoons helped lay the foundation of two racial stereotypes that still proliferate in South African cartooning today: "'the [black] cannibal ogre' and the 'mock European'" (Mason, 2010b: 4).

In his article, *The Cannibal Ogre and the Rape of Justice: A Contrapuntal View,* Mason (2010b) argues that Zapiro's rendition of Jacob Zuma, in 'The Rape of Lady Justice', is quite similar to Cruikshank's interpretation of the ogre-ish characteristics of the 'Hottentot savage'. He points out that Zuma's domed-head and menacing grin, with teeth bared, is comparable to Cruikshank's cannibals threatening the life of early British settlers. He also argues that the impending rape of Lady Justice and the connotations surrounding black men as sexual predators is one which has survived from the time of Cruikshank, who also portrays the 'African savage' raping British settlers, as seen in the background of Figure12. More importantly, however, is that Mason (2010b) draws attention to the fact that 'The Rape of Lady Justice' was not the first time that Zapiro had depicted Zuma as an ogre-ish, sex fiend (see Figure 13).

Figure 13

In this cartoon, Zuma is seen leading a seemingly mindless crowd, singing his trademark *Umshini Wami* [9]song, while firing a machine gun loaded with sperm. In the distance, Lady Justice lifts her blindfold as Zuma and the crowd pass by the courts, in reference to his (then recent) acquittal of rape charges. The cartoon makes an obvious attempt to demonstrate Zuma's lack of shame in relation to his rampant sexuality in front of a justice system that could not hold him to charges of rape. However, what is most important in this image, and a point picked up by Mason (2010b), is not Jacob Zuma, but the way in which his followers are represented. He describes Zuma's supporters "with the enlarged white lips of the 'coon' stereotype" (Mason, 2010b: 8): a stereotype, he claims, that is usually absent in the work of Zapiro. However, this thesis argues that Mason (2010b) has missed the mark in his conclusion regarding Zapiro, and his use of the 'coon' stereotype. What Mason (2010b) fails to note is that Zapiro appears to have a habit in his drawing that utilises this stereotype when depicting who it appears he deems to be uneducated or ignorant – most often when highlighting the followers of African

[9] A Zulu struggle song translated as "Bring me my machine gun" was sung by the armed wing of the ANC during apartheid and was then adopted by Zuma during his rape trial – often performing it outside the court with his supporters.

regimes, as can be seen in the example highlighted in Figure 14, depicting the Swazi people under the tyrannical monarch King Mswati III[10].

Figure 14

This can again be noted, to a degree, in one of his earliest cartoons (seen in Figure 15), during South Africa's transition from apartheid. In this cartoon, Mangosotho Buthelezi, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party[11] (IFP), is chasing King Goodwill Zwelintini, king of the Zulu Kingdom, declaring that as a loyal Zulu subject and leader he should be advising the king, who in turn calls Buthelezi a maniac[12]. Both are seen wearing traditional Zulu leopard skin, and have trace elements of the 'white-lipped coon' as depicted in the previous cartoon. In the background, then British Prime Minister John Major and South African president Nelson Mandela, look on. Major proclaims, wearing his conservative white underwear on the outside, that he doesn't understand these 'native customs', while Mandela, exasperated, agrees in double disbelief at both the customs of the men seen in front of him and the conservatism of the man beside him.

[10] The last full monarch in Africa who lives a multi-billion dollar lifestyle, but rules over one of the poorest countries in Africa.
[11] A political party founded on the ideals of Zulu nationalism
[12] Because Buthelezi is a tribal leader in KwaZulu-Natal he felt that he had a right to advise the king.

Figure 15

However, in portraying Mandela as the respectable voice of reason, Zapiro has deviated away from his usual caricature in which Mandela is seen wearing his trademark high collar 'Africanised' shirt. Instead, Zapiro has positioned him in a more European style, with suit and tie, and shading in his exaggerated lips to avoid similarity to the leopard-skin-clad traditional leaders, who appear to be jockeying for power, and the foolish, goofy, underwear-wearing Major. Consequently, Zapiro undermines the authority of the coloniser, Major, and displays Mandela not as a new coloniser, but as a new style of African, with European traits, who will deliver South Africa from the 'traditional native' and the inside-out conservative policies of the West.

Overall, Zapiro's work often carries with it entrenched stereotypes, like the 'African savage', the 'white-lipped coon', or the 'mock European', which still carry some of the entrenched racisms found in the early works of 19th century Britain. However, this does not imply that Zapiro himself is racist: in fact, what this example provides, this thesis argues, is that Zapiro utilises learned social stereotypes and connotations in his work to ensure that audiences are able to negotiate the discourses of his cartoons in their intended manner. Many academics would agree that stereotypes are socially-ingrained representations (Lippman, 1922; Perkins,

1979; Dyer, 1993), and political cartoonists often utilise them as a way to communicate a complex idea in a simple manner.

Walter Lippman (1922) argues that stereotypes are created by culture and are a way for members of a society to make sense of their environment. Consequently, he saw stereotyping as a useful social tool which helps put the world into some sort of representational perspective. After all, as he explains, "we are told about the world before we see. We imagine most things before we experience them" (Lippman, 1922: 51), and as a result, form our own preconceived ideas about the world from our parents, teachers, religions, cultures, governments and our own imaginations. Humans are hard-wired into make sweeping generalisations about everything as a way to make sense of what Lippman (1922: 47) terms, "the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world".

However, Lippman (1922) argues that the use of stereotypes is even more important as a way to cement one's place in society. He explains that they act as "the fortress of our tradition, and behind its defences we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy" (Lippman, 1922: 55). In other words, we use those characteristics attributed to a stereotype as a measure of what we either are or are not. It gives us clues as to how to react and behave, and we use them as a way to construct a recognisable character that we define through easily understood and accepted traits. We then go on to use them as a way to determine if we are part of a specific social group, while simultaneously allowing us to understand ourselves in relation to 'the other'(Dyer, 1993).

Before somebody knows you, they create an assumption of who you are based on how you appear – assumptions effected by social conventions, and often stereotypes. So, if you, for example, are a brunette, the use of 'the dumb blonde' stereotype helps to elevate you to a presumed level of intelligence in society. Conversely, however, the stereotype is based on the idea that blondes are stupid because they are attractive, so as a brunette, you may be considered intelligent, but are not deemed to be as attractive as the 'dumb blonde'. And while this is not always the case, as Tessa Perkins (1979) concedes, she builds on Lippman's (1922) arguments, and highlights that stereotypes are not as simple as Lippman (1922)

conceived. They are immensely complex and Perkins (1979: 77) explains that rather than considering stereotypes to be rampant untruths, it is better to consider that there is often a "kernel of truth" underlying a stereotype.

Stereotypes should be seen as our "prototypes of 'shared cultural meanings'" (Perkins, 1979: 78) because they are able to influence our perception and consequently become an important tool in our socialisation process (Perkins, 1979; Dyer, 1993). Because of the common understanding that permeates a wide audience, and that stereotypes possess an element of truth, they allow audiences an opportunity to draw a shared conclusion about various cultures, ways of living and expected social behaviours. Richard Dyer (1993: 12) explains that:

> Stereotypes as a form of 'ordering' the mass complex and inchoate data that we receive from the world are only a particular form – to do with the representation and categorization of persons – of the wider process by which any human society, and individuals within it, make sense of that society through generalities, patterning and 'typications'.

Therefore, political cartoonists like Zapiro will use racial stereotypes not to promote a racist ideology, but usually as a way to generate a shared understanding of larger social issues. Often they are used as a way for an audience to look directly at, and address, their own prejudices (Lippman, 1922; Perkins, 1979; Dyer, 1993), which makes them an irreplaceable tool for cartoonists who aim to generate discussion around topics that require deeper introspection, in order for society to deal with them. However, it could be argued that the continued use of racial stereotypes is socially irresponsible in a country like South Africa, in which legislated racism was a significant part of the country's historical development. This argument though, is best left for the analysis of Zapiro's cartoons later in this thesis, but whether one agrees or disagrees on the use of stereotypes, it must be acknowledged how important they are in creating a shared understanding of an image. However, South African cartoons are not only littered with racial stereotyping, but there is also an abundance of cultural stereotyping, especially in depicting differences between the English and Afrikaans populace.

3.3 Repressing Progress

South Africa's political cartoon industry only began to flourish during the latter part of the 19th century. Caricatures and other types of satirical prints were present before this, but usually operated in isolation, and were not distributed to the wider population (Vernon, 2000; Mason, 2010a). "*The Zingari* (1870) must be credited with publishing the first true South African political cartoons, but others such as the (*sic*) *The Lantern* (1877) and *The Observer* (1879) quickly followed in its footsteps" (Vernon, 2000: 13). However, the majority of cartoonists employed by each of these publications were imported from Europe, except for South Africa's only home-grown cartoonist, William Schroder (Vernon, 2000).

Unlike the cartoonists of today, Schroder was confined to draw the whims of his editors, rather than his own interpretation of events. Vernon (2000) recalls that Schroder was an open advocate for the Afrikaner cause, but due to his English editors at *The Zingari* and *The Lantern* he was forced to draw cartoons that contradicted his own personal ideologies. If we examine Figure 16, a cartoon drawn by Schroder for *The Lantern,* we note that Paul Kruger [13]is depicted, in stereotypical *boer* [14]garb[15], as a tired figure trying to sweep back the British tides of 'progress' and 'unity' with his 'broom of independence'. The cartoon implies that the exhausted Kruger is tackling an insurmountable task that will eventually overcome his (and the Afrikaners') resistance to British progress and influence.

[13] President of the Afrikaans South African Republic between 1883 and 1900.
[14] Farmer
[15] Traditional khaki coloured clothes worn by Afrikaans farmers often referred to as *veldskoen,* or bush-wear.

Figure 16

Later, Schroder left the Cape and moved to Pretoria where he was able to work for the pro-Afrikaner paper, *The Press,* and was finally able to depict Afrikaner icons in a way that were more in line with his vision (Vernon, 2000). In stark contrast to the former cartoon, Figure 17 shows Kruger as a civilised gentleman holding a whip of 'public opinion' as an ashamed Lord Randolph Churchill [16]departs the Transvaal[17], with his tail between his legs, dragging a pot labelled 'lies' behind him.

[16] A British Conservative MP who oversaw the South African colony.
[17] A Afrikaner territory that was also known as the South African Republic.

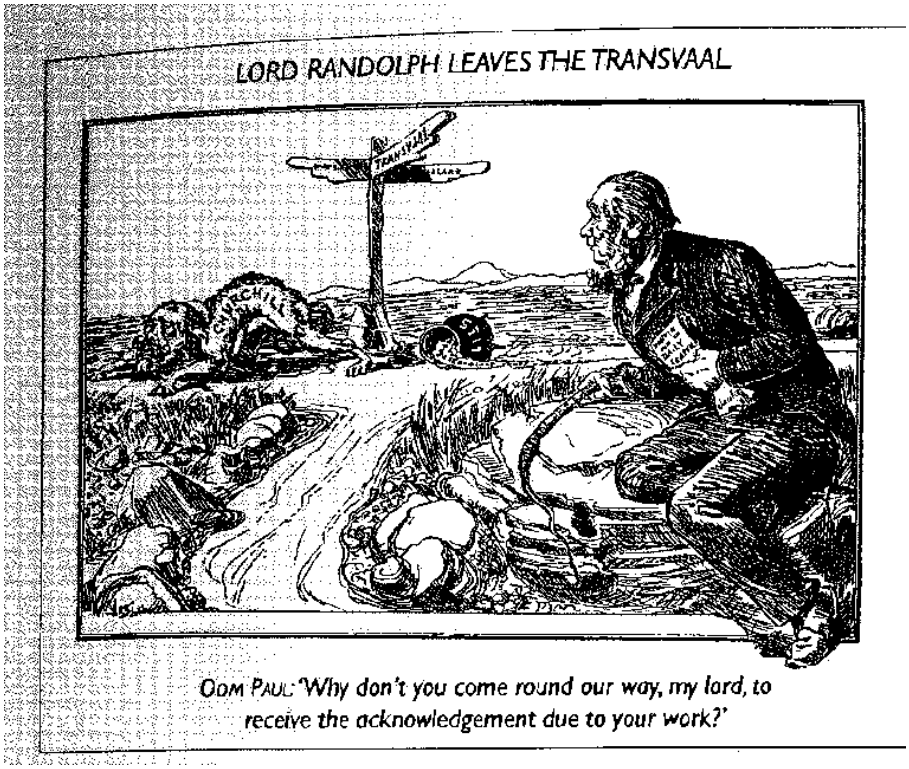

Figure 17

Unlike the previous cartoon in which the British are portrayed as heroic pioneers bringing with them progress and innovation, Schroder depicts the British, represented by Churchill, as an ashamed beast, spreading lies to the people of South Africa, while the Afrikaner, Kruger, sits as a protectorate guarding the Afrikaans Transvaal . What these examples highlight is an obvious opposition in ideology between English and Afrikaans cultures and publications; an opposition which has continued throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. However, what is interesting to note is that even Schroder represents the noble Kruger of Figure 17 in the garb of the 'mock European', giving him the air of a British aristocrat more so than an Afrikaner *boereman*[18] (Vernon, 2000). Again, this emphasises the importance that social stereotypes play in evoking a specific social response. As Perkins (1979) concludes, a stereotype is not necessarily negative and can draw the desired response from audiences because they carry a shared meaning and specific understanding. Consequently, while Schroder deviates from images which one would normally associate with the Afrikaner, such as the *veldskoen* of the *boer,* his choice to portray Kruger in the more British suit evokes connotations of civility and

[18] Farmer man

sophistication, qualities which were often ignored by the British when referring to the more rural Afrikaner farmer (Vernon, 2000).

However, even through Schroder's obvious attempt to make the Afrikaner appear more sophisticated, the stereotypes of the resistant Afrikaner *boer* and the 'sophisticated' liberal still permeate South African cartooning. It can be argued that apartheid helped to cement these ideas, most likely because Afrikaner nationalism suppressed so much within South Africa. As with the obvious opposition that Zapiro draws between progress and tradition using race, discussed in the previous section, he continues the same type of opposition between repression and progress. Zapiro uses familiar stereotypes to associate those who resist change and progress to the old Afrikaner regime on the one hand, and the progressive liberal, represented by the new black middle-class, building a united, multi-racial South Africa, on the other. So while the progressive English liberal has been superseded by a new type of liberal, the markers of the traditional Afrikaner *boer* are used as a symbolic code to represent a hindrance to progress, and is still evident in the works of South Africa's modern cartoonists, as can be seen in the established work of Zapiro in Figure 18, and in the work of South Africa's new, younger, political cartoonists such as Jerm in Figure 19.

Figure 48[19]

[19] Translate: The merge between the old Afrikaans national anthem, *Die Stem* (The Voice), and the anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (God Bless Africa)

Figure 19[20]

Both cartoonists, while discussing different issues, use the *veldskoen* as a way to evoke a shared idea regarding the old-style Afrikaner who is repressive, racist and resistant to change. And if we refer back to Figure 15, we note that Zapiro still uses the traditional European suit as a way to depict Mandela as wise and sophisticated, wielding authority over the 'backward' traditional Zulus and the inside-out policies of Britain. Stuart Hall (1997) would argue that while the interpretation of texts can be subjective, if we have a set of shared concepts we are able to decode these texts in a similar way. Therefore, cartoonists recognise that stereotypes are socially-ingrained representations that the majority of their audience will be able to recognise; therefore, stereotypes give cartoonists a far greater chance of their message being interpreted in their intended manner:

> Just as people who belong to the same culture must share a broadly similar conceptual map, so they must also share the same way of interpreting the signs of language, for only in this way can meanings be effectively exchanged between people.
>
> (Hall, 1997: 19)

[20] Translate: Afriforum is an Afrikaans non-government organisation which advocates to protect the rights of Afrikaans South Africans

If we take Hall's (1997: 17) argument further, in which he explains that everything we interact with is matched to "*mental representations* which we carry around in our head", we begin to understand, as he says, that "things don't *mean*: we *construct* meaning" (Hall, 1997: 25). In essence, images only have meaning once we match their symbols with our own preconceived concepts, derived from the mental images that we carry around with us. Consequently, the connotations and meanings attached to Zapiro's work are very specific to the South African context. Therefore, a cartoonist has to ensure that the signs and symbols used within an image utilise a concept that is shared as widely in a community as possible; this ensures the message is decoded as closely to the cartoonist's intended meaning as possible. Hans Robert Jauss (1982) would describe this as meeting on the horizon of expectation. That is to say, whenever anybody produces any work that requires interpretation, they encode within it an expected meaning, and when the receiver decodes the message as intended, the two have merged their horizons of expectation, and reached a common plateau of understanding.

William James (as quoted in Lippman, 1922) points out that nobody is able to decipher any generalisation or representation any further than their own knowledge allows, so a cartoonist is bound to use widely understood social signs and conventions to ensure that that plateau is met, even if they are not deemed politically correct. But what happens when a society, as seems to be the case in the ever increasing global cosmopolitan of today, has a knowledge base which is both vast and decreasingly shared? One could argue that the information age has given audiences a wider range of knowledge and thus, there is an increase in shared knowledge. The reality, however, is much less than ideal.

One of the common threads that permeate all theory surrounding representation is that meaning is derived from shared cultural experiences (Lippman, 1922; Perkins, 1979; Hall, 1980; Dyer, 1993; Hall, 1997; MacDonald, 2003). However, culture itself is becoming a highly contested concept as more people are introduced to a wider array of belief systems due to the expansion of globalisation (Flew & McElhinney, 2002). MacDonald (2003: 10) argues that

our society is more complex than ever, and as a result, "it is difficult in many contexts to identify with any certainty what are 'prevailing' or 'dominant' discourses". Consequently, it becomes more difficult to derive meaning from the more conventional 'us' and 'them' oppositions that helped create the meanings seen in Cruikshank's and Schroder's cartoons.

As discussed, the stereotypes and representations of these cartoonists still influence the work of South Africa's modern day cartoonists, but what is evident from the discussions surrounding cartoons in South Africa, is that meaning is often misinterpreted and the horizon of expectation is not met. Even before the Internet allowed for the quick spread of information, writers such as Hodgart (1969) noted that we were already facing a world in which too much information would result in very little shared common knowledge. Although we may have the facility to know more than ever before thanks to the World Wide Web (though that in itself is a debate left for another thesis), we may also miss out on information because we each have the opportunity to focus in on a different area of observation – a problem that is compounded by the vast array of cultures, belief systems, legal systems and nation-states with which we now interact. There is no guarantee that we will grow up hearing the same stories or engaging in the same histories as those of other social groupings or cultures, which means that when, for example, a cartoonist draws a scene depicting *The Pied Piper of Hamlin*, or a Trojan horse, an audience may not recognise the story, horizons do not merge, and consequently the implied meaning becomes lost.

This problem is aggravated in South Africa because of its turbulent history. The majority of the non-white population were denied a proper education, and only speak English as a second or third language, and most often, are only fluent at a basic level. This means that cartoonists like Zapiro are dealing with a problem that almost no other country faces – a populace that has distinct divisions in their shared knowledge pool. As an English-speaking cartoonist, Zapiro uses English metaphors, axioms, and various plays on words to help compliment his drawings, as well as the standard conventions of cartooning which have their roots in Europe. Added to this, he also draws on

common world history and European mythologies that few black South Africans, prior to 1994, would have had the opportunity to engage with at school. Consequently, it could be argued that the majority of South Africans are unable to interpret Zapiro's cartoons as intended because they often do not share the same conceptual map as he, a white, English speaking, South African of Jewish descent, does.

These South Africans will possess their own sets of meaning derived from their own experiences and, as highlighted by Hall (1997), loaded with their own histories. So while meanings may, and do, change over time (Lippman, 1922; Dyer, 1993; Hall, 1997; O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2002; MacDonald, 2003), "all sorts of older meanings which pre-date us, are already stored from previous eras, [and those are the] hidden meanings which might modify or distort what we want to say" (Hall, 1997: 33). So even though the majority of Zapiro's work has been published after the fall of apartheid, and many South Africans have grown up in the democratic dispensation, they still carry with them 'historical baggage' that will affect their interpretation of various representations. As a result, even though they may understand the nature of cartoons, the language therein, and what Zapiro is trying to achieve in his meaning, there will still be other meanings entrenched within their conceptual frameworks that will obstruct a smooth meeting of horizons. Because there has been such a long history depicting the conflict between black and white that has been entrenched by a specific binary opposition, it is likely that most South Africans will still attribute these characteristics to each other – as was witnessed in the social media furore caused by Penny Sparrow referring to black South Africans as monkeys (Msimang, 2016). As explained by Perkins (1979) and Dyer (1993), even if someone like Zapiro attempts something entirely different by distorting known stereotypes, for example, they are still read in conjunction with embedded social prejudices and knowledge that will play a part in determining if the meaning is read as intended or in opposition to its intention.

3.4 Conclusion

What can be concluded in a South African context is that the interpretation of representations is often a highly contested and subjective experience. Cartoonists are not only bound by their own interpretations of events, but are also cemented by the shared cultural knowledge and experience of their audience. Because of this, cartoonists have to use signs and symbols whose meanings are shared and understood by the largest number of people as possible. If this does not occur, then the expectations of the cartoonist for their audience does not match up with the audience's expectations of the cartoonist, and the intended message risks becoming a garbled rhetoric of obscenity, racism, sexism, homophobia, and the like.

This chapter argues that South Africa is still haunted by apartheid and colonial stereotypes and representations that are used to make sense of our current social conditions. Whether it is responsible to continue using them will be discussed in later chapters, but that does not prevent them from being used. In part, South Africa's tumultuous past will play on audience reception, but the more important issue to consider is that because South Africa is such a vibrantly diverse and ever-changing country, it is becoming increasingly difficult to cater to a mutually shared identity. This is compounded by the impact of globalisation whereby a more hybridised culture draws from a multitude of various cultural sources in order to create a more varied society. Consequently, cartoons themselves have become a thorny and contested medium as the shared representations of the past, which have guided and shaped them, become more outdated and less relevant to the current ideologies of contemporary South African society.

Chapter 4 – South Africa's Media, Social Responsibility &*Ubuntu*

4.1 Introduction

The last chapter highlighted two social issues – race and 'white rivalries' – that have shaped many of the themes that still persist in South African cartooning. This chapter develops from these themes and concentrates on exploring South Africa's mediascape by explaining the media system within which newspapers and cartoonists operate. This section of the chapter will interrogate the changes that South Africa has witnessed in terms of freedom of speech and the construction of newspapers since the fall of apartheid, culminating in a discussion relating to notions of social responsibility and the press, and concentrating on the foundational work of Siebert *et al* (1956) in conjunction with Christians *et al*'s (2009) more modern stance on social responsibility and journalism. The notion of *ubuntu* will also be incorporated in an effort to provide a more 'African' stance, which is often mentioned as lacking by South African politicians, concerning the issue of social responsibility. The chapter will conclude by questioning the role of 'Africanness' in the new South Africa with a detailed consideration of the right to privacy and dignity when dealing with news stories in South Africa's press and the way in which cartoons use these news stories as a base for their commentary.

4.2 South Africa's Mediascape

It is well documented that South Africa has had a restrictive media history. Most notable was the legislation of the apartheid government which included:

- The Suppression of Communist Act[21], which made the publication of anything said or written by a banned person an offence;
- The Terrorism Act[22], which allowed indefinite detention of journalists;
- And the Official Public Secrets Act[23], which proscribed the publication of any security matter.

(Bauer, 2009: 2)

[21] Passed in 1950 and later re-named as the Internal Security Act in 1976

[22] Passed in 1967 and allowed the government to detain anyone who they believed to be destabilising the government.

[23] Passed in 1956 and is eerily similar to the ANC's proposed Protection of Information Bill.

. In addition to this, the Nationalist government attempted to introduce the Press Commission in the mid-1950s to muzzle journalists by forcing them to register with the government. This commission was "primarily intended to 'control and discipline' the press both in South Africa and abroad" (McDonald, 2011: 123). However, due to widespread criticism and the refusal of journalists to be bullied by the state, the government rescinded its *public* control of the press and gave the press the freedom to regulate itself within the confines of the law that was notorious for its restrictiveness (McDonald, 2011). This, however, did not create a free media system. Because of intimidation tactics by apartheid police forces, media institutions, while operating from a self-regulatory stance, often self-censored when it came to reporting on government activity so as not to attract negative attention, and to prevent their journalists from being detained by security personnel for breaching legal restrictions (McDonald, 2011). Additionally, some newsrooms had 'editorial plants' paid for by the apartheid government to act as spies to report on dissident journalists and influence the overall style and content of a newspaper (Jones, 2015). Essentially, journalists were free, provided they did not report negatively on the Nationalist government. Bauer (2009: 6) recalls how the courts would generally favour the right to reputation over the press' right to print damaging personal information relating to a public figure. Therefore, "the climate of apartheid South Africa was ripe for an interpretation of the law of defamation that intimidated many commentators into self-censorship, especially where litigious, high profile public figures were concerned" (Merrett, 2001: 53).

Possibly, the only positive to emerge from this media environment was that, as described by McDonald (2011: 123-124), "freedom of expression (or what remained of it) was modelled on the tradition of English liberties", which meant that journalists were trained under a similar normative paradigm as Western overseas journalists. This similarity made it easier for South African journalists, after the fall of apartheid, to adopt a framework from which to work that is comparable and parallel to other democratic nations – a framework which Wasserman (2011: 586-587) explains is "based in the liberal consensus among news media institutions, grounded in individual rights […] in which journalism's 'watchdog' function [is] emphasised."

Many writers reflect on the problems that still face South Africa's media institutions (Steyn, 1994; Fourie, 2007; Jones & Pitcher, 2010; McDonald, 2011; Botma, 2011; Berger, 2011; Skerdal, 2011; Wasserman, 2011; Skerdal, 2012; de Beer, Pitcher & Jones, 2016), but most importantly they generally concentrate firstly on institutional control, and secondly on the "hegemonic struggles [that] transcend essentialist categorisations such as Western and African" (Botma, 2011: 80). While it is true that most press and media institutions are still attempting to re-dress the white-dominated management styles that have been passed down from the apartheid era (Bauer, 2009; Merrett, 2001), this thesis argues that this problem is of less importance, in terms of the topic at hand, than the assumed epistemological conflict between Western normative paradigms of journalism and traditional African culture.

Most journalists and many academics seem to agree that because of South Africa's repressive past, freedom of the press needs to be protected at all costs (Tomaselli, 2009; Amner, 2011; Duncan, 2011; Reid, 2014). However, because South Africa has emerged from a system that embodies British liberties, as described above, most journalists and academics seem to accept the liberal paradigm that promotes an utilitarian frame of reference, and fail to consider the impact that individualism plays on the development of an emerging democracy. Most politicians appear to be of the opinion that current press roles are in contravention with the function that they believe should be played by the media. The ruling African National Congress (ANC) government has declared that its values as a ruling party embody a "developmental state, collective rights, values of caring and sharing (sic), solidarity, *ubuntu*, non-sexism [and] working together" (2010: 7), while they view the mainstream media as too concerned with "neoliberalism, a weak and passive state, and overemphasis on individual rights, market fundamentalism etc" (2010: 7).

It would be naïve to argue that there are universal values that can govern the practice of journalists worldwide. As Berger (2011: 39) has indicated "principles from elsewhere may well be transportable to different local situations", but "all knowledge […] has geographical, institutional and cultural roots" that need to be taken into consideration when developing any framework for the press to work

within. Because of this difficult conundrum, former "President Thabo Mbeki called for journalists to reintroduce African values into journalistic practices" (Wasserman & Rao, 2008: 171). However, one needs to be aware that normative models deal with ideal practice and rarely with real-life situations (Skjerdal, 2012). Consequently, it is difficult to uphold the suggestion made by President Mbeki, because just as there are flaws in a system which, on paper, operate under a traditional liberal framework, there are just as many problems with the suggestion of reintroducing African values into modern South African journalism.

Firstly, if we consider the adoption of African values, it can be noted that such values are built on two foundations: interventionism and cultural essentialism (Skjerdal, 2012). Interventionism can be considered as one of the key proponents of how the South African government believes the press should act and views that as a developmental state, as explained above, the press, as an institution, should help create social change (Skjerdal, 2012). However, this is not to create social change from current African governments, but is a 'hangover' from trying to solicit control away from colonial powers, and journalists should now act as 'development agents' that aid in governments' national development and policies (Skjerdal, 2012).

Christians *et al* (2009: 200) have argued that this type of press framework is one which "retains its focus on a media system that works, typically but not exclusively, with the state to develop and strengthen existing institutions". Essentially, this type of practice occurred when South Africa was a newly formed democracy, and most newspapers, journalists and political cartoonists were willing to overlook certain governmental flaws, because they understood the fragility of South African society and were dedicated to creating a unified 'rainbow nation', that would help in a peaceful transition process (Steyn, 1994; Wasserman, 2011). Therefore, what emerged was a system in which "journalists [could] question, [and] even challenge, the state, but not to the point where they undermine[d the] government's basic plans for progress and prosperity" (Christians *et al*, 2009: 201). However, as South Africa has grown as a democracy it has, again as argued by Duncan (2011), become a *de facto* one party state, and the press has moved away from this 'liberal-developmental' role to one which is guided by a "liberal democratic view of independence and neutrality" (Wasserman, 2006b: 68). In essence, the

press has become a self-elected opposition party through which the ANC government is to be held accountable. Strömbäck (2005: 336) explains that in order for democracy to function effectively, journalism should act as a platform through which the public is able to use and make informed decisions regarding the social well-being of the state and its elected officials. If the press were to act in a collaborative role with the government for any prolonged period of time, it would essentially nullify the foundations of South Africa's newly formed democracy.

Secondly, in regard to the African ideal of cultural essentialism, Skjerdal (2012: 637) argues that this is a "preferred journalism model [that] is built on values that are believed to be fixed to a particular tradition, people or society". There are two flaws with accepting this model. Firstly, in line with Tomaselli (2009: 582), there are "thousands of African civilizations [that] have existed over centuries, and each has been significantly different, with unique values, cultures and religions". Consequently, it becomes impossible to determine which African culture journalists should be looking to for guiding principles. In addition, one cannot assume that modern African culture is one that is in opposition to the West. As much as traditionalists want to believe that there exists an independent African ideology (see Kasoma, 1994), this cannot be the case. Africa as a continent, and South Africa to an even larger degree, have been affected and influenced by colonialism for hundreds of years, both from Europe and Asia (which have also been at the mercy of various colonists throughout history), but also from internal tribal shifts and amalgamations. It is impossible to draw a coherent, all-encompassing cultural ethos when one cannot identify a definitive beginning.

Banda (2009: 235) echoes this point when dissecting Kasoma's (1994) notion of Afri-ethics and argues that to conjure up an ideal African value is to create "a romantic reconstruction of the precolonial situation and a frozen view of harmony in rural Africa". In addition to this, Kasoma's (1994) entire premise that an Afri-ethic exists is contradicted by his own intrinsic Catholic beliefs that helped shape his arguments regarding morality, thus re-affirming that African culture cannot, and should not, be thought of as an independent entity that contradicts Western culture.

Even if it were possible to find a definitive African culture from which to derive a journalistic paradigm, a problem still remains in relation to a press which conforms to a developmental and collaborative role. Christians *et al* (2009: 207) document through research done on similar governments, that one of the biggest issues that is witnessed in relation to journalistic practice, is that of self-censorship. It is true that developmental and collaborative frameworks are ones in which journalists work with the government to build a cohesive and unified social agenda, but they also "arguably relinquish at least some of the independence of judgment they might otherwise enjoy". What emerges is a paradigm that is intrinsically similar to that of the apartheid state: a system that allows freedom, so long as it does not contravene the ideals of the state.

However, as Tomaselli (2009: 582) concedes, "to try to impede cultural dynamism is futile, and attempts to do so will simply see a regression into authoritarianism". Therefore, while 'African values' is too broad a term to define, and teeters on re-introducing a self-censored press similar to that under apartheid, the ANC does, apart from wanting the media to operate from a developmental perspective, name an African value system with which they would like the press to embody most strongly – that of *ubuntism.* But the ANC, as most governments the world over often do with moral frameworks, choose only to acknowledge those aspects of *ubuntuism* which serve the purpose of the party. This, as Pieter Fourie (2007: 19) laments, has the possibility to mask "a moral philosophy as part of being politically correct". This is reinforced by Christopher Merrett (2009: 62) who outlines how "the new Establishment's lexicon of political correctness is responsible for the cavalier bandying about of the term 'racist' in the same way that spokesman of the National Party government used to employ 'liberal' and 'communist' to undermine dissenters" of their particular moral framework.

Steven Dubin (2012) also highlights that 'Africanness' is a subjective term and considers how, as stated by Banda (2009), individuals choose to idealise aspects of 'Africanness'. Dubin (2012) uses the University of KwaZulu-Natal's former vice-chancellor Malegapuru Makgoba as an example. He describes how "Makgoba predicted the eventual triumph of African values and sentiments throughout the population, and issued the following challenge to disgruntled and retrogressive

individuals of European origin to undergo a cultural makeover: 'He should learn kwaito[24], dance like Lebo [Mathosa][25], dress like Madiba[26], enjoy eating "smilies and walkies[27]" and attend "lekgotla[28]" and socialise at our taverns" (Dubin, 2012: 84). Essentially, Makgoba developed his own measure of what it means to be African, and as Dubin (2012) notes, sidelines any black African who does not identify with these characteristics, as well as whites, Indians and any other non-African race. It is a determinant of what Makgoba deems to be African, based ironically on the boxes that Africans have been confined to by the forces of apartheid and colonialism. As one critic pointed out, eating 'smilies and walkies' became a standard way of living for many black South Africans during apartheid because they were cheap, not because they were necessarily desirable (Dubin, 2012). Therefore, it has been established that what is deemed to be 'African' often comes down to personal taste, individual choices and a concept that is often misunderstood and boxed into a desire to return to an idealised history and an African 'Garden of Eden'. As highlighted by Banda (2009: 235-236), in his criticism of Afri-ethics, many scholars tend to romanticise pre-colonial Africa to one which emphasises "a frozen view of harmony in rural Africa", and tend to forget that "traditional values have become 'fractured' in the midst of such cultural encroachments as colonialism and globalization".

4. 3 *Ubuntu*, Social Responsibility and South Africa's Press System

In the introduction of this thesis, it was noted that Brian Sokutu, spokesperson of President Jacob Zuma, argued that through his work portraying Zuma, cartoonist Zapiro had infringed on Zuma's constitutionally enshrined right to dignity. This, one could argue, is in direct contravention of *ubuntu* if one were to consider the definitions laid out by Fourie (2007) and Blankenberg (1999) who both acknowledge that *ubuntu* aims to "express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interest and maintaining a community with justice and mutual

[24] South African ghetto music
[25] A well-known kwaito singer
[26] Known colloquially as Madiba, Nelson Mandela was well-known for wearing colourful, high-collared shirts rather than a suit.
[27] A poor man's cut of chicken that includes the heads and feet
[28] A Sesotho word for meeting, but used specifically in this context to be one headed by a Chieftain to discuss the community.

caring" (Fourie, 2007: 10). However, as most writers on the subject agree, including Fourie (2007) and Blankenberg (1999), this is only the start in terms of defining the concept. Problematically though, most politicians and members of the public like to stop at this point and do not delve deeper into the philosophical underpinnings of *ubuntu.*

If one considers Blankenberg's (1999) seminal text on the matter, it becomes clear that *ubuntu* has more to do with an inclusive community whereby the community as a whole is represented by the individuals that constitute it, rather than protecting the dignity of an individual. The decisions which affect the community "are achieved by consensus, incorporating both majority and minority viewpoints" (Blankenberg, 1999: 47), thus the role of an *ubuntu* media system is one which gives everyone and anyone a platform from which to discuss social issues. *Ubuntu* recognises that "one's humanity can only be attained through how one relates to other people and surroundings" (Blankenberg, 1999: 46), not by defending the dignity of one individual. In fact, *ubuntu* is so concerned with sharing ideas and issues openly that one's humanity is threatened if issues are concealed or not given a chance to be debated.

Clifford Christians (2004) emphasises this idea and highlights that "humans depend completely on one another for their development" (Christians, 2004: 243), and that unlike the traditional framework that drives current journalism, the press should become a more participatory forum. Consequently, information received by audiences should be through dialogic communication as "communities are woven together by narratives that invigorate their common understanding" (Christians, 2004: 246). In other words, the press should present information in such a way that community members are able to interpret, share and contribute to the meaning making process.

Tomaselli (2009: 583) agrees, and argues that what often occurs when dealing with notions of community and *ubuntu,* is that "opportunistic and ruthless individuals [use them] as means of control, exploitation and power". When one investigates the pleas of the South African government for the press to present it in light of an *ubuntuist* paradigm, it is clear to see how far they deviate from the true

notion of *ubuntu.* The reality, it appears, is that the ANC seems to want the press to align itself more with the ideals of collectivism, whereby the individual is consumed by a society and works as part of the state, rather than an *ubuntu* or communitarian framework. As Christians (2004: 240) explains, *ubuntu* embraces the fact that "individuals continually adjust their positions in light of what others have said and done", therefore acknowledging that each individual is unique in the process of creating a coherent community and ethic. Consequently, if *ubuntu* is taken as a moral paradigm to be understood at a philosophical level, we find that it only perpetuates a developmental paradigm in terms of "stimulating citizen participation, community participation, and consensus based on widespread consultation with the community" (Fourie, 2007: 11), and not one which works hand-in-hand with the state to build a developmental society.

Based on these arguments, we find that the notion of *ubuntu* is actually closer to traditional Western frameworks of social responsibility than the so-called 'African' ethos of collaboration and collectivism, so often cited by South Africa's majority government. Most writers on the subject point out that, to a certain extent, *ubuntu* requires freedom of expression. Fourie (2007) argues that *ubuntu* only requires freedom to unveil that which is in the public interest and does not allow for salacious titbits. Salaciousness, he argues, undermines the community as a whole because by disclosing private scandal it serves to show the immorality of the community rather than one which is upright and moral. However, if one's private conduct is reprehensible and damaging to the function of the community as a whole, *ubuntu* allows one to divulge such conduct to help "warn others about unacceptable behaviour" (Tomaselli, 2009: 583), and thus prevent the community from falling into a cess pool of corruption, dishonesty and anarchy. Therefore, *ubuntu* considers that "the public's 'right to know' […] must be measured against a standard assessing the potential harm the information could do to a particular community" (Blankenberg, 1999: 49). Interestingly, these arguments appear to match various fundamentals that underpin the paradigm of social responsibility and the press, which ultimately argues that the press should operate freely, but with care, so as to ensure that no unnecessary harm is caused through the practice of journalism (Kruger, 2004).

For almost sixty years academics have depended on Siebert *et al*'s (1956) *Four Theories of the Press* to derive their understanding of social responsibility theory. But as the authors themselves concede, "the press […] takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates" (Siebert *et al*, 1956: 1), so their conclusions in relation to various theories of the press should not be seen as final all-inclusive definitions, especially with regard to social responsibility in the new South Africa. The concept of social responsibility was extrapolated out of a liberalist paradigm, which Siebert *et al* (1956) themselves conceded may not pan out as a useful theory over time. But as the politics of the world shifted, thanks to the various rights movements of the sixties and seventies, the fall of the Soviet Union in the late eighties, and the increasing expansion of globalisation, fuelled by media technologies and international trade in the nineties, it has been acknowledged by Christians *et al* (2009), and many others such as Tsukamoto (2006), Anderson (1977), Bro (2008), Ward (2005) and Wasserman and Rao (2008), that just as *Four Theories* had done in the 1950s by expanding on liberalism into a normative framework of social responsibility, so too must social responsibility be deconstructed and rebuilt to match the ever-changing nature of our global culture, and more importantly, consider the specific social environment of each local democratic press institute. Even so, much of Siebert *et al*'s (1956) deliberations regarding social responsibility still ring true, and it is important to plot, not the development of social responsibility, but the key features which embody, and have subsequently shaped, more modern deliberation on the subject.

Siebert (1956: 44) postulated that libertarian theory is driven by the individual, and "that men by exercising reason [could] distinguish between right and wrong, good and bad, [and] to exercise this talent men should have unlimited access to the ideas and thoughts of other men". Free speech was a vital cog in determining truth because firstly, quoting Stuart Mill:

> "if we silence an opinion, for all we know, we are silencing the truth. Secondly, a wrong opinion may contain a grain of truth necessary for finding the whole truth. Third, even if the commonly accepted opinion is the whole truth, the public tends to hold it not on rational grounds but as a prejudice unless it is forced to defend it. Last, unless the commonly held opinion is

> contested from time to time, it loses its vitality and its effect on conduct and character".
>
> (Siebert, 1956: 46)

At the same time however, Siebert (1956) acknowledges that sometimes there should be limitations on what may be disseminated, including defamation and obscenity (South Africa's Constitution [1996] makes specific mention to these in relation to responsible free speech). However, advocates of the libertarian theory believe, more often, that even this is justified if it will further the individual in their quest for rational truth, because libertarianism is viewed as a negative freedom; a freedom which has emerged from an authoritarian system (Siebert, 1956; Berlin, 1969 cited in Christians *et al*, 2009). Consequently, an individual should be free from censorship, and thus have the freedom to speak and publish opinion openly without fear of being silenced. Merrett (2009) agrees, and argues that provisions for hate speech in terms of what may or may not be published could be counter-productive in relation to reporting on the truth. He states that such restrictions could in fact "[drive] unacceptable behaviour underground where it is more difficult to challenge and possibly more attractive to the impressionable" because it does not face any type of public condescension that is possible when published in an open and free media system (Merrett, 2009: 60).

Slagle (2009) reiterates Mill's and Merrett's viewpoint above, and argues that while complete free speech may inflict social ills through issues like hate speech, this is necessary to ensure that nothing impedes the exchange of ideas within a society. He explains that under this framework "to stifle discussion of unpopular opinions is to subtract a voice from the ongoing conversation of a community" (Slagle, 2009: 240). Problems arise, however, when offensive speech propagates violence against society, creates social unrest or is used as a way to justify crimes against humanity – as was done by the Nationalist government in South Africa against the black majority, Hitler did against the Jewish people during the 1930s and 1940s, and the Hutus did when wiping out the Tutsis during Rwanda's genocide in 1994, to name a few.

Concerning this issue, Slagle (2009: 248) poses one of the most important questions regarding free expression: "Who is to decide what is hateful [and dangerous] and what is merely obnoxious?" If we consider this question in light of Kant's (2003) categorical imperative, our answer would lie in the belief that everyone would find the same issues offensive to the same degree. This is arguably an absurd presumption: there is no definitive way to measure psychological harm or influence as an independent factor. Therefore, libertarianism as a moral framework cannot function effectively in a world with so many variables that affect the way the human psyche functions.

Social responsibility, though, is a positive freedom, which implies that it considers the individual to be free (Siebert, 1956; Berlin, 1969 cited in Christians *et al*, 2009). Ultimately, the individual has the right to publish and speak openly, but with the acknowledgement that they also have the freedom not to publish if it does not help grow a shared understanding of the community or may cause unnecessary harm (Christens *et al*, 2009). Because of this, Siebert *et al* (1956) note two fundamental differences between their definitions of libertarian and social responsibility theory:

1) The purpose of the press under each framework; and
2) The types of processes in place to control the press.

These differences are important to highlight because this seems to be where many academics, media freedom activists and government censors seem to have the most difficulty in untangling the two concepts when it comes to the ideal role of the press in a democratic country. Even Christians *et al*'s (2009) work in *Normative Theories of the Media*, which explains how we have moved beyond Siebert *et al*'s (1956) *Four Theories of the Press*, and explores what they believe to be the four key roles of the modern press, appear to conflate these differences when referring to each modern key role, even though they regard each role as a different dimension of a socially responsible press.

Siebert *et al* (1956: 6) consider that the purpose of a libertarian framework is "to inform, entertain, sell, - but chiefly to help discover truth and to check on

government". This definition is closely linked to the view that Christians *et al* (2009: 142) have on a monitorial type of press which "overlaps with the familiar press role of watchdog or guardian of public interest". Friedman (2013: 66) argues that this type of accountability that the press hold over those in authority is considered to be "a core democratic principle", while Wasserman (2011: 586-587) highlights that South Africa's press has taken on a normative framework that emphasises the 'watchdog' role of journalists. Christians *et al* (2009: 56) explain that the role of the 'fourth estate' to oversee government activities stems from the fact that because "liberalism was forced to struggle for several centuries against authoritarianism, it consider[s] the established government its greatest enemy". It is therefore understandable why many South African journalists and academics are apprehensive about relinquishing their 'watchdog' role in a new democracy that has arguably become a *de facto* one party state (Duncan, 2011).

However, a socially responsible press, as it was originally conceived by Siebert *et al* (1956: 6), was never meant as a way to 'watch over' government or to hold them accountable. The whole notion of social responsibility was founded on the premise that the press were "to inform, entertain, sell – but chiefly to raise conflict to the plane of discussion". To be socially responsible means that one should be fuelling debate, not because one could necessarily find truth, as was the intention of libertarianism, but because every angle should be given an opportunity to be heard to help prevent the views of media owners and those in power from monopolizing public discourse. Stephen Friedman (2013: 68), in a recent article on the press and accountability, appears to have acknowledged this problem in modern journalism, and highlights how journalists often "obstruct rather than advance democracy by telling citizens only what the connected want us to know".

Therefore, if we want the press to operate responsibly, the emphasis should be placed on generating discussion from all members of the community and should work in parallel with *ubuntu's* emphasis on creating an open and transparent community through free and equal discussion between members (Blankenberg, 1999; Burk, 2007; Fourie, 2007). Obviously, this is an idealistic way to approach the subject in a market-driven environment, but it has always been the responsibility of newspapers to separate fact from opinion so that audiences were able to both

discover and understand the various issues of the day (Peterson, 1956). Theoretically, it would be possible to meld a mix of 'responsible *ubuntism'* into the current format of traditional market-driven newspapers – but there are a variety of problems which face this type of publication.

Social responsibility is somewhat more realistic when conceiving of man's rational ability to sort right from wrong. Critics of the press "assume that readers and audiences are passive copy-cat idiots unable to critically interpret or decode content in terms of their own moral, religious and cultural frameworks" (Tomaselli, 2009: 582). The reality is somewhat more complex. Peterson (1956: 100) explains that one "[can]not deny the rationality of man, [but social responsibility] puts far less confidence in it than libertarian theory" because man is innately lazy and is more likely to seek out that which entertains him than carefully deliberate between various political opinions to determine his own social truth. One only needs to observe the success of shows like *Here Comes Honey Boo Boo*, *Keeping Up With The Kardashians*, and *Girls of the Playboy Mansion* in comparison to the decline in popularity of non-partisan news programming and print to see that people, for the most part, enjoy living in hyper-real worlds of fantasy. Most are not interested in engaging with political issues from various viewpoints to find the social truths of democracy and this is the real problem facing the modern press.

This argument is corroborated by Christians *et al* (2009) whose research has shown that newspaper editors are finding it increasingly difficult to hold the attention of readers who have become used to both 'unreal reality', as well as an infinite array of media that cater for a multitude of niche interests. Therefore, one of the drawbacks that emerge from such a situation are editors who are compelled to report on what is interesting to the public, in order to compete with programmes like the ones mentioned above, rather than to represent that which is in the public interest and generate in-depth political debate.

Some writers argue that absolute freedom should be tolerated, and even that which is mere gossip or scandal should be published (Jones & Pitcher, 2015), because it helps to "ensure that citizens have access to the alternative sources of information" (Christians *et al*, 2009: 49). Frost (2007: 28) goes so far as to argue

that newspapers (or the traditional public discussion piece) have lost their potency in helping to create an informed public because "most readers want to apply intelligence they can gather directly to their own lives and this means being concerned about issues that directly affect their decision-making and their moral approach to living". Therefore, news which reports on things such food price increases, or an impending drought that could cause water restrictions, has more value because of the direct impact that these issues have on the day-to-day lives of individuals.

Additionally, other news such as Oscar Pistorius' [29]murder trial, or the terrorist shootings at the Charlie Hebdo [30]offices in France, have entertainment value for audiences, and help contribute to their worlds of fantasy rather than create debate surrounding public politics. During Pistorius' trial, for example, South Africans were obsessed with his trial and the South African media spent huge amounts of money delving into Pistorius', and his victim Reeva Steenkamp's, backgrounds to give the public 24-hour access to analysis, news updates, and court proceedings. The same type of coverage was used during the first Gulf War in on CNN, and led to scholars highlighting the careful construction of events by news agencies (Baudrillard, 1995). Consequently, this type of coverage opens the debate as to how far the media should delve into an individual's private life when this appears to be the formula that attracts audiences.

4.4 Privacy, Dignity and 'Responsible *Ubuntu*'

One of the biggest criticisms facing the South African press is that they are too concerned with sensationalism and reporting on events that compromise the development of the country because they impede on the privacy and dignity of high ranking politicians, and thus undermine the public image of the country (Hess, 2011; Cronin, 2010). As was introduced in the first chapter of this thesis, cartoonist Zapiro came under fire for drawing attention to President Zuma's past sexual indiscretions, while most recently, the South African media have come under fire for

[29] South African paralympian who was arrested for killing his model girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp on Valentine's Day 2013.
[30] A French satirical magazine well-known for satirising Islam.

publishing the costs involved for the expansion of President Zuma's personal Nkandla estate in northern KwaZulu-Natal (McKune, Evans & Brümmer, 2012).

Zuma's supporters have claimed that this has been a gross intrusion into the president's privacy, while critics believe that the people of South Africa have a right to know if public funds were spent on unnecessary luxury renovations. While there was huge pressure from South Africa's security council to prevent Public Protector Thuli Madonsela from publishing her findings regarding the estate, President Zuma has called on the press to be more patriotic in their news reporting, highlighting how impressed he was with Mexico's policies not to report on crime because it could damage the reputation of the country (Parker, 2013). This has been supported by the South African Broadcasting Company (SABC) who mirrored Zuma's sentiments when acting CEO Hlaudi Motsoeneng argued that 70% of the stations' news bulletins should reflect 'positive news' (Underhill & Harris, 2013).

What is interesting to note here, is that in his work on political cartooning, Chris Lamb (2004) draws attention to the fact that politicians often attempt to stifle critical opinion, mostly in editorial cartooning, with the argument that it is unpatriotic, bordering on treasonous rhetoric. This will be dealt with in more detail when unpacking arguments relating to dignity, but it is important to keep in mind when considering the concept of privacy and issues relating to the publication of information deemed to be a security risk. Essentially, this situation brings to light two issues facing South Africa's media: the right to privacy and the public's right to know (Jones and Pitcher, 2015).

The concept of privacy often struggles to elicit a concrete variable from which to draw a sound conclusive understanding. Overall, this stems from its general relative nature which relies on individual interpretation and implementation. Judith Thomson (1975) uses the example that if a person has hidden a listening device in your home in order to hear the conversations taking place between you and your spouse, this would be a breach of privacy. However, this scenario does not reach the same neat conclusion if a passerby overheard you and your spouse having an argument as he walked passed your open window. Thomson (1975) argues that this does not breach your right to privacy because the conversation extended

outside the confines of your private space into a public place, but she also notes that others could disagree, as the passerby is still intruding on an intimate conversation, while others could argue that your domestic spat has impeded on the passer-by's personal space. This highlights that the rules surrounding privacy are not conventional in nature, and as Thomas Scanlon (1975) concedes, our zones of privacy are characterised in a multitude of ways.

Therefore, the main issue that arises is questioning how one finds a definitive answer when attempting to measure privacy, and where we should draw the barrier when conceptualising these zones. Judith Thomson (1975) offers a good starting point, as she explains that privacy should rather be considered as a type of conduct, than as an inalienable right. If we take privacy to be an issue of conduct, then we can concede that privacy is determined by specific social limits defined by context (Scanlon, 1975). Subsequently, the context in which specific interpretations of privacy circulate, establishes a norm which helps highlight acceptable individual public behaviour from actions which are considered as undesirable in a public setting within a specific society.

More recently, Rickless (2007) has extended the work done by Thomson (1975) and Scanlon (1975) and proposes what he terms 'The Barrier Theory' in relation to measuring privacy. His hypothesis argues that

> For X to have a right to privacy against Y is for X to have a claim against Y that Y not learn or experience some personal fact about X by breaching a barrier used by X to keep others from learning or experiencing some personal fact about X.
>
> (Rickless, 2007: 787)

Put more simply, Rickless' (2007) argument states that if a person has erected a barrier of some type, such as a wall, drawer, cupboard, fence, or even the lowering of one's voice so that it does not carry to an outsider to prevent them from knowing a specific piece of information, this creates a private space. Privacy is then breached when that outsider permeates said barrier by means of crossing that barrier without permission. If, however, the outsider is, for example, invited to look through a drawer, creating a public space for the outsider, and inadvertently comes

across a piece of private information, one's privacy has not been breached as they did not intentionally break the barrier to expose private information. Essentially, what Rickless (2007) concludes is that we waive our rights to privacy if we allow access to our private spaces.

Thomson (1975) also concludes that at certain times we waive our privacy. While certain writers find fault with the logic of her argument on the matter (Scanlon, 1975; Rachels, 1975), most agree that this general hypothesis is true nonetheless (Griffin, 2008; Rickless, 2007). Ultimately, privacy functions as a way in which individuals are able to express aspects of their persona in a protected space. Ervin Goffman (2002) explains that this is a vital aspect of human nature as we accentuate different aspects of our personas within varying contexts as a way of maintaining specific relationships with various individuals, but if we choose to expose that which we have deemed undesirable practice in certain situations, we waive our privacy regarding that matter in all situations.

If we relate this argument back to the notion of *ubuntu* we find that these two concepts are invariably similar because *ubuntu* argues for open discussion and castigates withholding information from the community. More importantly, *ubuntu* is critical of whispering and gossip-mongering because as stated earlier, it is precisely these elements that help perpetuate a closed society that protects the individual, rather than fostering the protection and development of a harmonious group dynamic (Christians, 2004). Blankenburg's (1999) analysis quite clearly highlights that a community needs to know the business of each individual so that others may benefit and learn from the actions of one another in order to grow as a community.

In a utopian society this would work well. Unfortunately this is not the case in South Africa, we live in a society (as much as South African politicians want to advocate otherwise) that favours privacy and protecting the individual. Therefore, it leads one to question how, in a society like South Africa, one should grow the moral fibre of the community while certain individuals are seemingly protected, and public issues are not brought to the fore and debated in an open and transparent manner. Essentially, this all circles back to creating a platform that allows for all opinions to

be recognised and heard. And this requires journalists and social watchdogs to cross privacy barriers in order to make information public.
Archard (1998) highlights that some of the reasons to defend breaching privacy includes if:

- One is a public person; and/or
- If a journalist can prove that publishing information is in the best interest of the public.

Archard (1998) explains that when a person becomes a public figure their status within society has changed and as a consequence, so has the status of their privacy. This change, he argues, is because "whatever bears on your public role ceases to be properly private" (Archard, 1998: 87). In other words, because one's public role is influenced in part by private activities those private aspects also need to be assessed in public to a certain degree. The work of Kruger (2004) is most useful when considering Archard's (1998) second point because he discusses the breach of privacy in relation to South African law. Kruger (2004) highlights that in South Africa, one can be found guilty of breaching privacy if:

- There has been a physical intrusion;
- Private facts (such as medical history) have been released;
- A person is represented in a false light; and/or
- A person misappropriates the image of another.

However, like Archard (1998), Kruger (2004: 200) argues that it is justifiable for a journalist to cross privacy barriers if an individual's "private behaviour contradicts their public stance". He states that "the public have a right to know what their elected representatives and other officials are doing [especially] where their private behaviour touches on their suitability for public office" (Kruger, 2004: 196). Therefore, if a Catholic priest, for example, advocates for traditional Christian marriage on a public platform, it is in the public interest to expose that priest's homosexual affair because it highlights his hypocrisy and thus brings into question his credibility as a representative of the values of the Catholic faith.

However, this thesis is not interested in attempting to debate the legal or ethical implications of such action, but rather to highlight the argument that once information has been placed in the public arena, it is open for others to share and comment on because it no longer has barriers protecting it. Jones & Pitcher (2015) advocate that the only issue one should have in sharing private information is to ensure that it is true. Therefore, it cannot be argued that cartoons infringe on one's privacy because, as was stipulated in Chapter 1, cartoonists utilise information that is already in the public domain and/or that which is derived from pre-existing news stories which have been validated by journalists and editors.

One of the main issues that arises, however, as was alluded to earlier in this chapter, is how to deal with information that is deemed harmful. This is easy to measure when what is being promoted perpetuates violence against others, but one of the main difficulties in determining whether to disclose information is whether or not it is detrimental to an individual's dignity and personal well-being – something that has been determined as a fundamental human right. Ironically, when one begins to consider the notion of personal dignity, we are again faced with the fact that this concept derives from Western paradigms. Griffin (2008: 699) explains that the United Nations "most plausible interpretation of their use of *dignity* [which is the base of South Africa's Constitution's interpretation] is that it is the use of the philosophers of the Enlightenment", which again brings us back to the rights of the individual, rather than the community rights of *ubuntu*.

As was stipulated earlier in this section, Chris Lamb (2004) highlighted how politicians will often cry foul of cartoonists who openly demean them and claim that a direct attack on their dignity and reputation is unpatriotic because it also undermines the dignity and reputation of the state. In discussing this issue, Lamb (2004) outlines how American cartoonists were careful when criticising the Bush administration after the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers, and how many in the media concentrated, for the first few weeks after the attack, on displaying sympathetic images and patriotic lines of commentary so as not to offend the nation's grief. If we examine Figure 20 below, a 2001 cartoon re-printed in 2011 for 9/11's 10th anniversary, for example, we see that it contains an American bald eagle, a symbol of the United States, wearing a shield of the country's national flag,

rising up out of the ruins of 9/11, with the title 'The Phoenix' etched underneath. It becomes obvious that the cartoonist is drawing a direct comparison between the people of the United States and the mythical phoenix which rises out of the ashes to be re-born again, stronger than before. Therefore, just as the phoenix is re-born, so too will Americans re-build and emerge stronger than they were before the attacks on the Twin Towers.

Figure 20

This type of coverage should not continue for too long, notes Lamb (2004), because this, he argues, would allow the state to continue unchecked on an uncontested path, filled with blind propaganda and minimal criticism, essentially destroying the pillars of democracy. Lamb (2004) argues that it was important for the nation to grieve, but it was just as important that, for the nation to heal, the media reverted back to its watchdog role and openly criticised governmental wrong-doing and controversial policy, such as in Figure 21 below. As can be noted, Figure 21 highlights George Bush as a hypocrite who is willing to fight terrorism, provided that the country which houses terrorists does not have any oil that could be useful to the US economy. While Lamb's (2004) stance is a tad compliant to American superiority in relation to the democratic state, the overall gist of his argument is one which should be noted – for democracy to be efficient, the action of those in power, whether favourable or unfavourable, must be allowed to be questioned in public. However, as already stipulated, Lamb's (2004) argument surrounding responsibility is sorely dismissive of the cartoonist and places sole accountability with the

newspaper editor. This may be adequate in the American context in which freedom of speech is a right put before all others, but this cannot be taken to be the case in South Africa where human rights are weighed equally, and therefore need to be measured in a different light.

Figure 21

It can be acknowledged that the rights contained within South Africa's Constitution (1996) are modelled quite extensively on the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights which, as mentioned, is based on the philosophies of European Enlightenment, but what is more interesting to note, is Griffin's (2008: 702) point that, "[h]uman rights are meant to protect the dignity of **perfectly ordinary** human beings" (my emphasis). This implies that those individuals who are not considered to be ordinary, such as those in the public eye, should not seen in the same manner as those of us who are private citizens, especially in light of Archard's (1998) argument. Apart from an existential debate to determine one's ordinariness, a simpler rebuttal, as has been made by many politicians and their spokespeople, is that they or a public official is a representative of the ordinary citizen and so their dignity should be protected just as much as everyone else (Nhelko, 2015). This places us in a Catch-22 situation – protect the dignity of the metaphorical ordinary citizen represented by a public official, or consider them to be extraordinary and not in line to be protected. And while Archard (1998), and others like Kruger (2004), maintain that a public figure cannot be deemed 'ordinary, in order to determine what constitutes dignity would run the risk of a cyclical

philosophical debate about the constitution of ordinariness. Therefore, it is more useful to measure if there has been direct damage to one's reputation and thus a case for defamation in relation to the publication of a cartoon.

Copteros (2013) argues that there are two points to be considered in relation to defamation and opinion. Firstly, he makes it clear, and re-affirms that which was argued in Chapter 1 of this thesis, that an opinion can only be deemed defamatory if it damages the reputation of an individual. Once again, if one applies this concept to the art of political cartooning, we find that the damage which could be done regarding one's reputation has nothing to do with the subject of the cartoon itself because the content is already based on information that is in public circulation. It is also almost impossible to separate the impact that a political cartoon has on one's reputation from other forms of opinion, gossip and reporting that are in circulation regarding public officials. Therefore, to treat a cartoon as irresponsible or in contravention of *ubuntu* is to ignore all other aspects of information exchange and treat it as a completely independent entity.

However, Copteros' (2013: 78) second point is more useful when considering how political cartoons, dignity and defamation fit together in relation to a socially responsible African press. He highlights that "opinion that is projected as such, is fair, made without malice (the pure intention to injure), is substantially based on fact and in the public interest" cannot be deemed to be defamatory. Here we need to return to the work done in Chapter 2 of this thesis, and consider the discussion that outlined the fantastical nature of cartooning. As has been explained, cartoons are based on information that is already within the public domain, but cartoonists distort elements of the news in order to break down stereotypes, individual fallacies and other social ills in order for the general public to understand and engage with these issues. Cartoons are not meant to be fair, factual or benevolent, and whether their content is in the public interest, is a debate left for the journalists who placed the information in the public sphere. This though, does not concede that cartoons are implicitly defamatory, or irresponsible, but they can be. The decision comes down to taste. Essentially, we are back to the idea that cartoonists act to unveil and break down individuals to their basic humanness. Therefore, by taking Griffin's (2008) argument regarding how dignity is the respect of personhood and human

agency, cartoons are in fact able to protect and respect the dignity of the community as they strip away those elements which hide the individual from the community.

4.5 Conclusion

And yet, as reported by Dubin (2012) in his book, *Spearheading Debate,* South African politicians prefer to err on the side of caution when deciding if opinion, art, music, and other creative works are socially immoral, unacceptable and defamatory. He documents numerous cases in which artists (including cartoonists) have been labelled as paedophiles, racists and perpetuators of re-instilling the ideals of the apartheid regime. Interestingly, his book points to the most important issue that faces any artist – that good taste and the acceptability of their work is based entirely on individual subjectivities, consequently, re-affirming the arguments of Hall (1999) and Jauss (1982) discussed in Chapter 3. In 1996, artist Kaolin Thomson faced the wrath of then deputy speaker of South Africa's Parliament, Baleka Kgositsile, who accused the artist, after reading about work in the press, of trampling on black citizens' pride and dignity through her work entitled *Useful Objects*, in which she portrayed a black woman's vagina as an ashtray (Dubin, 2012). However, Kgositsile later admitted that she may have viewed the work differently had she known "that the artist responsible for making *Useful Objects* was a woman and a feminist" (Dubin, 2012: 272). Subjectivity was again shown as a definitive measure of taste when artist Mark Hipper was accused of child pornography by then Minister of Arts and Culture, Lindiwe Sisulu, who again read about Hipper's exhibition in a news story, and declared that she was from "a conservative African background and was strongly opposed to pornography" and consequently, found it "most frustrating to act within the framework of the law" (Dubin, 2012: 147) when dealing with offensive artwork.

However, if one were to apply what many politicians have called for in utilising an *ubuntu* paradigm when considering controversial opinion and artistic creations, it can be noted, based on the arguments above, that this is a far more difficult concept to implement successfully than merely claiming that it lies in generating the 'spirit of culture'. Essentially, it becomes far more useful, as stipulated by Wassermann & Rao (2008), to marry an indigenous framework with one that is

used effectively on a global scale. Consequently, this thesis argues that in order to measure how political cartoons fit into a socially responsible and accountable press system, they require to be analysed using a combination of elements from the African paradigm of *ubuntu* and the Western framework of social responsibility. This is important because, as has been highlighted, it is impossible to determine how to hold one accountable based on individual ideas surrounding what is, or what is not, socially responsible action. Individual or small collective subjectivities cannot form the base of what is deemed socially acceptable because individuals draw reason from their own inherent belief systems which help them to identify their own selfhood. Consequently, individuals need to balance that their own subjectivities in relation to the beliefs of others and ultimately, fulfil the fundamental function of a socially responsible press – a shared dialogue to raise discussion.

Chapter 5 – Methodology

5.1 Introduction

In order to determine if the discourses within the political cartoons of Zapiro are socially responsible, there are a number of methodological routes that could be explored, ranging from interviews with editors and cartoonists through to an audience reception study. However, based on the arguments proposed in previous chapters surrounding the subjective nature of defining social responsibility, it became apparent that any type of ethnographic study would not answer the underlying problem surrounding social responsibility. As explained, social responsibility is a concept rooted in subjectivity and socio-historical context; what is acceptable today may not have been in the past, or remain to be so in the future. Therefore, the responses garnered from an ethnographic survey would prove to be dated, with the potential to change overnight, and become essentially useless.

Consequently, this thesis moves beyond the typical interpretivist approach of ethnography and grounds itself in critical realism and social constructivism. Under these frameworks, three methods (a content analysis, a discourse analysis and the adaptation of Plaisance's [2012] multidimensional ethical reasoning sheet) are used to help sort and analyse all newspaper published works of Zapiro (which included *The Sowetan, The Times, The Sunday Times, The Independent,* and *The Mail & Guardian*), between 1994 and 2013, in relation to the overarching question of this thesis: do the discourses of Zapiro's cartoons uphold or undermine the concept of social responsibility? In order to deal with the more than 4 000 cartoons published by Zapiro during this time-frame, this chapter begins by exploring why the critical realist and social constructivist paradigms are important and valid in relation to this study. The chapter then explains how this thesis has categorised the themes of Zapiro's cartoons from various newspapers to create a pool from which to draw various examples to analyse.

The chapter explores how to measure these themes against the structures of social responsibility as outlined in the previous two chapters. It then mentions how

individual examples were chosen for analysis, and moves on to explore Rose's (2012) explanation of semiology and critical discourse analysis, supported by Phillips and Hardy's (2002) account of discourse analysis, to explain why these methods were the most useful in examining various case studies. Finally, an explanation and adaption of Plaisance's (2014) Multidimensional Ethical Reasoning and Inquiry Task Sheet (MERITS) is used, in conjunction with theory discussed in previous chapters, to outline how this thesis has measured the responsibility of each case study to determine if they have met the standards of an alternative, resistant and socially responsible commentary, as proposed in the previous chapters of this thesis or, if they are merely offensive and simple rhetoric.

5.2 A Case for Critical Realism and Social Constructivism

While this research begins by placing its case studies in an essentially positivist framework, via categorisation, to create a standard measure for thematic comparison, positivism is too stringent as a sole method, and has been criticised as a mere ruse for social scientists to appear more like their counterparts in the hard sciences (Deacon *et al*, 1999), to be valid for this thesis. True social scientists understand that social actions cannot be measured in controlled laboratory-like conditions because such circumstances stifle the 'real-life' experience of participants and the researcher (Deacon *et al*, 1999). Based on this reason, many social scientists find an interpretative approach useful to engage with ethnographic data in order "to make sense of the ways other people make sense of their worlds" (Deacon *et al*, 1999: 7). As already specified in the introduction of this chapter, this would be a useful method if one was engaged in an ethnographic study. However, because this research is concerned with examining the discourses displayed within political cartoons, which are consequently "conditioned by actuality, in the sense that we can only produce signs through the semiosic capabilities that we have actually developed (biologically, historically, socially, and individually)" (Nellhaus, 1998: 11), a combination of critical realism and social constructivism are the most useful paradigms to use because this questions how 'reality' is constructed rather than solely on how it is interpreted.

While some may argue that critical realism and social constructivism cannot work together, because constructivism is concerned primarily with the structures in place that create discourse and not the subjectivities of how individuals use these structures to create meaning, this thesis adopts the standpoint of Fairclough (2005) and Nellhaus (1998). Both these writers highlight that critical realism contains elements of social constructivism because one should consider its ontology as a way to explore an "analytically dualist epistemology which gives primacy to researching relations between agency […] and structure" (Fairclough, 2005: 916). Therefore, critical realism cannot exist without acknowledging the role structures, and thus constructivism, play in the creation of discourse. And if one examines the work of Deacon *et al* (1999: 10), it is evident, based on their two fundamental principles of critical realism, which firstly considers the way in which structures enable discourse and secondly, that actions that arise from these discourses is a two-way process, that this paradigm has developed out of and is an extension of a social constructivist ontology.

Such thinking is especially evident if one considers the arguments made in Chapters 3 and 4 in relation to the formation of stereotypes, social responsibility and the reception and development of political cartoons. Each one of these concepts are constructed not only by the rules of specific institutional and cultural structures, but also as a way in which individuals use their experiences to mediate the discourses of these structures. This type of approach to unpacking the relationship between the construction of discourse and social structures was developed by Bhaskar in 1975, who theorised that one should consider critical realism as the amalgamation of three 'strata' that contain the *real,* the *actual,* and the *subjective* (Bhaskar, 2008).

The *real,* he explains is any structure that can affect, or is affected by, other structures. Therefore, if one uses a cartoon as an example, it is part of the *real* because its construction can affect what people are thinking about, or is affected by what society is saying. The result of this interaction culminates in the *actual* which Bhaskar (2008) states is the outcome of these relationships. Therefore, if we extend the example above, the *actual* consists of the dialogue that cartoons create within society. Finally, Bhaskar's (2008) domain of the *subjective* highlights the way

in which the structure (the *real*) and the event (the *actual*) create meaning for an individual. Consequently, the meaning of a cartoon is derived from the discourses contained within a cartoon and the way in which those discourses interact with existing social structures and institutions.

However, some writers like Nellhaus (1998) take issue with labelling the final strata in Bhaskar's (2008) analogy as the *subjective* because they believe that it is too anthropocentric. Nellhaus (1998: 9-10 – his emphasis) argues that "critical realism claims to offer a philosophical basis for **any** knowledge-seeking practice [and] thus the third ontological domain consists of meanings embodied in signs and semioses", not merely subjective human knowledge, and consequently, should be called the semiosic domain. The reason for this departure is because if one considers this final strata as the semiosic domain, it allows critical realist research "to recognise subdomains […] within a major domain [and therefore] make epistemological discriminations between experiences, concepts, fictions, etc, and examine the historical emergence of cultural formations" (Nellhaus, 1998: 12). Such a distinction is important for this study, as it recognises that the interpretation of discourses found within cartoons are dependent on not only the interactions between the *real* and the *actual,* but also the socio-historical context of the cartoon. In recognising this, a critical realist approach helps validate the analysis to follow because it appreciates that the interpretation of discourse will change over time, and has multiple interpretations, because the interaction between domains is forever in a process of mediation.

Additionally, Deacon *et al* (1999: 10) explain that critical realism "reject[s] the philosophical idealism underpinning the interpretative argument that social reality only exists in the ways people choose to imagine it". Instead, critical realism highlights the underlying social and cultural frameworks that shape how one exists and behaves in society. Boje, Oswick and Ford (2004: 572) concur, and argue that before we can analyse discourse, or interpret how humans interact with one another, we need to acknowledge that these are always the result of "the intermingled play of differences in meanings mediated through socially constructed language practices". In essence, it is the underlying social structures which shape how we act and react to ideological stimuli which then shift and change based on

human reaction, as was evident in Bhaskar's (2008) strata of critical realism. This is an imperative conclusion to consider when examining political cartoons because, as was mentioned in earlier chapters, cartoonists are bound by various structures – such as the law, economy, news room etiquette, social and cultural attitudes of their audience, and their own inherent biases and world views – each of which are often attributed to unconscious levels of construction. This argument reinforces Deacon *et al* (1999: 10) who highlight that "there are social and cultural structures that shape people's options for action but exist independently of their awareness of them".

As implied above, these underlying processes are not static and generally mirror the ebb and flow of social and cultural changes that occur over time (Nellhaus, 1998). Therefore, it becomes important, when analysing any text from this approach, that it is considered in light of the social and cultural conventions in which it was produced. This argument was evident in the work of Siebert *et al* (1956) and Christians *et al* (2009) who highlighted that the concept of social responsibility needs to adapt as time passes to match the needs of a particular media system. In South Africa, as was evidenced in Chapter 4, it can be noted that the media has emerged from the authoritarian paradigm of the apartheid government (which limited the types of commentary that could be published), to one which is more free, but still restricted in certain ways to limit hate speech and incitement of violence because of South Africa's racially divisive history. Consequently, when one begins analysing Zapiro's cartoons in relation to social responsibility, one needs to keep in mind those institutional and cultural structures which would impact on the interpretation of their discourses and ideologies.

As explained by Phillips and Hardy (2002), when one adopts any type of constructivist approach, one is expected to explore and deconstruct how a social reality is created through both micro and macro analyses on text. Chouliaraki (2002: 91) puts it thus: "[d]econstruction is a textual enterprise that aims at unearthing the 'essential' contingency and instability of the social". In order to achieve this in this study, it became necessary to analyse chosen cartoons in light of the news events from which they were derived. Political cartoons can be identified as another voice in the metanarrative of a particular news event (Boje,

Oswick & Ford, 2004) and must be examined as such. In other words, when "studying media texts we should approach their processes of signification and representation as conventional to the cultural configurations and social order in which they operate" (Deacon *et al*, 1999: 137). Additionally, Chouliaraki's (2002) work on discourse and realism emphasises that by adopting an approach from which one is able to deconstruct a text allows the researcher to understand representation in two ways. Firstly, one is able to uncover the "dominant interpretation of the text" (Chouliaraki, 2002: 91), but then secondly, move toward a subversive interpretation. She explains that by going through this investigative process "the logic of unity and regularity in the text is achieved through a violent exclusion of elements [which] aims at showing how the operations of order-by-exclusion are embedded in specific relations of power" (Chouliaraki, 2002: 91). Therefore, when examining specific political cartoons in conjunction with the events from which they were derived, one is able to identify what has been excluded and thus determine the impact that such an exclusion can have on the overall reading of the cartoon.

5.3 Selecting Case Studies

However, if this thesis were to do this type of analysis for every cartoon that Zapiro has produced in the last twenty years, it would result in thousands of pages of repetitive and mechanised analysis. Such a conclusion would, according to Phillips and Hardy (2002: 74), "[undermine] the very basis of [a] discourse analysis". It therefore became apparent that the sample size needed to be decreased and individual case studies would need to be analysed. In order to do this, a rudimentary content analysis was done to extract common themes found in the more than 4 000 of Zapiro's cartoons between 1994 and 2013. Rose (2012) argues that a content analysis can be a useful starting point for research that adopts a mixed-method approach such as this, because it helps the researcher count how often particular elements are displayed within a set of visual texts and then from these categories allows the researcher to pick out common themes for more in-depth analysis. Additionally, a content analysis is a useful starting point because it can eliminate bias from the point of the researcher. This type of analysis helps the researcher pinpoint the frequency of themes, and thus the research is not focussed

solely on what the researcher expects to find, but what themes are repeated over a specific period (Rose, 2012).

Consequently, to begin the analysis process for this thesis the researcher adopted Rose's (2012) suggestion and categorised the themes of Zapiro's cartoons from each newspaper in which they were published. At times, usually when Zapiro was on leave, it was found that newspapers would repeat or re-use old cartoons, however, these were only counted once by the researcher when they were first published to ensure that themes were not repeated when categorising. It was noted, surprisingly, that there were minimal differences in the themes which were presented in different newspapers. Thus, it became more useful to determine which themes were the most prevalent during specific periods of South Africa's newly democratic history to determine the types of discourses that were addressed most often.

From the coded data, it was noted that there were significant theme shifts in Zapiro's work whenever South Africans elected a new president. As a result of this, it was decided to categorise themes into four time periods which corresponded to the terms of each of South Africa's presidents since the fall of apartheid: Nelson Mandela (January 1994 – March 1999), Thabo Mbeki (March 1999 – 21 September 2008), Kgalema Motlanthe (22 September 2008 – 30 April 2009), and Jacob Zuma (May 2009 – 31 December 2013). Using the spreadsheets which contained the topics of Zapiro's cartoons for each week between 1994 and 2013, the themes were then analysed using WordCloud software (the results of which will be shown in the following chapter) to highlight which subjects were dealt with most often by Zapiro during each president's term in office. From these results, the researcher was then able to pick out individual case studies which exemplified the discourses which surrounded each president and examine the differences in the ways that Zapiro handled each leader over time. This included looking at:

- Nelson Mandela (January 1994 – March 1999)
    - The role of Mandela in the 'new' South Africa
    - The remnants of the apartheid state

- Thabo Mbeki (March 1999 – 21 September 2008)
    - Mbeki's stance on South Africa's HIV/AIDS epidemic
    - The South African government's stance on Zimbabwe
    - Jacob Zuma's rise to power
- Kgalema Motlanthe (22 September 2008 – 30 April 2009)
    - Motlanthe's care-taker role as president
- Jacob Zuma (May 2009 – 31 December 2013)
    - Zuma as president
    - The threat to free speech in South Africa

Consequently, this helped to determine if Zapiro was adding to the metanarrative of debate surrounding each president, or merely creating his own narrative that ignored what other commentators and news articles were saying. In line with the argument made by Rose (2012: 109), it is acceptable to choose case studies "on how conceptually interesting they are for the purposes of image analysis". She explains that each "case study stands or falls on its analytical integrity and interest" (Rose, 2012: 110). This argument is reinforced by Phillips and Hardy (2002) who explain that validity and reliability in the sense of the traditional hard sciences become invalid when engaging in a discourse analysis. It is unnecessary and, according to Phillips and Hardy (2002: 79), "non-sensical", to expect a researcher who has chosen to analyse the discourses and themes of any text to provide conclusions that are "repeatable" because essentially, when undertaking a discourse analysis, "one is interested in generating and exploring multiple – and different – readings of a situation" (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 79).

In essence, this thesis creates non-repeatable results in relation to the interpretation of cartoons because it aims to explore how the discourses of Zapiro's work fits within a specific normative framework during a specific socio-historical time frame. Other work may consider other paradigms, other external factors, or other socially constructed moulds of history to frame their arguments. This type of multiplicity helps demonstrate the importance and validity that a thesis such as this has, because it cannot necessarily be replicated by others and adds insight to academic debates and discussions that otherwise would not be possible. In

addition to this point, and as has been implied previously, any research that is grounded in critical realism should acknowledge that all discourses are constructed; therefore, to consider research only to be valid when it replicates 'the real' is preposterous. "[T]he idea that the research closely captures the 'real' world – is not relevant when epistemological and ontological assumptions [of realism] maintain that there is no 'real' world other than the one constructed through discourse" (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 79). Essentially, signs can only be explained and understood using other types of signs to mediate and decode them (Nellhaus, 1998: 4).

5.4 Considering Semiology and Doing A Discourse Analysis

Consequently, this thesis deals with the subjective interpretation of Zapiro's cartoons. This subjectivity, however, is perfectly legitimate in a study of this kind because "it is in its contextual and interpretative sensitivities that the benefits of discourse analysis lie" (Phillips and Hardy, 2002: 74-75). However, it has been noted by many writers in this methodological area that more traditional social scientists rooted in positivism regard this reasoning to be unsound and unscientific (Rose, 2012; Nellhaus, 1998; Chouliaraki, 2002; Phillips and Hardy, 2002).

Besides using a mixed-method approach, which includes a content analysis to helped isolate common themes and a discourse analysis for a deeper interpretation, this thesis also responds to this type of criticism in two other ways. Firstly, in line with Rose (2012: 128), this research acknowledges that one "need[s] to develop a broad knowledge of other images [in the same genre] to be able to identify those that are in a relevant relation to the ones that constitute [the] case study". This is achieved by not concentrating on specific case studies only, but by also highlighting and identifying dominant themes contained within the work of Zapiro over a twenty year period which will help move away from isolated case-by-case analysis. In addition to this, early cartoonists (such as Cruikshank and Schroder) have also been used for illustrative purposes throughout the literature chapters of this thesis to help highlight common trends and practices found in the art of political cartooning. These two elements will help guide the analytic process as a measure to gauge Zapiro's personal nuances and style, as well as a way to determine the

tools used by cartoonists in a more general sense, and thus give greater depth to the analysis to follow.

Secondly, this research does not look at any cartoons in temporal isolation and acknowledges "the historically specific intertextuality on which meaning depends" (Rose, 2012: 202) by examining each case study in conjunction with the context from which the subject matter was derived. As with any discourse analysis, the importance is not necessarily in what lies within the work under scrutiny, but what has been omitted (Rose, 2012), so it is imperative that the researcher be able to highlight the work within its socio-historical context in order to measure its tone in relation to other commentary of the time, and in doing so highlight the impact of what Zapiro has either said, or failed to say in his cartoons in relation to social responsibility.

In light of Nellhaus' (1998: 5) argument regarding the semiosic domain, in which he says that "signs […] mediate our interpretative relation to the world" it is vital to understand the concept of semiology and the role that it plays in a discourse analysis. Rose (2012) highlights that semiology is necessary when conducting a visual analysis because it is concerned primarily with unpacking how meaning is created within specific case studies, and considers how these meanings interact with social and cultural institutions. However, Rose (2012: 113) points out that semiology's main purpose is to "identify the basic building blocks of an image" in order to create a starting point for deeper analysis. Essentially, a semiological analysis is concerned with finding the preferred meaning of an image only, which is why it must be combined with a discourse analysis to unpack greater interpretations that can be found in a visual text.

Before delving into the processes of a discourse analysis it is first important to draw on Rose's (2012) work on the development of visual analytical methodologies, to highlight the five steps involved when dissecting a visual text from a semiological point of view. Firstly, the researcher needs to "decide what the signs are" (Rose, 2012: 133). This would take the form of a conventional denotational analysis to determine what each image represents in the literal sense. Therefore, in relation to analysing Zapiro's cartoons, this would entail describing which characters are seen

in the cartoon, what these characters are doing, and what types of props they are using in each cartoon.

Secondly, the researcher needs to "decide what [the signs] signify 'in themselves'" (Rose, 2012: 133) in order to determine the connotations associated with each sign contained within the image. Therefore, the researcher needs to identify what types of common associations could be assumed from the denotative analysis of each cartoon, such as sheep being associated with followers.

Thirdly, the researcher then needed to "think about how [each sign] relate[s] to other signs 'in themselves'" (Rose, 2012: 133) so as to examine how each element in an image interacts with one another to create meaning. This step entailed considering various metaphors that emerged out of the connotations of each cartoon, and how these interacted with the visual image. For example, if a character was represented as a monster, in was important to explore what elements in the cartoon contributed to understanding the context in which that character could be considered a monster.

Fourthly, it became necessary to "explore [each image's] connections to wider systems of meaning from codes to ideologies" (Rose, 2012: 133) by comparing how the images found within each case study fit with the overarching socio-historical context in which they were first published. This step was completed by being cognisant of the time period in which each cartoon was printed and consequently, the effect that that context would have on the construction of meaning.

Finally, once each of these steps were complete, the researcher was then able to "return to the signs via their codes to explore the precise articulation of ideology and mythology" within each chosen case study and embark on a deeper analysis.

Unlike a semiological analysis, which is far more constructivist in its approach due to its concentration on one preferred meaning, discourse analysis extends the critical realist paradigm as it "assumes that the efficacy of discourse often resides in the assumption it makes about what is true, real or natural, in the contradictions that

allow it interpretative flexibility, and in what is not said, and none of these are accessible to superficial reading or viewing" (Rose, 2012: 219). In other words, a discourse analysis allows one to use what is left out of the preferred meaning, which could be considered a superficial reading at some levels, to explore alternative meanings that are created by examining both that which has been included and simultaneously excluded from a representation. According to Fairclough (2005) this type of analysis can be seen as an 'analytical dualism' because it acknowledges that one needs to look at both the semiotics of an image and the way in which social ideologies mediate the interpretation of these signs.

Therefore, to use the work of Phillips and Hardy (2002: 25), a critical discourse analysis becomes a useful tool for this research because it "focuses on how discursive activity structures the social space within which actors act, through the constitution of concepts, objects, and subject positions". Therefore, in the analysis to follow in Chapter 6, each discussion begins by combining Rose's (2012) five steps of semiological analysis to uncover the preferred structural meanings of each cartoon. This is then followed by an exploration of the deeper discourses that emerge as a result of the interaction between the semiotics of each cartoon and the underlying socio-historical context in which they were published. This then allows the researcher the opportunity to comment on their meanings in light of overarching ideas surrounding social responsibility in the 'new' South Africa.

5.5 Measuring Social Responsibility

As highlighted in Chapter 4, the concept of social responsibility is a fluid one. It is determined by personal subjectivities and established social norms of a particular historical period. Christians *et al* (2009) and Wasserman (2011) for instance, argue that to be socially responsible includes watching over government activity to ensure that they are held accountable, whereas Siebert (1956) and Blankenburg (1999) believes that social responsibility is concerned with creating open platforms for debate and discussion among citizens. Consequently, the work of Plaisance (2014: 43) is useful here as he emphasises that individuals measure any type of information presented to them through their own "personal and political values". More importantly, he explains that any material which critiques "our points

of view will be scrutinized as questionable or wrong" (Plaisance, 2014: 43), and thus demonstrates that individual interpretation of what is deemed ethical or responsible is compounded by whether or not personal ideologies are matched or undermined. Therefore, in research of this nature, it becomes problematic to argue whether a political cartoon is responsible based on the researcher's own intuitions of what constitutes social responsibility. Consequently, two techniques have been adopted to create a study that is as balanced as possible in an area in which objectivity does not exist.

On the one hand, the study depends on the work of Christians *et al* (2009) and Siebert *et al* (1956), whose arguments have helped to highlight the theoretical underpinnings of social responsibility, as well as Wasserman (2011), Fourie (2008), Jones and Pitcher (2015) and Blankenburg (1999) for their insight on social responsibility in the South African context. On the other hand, however, because a PhD thesis requires an element of originality, the researcher has chosen to adopt and adapt Plaisance's (2014) Multidimensional Ethical Reasoning and Inquiry Task Sheet (MERITS). Together with the aforementioned theories and an adaptation of Plaisance's (2014) MERITS, this research will design a measure from which to gauge the social responsibility of each cartoon under study, thus allowing for both the rigorous interpretation required for a discourse analysis, and for an element of empirical measurement to appease critics of a 'soft' interpretative analysis and triangulate the research.

Plaisance's (2014) original MERITS design was created to help in an ethical investigation of any mass publication and addresses four areas of importance: conflict of values, normative frameworks, interests of stakeholders, and duties and effects of media professionals. However, for the purposes of this research, and because this thesis is not dealing with ethics in any direct manner, both the section on conflicting values and the interests of stakeholders will be discarded. The reason for this exclusion is two-fold. Firstly, Plaisance (2014: 42) attributes conflicting values to investigating and measuring how "the key values [of media ethics] in a dilemma articulate the conflict" within an event. However, political cartoons are expected to be controversial in nature, and are not concerned with traditional journalistic values, so measuring a category that weighs how values such

as “justice, respect [and] transparency” (Plaisance, 2014: 42) have been balanced would be a cumbersome and pointless exercise.

Secondly, while the researcher has acknowledged the role played by various stakeholders in the production and interpretation of political cartoons, as well as the fact that cartoons have to adhere to the general formalities of the political economy, Plaisance’s (2014) model is concerned with the effects that a text has on stakeholders, rather than the effect they have on the production of the text. Again, based on the subjectivities involved in decoding the discourses contained within cartoons, this category of the MERITS would be impossible to measure in line with the analysis that has been undertaken.

However, Plaisance’s (2014) consideration of normative frameworks and the duties and effects of a text to advance the effectiveness of fulfilling that framework can be used as a means to measure social responsibility. In adopting this framework, it does not exclude other normative theories or pretend that this is a universal measure, but rather, it acknowledges that when investigating any type of normative framework, the same types of questions should be asked as a way to measure its effectiveness. Therefore, when looking at the MERITS category pertaining to normative frameworks, the researcher is required to assess a text in relation to the key foundations of social responsibility which includes considering three main points derived from the discussions of Chapter 4.

Firstly, and in line with the arguments of Blankenburg (1999), Fourie (2007), and Tomaselli (2009), the discourses of each cartoon need to be assessed in relation to harm, and determine if they present information in a way that causes unnecessary harm to the subject, South African society, or both. Secondly, and in consideration to Siebert (1956), Merrett (2009) and Slagle (2009), one needs to question if the criticism within cartoons has been careful in the ways in which offensive ideas are presented so as not to propagate hate speech or violence against any person or group. And finally, based on the work of Peterson (1956) and Friedman (2013), social responsibility needs to be assessed in light of how well the subject matter of a cartoon has contributed to creating a plane of dialogue for South Africa’s citizenry.

From there, the following questions, adapted from Plaisance (2014) have to be considered when assessing the duties and effects of social responsibility:

- What is the duty of a political cartoonist in contemporary society?
- What is the preferred outcome of publishing a political cartoon?
- What aspects of a cartoon could be deemed undesirable by others?
- How should one deal with undesirable aspects in light of social responsibility?

The first two questions have already, in part, been answered by the previous chapters and includes lampooning the powerful (Lamb, 2004), shocking audiences out of complacent acceptance of dominant ideologies (Lamb, 2004; Harrison, 1981; Hodgart, 1969), presenting alternative viewpoints to mainstream social norms (Eko, 2007; Nyamnjoh, 2009), and to simplify complex issues in ways that audiences can address them through dialogue. During the following chapter each of these points will be explored in more detail when discussing relevant case studies, while those questions which address desirability and social responsibility, will be answered during the course of analysis. Consequently, one can adapt Plaisance's (2014) MERITS to a Socially Responsible Reasoning Sheet (SRRS) as labelled as Figure 22 below. Therefore, the questions highlighted in the SRRS will be the most important to consider when attempting to assess how the discourses contained within Zapiro's cartoons contribute to or undermine a socially responsible press.

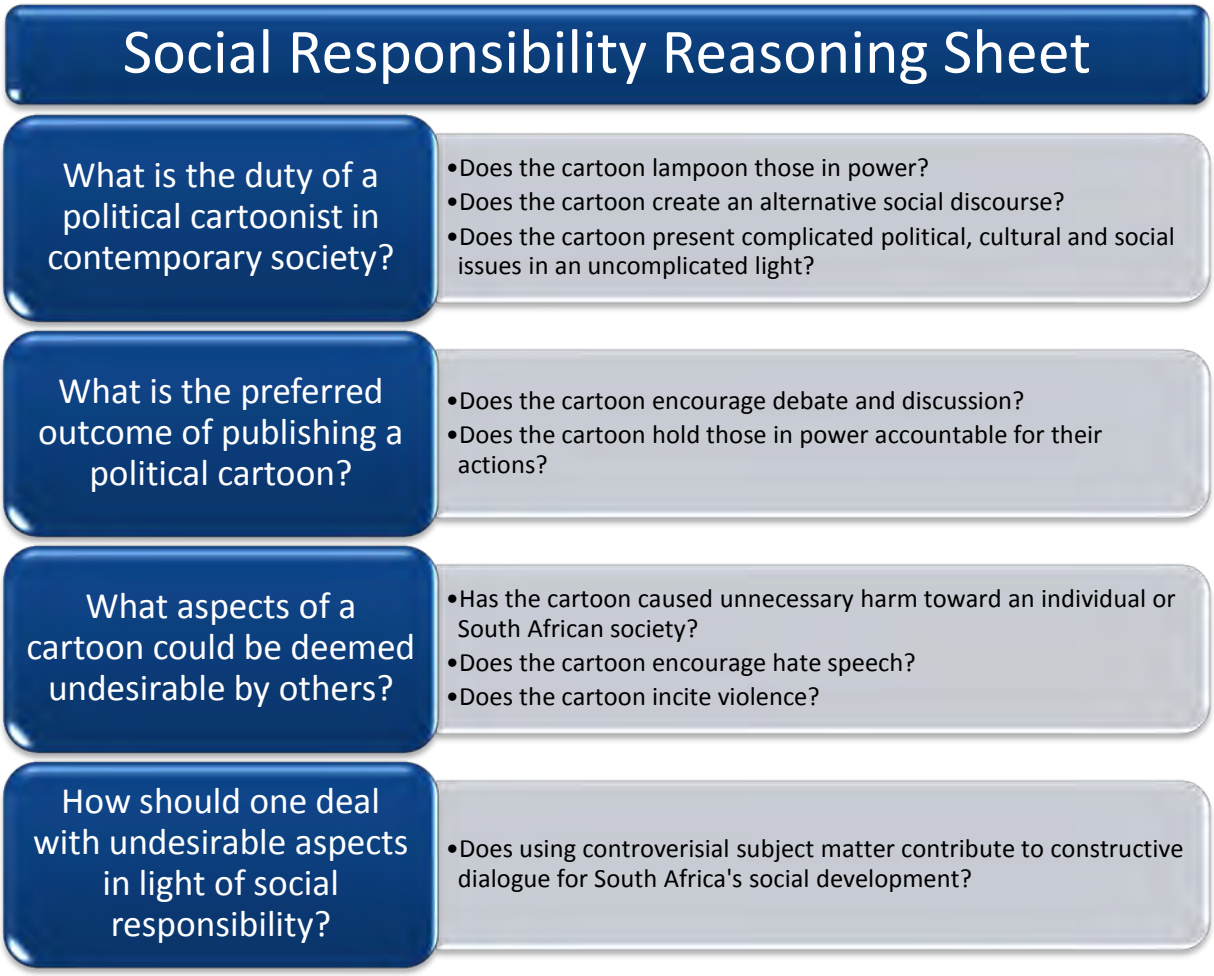

Figure 22

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to outline the methodological tools which underpinned and guided the research design of this thesis. After a large amount of deliberation, it was determined that social constructivism and critical realism would be the most advantageous paradigms to utilise because this research is not a purely empirical study. Instead, this thesis attempts to situate the work of Zapiro into the socio-historical context of social responsibility as reflected by the ideals of 20th and 21st century thinkers. Through purposively chosen case studies this thesis is able to identify how Zapiro has utilised basic tools of the political cartooning genre and integrated them into contemporary social debate. By assessing these discourses through the guidelines developed by Rose (2012) and Plaisance (2014), and then adapted by the researcher, it became possible to compare how Zapiro's

cartoons measure up to the ideals of political cartooning as a genre, and the foundations of social responsibility as established by the literature of this thesis.

Chapter 6 – Data Analysis

6.1 Introduction

Throughout this thesis, numerous arguments have been presented that have helped explain the purpose of political cartoons. Additionally, these have been supplemented by discussions pertaining to the function of the press and the various normative frameworks under which it operates, particularly in reference to social responsibility. The aim of this chapter is to place these arguments in context in relation to Zapiro. In order to achieve this, the researcher firstly identifies, categorises and discusses the most prevalent themes within Zapiro's work between 1994 and 2013, and secondly, critically analyses specific examples distilled from these thematic categories to discern the types of discourses that emerge from his work.

This chapter begins by highlighting the frequency at which Zapiro deals with various themes over a period of 20 years, and then examines what these statistics infer in relation to the most repeated themes. However, as outlined in Chapter 5, and as will become apparent, the frequency of themes were only able to tell the researcher so much about Zapiro's cartoons in relation to social responsibility. Therefore, the results of the content analysis were used as a way to help select the most apt examples to conduct in-depth analyses of Zapiro's cartoons. The chapter then proceeds to consider Zapiro's portrayal of the time periods that corresponded to South Africa's change of presidents to interrogate the data. Once this was complete, the results were then compared to the theoretical arguments made earlier in this thesis and the social responsibility reasoning sheet (SRRS) introduced in Chapter 5 to answer the primary research objective pertaining to the social responsibility of Zapiro's political cartoons.

6.1.2 Key Themes

During the period 1994-2013, Zapiro published more than 4 000 cartoons in *The Sowetan, The Mail & Guardian, The Times, The Sunday Times,* and for the Independent group. As outlined in Chapter 5, these were categorised by theme and week of publication in order to determine if there were any comparative similarities or differences between publications. Besides discovering numerous themes (which are

discussed shortly and can be seen in overview in Figure 23 below), there were two other important results that were recorded from this exercise.

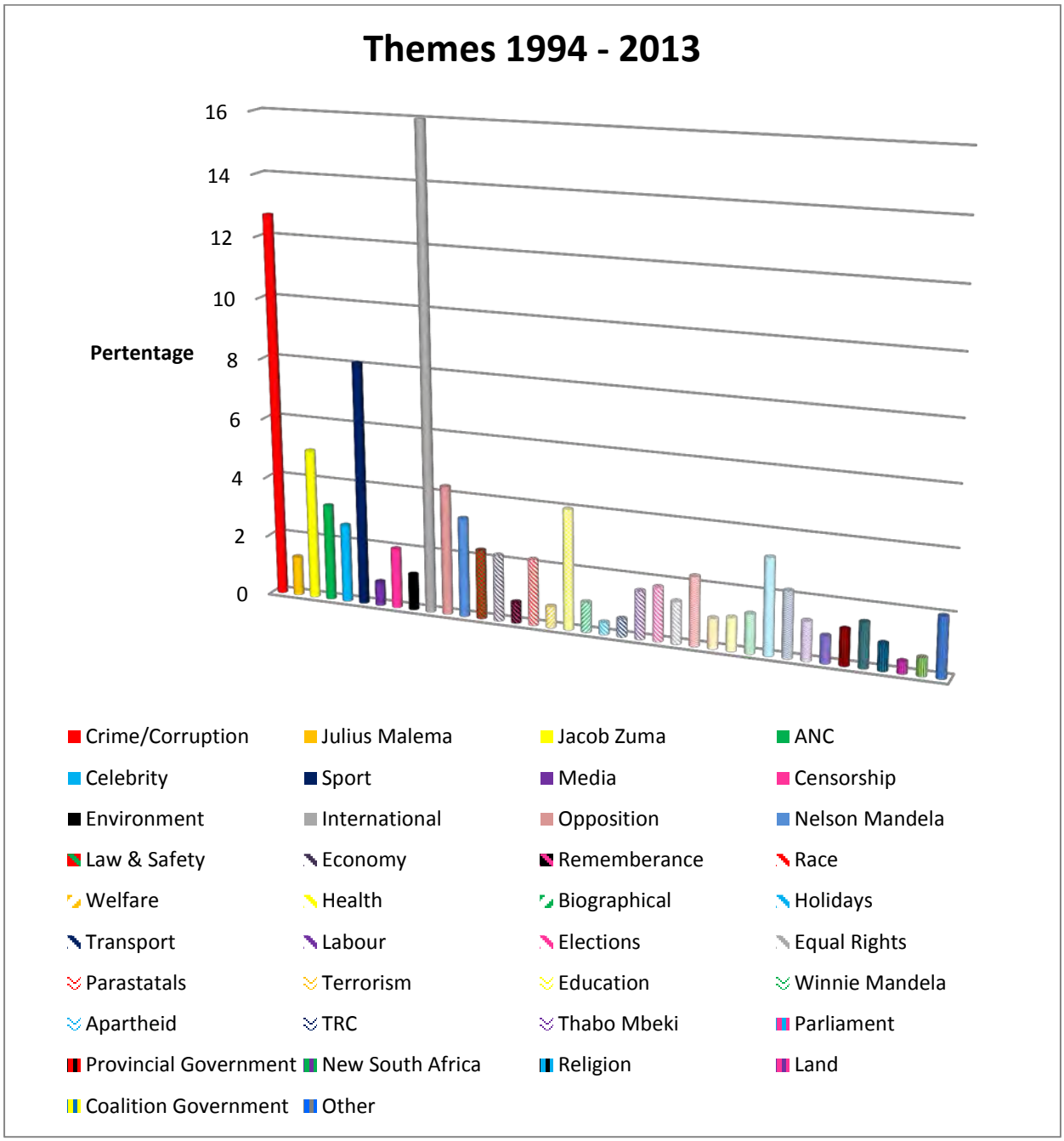

Figure 23

Firstly, in line with arguments made by experts in this field (Koeble & Robins, 2007; Lamb, 2004; Vernon, 2000; Gombrich, 1999), it became evident that Zapiro is influenced by shared socio-cultural events, such as religious and public holidays, sporting events and elections, and often frames his work around these themes at

particular times of year. Secondly, it was also apparent that there was no discernable difference between the themes of cartoons published during a similar period in different newspapers. This appears to counter many of the arguments put forth earlier that stated that a cartoonist's content is influenced by the nature of the newsroom in which they work (Mason, 2010a; Lamb, 2004). This could be attributed to South Africa's rather similar press ownership patterns, but it does not discount the importance played by newsroom ideologies. While there may not be a substantial difference in themes between various newspapers, there are major differences in the way in which these themes are presented, within individual cartoons, which only become apparent once a close analysis is conducted, though not tied to any newspaper in particular. However, before one is able to consider the analysis, it is important to highlight the themes which became evident during the data collection process.

Overall, there were hundreds of themes that were counted (as seen in Appendix 1), but after refining the coding process, these categories were sorted into 38 common themes which were identified over the 20 year period: Crime/Corruption; Malema; Zuma; ANC; Celebrity; Sport; Media; Censorship; Environment; International; Opposition (Political Parties); Mandela; Policy/Law; Economy; Remembrance; Race; Welfare; Health; Biographical; Holidays; Transport; Labour; Elections; Rights; Parastatals; Terrorism/War; Education; Winnie (Mandela); Apartheid; Reconciliation; Mbeki; Parliament; Provincial; New SA; Religion; Land/Housing; Coalition; and Other.

It is important to note that only cartoons pertaining to South Africa were included in these categories, except for those themes labelled 'Celebrity', 'Environment and 'Remembrance', which combined both South African and global themes, and 'International', which dealt with themes from outside of South Africa. It was believed that these 'non-South African' categories, while possibly including issues that dealt with health or warfare, for example, in other countries, should be separated from South African examples so as to ensure that the data was not incorrectly inflated to reflect an erroneous view of South Africa's socio-historical context.

Within these categories it was possible to create various sub-categories. For example, in the category labelled 'International' it was possible to create themes surrounding Asia, South America, the United States or Africa. Within these sub-categories it became possible to distil them even further, and then further again, depending on the content of each cartoon. For example, Africa could be broken down into categories pertaining to specific countries, various government policies, or violence or poverty. Those cartoons that related to poverty could then be distilled into themes concerning corruption, foreign aid, water shortages and environmental impact. Consequently, it became evident that categorisation could only provide a very superficial glance at the work of Zapiro, because if a coding process was created that aimed to produce more in-depth results, cartoons could be coded into multiple categories and it would have been likely that the same cartoon would be analysed more than once. However, while this data set can only provide limited results, its overall impressions led the researcher to a number of important observations that helped provide indicators as to where a more detailed analysis could take place.

The most prominent themes that emerged over the 20 year period were: 'International' (16%), 'Crime/Corruption' (13%); 'Sport' (8%); 'Zuma' (7%) and 'Opposition' (4%). From these figures, it became clear that throughout South Africa's fledgling democracy Zapiro has been concerned most with the country's crime and corruption issues, dedicating approximately 13% of his cartoons to these categories. These numbers, however, do not include any cartoons that were linked to Jacob Zuma's corruption and rape charges which, when included, round up the total number of crime and corruption cartoons to 18% between 1994 and 2013. However, what is more interesting to note, rather than the patterns of the period as a whole, are the trends that emerged during different presidential terms. While the themes may overlap and require greater analysis, it became apparent, based on the temporal categorisation, that specific discourses were prevalent during a specific time period most often linked to the change of leadership in the country. This argument becomes even more obvious when the thematic codes are run through word cloud software for each period.

If we return to the example of Jacob Zuma, and interrogate the image labelled as Figure 24 below, which highlights the most prevalent themes during Zuma's first term as president (May 2009 – December 2013), it can be noted that Zapiro dedicated most of his cartoons to 'Crime/Corruption' (15%), 'Zuma' himself (11%), 'Malema' (5%), the 'ANC' (5%), and 'Censorship' (5%).

Figure 24 – Jacob Zuma's Presidency

These figures are in stark contrast to Zapiro's discourse at the beginning of South Africa's democracy, because even though 'Crime/Corruption' was dealt with repeatedly during this period, it made up a much smaller percentage of the total number of cartoons (11%), and there were a far greater number of cartoons that dealt with positive themes. Considering Figure 25 below, which details Mandela's presidency (January 1994 – March 1999)[31], we find that this period was punctuated with cartoons dealing with 'Reconciliation' (6%), 'Apartheid' (6%), the 'New South Africa' (2%) and Mandela (6%). It must also be noted that 'Sport', had the coding process been more detailed, would have contributed to these positive themes because many included scenes from South Africa's success at the Rugby World Cup, the 1996 Olympics, the African Cup of Nations and Mandela's 'magic touch' in relation to these victories.

[31] Mandela's presidency ended in June 1999, but Zapiro generally drew many of his cartoons regarding the end of Mandela's term to coincide with the April 1999 elections.

Figure 25 – Nelson Mandela's Presidency

Therefore, while 'Crime/Corruption' (11%) is very prominent, there are more themes in total (28%) that are linked prominently to more positive imagery, especially in line with Mandela's role as a nation-builder. It also became apparent, once the analyses were conducted, and which will be addressed in more detail in the next section, that those cartoons which dealt with crime and corruption during Mandela's presidency generally excluded Mandela (unlike those cartoons which depicted Jacob Zuma), and were more in line with describing the remnants of the apartheid government.

Like the illustration of all other presidencies, the image labelled Figure 26 below, which outlines Thabo Mbeki's term in office (April 1999 – September 2008), also rates 'Crime/Corruption' (14%) as high, but 'Health' (6%) and 'Zuma' (6%) are also two important themes of which to take note. Unlike other presidents, who feature highly in Zapiro's work during their time in office, Mbeki's presence is mediocre, and is often a mere presence in cartoons rather than a central figure on whom comment is passed. It is important to note that it was during Mbeki's presidency that Zapiro turned his pen onto Zuma, who was charged with rape and investigated for corruption, during the latter stages of Mbeki's presidency, which could, in part, account for the lack of illustrations pertaining to Mbeki.

Figure 26 – Thabo Mbeki's Presidency

However, what is more interesting is that Zapiro did not hold Mbeki, or his cabinet, accountable for the actions of the then deputy president in relation to his corruption charges. Instead, the cartoonist chose to focus his energy on Zuma, a trend which has continued with greater fervour since he took office. The only instances in which Zapiro addressed Mbeki personally was when he was comparing him to Mandela, in an attempt to fill the 'huge shoes' left behind, his diplomacy in Africa, and his policies surrounding HIV/AIDS, all of which will be addressed in more detail shortly.

Furthermore, in order to emphasise Zapiro's continued interest in Zuma over Mbeki, one only needs to look at the themes found in the few cartoons drawn during the time of interim president Kgalema Motlanthe (October 2008 – April 2009), in Figure 27 below. Mbeki does not even feature, but Zuma and his (then) acolyte Julius Malema[32] are represented in 17% of Zapiro's cartoons during this period. It can be noted that when Mbeki is shown, it is in passing and in a more general reference to the ANC party.

[32] During this period, Julius Malema was president of the African National Congress Youth League, a staunch supporter of Jacob Zuma, and often reported as stating that he would kill for Zuma. Malema was later expelled from the ANC for bringing the party into disrepute, and has become one of Zuma's greatest critics.

Figure 27 – Kgalema Motlanthe's Presidency

From these results, it is possible to conclude that Zapiro has dedicated more space to commenting on Jacob Zuma than any other president, including Nelson Mandela. One could argue that Zapiro's repetitive discourses surrounding Zuma are those of a good political cartoonist for two reasons. Firstly, he is fulfilling his role as a social watchdog, as described by Lamb (2004) and Mason (2010a), and attempts to remind the public of Zuma's shady past and thus secondly, in line with Eko (2010), presents a counter-discourse to the dominant ideologies of Zuma's government.

However, when one takes into account the number of cartoons dedicated to other presidents, it appears as if Zapiro has become Jacob Zuma's Daniel Boonzaier[33], especially in light of their content and the wrath at which Zuma has responded to Zapiro. Consequently, the following sections were developed to lead a discussion surrounding South Africa's leadership and the way in which Zapiro has chosen to represent them. Additionally, due to the high number of cartoons dedicated to international matters, a separate section has been set aside, during Mbeki's presidency, to deal with this issue as Zapiro dedicated more than 20% of his cartoons to matters outside of South Africa. It must be noted, however, that even though an attempt has been made to confine each of these themes into separate

[33] In Chapter 1, it was established that Daniel Boonzaier was one of South Africa's earliest cartoonists whose work of Louis Botha, South Africa's first Prime Minister, was so scathing that some believed that it contributed to Botha's ill-health before his death.

discussion points, there is a certain amount of overlap that occurs between themes and so, as explained by Rose (2012) in Chapter 5, creates a subjective, but important and unique, insight into the communicated discourses that cannot be repeated by others. Furthermore, because this thesis is not confined to a discussion surrounding South Africa's leadership, each of these sections also examined those themes that occurred prolifically during a specific time period. This included examining themes surrounding censorship and free speech; apartheid and race; and reconciliation.

6.2. January 1994 – March 1999

6.2.1 Presidential Pardon

According to Lamb (2004), one of the best tools a researcher can use to help judge a politician while in office is to examine the political cartoons which highlight and satirise their tenure. This allows one the opportunity to reflect on any inconsistences or controversies that occurred on a day-to-day basis rather than rely on traditional historical documents that may omit more detailed elements in favour of a more holistic narrative. Most recently, at the South African Education Research Association conference in August 2014, Adrian van Niekerk posited that South African history textbooks misrepresent Nelson Mandela as an idyllic character in South Africa's apartheid struggle. He argued that "[a]ll criticisms of Mandela, all his flaws which made him human have been silenced" (Van Niekerk, 2014), and many other accolades have been credited to him, rather than the lesser known cadres who fought alongside him. Even political cartoonists, who are meant to create counter-narratives to help forge social debate (Lynch, 1926; Harrison, 1981; Lamb, 2004; Mason, 2010a; Mason 2010b), have been reluctant to highlight any shortcomings pertaining to Nelson Mandela.

In a recent interview, while promoting his new book *Democrazy,* Zapiro (2014) said that he used Mandela intentionally as a moral persona for South African society, much like one would use Martin Luther King Jr and Gandhi in relation to global human rights and equality, and would continue to use Mandela in this manner now that he has passed away. This statement is bolstered when examining much of Zapiro's work. Once such example can be viewed in Figure 28 below, in which

Mandela, after stepping down as president, was used as a moral figure to forcefully 'pull' his successor, Thabo Mbeki, and then-Health Minister Manto Tsbalalala-Msimang, toward free AIDS drugs for South Africans, even though, as will be discussed shortly, he himself was blind to admitting the problems that faced South Africa in relation to the HIV/AIDS crisis, as well as many others.

Figure 28

While the researcher acknowledges the importance that Mandela played in the new South African narrative, as well as his role in helping to unify the people of the country, this section aims to highlight why it is also important not to overlook his faults and why political cartoonists, like Zapiro, who, by his own implication, did not remain critical of Mandela during his presidency or thereafter, have failed in their role as 'good' and socially responsible political cartoonists.

As already stipulated, Mandela's term in office lasted from 1994 until 1999. During this period, Zapiro's cartoons were published regularly in the *Sowetan, Mail & Guardian* and *The Sunday Times.* In total, Zapiro dedicated 6% of his cartoons to Nelson Mandela. Of these, only 16% were critical of anything that Nelson Mandela did while in office. However, what is more interesting to note, is that those cartoons which could be deemed critical would often gloss over Mandela's faults. Most notably those cartoons which are considered to be critical, often dealt with Mandela's

quiet diplomatic dealings with notorious international politicians such as Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, Indonesia's Suharto and Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko. Mandela was represented as a peaceful figure who appeared to ignore other countries political problems, and the violence of their political leaders, in an attempt to create peaceful ties through negotiation. If we consider Figure 29 below, Mandela is seen guiding the negotiation between Laurent-Désiré Kabila and Mobutu Sese Seko[34].

Figure 29

When questioned by the press as to why Mandela refers to Mobutu as 'one of Africa's greatest sons', when he was notorious for his despotic rule (Acemoglu, Robinson & Verdier, 2004; Pearce, 2001), he responds by stating that the first draft described Mobutu as 'one of Africa's greatest kleptomaniac sons-of-bitches', but that 'diplomacy is in the editing'. At face value, the cartoon appears to represent Mandela as a peace-keeper who is attempting to calm tensions between the two leaders during the aftermath of the First Congo War when Kabila overthrew the autocratic Mobutu. However, in doing so, Mandela is represented as a man who displays blind forgiveness and wants conflict to end as peacefully as possible, even if it means overlooking the negative aspects of Mobutu's rule, such as his attempt to 'cleanse' Zaire of Tutsis (Atzili, 2012).

[34] Laurent-Désiré Kabila was a rebel political leader in then-Zaire who overthrew the dictator Mobutu Sese Seko who had ruled the country since 1965.

While one could argue that there are similarities between this scenario and Mandela's diplomacy with the apartheid government, which was criticised heavily by political parties like the Pan African Congress (PAC), one is most likely to read this cartoon as a reflection of Mandela as a man of peace and reconciliation, even though there is an ironic side-glance from Mobutu in response to Mandela's description of his leadership. Additionally, and what Zapiro fails to consider later, is that these peace talks were a dismal failure, Mobutu had to flee into exile, and Zaire has continued to be a country ravaged by war, corruption and violence (Polgreen, 2006).

If one views this cartoon as a subtle criticism of Mandela, it does little to fulfil the mandate of a good political cartoon as outlined earlier in this thesis. Firstly, this cartoon, and many like it that represent Mandela, does little to 'crush' or 'stifle' the official discourse, as proposed by Nyamnjoh (2009), surrounding Mandela. Instead, it helps re-affirm him as a liberator as he attempts to negotiate with the leaders of Zaire to free the country from a harsh dictatorship. There is no mention in any cartoons which followed this one that Mandela's attempt to bring peaceful resolution to the central African country amounted to nothing. Therefore, while some may argue that Zapiro tries to highlight Mandela's shortcomings as a leader, because he represents him as a man who appears willing to 'edit out' the evil of others, he does so in a way that helps re-affirm Mandela's mythical public image of the 'moral liberator'. Secondly, it does very little to undermine social authority, as argued by Lynch (1926), as it preaches the dominant discourse of Mandela as a leader and liberator.

This cartoon does not question Mandela's presence or motives in the peace talks. Instead, it merely repeats the official discourse of the time: that Mandela was acting as a great leader helping to bring peace to the continent. Consequently, it can be argued that this type of cartoon demonstrates poor critical engagement on the part of Zapiro in relation to Mandela and his role as a leader. Zapiro's lacklustre approach to criticising Mandela becomes more apparent when one examines his commentary on Mandela's dealings with corruption charges against Dr Allan Boesak as seen in Figure 30 below.

Figure 30

Early in 1995, apartheid activist and theologian Dr Allan Boesak was faced with corruption charges pertaining to irregularities linking him and the Foundation for Peace and Justice[35]. At the time, he was the chair of the ANC in the Western Cape and was touted to become South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations (Sparks, 2008). Boesak was eventually charged and found guilty of fraud in 1999, and imprisoned for six years as a result (Sparks, 2008). All of these issues occurred under Nelson Mandela's leadership, and yet there was almost no criticism of his leadership or his seeming acceptance of corrupt government members.

The cartoon above (Figure 30) was Zapiro's response to the issue when it first came to light in the press. With his hand in the proverbial cookie jar, Boesak is congratulated by a smiling Mandela for his imminent move to the UN who, while going to shake Boesak's one hand, holds and looks at the evidentiary report pertaining to Boesak and the Foundation for Peace and Justice in his other. Even though the cartoon clearly represents Mandela as a willing participant in appointing Boesak to a high ranking position, it stops short of adequate dissent and again, Zapiro is lacksidaisical in his criticism of Mandela. There is no evidence of humour, satire or irony, but merely a simple metaphor without critical subtlety. Zapiro has once again failed to take any firm standpoint, and it is left to the reader to decide if

[35] A charity set up by Boesak to assist orphans and other children who were adversely affected by apartheid.

Mandela is part of the corruption, or merely, yet again, ignoring the faults of the wicked and is a man of forgiveness. Even if one were to argue that the Boesak cartoon was critical of Mandela, Zapiro chose to follow it a week later with a cartoon, shown as Figure 31 below, that reaffirmed Mandela's moral superiority.

Figure 31

In reference to Mandela's dealings with Boesak, Zapiro followed his flaccid criticism with a cartoon that resurrected Mandela as a mythical king of Biblical proportions. Without a penetrative and hard-hitting portrayal that would arouse public debate surrounding Mandela's dealings with a corrupt official the previous week, Zapiro consummated the leader as St Rolihlahla the Righteous, while his 'slipped halo' is re-erected. Andy Mason (2010b: 205) believes that the above cartoon was pertinent in dispelling the myth created by the media surrounding Mandela because Zapiro "confronts the fallibility of Madiba" and highlights his humanness under the Mandela-aura.

This thesis though, argues that while Zapiro may attempt to show Mandela as a flawed man, by re-affixing the halo above Mandela, and highlighting his public relations 'foreman' emphasising that Mandela's dealing with Boesak was 'nothing serious' and merely a 'slip', undermines his flaws and instead re-elevates him to a god among men. Additionally, Zapiro himself said that it was incredibly difficult to criticise Mandela and that it "felt like a son criticising his father" (Mason, 2010b: 206).

It is evident from this discussion that Zapiro was reluctant to criticise Mandela at all, and could explain why his cartoons during this period generally fell outside the spectrum of good cartooning practice. However, one could also argue that Zapiro's discourse was shaped by the time-period of the publication itself. Published in 1995, South Africa was barely into its first year of democracy, and only a few years free from state-censorship after laws were relaxed in 1990, so it could be argued that journalists and political commentators were still cautious, and tended to self-censor to some degree due to habits learnt during the apartheid government's harsh era of media control. In addition to this hangover, popular consensus from within the ANC was that the content of the media needed to "contribute to a democratic and developmental state" (Harber & Renn, 2010: xii). Therefore, in line with standard normative paradigms dealing with developmentalism, the media needed to assist the government in portraying ideologies that matched the objectives of the ANC so as to create a unified electorate that shared the same ideals for which the new government stood; in the case of Mandela, it would be in considering him as the 'father of the nation' who united South Africa. For one to deviate from this thinking was tantamount to declaring that one was neither part of the 'new' democracy nor believed in the values of Mandela's peaceful transition from apartheid to a 'free South Africa'.

One could be critical of this approach but, as David Lamb (2004) argues, during times of crisis political cartoonists can move into a developmental role and 'tone down' their illustrations if it will help dispel problems or help society. Therefore, during Mandela's early days in office, in which there were threats from right wing extremist groups and factional fighting in various provinces that could have resulted in civil war, it can be argued that it was acceptable to ease off on vitriolic dissent so as to help build the ideals of South Africa's democracy. In line with Lamb's (2004: 4) discussion, Zapiro could be excused for relaxing his criticism of Mandela for a period, so as to help South Africans rally behind, and to accept, their new president and new government. However, while Lamb (2004) acknowledges that these types of 'innocent' cartoons can play an important role during tumultuous political periods, he also emphasises that 'soft' political cartoons should not be published for a prolonged time. Lamb (2004: 4) argues that if a cartoonist downplays their critical edge for too long, they lose the essence of being an alternative commentator who is

able to “keep a jaundiced eye” on society and consequently runs the risk of appearing as a political lackey. In exploring Zapiro’s representation of Mandela throughout his presidency, it appears that the cartoonist was more lapdog than watchdog.

One might counter this argument by stating that Zapiro played an important part in South Africa’s democratic transition because, as mentioned, he criticised Mandela sparingly, and thus limited the space for public disapproval so as to help build social unity. However, if one were to take this stance, there appears to be very little evidence that would support a claim for developmentalism because during Mandela’s term, and during the same fragile period when the cartoons above were published, Zapiro would often launch scathing satirical attacks on the ruling ANC, many of its cadres, and other important political figures that helped end apartheid. Some of the most damning of his cartoons relate to the now infamous ‘Arms Deal’[36] and the slew of ANC politicians who were allegedly involved. If we examine the cartoon below, labelled Figure 32, Mandela is yet again exonerated of any wrong doing.

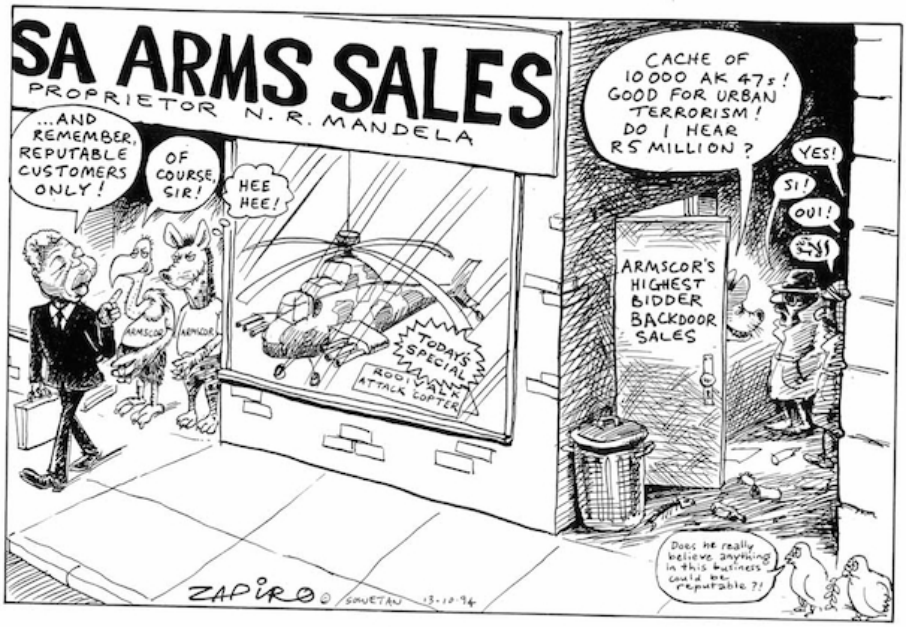

Figure 32

Once more, Mandela is seen to be a man of infinite trust and blind faith who chooses to believe in the good of people. In this cartoon, we can see the ‘backdoor

[36] A billion dollar deal with a French arms company that was founded on corruption within South Africa’s government.

sale' of arms to shady overseas bidders, while Mandela, who is leaving the shop, reminds his partners to sell to 'reputable customers only'. Acting as a conscience in the foreground on the right are two doves, one holding the symbolic olive branch of peace, while the other questions if anybody who uses arms is reputable. Again, Zapiro has been careful in criticising Mandela directly, surrounding him with scavengers that appear to take advantage of his trusting nature. It is only the small voice of reason, hidden away in the bottom of the image, that forces one to question if whether the symbols of peace with which Mandela had become synonmous do not believe in reputable arms sales, why he is involved in these dealings. It could be argued that this is another small attempt by Zapiro to draw attention to Mandela's 'humanness', but it still lacks any form of direct criticism and a quick glance by the reader could miss the doves, and consequently read the cartoon as an illustration that highlights how those surrounding Mandela betrayed him, rather than holding Mandela directly accountable for his role in the arms sales.

Zapiro's hesitancy to hold Mandela accountable for wrong-doing or corruption is also evident in the way he chose to depict the fiasco that was *Sarafina 2* and the role of then Health Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma in the debacle. *Sarafina 2* was meant to be a follow-up to the highly acclaimed Broadway production that outlined the role of a young girl in the Soweto uprising of 1976. For this version, the South African Health Ministry funded the project which told the story of a grown-up Sarafina who had, since 1976, become a social worker helping young South Africans deal with HIV/AIDS. The play was meant to raise awareness about the disease; however, many questioned why so much money had been spent on a production that AIDS experts called "dangerously inaccurate, [and] its message unclear" (Daley, 1998).

Investigations into the play discovered that Dlamini-Zuma lied to Parliament, had not followed procedure and awarded the tender for the play to a close friend (Daley, 1998). More disturbing, though, was when President Mandela was asked to comment on the issue he responded by chastising the press "for 'creating such an uproar' and said Dr. Zuma should be left alone to do her job" (Daley, 1998: 1). In all cartoons that related to *Sarafina 2*, Zapiro singled out Dlamini-Zuma, most often portraying her smiling and dancing in the stylised costume of Liza Minelli from

Caberet (as shown in Figure 33 below). Zapiro chose to place blame squarely on the Health Minister and failed to address the ANC's or Mandela's lack of action in dealing with the irregularities.

Figure 33

What is interesting to note when interrogating Zapiro's work in relation to this issue, is how he chose to re-direct the words of Mandela, essentially distancing the president from the furore, and imply that it was Dlamini-Zuma who had blamed the media for creating the problem. This argument is highlighted in Figure 34 below, in which Dlamini-Zuma has crashed her bus, labelled *Sarafina 2*, into a pole offering direction to 'Yet Another Crisis', as the media watches from the side. Her words to the press imply that it is their fault that *Sarafina 2* crashed, even though she was the one driving. More importantly though, is that she is alone in the bus, thus re-emphasising that she had acted single-handedly in the misappropriation of funds, even though there was evidence that others, both in government and the private sector, had been involved.

Figure 34

Consequently, if one were to argue that Zapiro was light in his criticism of Mandela in order to help South Africa transition smoothly, then such an explanation would be contradicted by those cartoons which openly insulted both the ANC and ruling government officials during the same time frame, thus demonstrating that lauding Mandela for developmental purposes is a pointless and unsubstantiated argument.

Instead, when one begins to examine other cartoons of Mandela consistent patterns are identified: the mythologisation of Mandela as a superhero and also as a Biblical conqueror. Out of the cartoons which were analysed for this thesis, Mandela is represented as a mythologised hero more than a quarter of the time. These representations range from references pertaining to Superman, The Lone Ranger, The A-Team, and various Biblical characters, most commonly Moses,. One such example can be seen in Figure 35 below, in which Mandela is seen parting the sea for an unobstructed route between the United Kingdom and the United States and Libya to deal with the Lockerbie bombing [37]of 1988.

[37] A passenger plane that was blown up by Libyan terrorists over Lockerbie in Scotland. Gaddafi extradited the terrorists, 11 years after the bombing, to British authorities.

Figure 35

In the cartoon Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan dictator, asks Mandela's aide if he "ever get[s] blasé about this sort of thing" as they watch Mandela part the waves. The aide appears unfazed, thus affirming Gaddafi's assumption that South Africans are used to the miraculous feats of Mandela. One could also argue that Zapiro attempts to emphasise that only Mandela held the power to push back the waves of anger and conflict that had separated Libya from much of the West after the Lockerbie bombing, and convince Gaddafi to extradite the two men involved in the bombing to the United Kingdom, even though history might argue that it was inevitable due to global sanctions on the North African country. But once again, Zapiro does little to criticise Mandela and his cordial relationship with the Libyan dictator who, two years earlier, had been awarded the Order of Good Hope by South Africa for his help in fighting apartheid. Rather than concentrate on Mandela's hypocrisy in supporting a dictatorial government, after spending years in prison for fighting against South Africa's own dictators, Zapiro prefers to glorify him and represent him as a leader, who like Moses led his people to freedom after years of slavery under the tyrannical pharaohs of Egypt.

Mandela's mythologisation and assumed ability to resolve issues independently is emphasised further if we consider Figure 36 below. In this cartoon, Zapiro makes reference to the Biblical story of David and Goliath. It is evident that Mandela is illustrated as the slight David who took down the imposing apartheid

Goliath with his unimposing slingshot single-handedly. However, a challenge is issued from a giant labelled 'Crime', asking if Mandela is 'looking for a real fight'. While one could argue that Zapiro is implying that apartheid was a lesser giant than crime in the new South Africa, and therefore a challenge that is too great even for Mandela, it can simultaneously be argued that by using the narrative and context of David and Goliath, it is inevitable that Mandela will overcome yet another giant. With two more stones at the ready in one hand and his slingshot in the other, it appears as if Mandela is gearing himself up for another superhuman battle and yet another miraculous victory as he looks to the audience with a stare of determination.

Figure 36

Consistently, during his term as president, Zapiro represented Mandela as a man with few flaws and the independent ability to battle local and global political and social issues, whether represented as a fireman (cf *Sowetan* 21/10/94; 25/8/98), janitor (cf *Sowetan* 15/2/95), or superhero (cf *Sowetan* 6/10/94; 8/3/96). Zapiro even went so far as to draw comparison between Mandela and Jesus Christ when he drew Mandela walking on water as he crossed the English Channel (shown in Figure 37 below).

Figure 37

In addition to walking on water, it could be argued that the cartoon infers that Mandela's legacy and superhuman presence lingers as represented by his rippled footprints left behind; thus re-affirming Zapiro's role in cementing Mandela as a man of mythical proportions whose impact will still be evident long after he has departed.

6.2.2 Conclusion: Presidential Pardon

Matthew Hodgart (1969) argues that for satirical commentary to be credible it should aim to undress and expose an individual and bring them to the level of the common man. This practice, he explains, helps to divulge and comment on a person's core, and generally hidden, characteristics. These characteristics do not necessarily have to be negative, but should help provide the public with an understanding of an individual that is free from the spin of their public relations office. Unfortunately, when it comes to Nelson Mandela, Zapiro has been unable to reach this standard.

When examining cartoons which could be deemed critical of Mandela, Zapiro has a lacklustre approach and fails to provide depth. He is tentative to expose any type of underlying issues pertaining to Mandela and appears to be hesitant to provide any form of hard-hitting commentary. He even goes so far as to help re-build Mandela's image after the furore that ensued surrounding his support for Allan

Boesak, by depicting him as a larger than life Biblical figure whose halo had slipped slightly from his head.

From this analysis, it is apparent that Mandela has escaped any true critical reflection. In hindsight, Zapiro argues in an interview with Andy Mason (2010b) that many of the warning signs of South Africa's problems today were evident while Mandela was president, but this thesis highlights that he focussed more on moulding the myth surrounding Mandela than creating an alternative discourse to fuel debate among audiences and draw attention to those warnings. In his interview, Zapiro explains that issues such as corruption in the ANC, HIV and AIDS, nepotism, the Arms Deal and the support of despotic African dictators were all evident, and yet as evidenced in the analysis Zapiro failed to comment on Mandela's ties to any them, and consequently fell short of fulfilling the role of a good political cartoonist as described by Lynch (1926) and Lamb (2004). Instead, Zapiro merely helped drive the Mandela myth further into South Africa's public consciousness.

While evidence based on the concepts of good political cartooning may indicate that Zapiro's discourse surrounding Mandela didn't adhere to good practice, this does not indicate irresponsibility. In fact, when one applies the questions raised by the Social Responsibility Reasoning Sheet (SRRS) to measure the social responsibility of Zapiro's cartoons during this period one is met with a bit of a conundrum. It has been emphasised that the aim of publishing a political cartoon is to help create "a vehicle for dialogue between the governing and the governed", as described by Nyamnjoh (2009: 108). Based on the evidence of the above discussion in relation to the SRRS' first two questions, the Mandela cartoons failed to highlight that Zapiro adhered to the duty of a cartoonist, because he did not lampoon Mandela in any way, or provide any type of alternative discourse about Mandela's policies or presidency. Consequently, he failed to gain the preferred outcome of political cartooning by publishing these cartoons because he was unable to hold Mandela accountable for his actions.

But, this does not necessarily mean that Zapiro was socially irresponsible for adhering to the hegemonic representation of Mandela. While it can be noted that Zapiro failed to fulfil the first two questions asked by the Socially Responsible

Reasoning Sheet (SRRS) in regard to social responsibility, the final two questions pertaining to their levels of undesirable social content appear to balance Zapiro's overall responsibility. Because of Zapiro's reservations in criticising Mandela, there are no cartoons, dealing with the first president, that reflect anything that considers content that is socially controversial or taboo.

It is possible to cite that the only possible aspect of these cartoons which could be interpreted as undesirable for some pertain to representing Mandela in a Biblical light or by likening him to Jesus Christ, as was seen in Figure 37. However, part of the difficulty in arguing that these elements are undesirable is that they rely on the reader's own knowledge and understanding of Christianity to draw such comparisons. Unless a reader is acquainted with the parable of Christ's miracle of walking on water, it is unlikely that one would make the connection between Mandela and the Son of God. Additionally, this type of metaphor does not, in its representation, attempt to undermine the faith of Christianity or assume that Mandela is Christ; it merely shows him as a man of miracles.

Furthermore, if one applies the arguments made by Siebert *et al* (1956: 6) in relation to social responsibility, the point of a cartoon, as a medium operating within the press, should aim "to raise conflict to the plane of discussion". Therefore, even if one finds the notion of these cartoons undesirable, the fact that they have raised discussion regarding their inappropriate nature would have helped add to social dialogue, and thus should be considered as socially responsible, according to the foundations set by Siebert *et al* (1956). Consequently, the inferences that one can reach about Zapiro's Mandela cartoons are inconclusive. The SRRS test has shown that at some levels these cartoons are socially responsible because they do not overtly offend by using elements that could be deemed socially undesirable. However, on other levels these cartoons are entirely irresponsible because they deviate away from the point of political cartooning and undermine the duty that political cartoons aim to play in contemporary society.

6.2.3 Blame the 'Boer'

Zapiro may not have been critical of Mandela during the first four years of South Africa's democracy, but he appeared more than content to take advantage of its newfound freedoms with regard to the previous apartheid regime. During this period he dedicated more than 12% of his work to issues related to apartheid and persons opposed to the ANC. It could be argued that these cartoons were important for South Africa's healing process because, in line with Hodgart (1969), they acted as sugar-coated illustrations of crimes that so many white South Africans were ignorant of, or involved in, prior to the unbanning of the ANC in 1990.

Throughout this period, two themes became apparent: highlighting the 'blood on the hands' of the Nationalist government and its leaders, and the intrinsic racism of the Afrikaner. Consequently, it is evident that many of the stereotypes which were developed by the British during the early days of South Africa's cartooning history, and discussed in Chapter 3, remained prevalent in Zapiro's cartoons. However, besides the conventional Afrikaner/English oppositions used to illustrate the uncultured Afrikaner discussed in Chapter 3, Zapiro also appears to have taken many racial stereotypes and subverted them to use against the 'barbaric and uncivilised Afrikaner Nationalist'.

During Chapter 3, this thesis highlighted the many stereotypes that have been used throughout history to represent various races, one of which highlighted the way Europeans used animalistic traits to represent Africans. Usually this meant representing Africans as vicious primate-like creatures, as shown in George Cruikshank's cartoon, 'All the Hottentots Capering Ashore' (see page 37). Interestingly, Zapiro has continued this trend, but has used it as a way to represent agents of the apartheid regime rather than the native African as represented by Cruikshank. If one considers Figure 38 below, and the caricature that Zapiro has utilised of General Magnus Malan, previous Minister of Defence and apartheid's Chief of the South African Defence Force (SADF), it can be argued that emphasising his low brow, large ears and protruding jaw helped accentuate his similarity to an ape, and thus Malan is demoted to a man of less than human qualities and one reminiscent of an unevolved hominid.

Figure 38

Additionally, Zapiro depicts Malan sitting naked in a sinking rowboat, chained like a dog to a signpost labelled 'Malan Trial', as he watches Eugene De Kock[38], chained to his own trial, sink out of sight. Firstly, if one consults the works of Eko (2007), Hodgart (1969) and Parton (2012), it can be established that nakedness is an important tool used by cartoonists to help strip a subject of their worldly pretences. Thus, Zapiro extends the features of his primal caricature to one of a character who, with the fall of apartheid, has been stripped of his power. This argument is extended by Malan's seemingly malnourished body which cannot be sustained without the power and sustenance bestowed on him by the apartheid regime. Secondly, the collar and chain that trap Malan in his sinking boat are, ironically, usually used as a tool to rein in a vicious dog. However, Malan in his naked state is no longer a brutal beast, but a scared animal who stammers at the sight of blood. Even though Malan is still floating, it appears inevitable that he will 'go under' for his crimes as his boat is flooded with the blood of victims that have 'sunk' Eugene de Kock during his trial, and, like a scared animal, Malan backs away from the leak instead of attempting to plug it.

[38] Eugene De Kock was a police colonel who was employed by Malan to work as an assassin and torturer for the apartheid government.

This type of iconography is extended in a more literal sense as seen in Figure 39. Nationalist Party president FW de Klerk is superimposed as the ape in the well-known 'Hear No Evil, See No Evil, Speak No Evil' illustrations. While the image that accompanies this idiom is an established norm, and thus not necessarily a direct comment on de Klerk's humanness, when read in conjunction with other cartoons that consistently compare apartheid personalities to animals, it must be considered that Zapiro takes advantage of both the literal and metaphorical meaning of this image.

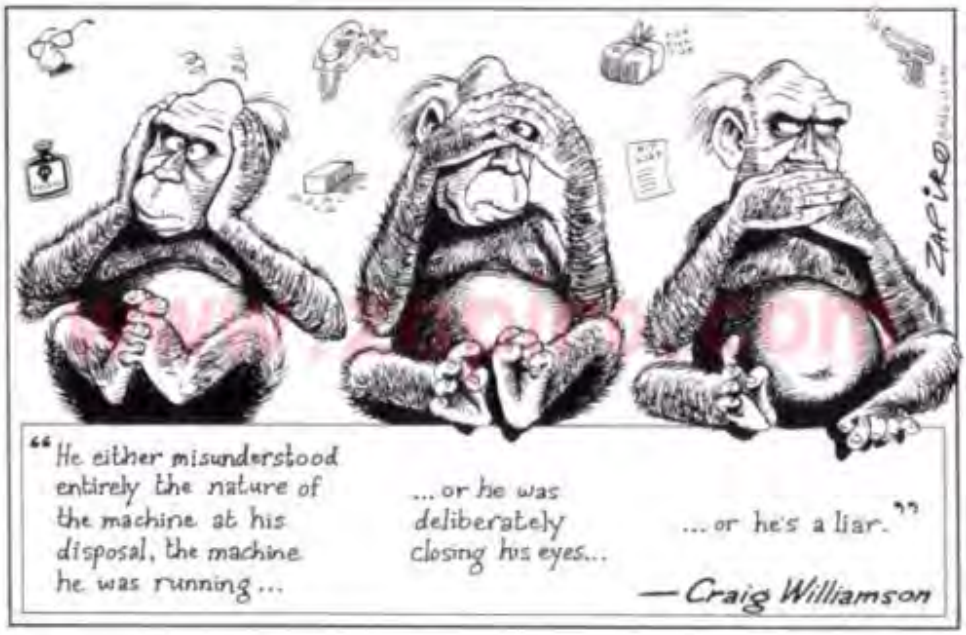

Figure 39

More importantly, he has chosen to accompany the image with a quote by a former apartheid spy and assassin, Craig Williamson, who at the time spoke out about the Nationalist leader's claims that he was unaware of the dealings of the apartheid government. Williamson, who ordered the execution of Ruth First, activist and wife of South African Communist Party (SACP) stalwart Joe Slovo, believed that any Nationalist leader who claimed ignorance to the crimes of apartheid, was an incompetent leader, stupid or a liar. Anchoring Williamson's quote with images of 'evidence' related to First's assassination such as a tapped phone, parcel bomb, poison and 'hit list' behind De Klerk emphasises Williamson's point, and consequently allows the reader to draw inferences that the country, up until the end of apartheid, had been run by lying monkeys – a derogatory racial slur term usually applied to black Africans. Through Zapiro's cartoon, he was able to re-assign a stereotype, which the Nationalist government had often used to describe the mass

majority of South Africans as a way to validate their ideologies of racial superiority, to help illustrate the irony of a government that were, in fact, the equivalent of uncivilised apes.

Figure 40

De Klerk's idiocy and selective memory is elaborated on further in the example labelled as Figure 40. Accompanied by a number of the world's most well-known excuses that are seldom true, de Klerk is shown representing the Nationalist Party as a credible opposition, which after more than 50 years of apartheid rule – a fact he appears to have conveniently forgotten in his politicking – was the party that chose to repeal its repression of the masses to 'bring' democracy to South Africa. Additionally, de Klerk continues to be caricaturised with mongoloid features thanks to an exaggeration of his flat nose and low brow, re-emphasising his similarity to an ape. However, it is de Klerk's hooded eyes that help re-affirm the argument that he is a man who is selective in what he chooses to see in relation to the Nationalist Party. With eyes that have been drawn small and half-closed it can be argued that Zapiro has used common physiognomy, a concept looked at in Chapter 2 in relation to the development of caricature, to appeal to readers' inherent bias toward the 'beady eye', and creates an illustration that depicts a man who represents one who is untrustworthy, not only through his actions, but through his outward appearance as well.

This tactic is used consistently throughout Zapiro's discourse surrounding apartheid leaders. Looking at Malan again in Figure 41 below, it can be noted that the same ape-like features from the previous three cartoons are evident, but more importantly, when examining the physiognomy of Malan it is possible to draw comparisons, not only to a primate, but to the Frankenstein monster – one of the most inhumane characters of Western literature – as well. As Malan is led into a doorway labelled 'Malan Trial', apartheid criminal Eugene de Kock gloats that he is able to defend his actions as 'following orders' and questions what Malan's excuse is.

Figure 451

However, Malan stays silent, staring ahead blindly, with his arms held erect in front of him. Unlike de Kock, who is held by the arm, talking over his shoulder as he walks away, it appears that Malan needs to be directed by the guard behind him as if he is mentally unable to lead himself. The shadows drawn in front of Malan's feet create an optical illusion that appear to extend his legs to the slow, wooden movement of Frankenstein. As with Frankenstein, created by a deranged scientist from the various parts of dead bodies, Malan was a monster, built by the apartheid regime and whose crimes are represented by the number of skeletons cascading from his own monster's (de Kock) trial. Like the fictional monster, Zapiro draws a comparison: that Malan, while built by apartheid (Dr Frankenstein), was responsible for the subsequent monsters (his mate) and crimes produced from his orders (against the villagers). While some could argue that Frankenstein's monster was a

tragic character (Oates, 1984) and one who should be pitied, it must be remembered that cartoonists draw on “similar conceptual maps” (Hall, 1997: 19), and the popularised version of Frankenstein undermines the monster’s victimhood and concentrates on highlighting the abomination that comes from ‘playing God’.

However, Zapiro’s criticism of the apartheid regime is not confined to animalistic, non-human representations. Some, like Figure 42 below, are direct comparisons between the past government and the newly elected ANC. In this image, Zapiro highlights the old regime’s primitive nature as Pik Botha (former Foreign Affairs Minister) struggles in the dark ages of apartheid to connect a modern light bulb with only a match to light his way. In comparison, the ANC’s then-Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo is seen as progressive and modern, highlighted by both the electric bulb and cell phone, indicating that the ANC has lighted the way for South Africa to enter back into global society thanks to their forward-thinking modern politics.

Figure 42

During this period, Zapiro was consistent in representing the Nationalist Party, its predecessors and supporters as ‘dinosaurs’ who were from the now extinct

'Boerassic Era'[39]. Even though these representations provided important insights to help South Africa's population deal with the crimes of the past, this type of discourse also appears to further the opposition between South Africa's white English and Afrikaans populace. By consistently grouping the 'Boer', and thus the Afrikaner, with the Nationalist Party and apartheid, Zapiro perpetuates the stereotype of the racist Afrikaner. He appears to ignore that many English-speaking parliamentarians were privy to the policies of the apartheid government and were often content to maintain the status quo, rather than hold the Nationalists accountable. Consequently, there are few cartoons that pass comment on the passivity of English parliamentarians after the fall of apartheid, such as those from the United Party[40] and the Progressive Federal Party[41].

In fact, criticism of white English politicians only appeared to emerge as a response to the then newly formed Democratic Party (DP) and its leader Tony Leon. Even though Zapiro does not link Leon or any other English politician to the apartheid regime directly, he does pass comment on their reluctance to let go of the power that they had acquired during Nationalist rule. Most cartoons that addressed Leon and the DP showed them as obstructions to the development of South Africa, as well as partner to the 'reformed' NP. If one examines the example shown as Figure 43 below, Zapiro once again chose to use animals as a way to represent de Klerk and Leon.

[39] A play on the words Jurassic Era, in which dinosaurs ruled the earth, to reflect a society that had been ruled by the Afrikaner *boers* (farmers).
[40] The ruling political party before the Nationalist Party took over in 1948. They advocated against apartheid, but wished to maintain white minority rule.
[41] The Progressive Federal Party was made up primarily of white English-speaking politicians who wanted to create a federal constitution in which black and white South Africans could share power. They eventually amalgamated with the New Democratic Movement Party to form the Democratic Party.

Figure 43

In this cartoon, Leon and de Klerk are depicted as dogs who have defecated on the carpet of the new South Africa, and are attempting to slink away with their tails between their legs, much like Schroeder's depiction of Lord Churchill did (see page 46). An anthromorphic South Africa chastises the dogs, clutching a newspaper which describes how their two respective political parties attempted to 'crook [the] April election results'. One could argue, based on the evidence already provided in this thesis that such underhandedness was expected from the NP, but as 'South Africa' points out, the DP was meant to be a 'watchdog', that during apartheid kept the NP in line. Consequently, as an equal player in dirtying South Africa's first democratic election, the DP can be considered as a party that shares both the ideologies and practices of the NP.

However, one should also bear in mind the plethora of axioms associated with dogs that can be applied to this example. Besides the obvious reference to a 'bad dog' and a 'watchdog', one can also refer to the idea of 'top dog' when examining the fireplace in the background; on the mantle sits a portrait of Mandela, also depicted as a dog. This should not be construed as an insult as in relation to de Klerk and Leon, because the picture is captioned as 'Top Dog', thus re-affirming Mandela's status as the country's most important politician. In line with this, one could argue that de Klerk is the deposed 'Top Dog', and Leon the discarded alpha watchdog, and

therefore, their faecal transgression, which is admittedly small, is one final attempt to 'mark their territory' in the new household of South African society.

Additionally, to refer to one as a dog again acts as a way to de-humanise these politicians, and more importantly, especially when referring to a man, elicits ideas of promiscuity, as one often refers to men who have multiple partners as dogs. If one were to refer to this idiom in relation to this example, it can be argued that Zapiro wished to highlight that both Leon and de Klerk, who are both scolded for their behaviour, were political dogs whose loyalty to the new South Africa is questioned as they attempt to re-claim their territory, even after being forgiven and taken in by the ordinary South African.

Therefore, when one examines the above examples, it becomes evident that Zapiro, even while criticising the apartheid state, helped to reinforce established stereotypes surrounding the Afrikaner and white South African classes. Perhaps one of the most interesting and under-explored aspects of his criticism, especially with regard to English-speaking white South Africans, was that he took his greatest aim at Tony Leon. It could be argued that this is due to Leon's religious orientation. Leon is Jewish, and by depicting him as part of an unreliable white party liberal, it could be argued that Zapiro's depiction could have played on audiences' embedded stereotypes pertaining to the shifty and greedy Jew, exemplified throughout history in European caricatures. However, Zapiro's representation of Leon is unique because the cartoonist failed to use this stereotype in any of his other cartoons, even though many of South Africa's business elites (such as the Oppenheimers[42], Raymond Ackerman[43], and Sol Kerzner[44]) have Jewish ancestry. In fact, Zapiro generally stayed away from commenting on any of these business elite, much like he failed to highlight that English-speaking white South Africans were involved in the apartheid state. It is most likely that this omission is due to Zapiro's own English-speaking Jewish heritage, making it difficult to criticise values that are intrinsic to his personhood.

[42] The Oppenheimers hold prominent positions in De Beers mining company and Anglo-American mining.
[43] Raymond Ackerman is the owner of South African supermarket chain Pick 'n Pay.
[44] Sol Kerzner founded the Sun International (now Tsogo Sun) hotel and casino group.

As argued in Chapter 3, stereotypes can play an important role in binding communities together (Perkins, 1989). However, as highlighted by Hall (1997), the meanings that we take from these stereotypes may often be taken from earlier periods in time, and thus create undesirable and inappropriate references. Therefore, stereotypes can both be used as a way to bring people together, but also as a way to reinforce the 'other'.

6.2.4 Conclusion: Blame the 'Boer'

Therefore, one needs to question if cartoons which re-affirm historical stereotypes, which were used to polarise sections of South Africa's white population during the 20th century, are socially responsible, or if like Perkins (1979) insinuates, could help to bind South African communities together. It is useful to begin this discussion by considering Zapiro's use of caricature to highlight previous apartheid leaders' resemblance to Neanderthals. Caricature and subjective artistry aim to capture common ideas which are prevalent in the mind of society. Harrison (1981) believes that this is one of the most important artistic tools used by political cartoonists as it helps to exemplify character traits that would otherwise be lost in a more realistic depiction of the subject.

While Zapiro may fail during this period to comment sufficiently on the role played by English-speaking white South Africans during apartheid, thus furthering the misconception that English South Africans did not play a part, his general use of stereotypes during this period do not reinforce racial divisions. Firstly, by caricaturing Nationalist party members in ways which subverted their humanness and likened them to under-evolved cavemen, Zapiro was able to draw attention to the hypocrisy which surrounded much of the apartheid ideology that assumed that the white population were a more evolved and superior race. By using many of the same references that the apartheid state used to classify black South Africans to represent the leaders of apartheid, Zapiro manages to undermine apartheid leaders' power, levelling them to sub-human status and thus elevating the masses to a more evolved and superior social position.

Secondly, and as was mentioned previously, one the most widely used satiric devices used by cartoonists for centuries has been to depict subjects in a way that strips them of status (Parton, 2012; Eko, 2007; Hodgart, 1969). Zapiro has been able to do this in a way which is effective, and diminishes apartheid leaders in a way similar to how those leaders stripped away most black South Africans' dignity. By likening these politicians to animals and cavemen, Zapiro was able to highlight that contrary to the apartheid mind-set, it is not race that determines one's humanness, but one's actions. While some may argue that these representations, like the Mandela cartoons, adhered to the mainstream discourse of the South Africa's new democracy – that apartheid was evil – and thus undermined the duty of a cartoonist to create an alternative dialogue, they fail to note one striking difference.

In the Mandela cartoons, Zapiro re-affirmed official discourses, but simultaneously built upon them to elevate Mandela to an almost mythical status, and referred to him in ways which were not part of a national dialogue, thus undermining any type of alternative discussion Zapiro should have been aiming to create. It can therefore be argued that in terms of the SRRS, the apartheid cartoons were more responsible than those which depicted Mandela. The depiction of Nationalist politicians, while also re-affirming the official discourse, did not demonise them in ways that could have created super-villains. It would have been easy to represent South Africa's old leaders as mythical evils similar to those which pervade history and literature, but this would have undermined the duty of good cartooning because one of the aims of a cartoonist, as detailed by Gombrich (1999) and Hodgart (1969), is to utilise satire in a way that helps to juxtapose reality and fiction, creating a world of play, in which the reader is able to deal with possibly unpleasant realisms through fanciful rhetoric. Consequently, by portraying apartheid politicians in ways which lampoon and exaggerate their sub-humanness diminishes any power that could be attributed to them as super-villains, and instead keeps them grounded as defeated criminals.

Therefore, it was more useful for national discussion that these villains of the past were highlighted as bumbling fools, inept monsters and primate-like cavemen than overly demonised and tyrannical beasts. By representing them in this manner, Zapiro was able to not only undermine them, but also demystify some of the power

that helped cement the apartheid ideology; one is not nearly as afraid of a whimpering dog, depicted in Figures 38 and 43, as one would be if they were confronted with a vengeful behemoth still lusting for power. Consequently, by creating a discourse that not only undermines these leaders, but also de-evolves them, Zapiro has fulfilled his duty as a cartoonist as he forces dialogue which probes and 'makes fun of' these political ideologies. He has been able to push the official (and moral) discourse regarding the atrocities of the apartheid era toward one that allows readers the opportunity to laugh at and dehumanise those who for decades considered themselves to be above the vast majority of South Africa's population. And more importantly, Zapiro has done so in a way that challenges stereotypes that are most often considered to be undesirable for their racist undertones by re-directing them toward those who would use them so often to 'other' South Africa's black population.

As was discussed in Chapter 3, stereotypes are most often used as a social tool to help distinguish our own social being from the 'other' (Dyer, 1993). Historically, the binary oppositions created by European cultures helped separate them from various other global cultures, justified their exploitation of those cultures, and helped to cement ideas about those who did not conform to European 'civility'. As a consequence of not being 'civilised' and 'cultured', Africans were often represented as 'savage' and 'uncouth', and compared to the primates of their continent. These stereotypes were reinforced by the apartheid government and many of the ways in which they moralised their political ideologies were based on the idea that they were 'looking after' the black people of South Africa because, as 'primate-like people' they did not have the ability to govern themselves.

However, Zapiro has been able to use this common stereotype, that most South Africans understand as derogatory and racist, and utilise it in a way that transforms it from an undesirable and prejudiced metaphor into something that one could argue binds the community through common understanding. Consequently, many South Africans, while not agreeing with such a stereotype, would, as Perkins (1979: 81) argued, understand its distribution and thus make it "readily available for use in interpreting the world". Additionally, Perkins (1979: 83) points out that "the content of stereotypes is not arbitrary (nor are they interchangeable)", thus raising an

important argument in relation to Zapiro's ability to utilise "features which have specific ideological significance" (Perkins, 1979: 83) for a specific social group. Perkins (1979) asserts that stereotypes cannot be swapped between groups because their characteristics are fundamentally tied to the social construction and roles of group members. However, these cartoons highlight that stereotypes which use animals as a way to reinforce racist ideologies can be interchanged onto any race group without losing any of the ideological significance of de-humanisation. Whether intentional or not, Zapiro's cartoons not only subvert these stereotypes, but in doing so, also highlight that they are not, as many apartheid acolytes believed, a non-transferrable typecast for the black population.

Therefore, referring to the SRRS once again, this thesis argues that while the use of racist stereotypes should be considered undesirable, these cartoons were able to subvert the racist undertones of these representations by exposing some of the historical bigotry that underpinned them, and thus stripped these stereotypes of some of their prejudice. Consequently, it can be concluded that this set of cartoons not only ticks off the requisite role of a political cartoon, but also manages to take themes which one would usually refer to as undesirable and re-interprets them in a way which creates meaningful and responsible dialogue in an effort to build social cohesion.

6.3 27 March 1999 – 21 September 2008

6.3.1 The Beet-en One

However, once Mandela's time in office was complete, Zapiro's focus shifted away from themes of nation-building and the demise of apartheid, to ones linked to social issues facing the country, particularly the HIV/AIDS epidemic during the first half of Mbeki's tenure, and crime and corruption, most commonly related to Jacob Zuma, during the latter half of Mbeki's presidency. However, as with Mandela, Zapiro was careful when criticising Thabo Mbeki directly. While Zapiro is far more demeaning toward Mbeki than he ever was with Mandela, his criticism is generally geared toward Mbeki's policies, especially in relation to the issue of HIV/AIDS, and he focused most of his personal attacks at then-Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, and then deputy president Jacob Zuma when issues of corruption within

the ANC came to light, rather than Mbeki himself. The only time that one can note direct criticism of Mbeki was during his negotiations with Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe, but even this reproach, as will be highlighted, is careful in its articulation.

One of Zapiro's earlier cartoons during Mbeki's presidency, seen in Figure 44 below, arguably shows that Zapiro considered Mbeki as a man of great stature, especially in light of African development, as seen in the cartoon's first panel. This re-affirmed images that he had used of Mbeki previously, during Mandela's term, as a man who had vision for Africa and one who undermined the typical stereotype of the 'uneducated African' so often espoused in mainstream Western media and the historical representations of the continent. However, the second panel highlights Mbeki's 'wonky' attitude toward HIV and AIDS, indicating that he had no straight policy or vision for dealing with the disease. Through a further and more detailed analysis of other cartoons published during the infancy of Mbeki's presidency, it becomes evident that Zapiro pins Mbeki's attitude, in relation to the disease, to ill-advice and misinformation fed to him by an allegedly inept Health Department, led primarily by then Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang.

Figure 44

One of the first cartoons published after Mbeki took power that dealt with HIV and AIDS, Figure 45 below, exemplifies the point that Mbeki was a victim of

misinformation, as detailed by the silenced Mbeki and captioned with 'For the prevention of ill-informed comments about AZT'. At the time, HIV and AIDS activists condemned the South African government for their slow response to provide HIV and AIDS sufferers with AZT (azidothymidine), an anti-retroviral drug (ARV) used to help fight the disease (IRIN, 2004). However, the Health Department was adamant that the drug made victims more ill and instead recommended that patients adopt a healthier lifestyle using traditional African vegetables (Bevan, 2006). By bandaging Mbeki's mouth shut, Figure 45 demonstrates the wounding nature that permeated Mbeki's discourse surrounding the drugs and the disease and the need to stifle his comments. However, while Zapiro criticises Mbeki's statements and highlights the hypocrisy of a man who alludes to support the treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS, as indicated by the HIV/AIDS awareness ribbon on his lapel, it can be argued that Zapiro's criticism of the situation is relatively light.

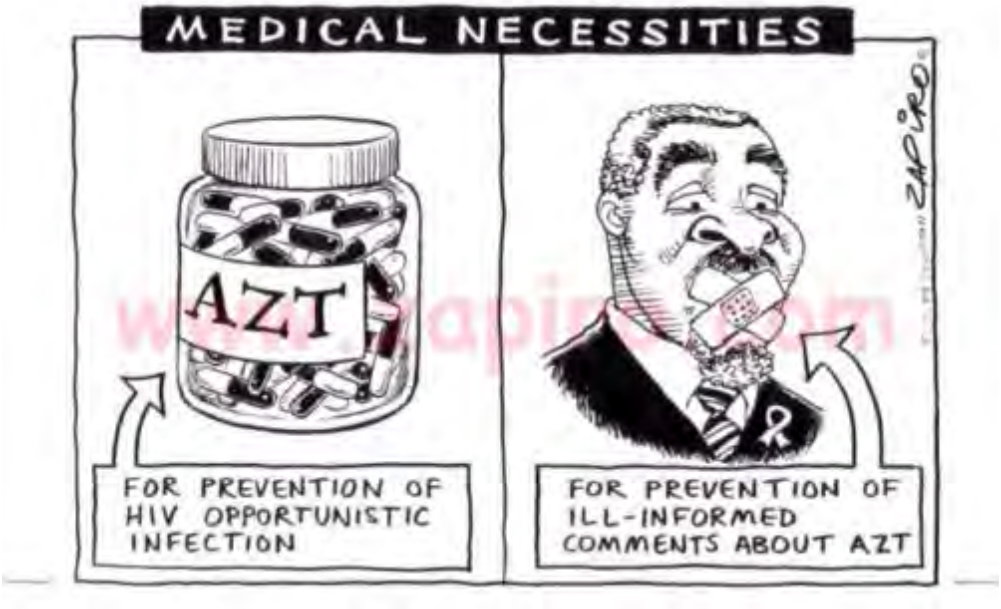

Figure 45

If one considers that Zapiro chose to tape Mbeki's mouth with two Band-Aids, it can be reasoned that because a Band-Aid is used for wounds that are rarely serious, and tend to heal quickly, Zapiro considers Mbeki's words to be something that can be easily treated if he is able to cite the correct information regarding AZT and HIV/AIDS. In a cartoon published shortly after the one shown above and represented in Figure 46, it can be argued that Zapiro highlights the idea that Mbeki cannot be held wholly accountable for his misguided views on HIV/AIDS. Drawing

on the story of the Roman Emperor Nero[45], who fiddled while Rome burned, Mbeki and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang are seen to 'play the tune' of alternative solutions in relation to the deployment of AZT drugs, while the transmission of mother-to-child infection rates can be seen raging in the flames behind them. It could be argued that by placing Mbeki in front and thus 'as the lead' in this ensemble, Zapiro rests the issue entirely on the president. However, there are two important counters that one can make to argue that this cartoon takes some pressure away from Mbeki, and instead sets its criticism more heavily on Tshabalala-Msimang.

Figure 46

Firstly and possibly most importantly, when one reads the fine print on the sheet music, from which Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang are playing, the words 'a duet for strings' is visible. By emphasising the notion of a duet, Zapiro's cartoon places importance on the equality in the relationship between the president and Health Minister, once again de-emphasising Mbeki's sole responsibility for the crisis and instead shifting equal blame onto Tshabalala-Msimang as well. Secondly, the reference to strings helps elicit connotations of puppetry which implies that as a duet,

[45] During a great fire in ancient Rome, the Roman emporer Nero was rumoured to have fiddled during the fire rather than help the city.

both parties pull equally at the strings of drug distribution and AIDS denialism. So while there is an inference that Mbeki should take the blame for the crisis, there is an equal argument that Tshabalala-Msimang is similarly to blame, thus softening the criticism toward the president to a certain degree.

One could even go so far as to argue that Zapiro implies that more blame should lie with the Health Minister, especially when it was found during the content analysis portion of this research that Mbeki was most often excluded from cartoons that highlighted the ministry's failure to act on the AIDS health crisis, at least to begin with. However, even though the evidence of the time, and subsequently history, highlighted that Mbeki was not only an AIDS denialist, but obstructive to the roll-out of ARVs (Boseley, 2008), and in addition to the points already raised, one cartoon in particular which shall be dealt with next, appears to sum up Zapiro's reluctance to criticise Mbeki too harshly at the time.

Interestingly, while Zapiro generally chose to partner Mbeki's nonchalance toward HIV and AIDS as a result of Tshabalala-Msimang's reported 'cracked-pot' policies, there were a handful of examples in which Mbeki was dealt with individually, such as in Figure 47 below. But, it is important to note that these cartoons were comprised of themes that Zapiro had already used in previous cartoons that featured Tshabalala-Msimang as a lead character. So while Mbeki is again depicted as Nero, as he was in Figure 46, in Figure 47 he is seen individually questioning which fiddle to play while the AIDS crisis rages behind him. Additionally, Zapiro plays on the dual meaning of the word 'fiddle' to indicate both the musical instrument and to manipulate; consequently, he portrays Mbeki as a man who takes deliberate action to manipulate the facts in relation to AIDS after his earlier performance with Tshabalala-Msimang two years prior.

Figure 47

Thus, while Mbeki is placed in a position of power and responsibility in this example, it takes on greater meaning when one reads it as a sequel to Figure 45. Such continuation of a theme is not unusual in Zapiro's work, and as will be discussed shortly, it can be argued that Zapiro does not only expect his readers to draw on shared cultural, social and ideological knowledge, but also to be reasonably well-versed in his own illustrative themes, as can be noted in the following examples pertaining to Manto Tshabalala-Msimang.

As already mentioned, Zapiro often excluded Mbeki from many of his cartoons which dealt with HIV/AIDS and the roll-out of ARVs. One of his most iconic and repetitive images was his ironic comparison between Tshabalala-Msimang and Dr Doolittle, the literary veterinarian who could talk to animals. However, unlike the literary character who is generally considered a kind man, Zapiro merely plays on the name as a way to consistently remind the reader that Tshabalala-Msimang did as little as possible to combat the HIV epidemic that plagued the country (as written as Dr Do-Little in the signage in Figure 48 below). It can also be argued that apart from playing on words, Zapiro used the connotations surrounding Doolittle, and his ability to talk to animals, to help augment the imagery of Tshabalala-Msimang's (in)capacity to lead, and speak the language of 'medical quacks'.

Figure 48

Her reliance on the wisdom of these 'quacks', and not on medical advice, is made apparent in Figure 48 in which Tshabalala-Msimang, dressed as Do-Little, tells critics from the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), an HIV/AIDS activist group, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), to 'keep quiet', while she sows seeds of 'Doubt' and 'Denial'. Behind her, one can see her crop of recommended natural remedies thriving and her blatant disregard for other remedies, despite the cries of activists. It is also important to note that due to the illustrative tools used by Zapiro, Tshabalala-Msimang appears to be unable to hear what her critics are saying. The lines drawn above their heads merely indicate that they are creating some sort of ruckus and she, as the mediator of 'quacks', cannot make sense of their complaints. Consequently, she dismisses them in a way that is similar to the way one would 'speak' to a dog that barks and interrupts while in the middle of a daily task.

Additionally, the clothes worn by the Health Minister, while reminiscent of the literary veterinarian, are also indicative of the attire worn by *Alice in Wonderland's* Mad Hatter. One can argue in favour of this assumption due to cartoons that continually dress Tshabalala-Msimang, her supporters and President Mbeki as characters from The Mad Hatter's Tea Party as depicted in Lewis Carroll's novel. An example of this scene is given as Figure 49.

Figure 49

Having tea on Planet Wacko, far from the real world crisis below them, Tshabalala-Msimang and her denialist expert, Dr Matthias Rath, and other 'quacks' represented by the duck, serve the president a cocktail of vitamins. While the president is dressed as one of the Mad Hatters, thus implicating him as an active participant in the madness, there are still clues that help distance him from the 'Wackos' to a certain degree. Firstly, as mentioned, he is being served by Dr Rath, a medical expert who was at the forefront of AIDS denialism, which indicates again that Mbeki was 'fed' information. Consequently, Zapiro lowers criticism toward the president as he represents a man who has been led astray by those who should have been in the know regarding the epidemic facing South Africa. Secondly, the way in which Zapiro has chosen to position each individual at the table also contributes to Mbeki's distance. As the president, one would expect Mbeki to sit at the head of the table; however, these places are taken by Rath and Tshabalala-Msimang, implying that they are in positions of power and that Mbeki is merely a guest at the gathering. Additionally, and in line with the argument made earlier that Zapiro expects readers to be familiar with his work, Mbeki was often depicted visiting Planet Wacko as a tourist (Figure 50), rather than a full-fledged immigrant as was the case with Tshabalala-Msimang in other cartoons.

Figure 50

However, it is also important to note the subtle criticism that is woven into the way that Mbeki has been portrayed. With his eyes closed in Figure 49, he blindly accepts Rath's cocktail and thus 'drinks the concoction' of the Wackos, and consequently willingly ingests the remedies of the denialists. While it can be argued that this cartoon and many others are careful in their personal criticism of Mbeki, Zapiro manages to capture distinctive traits of Mbeki's personality that point to faults in his leadership style raised by political analysts during this time (Boseley, 2008), such as his blind acceptance (highlighted most often by his hooded or closed eyes), as well as his own intellectual arrogance.

By studying Figure 51 below, Mbeki's blind faith is propelled to a new level as it appears that his vision has been manipulated by some sort of spell, courtesy of Tshabalala-Msimang and other denialist studies. This conclusion can be surmised, not only by the images of the cartoon, but through the text that accompanies it. Due to Mbeki's hypnotic stare at the computer screen, and the clarity through which Tshabalala-Msimang notes his state, it can be argued that Mbeki has fallen victim to the theories of AIDS denialism found online and supported by the Health Minister. Additionally, Zapiro captions Mbeki as a 'brilliant man who succumbs to delusions', thus re-affirming that he has been swayed into his current ideological position by outside influences.

Figure 51

Again, Zapiro has utilised an established stereotype to help emphasise his point: the *femme fatale.* By utilising the name of the movie, *A Beautiful Mind,* which tells the story of a misunderstood genius, and by referring to Mbeki as 'brilliant', Zapiro positions the president as a successful and highly intelligent man. However, his intelligence is blinded by Tshabalala-Msimang who, dressed somewhat provocatively in a strapless dress, presents the president with information that appears both to woo him into a state of giddy pleasure and leaves him happy to accept her charming conclusions surrounding HIV and AIDS. Therefore, by utilising common and shared cultural connotations, Zapiro plays on the idea that once again, a good man is corrupted by the wily cunning of a seductive woman. Some may argue that it was well-known that Mbeki would often justify his conclusions on HIV and AIDS from reports that he found on the Internet, and thus his views were not only guided by Tshabalala-Msimang. However, based on the cartoon as a whole and by considering the text as an anchor to the images, it must be concluded that this cartoon is not commenting on Mbeki's own research, but the research which has been presented to him by Tshabalala-Msimang.

It is also possible to use this cartoon to make reference to another established Western stereotype – that of the African witchdoctor – especially when one assumes that the reader would have had a certain degree of knowledge surrounding

Tshabalala-Msimang's HIV/AIDS policies. At the time of publication, Tshabalala-Msimang chose to advocate that a healthier lifestyle, which featured a strict diet of lemon juice, olive oil, beetroot and African potatoes, would be a far better way to combat HIV than prescribing anti-retroviral drugs. The media dubbed the Health Minister Dr Beetroot, thanks to her call for 'natural' alternatives in lieu of modern medicine, and reinforced ideas that South Africa's government were resorting to cultural belief systems rather than modern medical care.

As already stipulated, Mbeki's expression, and the illustrative tools used by Zapiro to create his expression in Figure 51, helps to create the impression that the president has been hypnotised, or placed under some sort of spell, by a woman who is adamant to utilise the powers of traditional medicines. It could thus be argued that Zapiro draws on readers shared cultural knowledge regarding traditional African medicines, and black African women, to create a subtle image in the back of one's mind that relates to *sangomas*[46] and African witchcraft.

6.3.2 Conclusion: The Beet-en One

These examples all point to Mbeki's non-confrontational diplomacy that came to represent his presidency. Zapiro is able to highlight Mbeki as a man who quietly accepts that which is presented to him, while simultaneously positioning some of his criticism toward Mbeki's advisors, and thus develops a somewhat less personalised critique of the president's stance toward HIV and AIDS. However, while it can be argued that Zapiro's cartoons could have been more scathing toward Mbeki, and that his rebuke of South Africa's second president was somewhat mild, these cartoons do not show the same marked degree of lack of criticism as was evident in his earlier Mandela cartoons. Unlike his Mandela cartoons, which tended to distance South Africa's first democratically elected president from any personal or political fault, the Mbeki/AIDS cartoons still made an attempt to draw attention to the president's failure to deal adequately with the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa.

[46] A Zulu traditional shaman

This is an important shift in South Africa's social commentary because, as highlighted in the previous section, and in the work of Vernon (2000), the press and many social observers found it difficult to move beyond the good/bad dichotomy created during apartheid of either supporting or opposing the Nationalist government. As was evidenced in the cartoons of the Mandela-era, Zapiro continued along these lines as he elevated the 'goodness' of Mandela and highlighted the 'badness' of apartheid leaders. However, the Mbeki cartoons began to hint at new 'enemies' facing South African society rather than concentrating on the same discourses that had dominated most social discussions over the last 50 years. The care taken in the way in which Mbeki was criticised not only helped re-focus attention towards more current issues facing South Africa, but did so in a way that did not directly threaten the competency of the country's newly elected government as a whole, and so continued to provide a cushion that helped allow South Africa's peaceful transition (Steyn, 1994; Wasserman, 2011).

However, the way in which Zapiro focussed on the absurdity of the relationship between Tshabalala-Msimang, Mbeki and AIDS denialism was paramount in creating a series of cartoons that contributed positively to the social discussions taking place at the time. If one considers the arguments made in Chapter 2 of this thesis, in relation to the tools that cartoonists use to create counter-narratives to help challenge dominant discourses (Lamb, 2004; Eko, 2010), it becomes evident that one of the best ways in which to do this was by highlighting the absurdities associated with the HIV/AIDS policies at the time. And while Zapiro's Mbeki/AIDS cartoons could be considered masterful in this regard, especially by continuously likening these policies to ones that emerged out of a 'Wonderland', it is Zapiro's subtle use of stereotyped caricature that helped cement the themes of absurdity and backwardness.

In Chapter 3, it was noted that Zapiro has a habit of utilising the stereotype of the 'white-lipped coon' when attempting to represent an individual who is considered uneducated, savage or ignorant, such as King Mswati III, much in the same way that cartoonists such as George Cruikshank used stereotypes to highlight the 'African savage' in the 19th century. And while this tool undoubtedly was not meant to carry the same connotations as Cruikshank's representations of 'the African' it did become

a characterisation of Mbeki that became more pronounced as his presidency went on – especially in those cartoons related to HIV/AIDS and in Mbeki's dealings with Zimbabwe. From the cartoons cited in the above section, and in the section to follow, it is clear that cartoons in which Zapiro brings Mbeki's bad decisions into focus exaggerates Mbeki's lips in a way that makes them comparable to the 'white-lipped coon'. Interestingly, the representation of Mbeki in other cartoons in which he is not the main focus, or portrayed in a more positive light, tend to downplay this caricature. Additionally, if one considers Zapiro's depictions of Mandela in which his lips are also exaggerated and caricatured, Zapiro ensures that they are shaded to avoid the comparison to the 'white-lipped coon'.

Consequently, one could argue that by characterising Mbeki in this manner, Zapiro utilises his audiences' shared understanding of the connotations related to the 'uncivilised African'. Additionally, and in line with points raised earlier in Chapter 3, the use of stereotypes, whether conscious or unconscious, are "prototypes of shared cultural meaning" (Perkins, 1979: 78). Therefore, it is likely that both Zapiro and audiences possess an embedded social understanding of this type of representation which (unconsciously) carries a variety of connotations that help add greater depth to the character of Mbeki's character. This thesis suggests that by caricaturing Mbeki's features, audiences could also draw on other embedded social meanings of black Africans that usually accompany the 'white-lipped coon' stereotype of the past – such as foolish, happy-go-lucky, and child-like. In this way, these cartoons could reinforce some of the negative connotations rooted within this stereotype because Zapiro has matched it to a man whose views on HIV and AIDS seems both uneducated and foolish. In line with the SRRS, this interpretation could be considered an undesirable result, and thus socially irresponsible, because it emphasises a negative racial stereotype that has been used for centuries to undermine a vast majority of the world's population.

However, this thesis argues that there are two flaws in this presumption. Firstly, these cartoons are not focussed on race as such, and do not attempt to undermine Mbeki on the premise of being a black man. Zapiro's critique is focussed on highlighting the ridiculousness that pervades both Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang's stance on the HIV/AIDS crisis, especially in relation to the roll-out of ARV

drugs to the poor. If his intention had been to reinforce racial stereotypes it is unlikely that he would have drawn comparisons between the president and Health Minister with iconic Western figures such as Nero and Dr Doolittle; instead he would have likened them to the stereotyped 'savages' which pervade colonial imagery.

Secondly, while Zapiro has utilised some stereotypes, in relation to both the 'white-lipped coon' and the 'sinful female temptress', it is more likely that these were used as a way to ensure that audiences drew on shared and embedded social meanings rather than as tools to reinforce stereotypes. As was discussed in Chapter 3, it is important for cartoonists to use images and representations that are understood as widely as possible to ensure that the underlying connotations of commentary are decoded as closely to their intended meaning as possible; and to borrow terminology from Jauss (1982), ensures that the audience and cartoonist have met on the 'horizon of expectation'. Audiences may be unfamiliar with historical and pop cultural references made within individual cartoons, such as the narrative from *A Beautiful Mind* or the history of ancient Rome, but it is likely that they will be familiar with stereotypes that have been used for far longer, as explained by Hodgart (1969), especially ones referring to race and gender. Therefore, while an audience member may not have the historical knowledge to draw a comparison between Mbeki and Nero, they will be able to recognise the foolishness embedded in connotations of the 'white-lipped coon', and thus understand the ridiculousness that Zapiro is attempting to convey in relation to Mbeki and his stance on HIV/AIDS.

Consequently, Zapiro's HIV/AIDS cartoons, based on a SRRS assessment, can be deemed to be responsible because they have fulfilled the mandate of what a political cartoon should achieve. Even though some may argue that he has used undesirable and offensive stereotypes to help in his critique, these have been used sparingly and, as has been argued, for the particular purpose of ensuring a less ambiguous interpretation of his work. However, there are far more complexities and possible stereotyped ambiguities that accompanied cartoons that dealt with the South African government's interactions with Zimbabwe and its president, Robert Mugabe.

6.3.3 Bob's Your Uncle

During the latter part of Mbeki's presidency Zapiro focussed many of his cartoons on international issues. Overall, he dedicated more than 20% of his cartoons to issues outside of South Africa. This is to be expected if one considers the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in 2001, its aftermath and the United States' response to the Middle East during the next few years. However, while Zapiro gave these issues their dues, more than 50% of his international cartoons during this time period were focussed on African countries, not the United States. Most often, he was concerned with representing Zimbabwe, and South Africa's relations with the African dictatorship. Thanks to some of Zapiro's early cartoons that still tied the ANC to the peaceful Mandela, Mbeki and the South African government are most often represented as frustrated negotiators who attempt do their best to quell the incessant demands of a tyrannical despot (Robert Mugabe). Figure 52 shows that Zapiro using Mbeki to justify the common proverb that if one 'speaks softly and carries a big stick', it is possible to 'go further' with a man like Mugabe than one who uses violence and large threats. However, because Mandela was often used as a proverbial martyr to help build peace and unity in Zapiro's cartoons, the cartoonist continues with this tradition during Mbeki's early presidency as he uses Mandela's criticism of Mugabe and Zimbabwe to represent Mbeki's 'stick' in his quietly spoken diplomatic dealings. Figure 52 emphasises that quiet diplomacy and Mandela's disapproval would give Mbeki the power needed to 'knock some sense' into the Zimbabwean president, as represented by the large bump and cartooned knock-out of Mugabe. However, Zapiro's patience appeared to wear thin after these initial attempts to highlight Mbeki's great stature as the architect of the African Renaissance[47], and a slew of cartoons were published that criticised both Mbeki and the South African government thereafter.

[47] An ideal that Mbeki made popular during his presidency in which he aimed to help unite the African continent through economic renewal.

Figure 52

Consequently, it appears that Zapiro was primarily concerned with showcasing the hypocrisy surrounding the ANC government and its response to Mugabe's tyrannical rule, and Zimbabwe's gross human rights violations. The themes present in Figure 53 below are typical of the many cartoons that Zapiro drew surrounding the election periods in Zimbabwe and South Africa's role in them. Mugabe is portrayed as a cheater, evidenced by the rope in his hand, who has tied up his rival (Morgan Tsvangirai) in a sack. The judges of the race, labelled as the UN (United Nations), EU (European Union) and SA (South Africa) watch on and announce their decision of the race's legitimacy. The UN and EU declare the race 'unfree' and 'unfair', but South Africa's observer decrees the elections 'a good contest', thus condoning Mugabe's underhanded tactics. Besides Zapiro's criticism of South Africa's bias toward Mugabe, what is most interesting is the distance between Mugabe and Tsvangirai, even though Mugabe has cheated. It could be argued that Zapiro has intentionally drawn attention to the opposition's strength, because even under duplicitous circumstances, Mugabe was still almost outrun, and thus the cartoon aims to emphasise the leader's falling popularity and desperate attempts to maintain control.

Figure 53

This same type of metaphor continued in later years as is evidenced in Figure 54 in which Zapiro depicted Mugabe as a prize-winning boxer. Again, the referee, depicted by South Africa's Jacob Zuma, declared Mugabe the winner, even though again oppositional leader Morgan Tsvangarai has been bound with his hands tied behind his back. Besides the obvious difficulty that a boxer would have in a fight without the use of his hands, Zapiro's play on the metaphor, 'to have one's hands tied', and thus no control over a particular situation, implies that it was impossible for Tsvangarai to compete in a fair match. Ultimately, the favouritism and support of the South African referee was too far in favour of Mugabe and thus no matter what he attempted to do, Tsvangarai had no control over the result.

Figure 54

Figure 55

As Mbeki's tenure lengthened, the iniquitous nature of South Africa's dealings with Zimbabwe continued and became more prevalent, as demonstrated in Figure 55 above. This image represents Membathisi Mdlaldlana, then South Africa's Minister of Labour, leading a mission of observers to oversee the fairness of the 2005 Zimbabwe national election. The image highlights Zimbabwean security personnel beating supporters of the opposition, as a glaring election poster of Mugabe scowls down on proceedings with the warning, 'Vote Mugabe or else', creating a clear intention of the negative ramifications that would occur for oppositional voices.

To emphasise this point, the cartoon shows the South African delegation walking through the brutality, seemingly oblivious to what is happening around them. The South African delegation, represented as sheep, merely repeat the official line of Mdlaladlana, 'Free and Fair', thus following his lead and playing on the metaphor that sheep will follow their shepherd without question, even if it results in their downfall. By using such imagery, Zapiro is able to highlight not only the brutality that surrounded those who opposed Mugabe, but also South Africa's tendency to ignore the situation, even though South Africa, only a few short years prior, was faced with a similar dictatorial rule that punished opposition with brutality to keep a regime, that had essentially stifled South Africa's global expansion, in power.

Ironically, it could be argued that one could compare the ANC and Mbeki's defence of Mugabe's political tactics with those shown by Margaret Thatcher and the English conservatives to the South African regime during the last days of apartheid. Kenyan cartoonist Gado summed up this position succinctly in his obituary cartoon of Thatcher, featured as Figure 56 below, in which he uses one her most damning quotes, calling the "ANC … a terrorist organisation and [that] anybody who thinks it's going to run the government is living in a cloud of cuckoo land", to help light the pyre on which her body has been placed. As Thatcher defended the Nationalist government and undermined the ANC, so too has South Africa defended Mugabe's ZANU-PF and ignored the plight of those oppressed by his regime.

Figure 56

Recently there has been more evidence to help bolster the similarity between Mbeki's dealings with Mugabe, and Thatcher with the apartheid government. Only lately have a set of letters which were shared between her and late apartheid president PW Botha been de-classified (Du Plessis, 2014). These letters detail "a spot of quiet diplomacy" made by Thatcher to convince Botha that in order to repair the image of the Nationalist government and maintain their legitimacy as a non-tyrannical government to global audiences, they would need to release Nelson Mandela (much in the way that Mbeki has quietly suggested that Mugabe work with his political opponent Morgan Tsvangarai to bolster Zimbabwe's legitimacy). This was a sentiment that Thatcher never made public, often chastising global sanctions against South Africa at the time (du Plessis, 2014).

In examining Figure 57 below, South Africa's nonchalance to Zimbabwe's 'rotten' election is once again highlighted. Mugabe appears as an angry and resentful Easter Bunny who has been forced to deliver a gift in the form of an election to the people of Zimbabwe. However, the egg is cracked and seeping sulphurous decay, thus implying that the election itself was filled with rot, but Mbeki leans in, pointing out that some parts still appear 'good', ignoring the poisonous qualities of sulphuric gas, and the implication that the egg's rot could eventually kill Zimbabwe's democracy. Again, Zapiro has represented South Africa and its diplomatic (and democratic) leadership as a country that is hesitant to criticise Mugabe's rule by highlighting, even in the face of a 'rotten' election, the good of Mugabe's presidency: that he delivered an election.

Figure 57

However, what is most interesting to note in Zapiro's depiction of Zimbabwe is that unlike his representation of South African leaders, up until this point, he appears to have few qualms about portraying Mugabe in the most derogatory of lights. Zapiro was hitherto often hesitant to ridicule South Africa's leaders, and when doing so, was careful in the ways that he criticised them. However, what emerges as this section continues is that even though there is an obvious disapproval in the depiction of South Africa's dealings with Zimbabwe, Zapiro still highlights Mugabe as the root

cause, and resorts to clear ridicule of the Zimbabwean leader, often downplaying South Africa's role in the neighbouring country's political manifesto.

Figure 58

One of the most insulting and inflammatory cartoons that Zapiro drew regarding Zimbabwe depicted Mugabe as an abusive father and husband, as seen in Figure 58 above. Zapiro highlights the home of two suburban families, one labelled 'Zim' and the other 'SA'. On the left side of the fence one can see that Mugabe, as the only adult male figure, and thus represented as the 'father', beats his assumed wife (labelled 'opposition'), children (farmers and media) and elderly grandmother (judiciary) into submission. On the other side of the fence, Mbeki and then Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma enjoy a quiet afternoon *braai*[48], reading their newspaper and book, ignoring the chaos that ensues next door, even though Mugabe's 'wife' motions for help over the fence.

By captioning the cartoon with the phrase 'Good Neighbours Don't Make a Fuss', Zapiro essentially draws attention to the hypocrisy and hyperbole of the word 'good' when one is expected to 'mind their own business' for the sake of polite neighbourly etiquette. Essentially, the cartoon highlights that being 'a good neighbour' can equate to being a 'bad person' if one chooses to ignore any

[48] South African barbeque

wrongdoing or abuse in order to preserve the sanctity of the suburban neighbourhood. Additionally, this cartoon also refers to the idiom that states that 'good fences make good neighbours', which implies that South Africa's 'peace and quiet' is dependent on keeping the turmoil in Zimbabwe fenced in. If South Africa's government were to 'break down the fence' and intervene, Zimbabwe's unrest would 'spill over' into South Africa's 'backyard' and threaten the peace of South Africa's government. Consequently, this cartoon highlights the undertones of South Africa's 'bad' foreign policy in relation to Zimbabwe in its effort to prop up the stability of itself and other members of the South African Development Community (SADC).

This argument is emphasised further in Figure 59 below in which members of the SADC discuss the 'burning' crisis of Zimbabwe after its elections in 2008 (Reuters, 2008).

Figure 59

This cartoon highlights that once again, that there is hesitancy in holding South Africa solely responsible for its policies on Zimbabwe. There is an obvious division within the SADC as member states quarrel over the Zimbabwean fire that threatens to engulf them through the window. Zambian president Levy Mwanawasa, who commissioned the meeting, states that the situation in Zimbabwe 'is serious', while another member deems it 'a crisis'. However, South Africa, represented by Mbeki with his eyes closed again, advises members not to 'be hasty', while other

members raise questions about what constitutes a crisis, and eventually calling for a dictionary to help settle the matter. Consequently, it can be argued that Zapiro wished to highlight the overall inconsistencies in SADC policies, but additionally places Mbeki as the first man to downplay the problems in Zimbabwe, and thus builds on years of cartoons in which South Africa has quietly overseen (and ignored) the challenges of Mugabe's behaviour in relation to Zimbabwe's democracy. In Figure 60 below, Zapiro once again represents Mugabe as an abusive man who savagely beats the bound leader of his opposition, Morgan Tsvanigirai. Again, Mbeki sits with his eyes closed, apparently not seeing the brutality in front of him, and from his chair of 'quiet diplomacy', surrounded by some of the finer things in life, politely requests to have a word with Mugabe once he has time.

Figure 60

This cartoon juxtaposes the two sides of colonialism, and ultimately ridicules its leftover marks on African politics. This cartoon shows Mugabe, the coloniser of Zimbabwe's democracy, beating the oppositional slave into submission, while Mbeki encompasses the old English gentleman who, not directly involved in the savagery and reluctant to get his hands dirty, watches on from his armchair, surrounded by inherently European luxuries (represented by Mbeki's whiskey, pipe and book), politely invites Mugabe to have a diplomatic discussion. This also reinforces the

argument made earlier concerning Zapiro's prior cartoon which proposed that "Good Neighbours Don't Make a Fuss".

Figure 61

The reminders of colonialism in Zimbabwe, and other African countries' subsequent dealings with the dictatorship, are again evident in the example provided in Figure 61. While discussing politics with Mbeki and Nigeria's then-president Olusegun Obasanjo over a traditionally English cup of tea, Mugabe reprimands his security forces for the noise made while punishing an insubordinate 'servant', and orders them to move outside so as not to disturb his political dealings. Once again, we are reminded of the two sides to colonialism: the 'civilised' discussions whereby wealthy men would discuss the politics of the time in parlours and sitting rooms, conveniently removed from the strife and poverty of the common man and the Master's harsh and brutal dealings with his workforce.

However, while Zapiro is consistent in his representation of Mugabe as a barbaric and obsessively autocratic leader, it is more interesting to note the slow progression in the way that he chooses to represent Mbeki. Earlier in this thesis, it was noted how Mbeki was seen as a man of great brilliance who stood for diplomacy in Africa – in fact, he only seemed to waiver due to his allegedly ill-informed sentiments regarding HIV and AIDS. But as the analysis of Zapiro's cartoons pertaining to Zimbabwe and Mugabe were conducted, it became apparent that

Zapiro began to outline a man who was beginning to falter on a number of levels, and at times drew attention to the absurdity of his quiet diplomacy.

Two cartoons in particular are highlighted in relation to Mbeki's image. Firstly, in Figure 62 below, Mbeki is shown cradling a skunk labelled Zimbabwe, with the head of Robert Mugabe. An anthromorphic globe holds its nose as the stink emanating from the animal sullies its environment. However, Mbeki (again with his eyes closed) is adamant that he can sense an improvement in the animal's scent, and refuses to concede that his cradled ally is in any way repulsive to the rest of the world. Amusingly though, Mugabe appears unimpressed by both Mbeki's words and his grasp – somewhat like a reluctant animal just before a bath – implying that he does not want South Africa interfering in his political business to help improve his 'odour'. What results from this cartoon is a depiction of Mbeki that, perhaps some would argue, is similar to ones of Mandela because Mbeki attempts to defend Mugabe and demonstrate a blindness to his politics to help build a greater democracy in Zimbabwe. Problematically though, Zapiro only ever showed Mandela in negotiations and did not concentrate, as was discussed, on any other leaders' indiscretions while in the company of Mandela. Mbeki in this cartoon, however, is not only shown with the skunk in his hands, but in doing so has saturated himself with its anal emissions, sullying both himself and South Africa in the eyes of the world.

Figure 62

The second cartoon that needs to be highlighted is one which appeared two years later and again ridicules Mbeki's efforts in relation to Zimbabwe. Unlike in Figure 62, in which Zapiro represented Mbeki as a man who covered himself in the stink of a despot, Figure 63 demonstrates the way in which Mugabe has seemingly manipulated Mbeki into touting the ideologies of Mugabe and his political party, ZANU-PF. In this cartoon, Mbeki delivers a speech advocating the trustworthiness of the upcoming Zimbabwean elections, while Mugabe and one of his security personnel stand pointing and laughing behind the back of the South African president. However, there are two interesting points that need to be considered in light of this image.

Firstly, this is one of the very few instances that Zapiro has chosen to dress Mugabe in military garb, and thus draw comparisons to other African dictators such as Idi Amin and Muhammed Gaddafi, who were most often considered and represented as militant tyrants. Generally, even though there is clear evidence that Zapiro views Mugabe as barbaric, he tends to deviate away from direct comparisons to other African dictators – perhaps because Mugabe, unlike so many other dictators, was elected fairly to begin with during the 1980s. However, due to the insignia on his uniform, the 'M' emblazoned armband and his all-black uniform, one can draw a close similarity between him and an agent of the German SS, while his underling, in contrast, appears to match an officer of lesser rank. One could argue that Zapiro has used the familiar Nazi uniform in conjunction with the prison cell on the horizon in the background, and Mbeki's nervous glance backward at the laughing military agents behind him, to show Mbeki as an unwilling agent of Zimbabwean propaganda.

However, one must remember that it is often the aim of a cartoon to distort reality into a situation of sublime ridiculousness (Mason, 2010a; Hodgart, 1969). And while it is absurd to suggest that Mbeki was under any threat of imprisonment for advocating negative connotations toward the Zimbabwean government, as would have been the case with a critic of the Nazi regime, it is possible to argue that Zapiro attempts to draw attention to the moral prison that Mbeki and his government had constructed for themselves in relation to their policies surrounding Zimbabwe. Essentially, by 2005, to denounce the fairness of Zimbabwe's elections would mean

admitting that South Africa's policies were wrong and had cost many Zimbabweans their lives, as well as much of the ANC's global credibility that had been built up around Mandela.

Figure 63

Three years later, Zapiro's stance surrounding Zimbabwe's control over Mbeki and the South African government had shifted once again, but his emphasis on highlighting the absurd remains intact. As can be seen in Figure 64, we note that Mugabe has morphed from a man who, in the past, was shown as deliberately violent and callous in his actions, to one consumed by his own megalomania and raging senselessness. In his declaration that only God will remove him from his presidency, Mugabe's eyes are drawn as unfocussed and squint, a trait most often used by cartoonists to highlight buffoonery, as highlighted in Chapter 1's examples of Hogarth's early cartoons (see page 29). Additionally, Zapiro has referenced and exaggerated Mugabe's self-love, and tendency of wearing his own image, by dressing Mugabe in clothes depicting the Zimbabwean president's caricature – again, highlighting the absurdity of Mugabe's continued reign as president.

However, the most important comment to emerge from this cartoon is not Zapiro's criticism of Mugabe (although it is emphasised), but his depiction of Mbeki as the 'God' who does not want to remove Mugabe from his autocracy. Unlike

cartoons that Zapiro drew earlier in Mbeki's presidency, in which he was tentative **to directly criticise** South Africa's president, we can see that this cartoon appears to be one of the first in which Zapiro begins to take direct action against the accountability of South Africa's leadership. In contrast to earlier cartoons, in which others were seen manipulating Mbeki, thus protecting and defending the president to a certain degree, this cartoon shows that it is Mbeki who has been responsible for Mugabe's continued rule.

Figure 64

As the 'facilitator' who does not wish to remove Mugabe, and one who has his eyes closed to the violence behind him, Mugabe's esoteric rants, and the battered exit of oppositional leader Morgan Tsvangarai, Zapiro is able to highlight Mbeki's direct responsibility for many of the issues which affect Zimbabwe. Most importantly though, is the complete lack of Mbeki's usual attempt at quiet diplomacy. Throughout most of his presidency, Zapiro made light of Mbeki's attempts to negotiate with the Zimbabwean leader; however, even though Mbeki has been labelled as a negotiator, he is depicted more acerbically as a co-facilitator in the downfall of Zimbabwe's democracy. Such direct criticism of South Africa's presidency was generally unseen in the work of Zapiro up until this point; however, after Mbeki was forced out of office a few months later in 2008, the work of South

Africa's most well-known cartoonist became increasingly scathing about the presidency.

6.3.4 Conclusion: Bob's Your Uncle

The above section highlights three interesting themes that underpin most of the cartoons drawn in relation to Mugabe and South Africa's dealings with Zimbabwe during this period which require discussion in order to test their social responsibility. Firstly, if one considers the arguments of Harrison (1981) in relation to how political cartooning should shock audiences into seeing what is happening within a social situation, Zapiro has done this adequately. He constantly draws reference to Mugabe as an abuser and a perpetrator of violence toward any opposition that attempts to undermine his rule. Consequently, audiences are shown a side to Mugabe that is often downplayed by the official voices of the South African government, and thus helps to create an alternative discourse that could help fuel discussion.

Secondly, Zapiro utilises techniques highlighted by Parton (2012) and Eko (2007), and discussed in Chapter 2, to transmogrify Mugabe and thus liken him to a man with sub-human traits. Consequently, by representing Mugabe as an animal such as a skunk, Zapiro is able to not only belittle the Zimbabwean president as a person who is no better than an animal, but also allows audiences to draw on their own understandings of such animals, and thus draw on distinctions that are not mentioned in the cartoon. Zapiro makes no attempt to represent Mbeki, or any South African official, in such a light, and thus still maintains a sense of respect toward South Africa's government. Both of these points help to highlight how Zapiro has used techniques that fulfil the role of a political cartoonist.

However, the final theme which permeates these cartoons is one which has both positive elements that contribute to good cartooning and negative stereotypes that could undermine their commentary, and thus classify them as offensive and irresponsible. Throughout this period the cartoons which dealt with Zimbabwe appear to make constant comparisons between the 'African savage', represented by Mugabe, and the 'civilised colonial diplomat', represented by Mbeki. Consequently,

what emerges is a discourse which re-affirms the stereotypical representation that African leaders are tyrannical and corrupt despots who require the intervention of a more educated and civil mediator (associated with European values) to help set the country back on the right path. Such a conclusion was established previously in this thesis in Chapter 3 when the work of early colonial cartoonists were shown to represent black subjects as either the 'barbarian' who lacked education and morality and who, without the help of the 'civilised European', would continue their native ways of rape, savagery and murder. Interestingly, we see Mbeki not only dressed in a Western-style suit and tie, but also surrounded by props which are typically associated with the European upper classes, such as Johnny Walker whiskey and his trademark pipe. Therefore, the South African president is highlighted as a man who possesses the 'right type' of values for a diplomatic and civilised leader, unlike the African and violent Mugabe.

But, there also subtle hints within these representations that highlight that Mbeki is not quite the man of enlightenment dedicated to quiet diplomacy as one assumes, but one who embodies the 'mock European' described in Chapter 3. As was discussed, in colonial representations the 'mock European' was depicted as a black person who dressed and acted like the 'civilised white man', but who still possessed most of the undesirable traits of blackness under the facade. In other words, the 'savage' can be taken out of the jungle, but the ways of the 'savage' still remain as part of the man. If one remembers the discussion associated with the Zapiro's use of the 'white-lipped coon' in relation to Mbeki and HIV/AIDS, we are able to identify a similar pattern emerge in relation to his dealings with Mugabe and Zimbabwe.

As can be noted in Figures 57, 58, 61, 62 and 63, Zapiro has exaggerated the whiteness around Mbeki's lips, and once again it seems evident that Zapiro uses this tool as a way to emphasise the president's foolishness in relation to particular political dealings. In each of these cartoons we see Mbeki either referring to something absurd in relation to Zimbabwe or Mugabe, or he is seen as quietly ignoring the brutality that he can hear taking place behind walls and fences. It is only when he is confronted with anything directly and makes an effort to deal with it using quiet negotiations that the features of the 'white-lipped coon' are diminished, as

evident in Figures 52, 59 and 60. Consequently, it could be argued that Zapiro's use of this artistic tool is a way to emphasise Mbeki's foolishness, and thus play on the stereotype of an inept African leader, when ignoring that which is happening just out of sight.

Additionally, one could also argue that the use of the 'mock European' stereotype creates a subtle counter-narrative to the idea that European-style diplomacy in Africa has been beneficial. If one considers that the 'mock European' was used as a way to draw attention to the underlying savagery that could not be hidden by assuming the civilised appearance of a European gentleman, it can also be used as a tool to highlight the underlying savagery of the colonist. As was noted in the above discussion, the diplomatic dealings within Zapiro's cartoons were often depicted as negotiations that took place in a more colonial-type environment over a cup of tea, or highball of whiskey. Consequently, it appears as if Zapiro chose to highlight that Mbeki, and other SADC leaders, played a part similar to Western powers that criticised colonialism and apartheid – happily lending a quiet voice in backroom discussions, but not willing to come out publicly and get their hands dirty to bring about any real changes. Therefore, much as the ways which Margaret Thatcher contributed to the continuation of the apartheid state, Zapiro has highlighted Mbeki as a contributor to the continued violence toward, and oppression of, the Zimbabwean people.

Consequently, the use of 'mock European' traits to highlight intrinsic European values, such as the British 'stiff upper-lip', and quiet negotiations, could be considered as a way to bring light to the violence that underpinned the colonist and the concept of the civilised European. If we apply these conclusions to the SRRS test it can be concluded that Zapiro uses simple tools of cartooning to represent an offensive portrayal of Mugabe as a stereotyped sub-human African dictator. However, his representation of the South African government and Mbeki's roles in Zimbabwe are layered with meaning and provide a much more subtle and nuanced criticism. With this said though, one must acknowledge that it is unlikely that audiences will grasp all of these nuances because they are generally a secondary representation to the main thrust of these cartoons. Therefore, audiences will most

likely engage more fully with the representations of Mugabe and not with Mbeki, but this does not mean that these cartoons are socially irresponsible.

There are two important points to consider in relation to the measurement of responsibility within these cartoons. Firstly, one of the pillars of socially responsible commentary, as outlined in Chapter 4, is the idea that it should fuel debate in order to allow all angles of an issue to be considered, and consequently undermine a monopoly of thought emanating from the dominant voices in society. These cartoons do just that, as they simultaneously highlight the South African government's stance on issues facing Zimbabwe, and distort them in an attempt to undermine and provide comment on them. Secondly, social responsibility was designed as a normative paradigm which aimed to guide individuals on how to comment on issues that affected the nation-state (Siebert *et al*, 1956; Christians *et al*, 2004). Consequently, while Zapiro may have represented Mugabe in an offensive light, this does not impact on the interpretation of South Africa's nation-state, and thus does not fall into the conventional definitions of social responsibility. However, this issue becomes more complex when dealing with individuals who represent and are part of South Africa, as will be highlighted in the coming sections on Jacob Zuma.

6.3.5 The Rise of Jacob Zuma

By the end of Mbeki's presidency, Zapiro highlighted the 'rotten' legacy that he would leave behind, as shown in Figure 65 below. While the cartoon highlights the Union Buildings overflowing with the trash and decay of Mbeki's presidency, including references to corruption, the Arms Deal, cronyism and Travelgate[49] corruption charges throughout his two terms in office, he was rarely implicated directly by Zapiro in relation to any of these issues.

[49] In July 2004 *The Sunday Times* newspaper exposed that a number of MPs had used travel vouchers meant to be used for official visits for luxury holidays for themselves and their families.

Figure 65

As was discussed in previous sections of this chapter, even cartoons that dealt with the policies concerning HIV/AIDS and Zimbabwe often used the president sparingly, and made an attempt to highlight the dismal failings of other members of the government executive, as can be seen in Figure 66 which represented Zapiro's conclusion of 2004 and the end of Mbeki's first term in office. The 'Uncredibles' cartoon plays on Disney Pixar's superhero family *The Incredibles*, who with their super powers were able to save the world. However, in this cartoon, Zapiro highlights some of the year's most questionable political players, and draws attention to their morally corrupt 'super powers' which have allowed them save their individual worlds such as Tshabala-Msimang's ability to stretch the truth in relation to the treatment of HIV/AIDS. Because of the way Zapiro's cartoons dealt with corruption, and the growing disparity in the ANC government during Mbeki's term in office, these cartoons had more to do with the moral degeneration of then deputy president Jacob Zuma, than with Mbeki himself. In fact, if we plot the trends found in the content analysis section of this research, it becomes evident that Zapiro spent more than double the amount of time drawing Zuma than Mbeki during the last four years of Mbeki's presidency between 2004 and 2008.

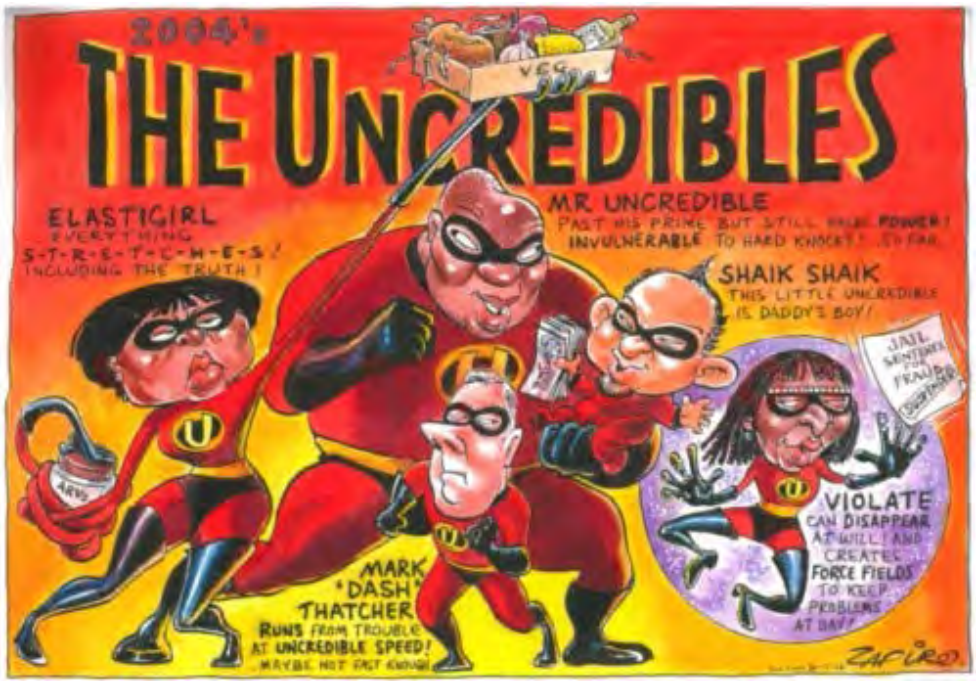

Figure 66

One could argue that if Zapiro had avoided commenting on the corruption and rape charges faced by Zuma during this period it would have undermined his credibility as an editorial cartoonist because he would have neglected to comment on important political challenges facing the country. These corruption charges were linked to the Arms Deal – a scandal that had been in play since Mandela's presidency and one which had ties to various others in the ANC's leadership, including Mbeki. However, Zapiro tended to focus more of his criticism in relation to the Arms Deal toward Zuma than any other member of Mbeki's cabinet, or Mbeki himself.

As has been stipulated, political cartoonists should use information that appears in the mainstream media to fuel their commentary (Lamb, 2004; Mason, 2010b), and that it is not their responsibility to expose that which is not reported. Therefore, one could argue that one of the reasons why Zapiro did not focus on other politicians in this example was because he did not have the material, or 'media proof' to help highlight their involvement in his cartoons. Problematically though, there was plenty of press coverage that highlighted the shortcomings of other politicians in relation to the Arms Deal (Sefara, 2004; Sole, 2004). This revelation nullifies the above argument and instead demonstrates the beginnings of Zapiro's

vilification of Zuma, rather than hold Mbeki responsible for the corruption that grew under his watch.

Even when one plots the split in the ANC government[50], which eventually led to Mbeki's dismissal as president, there are subtle undertones that appear to place more emphasis on Zuma's role in the separation than on Mbeki. If one examines the images below, this presumption becomes evident. In Figure 67, Jacob Zuma is shown, pockets stuffed with money (an obvious link to his corruption), standing in the way of a vehicle labelled ANC. Zuma's obstruction has literally split the party in half, as the passengers squabble and yell at each other in what appears to be an argument regarding the direction of the car. Essentially, it can be deduced that Zuma's stand and willingness to 'stuff his pockets' openly has destabilised the progress of the ANC, and caused a rift between party members in terms of how the party would continue in light of allegations of corruption.

Figure 67

Additionally, in Figure 68, in which Kgalema Motlanthe, then Secretary-General of the ANC, is addressing the media regarding the difficulties facing the party at their National Executive Committee meeting, Zapiro appears to lay blame directly on Zuma. In the cartoon, Motlanthe attempts to waylay fears regarding a split in the NEC pertaining to Zuma, even though his speech bubble is broken by a credibility gap overhanging the committee. By naming Zuma as the cause of the

[50] After Zuma became embroiled in corruption charges associated with the Arms Deal in 2005, Mbeki removed him as deputy president of South Africa. This resulted in a split between Mbeki and Zuma supporters within the ruling party, and eventually led to Mbeki having to step down as president in 2008 after losing the presidency of the ANC party to Zuma in 2007.

split emphasises that factionalism within the party is Zuma's fault. Additionally, Zapiro has placed Mbeki and Zuma at opposite ends of the table, flanked by members who were considered more loyal to each individual, to highlight the odds at which each one finds himself. Mbeki casts a surreptitious side glance to his left, as if to carefully watch how the troublesome party members react, and therefore accentuating the suspicion toward Zuma for causing a rift in the party.

Figure 68

However, while these examples emphasise that the rift in the party pointedly rests with Zuma, it must also be highlighted that Zapiro often depicted the split as one which derived from mistrust between the two leaders, thus emphasising a more equal responsibility for turbulence within the party. This point is highlighted in Figure 69, in which the ANC working committee attempt to portray a united front between the two parliamentarians. However, from behind one can see the knives each man uses to stab the other in the back – a metaphor which is used on numerous occasions by Zapiro to depict members of the ANC during this period.

Figure 69

Zapiro made it clear that were definite factions within the party and that Mbeki and Zuma were in a political battle to wrestle control away from each other. However, as was the case throughout Mbeki's presidency, Zapiro continued to distance the president from direct wrong-doing. Rather than rest blame on his absurd politics on HIV/AIDS, Zimbabwe or his corrupt cabinet, Zapiro consistently portrayed Mbeki as a man who had lost touch with the people, and consequently his fall within the ANC had more to do with his fall in popularity and the corruption of ANC members who were looking to escape prosecution, than any of his personal misgivings. Zuma, however, was a different story, and Zapiro took every opportunity during this period to highlight his ineptness as a leader and future president, taking aim most often at the corruption and rape charges against him that came to light in the early 2000s.

In Figure 70 below, we see Mbeki depicted as a King Arthur-like figure (thanks to the play on the Arthurian kingdom of Camelot to read Scamelot) who, even though he rules over a 'wonky table' that hides the rats of various scams, has taken a stand and expelled one of his knights with his Arms Deal scam (making a clear reference to Zuma's expulsion as deputy president). The cartoon, as with most of Zapiro's commentary surrounding Mbeki, lauds him as acting boldly in an attempt to 'stop the rot'. And even though Zapiro highlights that Mbeki is the leader of 'Scamelot', and thus has ties to the scams taking place under the table, he downplays his responsibility as the president attempts to 'put things right' by expelling Zuma. It can also be noted that the knights of the 'wonky table' appear to be doing their best to

hold on and keep the rats concealed under the table, and thus out of the eyes of Mbeki, who otherwise would likely expel them too.

Figure 70

This cartoon was one of the first to highlight Zuma as an outcast of the ANC, and a man who needed to be publically shamed and exiled by the South African community and government. What followed on from this cartoon were numerous others which hinged on showcasing the ousted deputy president's 'dirty laundry' in an attempt to prove his incompetence to hold office. Most of these cartoons were simple, and lacked the nuances and metaphors often seen in Zapiro's earlier work pertaining to Mandela and Mbeki. Two clear examples of this trend can be noted in Figures 71 and 72 below.

The first example (Figure 71) presents Zuma as a piece of evidence alongside case evidence from his charges of corruption (an 'encrypted fax'[51]) and rape (a test tube containing his DNA) with the question 'Presidential Material?' posed underneath. Consequently, Zapiro used this cartoon to demonstrate that South Africans should question the credibility of Zuma as a future president, even though, later on, Zuma was found not guilty on both these charges. Instead, this type of commentary highlights Zapiro's constant inferences, even after Zuma's election (which will be considered later in this chapter), that he is a man not fit to hold office in South Africa.

[51] During the corruption charges brought against Schabir Shaik, a encrypted fax was entered into evidence that detailed a bribe paid to Zuma for his support in the Arms Deal.

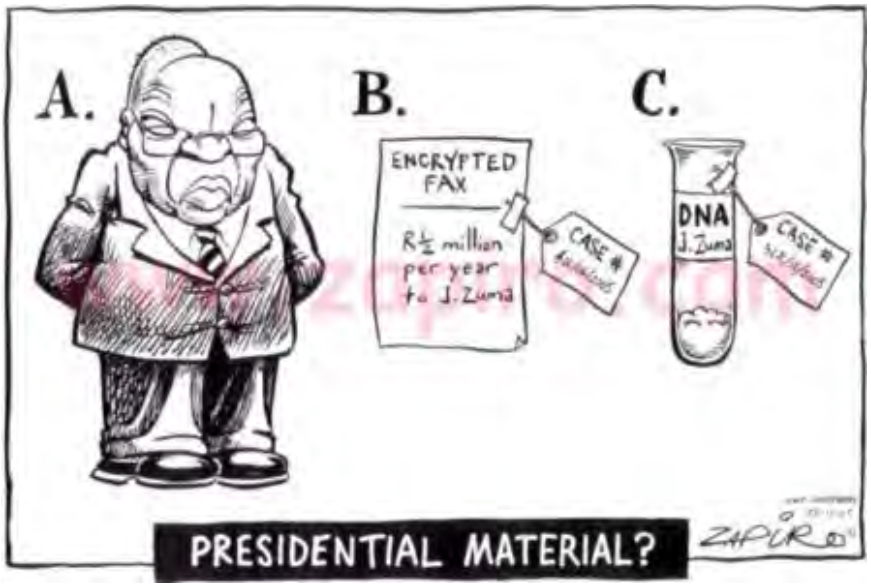

Figure 71

Figure 72, while containing a limited play on words, for South Africans to 'face the fax', re-affirms Zapiro's lack of subtlety as he illustrates a fax with Zuma's face and the word 'corrupt' emblazoned across it. Again, Zapiro makes reference to the encrypted fax that detailed monies paid to Zuma fraudulently, and simultaneously creates a disambiguous cartoon that paints Zuma as guilty, especially as this representation alludes to the format of a 'Wanted Poster' most often seen coming through police department fax machines in the movies.

Figure 72

Essentially, Zapiro creates a trial by cartoon for Zuma in which he is found guilty of corruption over and over again. This occurred despite the fact that Zuma,

who was implicated in dealings with Shabir Shaik, his financial advisor convicted of fraud in 2005, was never formally charged. The case that surrounded Zuma in relation to Shaik's fraudulent dealings was dropped soon after Shaik's conviction due to a number of legal technicalities. Zuma argued that the claims of corruption made against him were politically motivated and thus explained why no formal case could ever be heard because he was innocent (Berger, 2007). Yet Zapiro continued to implicate Zuma and made it obvious that the verdict in Shaik's trial was directly linked back to Zuma, as can be seen below in Figure 73. This cartoon, which outlines Zuma's face as a connect-the-dots puzzle, indicates once more that Zuma is guilty of corruption. It implies that one merely needs to join the dots of evidence presented in Shaik's trial to uncover that the man behind the wrong-doing was Zuma, and thus reach a verdict in terms of who was ultimately responsible.

Figure 73

Even after Shaik's trial, and the case against Zuma was dropped, Zapiro continued to draw attention to Zuma's questionable dealings in relation to the Arms Deal. However, what was most interesting during this period are the intertextual references that Zapiro makes to some of his older cartoons to represent Zuma. During the earlier part of this thesis, cartoons which likened old apartheid leaders and their regime to dinosaurs were mentioned. Zapiro revives these themes to help highlight four issues pertaining to Zuma. Firstly, as can be seen in Figure 74, Zapiro

makes reference to the assumption that Zuma would politically not survive either his rape case, or the links that tied him to Schabir Shaik's corruption trial. However, like the dinosaurs from the Jurassic Park movie, in which the thought-to-be extinct creatures were resurrected, so too has Zuma resumed his life as a politician.

Figure 74

Secondly, the Zuma dinosaur portrayed in the above cartoon appears as a silhouetted monster destroying a building labelled 'Rule of Law'. One could argue that by using a silhouette Zapiro creates an ominous monster that lurks in the shadows, but simultaneously can also act as a reference to Zuma's shadowy dealings that ultimately undermined the justice system that could not prosecute him. Thirdly, it can be argued that this cartoon takes a subtle swipe at Zuma's traditional Zulu background. Carefully drawn by Zuma's nose, is what looks like a bone piercing. This type of iconography was often used during colonial rule to depict 'savage' traditional peoples who had yet to convert to more 'civilised' ways of life, as was seen in Chapter 3's discussion of William Cruikshank's 'All the Hottentots Capering Ashore'. Consequently, it can be reasoned that the barbaric Zuma dinosaur is made out to be even more savage as he is likened to typical connotations of a cannibalistic brute.

Figure 75

Finally though, if we move back to the underlying intertextual references to some of Zapiro's other cartoons we find that he used the same Jurassic Park theme to represent 'Boerassic Park' – a place in which the outdated and extinct policies of the Nationalist government lives on in Afrikaner South Africa. Similarly to earlier cartoons, in which the Park attracted tourists to marvel at the oddities of the apartheid system, 'Zumassic Park' (as seen in Figure 75 above) gives tourists, guided by Mbeki (highlighting the president's attempt to bring Zuma's crimes to light), the opportunity to observe the various scandals of Zuma's political history, such as his links to the imprisoned Schabir Shaik. Additionally, by drawing on the link between Zapiro's earlier cartoons and these ones, it can also be argued that Zapiro creates a subtle link between Zuma and the old apartheid leaders. Essentially, Zapiro places Zuma on the same immoral and reprehensible level as those politicians that oversaw and maintained one of the worst government systems of the 20th century. Consequently, one can equate Zuma, and what he represents as a politician, as the worst thing to emerge out of South Africa's new democracy – a theme used by Zapiro which follows Zuma into his presidency.

6.3.6 Conclusion: The Rise of Jacob Zuma

Those cartoons which highlighted the rise of Jacob Zuma represented a turning point in Zapiro's work. These cartoons became focussed more on the individual character of South Africa's 'president-in-waiting', unlike previous cartoons

which had depicted South Africa's first two democratically elected presidents. It can be posited that if Zapiro had failed to comment on Zuma's fraudulent dealings while he rose to power within the ANC, it could have undermined the cartoonist's role as a social commentator. However, there are a number of examples from which one could question Zapiro's responsibility as a cartoonist because he takes such significant aim at Jacob Zuma over and above other politicians. There are two significant elements based on the above analysis that could lead one to argue that Zapiro has been irresponsible in his depiction of Jacob Zuma during this period. Firstly, one could highlight that he failed to bring adequate attention to other politicians who were involved in corruption, and secondly, placed too much blame on Zuma with regard to the political rift that occurred in the ANC at the end of Mbeki's term.

Considering the first point above, it must be noted that one of the most important politicians who appeared to have escaped excessive criticism during this period was then-ANC Chief Whip of Parliament Tony Yengeni. Like Zuma, Yengeni was implicated in the Arms Deal, however unlike Zuma, he was charged and arrested for fraud as the "biggest casualty of the scandal surrounding [the] multi-billion pound arms deal" (Carroll, 2003: 1). During this period Zapiro dedicated only fourteen cartoons to Yengeni's case and conviction (he dedicated more than 120 cartoons to Zuma during the same period), even though he was one of the most powerful players in the ruling party. However, it cannot be stated that this lack of commentary was irresponsible because it is likely that Zapiro's limited consideration for Yengeni, and other political players implicated in corruption, was because Zuma, in the eyes of many South Africans, seemed to 'escape' prosecution (*Cape Argus*, 2005). As was established during Chapter 1, the aim of a political cartoonist is "to keep a jaundiced eye on democracy and those threatening it" (Lamb, 2004: 4), and in order to fulfil this role it was important for Zapiro to highlight the impact that Zuma, who flouted the law so openly, could have on South Africa if he became the country's next president.

Additionally, if one considers this argument in relation to the concept of *ubuntu,* as discussed in Chapter 4, this thesis argues that the publication of these Zuma cartoons was important for the development of South Africa's community.

While many politicians concentrate on those aspects of *ubuntu* which advocate that dignity needs to be protected in order to maintain a caring community (Fourie, 2007), Blankenberg's (1999) point, which considers *ubuntu* as a paradigm that encourages dialogue between all individuals within a society, is far more pertinent in relation to Zapiro's commentary of Zuma within these cartoons. Blankenberg (1999) argues that a community is reflective of the individuals of whom it consists, and therefore, if individuals are considered to be corrupt, the community is required to discuss these accusations openly to avoid being labelled as a fraudulent whole. Consequently, through the work of individuals like Zapiro, one is able to add layers of discussion to issues facing South Africa's young democracy, and thus help individuals consider various social, cultural and political morals that would otherwise be hidden under fragments of politicking and bureaucracy.

More importantly though, is that while Zapiro has used these cartoons to highlight Zuma's corrupt behaviour, he utilised discourses which were already circulating in the public sphere. It is not only the duty of a political cartoonist to draw attention to issues facing society and comment on them but, as Lamb (2004) points out, to utilise news and information that is at the forefront of society's consciousness. If cartoonists were to create discussion around little known events or experiences only understood by the artist, the audience would not have sufficient context to understand the commentator's preferred meaning. Therefore, one cannot argue that the above cartoons were unfair to Zuma because Zapiro, while representing his personal truth about Zuma (as cartoonists are meant to do), did so in a way that utilised information that was already in the public domain.

However, there is another important point to consider in this argument, because while Zapiro appears not to have acted irresponsibly, or presented undesirable elements that could be deemed unfair (as per the SRRS standard) in cartoons relating to Zuma and corruption, the same cannot be said for those cartoons which pitted him and Mbeki against each other. In these cartoons it appears that once again Zapiro limited the blame on Thabo Mbeki even though there was sufficient evidence and dialogue in the press that linked Zuma's corruption charges to a political conspiracy to have him ousted from the ANC by Mbeki (Mthethwa, 2005). As already mentioned, the Arms Deal implicated numerous

politicians, including Mbeki; however, Zapiro never picked up on this theme in his cartoons and instead concentrated on highlighting that Zuma's corruption charges were legitimate, had split the ruling party into factions, and had consequently brought the ruling party into disrepute. And while the role of a cartoonist is to use their own interpretation of events, and it is a legitimate tactic to lambast a high profile individual who has insulted the sensibilities of a cartoonist (Jenson, 2012), Zapiro appeared to be content touting the official party line – that the ANC may have criminal rogues in their ranks, but Zuma was not a reflection of the party as a whole. Therefore, what is most problematic in relation to these examples is not the way in which Zapiro represented Zuma, but that he has failed to create what Eko (2007) would describe as an alternative discourse to counter the official party lines of dominant political forces. Consequently, it could be argued that in relation to Zuma at this time, Zapiro acted as a mouthpiece for those in the ANC who sided with Mbeki and wanted to see Zuma's exit from politics.

6.4 22 September 2008 – 30 April 2009

6.4.1 The Forgotten President

However, Zuma did not leave South Africa's ruling party, and the challenges raised by him within the ANC ended up testing South Africa's democracy. After Zuma's initial removal from the deputy presidentship in 2005, the ANC National Executive Committee chose to fire President Mbeki six months before his term as president formally ended in September 2008, and elected Zuma as the party's new president. The official reason for Mbeki's ousting, it was argued, was because Judge Chris Nicholson (who oversaw Jacob Zuma's corruption charges) had ruled that either Mbeki or his executive had impeded the National Prosecuting Authority's dealings with Zuma's case (Mofokeng, Kgosana & Ndlangisa, 2008), and thus members of the ANC felt that Mbeki no longer put the party first – a point that Zapiro did not entertain in his work. However, the truth may have had more to do with cultural factionalism between members of the ANC than anything else, but either way it meant that South Africa would be without a President-elect until the elections in April 2009. Kgalema Motlanthe was thus elected by the South African National Assembly to hold office until that time, even though most in the ANC considered him

as a place-holder for Zuma (the ANC party president of the time), and consequently commentators like Zapiro barely made an effort to mention Motlanthe.

In fact, one could label this period as Zapiro's 'missing six months' because he only published 25 cartoons during this period and spent more time commenting on international politics in the United States and Middle East than on the turbulence taking place in South Africa's government. During Motlanthe's six month presidency, Zapiro only depicted him six times, and only twice without Zuma. In both these instances he was shown as a care-taker, appearing reluctant to clean up the mess that had been left behind after the Mbeki/Zuma debacle. However, Zapiro's cartoons that featured both Motlanthe and Zuma are extremely interesting because not only do we begin to see the extension of Zapiro's distaste for Zuma, but also the cartoonist's disregard and cynicism in relation to the role taken up by Motlanthe. The two most important cartoons during this period are the ones featured as Figures 76 and 77 below.

Figure 76

In Figure 76, Motlanthe is depicted as a parrot caged in Zuma's showerhead (a more detailed discussion and explanation of the showerhead is considered in the next section). Represented as a parrot, the interim president is firstly merely repeating what he has learnt from his owner (Zuma) and thus does not have any real power as President as he squawks instructions to help protect Zuma, and secondly, Motlanthe appears trapped in his presidential cage lacking the freedom to either

speak or act for himself. This theme is reiterated in Figure 77 as Motlanthe is placed as a ventriloquist's dummy on Zuma's lap. Again, there are connotations that Zuma is speaking through Motlanthe, controlling the policies and decisions seen in the document held by Motlanthe, like a puppet master. The interplay between the two characters shows Zuma telling his puppet to greet him as 'Mr President', thereby reinforcing the argument that Motlanthe is merely a 'place-holder' president and that it is Zuma who has true control. Essentially, what can be concluded from Zapiro's limited examples of the President during this period is that Motlanthe does not constitute a real leader, but only a hollowed out version that is directed from the inside by the ANC's party president Zuma.

Figure 77

6.4.2 Conclusion: The Forgotten President

While there is very little to conclude from this section in relation to how Zapiro depicted Motlanthe and South Africa's government, it is important to consider the limited commentary that Zapiro provided in relation to South Africa during these six months. During this period there were a considerable number of cartoons dedicated to the American election which saw Barack Obama become the United States' first black president, which could account for the lack of commentary on South Africa's own politics. However, South Africa was also gearing up for its own elections during

this period (to which five cartoons were dedicated), and rather than highlighting the various stances of different political movements (only two cartoons focussed on oppositional parties), Zapiro focussed most of his political attention on Zuma (five cartoons in total) in ways that one could argue attempted to discredit the ANC president.

It must be noted that there were a few instances in the run-up to South Africa's 2008 general election in which Zapiro considered the strength and appeal of the newly founded COPE[52] political party, but he did little to interrogate the party's policies or party members (some of whom were also involved in corruption). Allan Boesak, for example, was elected to a leadership role in the new party even though he had been found guilty and imprisoned during Mandela's presidency for fraud. Instead, these cartoons ridiculed the new party members' attempts to retain some semblance of political power after leaving the ANC, rather than provide useful commentary on the party's role in the upcoming election.

Perhaps Zapiro's limited dialogue surrounding oppositional parties is due to his feeling that the ANC would inevitably win and Jacob Zuma would become president. Consequently, it was more useful to create a discussion about the government that South Africans would elect rather than concentrate on individuals and parties that would have little bearing on the future of the country. However, what emerged was not a discussion of the politics or policies that the president needed to be held accountable for, such as Mbeki's stance on HIV/AIDs and Zimbabwe, but the beginnings of a personal attack on Zuma that began bringing up considerations of the role that political cartoonists should play in South Africa's political landscape (Hess, 2011).

6.5 1 May 2009 – 31 December 2013

6.5.1 Zuma's Patriarchy

Thus, during Motlanthe's interim presidency and the latter part of Mbeki's term, Zapiro spent a considerable amount of time criticising Zuma, most often in

[52] The Congress of the People (COPE) was a breakaway party that emerged after Mbeki was asked to step down as president. The party was mostly made up of ex-ANC members who were either aligned with Mbeki, or who had become disillusioned with the policies of the ANC.

relation to his rape trial and allegations of corruption. This thesis has already discussed many of the cartoons that dealt with the link between Zuma and allegations of corruption and fraud, but has waited to consider those cartoons which dealt with Zuma's rape charges. Even though Zuma's rape trial occurred during Mbeki's presidency, and thus outside the time-scope of this section, many of the metaphors and criticisms raised by Zapiro during this period have been carried forward into those cartoons which weigh in on Zuma's presidency. Therefore, it is useful to introduce Zuma's presidency with a discussion surrounding his rape trial in order to provide context for Zapiro's more recent cartoons.

In 2005, Zuma was accused of raping the daughter of a friend. He denied the charges and claimed that they had had consensual relations; however, the charges led to a full-blown investigation and trial. It was soon discovered that Zuma's accuser was HIV-positive and during his trial, he told the court that he had taken a shower after sleeping with the woman to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS. This statement led to a large amount of criticism and ridicule from AIDS activists, social commentators (such as Figure 78) and the media, especially as Zuma was a former Chairperson of the South African National Aids Council and president of South Africa's Moral Regeneration Committee[53], and therefore considered to be more educated about the disease (Maughan & Gifford, 2006; Thom, 2006). The cartoon below was one of Zapiro's first comments regarding Zuma's remarks about taking a shower to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS. It highlights Zuma's attempt to scrub away the statement with stain remover in a shower, but as would have happened with the virus, the statement remains undamaged and intact under the water (much like the way Lady Macbeth attempted to rid herself of the 'damn spot' of blood that she could not wash off after the murder of King Duncan in the Shakespearian tragedy). Consequently, Zuma's statement could be considered a blot that has remained on his character, even after the charges of rape were dismissed by the courts.

[53] An organisation that attempts to "facilitate, coordinate all processes and initiatives aimed at combatting moral degeneration" (MRM, nd). Aspects of this movement aim to develop ethical leadership, "sound family values" among South Africans, and fighting corruption.

Figure 78

Zapiro used the image of Zuma taking a shower, and his decision not to use a condom to prevent HIV/AIDS as more evidence to highlight Zuma's ineptitude, hypocrisy and immoral nature in relation to his leadership. However, after Zuma's trial returned a not guilty verdict, many believed that Zuma, his supporters, and lawyers had victimised the accuser as a defence rather than highlight Zuma's innocence in the matter (*The Guardian*, 2006), and a point reflected in Zapiro's cartoon labelled as Figure 79 below. In this cartoon, Zapiro highlights how Zuma's accuser became the accused as she took abuse from Zuma's lawyer and the crowds outside, all while Zuma sat smirking. The judge eventually ruled that the accuser could not be trusted as she had 'cried rape' previously (*The Guardian*, 2006). The woman, who was only known as Khwezi, eventually had to leave the country to be given asylum in The Netherlands due to the ongoing abuse she suffered from Zuma's supporters (Gifford & Fabrisius, 2007). One such example was that during and after the trial, Zuma's supporters burned effigies of the woman outside the courthouse to highlight what they intended to do to her for bringing such salacious claims against the politician.

Figure 79

Zapiro made an effort to demonstrate that even though Zuma had been acquitted of all charges, the verdict and the case had left very little of the deputy president's credibility intact. Figure 80 is one of Zapiro's most detailed representations of Zuma at the time, and contains a number of semiotic devices which were carried forward into later cartoons. The three most important elements to take away from this cartoon are the showerhead, representing Zuma's blithe dismissal of contracting HIV/AIDS (and one which would consequently become synonymous with Zapiro's representation of Zuma), Zuma's machine gun, associated with the song *Umshini Wami* (Bring me my machine gun) that Zuma sang to supporters outside the courthouse during his trial, and Zapiro's representation of Zuma as a pig, which this thesis argues has three important connotations.

Figure 80

One could reason that by representing Zuma as a pig dehumanises him, detailed in the discussion surrounding the work of Eko (2007) and Parton (2012) in Chapter 2 in which it was highlighted that satirists have, for centuries, represented humans as animals when wanting to belittle and diminish a subject to the level of the sub-human. And while this is a valid statement in relation to this cartoon, it is far too shallow an analysis to make if one considers the context of the discourse. This cartoon was drawn in response to Zuma's rape trial, and the testimony which he made while on the stand. Part of Zuma's defence, and referenced in the leopard skinned cape worn by him in the image above, was his Zulu cultural context. It was argued by Zuma that the accuser "had signalled a desire to have sex with him by wearing a knee-length skirt to his house and sitting with legs crossed, revealing her thigh. Indeed, he said, he was actually obligated to have sex. His accuser was aroused, he said, and 'in Zulu culture, you cannot just leave a woman if she is ready [to have sex]'" (Wines, 2006). Zuma went so far as to claim that if he had not fulfilled his duty as a Zulu patriarch to have sex with her after her subtle come hither approach, it would have been worse than rape (Wines, 2006). Consequently, one could presume that by choosing to represent Zuma as a pig, Zapiro is making a link to the common adage in which highly patriarchal men are considered to be 'sexist pigs', reinforced by the MCP on his shirt, which arguably stands for 'Male Chauvinist Pig'.

Many commentators also argued that because the case had been such a high-profile case, with so much support from outside the courtroom, Zuma had received preferential treatment in the way the trial was dealt with (Nandipha, 2005). Additionally, there were mutterings that Zuma's success, and the failure of the ANC to condemn Zuma supporters who stoned the accuser and burnt pictures of her outside the courthouse, undermined the rights of women and rape victims (Wines, 2006). Therefore, it can also be argued that Zapiro has made a subtle reference to *Animal Farm* in which the pigs, after taking control of the farm, declare that "all animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" (Orwell, 2003: 133), thus highlighting that Zuma was 'more equal' than a 'normal' rape accused, and had been afforded more leeway. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that one of the primary themes of *Animal Farm* was to denounce communism as a credible political movement, just as one of themes of this cartoon is to denounce Zuma as a credible political candidate.

However, even though many of these metaphors have been carried into Zapiro's later cartoons of Zuma, the most prevalent icon has been the showerhead. For a period after his rape trial, Zuma was depicted with a showerhead protruding from his head, hanging over him as a reminder of the charges which were brought against him, as well as his flippant attitude toward rape, women's rights and HIV/AIDS. Once Zuma was elected president though, Zapiro decided to ease his criticism to a certain degree. Between May 2009 and September 2009, Zapiro detached the showerhead from Zuma's head, leaving it in mid-air floating above Zuma. This representation acted as a measure for how well Zuma was performing in office according to Zapiro (*Mail & Guardian*, 2009). The better job he did, the further away the showerhead was drawn from his head, but when evidence of corruption or questionable behaviour became apparent in the press, the showerhead would be drawn closer to Zuma's head. During this period, as can be seen in Figure 81, Zapiro used the showerhead as a metaphoric moral compass of Zuma's actions as president. Essentially, if Zuma acted as a moral and ethical person Zapiro would cease to use the showerhead as a tool to ridicule the president.

Figure 81

At one point, it appeared that Zapiro had decided to abandon the showerhead entirely as Zuma spent the last few months of 2009 'showerless'. However, the beginning of 2010 saw the emergence of the shower once again, as it dropped from the heavens to re-insert itself into Zuma, as depicted in Figure 82.

Figure 82

This cartoon, labelled as unfinished business, could be considered as a follow-on to the 'Rape of Lady Justice' cartoon (see page 8) which acted as a commentary on how Zuma, with the help of his supporters from various political

parties and social groups, had used and abused the justice system to escape prosecution for rape and corruption. In Figure 82, Zuma is shown unbuckling his pants, as he was shown in 'The Rape of Lady Justice' cartoon, suggesting that he will again abuse and violate the justice system to help 'finish her off'. This time, however, he is not protecting himself, but using his influence to exploit the system to 'pardon' the crimes of Shabir Schaik and apartheid killer Eugene de Kock. This narrative emerged after Zuma defended Shaik who, after being granted medical parole by Zuma in 2009, was seen playing golf, smoking cigars and enjoying luxury holidays despite claims that he was terminally ill. Additionally, there were reports in various newspapers that Eugene de Kock, the old head of the apartheid government's secret police, had been granted a meeting with Zuma to discuss the possibility of his own presidential pardon (Jacobson, 2010). However, despite the criticism levelled at Zuma by Zapiro for the way he handled these two cases, this cartoon, and the re-introduction of the showerhead, can be seen as the opening act to Zapiro's vilification of Zuma as president.

One of the most contested themes that pervade Zapiro's work in relation to Zuma is his portrayal of the president as a philandering womaniser, evidenced in his testimony during his rape and his promiscuous lifestyle, which Zuma justified during his rape trial as being part of his cultural heritage. Critics of Zapiro often complain that this representation is unfair because Zuma was acquitted of all charges, and consequently, the cartoonist is using unfair tactics that demean the dignity of the president, and Zulu culture, by constantly making reference to his sexual appetite, even though Zulu tradition lauds men with high sex drives as a sign of good 'manhood' (Harvey, 2008).

However, on examining Zapiro's work very few cartoons make reference to Zuma as a rapist, and those that do refer to the way in which he 'screws over' various social systems, such as the rule of law and free speech. These examples will be dealt with shortly, but it is first important to highlight the general ways in which Zapiro showcases Zuma as a highly sexual and traditionally patriarchal man. It has been found that those cartoons which sexualised Zuma referred more often to his numerous wives, girlfriends and mistresses than to him as a violent sex criminal, as was presumed when this research was first undertaken. At last count, Zuma has

had six wives, a number of girlfriends and fathered more than 20 children. Consequently, Zapiro often portrays Zuma as having a harem in which his many female companions fawn over and worship him, as can be noted in the example labelled Figure 83.

Figure 83

In this example, we see Zuma, depicted as a Roman Emperor, enjoying the luxuries of his rulership, and the adulation of five women who serve him numerous carnal pleasures – as indicated by the food, wine, money and naked bodies – while artist Brett Murray is led away to the Colosseum. Ironically, Murray is being punished for a painting he created which depicted Zuma with his penis exposed, in an attempt to highlight the president's highly charged patriarchal values. Zuma, and many of his supporters, took offence of Murray's work, citing that he undermined the dignity of Zuma and elevated racist stereotypes of black men being sexually charged (SAPA, 2012). It was deemed so offensive that the painting was vandalised by a visitor to the gallery in which it was displayed, which in turn sparked an outcry from critics that the painting should have been censored. It can be argued that Zapiro, like many others in the media, considered the attempt to censor Murray's work an attack on artistic freedom, if one considers the cartoons he drew in response to the furore. Besides the cartoon which depicted Zuma as a giant penis, highlighted in Chapter 1 (see page 10), Zapiro also drew Figure 84 below which replicated Murray's painting, and replaced Zuma's penis with a showerhead, spurting the many indiscretions that Zuma had committed.

Figure 84

In addition to the 'Penis' example featured in Chapter 1, Figure 84 reinforces Zapiro's disrespect for Zuma as he addresses the president directly, stating that he has no apology for Zuma, and if he wants respect he needs to earn it. The showerhead which replaces Zuma's penis squirts the words 'sex scandal', 'corruption', 'nepotism', and 'cronyism', helping highlight the many misgivings of Zuma's character that have led to his fall from respectability in the eyes of Zapiro. More importantly, however, is that by using the showerhead as a penis-substitute, Zapiro re-emphasises that his showerhead metaphor is a measurement of Zuma's morals as president, and so long as he continues to 'wash' in its sullied waters he will never gain the cartoonist's respect.

Zapiro's dissatisfaction with Zuma, and his government, is most obvious in those cartoons which compare Zuma with Mandela. As can be seen in Figure 85, Zapiro represents Mandela as a towering figure over the infant-sized Zuma who totters after him. Mandela holds his biography *Long Walk to Freedom*, while the crowds in the background cheer on the retired president and thank him for his 20 years of service. In the cartoon, Mandela questions the name of Zuma's book, called *Long ***k to Freedom,* with seeming astonishment. Not only is Zuma made to appear like a toddler, waddling after Mandela in an effort to keep up with the giant strides of the retired president, but, simultaneously, Zuma represented as a child highlights the immaturity and frivolity of his own political legacy. By making reference to Zuma's rampant sexual escapades in the title of Zuma's faux biography,

Zapiro insinuates that unlike Mandela, whose book outlined the legacy of his life and political struggles to achieve freedom for all South Africans, Zuma will be remembered for his sexual appetite rather than any political success. Additionally this book could be interpreted as the way in which Zuma was able to 'screw over' the justice system to obtain personal freedom in his quest to avoid jail-time for corruption.

Figure 85

Consequently, and with the knowledge of his polygamous marriage, numerous mistresses and children, Zuma's sex life has become a point of criticism for Zapiro. Often the cartoonist draws Zuma with either a multitude of babies surrounding him, or claiming to be the father to crowds of people (as can be seen in the *Star Wars* referenced cartoon labelled as Figure 86). But most importantly, is that in representing Zuma as a virile, traditional man, Zapiro is also highlighting the embedded patriarchy which Zuma, and his supporters, use as a means to justify the president's behaviour.

Figure 86

The defence of this patriarchy became most apparent in 2010 when it was revealed by newspapers that Zuma's then second wife (fourth in total), Nompumelelo Ntuli (known as MaNtuli), had been expelled from Zuma's home over the previous Christmas period for an alleged affair with her bodyguard (Jasson Da Cost, 2010). It was claimed by newspapers that Zuma and his supporters were outraged that the Second Lady had "embarrassed and upset all the Zuma family [and] was accompanied by elders back to her parents for guidance [because] the family was very angry with her" (Jasson Da Cost, 2010). Zapiro, along with many other critics, drew attention to the hypocrisy of the entire ordeal. In a cartoon produced for the *Sunday Times* (depicted as Figure 87), Zapiro shows Zuma admonishing his wife regarding the affair while a number of his children play in the crèche behind the couple. Consequently, Zapiro plays on the public's knowledge regarding Zuma's numerous children, borne from numerous women both in and out of wedlock, to highlight the double standards of the president. The cartoon references Zuma's outrage while simultaneously drawing attention to the president's belief that it is acceptable for him to have multiple affairs and wives, and thus numerous mothers for his children, but unacceptable for his numerous partners to have more than a single lover.

Figure 87

Additionally, this cartoon, thanks to the numerous babies drawn in the background, reinforces the perception that Zuma has a large sexual appetite that doesn't appear to be slowing down, even as he enters his 70s. All of these cartoons, while relatively tame and comical, help outline aspects of the president's personality which consequently creates a deeper dynamic when considering the few cartoons which link Zuma back to his rape charges.

Possibly one of the most macabre portrayals in relation to Zuma's rape allegations was done by Zapiro in August 2013 (Figure 88), in which he depicts Zuma as an almost demonic figure, locking Lady Justice in a dark basement. He leaves her handcuffed to a bed, and proclaims as he exits that if his appeal to disallow the release of the 'spy tapes' (linked to corruption charges brought against him in 2009) is successful, they will have another celebration. This cartoon again links back to Zapiro's 'Rape of Lady Justice' cartoon, in which it was implied that Zuma was 'raping' the justice system with the help of his cadres to escape prosecution for corruption. In Figure 88, Zapiro implies that Zuma was successful in his 'rape' of Lady Justice and will continue his violation of her if his appeal in relation to these charges is successful.

Figure 88

Additionally, Zapiro draws attention to Zuma's link to corruption as we see a safe marked 'Zuma Spy Tapes' placed next to the bed which holds Lady Justice. According to opposition parties these spy tapes hold the necessary evidence to charge and convict Zuma for fraud and corruption. However, Zuma and his legal team have blocked the release of these tapes for more than seven years, hiding what is contained therein, as implied in the above cartoon. Therefore, this cartoon is able to bring the two most damning charges against Zuma together and remind South Africans of his multiple indiscretions.

Consequently, with his empty looking eyes, Zuma is highlighted as a diabolical villain, likened to some of history's worst reported kidnappers and sexual predators (such as Wolfgang Přiklopil[54], John Jamelske[55] and Joseph Fritzel[56]) as he leaves Lady Justice handcuffed and trapped in the darkness of his basement as these criminals did to their victims. However, even though Zapiro has linked Zuma to some of the most disturbed sexual criminals in history, this cartoon elicited minimal response from commentators, critics and Zuma supporters – unlike those which displayed Zuma undoing his belt and trousers in other cartoons. One could

[54] Wolfgang Přiklopil kidnapped a ten-year old girl in Austria and held her hostage in his cellar until she escaped in 2006

[55] John Jamelske was a serial kidnapper and rapist who used to hold his victims prisoner in a concrete bunker under his backyard.

[56] Joseph Fritzel kept his daughter (and her children who he fathered while she was imprisoned) locked in the basement of his house for 24 years.

argue that one of the reasons for this disparity is that Figure 88 is slightly more subtle and leaves more room for reader interpretation. This cartoon, unlike Figure 82 and the 'Rape of Lady Justice, requires the reader to arrange Zapiro's past discourses, and the contained visual and written cues, into a narrative that concludes in rape, whereas his other cartoons are blatant in their depiction of Zuma as a rapist. Consequently, these cartoons become some of the most difficult to measure in relation to social responsibility.

6.5.2 Conclusion: Zuma's Patriarchy

If one questions whether Zapiro has fulfilled the mandate of a good cartoonist, there are a number of elements that point to a positive answer in relation to cartoons which dealt with his patriarchal values. Zapiro was able to create an alternative discourse of sorts, as proposed by Eko (2007) and Nyamnjoh (2009), as a response to the support that Zuma received from both the ANC and the wider public in relation to his rape charges. Importantly, during the rape trial Zapiro made an effort to draw attention, not only to Zuma, but to large number of South Africans who converted the victim into the villain, and thus as Hodgart (1969) would have argued, was able to transform proceedings into a distorted mirror of South African society to help highlight the irony of supporting an accused rapist, at that time, in a country plagued by gender violence.

Added to this, Zapiro was able to draw attention to Zuma's hypocrisy and failure to respect his role as the Chairperson of the South African National Aids Council, by emphasising the politician's glib remarks and actions surrounding the transmission of HIV/AIDS during his rape trial, as shown in Figures 78 and 80. Additionally, Zapiro also highlighted Zuma's vociferous sexual appetite and what the cartoonist considered to be the rejection of traditional family values through cartoons that highlighted his numerous affairs and children (Figures 86 and 87), even though he had headed the Moral Regeneration Committee that advocated for sound family values and therefore brought Zuma's morals into question.

Some could argue that these portrayals were pointed representations that helped to demonstrate a lack of credibility in Zuma's character as he flouted the

objectives of two important social organisations that were meant to serve as credible social directives for South Africa's larger society. And it was to these supposed attacks on Zuma's personhood that many took offence, citing that "Zapiro has gone off the mark and he needs to be reminded of the basic tenets of press freedom for which insult and defamation are not counted amongst them" (ANC, SACP & ANCYL, 2008). However, while there are problems with the assumptions of the ANC, SACP and ANCYL's (2008) statement insomuch as cartoons do not fall under traditional press frameworks for ethics (Lamb, 2004; Mason, 2010a), and that Zapiro has merely used discourses already in circulation and therefore cannot be held liable for defamation (Lamb, 2004; Harrison, 1981; Eko, 2007; Mason, 2010a; Mason, 2010b), there is one argument that could explain why cartoons surrounding Zuma's patriarchal values were so irksome, and thus highlight why these cartoons could be considered socially irresponsible in some regard.

If one interrogates the arguments made in Chapter 4 regarding social responsibility and *ubuntu* it can be concluded that one aspect of *ubuntu* considers that an individual's indiscretions may be brought to light if its end result will benefit the community as a whole (Tomaselli, 2009). This argument closely resembles one of the pillars of utilitarian ethics which states that one should strive to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number of people (White, 2010; Christians *et al*, 2009). Therefore, one could argue that by highlighting Zuma's questionable personal nature gives South Africans an opportunity to question his role as a leader and possibly assist in keeping a corrupt individual out of the country's government, thus leading to a better society for more South Africans.

However, one of the biggest problems to have emerged from these cartoons is not Zapiro's attack on Zuma, but what this thesis argues is poor context for traditional Zulu culture. If one considers the argument above, using *ubuntu* as a framework to judge social responsibility, by commenting on Zuma's indiscretions by using his cultural background as a reference point, these cartoons move away from commenting on Zuma as an individual, but to one that critiques an entire ethnic group, and thus presents an alternative type of criticism which could be deemed undesirable and damaging to the masses. Part of this problem is compounded by the fact that Zapiro is a white, English-speaking South African who has embedded

Western values that form the foundation of his character. While this is not problematic in itself, it does create a unique dimension from which he operates and thus makes it easier for his critics to target his representations as racist interpretations. This thesis does not align itself with these critics or claim that Zapiro is racist; however, it does argue that some of these cartoons have descended to a level of undesirability used by the SRRS assessment that requires an investigation to determine how these undesirable traits measure up to the concept of social responsibility.

Just as a Christian is influenced by the teachings of their religion on their character, Zuma's Zulu heritage has played a large role in his personhood and thus affects how he conducts himself, especially with regard to gender relations. And while Western norms have developed to dictate that one should remain in monogamous relationships, Zulu culture considers polygamy to be an acceptable norm though does not advocate promiscuity, as a way to highlight strong masculine values. Therefore, it becomes problematic for Zapiro to hold Zuma accountable to Western norms and criticise him for embracing a lifestyle that adheres to a belief system instilled in Zuma from a young age. Some could argue that Zapiro has a right to criticise Zuma's lifestyle after he chaired the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) which advocates family values. However, the Movement does not define the type of family values that one should adhere to with its website explaining that "the family in **all** its cultural and religious manifestations is an important agent of socialisation and a major instrument for nurturing sound family values, attitudes and behaviour" (MRM, nd – my emphasis). Consequently, the Movement would condone Zuma's polygamy provided that his family unit is strong and he provides for them, as per cultural expectations, but would not condone his promiscuity.

Therefore, the way in which Zapiro represents Zuma's promiscuity as an extension of Zulu polygamy as a way to critique his character also brings into question the credibility of the Zulu tradition. And while it is often difficult to separate a person from their cultural values, Zapiro may have created a more poignant representation if he had drawn attention to patriarchy in general rather than what could be considered as criticism to an entire ethnic group. It is not often that one finds a political cartoonist drawing awareness to a politician's religious background,

for example, unless something has drawn particular attention to it; therefore it seems unfair to do the same with one's cultural roots. This is not to say that Zuma's Zuluness should not have been used as a tool at times, but it should have been made apparent that it was based on something that Zuma had said or that had been given attention to in a particular news report, as was evidenced in Figure 80 after Zuma declared during his rape trial that part of his indiscretion was based on his own understanding of Zulu culture.

Essentially, by simplifying Zuma's polygamy and sexual indiscretions as part and parcel of the same cultural practice highlighted that Zapiro was less concerned with critiquing policy or action directly related to Zuma's presidency, and thus moved away, in part, from working with the 'news-of-the-day', because he was focussed on criticising Zuma as an individual and not as a politician in many of these cartoons. It must be noted that Zapiro never did this with any of Zuma's predecessors as the previous analyses have shown. Zapiro himself was quoted in 2007 as saying that in relation to portraying political figures, he was "greatly concerned with an investigation of the nuances and difficulties of being in government as opposed to the simplicity of being in struggle or revolution. This sort of cartoon often shows empathy with the protagonist rather than all-out character assassination" (Koeble & Robins, 2007: 318). However, he also acknowledged during that period that his then recent portrayal of Jacob Zuma had become "a bit stereotypically one-dimensional" (Koeble & Robins, 2007: 318), and a point that this thesis argues has continued well into Zuma's presidency.

If one considers Zapiro's stereotyped reflection of Zuma as a Zulu man in consideration with arguments made previously in this thesis, two important points emerge. Firstly, if one studies the work of Christians *et al* (2009) presented in Chapter 4, it becomes evident that to be socially responsible a social commentator needs to decide if their observations will help nurture shared understandings or if their publication will cause unnecessary harm. Unfortunately, by developing a line of critique that appears to take aim at Zuma's Zuluness, it becomes possible to argue that Zapiro may have created undue harm as his cartoons divide South Africans down ethnic lines. Essentially, Zapiro sets up a Western versus Zulu

dichotomy which pits Western gender values (seen as good) against Zulu patriarchy (seen as bad).

This leads to the second point, which links back to the work of Jauss (1982) in Chapter 3 and Hodgart (1969) and Gombrich (1999) in Chapter 2 in which a cartoonist needs to consider their audience. It is likely that most of Zapiro's conventional audience understand the role of political cartooning and Zapiro's style, or as Gombrich (1999) notes, the 'converted'. This implies that his usual audience (historically made up mostly of English-speaking white middle-class South Africans), while possibly taking offence, will understand the point of his offense and interpret the preferred meaning of the cartoon through the lens of his Western culture, education and ideology (Hodgart, 1969). Part of this engagement is to generate discussion and debate surrounding the topic that is addressed within the cartoon. However, if this dialogue moves out of the realm of Gombrich's (1999) converted (as has begun to happen as more black South Africans enter the fray of South Africa's middle class), it is then likely to be encountered by an audience who do not have the same types of social outlook. To create a discourse which has elements that pits Zulu values against Western values will likely lead to a situation in which the audience has an oppositional reading to the text, or what Jauss (1982) would argue as a failed meeting on the horizon of expectation between the audience and cartoonist.

Consequently, one can understand the resistance that some of Zapiro's cartoons have experienced and why so many South Africans have taken offence. While it is the job of a cartoonist to force society to look at themselves through a distorted mirror and reflect on their own idiosyncrasies (Hodgart, 1969; Koeble & Robins, 2007), it is problematic for a cartoonist to use ethnicity as a tool to stereotype an individual, without due cause, especially in a country like South Africa in which race and culture has been used as a tool for social division. However, the link to Zuma's rape trial, and the continued use of the showerhead, which Zapiro has carried through his cartoons of Zuma, has also led to indignation from some segments of South Africa's society. And even though this satirical element has no link to Zuma's background and is based purely on his actions, and not an ethnic stereotype, it can also be deemed to be undesirable in relation to its reception.

Nevertheless, it is not considered to be socially irresponsible in light of the arguments put forth in this thesis and thus lends itself to a discussion that is far more difficult to resolve.

As was pointed out in Chapter 1, many South Africans were offended by Zapiro's 'Rape of Lady Justice', citing multiple issues including the trivialisation of rape by using it as a metaphor (Solomon, 2011), an attack on Zuma's constitutional right to dignity as a citizen of South Africa (Swart, 2008), and, importantly for this discussion, his representation as a rapist even though the charges were dismissed by the courts (Harvey, 2008). This reminder of Zuma as an alleged rapist is one which pervades almost all of Zapiro's subsequent cartoons through the subtle use of the showerhead. Even though the showerhead does not represent rape, and thus has not irked as many South Africans, the fact that Zapiro has used it as a type of moral compass for his representations of Zuma has led to many critics claiming that the cartoonist is both insulting and defamatory (Dubin, 2012). Because the showerhead emerged from statements made by Zuma during his rape trial, his supporters have claimed that by consistently using it when representing Zuma, Zapiro has not respected the court ruling and continues to allege that the president is a rapist and therefore undermines the president's dignity (Mason, 2010a).

While some may consider the showerhead to be distasteful and an undesirable reminder, it is far from socially irresponsible or an infringement on his dignity. Social responsibility as a tool to protect dignity is based on the assumption that one does not heighten social tensions or advocate hate speech (Mason, 2010a; McQuail, 2010). There is no evidence that Zapiro's use of the showerhead has exasperated social tension in the way that was posited in relation to the cultural dichotomy between Western values and non-Western values in cartoons which made light of Zuma's promiscuous lifestyle, nor can one equate it to hate speech as it does not incite violence or social unrest in any way. Instead, the only unrest the use of the showerhead has caused seems to be among Zuma's acolytes who claim that its use borders on defamation (Dubin, 2012).

However, if one interrogates the legalities surrounding defamation it can be noted, as was highlighted through the work of Copteros (2013), that while Zuma, his

supporters, and other critics of Zapiro's work may find the showerhead offensive, it is not defamatory. Firstly, the most important element to prove when citing defamation is that one's reputation must be harmed. As had been proven by Zuma's continued popularity in ANC circles and government elections, it is difficult for one to argue that Zapiro's continued reference to Zuma's rape trial has undermined the president's status, and thus cannot be deemed defamatory. However, while some individuals accept this argument, they still maintain that from an African values stance, it is disrespectful to insult a man who is the leader of the country (Mthembu, 2012; Nzimande, 2012).

Yet it becomes obvious that these interpretations of respect and dignity, which these politicians claim to be based on African values, are problematic. Banda (2009: 236) points out that while "the tenets of the African traditional communalistic culture can reanimate civil society engagement, one must recognise that such traditional values have become 'fractured' in the midst of such cultural encroachments as colonialism and globalisation". Consequently, African values cannot be wholly African due to the influence of global culture, and like so many belief systems needs to be balanced with numerous other moral paradigms. And even if one pretends that African values have been untouched by colonial and global values and reduces the concept of respect to the idyllic idea of an intact *ubuntu* one is still faced with a number of issues.

If one critically analyses the African concept of *ubuntu*, it becomes apparent that critics of the press appear to be concerned with only one aspect of the value system. As was highlighted in Chapter 4, *ubuntu* is concerned with protecting dignity, but not necessarily the dignity of individuals (Blankenberg, 1999; Fourie, 2007); rather, it aims to protect the dignity of the community because the community is constituted by its interactions between individuals within it. Therefore, to protect the individual from criticism is to undermine the community who have a right, according to *ubuntu,* to share ideas in order to improve the lives of the community. Consequently, to hold one individual in higher esteem than the rest of the community undermines the notion of African values. Additionally, as argued by Griffin (2008), the entire concept of dignity is perpetuated out of the era of Enlightenment – a wholly Western ideal that puts the individual first – and thus becomes a difficult concept to

align with African values. Therefore, if one considers the use of the showerhead in Zapiro's representations of Zuma, it is difficult to find any argument that would align either social undesirability or social irresponsibility.

However, the few cartoons in which Zapiro did directly implicate Zuma as a rapist are more problematic in relation to social irresponsibility as defined by the SRRS checklist. While it is part of Zapiro's role as a cartoonist to question Zuma's actions as a political leader, and thus use the president's history as a tool for holding him accountable, the use of rape as a metaphor is the element within these cartoons that has been identified as the undesirable aspect that has sparked outrage, more so than representing Zuma as an alleged rapist. Zuma did not lose credibility as a politician as a result of these cartoons because he became president after they were published, nor have they caused undue social tension or violent provocations since he was elected, so therefore one cannot argue that this element is socially irresponsible.

If one addresses the issue of rape as a metaphor though, one could assume that it is socially irresponsible because, as stated by Christians *et al* (2009), a publication can be deemed irresponsible if it causes unnecessary social harm, and critics of these cartoons have claimed that they could trigger post-traumatic stress disorder in rape survivors (Solomon, 2011). However, it would be difficult to prove this as every individual, according to psychologists, is predisposed to traumatic triggers that are set off by a variety of elements (Elliott, 1997), and one cannot prove that it was the effect of a cartoon's image alone. Additionally, if cartoonists tried to avoid triggers, they would firstly be on a path to self-censorship which undermines the point of social commentary and secondly, would have no material to work with, and again undermine their role.

So while using rape as a metaphor is possibly in bad taste, and offensive, it is not socially irresponsible. Additionally, if one again reverts back to highlighting the arguments made by Chris Lamb (2004: 102) in Chapter 2, part of the cartoonist's job is not only to provide commentary, but to do so in a way that "awaken[s] society […] regardless of how unpleasant" it may be. And by drawing attention to rape, and Zuma's rape trial, Zapiro is able not only to hold Zuma accountable, but the South

African legal system, which so many believe fails the victims of rape (De Wet, 2013), as well. Consequently, Zapiro brings attention to gender violence in South Africa, and forces South Africans to deal with an abhorrent crime that so many are content to leave behind closed doors.

6.5.3 Saving Free Speech

Zapiro extended his rape metaphor, seen in Figure 89, to pass comment on what many argued to be the ANC government's attack on free speech (Smith, 2012). During the latter part of 2010, the ANC government and many of its alliance members argued that the media had become generally irresponsible in its reporting and consequently needed greater regulation than was afforded by current gatekeeping and regulatory policies (ANC, 2010; Cronin, 2010). Members of the ANC government argued that three practices should be introduced. Firstly, a Media Appeals Tribunal should be set up to ensure that the practice of media houses and journalists was responsible and refrained from negatively framing the government or president. Secondly, an anti-insult law should be introduced to protect the president from licentious and offensive commentary, and finally, the government aimed to introduce the Protection of Information Bill – a law which would allow the government to classify any information that they deemed to be in the national interest and punish any whistle-blower who exposed such information, even if it exposed a crime. Consequently, Zapiro spent a considerable amount of time commenting on and highlighting the implications of these policies, especially after the controversy that ensued following the publication of Brett Murray's painting, *The Spear*.

Figure 89

However, before this thesis moves on to the issues of insult and the representation of the president, it is important to look at how Zapiro extended many of the metaphors used to highlight the assault on justice to represent the attack on free speech. It has already been inferred that Figure 82 re-affirms Zuma as a rapist of justice, but in Figure 89 he is seen about to rape free speech, while Lady Justice, dishevelled from her own attack, urges her compatriot to fight her attackers. Unlike previous cartoons, this example appears to use Zuma and his co-attacker, Gwede Mantashe[57], as representatives of the government and ANC party, not as perpetrators in their individual capacities. This assumption is based on evidence from other cartoons during this period that dealt with the Protection of Information Bill and Media Appeals Tribunal in which Zapiro usually directed his criticism at South Africa's government in general, rather than only those in charge, as can be noted in Figure 90 as Press Freedom waits for the outcome of Parliament in relation to the two proposals. Zapiro makes it clear that he is criticising South Africa's government as a whole as he places the two offending policies on the agenda for the country's Parliament. Outside the gates, Press Freedom asks Lady Justice to save a place for her, in what can be presumed to be the vice of unemployment, inferred from Justice's gaunt appearance, broken sword and scales containing minimal loose change reminiscent of begging bowls. Consequently, this imagery implies that South

[57] ANC Secretary-General at the time

Africa's government first destroyed its justice system, thanks to the way it assisted Zuma in the 'rape' of that system, and is now taking aim at press freedom.

Figure 90

Figure 91

Additionally, Zapiro made it clear that these two policies were attacks on press freedom as he often utilised connotations of violence against his representation of free speech, as was noted in Figure 89. Figure 91 emphasises this

point as Press Freedom, illuminated by her torch, holds up a newspaper containing 'secrets', while targeted by two assassins labelled Protection of Information Bill and Media Tribunal. The hitmen's words, 'assisted suicide', are in reference to the murder of businessman Brett Kebble[58], whose murderer claimed that that it had been an assisted suicide, while others in the media maintained that Kebble's death had been a hit linked to nefarious crime syndicates involving top government officials (Wiener, 2011). Consequently, this cartoon likens the death of press freedom to Kebble's murder – as a way to prevent government secrets from being exposed.

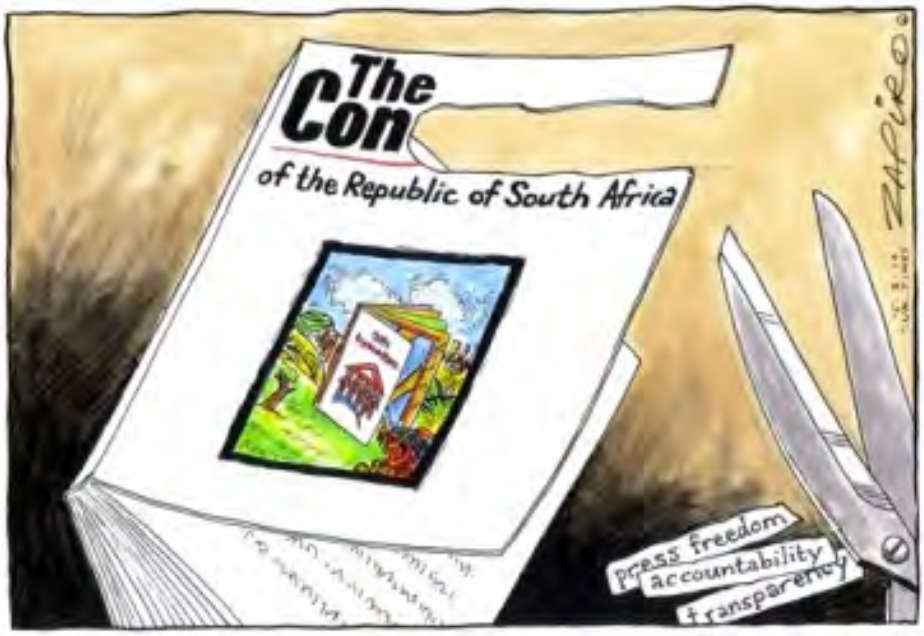

Figure 92

However, in case the public were not as politically-savvy as was required to unpack the distinctions between the previous cartoon and the death of Kebble, Zapiro's most obvious cartoon in the matter left little to interpret. As can be seen in Figure 92, Zapiro has drawn South Africa's Constitution with part of the cover cut-out so it reads 'The Con of the Republic of South Africa'. Next to the book it appears as if the words 'press freedom', 'accountability', and 'transparency' have also been cut out of the Constitution. It can be argued that as a consequence of these deletions, the Constitution which is meant to protect the rights of South Africans becomes a mere con, because the devices meant to hold those in power accountable would be

[58] Brett Kebble was a mining magnate with alleged political ties to high-profile members of the ANC

done away with if the Protection of Information Bill and Media Tribunal come into effect.

However, as the apparent attack on the press' freedom continued into 2011 Zapiro began to shift his focus back to Jacob Zuma and the influence he had on the promotion of these two policies. One of the most damning cartoons done by Zapiro during this period mimicked a cartoon drawn by Jock Leydon referencing the apartheid government's crackdown on press freedom in what was named Black Wednesday. In 1977, Leydon's cartoon referenced Jimmy Kruger, then Minister of Justice, who banned two of South Africa's newspapers, censored a host more and arrested and detained a number of journalists, claiming that they were "publishing inflammatory material that threatened the nation's security" (Brkic, 2009). In 2011, South Africa's government made similar remarks to justify the introduction of the Protection of Information Act (also known as the Secrecy Bill) and Media Tribunal as a way to curb the irresponsibility of the press. Zapiro's cartoon echoed Leydon's (as seen in Figure 93) and likened Zuma to Kruger in what could be seen as an attempt to draw parallels between the policies of the ANC government and apartheid state. Like Kruger in Leydon's original cartoon, Zuma is positioned to drop the weight of the secrecy bill on the press, just as Kruger supressed the media in 1977.

Figure 93

In Zapiro's cartoon the man representing the media makes direct reference to the similarity between Black Wednesday of 1977 and the impact that the Secrecy Bill would have on South Africa's press system if Zuma were to sign it into law. Zuma remarks that, like the man, he too is a student of history, implying that he is aware of these policies' possible repercussions and is intent on silencing the media, just as the apartheid state did because he knows how well these laws worked in the past to protect the government from public scrutiny.

The underlying menace highlighted by Zuma's threat to the media in Figure 93 is extended into a more obvious and damning portrayal featured in *The Times* (Figure 94). In this cartoon, Zapiro re-interprets some of the themes from Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* to highlight Zuma's underlying menace toward the media.

Figure 94

As can be noted, the cartoon shows Dr Jacob, a seemingly angelic gentleman, packing away many of the controversies which have plagued him during his political career. However, Dr Jacob is not all that he appears. Behind the dignified Zuma is an ogre-ish beast named Mr Hide who has created dangerous looking concoctions labelled 'Secrecy Bill' and 'Anti-Media Lawsuits', presumably to help him hide his illicit dealings and monsterous undertones. Consequently, Zapiro's

cartoon makes it apparent that one of the most obvious reasons that South Africa's government has proposed stricter regulations for the press is a direct attempt to prevent them from exposing much of the corruption associated with Zuma.

This point is emphasised further thanks to the beaker labelled 'anti-media lawsuits', which references numerous cases taken out by Zuma against various newspapers and political commentators, including Zapiro. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, Zuma attempted to sue Zapiro and *The Sunday Times* for publishing 'The Rape of Lady Justice' cartoon because he claimed that it damaged his reputation and dignity. The idea that the media be required to keep silent on any of the president's misgivings and protect his reputation became a standing theme for the ANC government, especially after the exhibition of Brett Murray's infamous painting. During this period, Zapiro continued his assault on Zuma and his supporters in relation to their stand on media freedom.

One of the most interesting themes that pervaded these cartoons was the relationship drawn between the ANC and Stalin's communist Russia. It is well known that the Soviet Union (thanks mostly to laws created by Stalin's government) heavily censored all media in an attempt to control how members of the Soviet Union saw the government. In fact, censorship and attempts to protect the image of Stalin were enforced so heavily that even newspaper photographs were doctored to ensure that nobody who held oppositional values would feature in the press (King, 1997). This type of theme featured prominently in the cartoon labelled Figure 95 in which Zuma and ANC Secretary General Gwede Mantashe are depicted as commanders of the battleship SS Stalin.

Figure 95

This cartoon references how the ANC forced *The City Press* newspaper to apologise for publishing images of Brett Murray's painting, and take the offending portrait off their website. Consequently, Zapiro highlights the government's attack on free speech as a statue labelled 'freedom of expression', the Goodman Gallery (the gallery in which *The Spear* was displayed) and *The City Press* are reduced to rubble. Significantly, the battle gun used to annihilate these structures is positioned neatly between Zuma's legs, comically remarking on the power of the president's penis to defend itself against attacks on his patriarchal manhood, and drawing attention to Zuma's sexual indiscretions once again.

Additionally, Zapiro positions then *City Press* editor Ferial Haffajee and Brett Murray keelhauled to the bow of the ship. It could be argued that by positioning these two figures as prisoners of the SS Stalin, they should not be seen as giving in easily to the destruction of free speech, but as victims who are being punished for their attempts to advocate social debate. This point is emphasised by the writing on the side of the ship which states: 'The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall Be Opened to Conformist Lackeys', thus implying that unless one conforms to the culture promoted by the government, as occurred during Stalin's reign of Russia, then learning will be forbidden and those in opposition will be punished. It is clear that Zapiro, once again, focussed his critique on Zuma and his government, and not on other contributing factors to the attack on South Africa's free speech. Haffajee,

for example, received a large amount of the criticism for bowing to the bully tactics of the ANC and was considered by some to be more at fault than complaining government spokespeople and supporters (McKaiser, 2012) – a point that Zapiro never addressed in his work.

However, Zapiro did continue with his critique of the government and the links between their tactics and Soviet Russia. In Figure 96, the South African Communist Party (SACP) leader Blade Nzimande is depicted sporting a large Stalin-styled moustache, labelled Stalinism, while waving his proposed idea to ban anyone from insulting the president. The cartoon implies that the Communist Party leader has taken the concept of 'Movember' a little further than simply growing a moustache for charity, and has adopted the tactics and ideas of Stalinism along with copying the Soviet leader's iconic facial hair. And while one may assume that the SACP is independent of the ANC, it is important to remember that they form part of a tripartite alliance with the ANC and Congess of South African Trade Unions and consequently hold a number of high-profile ministerial positions within South Africa's government. Therefore many government policies are devised by and in consultation with members of the SACP who hold these positions.

Figure 96

By referencing communism consistently while representing the ANC and many of its members, Zapiro creates the impression that the current policies of the ruling party are the antithesis of a democratic state. However, it can be argued that this sentiment began a year previously, thanks to the promotion of the Secrecy Bill. The proposed Protection of Information Bill and Media Tribunal helped spawn a plethora of cartoons that highlighted the dangers of each policy, not only from Zapiro, but from many of South Africa's political cartoonists. The outrage that followed the possibility these new policies could become law culminated in almost all of South Africa's cartoonists drawing a similar cartoon. Zapiro's contribution is featured below as Figure 97 which shows President Zuma 'blacking out' democracy with paint labelled 'Secrecy'.

Figure 97

While the cartoon above, and others similar to this produced by South Africa's other cartoonists were intentionally co-ordinated (Reynolds, 2012), Zapiro chose to extend the metaphor the following day (as seen in Figure 98). In this cartoon we note the return of Zuma who covers up the spot that he 'forgot' to paint. It can be argued that while Zapiro could be re-emphasising the point that the Secrecy Bill could have the ability to black out democracy by silencing its free speech cornerstone, it is also the spot which contains Zapiro's signature.

Figure 98

Consequently, it can be assumed that this cartoon highlights the torrid relationship between the president and Zapiro as Zuma is seen trying to eradicate the cartoonist's name. This could be in reference to the numerous lawsuits, pending at the time, that Zuma used in an attempt to curtail the vehemence of Zapiro's commentary. Based on the research undertaken and the results of this thesis, this is a justified assumption to make as Zapiro dedicated only 27 cartoons during Zuma's presidency until the end of 2013 to issues dealing with oppositional parties or party members[59]. More importantly, Zapiro often neglected to consider many of these party's failings, or their criticism of the ruling party which were often lined with hypocrisy. In fact, it was found during the course of analysis that there were only nine cartoons which were critical of any opposition member or party, and of these, most dealt with interview or social media gaffs rather than a critique on party policies. It emerged that only two cartoons during Zuma's presidency highlighted policy failings of opposition parties; one of which was more comment on the Democratic Alliance's (DA) inability to agree on a particular policy than a critique of the policy itself.

Essentially, the only cartoon which commented on an opposition's stance toward media freedom emphasised the hypocrisy surrounding the DA's opinions

[59] During this same period, Zapiro dedicated 90 cartoons to the ANC and Jacob Zuma which equated to almost 25% of his work.

pertaining to free speech. As can be seen in Figure 99 below, DA leader Helen Zille is holding up a flame for Media Freedom, draped in her party's sash showcasing their liberal values. Consequently, based on the official party line one would assume that they were against any policy which would curtail press freedom. However, from underneath her dress her petticoat has slipped down and the words 'Blacklisting of Journalist' are visible. The 'media' points out that her slip is showing, referencing the slip in her and her party's policy in regard to free speech because they had recently chosen to blacklist *Sowetan* newspaper journalist Ann Majavu. The DA and Zille claimed that because Majavu had previously worked as a public relations officer for the South African Municipal Workers Union, and was thus deemed to be pro-ANC, could not be trusted to produce a fair report regarding the DA or its leadership (Pillay, 2015).

Figure 99

However, this cartoon is one-of-a-kind and generally out of character for Zapiro. As has been noted throughout this section, Zapiro's vitriol is usually reserved for President Zuma and not his opposition. Additionally, Zapiro has neither returned to his criticism of Helen Zille nor to her numerous public spats with journalists and other political colleagues in any other cartoons up until the end of 2013. Unlike his representations of Zuma, in which he makes constant reference to

the president's past mistakes and controversies in subsequent cartoons, Zille's gaffs appear limited, habitually once-off and quickly forgotten. Based on the habits and themes of Zapiro's work the above cartoon had more to do with the timeliness of the issue, in light of the ANC's push for stricter media regulation, than with a critique of oppositional politics to help keep the DA in check.

6.5.4 Conclusion: Saving Free Speech

While these cartoons may seem somewhat tame in comparison to the ones discussed in the previous section, there is one important reason as to why they were included as case studies for this thesis. Firstly, unlike many other cartoons published during Zuma's presidency, these ones showcase work that is both nuanced and effective, without generally resorting to personal attacks on Zuma's character. While one could argue that Figure 94's monstrous ('Dr Hide) Zuma negates this argument, it must be pointed out that unlike other portrayals of Zuma which utilised stereotypes on his gender and ethnicity, this cartoon highlights that it is the policies which make Zuma a monster, and not his personhood. As it is the role of a cartoonist to present alternative discourses in relation to dominant ideologies, Zapiro has done well to highlight some of the problems associated with the ANC's proposals for stricter press regulation. Additionally, many of his cartoons in relation to the Protection of Information Bill and Media Appeals Tribunal were aimed at the government in general, rather than Zuma as an individual, and thus highlights a shift in Zapiro's commentary whereby he begins a critique of the ANC – something that he had been seemingly resistant to do before, as was highlighted in the discussion surrounding Mandela and Mbeki's presidencies – and thus one could argue begins moving away from the developmental role that he had previously adopted to some degree.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

The results of this thesis are far more varied than was expected when the research was first begun in 2012. Initially the researcher believed that an analysis of Zapiro's cartoons would reveal an edgy and controversial history in which the cartoonist held South Africa's leaders and social elites to account. However, it was found that Zapiro's scathing rebukes of South Africa's government was something that took time to develop, and unexpectedly was not as vitriolic in the early days of South Africa's democracy as it is today. However, if one refers back to Chris Lamb's (2004: 4) definition of the role that a political cartoonist should play - "a jaundiced eye on democracy and those threatening it" – it makes sense that those cartoons published at the beginning of South Africa's democracy were not as damning toward the ANC government because most South Africans (including Zapiro) believed that the success of the party was not a threat to democracy, but a celebration of it at that point in time. Additionally, one could argue that a cartoonist should give a leader a small window of subdued vitriol, in order to allow them a chance to establish their time in office, before launching into a barrage of critique.

Consequently, one of the most pivotal findings of this thesis was the way in which Zapiro represented Nelson Mandela. In light of the cartoonist's work on Jacob Zuma, and the cartoons which the researcher had seen before this research was undertaken, it was believed that Zapiro's early cartoons would highlight the same type of alternative history in relation to Mandela, as had been used in Zapiro's latest cartoons, to hold South Africa's president to account for his work during his time in office. However, what was concluded from the analysis of cartoons featuring Mandela was that Zapiro reinforced official discourses surrounding South Africa's first democratically elected president as a great liberator and man of peace. Zapiro tended to deviate away from the ideal role of a political cartoonist, who, as Nyamjoh (2009) and Eko (2007) argue, should reflect opinion that forces audiences to question the dominant discourses presented to them by official government ideologies. Accordingly, this thesis argues that Zapiro's failure to present a varied viewpoint helped to mythologise Mandela because he often failed to hold Mandela

accountable for questionable dealings in relation to corrupt officials and other challenges facing South Africa's young democracy, such as HIV/AIDS.

Additionally, Zapiro also reinforced other dominant discourses during this period, most often used to denounce the leaders of South Africa's previous apartheid regime. It became evident from the findings of this thesis that Zapiro spent a large amount of time belittling and lampooning the previous government. However, unlike his Mandela cartoons which turned a blind eye to Mandela's accountability as president by touting official party discourses, Zapiro's apartheid cartoons could be considered as a useful tool that opened up dialogue about the atrocities committed by South Africa's previous leaders at a time when the country was still new to racial and social unity. Hodgart (1969) would argue that this type of satirical commentary is necessary for society because it allows one the opportunity to address unsavoury truths by highlighting its absurdities and hypocrisies. Therefore, by belittling apartheid leaders and their ideologies so openly, often representing them as sub-human, Zapiro was able to show South Africans how ridiculous racial segregation was as an ideology.

However, as one tracks the development of South Africa's democracy and the role of the ANC within it, Zapiro began to develop into a more traditional type of cartoonist, as described by Eko (2007), Lamb (2004) and Mason (2010a), who attempted to lambast South Africa's more recent crop of politicians. Even though Zapiro's comments on Mandela were mild, there was a decided shift in his approach when dealing with the first president's successor. While initially there appeared to be some reluctance to criticise Thabo Mbeki directly, as was evidenced in those cartoons which dealt with South Africa's HIV/AIDS epidemic and the way in which Zapiro chose to lay more blame with South Africa's Health Ministry, it became evident that by the end of Mbeki's term Zapiro was less afraid to criticise South Africa's second president openly in relation to his quiet diplomacy with Zimbabwe. But what was more interesting to note during this time were Zapiro's discourses in relation to Mbeki and Jacob Zuma after two court cases were opened against South Africa's then-deputy president for corruption and an alleged rape.

During this period, the analysis of the thesis once again highlighted that Zapiro erred on the side of caution when criticising Mbeki's government as he spent considerable time commenting on Zuma's lack of morals and lack of leadership capabilities. In fact, when those cartoons that highlighted the split in the ruling party after Zuma was ousted as deputy president were considered, it became evident once again that Zapiro was more concerned with touting the official line of Mbeki's government – that Zuma was corrupt and needed to be brought to book – than critique the party or president that had allowed corruption to breed under his watch, as was evidenced in Figure 70's cartoon of 'Scamelot'. Therefore, while Zapiro contributed to social dialogue by highlighting many of Zuma's hypocritical actions during this period, his historical representation of Mbeki mostly protected the president from direct critique as his actions were usually a result of the interference of another party, such as Zuma and Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang. In part, this could be attributed to the fact that Zapiro appeared to hold Mbeki in high regard in other areas, evidenced by his referrals to Mbeki as a 'brilliant' man or a man of 'great stature'. Consequently, it could be concluded that Zapiro wanted to highlight that Mbeki was a good man for office, but had a few blips in relation to some of his policies.

However, Zuma, in light of the themes in the many cartoons in which he is featured, is a man for whom Zapiro seems to have very little respect and therefore, has become a target for the cartoonist's vitriol. Aspects of this were seen in 'The Rape of Lady Justice' cartoon which inspired the topic for this research, and led the researcher to consider if cartoons such as these were undermining the concept of a socially responsible press. However, as the arguments in this thesis have shown, there were very few cartoons which painted Zuma as a rapist, and instead Zapiro focussed much of his ire at Zuma's promiscuity, hypocrisy and corrupt dealings. And while there were some who found Zapiro's use of rape as a metaphor offensive, most of the backlash that he received for these cartoons were from a belief that he had infringed on the president's dignity and had defamed him by constantly referring to his allegedly large sexual appetite.

However, as this thesis has demonstrated, it is difficult to hold cartoonists liable for defamation because they use information that is already in the public

domain and circulated by other media outlets. As has been discussed, a cartoonist is meant to twist and exaggerate issues in an attempt to highlight their ludicrousness (Hodgart, 1969). So while a cartoonist may distort the truth to a certain degree, they do so in way that is not meant to reflect reality, but as a tool to help "[call] attention to certain attributes" (Harrison, 1981: 69) in order to bring a more nuanced interpretation of events to light. Consequently, their drawings are not meant to be interpreted as an objective truth, but one that is laced with their own subjective understanding of reality (Lynch, 1926; Mason, 2010a). In fact, it was found that Zapiro's cartoons offer an interesting version of South Africa's history because he spends so much time rebuking Zuma. One could be forgiven for thinking that very little else happened in South Africa during Zuma's presidency besides corruption or an attempt to block the media from publishing stories about corruption, or that the ANC had no political opposition besides those voices that came from the press due to the large amount of time that Zapiro spent commenting on Zuma. Evidently, the way in which Zapiro has continued to lambast South Africa's current president has led to numerous questions about the role of the press in South Africa, and whether his contempt has a place in an institution that is meant to advocate social responsibility.

Initially, the researcher was under the same impression as many of South Africa's journalists, academics and political analysts, and assumed that the findings of this research would highlight that political cartoons were just another type of social commentary that would help contribute to the 'watchdog' role of the Fourth Estate, as postulated by Wasserman (2011) and Duncan (2011). However, while South Africa's press system purports to operate under a 'watchdog' paradigm attempting to fulfil a role of social responsibility, social responsibility as a concept is difficult to define. Part of the problem is that its interpretation is subjective and various individuals and parties will interpret it differently. This ideological interpretation makes it difficult to determine what is responsible and what is not; consequently, this thesis returned to when the concept was devised in order to examine what the developers of the paradigm meant, and the historical arguments which subsequently developed. What emerged was an argument that a socially responsible press, especially in the South African context, has little to do with fulfilling the 'watchdog' or

monitorial role described by Christians *et al* (2009), and more to with creating a platform for dialogue and debate (Siebert, 1956; Friedman, 2013).

It was noted that the concept of social responsibility was created under a very different ideal as to how various parties interpret it today. Social responsibility, it was found, has its roots in libertarian theory (Siebert, 1956). But unlike a liberalist paradigm, which assumes that humans are able to discern right from wrong using inherent reason, and thus encourages an open and free media system unrestricted from any type of censorship (even if one wishes to publish hate speech), social responsibility theory argues for certain types of limitations (Siebert, 1956; Christians *et al*, 2009). The most important element of these limitations is the acknowledgement that while one is able to publish freely, there are times when it is inappropriate to do so, such as when a person advocates violence (Siebert, 1956; Christians *et al*, 2009).

As a result of this limitation the researcher began to consider if South African politicians' continuous claims that South Africa's press were not socially responsible had some merit. Consequently, it also became important to consider their calls for the press to adopt a more African style of reporting that adheres more closely to African values to encourage the formation of a strong community (Nzimande, 2012; Mthembu, 2012). However, as per the work of Skerdjal (2012) and Dubin (2012), it was found that most politicians build their understanding of African values on a cultural essentialism which romanticises the ideals of what it means to be African. Even so, the thesis considered the most cited paradigm that politicians use to propose a more Africanised press system: *ubuntu.*

As the concept of *ubuntu* was interrogated, this thesis found that politicians tend to favour those characteristics of the African paradigm which adhere to their own political agendas. Politicians often state that *ubuntu* aims to protect the community by protecting the dignity of its leaders (Nzimande, 2012; Hess 2011). However, a more in-depth examination of this normative framework uncovered two important things. Firstly, the work of numerous writers highlight that *ubuntu* is the understanding that a person is a person through their interaction with others in their community (Blankenburg, 1999; Christians, 2004; Fourie, 2007). Therefore, it

follows that if one undermines a member of the community one is undermining the whole community; however, as Christians (2004) concludes, this does not mean that one should put an individual first. This led to the second point regarding *ubuntu* which involved sharing information.

All texts that were consulted regarding the nature of *ubuntu* concluded that the African paradigm advocated that community members shared all information openly within the community in order to help strengthen the community through dialogic communication. As a result of doing this, community members are then able to contribute to the meaning-making process of community development by discussing matters that are in the public interest of the community (Fourie, 2007). Consequently, if a person is found to be corrupt, it is important for the community to know about it so that they are able to discuss it and reach a consensus on how to deal with such a person, especially as they are a reflection of the community as a whole.

However, the most important element to come out of this discussion was that the fundamental philosophy of *ubuntu* seems to match up to the underlying premise on which social responsibility is based – to allow open discussions and dialogue for the development of society without creating harm for the greater community. It was this conclusion that enabled the researcher to design the Social Responsibility Reasoning Sheet (SRRS) that allowed this thesis to interrogate Zapiro's cartoons in relation to social responsibility.

While the researcher acknowledges that there are limitations to designing and implementing an empirical device such as the SRRS, because it is impossible to apply such a mechanism on a universal scale based on social responsibility's subjective nature, it is argued, that it provides a useful way to assess Zapiro's cartoons in light of the arguments put forth in the literature chapters of this thesis. Besides offering a mere interpretative analysis of Zapiro's cartoons over a 20 year period, the SRRS provided a framework to measure the conclusions of the analysis in a repeatable manner in order to create a comparative discussion of the themes examined within each time period. What emerged from this process were three key findings.

Firstly, on a more general scale, the researcher found that at times Zapiro's cartoons lacked aspects of social responsibility, especially during the first few years of South Africa's democracy, because he often perpetuated the official discourses of the ruling elite rather than present an alternative interpretation of their policies. However, this could be excused, in part because of South Africa's tumultuous history, and also because this type of cartooning responsible was an attempt to aid in the development of South Africa's new democracy. Additionally, Zapiro did not use tactics during this period that could be deemed undesirable, as outlined by the SRRS, which helped move his cartoons into a more (perceived) socially responsible domain. However, as his cartooning progressed into the 21st century it was determined that his discourses became more varied, challenging the official voices of the government, and thus became more difficult to measure in terms of their responsibility to the social discourses surrounding South Africa's government, its leaders and the country's social milieu.

This result pointed to the second key finding, which highlighted that while Zapiro adhered to the concept of good cartooning by presenting an alternative discourse, and lampooning South Africa's leaders and elites to help highlight some of their inconsistencies and hypocrisies, he began resorting to more offensive tactics to draw his conclusions as time went on. One of the most problematic themes that pervaded Zapiro's work during Jacob Zuma's tenure, for instance, was the way in which he intertwined the president's promiscuity and Zulu heritage. Consequently, these cartoons implied that Zulu men, in general, were sexually charged and immoral, rather than elevate the preferred reading that aimed to criticise Zuma's actions. Additionally, Zapiro also resorted to using controversial subjects as metaphors for his depictions of high-ranking politicians – most notably rape and anthromorphised male genitalia. This led the researcher to question if the use of these images had caused unnecessary harm to South African society, especially in light of the controversy they created among social commentators and activists (Solomon, 2011; Hess, 2011). In short, it was concluded that while offensive, neither of these elements were irresponsible because they had opened up debate and dialogue among South African citizens in a way which forced them to deal with undesirable truths that faced the country, especially in relation to gender violence.

However, this realisation led to the final, and most pivotal, conclusion of this thesis. The offense and possible harm caused by the discourses of cartoons needs to be assessed on a case-by-case basis. While the general results of the research highlight Zapiro as a socially responsible commentator who normally avoids socially harmful rhetoric in order to synthesise dialogue, the effect of his offensiveness cannot be gauged in any measurable way. This thesis has demonstrated that subjectivity plays a central role in the interpretation of both cartoons and social responsibility, because each individual and society has different needs and expectations for their social commentators. Consequently, to assume a socially responsible standpoint does not protect one from creating, or experiencing, cartoons that are offensive. Problematically, the social responsibility of a cartoon can only be reflected on in hindsight, and thus to measure whether a belligerent comment has undermined the dialogue that it aims to fuel is something that even the most stringent advocates of social responsibility cannot predict. Therefore, to be socially responsible and returning to the work of Siebert *et al* (1956), a cartoonist should aim to create debate, but operate with the understanding that sometimes it is better to omit particularly harmful representations if there is no reasonable justification for being openly offensive.

This does not end the debate however, and future research needs to consider how audiences respond to this type of commentary. One issue which was mentioned in Chapter 1 was that South African audiences are unique because so many South Africans have not shared the same type of history. Besides the fact that black and white South Africans were segregated and thus have different ideas about the history of the country, thanks to the propaganda and censorship of the apartheid regime, the education levels of South Africans are also incredibly varied. It was established using the work of Dubin (2012) that many South Africans take offense at particular types of art and commentary based on a lack of understanding of the objectives of such work. Hall (1997), however, would argue that this oppositional reading would also be a result of audiences' historical baggage. Consequently, what results is a failure for audiences to interpret the preferred meaning of social commentary like political cartoons. It would be useful for researchers to explore this premise in order to determine what elements of cartoons are offensive in the eyes of various audiences and why they have reached this conclusion.

Finally, further research could also be conducted on the work of other cartoonists using the same methodological approach as this thesis in order to determine if Zapiro is particularly evocative in his commentary, as so many South Africans believe (Hess, 2011; Harvey 2008), or if other cartoonists can be deemed more or less socially responsible. This type of investigation would be bolstered if one were able to compare the types of discourses used by black and white cartoonists in order to examine if there is any discernable difference in the way that they approach their subject matter, or if most cartoonists adhere to the same foundational techniques outlined in this thesis. But, in the words of Zapiro, (2005) "shooting sacred cows and knocking the powerful off their pedestals if they get too high and mighty is fun", so it is likely that this is a form that other cartoonists will follow.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Week	Mail & Guardian	Times	Sunday Times	Independent
30/1/94-5/2/94	Volkstaat, np			
6/2/94-12/2/94	elections			
13/2/94-19/2/94				
20/2/94-26/2/94				
27/2/94-5/3/94	Apartheid Laws,			
6/3/94-12/3/94	Elections			
13/3/94-19/3/94	AWB			
20/3/94-26/3/94	IFP			
27/3/94-2/4/94	Apartheid Crimes			
3/4/94-9/4/94				
10/4/94-16/4/94	Reconciliation			
17/4/94-23/4/94	IFP			
24/4/94-30/4/94	Elections, New South Africa			
1/5/94-7/5/94	Elections			
8/5/94-14/5/94	Mandela			
15/5/94-21/5/94	Winnie			
22/5/94-28/5/94	New government			
29/5/94-4/6/94	TRC			
5/6/94-11/6/94	Arms Trade			
12/6/94-18/6/94				
19/6/94-25/6/94	Parliament			
26/6/94-2/7/94	Housing			
3/7/94-	Mandela			

9/7/94				
10/7/94-16/7/94	Comet			
17/7/94-23/7/94	Strike			
24/7/94-30/7/94	GNU			
31/7/94-6/8/94				
7/8/94-13/8/94	Winnie			
14/8/94-19/8/94	Apartheid			
20/8/94-26/8/94	Cuba			
27/8/94-2/9/94	Celebrity			
3/9/94-9/9/94	Catholic Church			
10/9/94-16/9/94	Apartheid			
17/9/94-23/9/94	IFP vs Monarchy			
24/9/94-30/9/94				
1/10/94-7/10/94	Race			
8/10/94-14/10/94	Military			
15/10/94-21/10/94	Celebrity			
22/10/94-28/10/94	Environment			
29/10/94-4/11/94	SABC			
5/11/94-11/11/94	Land			
12/11/94-18/11/94	Football			
19/11/94-25/11/94	Arms Trade			
26/11/94-2/12/94	SABC			
3/12/94-9/12/94	Government Secrecy			
10/12/94-16/12/94	Mandela			
17/12/94-23/12/94				

9/1/95-15/1/95	government spies			
16/1/95-22/1/95	apartheid			
23/1/95-29/1/95	health			
30/1/95-5/2/95	police			
6/2/95-12/12/95	corruption			
13/2/95-19/2/95	gnu			
20/2/95-26/2/95	IFP			
27/2/95-5/3/95	Winnie			
6/3/95-12/3/95				
13/3/95-19/3/95	strike			
20/3/95-26/3/95	british monarchy			
27/3/95-2/4/95	winnie			
3/4/95-9/4/95				
10/4/95-16/4/95	apartheid			
17/4/95-23/4/95	ifp			
24/4/95-30/4/95	corruption			
1/5/95-7/5/95	Mandela, public service			
8/5/95-14/5/95	Thabo Mbeki			
15/5/95-21/5/95	crime, housing			
22/5/95-28/5/95	rugby			
29/5/95-4/6/95	constitution			
5/6/95-11/6/95	constitution			
12/6/95-18/6/95	policy			
19/6/95-25/6/95	rugby			
26/6/95-2/7/95	apartheid			

3/7/95-9/7/95				
10/7/95-16/7/95	apartheid			
17/7/95-23/7/95	france			
24/7/95-30/7/95	bosnia			
31/7/95-6/8/95	mugabe			
7/8/95-13/8/95	equal rights			
14/8/95-20/8/95	mandela			
21/8/95-27/8/95	ifp vs monarchy			
28/8/95-3/9/95	celebrity			
4/9/95-10/9/95	china			
11/9/95-17/9/95	catholic church			
18/9/95-24/9/95	parliament			
25/9/95-1/10/95	ifp, constituion			
2/10/95-8/10/95				
9/10/95-15/10/95				
16/10/95-22/10/95				
23/10/95-29/10/95				
30/10/95-5/11/95	apartheid			
6/11/95-12/11/95	nigeria			
13/11/95-19/11/95	nigeria			
20/11/95-26/11/95				
27/11/95-3/12/95	bosnia			
4/12/95-10/12/95	education			
11/12/95-17/12/95	christmas			
18/12/95-24/12/95	new south africa			

1/1/96-7/1/96	nigeria			
8/1/96-14/1/96				
15/1/96-21/1/96	np			
22/1/96-28/1/96	trc			
29/1/96-4/2/96	apartheid			
5/2/96-11/2/96	np			
12/2/96-18/2/96	mandela			
19/2/96-25/2/96				
26/2/96-3/3/96	cricket			
4/3/96-10/3/96	apartheid crimes			
11/3/96-17/3/96	health			
18/3/96-24/3/96	mandela			
25/3/96-31/3/96	arms deal			
1/4/96-7/4/96				
8/4/96-14/4/96	pac			
15/4/96-21/4/96	trc			
22/4/96-28/4/96				
29/4/96-5/5/96	constitution			
6/5/96-12/5/96	constitution			
13/5/96-19/5/96	np			
20/5/96-26/5/96	elections			
27/5/96-2/6/96	technology, china, economy			
3/6/96-9/6/96	health			
10/6/96-16/6/96	np			
17/6/96-				

23/6/96				
24/6/96-30/6/96				
1/7/96-7/7/96	trc			
8/7/96-14/7/96	mandela			
15/7/96-21/7/96	mandela			
22/7/96-28/7/96	tripartate alliance			
29/7/96-4/8/96	olympics			
5/8/96-11/8/96	corruption			
12/8/96-18/8/96	corruption			
19/8/96-25/8/96	censorship			
26/8/96-1/9/96	trc			
2/9/96-8/9/96	usa			
9/9/96-15/9/96	health			
16/9/96-22/9/96	apartheid crimes			
23/9/96-29/9/96	ifp			
30/9/96-6/10/96	holomisa			
7/10/96-13/10/96	angola			
14/10/96-20/10/96	russia			
21/10/96-27/10/96	trc			
28/10/96-3/11/96	women's rights			
4/11/96-10/11/96	usa			
11/11/96-17/11/96	mbeki			
18/11/96-23/11/96	trc			
24/11/96-1/12/96	anc			
2/12/96-8/12/96	arms deal			
9/12/96-	trc			

15/12/96				
16/12/96-22/12/96		united nations		
23/12/96-29/12/96		new south africa		
6/1/97-12/1/97				
13/1/97-19/1/97		arms deal		
20/1/97-26/1/97		university		
27/1/97-2/2/97		provincial government		
3/2/97-9/2/97		np		
10/2/97-16/2/97		press		
17/2/97-23/2/97		rugby		
24/2/97-2/3/97		cloning		
3/3/97-9/3/97		security		
10/3/97-16/3/97				
17/3/97-23/3/97		israel		
24/3/97-30/3/97		de klerk		
31/3/97-6/4/97		united nations		
7/4/97-13/4/97		np		
14/4/97-20/4/97		holomisa		
21/4/97-27/4/97		drc		
28/4/97-4/5/97		rugby		
5/5/97-11/5/97		np		
12/5/97-18/5/97		arms deal		
19/5/97-25/5/97		parliament		
26/5/97-1/6/97		provincial government		
2/6/97-8/6/97		au		

9/6/97-15/6/97	poaching			
16/6/97-22/6/97	eugene terreblanche			
23/6/97-29/6/97	environment			
30/6/97-6/7/97	china			
7/7/97-13/7/97				
14/7/97-20/7/97	apartheid crimes			
21/7/97-27/7/97	kzn			
28/7/97-3/8/97	kenya			
4/8/97-10/8/97	mandela			
11/8/97-17/8/97	trc			
18/8/97-24/8/97	celebrity			
25/8/97-31/8/97	np			
1/9/97-7/9/97	olympics			
8/9/97-14/9/97	winnie			
15/9/97-21/9/97	trc			
22/9/97-28/9/97	corruption, gay rights			
29/9/97-5/10/97	trc			crime
6/10/97-12/10/97	corruption			
13/10/97-19/10/97	corruption			
20/10/97-26/10/97	corruption			
27/10/97-2/11/97	judiciary			
3/11/97-9/11/97	corruption			
10/11/97-16/11/97				
17/11/97-23/11/97	winnie			
24/11/97-30/11/97	winnie			

1/12/97-7/12/97	winnie			
8/12/97-14/12/97	crime			
15/12/97-21/12/97	mandela			
22/12/97-28/12/97	crime			
5/1/98-11/1/98				
12/1/98-18/1/98				
19/1/98-25/1/98				
26/1/98-1/2/98	usa			
2/2/98-8/2/98	corruption			
9/2/98-15/2/98	usa			
16/2/98-22/2/98	np			
23/2/98-1/3/98	football			
2/3/98-8/3/98	corruption		health	
9/3/98-15/3/98	np		corruption	
16/3/98-22/3/98	trc		usa	
23/3/98-29/3/98	usa		subsidy	
30/3/98-5/4/98	rugby		rugby	
6/4/98-12/4/98	health		security	
13/4/98-19/4/98	pw botha		mandela	
20/4/98-26/4/98	trc		obituary	
27/4/98-3/5/98	celebrity		economy	
4/5/98-10/5/98	israel		rugby	
11/5/98-17/5/98	india		india	
18/5/98-24/5/98			security	
25/5/98-	np		india/pakista	

31/5/98			n	
1/6/98-7/6/98	education		strike	
8/6/98-14/6/98	cartooning		football	
15/6/98-21/6/98	nigeria		football	
22/6/98-28/6/98	economy		france	
29/6/98-5/7/98	china		tripartite alliance	
6/7/98-12/7/98	nigeria			
13/7/98-19/7/98	mandela		Mandela	
20/7/98-26/7/98	economy		apartheid crime	
27/7/98-2/8/98	trc		trc	
3/8/98-9/8/98	usa		usa	
10/8/98-16/8/98	congo		judiciary	
17/8/98-23/8/98	usa		usa	
24/8/98-30/8/98	terrorism		other	
31/8/98-6/9/98	mandela		dp	
7/9/98-13/9/98	trc		usa	
14/9/98-20/9/98	trc		sport	
21/9/98-27/9/98	crime		lesotho	
28/9/98-4/10/98	cartooning		louis luyt	
5/10/98-11/10/98	bosnia		provinical government	
12/10/98-18/10/98	mafia		economy	
19/10/98-25/10/98	mining		mbeki	
26/10/98-1/11/98	trc		trc	
2/11/98-8/11/98	corruption		cricket	
9/11/98-15/11/98	apartheid crime		iraq	
16/11/98-	arms deal		trc	

22/11/98				
23/11/98-29/11/98	elections		elections	
30/11/98-6/12/98	football		zimbabwe	
7/12/98-13/12/98	np		university	
14/12/98-20/12/98	rugby			
21/12/98-27/12/98	dictators		christmas	
4/1/99-10/1/99				
11/1/99-17/1/99				
18/1/99-24/1/99				
25/1/99-31/1/99	zimbabwe		elections	
1/2/99-7/2/99	crime		mandela	
8/2/99-14/2/99	pac		apartheid	
15/2/99-21/2/99	elections		economy	
22/2/99-28/2/99	trade		cricket	
1/3/99-7/3/99	labour		uganda	
8/3/99-14/3/99	ifp		security	
15/3/99-21/3/99	allan boesak		mandela	
22/3/99-28/3/99	apartheid crimes		mandela	
29/3/99-4/4/99	corruption		usa	
5/4/99-11/4/99			floor crossing	
12/4/99-18/4/99	elections		celebrity	
19/4/99-25/4/99	police		sabc	
26/4/99-2/5/99	aids		corruption	
3/5/99-9/5/99	elections		dp	
10/5/99-16/5/99				

17/5/99-23/5/99	corruption		cartooning	
24/5/99-30/5/99	elections		anc	
31/5/99-6/6/99	elections		elections	
7/6/99-13/6/99	western cape		race	
14/6/99-20/6/99	mandela		sport	
21/6/99-27/6/99	provincial government		provincial government	
28/6/99-4/7/99	drc		elections	
5/7/99-11/7/99	subsidy		animal rights	
12/7/99-18/7/99	race		press	
19/7/99-25/7/99	crime		rugby	
26/7/99-1/8/99	new south africa		labour	
2/8/99-8/8/99	buthelezi		women's rights	
9/8/99-15/8/99	rugby		corruption	
16/8/99-22/8/99	tripartite alliance		corruption	
23/8/99-29/8/99	corruption		sport	
30/8/99-5/9/99				
6/9/99-12/9/99	united nations		press	
13/9/99-19/9/99	aids		sport	
20/9/99-26/9/99	arms deal			
27/9/99-3/10/99	road safety		rugby	
4/10/99-10/10/99	censorship		race	
11/10/99-17/10/99	apartheid crimes		judiciary	
18/10/99-24/10/99	corruption		nuclear weapons	
25/10/99-31/10/99	rugby		crime	
1/11/99-7/11/99	corruption		rugby	

8/11/99-14/11/99		celebrity		celebrity	
15/11/99-21/11/99		aids		security	
22/11/99-28/11/99		race		china	
29/11/99-5/12/99		religion			
6/12/99-12/12/99		corruption			
13/12/99-19/12/99		mandela			
20/12/99-26/12/99					
27/12/99-2/1/00		y2k		y2k	
3/1/00-9/1/00		y2k		obituary	
10/1/00-16/1/00		celebrity		economy	
17/1/00-23/1/00		race		education	
24/1/00-30/1/00		consititution			
31/1/00-6/2/00		zimbabwe		mbeki	
7/2/00-13/2/00		corruption		economy	
14/2/00-20/2/00		barney pityana		mugabe	
21/2/00-27/2/00		press freedom		press	
28/2/00-5/3/00		celebrity		natural disaster	
6/3/00-12/3/00		football		corruption	
13/3/00-19/3/00		aids		united nations	
20/3/00-26/3/00		church		welfare	
27/3/00-2/4/00		eugene terreblanche		sabc	
3/4/00-9/4/00					
10/4/00-16/4/00		hansie		hansie	
17/4/00-23/4/00		subsidy		mugabe	
24/4/00-					

30/4/00				
1/5/00-7/5/00	congo		zimbabwe	
8/5/00-14/5/00	hansie		apartheid crime	
15/5/00-21/5/00	corruption		dictators	
22/5/00-28/5/00	zimbabwe		apartheid crime	
29/5/00-4/6/00	arms deal		hansie	
5/6/00-11/6/00	arms deal		hansie	
12/6/00-18/6/00	hansie		dp	
19/6/00-25/6/00	zimbabwe		mugabe	
26/6/00-2/7/00	corruption		saa	
3/7/00-9/7/00	football		football	
10/7/00-16/7/00	aids		aids	
17/7/00-23/7/00	crime		subsidy	
24/7/00-30/7/00	aids		football	
31/7/00-6/8/00	education		press	
7/8/00-13/8/00	new south africa		drc	
14/8/00-20/8/00	terrorism		race	
21/8/00-27/8/00	race		crime	
28/8/00-3/9/00	race		race	
4/9/00-10/9/00	aids		mbeki	
11/9/00-17/9/00	olympics		aids	
18/9/00-24/9/00				
25/9/00-1/10/00	subsidy		mbeki	
2/10/00-8/10/00	mbeki		bosnia	
9/10/00-15/10/00	cartooning		israel	
16/10/00-	press		corruption	

22/10/00				
23/10/00-29/10/00	aids		rugby	
30/10/00-5/11/00	cricket		cricket	
6/11/00-12/11/00			usa	
13/11/00-19/11/00	usa		corruption	
20/11/00-26/11/00	police		olympics	
27/11/00-3/12/00	road safety		corruption	
4/12/00-10/12/00	mbeki		race	
11/12/00-17/12/00	usa		usa	
18/12/00-24/12/00	cartooning		y2k	
25/12/00-31/12/00				
1/1/1-7/1/1				
8/1/1-14/1/1	arms deal		arms deal	
15/1/1-21/1/1	drc		usa	
22/1/1-28/1/1	mbeki		arms deal	
29/1/1-4/2/1	israel		arms deal	
5/2/1-11/1/1	crime		sport	
12/2/1-18/2/1	aids		zimbabwe	
19/2/1-25/2/1	economy		new south africa	
26/2/1-4/3/1	corruption		corruption	
5/3/1-11/3/1	eugene terrblance		aids	
12/3/1-18/3/1	education		mbeki	
19/3/1-25/3/1	aids		aids	
26/3/1-1/4/1			yengeni	
2/4/1-8/4/1	aids		aids	

9/4/1-15/4/1	race		football	
16/4/1-22/4/1	arms deal		education	
23/4/1-29/4/1	mbeki		mbeki	
30/4/1-6/5/1	mbeki		incompetence	
7/5/1-13/5/1	yengeni		press	
14/5/1-20/5/1	judicial		cricket	
21/5/1-27/5/1	crime		parliament	
28/5/1-3/6/1	mbeki		apartheid	
4/6/1-10/6/1	crime		zimbabwe	
11/6/1-17/6/1	crime		saa	
18/6/1-24/6/1	corruption			
25/6/1-1/7/1				
2/7/1-8/7/1	arms deal		art	
9/7/1-15/7/1	land		olympics	
16/7/1-22/7/1	usa		football	
23/7/1-29/7/1	corruption		usa	
30/7/1-5/8/1	church		sacp	
6/8/1-12/8/1	peter marais		united nations	
13/8/1-19/8/1	saa		mugabe	
20/8/1-26/8/1	party alliance		economy	
27/8/1-2/9/1	race		race	
3/9/1-9/9/1	israel		race	
10/9/1-16/9/1	nine eleven		nine eleven	
17/9/1-23/9/1	usa		usa	
24/9/1-30/9/1	usa		hansie	

1/10/1-7/10/1	arms deal		press	
8/10/1-14/10/1	schabir shaik		terrorist	
15/10/1-21/10/1	aids		terrorism	
22/10/1-28/10/1	terrorism		mbeki	
29/10/1-4/11/1	dp		da	
5/11/1-11/11/1	party alliance		crime	
12/11/1-18/11/1	celebrity		arms deal	
19/11/1-25/11/1	zimbabwe		economy	
26/11/1-2/12/1	party alliance		zimbabwe	
3/12/1-9/12/1	crime			
10/12/1-16/12/1			aids	
17/12/1-23/12/1			terrorism	
24/12/1-30/12/1				
31/12/1-6/1/2			race	
7/1/2-13/1/2	economy			
14/1/2-20/1/2	celebrity		football	
21/1/2-27/1/2	celebrity		usa	
28/1/2-3/2/2	usa		zimbabwe	
4/2/2-10/2/2	aids		aids	
11/2/2-17/2/2	cricket		mugabe	
18/2/2-24/2/2	economy		aids	
25/2/2-3/3/2	aids		zimbabwe	
4/3/2-10/3/2	zimbabwe		zimbabwe	
11/3/2-17/3/2	zimbabwe		zimbabwe	
18/3/2-	anc		aids	

24/3/2				
25/3/2-31/3/2	israel		israel	
1/4/2-7/4/2	colonisation		aids	
8/4/2-14/4/2	apartheid crimes		apartheid crime	
15/4/2-21/4/2	israel		aids	
22/4/2-28/4/2				
29/4/2-5/5/2	church		security	
6/5/2-12/5/2	corruption		usa	
13/5/2-19/5/2	equal rights		corruption	
20/5/2-26/5/2	immigration		da	
27/5/2-2/6/2	da		football	
3/6/2-9/6/2	corruption		sport	
10/6/2-16/6/2	parliament		aids	
17/6/2-23/6/2	apartheid crime		corruption	
24/6/2-30/6/2	subsidy		g8	
1/7/2-7/7/2	crime		aids	
8/7/2-14/7/2	usa		usa	
15/7/2-21/7/2	libya		dictator	
22/7/2-28/7/2	tripartite alliance		sacp	
29/7/2-4/8/2	crime		economy	
5/8/2-11/8/2	floor crossing		zimbabwe	
12/8/2-18/8/2	subsidy		environment	
19/8/2-25/8/2	usa		usa	
26/8/2-1/9/2	united nations		subsidy	
2/9/2-8/9/2	united nations		usa	
9/9/2-	usa		usa	

15/9/2				
16/9/2-22/9/2	sabc		celebrity	
23/9/2-29/9/2	usa		usa	
30/9/2-6/10/2	mbeki		tripatite alliance	
7/10/2-13/10/2	da		da	
14/10/2-20/10/2	corruption		gay rights	
21/10/2-27/10/2	swaziland		political alliance	
28/10/2-3/11/2	apartheid		race	
4/11/2-10/11/2	usa		usa	
11/11/2-17/11/2	crime		terrorism	
18/11/2-24/11/2	rugby			
25/11/2-1/12/2	university		technology	
2/12/2-8/12/2	provinical government		da	
9/12/2-15/12/2	arms deal		zuma	
16/12/2-22/12/2	usa		usa	
23/12/2-29/12/2				
6/1/3-12/1/3			road safety	
13/1/3-19/1/3	road safety		press	
20/1/3-26/1/3	zimbabwe		united nations	
27/1/3-2/2/3			subsidy	
3/2/3-9/2/3	cricket		cricket	
10/2/3-16/2/3	cricket		yengeni	
17/2/3-23/2/3	winnie		free speech	
24/2/3-2/3/3	economy		road safety	
3/3/3-9/3/3	arms deal		usa	

10/3/3-16/3/3	usa		usa	
17/3/3-23/3/3	usa		terrorism	
24/3/3-30/3/3	usa		usa	
31/3/3-6/4/3	iraq		usa	
7/4/3-13/4/3	iraq		usa	
14/4/3-20/4/3	aids		aids	
21/4/3-27/4/3	winnie		winnie	
28/4/3-4/5/3	swaziland		mugabe	
5/5/3-11/5/3	obituary		obituary	
12/5/3-18/5/3	aids		israel	
19/5/3-25/5/3	corruption		corruption	
26/5/3-1/6/3	usa		provincial government	
2/6/3-8/6/3	usa		apartheid crime	
9/6/3-15/6/3	apartheid crime		zimbabwe	
16/6/3-22/6/3	usa		race	
23/6/3-29/6/3				
30/6/3-6/7/3	usa		usa	
7/7/3-13/7/3				
14/7/3-20/7/3	mandela		cartooning	
21/7/3-27/7/3	crime		usa	
28/7/3-3/8/3	cartooning		zuma	
4/8/3-10/8/3	church		celebrity	
11/8/3-17/8/3	aids		corruption	
18/8/3-24/8/3	parliament			
25/8/3-31/8/3	zuma		rugby	

1/9/3-7/9/3	corruption		arms deal	
8/9/3-14/9/3	rugby		subsidy	
15/9/3-21/9/3	corruption		tripatite alliance	
22/9/3-28/9/3	zimbabwe		crime	
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13/10/3-19/10/3	mac maharaj		corruption	
20/10/3-26/10/3	mac maharaj		corruption	
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1/12/3-7/12/3	crime		rugby	
8/12/3-14/12/3	corruption		corruption	
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10/1/11-16/1/11	education	israel	ivory coast	
17/1/11-23/1/11	sabc	police, arab spring	judicary	
24/1/11-30/1/11	arab spring	zimbabwe, ifp	mandela	
31/1/11-6/2/11	sabc		corruption	
7/2/11-13/2/11	zuma	anc, zuma	zuma	
14/2/11-20/2/11	celebrity	celebrity, press	arab spring	
21/2/11-27/2/11	arab spring	bee, libya	corruption	
28/2/11-6/3/11	corruption	zuma, race	zuma	
7/3/11-13/3/11	anc	race, public protector	natural disaster	
14/3/11-20/3/11	eskom	shabir shaik, natural disaster	united nations	
21/3/11-27/3/11	zuma	environment	cricket	
28/3/11-3/4/11	corruption	crime, environment		
4/4/11-10/4/11	arab spring	foreign policy, anc	malema	
11/4/11-17/4/11	free speech	foreign policy, swaziland	corruption	
18/4/11-24/4/11	elections	press, press	zuma	
25/4/11-1/5/11	celebrity	malema, celebrity	celebrity	
2/5/11-	arab spring	terrorism,	corruption	

8/5/11		cartooning		
9/5/11-15/5/11	elections	elections, syria	provincial government	
16/5/11-22/5/11	elections	da, election	anc	
23/5/11-29/5/11		celebrity, subsidy	press	
30/5/11-5/6/11	gay rights	football, economy	obituary	
6/6/11-12/6/11	free speech	malema, football		
13/6/11-19/6/11	malema	ancyl		
20/6/11-26/6/11	obituary	malema	usa	
27/6/11-3/7/11	zuma	libya, obituary	cosatu	
4/7/11-10/7/11				
11/7/11-17/7/11	sudan	public protector, ancyl	mandela	
18/7/11-24/7/11	celebrity	mandela, labour		
25/7/11-31/7/11	malema	malema	zuma	
1/8/11-7/8/11	xenophobia	arms deal, cricket	usa	
8/8/11-14/8/11	crime	swaziland	health	
15/8/11-21/8/11	judiciary	malema, rugby	anc	
22/8/11-28/8/11	arab spring	malema, corruption	judiciary	
29/8/11-4/9/11	malema	malema, syria	judiciary	
5/9/11-11/9/11	zuma	judiciary, zuma	rugby	
12/9/11-18/9/11	malema	malema, free speech	arms deal	
19/9/11-25/9/11	united nations	arms deal, celebrity	zuma	
26/9/11-2/10/11				
3/10/11-9/10/11				
10/10/11-16/10/11	secrecy bill	rugby, celebrity	rugby	
17/10/11-23/10/11	oilgate	cricket, press freedom	arab spring	
24/10/11-	malema	corruption, da	arms deal	

30/10/11				
31/10/11-6/11/11	eu	corruption, judiciary	saa	
7/11/11-13/11/11	malema	eskom, israel	malema	
14/11/11-20/11/11	security	anc, cope	zuma	
21/11/11-27/11/11	mac maharaj	zuma, zuma	press	
28/11/11-4/12/11	environment	environment, corruption	corruption	
5/12/11-11/12/11	oilgate	helen zille, environment	environment	
12/12/11-18/12/11			corruption	
19/12/11-25/12/11	free speech	malema, poaching	technology	
9/1/12-15/1/12	foreign policy	anc, university	malema	
16/1/12-22/1/12	zuma	cricket	cartooning	
23/1/12-29/1/12	arab spring	malema, zuma	rugby	
30/1/12-5/2/12	au	corruption, equal rights	press	
6/2/12-12/2/12	russia	malema, zuma	malema	
13/2/12-19/2/12	parliament	obituary, environment	race	
20/2/12-26/2/12	corruption	economy, corruption	new south africa	
27/2/12-4/3/12	malema	syria, zuma	corruption	
5/3/12-11/3/12	etoll	russia, etolls	corruption	
12/3/12-18/3/12	judiciary	public protector	cricket	
19/3/12-25/3/12	anc	corruption, zuma	helen zille	
26/3/12-1/4/12	apartheid crime	welfare, malema	brics	
2/4/12-8/4/12	anc	corruption, malema	anc	
9/4/12-15/4/12	anc	press, mugabe	anc	
16/4/12-22/4/12	crime	zuma, malema	new south africa	
23/4/12-29/4/12	new south africa	environment, malema	e tolls	

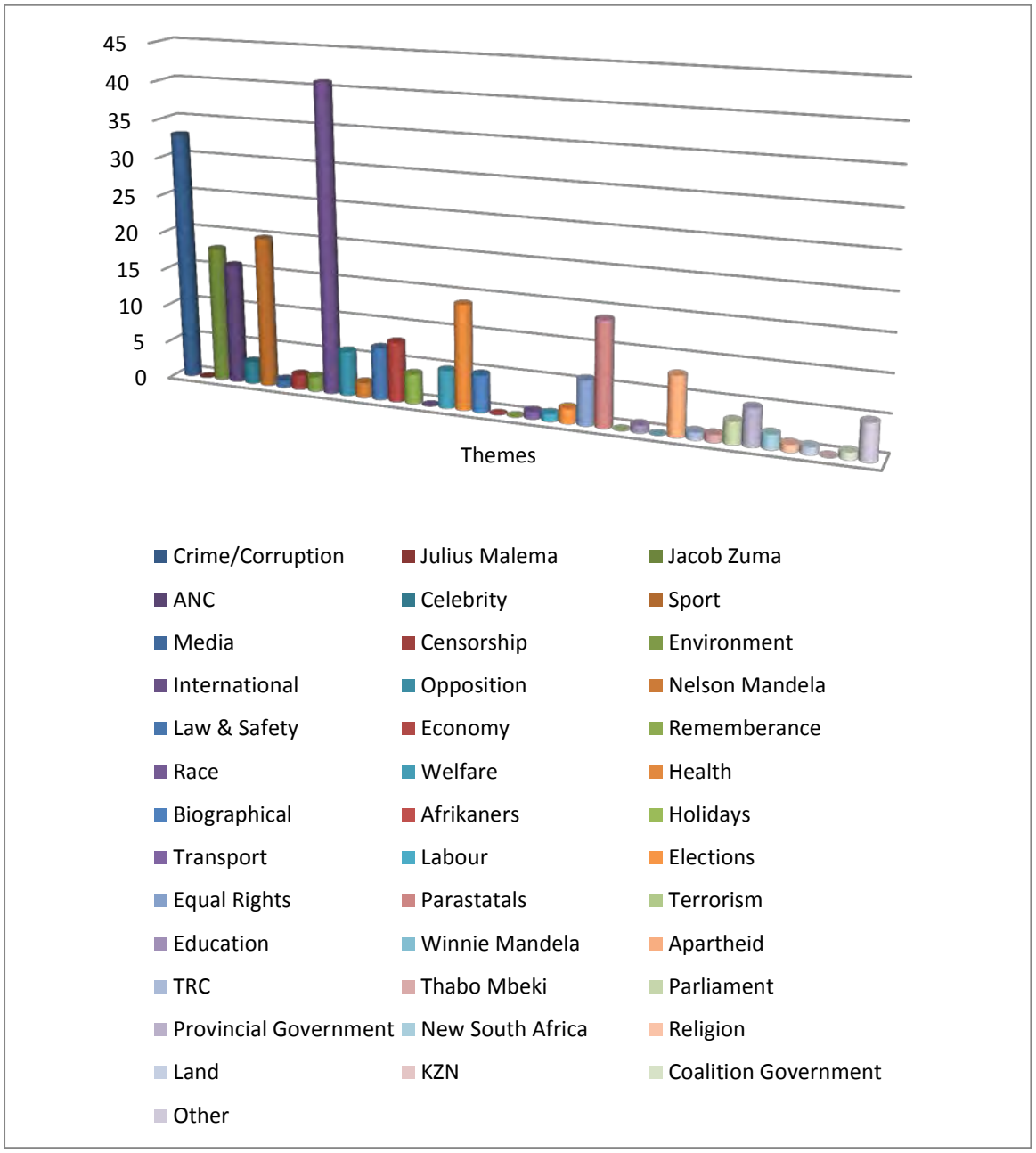
30/4/12-6/5/12	crime	celebrity	anc	
7/5/12-13/5/12	corruption	da, eu	apartheid	
14/5/12-20/5/12	race	anc, cosatu	zuma	
21/5/12-27/5/12	zuma	zuma, israel	corruption	
28/5/12-3/6/12	free speech	free speech, corruption	free speech	
4/6/12-10/6/12	crime	sport, football	corruption	
11/6/12-17/6/12	police	cope, anc	zuma	
18/6/12-24/6/12	eu	zuma, sport	education	
25/6/12-1/7/12	zuma	arab spring	zuma	
2/7/12-8/7/12	zuma	football, welfare	education	
9/7/12-15/7/12	crime			
16/7/12-22/7/12				
23/7/12-29/7/12	usa	schabir shaik, corruption	olympics	
30/7/12-5/8/12	race	olympics	sport	
6/8/12-12/8/12	zuma	olympics	education	
13/8/12-19/8/12	economy	olympics, health	marikana	
20/8/12-26/8/12	zuma	malema, marikana	marikana	
27/9/12-2/9/12	manyi	sport, tony blair	tony blair	
3/9/12-9/9/12		marikana, malema		
10/9/12-16/9/12				
17/9/12-23/9/12				
24/9/12-30/9/12				
1/10/12-7/10/12	anc	censorship	parliament	
8/10/12-14/10/12		corruption	zuma	
15/10/12-21/10/12	zuma	world record, censorship	zuma	

22/10/12-28/10/12	ramaphosa	obama, eskom	cartooning	
29/10/12-4/11/10	zuma	cartooning, cartooning, celebrity	censorship	
5/11/12-11/11/12	sabc	usa, obama	environment	
12/11/12-18/11/12	censorship	crime, censorship	corruption	
19/11/12-25/11/12	usa	labour, zuma	zuma	
26/11/12-2/12/12	anc	da, corruption,	celebrity	
3/12/12-9/12/12	anc	anc, sabc		
10/12/12-16/12/12	zuma	mandela, anc	zuma	
17/12/12-23/12/12	christmas	anc, anc	christmas	
24/12/12-30/12/12				
31/1/13-6/1/13				
7/1/13-13/1/13				
14/1/13-20/1/13	sport	crime, sport	mali	
21/1/13-27/1/13	economy	labour, marikana	parastatal	
28/1/13-3/2/13	parastatal	zuma, corruption	celebrity	
4/2/13-10/2/13	crime	da, opposition	zuma	
11/2/13-17/2/13	crime	corruption, zuma		
18/2/13-24/2/13		agang	crime	
25/2/13-3/3/13	religion	celebrity, health	crime	
4/3/13-10/3/13		corruption, corruption	apartheid	
11/3/13-17/3/13	religion	kenya	crime	
18/3/13-24/3/13	human rights	anc	sabc	
25/3/13-31/3/13	brics	central african republic, brics	april fools	
1/4/13-7/4/13	zuma	mandela	corruption	
8/4/13-	corruption	anc	mandela	

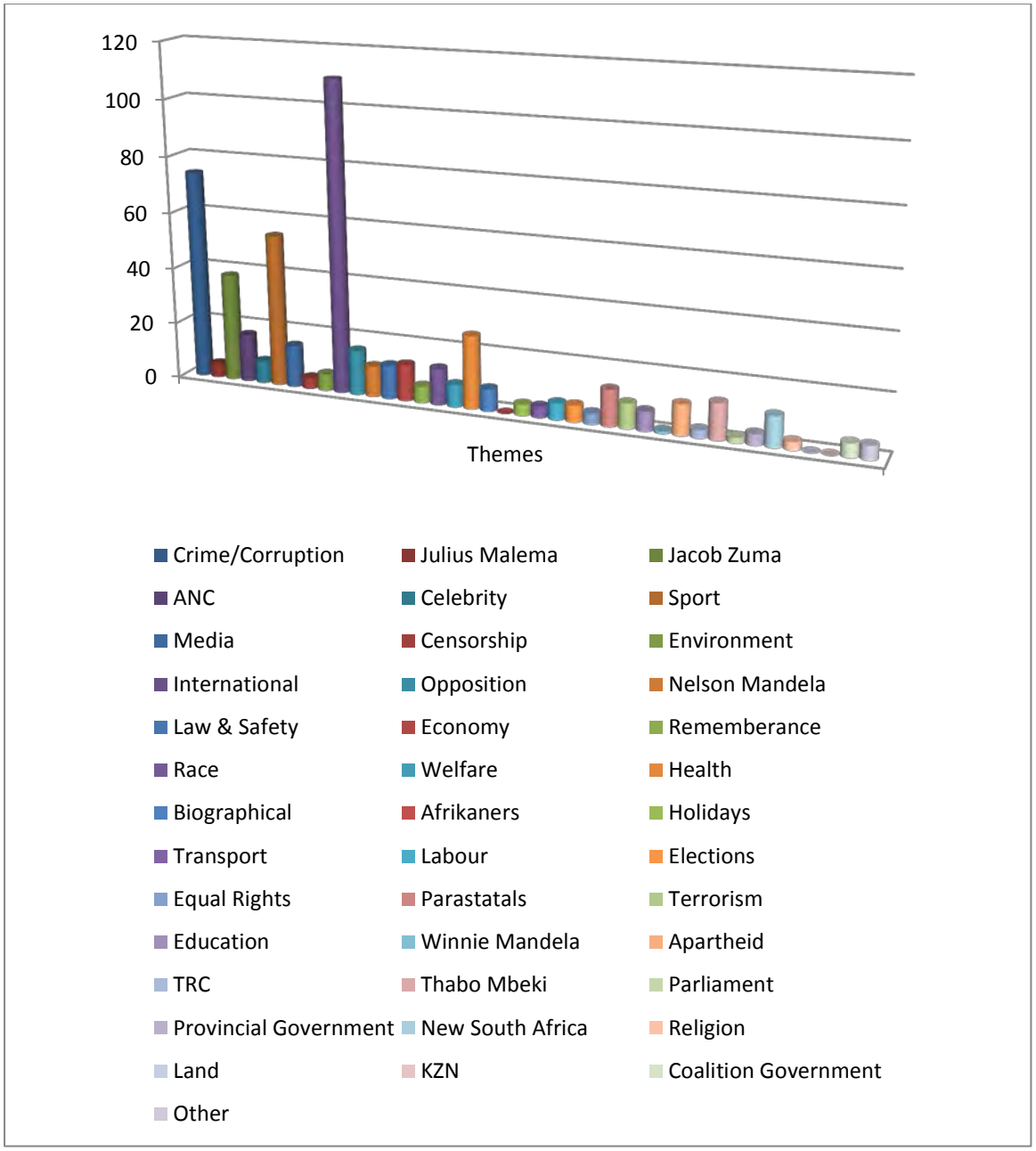
14/4/13				
15/4/13-21/4/13	zimbabwe	judiciary		
22/4/13-28/4/13	corruption	censorship	censorship	
29/4/13-5/5/13	corruption	economy, corruption	corruption	
6/5/13-12/5/13	education	censorship, obama	sport	
13/5/13-19/5/13	celebrity	marikana, celebrity		
20/5/13-26/5/13	corruption	obituary, health	corruption	
27/5/13-2/6/13	other	cosatu, xenophobia		
3/6/13-9/6/13	provincial government	celebrity, crime	new SA	
10/6/13-16/6/13	mandela	usa, mandela	mandela	
17/6/13-23/6/13	education	land		
24/6/13-30/6/13	obama	agang		
1/7/13-7/7/13				
8/7/13-14/7/13	anc		mandela	
15/7/13-21/7/13	mandela		da	
22/7/13-28/7/13	zimbabwe	censorship, celebrity		
29/7/13-4/8/13	censorship	vavi		
5/8/13-11/8/13	corruption	corruption, provincial government	corruption	
12/8/13-18/8/13	opposition party	sport	marikana	
19/8/13-25/8/13	sabc	corruption	zuma	
26/8/13-1/9/13	obama	corruption	usa	
2/9/13-8/9/13	coalition	cartooning, anc	g20	
9/9/13-15/9/13		gay rights, sabc	zuma	
16/9/13-22/9/13	anc	rugby, obama	crime	
23/9/13-29/9/13	etolls	terrorism	kenya	

30/9/13-6/10/13	zuma	zuma, corruption	corruption	
7/10/13-13/10/13	africa	judiciary, zuma		
14/10/13-20/10/13	maharaj	malema, new SA		
21/10/13-27/10/13		africa, public protector		
28/10/13-3/11/13	corruption	police	terrorism	
4/11/13-10/11/13	zuma	eff, egypt	mandela	
11/11/13-17/11/13	da	public protector, phillipines	crime	
18/11/13-24/11/13	zuma	celebrity, corruption	zuma	
25/11/13-1/12/13	zuma	crime	zuma	
2/12/13-8/12/13	anc	opposition party, anc	mandela	
9/12/13-15/12/13		mandela, mandela, mandela	obama	
16/12/13-22/12/13	mandela	mandela, media	zuma	
23/12/13-29/12/13				

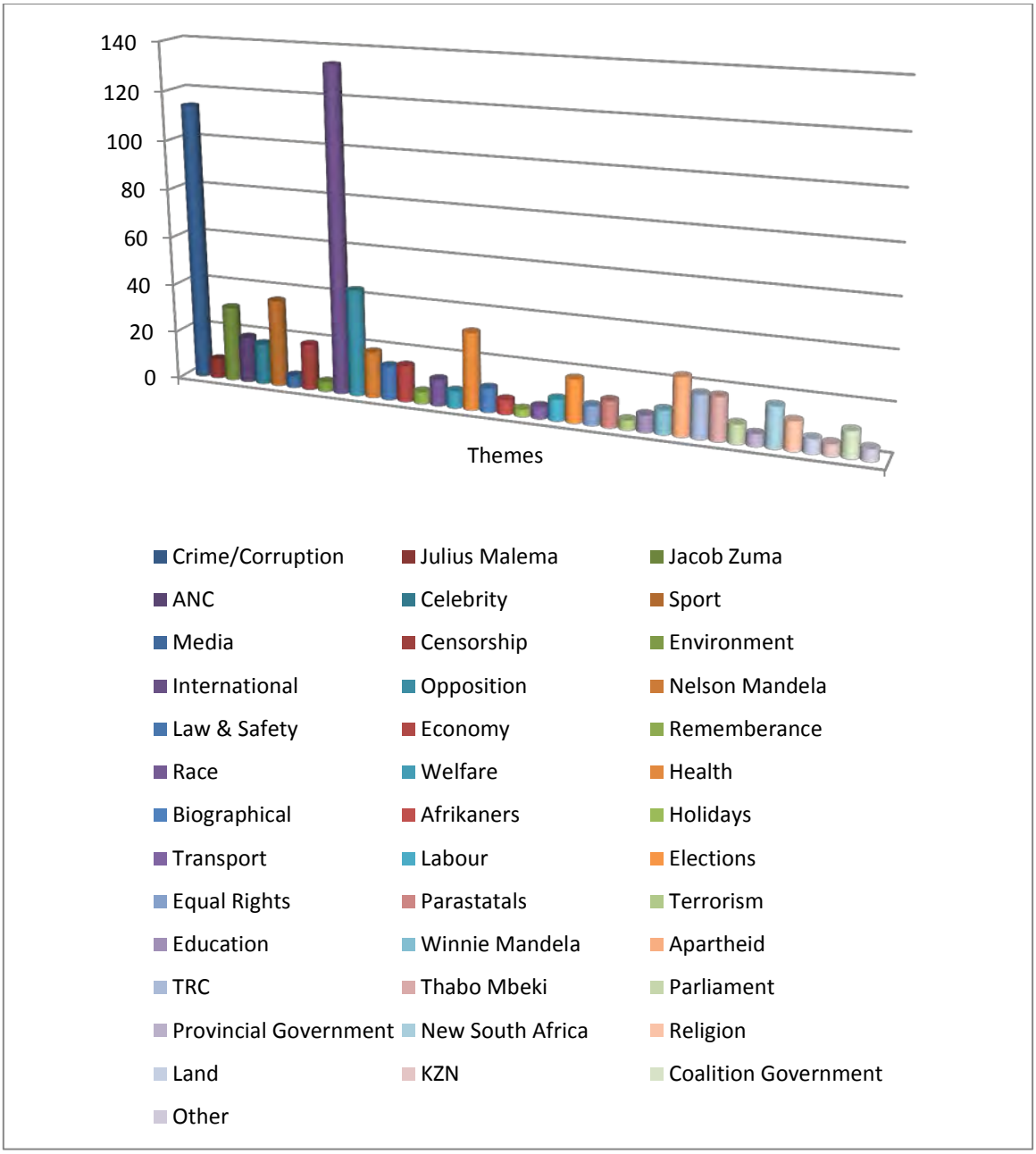
Appendix 2



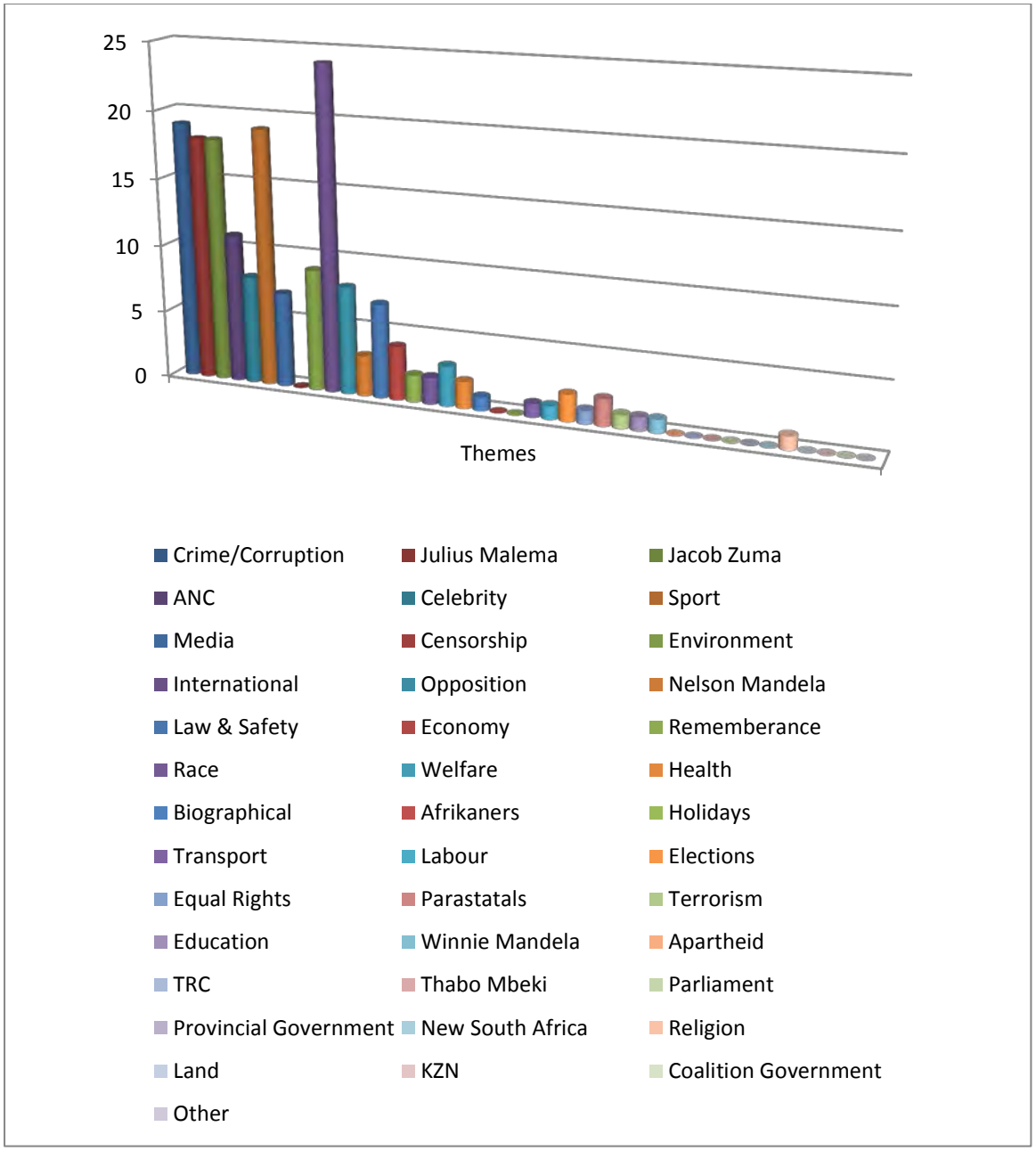
Independent 1994-2013



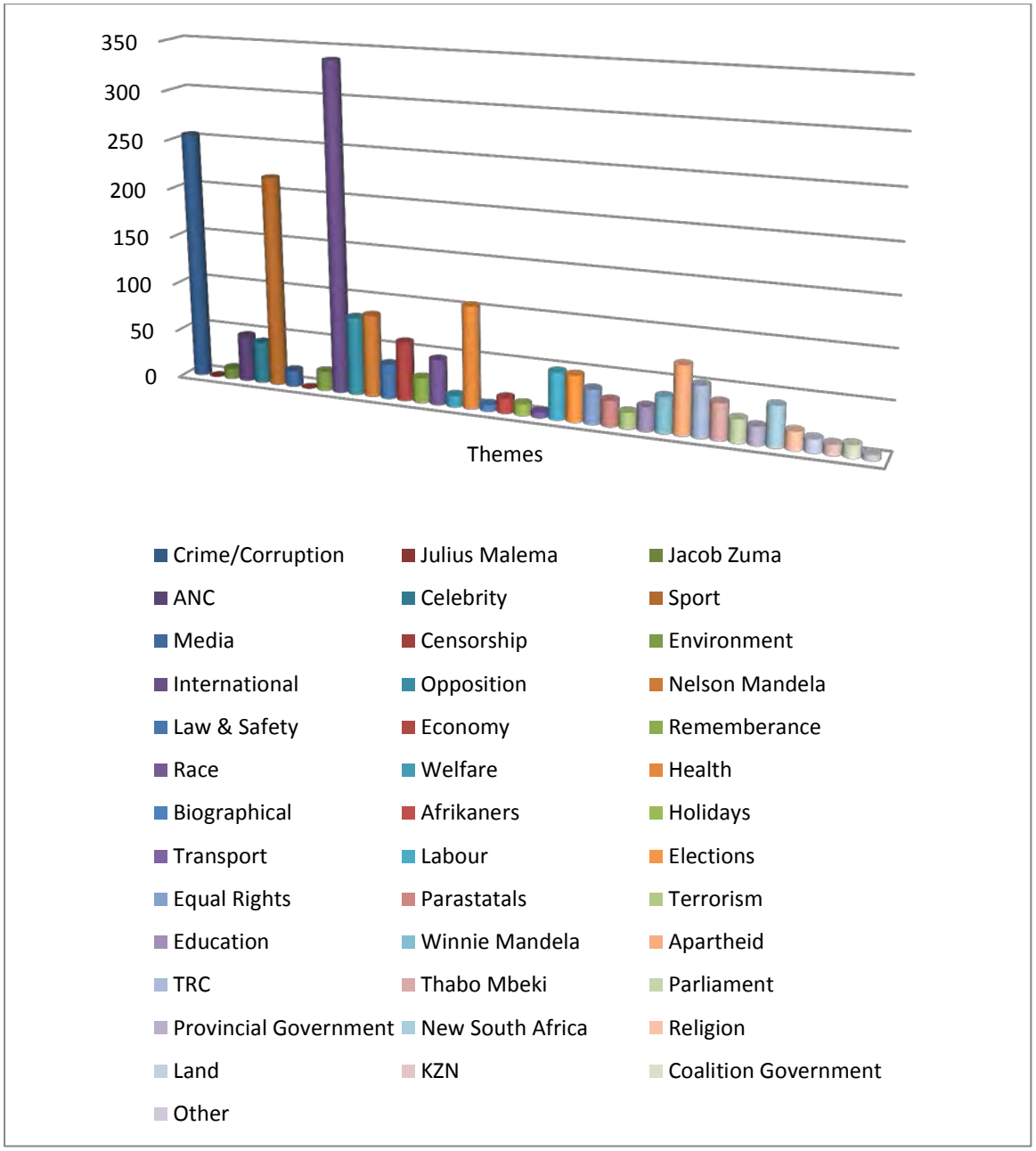
Sunday Times 1994-2013



Mail & Guardian 1994-2013



The Times 1994-2013



Sowetan 1994-2013