

*A critique of the Rape of Justicia, with emphasis on seven cartoons by
Zapiro (2008 – 2010)*

by
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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it to any other university for a degree.

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Date:

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Abstract

Regarding the work of Zapiro, a number of articles have been written, but only two post-graduate studies have been completed since 1991. On the Rape of Justicia cartoons, which were conceived recently (2008 - 2010) no academic study has been conducted. In this study seven cartoons by Zapiro are analysed, as indicated by the title and in the text. The theoretical approach for this thesis is founded on the Libertarian and Critical research models, as well as the views of the Cultural history school. As a research methodology the qualitative approach was utilised. As data gathering techniques content analysis was complemented by literary and technical criteria. Interviews of selected informants were used as supplementary instruments. The goal of the study was to determine whether the Rape of Justicia cartoons can be construed as fair criticism, as is normally expected of a political commentator, while taking into account that editorial cartoonists traditionally occupy a unique position in the field of journalism. The proposed hypothesis of this thesis is that Zapiro acted within his rights as a cartoonist in a democratic country. The conclusion was that Zapiro did not overstep the bounds of freedom of speech, especially not so in his capacity as a visual satirist.

Opsomming

'n Aantal artikels is oor Zapiro se werk geskryf, maar slegs twee nagraadse studies is sedert 1991 voltooi. Aangaande die Rape of Justicia-spotprente, wat onlangs geskep is (2008-2010), is geen akademiese studie onderneem nie. In hierdie studie word sewe spotprente deur Zapiro geanaliseer, soos aangedui in die titel en in die teks. Die teoretiese benadering wat hierdie tesis volg gebaseer op die Libertynse en Kritiese navorsingsmodelle, sowel as die uitgangspunte van die Kultuurhistoriese geskiedskool. As navorsingsmetodologie is die Kwalitatiewe benadering gevolg. As data-insamelingstegnieke is inhoudsanalise met literêre en tegniese kriteria aangevul. Die doel van hierdie studie was vas te stel of die "Rape of Justicia"-spotprente as regverdige kritiek beskou kan word, soos wat normaalweg van 'n politieke kommentator verwag word, met inagneming van die feit dat redaksionele spotprenttekenaars 'n unieke posisie in die joernalistieke sfeer bekleed. Die voorgestelde hipotese van hierdie tesis is dat Zapiro binne sy regte as 'n spotprenttekenaar in 'n demokratiese land opgetree het. Die gevolgtrekking wat gemaak is, was dat Zapiro nie die grense van spraakvryheid oortree het nie, veral nie in sy hoedanigheid as visuele satirikus nie.

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Contents

<u>1. Study design</u>	8
1.1 Introduction	8
1.2 Background	9
1.3 Goal	10
1.4 Theoretical points of departure	10
1.5 Methodology	11
1.6 Thesis outline	11
1.7 Summary	12
<u>2. Literature review</u>	13
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 International context	13
2.2.1 Key studies	13
2.3 Local context	15
2.3.1 Key studies	15
2.4 Summary	22
<u>3. Theory</u>	24
3.1 Introduction	24
3.2 The four theories of the press	24
3.3 Critical theory	28
3.4 Historical research theories	29
3.4.1 General History	29
3.4.2 Communication history	31
3.5 Summary	33
<u>4. Research methodology</u>	35
4.1. Introduction	35
4.2 Qualitative research	35
4.3 Analysis of cartoons	36
4.3.1 Background	36
4.3.2 Content analysis	38
4.3.3 Literary analysis	39
4.3.4 Technical analysis	40
4.4 Methods of data collection	42
4.5. Summary	43
<u>5. Historical context</u>	44
5.1 Introduction	44
5.2 Background	44
5.3. A short history of cartoons	47
5.3.1 Globally	47
5.3.2 Locally	49
5.4 Zapiro and Zuma	53

5.4.1 Zapiro	54
5.4.2 Zuma	61
5.5 Cartoons in court	64
5.5.1 Background	64
5.5.2 Suing Zapiro	69
5.6 Role of the editor	72
5.7 Conclusion	77
5.8 Summary	78
<u>6. Analysis of cartoons</u>	79
6.1 Introduction	79
6.2 Background	82
6.3 Analysis	90
6.3.1 “Collaboration”	90
6.3.2 “Respect”	99
6.3.3 “Also valid”	104
6.3.4 “A Victory”	109
6.3.5 “Lost sword”	114
6.3.6 “Pontius Mpshe”	120
6.3.7 “Unfinished business”	126
6.4 Conclusion	131
6.5 Summary	135
<u>7. Final Analysis</u>	137
7.1 Introduction	137
7.2 Arguments	137
7.3 Conclusion	156
7.4 Summary	158
<u>8. List of Illustrations</u>	160
<u>9. References</u>	161

Chapter 1: Study design

1.1 Introduction

In South Africa very little research has been done regarding editorial cartoons (Kennedy, 1976: 172; Kotzé, 1988: i; Vernon, 2000: 5; Verster, 2003: 1). As indicated in the literature review (see 2.3.1) only Kotzé (1988), Schoonraad and Schoonraad (1989), Pissarra (1991), Vernon (2000), Verster (2003), as well as Amato (2005), have endeavoured to analyse editorial cartoons created by local cartoonists.

One of the few books on cartoons published in South Africa, by M.C.E. Van Schoor (1981), is about cartoons of the South African War (1899 – 1902). However, Van Schoor discussed mainly the work of local cartoonists which appeared in foreign publications. Moreover, this book has a limited scope, namely war cartoons of a specific period. Therefore this publication was used as a source, but was not deemed a key source.

Regarding the cartoons of Zapiro, only two researchers have conducted academic research projects on a postgraduate level. Pissarra compares the works of Zapiro and his contemporary Derek Bauer, while Amato weighed Zapiro's work up against that of American cartoonist Michael Ramirez.

This state of affairs indicates a need for such research projects and publications as editorial cartoons have played an important role in opinion forming by the media for many years (Cillié, 1989: 8; Mouton, 2005: 144).

No research has been done on Zapiro's so-called Rape of Justitia cartoons, although these cartoons had caused a furore in the media, prompted a radio interview with the president of the country (Derby & Cohen, 2008: 1; Mboyisa, 2009: 1) and hundreds of responses from the public on the internet (Mason, 2008: 1). These cartoons comment on issues like rape, corruption, the competency of Zuma as president of South Africa, freedom of speech and the privileges of cartoonists as visual satirists – all contentious issues evoking public debate (Mason, 2008: 1).

This thesis will attempt to address these issues, but it needs to be stated that because of its restricted scope as a 50% thesis an extended background research is not feasible. Neither is the analysis of public commentary on blogs, or the use of comparative examples such as the methods used by certain leading cartoonists in comparable circumstances. This thesis can therefore be considered to be a building block for other researchers to conduct more advanced studies on the phenomenon of editorial cartoons as social commentary.

The researcher has done research on specific aspects of pictorial humour and wrote extensively on the subject (see 2.3.1 vi), although not on the work of Zapiro, and not regarding the impact of editorial cartooning on the level of a master's thesis. While he could draw on his background in History and Cultural History, Journalism as social

paradigm and as a field of study has been a new experience and a fresh perspective from which to study this subject.

The researcher has adopted a principle of Critical theory (see 3.3), namely “[...] to draw from knowledge across the social sciences [...]” (Critical theory definition, 2010: 3) in order to critically investigate a specific object of study.

1.2 Background

In September 2008 Zapiro drew a cartoon depicting four men holding down a woman, urging another man to rape her. The identities of the men are all clearly distinguishable as that of Jacob Zuma, the intended rapist, with his collaborators, Julius Malema, Gwede Mantashe, Blade Nzimande and Zwelinzima Vavi (Du Plessis, 2008a: 1). The woman appears to be an Africanised version of Justitia, the Roman goddess of justice, also known as Lady Justice.

The cartoon is an allegory of Zuma making a joke of the South African justice system. It also recalls the accusation of rape, and the consequent trial against Zuma in 2005 (Motsei, 2007: 152). Zuma has responded to this cartoon by suing Zapiro for “damage to his reputation” (Swart & Ncana, 2008: 1).

The cartoonist and researcher on the subject of pictorial humour, Andy Mason wrote about this specific cartoon (Mason, 2008: 1):

“My first response to Zapiro’s rape of Justice cartoon was a sharp intake of breath. From what I can gather, many other people responded in a similar way. It’s a shocker, and the involuntary intake of breath that has typically greeted it is an indicator of how hard it hits and how deep it goes.”

Mason calls this cartoon the “most shocking” of Zapiro’s career and probably one of the most shocking cartoons ever published in South Africa. He summarises it as follows: “The cartoon brings together, or conflates, a number of topics that are predominant in the national discourse at the moment.”

Mason names violence against women, especially gang rape, as a phenomenon most South Africans fear (Mason, 2008: 1).

The contentiousness of the first cartoon and its successors, named “the Rape of Justitia cartoons” in this thesis, is irrefutable and so is the controversy that it evoked, regarding Zapiro’s right to criticise Zuma (Zweni, 2010: 1).

The cartoonist’s freedom of expression is generally seen as to be greater than that of other journalists, including columnists, but it is not unlimited (Amato, 2005: 6; Lamb, 2004: 147). Cartoonists have been successfully sued for libel even in liberal societies, while intangible and informal censorships are exerted by editors, media owners and “political milieus” (Amato, 2005: 6).

Essentially the point of contention for many South Africans is whether the actions of the cartoonist, in this case Zapiro, warrant a case of libel against him and his editor (De Vos, 2008a: 2; Verster, 2009a: 14).

1.3 Goal

Zapiro has been accused of racism, waging a personal vendetta against Jacob Zuma and overstepping the boundaries of objectivity and good taste (ANC condemns cartoon, 2008: 2-3). Zapiro, on the other hand, has repeatedly stated that it is the duty of journalists to exercise freedom of speech and safeguard the freedom of the press (Shapiro, 2005: 139; Lamond, 2007: 33-34).

The goal of the thesis will be to determine whether the Rape of Justicia cartoons are legitimate satire according to the criteria accepted for visual journalism. An attempt will be made to answer the question whether Zapiro acted unfairly and in bad taste or within the paradigms of democracy and the privileges of satirists.

To determine whether Zapiro has acted injudiciously or within the rights of a political cartoonist in a democratic society, criteria applied will include satirical concepts, e.g., humour, irony, symbolism, characterisation, contextualisation, metaphor and artistic style (Verster 2003: 16-17).

1.4 Theoretical points of departure

A theoretical grounding for academic study is imperative, because research is guided by theory and is dependent on theory to increase its meaningfulness and generality (Van Belkum, 2001: 9). Mouton also makes the point that reflections on scientific endeavours are imperative to continuously improve the nature of scientific enquiry (2008: 141-142). This is not possible or relevant without referring to examples of similar studies within comparable paradigms.

The theoretical approach for this thesis is founded on the Libertarian and Critical research models (see 3.2 and 3.3), as well as the views of the Cultural history school (see 3.4.2).

The proposed hypothesis of this thesis is that Zapiro was firstly within his rights as a cartoonist in a democratic country and secondly that these cartoons utilise the traditional techniques of cartoonists to such an extent that they are highly effective instruments of persuasion. It will be argued that Zapiro did not overstep the bounds of freedom of speech, especially not so in his role as a visual satirist.

The theoretical approach applicable to this specific study will be discussed in Chapter 3.

1.5 Methodology

In this study, the Rape of Justicia cartoons is approached according to qualitative principles, rather than quantitative methods. The principal reason is that preliminary research on the subject has shown that traditional sampling techniques (letters in newspapers, blogs on the internet or answers on questionnaires) in a country where huge differences in resources and accessibility exists, will only provide an indication to the opinions of a certain section of the population (Verster, 2009a: 2).

To determine the validity and effectiveness of the Rape of Justicia cartoons, each cartoon will be evaluated according to techniques editorial cartoonists the world over have used for centuries (see 4.4). A “criterion” is a quality or attribute used to measure the effect of an independent variable (Van Belkum, 2001: 24).

For the purposes of this study, the analytical methods employed are subdivided under content analysis, literary analysis and technical analysis. In order to add to literary sources, fill gaps or clarify certain points which may be unclear, the researcher approached four professional cartoonists, including Zapiro, to garner their opinions regarding editorial cartooning (see 4.4). The researcher chose to do personal (personal, telephonic and one internet communiqué), opposed to utilising formal questionnaires for this purpose.

A detailed discussion of the methodology chosen as most applicable to this study, and according to which data were consequently gathered, will follow in Chapter 4.

1.6 Thesis outline

In Chapters 1 – 4 an introduction to the study, a literature review, and the theoretical and methodological approaches are explained in order to ground this study in the journalistic and historical research paradigms.

“Chapter 1: Study design” outlines the above and “Chapter 2: Literature review” consists of a discussion of certain key studies. In “Chapter 3: Theory”, the four media theories are discussed as points of departure and aligned with the purposes of this thesis as well as the Libertarian and Critical theories in particular.

“Chapter 4: Methodology” specifies the tools which the researcher has chosen to gather and analyse data, namely the Rape of Justicia cartoons individually, and interviews. This researcher chose a qualitative approach, as discussed in 4.2.

These four chapters provide an indication of what will be studied and how the thesis will be executed.

In “Chapter 5: Context” editorial cartoons as a genre are discussed to put the Rape of Justicia cartoons into perspective historically. A history of cartoons, globally and locally, will show that Zapiro’s work is part of a well-established tradition in journalism.

Subsequently, Zapiro and Zuma, the two main characters in the study, will be introduced, to provide insight into their personal backgrounds, influences and motives. A background exposition of a previous court case featuring Zapiro and Zuma, namely the rape trial of Zuma in 2005, also referred to as “The Kanga case”, will then be presented. This discussion will also provide context to references in the Rape of Justicia cartoons (see Chapter 6).

In “Chapter 6: Analysis of the cartoons” the individual cartoons (from 7 September 2008 to 15 January 2010) will be analysed according to criteria based on traditionally accepted cartooning techniques.

Comments gathered from the media (newspapers, magazines and internet), as well as opinions of working cartoonists gathered by means of a questionnaire will be implemented as resources or tools to assess these cartoons. In “Chapter 7: Final Analysis” a detailed assessment of the initial hypothesis and findings by the researcher will be presented during the course of the study.

1.7 Summary

The rationale for this thesis is the lack of academic research conducted on editorial cartoons in South Africa, especially recent work. The uproar which followed the Rape of Justicia cartoons underlines the contentiousness of the matter in post-apartheid South Africa, especially during the Zuma era.

The goal of the thesis is to determine whether the Rape of Justicia cartoons are fair comment, as can be expected of an editorial cartoonist. Theoretically, the Libertarian and Critical theoretical paradigms were selected as foundation for the study. The methodological approach is qualitative, while each cartoon will be evaluated according to the traditional techniques utilised by editorial cartoonists.

In the next chapter a review of relevant literature will be discussed.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Literature studies present an overview of scholarship in a certain discipline through an analysis of trends and debates. The typical applications are identified as critical, state-of-the-art and integrative (Mouton, 2008: 179).

For the purposes of this thesis, the selected literature is reviewed critically, and integrated with the process of analysing the Rape of Justicia cartoons by Zapiro, which is also of a recent nature (September 2008 to January 2010).

This literature review encompasses both academic and popular sources. Academic sources utilised include dissertations and theses. Popular sources include newspapers and magazines, internet websites and books. These sources are divided into two groups according to geographical focus, namely international and local. In each group, certain key sources were selected to indicate which sources provided the most useful and more directly applicable contexts.

The reason for the wide scope of this review is that editorial cartoons are examples of mass culture carried by media, both globally and locally. The editorial cartoons created by local cartoonists such as Zapiro may be of only local importance, but as a genre they are part of an international tradition (Pissarra, 1991: 1; Verster, 2003: 5).

Therefore, to better understand Zapiro's cartoons, it is imperative to also understand the tradition they belong to. Key sources, as demarcated chronologically in 2.2.1 – 2.2.2, provide the background in order to attain insight in this regard.

2.2 International context

2.2.1 Key studies

Internationally, a substantial oeuvre of academic and popular works on pictorial humour and satire exists (Verster, 2003: 8). Many of these works include or are exclusively concerned with editorial cartoons, also known as political cartoons. For the purpose of this study, Lamb (2004) and Kahn (2007) have proven to be the most insightful in providing a wider, global perspective on the study focus.

Lamb's *Drawn to extremes: the use and abuse of editorial cartoons* examines selected cartoons, but contextualises these cartoons by discussing the political background of the time and comparing the work of cartoonists, commenting on the same situation or person.

In *Political cartoons and caricatures from the collection of Michael Alexander Kahn*, Kahn presents a background of the significance of political cartoons and caricatures of the last 250 years, with discussions of individual cartoons.

The studies by these two authors will next be discussed.

i. Lamb

Lamb endeavours to act as a champion for cartooning and cartoonists. He gives voice to both the cartoonists and editors through interviews and case studies (Lamb, 2004: 128-129, 207, 232). He comments on journalism, the presentation of news and satirical comment as follows: "... the line between news and satire became so blurred that it became nearly indistinguishable" (Lamb, 2004: 57).

Lamb evaluates the mission of cartoonists as follows: "[...] editorial cartoonists must reveal our leaders as moral degenerates who are undeserving of what they receive from the system."

He concludes that politics is a natural arena for satirists and names some great names in the history of satire (e.g., Horace, Swift and Daumier), but qualifies several conditions for political satire to flourish. According to this premise there must be a degree of free speech to allow cartoonists to practise their art without constraint, while there has to be enough readers who understand satire – the intent as well as the content (Lamb, 2004: 61).

According to Lamb cartoons should encourage dialogue and newspapers should never apologise for cartoons, because that sends the message that the newspaper lacks the courage of its own convictions. Lamb states:

"In the newsroom, where freedom is ultimately measured, a cartoonist's freedom depends on beliefs, tastes, politics, and even [a] sense of humour of his or her publisher or editors, who have veto power over whether or not a drawing will be published. This, despite the fact that cartoons are satiric representations of news events and should not be taken literally, because they are not literal" (Lamb, 2004: 128).

Lamb's publication contains case studies of typical difficulties that cartoonists face, including bribery, bad relationships between cartoonists and editors, and censorship from various sources (Lamb, 2004: 64-65). Interviews with cartoonists reveal the frustrations, as well as the convictions, of editorial cartoonists (Lamb, 2004: 130, 157, 183.).

Mouton's statement that literature reviews provide an overview of trends and debates (2008: 179) is applicable to this study, because it certainly raises the issue of the different perceptions regarding editorial cartooning, as seen from the viewpoints of editors and cartoonists and raises it to the level of an open debate.

ii. Kahn

Political cartoons and caricatures is not as voluminous as Lamb's work, but is more to the point, with practical applications. Kahn describes the sub-genres of pictorial humour firstly as, the "[...] vehicle for exposing the hypocrisy, foibles, and preposterousness of otherwise powerful and rich members of society [...]"

and secondly,

"[...] they have popularised the most important political and social issues of the time in a manner in which injustices, misguided policies, and ridiculous government actions were instantly perceivable to wide audiences".

He then states that the best political cartoons are almost always about current events and living people – he stresses that immediacy and relevance are the core values of editorial cartoons. Cartoons summarise the issues and personalities of their times, become historical artefacts, are also art, and satire enlighten as well as entertain (Kahn, 2007: 9).

Kahn declares that the entire Western world's political cartoon development is rooted in Great Britain's exceptional cartooning past, dating from the 1700s (Kahn, 2007: 10). The greater part of this book is dedicated to a critique of a selection of eighty cartoons. Kahn explains their meanings, as well as strong and weak points as representations of their genre. By using practical examples, he demonstrates how cartoons should be interpreted, in contrast with several books on this subject which relies on theoretical explanations and definitions.

Globally numerous books and articles on cartooning exist, which would endorse the works of Lamb and Kahn, but for the purposes of this study as a 50% master's thesis, Lamb and Kahn is deemed adequately representative.

2.3. Local context

2.3.1 Key studies

In South Africa, cartoons as a genre do not enjoy the same popularity as in Japan (since 1945), the United States of America or most European countries (Schoonraad & Schoonraad 1989: 8; Verster 2003: 5, 199-200), to the extent that a significant corpus of academic studies of this genre is lacking in South Africa.

Exceptions are Kotzé (1988), Pissarra (1991), Verster (2003) and Amato (2005). Popular works, apart from Van Schoor (1981), Schoonraad & Schoonraad (1989) and Vernon (2000), are also lacking. As mentioned in 1.1, Van Schoor is not deemed a key source, although useful regarding relevant terminology.

However, on the work of Zapiro, in particular, numerous journalistic comments and interviews (Verwoerd & Mabizela, 2000; La Vita, 2009: 11) are available, primarily on

websites (How the Zuma saga, 2006). As far as academic studies are concerned, only two master's theses have been conducted (Pissarra, 1991 and Amato, 2005).

Six relevant studies will now be examined. The relevance of the Internet as a search engine will also be discussed.

i. Kotzé

In 1988, Kotzé completed a master's thesis at the University of Pretoria, South Africa titled *Die spotprente van D.C. Boonzaier in De Burger 1915 – 1924: Politieke kommunikasie deur spotprente uit 'n historiese perspektief* (*The cartoons of D.C. Boonzaier in De Burger 1915 – 1924: Political communication via cartoons from a historical perspective*).

This thesis provides a biographical sketch of Daniël Cornelis Boonzaier (1865 – 1950), arguably the first South African born cartoonist of note and one of the best overall, as well as discussions on individual works executed by Boonzaier. His impact in general is also evaluated and an elucidation of the nature and functions of cartoons are provided (Kotzé, 1988: np).

Kotzé presents an intensive study of political cartooning, although the scope of this study is limited to the constriction of subject and historical period. As such, this thesis offers an excellent example of a critique of a leading cartoonist's work.

As is the approach of this researcher, Kotzé's provided a literature study, a historical background of the socio-political milieu, of cartoons as a distinctive genre and of key personalities relative to the study. Furthermore, he defined relevant criteria and applied questionnaires (although minimally – to only two cartoonists) to supplement his analysis of selected cartoons.

ii. Schoonraad and Schoonraad

In the preface of *Companion to South African cartoonists* (1989), Professor P.J. Cillié, the then chairperson of Nasionale Pers and founding head of the Department of Journalism, Stellenbosch University, stated that the direct impact of a cartoon can "surpass the text, captions and photographs of a publication" when addressing a mass audience who demand a clear and easily understood statement (Cillié, 1989: 7). According to him this book

"could serve as a launching pad for higher achievement as well as a guide to better appreciation of one of the foremost popular art forms of our time" (as cited in Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 7-8).

Cartoonists who work as visual journalists are generally accepted as colleagues who "practise the newspaperman's craft with paper, brush and pen" by other journalists (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 10).

This publication is the first attempt at an encyclopaedia of South African cartoonists, with an introductory background on the history of the genre, followed by biographical and professional information on a wide range of artists. Due to the encyclopaedic format, limited space is allocated to individual artists. Since this publication, no other work of this scope has yet been undertaken, and because Zapiro had not become known by that time, he has not been included in this book.

Nevertheless, *Companion to South African cartoonists* offers an historical overview of the development of the genre with biographical information of all professional cartoonists in South Africa up to time of publication (1989). An explanation of general terminology, such as the meaning of “caricature”, “cartoon” and “comic strip” (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 11; Verster, 2003: 49, 73, 89) and suggestions of certain elements which makes cartoons effective are of particular value to this researcher (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 13, 28).

iii. Pissarra

In 1991 Mario Pissarra completed an Honours assignment (Department of Art History, University of Cape Town) titled *Criticism and censorship in the South African 'Alternative' press with particular reference to the cartoons of Bauer and Zapiro (1985 – 1990)*. This assignment was a comparative study, as is the case with Amato (see 2.3.1 v), and the earliest attempt at an academic examination of Zapiro’s work this researcher could locate.

Pissarra did not discuss the history of cartooning in detail, placing the focus on cartooning as a “critical art practice” (1991: 1). The basis of his study was cartoons published after 1985, when a State of Emergency was declared by the National Party regime, until the unbanning of political organisations in 1990.

The paper focused on particular cartoons which were produced under specific historical circumstances, as is the case with the Rape of Justicia cartoons by Zapiro. Therefore, in each instance, the historical context and a background of circumstances leading up to the decision of the cartoonists involved are provided.

Pissarra commented specifically on criticism and censorship. According to him

“[...] the need for public criticism of the dominant order exists in any unjust society and South Africa is no exception. Characterised gross social inequalities and stark contradictions [...] provide fertile grounds for political cartoonists. [...] Censorship [conversely] provides the veil behind which other forms of repression can take place and be hidden from the public eye” (1991: 1).

Pissarra stated that press freedom must be seen as “inseparable from other basic freedoms”. In this thesis the issue of freedom, as guaranteed by the Constitution is also discussed.

The history of press freedom and the acts of parliament which suppressed this freedom, like the Publications Act (no 42 of 1974) and the Protection of Information Act (no 84 of 1982) (Pissarra, 1991: 4), are also discussed. The ANC's proposal to issue an act to prevent journalists from investigating as yet undecided categories of information makes Pissarra's comments relevant to current politics and Zapiro's resolve regarding the protection of freedom of speech (Steenkamp, 2010: 4).

Pissarra provided examples of how editorial cartoons can be analysed for content in particular, and explained the similarities as well as contrasts in the cartoons of Zapiro and Bauer. Pissarra also emphasised "[...] the right of the caricaturist to insult at will [...]" and illustrated Bauer's influence on Zapiro's lampooning of politicians like the three Bothas, namely P.W., Pik and Stoffel, at the time (Pissarra, 1991: 8).

Of special interest in Pissarra's study are the parallels which can be made between the circumstances he described pertaining to threats on freedom of speech during the apartheid regime and the current political dispensation. In this respect, he stated:

"At the time of writing the largest ever libel case instituted against the press in South Africa's history is under way. The case itself concerns allegations published in the *Vrye weekblad* and *Weekly Mail* that senior officers were involved in the assassination of political opponents of the government" (Pissarra, 1991: 7).

At the time of writing this thesis, a libel case, then also termed the largest in the legal history of the country, was in progress, namely the defamation case instituted against Zapiro and others by Zuma (see Chapter 5).

In conclusion, Pissarra provided solid arguments and insight that are useful to the analysis of Zapiro's work, including the Rape of Justice cartoons. Pissarra's work contains many linguistic errors and a distinct lack of even an attempt at academic objectivity, as prescribed for an academic research project by Mouton, (2008: 240). However, the scope and depth of Pissarra's research proved to be more than adequate for the requirements of an Honours assignment.

iv. Vernon

In 2000 Vernon published *Penpricks: the drawing of South Africa's political battlelines* that encompasses 20 years of study of the use of political cartoons in South Africa. As such this book is a synopsis of local history up to 2000, as depicted by local cartoonists. Arguably all the top South African cartoonists from across the political spectrum, at the time of publication, are represented and certain iconic cartoons are discussed, as well as the many newspapers that have been published, even those which are lesser known.

This book is not only a parade of outstanding cartoons and exceptional cartoonists, but also a record of South African newspaper history and the way newspapers attempted to influence their readers (Thomas, 2001: 14).

A recurring theme of *Penpricks* is the role of the cartoonist in challenging the political leaders of the day. It chronicles the efforts of leading cartoonists to achieve this goal. A second important theme is freedom of speech (Vernon, 2000: 127, 159, 169, 182). Many cartoons which are included in this book deal with the restrictions imposed upon journalists. In this respect Zapiro is featured prominently (Vernon, 2000: 160, 161, 186, 195).

According to Amato [the next author discussed], Vernon's "... analysis is fairly cursory" and

"as a non-academic study his book offers little formal analysis or theoretical background; it is an anthology of brief personal responses to many individual cartoons. But it situates Zapiro in the century-long tradition of South African cartoons, and helps identify the continuities and innovations that he and other contemporary cartoonists represent" (Amato, 2005: 10).

This researcher concurs with Amato on all his suppositions, although the South African cartoon tradition is more than a century old. According to this researcher's own research and that of the art historian Arthur Gordon-Brown, Zapiro is part of a tradition that started in the first half of the 19th century, probably in 1840 (Gordon-Brown, 1975: 69; Verster, 2003; 148-150).

Vernon's work is particularly useful to identify periodical trends in style and approach in local cartooning. Zapiro's earlier works, which differs markedly from his later creations, are well represented.

v. Amato

A third academic work with points of tangency to this thesis is that of Amato, submitted in 2005, University of the Witwatersrand, titled *Weapons of mass provocation: the visual language of the political cartoon in the work of Zapiro and Ramirez, 2001 – 2005*. Amato compared the work of Zapiro and the American cartoonist Michael Ramirez in order to analyse the visual language of cartoons (Amato, 2005: 3). He explains why Zapiro gradually adjusted to a more "cartoony" or "loose" style and the motives behind the effectiveness of his style (Amato, 2005: 64).

Amato states that he investigated the subjects' contrasting approaches to the task of satirising political leaders, as well as their treatment of paradox and ambiguity in subject matter (2005: 3).

Of special interest to this researcher are Amato's comparisons regarding the subject's technical approaches to the caricature as sub-genre of pictorial humour. Zapiro's background and influences in his career and his development as an artist, activist and satirist is discussed, which provides insight into his modus operandi and individual style (Amato, 2005: 11). This approach is also followed in 5.4.1 – 5.4.2.

Amato concludes that Zapiro exploits and expands the potential of the cartoon to a greater degree than Ramirez, because Zapiro is willing and has the ability to dramatise and accommodate conflicting historical narratives in his cartoons (2005: 3). Ramirez is inflexible in his political stance as a right-winger, while Zapiro will readily criticise even individuals or groups that he is affiliated with (Amato, 2005: 80-81). By juxtapositioning the two cartoonists, Amato succeeds in exposing their characteristic aversions, preferences, flaws and strong points.

Criticism on Amato is that he provides an insightful literary review and many illuminating comments regarding Zapiro's work and regarding cartooning in general, but no theoretical or methodological background for his study. As is the case with Pissarra's thesis, this is a comparative study, which means that the focus is divided. However, by allocating relative values to both cartoonists' work, new perspectives are investigated which may not have been the case if the onus would have been on only one cartoonist.

vi. Verster: Personal research and writings

Reading pictorial humour, which includes caricatures and cartoons (see definitions in 4.3.1) is not a national pastime in South Africa or Africa as a whole and this researcher has encountered a lack of understanding and appreciation of this genre over a period of decades.

This researcher's own interest in the genre started in his pre-teens, as a result of exposure to comic books via family members. Furthermore, pictorial humour is a conglomerate of visual art, literature and humour, all subjects he is keenly interested in. His lifelong pursuit of this genre has schooled him in the reading and creation of cartoons (his own work – writings and artwork – has appeared in publications) (Mouton, 2005: 143; Vorster, 2005: 17; Kemp, 2008: 28; Beyers, 2010: 4), which is relevant to this thesis.

The researcher has done comprehensive research for previous projects regarding cartoons – a DPhil on the subject (2003), course work assignments for this Master's in Journalism (2009), books (2004, 2005) as well as articles in academic (2005, with Burden, and 2009) and popular publications (2005, 2008).

The DPhil dissertation is titled *'n Kultuurhistoriese ontleding van pikturale humor met besondere verwysing na die werk van T.O. Honiball* (A Cultural-historical analysis of pictorial humour, with special reference to the work of T.O. Honiball), conducted at the Department of History, Stellenbosch University.

This work encompasses the historical development of all sub-genres of pictorial humour, including editorial cartoons. Volume I (Verster, 2003: 1-290) comprise of four chapters which deals with humour as concept and entity, and pictorial humour both in a global and local context. The remainder of the study comprises a critique of the work of the Afrikaans pictorial humorist Thomas Ochse Honiball (1905 – 1990) in volume II (Verster, 2003: 291-619).

The aim of the dissertation was to provide an extensive background to the diverse artwork (including book illustrations and exhibitions of full-colour caricatures) and satirical commentary (social and political) contained in the vast oeuvre of T.O. Honiball. Individual cartoons have been analysed and comparisons were made with world-renowned cartoonists like the Englishman Carl Giles (1916 – 1995) (Verster, 2003: 247) and fellow South African Daniël Cornelis Boonzaier (1865 – 1950) (Verster, 2003: 146).

This research, as well as a study of the personality of Honiball as an artist, was undertaken in order to expound the milieu of cartoonists and the manner in which they generally respond to typical work-related challenges (Verster, 2003: 221).

The researcher has, in the course of his research on cartoons and related fields, accumulated a substantial archive of sources which he has utilised to produce several commentaries on these genres and associated personalities.

Since the completion of the dissertation he has had a book published on T.O. Honiball (*Culture with a smile: the life and work of T.O. Honiball*, 2004). This book was translated from English to Afrikaans as *Van Kaspas tot Kaas: die lewe en werk van T.O. Honiball*, 2005. Both books are based on the 2003-dissertation, with certain annotations intended for the two different language groups.

The researcher participated in conferences on the work of T.O. Honiball as well as on humour, pictorial humour and folk art in general, both in South Africa (e.g., Montagu in October 1999; Pinelands in September 2003 and Stellenbosch University, in October 2004, and in Europe at the University of Dijon, France in June 2004).

These and other papers and presentations brought recognition, but also necessitated further research into the field of cartooning. In 2006 this work and the compilation of a small oeuvre on pictorial humour resulted in this researcher being the only South African to have been included in an international list of academic researchers on this genre on the website <http://www.comicsresearch.org>.

Articles in academic journals include “Die spotprente van T.O. Honiball, ’n kultuurhistoriese waardebeoordeling” (“The cartoons of T.O. Honiball, a cultural historical evaluation”) in the *South African Journal of Cultural History* (2005, with Matilda Burden) and three others on this theme (2005 – 2006). More articles were published in popular publications e.g., *Village Life* (“The gentle brilliance of T.O. Honiball”, 2005), *Die Burger* (“Thomas Ochse Honiball, kultuurskepper met die tekenpen,” 2002), *Bolander* (“The pipe, the showerhead and the sword: a new South African history”, 2009) and *Cape Librarian* (“Die formidabele D.C. Boonzaier” [“The formidable D. C. Boonzaier”] 2006 and “Peanuts or Dagwoods?” 2009).

In conclusion, approximately 40 years of reading and research have provided the researcher with a comprehensive awareness and insight in pictorial humour to draw on in the exposition of this thesis.

It is also the belief of the researcher that any activity can be best understood if it is pursued personally, which is why it is relevant to mention that he has had cartoons published (e.g., Ekermans, 2004: 75, 116, 122, 124, 159, 170; Visagie & Verster, 2005: 154; Verster, 2009b: 15; www.Stellenboschwriters.com). Conceptualising and drawing cartoons provide and understanding of the utilisation of both literary and technical aspects of this art form.

The researcher concedes that he has done relatively little research on non-Afrikaans cartoonists, which is why he has chosen Zapiro as a subject instead of, for instance, the Afrikaans cartoonist Fred Mouton. Conversely he has done relatively little research on contemporary political satire. By conducting this study, he attempted to widen his perspective of editorial cartoons in particular.

vii. The Internet

In order to find data for this thesis, the internet has been utilised, firstly to determine the extent of the existing literature on the subject of editorial cartoons internationally and locally, and secondly to access the cartoons themselves. The cartoons studied in this thesis are retrievable on websites linked with Zapiro, as are commentaries regarding these cartoons and Zapiro himself. From that starting point the publications in which the cartoons were originally published were located and referenced.

The primary database used to find academic writings are <http://sabinet.co.za>. Information about Zapiro is accessible via his personal website <http://www.zapiro.com>, <http://www.cartoonist.co.za> and <http://www.africartoons.com>, as well as websites of the newspapers which publish his cartoons, namely *The Sowetan*, *Mail & Guardian* and the *Sunday Times* (Amato, 2005: 12).

As a source for academic studies the internet is not generally considered reliable. However, for the purposes of this study, the internet is utilised as a finding aid to related publications or to discussions of topical issues posted on the Web. Where applicable, internet sources have been preferred as cross-references, rather than primary sources. However, in certain instances, authors which are deemed reputable have been utilised as principal sources. Similarly, electronic versions of articles originally published in the print media have been utilised due to easier access via the internet.

2.4 Summary

According to Mouton the literature review helps the researcher to demarcate the field of study by showing how other scholars have approached the study object (2002: 51). Additionally popular publications on the subject of editorial cartoons were reviewed because cartoons are components of mass media and form part of mass culture (Verster, 2003: 57, 107).

International sources on editorial cartooning are available in abundance, but few local books and theses having been written on the subject. The researcher has written a substantial number of articles, a book and a DPhil dissertation on pictorial humour, which

includes editorial cartoons. As such he has contributed significantly to the oeuvre and has accumulated enough experience in the field to make further contributions.

Several authors had called for more research to be done on South African cartooning (Kennedy, 1976: 172; Kotzé, 1988: i; Vernon, 2000: 5; Verster, 2003: 1). Therefore studies such as this has relevance, especially in a young democracy, where many members of the public have little awareness of the significance of visual satire (Vernon, 2000: 5).

As far as the quality of writing on the subject of editorial cartooning is concerned, one point of criticism is valid, namely that these works are limited either as far as scope or depth is concerned. These limitations are mostly due to publishing costs and lack of interest by the public. Expense therefore has a direct impact on expanse, even though “South Africa has been richly blessed with many gifted practitioners of this craft [read: cartooning]” (Myburgh, 1989: 10).

Generally, the main limitation of literature reviews is surmised to be that they only summarise and organise the existing scholarship without adding any new information or validate existing insights. However, a critical review can lead to theoretical insights and explain why the selected sources are representative of the review and the thesis itself (Mouton, 2008: 180).

In the case of this study, the viewpoints of cited authors instigated certain points of conjecture that have been assimilated into the research design, such as specific criteria for evaluating cartoons (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 28).

In the following chapter the theoretical framework which was deemed most appropriate for this particular study will be discussed. Editorial cartoons are regarded to be visual journalism and therefore this genre is part of press history, which in turn, is part of media history.

Chapter 3: Theory

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical point of departure for this study will be discussed next. For the purposes of this study this researcher investigated the original four theories of the press as well as Critical theory.

The term “Media history” implies historical research based on historical research models and these models are duly discussed as well. Under communication research the humanist and scientific approaches are discussed.

3.2 The four theories of the press

Traditionally four theories were devised regarding the press and relationship with the state, namely the Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social responsibility and Soviet-totalitarian doctrines (Siebert, 1984: 39).

Eventually, another model was added, namely the Developmental system. This model is to be found in Third World or developing countries and is less extreme than the Soviet-totalitarian (also known as the Marxist-Leninist system) model, but not as evolved as the Libertarian and Social responsibility systems (De Beer, 1993: 18-19).

For the purposes of this thesis the traditional four models, as the more generally accepted, will be discussed. One can argue that the political realities of post-apartheid South Africa corresponds to the Developmental model, but the publications in which Zapiro’s work appear are not examples of developmental journalism.

The Authoritarian system is regarded as the oldest of the four models, originating in England in the 1600s (Siebert, 1984: 7). According to this theory, “truth” resided near the seat of power. The rulers used the press to inform the public what they should know and everything else was deemed the state’s business (Retief, 2002: 11-12).

The press generally belonged to the rulers and where private ownership of publishing houses was granted, this permission could be withdrawn at any time. Criticism was only permitted from within the circles of power and loyalty to the state or despot was expected (Retief, 2002: 12).

This doctrine is still in use in certain totalitarian countries (Siebert, 1984: 7). One can also state that a form of this theory could be applied to the media in South Africa under apartheid.

The Libertarian theory was adopted in England after 1688, after which it spread to countries like the United States of America (USA). The teachings of John Milton, John Locke and others regarding rationalism and natural rights of all human beings form the

basis of this theory. The press has to enlighten and entertain the public, but also follow economic principles to make a profit. A so-called “free market of ideas” is upheld. Essentially, the press helps to discover the truth and monitors government. Barring defamation, obscenity, indecency and wartime sedition, freedom of speech is regarded as a basic human right (Siebert, 1984: 7).

Unlike in the theory of authoritarianism (totalitarian rule), libertarianism advocates the independence of the media from governmental control. The media becomes a watchdog of the government; the so-called Fourth Estate (together with the executive, legislative and judicial arms of the state) and censorship is taboo (Retief, 2002: 12).

According to Blackburn, libertarianism on a metaphysical level seeks to protect free will by supposing that a free choice is not casually determined, nor at random. On a political level it means that it advocates the maximization of individual rights, and the minimization of the role of the state (Blackburn, 1996: 218).

While press freedom is assured by the South African Constitution, total press freedom in the libertarian sense of the word does not exist. Levels of press freedom are brought about by checks and balances of either society or those who act on behalf of society (Diederichs & De Beer, 2002: 104).

One such balance is the Roman law *actio injuriarum* which protects an individual’s rights to dignity, reputation and physical integrity. This act has to contend with finding justifiable balance between two conflicting rights: the right to the individual’s personality unimpaired, and the right of others to express themselves freely, even if this freedom encroaches on personality rights (Burchell, 1998: vii).

As Currie and De Waal puts it:

“The law of defamation lies at the intersection of the freedom of speech and the protection of human dignity, both rights protected by the Bill of Rights” (2009: 383).

This principle has bearing on Zapiro’s criticism of Zuma, as discussed in 7.2.

In South Africa, the first newspaper, *The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser/Kaapsche Stads Courant en Afrikaanse Berigter* was the only paper allowed to be published and printed on a government press (Retief, 2002: 19). However, this Authoritarian start of our press was replaced by the Libertarian model since 1829, when Ordinance No. 60 of 8 May declared that “government will act against publications only in the case of libel or when irresponsible statements were made” (Retief, 2002: 19).

As the South African media were almost exclusively owned by a few white people before democratization in 1994, the nation was not represented as one would expect in a democratic society with which the Libertarian model is associated (Retief, 2002: 20).

The Soviet-totalitarian theory or Marxist-Soviet model followed in the wake of the Libertarian theory, but is a genre of the authoritarian model (De Beer & Merrill, 2004: 9). Derivatives of this model were seen in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and, to some extent in Nazi Germany. The teachings of Marx and his successors had the strongest impact on the evolution of this theory. It was created to assist the state and only party members had the right to use the media, which was under constant surveillance. Criticism to the ruling party was forbidden (Siebert, 1984: 7).

According to the communist perspective on history, historians not only had to study the world, but also change it. Historical research and writing did not stand outside the scope of the class struggle, but was considered one of the main ideological weapons of this struggle (Van Jaarsveld, 1980: 97). From this viewpoint it can be deduced that the state would expect journalists to subjugate themselves to centralised or totalitarian dictation.

The Social responsibility theory evolved from the Libertarian theory during the 20th century in the USA. As in the case of the Libertarian theory, the press informs, entertains and raises conflict to the plane of discussion. Every citizen has the right to the freedom of speech, but the press is controlled by community opinion, consumer action and professional ethics. Information can be censored in the case of a serious invasion of private rights or to protect vital social interests (Siebert, 1984: 7). According to De Beer and Merrill this theory seems superior to the other three, because of its enduring influence (2004: 9).

The Social responsibility theory, also known as Egalitarianism, is in fact a variant to the Libertarian concept of the media, but while the former focuses on group rights, the latter focuses on individual human rights. This attribute of the Social responsibility theory makes it more effective in its strive for social justice and social responsibility.

A clear difference between the two models is the belief of the Social responsibility theory that the media cannot regulate themselves, which necessitates limited government intervention, like allocating frequencies and channels in radio and television channels.

The media should be a

“common carrier of ideas to represent all sections of society and to reflect the diversities of the society it serves. Egalitarianism in its most extreme form demands equality regardless of merit” (Retief, 2002: 16).

The term “press responsibility” is a component of this model, but it remains uncertain what it means to various cultures (De Beer & Merrill, 2004: 9), as also in the case of South Africa. To most South Africans the reality of the South African socio-political situation is that of racial divide of white versus black (Sparks, 1990: xv; Mbeki, 1998: 69; Fransen, 2010).

Instead of the much proclaimed ideal of a so-called “rainbow nation” which suggests equality and co-operation across racial lines, racism and hate speech have escalated to

distressing levels (Jongbloed, 2010: 8). State interference via legislation has created a situation where merit is often negated by race in South African society (Rademeyer, 2010: 10). Furthermore human rights, including the freedom of the press are considered to be threatened by the very government tasked to protect them (Du Toit, 2010: 2).

Several commentators have expressed their concern about the present government threatening the media. It has even been said that this threat has never been as great since the zenith of apartheid (Anstiss, 2010: 1). Therefore, social responsibility is not effectively applicable in the local context, except for the fact that the current government seems to be paving the way of intervening with the media, as was the case with the apartheid regime (1948 to 1994).

According to the Bill of Rights, Chapter 2 of the Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, Section 6 (1), everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes:

- freedom of the press and other media;
- freedom to receive and impart information and ideas;
- freedom of artistic creativity (Retief, 2002: 26; Chapter 2, 2010: 1).

The Bill of Rights therefore protects Zapiro's right to express his opinions, to influence the public with his ideas and to draw pictures of anyone, including the state president. However, Section 16 (2) states that the right in subsection (1) does not extend to:

- propaganda for war;
- incitement of imminent violence;
- advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm (Retief, 2002: 26; Chapter 2, 2010: 1).

Section 16 (2) therefore prohibits cartoonists from discriminating against anyone on the basis of his or her cultural preferences, such as Zuma's polygamous marital relations. However, the accusations of racism against Zapiro by Zuma's supporters also have to be proved or could be constituted as unfounded and discriminatory. Zapiro's right to criticise Zuma on his actions as a public figure, especially as a visual journalist, is not curtailed by the Bill of Rights (Retief, 2002: 26; Berger, 2008: 2; Zapiro, 2010).

The assumption this researcher makes from the above is that despite the fact that this model advocates governmental intervention in the media, the social responsibility model is the ideal to strive for. As De Beer and Merrill postulates, a responsible, free press with can promote cultural and national development, pluralism and diversity (2004: 17).

If and until such a state is reached, the Libertarian model seems to be the logical theoretical foundation for the study of the Rape of Justicia cartoons.

In addition to the four theories of the press, Critical theory forms part of communication history, which will be discussed next.

3.3 Critical theory

As the four theories model engages with the relationship between media and government, but not with the relationship between media and the public, this researcher has selected a model for the latter purpose, namely Critical theory. This school of thought has been linked with media history since the birth of communication research (Critical theory definition, 2010: 4).

The history of communication research started in Germany when a number of academics contributed to this field of study. Initially they built on the Historical Materialism Theory of Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), which is also known as the Classical Marxist view of history. According to this theory, changes in the productive forces of a society lead to social conflict, and the specific forms of social organisation that emerge reflect the underlying structure of the means of production (Van Jaarsveld, 1980: 115; Blackburn, 1996: 174). From this model a variant known as Critical Theory was formulated.

Critical theory attempts to expose the way in which mass communication supports power structures and political structures in societies. According to this approach there are clear connections between the way that media are organised and the economic and class structures of the relevant societies (De Beer, 1993: 22).

Proponents of the Critical view argue that the dominant classes create a language of suppression and repression. This language, utilised through the means of mass communication like newspapers, makes it difficult for the working classes to understand their situation or to alter the status quo (De Beer, 1993: 22).

Media analysts in the Critical school were influenced by theories of Althusserian structuralism in the 1970s. Althusser believed the masses are positioned into subservient imagined relationships within the dominant social structure. Structuralist theories focus on exposing the way in which mass media support power and political structures (De Beer, 1993: 22-23).

According to these theories the dominant groups will endeavour to manipulate mass media in order to present their expectations and perspectives. In this approach the media is supposed to maintain stratifications and divisions in society by reproducing racism, sexism and middle-class values through the selection of news items, explanations of events and the use of stereotypes and scapegoats (De Beer, 1993: 22-23; Critical theory Stanford, 2005: 2).

The Critical school sees the press as part of the ideological apparatus of societies dominated by ruling classes, while other schools of thought, like the functionalist approach, argues that mass communication provides a relatively free forum for the expression of a pluralism of ideas and competing ideologies. In a society that strives for balance a platform for ideas and ideologies is crucial. This assumes basic democratic rights like freedom of speech. Most views of mass communication agree that it will

increasingly impact on the formation of social and political consciousness and attitudes (De Beer, 1993: 23).

With more citizens acquiring access to mass media (e.g., television, newspapers and the internet), more people will share a common communication environment of news, entertainment and information (De Beer, 1993: 23). The fact that cartoons, including Zapiro's, can be viewed on the internet and not only by the readers of certain newspapers, means that his commentary is now accessible to people from all communities (Amato, 2005: 6).

Both Zapiro and the editors he collaborates with have been accused of undermining the current regime by supporting the agendas of certain power blocs, of being anti-revolutionary and racist (ANC horrified, 2008: 1; Zapiro, 2010).

Since Critical theory investigates the way in which mass communication supports power, class and political structures in societies, it is deemed relevant to the goal of this study, namely to investigate the legitimacy of Zapiro's criticism in the Rape of Justicia cartoons.

3.4. Historical research theories

3.4.1 General history

Editorial cartoons are significant sources for the historian (Kotzé, 1988: 1; Muller, 1990: 712-713; Verster, 2003: 572) and therefore resort under historical research, which will be discussed next.

The historical research method involves the study of records of the past and reveals what people choose to communicate about their world and their way of life. Therefore historical research is about reading the messages and understanding significant communications of the past. Data is found in stories that people tell (e.g., oral history) or in documents. Such data is available in two forms, namely primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources originate in the historical period that is being studied, e.g., reports and eyewitness accounts from people involved in or close to the events being studied. Secondary sources are further removed from the relevant events. Historical textbooks and other accounts by people not personally involved are examples of secondary sources (Sonderling, 1997: 90).

Interpretation of data and explanations of past events are core elements of historical research. Historical research, including in communication research, consists of selecting, analysing and writing about the past. This process is conducted by individuals, each with his/her own subjective world-views and personal traits. Therefore each individual can give a different explanation and attach different meanings to past events (Sonderling, 1997: 91; Verster, 2010c: 1).

Although the historian strives to attain something that is unattainable, his or her knowledge is a conglomerate of objectivity and subjectivity. However, contrary to the Marxist perspective of using knowledge to transform society, the historian should record facts and make deductions only on the basis of these facts (Van Jaarsveld, 1980: 116).

The term “historiography”, derived from “historia” and “grapho”, meaning “to write history” consists of certain schools of thought or worldviews (Van Jaarsveld, 1980: 3).

A worldview can be described as a philosophy or theory of history. These philosophies or theories provide the assumption people make about history, the criteria for what is considered as historical facts and the interpretations and meanings ascribed to historical events (Sonderling, 1997: 91). There are three dominant conceptions of the phenomenon of history underlying the various interpretations of communication research, namely the Cyclical, Providential and Progress views of history.

The earliest theory is the Cyclical view, which was widespread in the ancient world and still has its supporters today. According to this theory, all human events happen in recurrent cycles, each with a beginning, a middle course and an end. Persons, names and dates may change, but what has happened before, will happen again, as history repeats itself and humankind is doomed to relive its mistakes (Sonderling, 1997: 92).

The second theory, the Providential view of history, originated more than 2000 years ago, gained popularity among Christian historians during the Middle Ages (400 – 1400 AD) and also enjoys support today. Every human and natural event is explained in terms of “divine intervention”. History follows a predetermined path, as it is the result of “divine will” (Sonderling, 1997: 92).

The most recent view of history, the Progress theory, emerged during the Renaissance (1300 - 1500 AD). This model postulates that each new generation builds upon the achievements of previous generations and always improves on the results of their forebears. Faith in “divine” ability has been replaced with a faith in human capabilities. Most liberal and Marxist historians adhere to these principles (Sonderling, 1997: 92).

This researcher considers the Progress theory appropriate for the purposes of this study, although the Cyclical theory holds true in the sense that humankind does repeat many mistakes as it seems that wars, corruption and power struggles are endemic of humanity. The recurrence of these imperfections proves that humankind does not always improve as the Progress theory insists. Neither does any intervention by an omnipresent creator present itself beyond doubt.

As far as the applicability of the Progress theory to this thesis is concerned, it is clear that the concept of freedom of the press in South Africa is evolving (Du Plessis, 2009: 16; Coetzee, 2010a: 15). Generally journalists are concerned with preserving the highest level of freedom of speech, and Zapiro is an important champion for this cause (Steenkamp, 2009: 5).

3.4.2 Communication history

Practitioners of communication history not only have different views regarding approaches to the phenomenon of history, but differ regarding the nature and aim of communication research as well. They are broadly divided into two groups, namely the humanist and scientific approaches (Sonderling, 1997: 92).

The Humanist model is concerned with the study of a particular event or historical period. Prominent individuals of such times are focus areas, while interpretative methods are used to provide explanations of the relevant events (Sonderling, 1997: 92).

For the purpose of this thesis, Zapiro and Zuma can be considered “prominent individuals” and the events around Zuma’s court cases are the “relevant events”. The Rape of Justicia will be interpreted according to the criteria presented in 4.3 to provide explanations regarding the cartoons, which are in effect, Zapiro’s interpretations of the events mentioned above.

The Scientific or positivist model is founded on ideas and methods acquired from the social sciences. The main methods of “scientific” historians are quantification of data and the use of statistical analysis and the use of non-literary relics, like tax records, voter’s list and church registers (Sonderling, 1997: 92). According to Sonderling “communication historians can draw generalisable conclusions and discover general laws that animate history”.

Distinction between Humanist and Scientific approaches is currently a cause of controversy, although a new convergence of the two models is taking place. Empirically orientated historians have adopted interpretative modes of historical explanation, while supporters of the Humanist model have conceded that empirical methods can also be useful (Sonderling, 1997: 93). (Consequently this researcher has decided to make use of interviews, albeit in a restricted manner [see 4.5]).

The Intellectual history school focuses on what people thought in the past as it is expressed in written text. The earliest studies in the history of communication were manifestations of this school of thought. Under the influence of the humanist approach detailed stories of famous individuals and institutions of the press were researched, and it was assumed that as history is a process of progress, so was the development of the press. These reconstructions of journalistic history read as a morality play in which “good” journalists struggled against opposition and built “great” institutions of the press (Sonderling, 1997: 93).

The history of the earliest newspapers of South Africa and the struggle to obtain press freedom is an early example of the evolution of perceptions regarding the role of the press and the changes in legislature to accommodate these views in a relatively free society (Freund, 1979: 232-233). The growth of Naspers from essentially an opposition newspaper (*De Burger* in 1915) promoting the principles of the Afrikaner nationalist movement, to the largest media corporation in Africa in just less than a century (Muller,

1990: 753) is arguably the best example of a “great institution” in the South African context.

As a result of the growing influence of the social and empirical sciences during the 1960s and 1970s, the Social history school developed as a distinctive school of thought. This model is concerned with the study of human action rather than abstract ideas (Van Jaarsveld, 1980: 106-107; Sonderling, 1997: 93).

The supporters of this school declared all written records were essentially distorted by the subjectivity of the authors. Subsequently the focal point of study moved from literary to non-literary documents, because it was surmised that these documents would be less biased than, for instance, biographies. The views of ordinary people in society were sought, not those of the social elites. Quantitative and statistical records were adopted by communication historians and it was assumed that non-literary relics provided objective information on directly observable human action rather than subjective reflection of human thought (Sonderling, 1997: 94).

The Cultural history school appeared in the 1980s when a number of communication historians of the social history school realised that human action always has meaning and social significance which is expressed in language. Evidence of human actions as well as the meanings attributed to these exploits is therefore included in studies of communication history. Thus a combination of literary and non-literary studies culminated in this new theory. The actions of both prominent people and lesser-known people, as well as the meaning they ascribed to their actions, are studied by adherents of this model (Sonderling, 1997: 94).

Zuma and Zapiro are “prominent people”, but represent certain factions of the public, the “lesser-known people”. Their actions are largely determined by the public or their perceptions of what the public may expect of them.

During the late 1980s the Rhetoric of history school emerged, to represent the fourth model of communication history. Following developments in the study of language, some scholars of the cultural history school concluded that language and communication are central to all aspects of history and historiography. According to them, this implies that history itself is the communication of meaning over time.

This hypothesis proclaimed that words make history and therefore history is the creator of language rather than a specific reality. Therefore they did not differentiate between writing history and writing literary fiction. This school of thought postulates that the only real thing about communication history is the historians’ discourse. The construction of narratives is the focal point of the rhetoric of history school (Sonderling, 1997: 94).

History is a rendition of facts in a narrative format, but the impetus should be on the facts, not on the narrative, which is the case with fictional writing. There has to be a clear distinction, made by the author, because not all readers will be able to differentiate between the two (Verster, 2008: 4).

While Zapiro creates a narrative with cartoons, he does not expect every reader to agree with his message and his imagery e.g., Justicia portrayed as a rape victim is not to be taken literally (Lamb, 2004: 207; Dixon, 2008a: 2). Language plays an important role in history, as it generally does in cartoons, but this researcher does not agree with the thesis of the rhetoric history school regarding the discourse being “the only real thing”.

As far as this researcher is concerned, stating that historical writing is no more than creating words, is an oversimplification, because if all writing is just word construction, all writing would also be about history. Writing may be part of history, but all writing is not about history. History is primarily about facts and all facts are not just words either. A work of fiction may have no reference to history or may contain no historical fact – a science fiction story may have no relation to the story of humankind or the existence of earth, while history is specifically defined as the story of humankind. To confuse fact and fiction is therefore making everything that has been recorded nonsensical and any lie equal to truth.

Historians share the view that historical research is a scholarly and a scientific enterprise and must be rigorous and systematic; “a form of empirical research, underlined by a theoretical framework”. The intention is to make true statements about the past by following the general stages of the scientific progress, namely a review of the relevant literature, collection and analysis of the data, drawing conclusions and reporting the findings (Sonderling, 1997: 95).

Although history is a study of the past and the research topic may be an event that took place centuries ago – Sonderling uses the example of a study of the style and content of editorial cartoons during the 19th century (1997: 95). Such studies can also be of much more recent subjects, like Zapiro’s cartoons of a few months ago, i.e. Contemporary history.

3.5 Summary

The “four theories model” has been selected to ascertain to which model this study relates, because other theories that contested this model did not garner much support in academic circles (De Beer & Merrill, 2004: 5).

Since South Africa is a democracy, the Authoritarian and Soviet-totalitarian models do not apply. However, the government currently (2010) in power has made statements to the effect that the media should be regulated and commentators have expressed their concern about alleged transgressions regarding human rights such as freedom of speech (Rabe, 2009: 17; Du Toit, 2010: 2; Kitshoff & Eybers, 2010: 25).

In terms of the entrenchment of Media Freedom in the Constitution of South Africa, the Libertarian theory is most applicable. The commentaries by Zapiro and responses to his opinions should be interpreted against the background of this paradigm.

While the four media theories entail the relationship between the media and the state, Critical theory focuses on the impact of mass media on society. This theory postulates that the press is part of the ideological machinery that imposes the will of the ruling classes on the masses. As Zapiro's cartoons are part of the influence of mass media, his work being accessible to millions of citizens who read newspapers or browse through internet sites, the question is whether his comments are fair criticism, or biased.

Media history deals with the media as subject, but the theoretical foundation of such studies is part of history as a research discipline, and as a pursuit with the goal of researching, recounting and analysing the "story of humankind" in totality. Several schools of thought have developed to further this goal, e.g., the Cyclical, Providential and Progress views.

Communication research theories are mainly divided between the supporters of the humanist approach and the scientific school. Further developments included the Intellectual, Social, Cultural and Rhetoric of history schools. This researcher prefers the Cultural history school, because it does not constitute a further development of the Social history school, which in itself is an improvement on previous schools of thought, which focussed on single aspects rather than the interconnectivity of different relevant aspects that played a role in human endeavours.

The Cultural history school utilise all possible source material, studies actions of not only leaders or only so-called "common people", but analyse evidence of human actions, as well as the meanings attributed to these actions. To disregard any element relevant to the story of humankind would mean that a myopic view of a wide-ranging subject will be favoured, which in turn may mean that incomplete research is done or a certain agenda is promoted.

In the next chapter the relevant research methodology will be discussed.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Methodology refers to the techniques used to conduct research (Oosthuizen, 1997: 10). The two main research methodologies are quantitative and qualitative methods. A dilemma in communication research is the question of how to develop a body of knowledge that is both valid and reliable, since the complex phenomenon of human communication is constantly changing. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods have strong and weak points as data gathering tools (Prakash & Klotz, 2007: 1).

According to Lemon there is “a shift towards qualitative research methods which have proven to be more effective and meaningful” in attempting to deal with the changing world of communication and the relevant technology (1997: 29).

4.2. Qualitative Research

While quantitative techniques include tests, questionnaires and the examination of existing databases (Dodd, 2008: 9), qualitative research theory focuses on the interpretation and construction of the qualitative aspects of communication experiences (Lemon, 2009: 30). Furthermore, the qualitative data gathering technique deals with the collecting of data in the form of words or pictures, while the quantitative technique deals with the gathering of data in the form of numbers (Van Belkum, 2001: 18).

Cartooning is “communication experience”, because every cartoon is the result of a response by a cartoonist on a specific event, mostly of public importance, and it is an interpretation of that event, firstly by the cartoonist and secondly by each reader who view the cartoon (Du Plooy, 2009: 31). This means an interpretative description of an event takes place, which is a feature of the qualitative approach to media studies (Lemon, 2009: 31).

For the purposes of this study certain qualitative assumptions have been adopted by this researcher. The reasoning for this preference is the ability of qualitative themes and categories to be developed as methods to describe and explore meanings communicated in particular contents. Observations can be analysed thematically and holistically within these contexts (Lemon, 1997: 35; Verster, 2009c: 4).

While qualitative inquiry is analytic and interpretative, the research approach is holistic and no attempt is made to control events or unrelated variables. Principally the normal flow of events is studied. Examples of qualitative research in communication include field observation, focus groups, in-depth interviews, case studies and social surveys. Interpretation, rather than measurement is implemented, while the nature of the data and the problem for research dictate the methodology (Lemon, 1997: 33).

Factors such as the reliability and validity of observations are basic to qualitative research (Lemon, 2009: 32), which is imperative in this study. According to the qualitative approach reality is subjective. Therefore insights into communication can be derived from the subject's perspective (Lemon, 2009: 35).

It is not expected of Zapiro as a satirist to aspire to objectivity (Lamb, 2004: 202; Verster 2010b: 10), and it is argued that even if the ideal of objectivity may ultimately be unobtainable, in any case it remains a valuable goal (Croteau & Hoynes, 2000: 133). The researcher holds the view that in general, at least an attempt at reliable standards of reference and ethical structures must be made in order to uphold a stable society. The question remains: which components of society should give precedence to objectivity and accountability.

Of the methodologies discussed, the researcher identifies with the Qualitative research model, the Progress theory and the Cultural history school as points of departure in his approach to the study of the Rape of Justicia cartoons.

4.3 Analysis of cartoons

4.3.1 Background

According to Patton, “one of the cardinal principles of qualitative methods is the importance of background and context to the processes of understanding and interpreting data” (1986: 9). Therefore, the genre of cartooning will be discussed, starting with relevant definitions.

Cartoons are typically multi-dimensional, as they generally consist of several components, like metaphors, analogies, symbolism, caricature, humour and characterisation (Verster, 2003: 70). Each cartoon will be evaluated as pictorial satire according to criteria applicable to determine its effectiveness and validity. The criteria used are analyses of content, literary and technical factors.

According to Louw (2006: ix) “analysis” means that text is engaged in an impersonal way, structuring and organising data without interpreting it. This researcher intends to engage the text (in this case mainly the relevant cartoons) in an objective way, but will interpret the data in an explanatory manner.

When analysing cartoons, it is essential to define the sub-genres of pictorial humour and to be aware of the relationships between these types, as well as to understand the general terminology frequently used in relation to them. Terminology generally used, are “caricature,” “cartoon” and “comic strip,” which are defined as follows:

i. Caricature: It is derived from the Italian word “caricare”, which means “to overload” or to grotesquely overemphasise characteristic traits (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 13). Commonly, a salient feature is seized upon and exaggerated, or features of animals, birds,

or vegetables are substituted for part of the human being, or an analogy is made to animal actions (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1984: 909).

Caricature is, like the cartoon, a specialised sub-genre of pictorial humour, but more concentrated than the cartoon, as cartoons are essentially caricatures supplied with a milieu (Verster, 2003: 63). Each “person” rendered in a cartoon is a caricature, and the sum of the picture is the “cartoon”.

ii. Cartoon: Originally this term alluded to preparatory drawings for murals, but since the 1800s the popular perceptive has been that it signifies

“pictorial parody, almost invariably a multi-reproduced drawing, which by the devices of caricature, analogy and ludicrous juxtapositioning sharpens the public view of a contemporary event, folkway or political or social trend” (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 13).

Cartoons are also described as “[a]n iconic way of visually representing subject matter”. Certain aspects of images are simplified to amplify these aspects (McCloud, 1994: 29-31). Editorial cartoons are mostly satirical and focus on political issues, which is why they are also known as political cartoons. Conversely, social cartoons are mostly humorous and comment on non-political themes (Verster, 2003: 64).

iii. Comic strip: These are “juxtapositioned pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or produce an aesthetic response in the viewer” (Louw, 2006: ix). Some scholars refer to comics as “sequential art”, “graphic storytelling” or “strip art”, in order to sidestep the connotation with comical and humorous content, since not all comic strips are humorous in content or intent (Louw, 2006: ix). They are also known as “pictorial anecdotes or serial story from contemporary anonymous history” (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 14).

While a cartoon is usually a single picture that tell a story in itself, comic strips are meant to be read as pictures following in a specific sequence, generally with clear borders between them (Verster, 2003: 92-93). The Rape of Justitia cartoons are therefore not a comic strip (sequential art), but a series of related cartoons. On the other hand, Figures 3, 22, 23, 32 and 66 were rendered in comic strip format.

iv. Pictorial humour: This term implies caricature, cartoons and comic strips, but not humorous illustrations, because the latter was not created with the intent to be anything but realistic. It could be so badly drawn that it evokes mirth, but was not intended to do so. The intention to provide amusement or to ridicule is central to the term “pictorial humour” (Verster, 2003: 46-47).

As in the case of the term “comic strip”, this is actually a misnomer, as there may be nothing comical about a specific strip, like in the case of adventure and horror strips (Verster, 2003: 90).

4.3.2 Content analysis

Analysis of historical data requires attention to the social context of documents and their content (Sonderling, 1997: 101). “Content” refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, themes or any message that can be communicated (Mouton, 2008: 165).

A study of content, or content analysis, can imply either a quantitative or a qualitative approach option (Mouton, 2008: 166). The researcher has chosen the latter, as this implies a critical outlook, attempting to penetrate the deeper layers of a message (Wigston, 1997: 152). Moreover, the focus of content analysis is usually on public documents, especially editorials in newspapers and magazines (Mouton, 2008: 166). This implicates editorial cartoons, as they tend to be collaborative entities to editorials.

Content analysis can be “a research method based on measuring the amount of something [e.g., violence against women] found in a representative sample of a mass-mediated popular art form” (Wigston, 1997: 152).

Since this definition implies some form of counting or statistics (quantitative elements) it is too restrictive, but it does show that the focus is on the message. Conversely, purely descriptive information about the content of a message is of limited value. Therefore interpretation (of the cartoons) is necessary, which means that an explanatory research method will be implemented (Wigston, 1997: 152-153).

“Explanation” refers to the discovery and reporting of the relationships among different aspects of a study subject. Whereas descriptive or exploratory studies attempt to develop an understanding of a phenomenon, asking the question “what”, explanatory studies tend to answer the question “why”? (Lemon, 1997: 32). To arrive at this question it is surmised that the deductive method of reasoning is ideal (Du Plooy, 2009: 27).

According to Mouton deductive reasoning involves drawing conclusions from premises that necessarily follow from such statements. The most common forms of deductive reasoning is deriving hypotheses from models and/or when a meaning of a concept is clarified through the derivation of its constitutive meanings (Mouton, 2008: 117).

To determine whether Zapiro’s satire is within the limits of fair comment, a deductive line of reasoning will be followed. For example: Eugene de Kock was convicted for murder during the apartheid period. Zapiro drew skulls lying behind De Kock in a cartoon (Zapiro, 2010: 23). This symbolises dead people in De Kock’s past. Because he was found guilty of murder, this is construed as fair comment.

With “fair” is meant:

“Free of discrimination, dishonesty, etc.; just, impartial, in conformity with rules or standards, legitimate” (Hanks, 1980: 522).

Limitations of content analysis are that the authenticity of the data sources can be questionable, as well as the representativeness of texts analysed, which limits the overall validity of the findings (Mouton, 2008: 166).

In the case of the data sources used for this study, namely the Rape of Justicia cartoons, the authenticity (authorship) is not contested, while the representativeness (the cartoons themselves) is self-evident.

The elements of Content Analysis in the communication process are: who (communicator), why (encoding), what (message), how (medium), what effect (decoding) and to whom (recipient) to arrive at the eventual conclusion (Wigston, 1997: 153-154). In the case of this thesis this will mean: who (cartoonist), why (to draw attention to something), what (the opinion of the cartoonist), how (a cartoon), what effect (the imparting of the cartoonist's opinion, as analysed by the researcher) and to whom (the public).

4.3.3 Literary analysis

Literary analysis refers to the manner in which the researcher identifies and explains techniques of cartoonists derived from literature or literary sources. The individual criteria are as follows:

A. Characterisation (non-physical features): “Character” means the combination of traits and qualities distinguishing the individual nature of a person or object. “Characterisation” means to describe character or traits (Hanks, 1980: 254). Zapiro has described Zuma (in a cartoon) as a womanizer standing in front of members of the ANC Women’s League with a bulge in his pants. His libido is therefore highlighted as typical of him – he is pictured as a sexual predator and a bad example for the youth in a country battling with an HIV/Aids pandemic (Zapiro, 2006: 55).

B. Contextualisation: “Context” refers to the parts of a piece of writing, speech, etc. [thus including pictorial images] that precede and follow a word or passage and contribute to the full meaning of the relevant part (Hanks, 1980: 325). “Contextualisation” refers to the action of putting into context or relation (Hanks, 1980: 325).

C. Humour: As opposed to satire, this term signifies harmlessness, empathy and entertainment (Verster, 2003: 20). Humour is not considered an essential ingredient of a cartoon (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 11). While satire has a message, the purpose of humour usually is purely to entertain (Verster, 2003: 12). Zapiro has stated that he perceives humorous cartoons as ineffective, as they have only entertainment value (Zapiro, 2010).

D. Irony: This term refers to the use of words in a way that the opposite is said than what is meant (Odendal, 1988: 480). It is used to draw attention to some incongruity or irrationality (Hanks, 1980: 772). Terms like “sarcasm”, “satire”, “cynicism” and “derision” are cited as synonyms to irony (Crozier, Gilmour and Robertson, 2006: 399).

An example is Zuma drawn with a halo instead of a showerhead after he was invited to preach at a church (Du Plooy, 2009: 10; Mouton, 2009: 119).

E. Metaphor: this term means that a subjective, unrealistic image is implemented to make a comparison, rather than a literal description to explain an issue, event or person (Kotzé, 1988: 32). Certain metaphors are so well known that they are termed “natural metaphors”. The use of darkness to signify evil or light to represent good, are examples (Gombrich, 1968: 138).

F. Personification: When a human figure is used to embody an abstract concept, like a figure carrying a scythe, which represents death (Davies, 1990: 419). Justitia, a blindfolded woman with a pair of scales representing justice, personifies justice (Zapiro defends Zuma cartoon, 2008: 1).

G. Sarcasm: Here the onus is on sharp, even bitter ridicule, scorn and derision (Verster, 2003: 16). It is a mocking, contemptuous manner intended to convey scorn or insult, and comes from the Greek “sarkasmos”, which means “to rend the flesh” (Hanks, 1980: 1295). Pseudonyms like “Scalpel” for the cartoonist Constance Penstone (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 279) and “Zapiro” alludes to the act of “tearing a strip off” the object of the cartoonist’s indignation.

H. Satire: This term refers to a piece of literature in which human or individual weaknesses, foolishness, roguery, evils or shortcomings are represented in a ridiculous manner, sometimes with the intent to improve or motivate (Odendal, 1988: 943). It can also mean “A novel, play, entertainment [...] in which topical issues, folly, or evil are held up to scorn by means of ridicule and irony” (Verster, 2003: 15). Pictorial humour as vehicles of satire is thus included.

I. Symbolism: A symbol is a motif or attribute that stands for or alludes to an idea known to contemporary viewers (Davies, 1990: 528). “Using symbols the cartoonist set the mood, represent a specific person or career and may be either complimentary or derogatory” (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 28). The scales of Justitia symbolises fairness (Lady Justice 2010: 1; Zapiro, 2010).

4.3.4 Technical analysis

Contrary to analysis of content, an analysis of the technical features of the relevant cartoons means an analysis of aspects related to artistic activities (Verster, 2003: 264).

A. Body language: The cartoonist uses the posture and facial expressions of people in cartoons to indicate their intentions, emotions or thoughts (Verster, 2003: 77, 81). According to the Collins dictionary it is also “the nonverbal imparting of information by means of conscious or subconscious bodily gestures, posture” (Hanks, 1980: 164). The cartoonists can thus utilise this universal means of communication to impart his/her message to the biggest common denominator, even illiterate people (Geipel, 1972: 24; Fransen, 2010).

B. Characterisation (visual indicators): “The illusion of a real person in art or literature that is created by traits that are alluded through action, speech, external appearance as well as the environment that a character finds himself or herself (Louw, 2006: ix). Subtle visual suggestion by cartoonists can contain intricate clues to the personality of the subject (Verster, 2003: 16-17).

The wall-eyed slant of Zuma’s eyes in cartoons is an example, as his eyes are not actually abnormal. More than one cartoonist depict Zuma with his right eye directed right and his left eye going left at the same time (Mouton, 2009: 145), but in Zapiro’s case this portrayal refers not only to the “roving eye” of the adulterer, but also to Zuma presented as a chameleon. The reason for the comparison with this animal is Zuma’s alleged habit of “changing colours” according to his immediate audience (Zapiro, 2007: 87).

C. Distortion: The difference between a piece of work and the actual object or image that it represents as deliberately contrived for effect (Davies, 1990: 163). According to the *Collins Thesaurus* “distortion” is synonymous to “misrepresentation”, “bias”, “slant”, “falsification” and “crookedness” (Crozier et al, 2006: 204). While distortion helps the cartoonist in his quest to portray his target as ridiculous, evil, stupid, corrupt, etc., the readers must be able to recognise the caricatured person or the cartoon will be ineffective (Amato, 2005: 21).

D. Exaggeration: To exaggerate means to make bigger, more noticeable than usual, unduly or excessively magnified, enlarged beyond truth or reasonableness (Hanks, 1980: 508). “Exaggeration” is synonymous to amplification, embellishment, emphasis, enlargement, hyperbole, overemphasis and overstatement (Hanks, 1992: 168). The shape of Zuma’s head, as drawn by cartoonists, is a case in point (see Figure 23).

E. Composition: to “compose” means to “put together” (Gombrich, 1958: 130). This can refer to a harmonious grouping of elements within a specific frame (Gombrich, 1958: 190), like the relationship between caricatures in a certain cartoon. Symmetry, as well as an aesthetic or logical distribution of objects inside the picture is relevant (Gombrich, 1958: 240; Fransen, 2010). When Zapiro places the principal character in the middle of a picture, it can be interpreted as an indication of the importance of the character in relation to other characters sharing the pictorial space (Fransen, 2010).

F. Style: “Style” refers to a form or appearance, design, the manner in which something is expressed, a distinctive, characteristic manner of expression of words, music and painting (Hanks, 1992: 1444). This includes cartoons and comic strips as art forms, as Louw states:

“the features of a book, painting, building, comic, etc. that make it typical of a particular author, artist [...]. In a comic, style can include characterisation, use of colour, conceptual approach and many more” (Louw, 2006: xiii).

“Stylised” refers to art which displays a conventional, simplified or stereotyped form, which does not attempt to represent an object realistically or naturalistically (Davies, 1990: 524). This term is applicable to cartooning as a genre, for cartoons are not realistic renditions of objects and people (Verster, 2003: 19). When referring to “personal style” of individual artists, this imputes to their draughtsmanship, which can evolve over time (Amato, 2005: 18). It can also point to an emphasis on specific themes or people (Verster, 2003: 19).

4.4 Methods of data collection

The researcher initially considered using questionnaires as supplementary field techniques, as Pitout states in *Introduction to Communication* (1997: 105). However, for the purposes of this study, the researcher decided to implement interviews, as a preliminary study revealed a resistance to questionnaires among the intended informants.

The researcher subsequently settled on devising specific questions for certain respondents. This strategy was aimed at extracting information according to the expertise, preference or experience of the individual respondents.

The respondents identified for interviews were individuals who are involved in cartooning, either as cartoonists, such as Jeremy Nell, or as both cartoonists and researchers of the genre, namely John Curtis and Andy Mason. In the case of cartoonist Fred Mouton, the researcher was in the position to utilise information obtained during previous communications with the cartoonist. The researcher also managed to procure a telephonic interview with Zapiro himself. Hans Fransen, doyen of art history in South Africa, was also approached personally and via e-mail communications.

Due to the fact that practitioners in the field of editorial cartooning are normally reticent by nature, as well as subjected to stringent time constraints (daily deadlines), the researcher decided to adapt to their individual preferences in this regard. Therefore, either personal or telephonic interviews were conducted.

As a certified oral history practitioner active in outreach initiatives (recording histories of previously neglected communities) the researcher has extensive experience of interviewing techniques. The reason a questionnaire is generally preferred to personal interviews is that participants can become emotionally involved, which leads to subjectivity and wanting to please the interviewer and vice versa.

The intention of the researcher was to find answers to questions regarding cartoons and cartoonists not otherwise uncovered, or to supplement or emphasise statements found in relevant literature and thus to contribute to triangulation of data in the research.

4.5 Summary

Methodology refers to the techniques used to conduct research. The research methodology used for this study is mainly the qualitative research method, which is employed concerning media history in particular. The historical research method in general is deemed applicable to this study, with preference given to the progress model, which represents the evolution of the local media and cartooning in particular.

Concerning the actual analysis of the Rape of Justicia cartoons, content analysis is preferred as an evaluating technique. This implies a critical outlook, focusing on the commentary made by Zapiro. Moreover, content analysis is usually applied to public documents, especially editorials in newspapers and magazines, which include editorial cartoons.

Relevant terminology was defined, namely “pictorial humour”, “caricature”, “cartoon”, and “comic strip” in order to demarcate the scope of the study in this respect, as well as to clarify the meanings of these often misunderstood terms (Verster, 2003: 46). Analytical tools for evaluating the relevant cartoons are defined and divided into three categories, according to selected criteria, namely “content”, “literary”, and “technical”.

Lastly, as methodology, the interview was selected as a data-gathering tool, but only in a supplementary role. The selection and compilation of questions adhere to the suggestions by Mouton (2008).

In the next chapter the history of cartoons as a genre, internationally and locally, is discussed briefly. Relevant definitions are also enunciated.

Chapter 5: Historical context

5.1 Introduction

In order to contextualise the Rape of Justicia cartoons, it is necessary to analyse the background to visual satire as a genre. The tradition of cartoons as a Western phenomenon, and more specifically editorial cartoons, are discussed in both the global and local contexts.

Zapiro and Zuma, as central figures to this study are also each examined as to their relevance to the subject of study, with biographical information provided to augment their status as public figures.

The legal question regarding the right of the cartoonist to criticise a head of state is subsequently examined, as well as the role of the editors who published the Rape of Justicia cartoons.

5.2 Background

On 7 September 2008 a cartoon by Zapiro was published in the *Sunday Times* which evoked a heated and continual debate. This was the first in a series with the shared theme, known as the Rape of Justice/Lady Justice/Justicia cartoons (see Figure 18).

Zapiro later stated repeatedly that this image was meant to be allegorical: a certain political group, represented by a certain leadership clique, prepares to violate the justice system of the country (Zapiro, 2010).

The scene is undeniably shocking, especially because of the high propensity of rape in South Africa. According to some estimates one woman is raped every ten minutes (Robertson 2006: 2) and about half a million rapes occur per annum (Zapiro on rape, 2003: 1). Approximately only about one in ten rapes are reported, which indicates that an even more lamentable situation exists as may be generally perceived (Mueller-Hirth, 2010: 13).

The characters in the scene are recognisable, but to ensure there can be no misunderstanding, the acronyms of their respective institutions are shown on their clothing: Julius Malema of the ANC Youth League; Gwede Mantashe the ANC Secretary General; Dr Blade Nzimande, South African Communist party (SACP) Secretary General, and Zwelinzima Vavi (Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU]) (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1).

This means that these men do not act in an individual capacity, but represent their organisations and therefore, members of these institutions are collectively guilty of what Zapiro is warning them against. Zuma is depicted with his dripping showerhead, a symbol so closely associated with him that he needs no name tag (Zapiro, 2008: 126; Du Plooy, 2009: 10; Anstiss, 2010: 1).

In a joint statement the ANC, ANC Youth League and SACP described the cartoon as racist, tasteless, that it borders on libel and depicts Zuma as a rapist. Malema, Vavi, Mantashe and Nzimande are also “insulted” (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1). COSATU complained about the “insensitivity in a country where rape and violence against women are rampant” and demanded an apology from the *Sunday Times*. This was seen as strategy to indirectly shut Zapiro up and discourage editors from publishing his work (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1). Zapiro responded that “[...] it is the people in the picture that should apologise for what they are doing” (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1).

Public response on the racism charge differed widely. According to Zapiro many editors, columnists and other opinion makers supported him, while some accused him of racism. This accusation he rejected because of his “long history and involvement in the anti-apartheid Struggle” which formally ended in 1994 when South Africa became a democracy (Zapiro, 2010).

As for the sexism issue (manifested as violence against women in the cartoon), Zapiro stated that initial negative responses changed in the case of rape victims, while more of an outcry emanated from men than women because the topic made some men feel uncomfortable (Dixon, 2008a: 1).

Zapiro also stated that his Rape of Justicia cartoons are part of a long history of cartooning. He said that it is a time-honoured tradition, and South Africans should evaluate these cartoons in this context (Zapiro defends Zuma cartoon, 2008: 1; Zapiro: I thought, 2008: 1). However, not all South Africans agree with this view, among them the president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma (Mboyisa, 2009: 1).

Despite the traditional ignorance amongst at least a part of the South African public of the history of cartooning (Verster, 2003: 1), the website of *Centre for Comic Illustrative and Book Arts* noted:

“Leading commentators [...] have claimed that the clash of symbols – showerhead and *umshini wami* [referring to Zuma’s penchant for singing the Struggle song ‘Bring me my machine gun’] – and the public tussle between the country’s leading cartoonist and its most powerful politician is unprecedented in the annals of political cartooning. Seldom if ever, they say, has a cartoonist intervened so directly, and with such devastating effect, in the politics of a nation” (Zapiro at the CCIBA, 2009: 3)

The “leading commentators” mentioned may be correct if they are referring to South African history, but there are in fact examples of clashes between cartoonists and high-ranking politicians and religious leaders such as Roman Catholic popes going back centuries (Die geskiedenis, 1936: 14).

Locally, geographically far from Western cultural centres, African public views are responsive to different norms than those of Europe. *Zeitgeist* (spirit of the times) also

plays a part, and is liable to change. In the Afrikaans newspaper *Die Burger* (Die geskiedenis, 1936: 14) it was reported (translated): “Actually the Afrikaner is a bit uncertain regarding cartoons [...] Boonzaier’s criticism of certain political personalities divulged a lack of respect, which is objectionable.”

This statement proclaims an attitude that was prevalent among Afrikaners which indicated that this cultural group, despite its Western roots, was not at that time inclined to be as critical of their leaders as most people with a Western background would. Currently this reluctance is perceptible among the black population of South Africa. Zapiro’s cartoons of the Justitia about to be raped by Zuma can be seen against this background.

Zapiro was of the opinion that

“there is a very, very pronounced tendency in this country towards exceptionalism, as if our politicians are more sacrosanct than politicians worldwide. That I take issue with” (Zapiro, I thought, 2008: 1).

Zapiro added that he feels strongly about politicians using the red herring of racism to further their agendas and this motivated him to use “outrageous” and “very explosive” images, which culminated in the Rape of Justitia cartoons. He admitted that he expected a strong reaction (Zapiro defends Zuma cartoon, 2008: 1; Evans, 2009: 1).

After the so-called Kanga Rape Case in 2006 (see 5.5.2), the showerhead as a symbol became associated with Zuma as was the case with former state presidents Thabo Mbeki and P.W. Botha who are still linked with a pipe and an index finger respectively. Mbeki is usually portrayed as a pipe-smoking intellectual (Verster, 2009a: 16), while Botha was known for wagging his finger in a schoolmasterly style (Shapiro, 2005: 147; Breytenbach, 2010: 6).

Malema declared that should Zuma become state president, Zapiro must respect Zuma (Krüger, 2008: 1; Swart & Ncana, 2008: 1). When Zuma became state president, Zapiro removed the showerhead from Zuma’s head, precisely for the reason Malema suggested. Zapiro said that he wanted to give Zuma a fair chance to perform as head of state, but that the showerhead could be re-installed if Zuma disappoints again (Du Plooy, 2009: 10; Zapiro’s shower off, 2009: 1; Ons inkôsie, 2010: 12).

Zapiro subsequently drew several cartoons with the showerhead hovering at different heights above Zuma’s head (Mason, 2009: 2) (see Figure 23). This gesture by Zapiro indicated that he meant to criticise Zuma for his actions and not because he has a personal quarrel with him (Zapiro: I thought, 2008: 1; Zapiro’s shower off, 2009: 1).

As an opinion former, Zapiro’s influence cannot be negated, although most newspaper readers do not fully appreciate the often intricate messages these graphic commentaries convey (Vernon, 2000: 5). Yet, editorial cartoons have been described as more powerful

political weapons than the best written essays by editors (Van Schoor; 1981: 7; C illié, 1989: 8).

South Africa has produced some of the best cartoonists in the history of the genre and these commentators have played a major role in several pivotal elections (Cillié, 1989: 8; Muller, 1990: 719).

Of the current generation of South African cartoonists Zapiro is considered a leader with both local and international awards as confirmation of this recognition by peers and the public (Retief, 2006: 3; Amato, 2005: 12, 14, 29). He also perceives himself to be part of a tradition, namely that of the visual satirist (Shapiro, 2005: 139).

The origins of the tradition of editorial cartoonists are European, but eventually spread to other countries, as will be discussed next.

5.3. A short history of cartoons

It is generally accepted that editorial cartoons originated in Britain during the early 1800s when British editors started to publish political cartoons in newspapers. Eventually, this practice spread to other countries, like Russia and China (Kotzé, 1988: 24; Kahn, 2007: 10). These cartoons were usually printed with editorials, hence the name “editorial cartoon” (Verster, 2003: 64).

According to Vernon (2000: 10) cartoons “[...] can only be fully appreciated and understood once something is known of its development”.

Cartoons in the modern sense of the word (not only editorial cartoons *per se*) originated in England and spread to other countries with the development of the press, including South Africa. The origin of cartoons will be discussed next, followed by the development of the genre locally.

5.3.1. Globally

Although aspects of cartoons as a genre can be traced back as far as rock paintings and hieroglyphics, the modern concept of the word dates back to a series of drawings published in the English satirical magazine *Punch* in 1843, known as “Mr Pu nch’s cartoons” (Spiegelmann, 1969: 187; Kotzé, 1988: 19-20; Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 14). The connection made between “cartoon” and satirical or humorous drawings made on that occasion is still understood as such today (Vernon, 2000: 10; Verster, 2003: 57).

The “father of the modern cartoon” was the British painter William Hogarth (1697 – 1764) whose works were distributed by several print shops and thus both Hogarth and cartoons became very popular at the time (Vernon, 2000: 11). By 1770 London had more than 400 print shops catering for mostly the illiterate masses as sources of entertainment and information (Vernon, 2000: 11). Several cartoonists became celebrities, like James Gilray (1757 – 1814) and John Leech (1817 – 1864).

In France Charles Philipon (1806 – 1862) and Honoré Daumier (1808 – 1879) rose to prominence after clashing with the French king Louis Phillipe in 1832 (Gould, 1981: 11). Both were jailed and Daumier became an icon of the genre, because of his superior talent for depicting his messages in a manner that literally left no room for misconception (Du Val, 1966: 32; Verster, 2003: 55, 64).

Other cartoonists have been jailed for their political beliefs, even in the USA. In 1918 the American Maurice Becker was sentenced to 25 years hard labour in the military prison Leavenworth because he refused to bear arms (Lamb, 2004: 87). Zapiro would also refuse to bear arms when he did his national service. Although he was not jailed, he was forced to carry a lead pole instead of a rifle (Zapiro's biography, 2010: 1).

By the time Becker was incarcerated, the USA had already become fertile ground for visual satire. Benjamin Franklin (1706 – 1790) was one of the first American exponents of the genre. However, it was Thomas Nast (1840 – 1902), editorial cartoonist of *Harper's Weekly*, who made a lasting impact with his commentaries on the Civil War (1861– 1865) and for exposing the crime lord “Boss” Tweed, who said “I don't care what they write about me, most of my constituency can't read, but them damn pictures ...” (Geipel, 1972: 24; Heller & Anderson, 1992: 12).

Nast created certain cartooning symbols that are still in use today, like characterising the Democratic Party as a donkey and likening elephants to Republicans, as well as inventing the figure of Uncle Sam to represent the United States (Vernon, 2000: 12). One of Nast's many biographers, J.C. Vinson, described the work of Nast as “[...] vigorous, independent, fanatical, one-sided, unrelenting, petty, and not infrequently, in bad taste”. He added: “These were not faults, but virtues” (Vernon, 2000: 12).

Nast is said to have established editorial cartooning as an enduring presence in American political culture (Lamb, 2004: 66). He was threatened with being burned at a stake during the American Civil War and received many other death threats during his life, while politicians offered bribes, but ultimately he gave cartoonists a template to follow, namely that one

“[...] can be strong and courageous, and make a difference [...], while he demonstrated that a cartoon is not necessarily a humorous caricature, but a powerful weapon of good or evil” (Lamb, 2004: 66).

Nast and other cartoonists have also proved that there is a difference between patriotism and nationalism – while the former means that leaders can be criticised, the latter implies slavish obedience (Lamb, 2004: 219). Most cartoonists seem to be patriots or even anarchists, rather than subservient to oppressive laws. In this regard Zapiro's early role-model Derek Bauer was labelled an anarchist, because he criticised all wrongdoing, notwithstanding the political agendas involved (Pisarra, 1991: 29).

Zapiro initially chose to attack only anti-Struggle viewpoints, but eventually started to satirise his former comrades, for which he is often abused, when he dares to question the policies of the ANC (Amato, 2005: 84).

Many of the old masters of cartooning, whether they were patriots, nationalists or anarchists, are now forgotten, but once they held immense power as social and political commentators. Their influence also reached the shores of Africa, as was the case with the Norwegian Olaf Gulbransson (1873 – 1958) whose style was initially copied by the South African cartoonist D.C. Boonzaier (De Kock, 1968: 94-95; Scholtz, 1973: 11).

5.3.2 Locally

In South Africa, newspapers began to operate during the early 1800s, but political cartoons only started to appear by the last quarter of the century (Vernon, 2000: 13; Verster, 2003: 154). It is not clear who created the first cartoons on South African soil, but it can be proven that in 1834 a series of seven woodcuts by painter Frederick I'Ons (1802 – 1887) appeared in the *Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, and later in *Sam Sly's African Journal* in 1846, ridiculing the then prominent political figure Andries Stockenström (Legum, 1946: 12; Verster, 2003: 149).

A few more cartoons were published in the *Cape Punchinello* (1851), but it was *The Zingari* (1870) that published cartoons in the modern mould, with *The Lantern* (1877) and *The Observer* (1879) soon following suit (Vernon, 2000: 13). Initially journalists and cartoonists came from Britain, but in 1884 Daniël Cornelis Boonzaier (1865-1950) became the first locally-born cartoonist of note when his work was published in *The Knobkerrie* (Potgieter, 1970: 422; Muller, 1990: 348, 350). Schoonraad & Schoonraad states that Boonzaier was probably the best South African cartoonist of all time, as cited in Liebenberg (1989: 48).

Boonzaier worked for several newspapers, Dutch and English, and pro-government as well as pro-opposition. At one stage he was the editorial cartoonists for as many as six papers (Liebenberg, 1989: 168). In 1915 he was appointed as the first full-time cartoonist of *Die Burger* (Potgieter, 1970: 423). According to Boonzaier a cartoonist is at his best when he can attack without restraint. He added that satirists should aim to wound the egos of politicians (Kotzé, 1989: 655). Zapiro agrees with this view: “a cartoonist should attack powerful people and knock them off their pedestals” (Shapiro, 2005: 142; Dixon, 2008a: 2).

Like Nast and Zapiro, Boonzaier was a master of symbolism. He used well-known symbols, like tortoises and ostriches to represent conservatism, and the character John Bull to represent British imperialism. He also created an obese man with a prominent nose who usually smoked a cigar, the epitome of capitalism known as Hoggenheimer (see Figure 1).

This caricature became so well known that many readers believed him to be a real person (De Kock, 1968: 95; Muller, 1990: 348, 322). Hoggenheimer is a good example of a

well-developed satirical icon which eventually was utilised by several cartoonists of different publications (Danzinger, 1977: np; Verster, 2003: 165, 168).

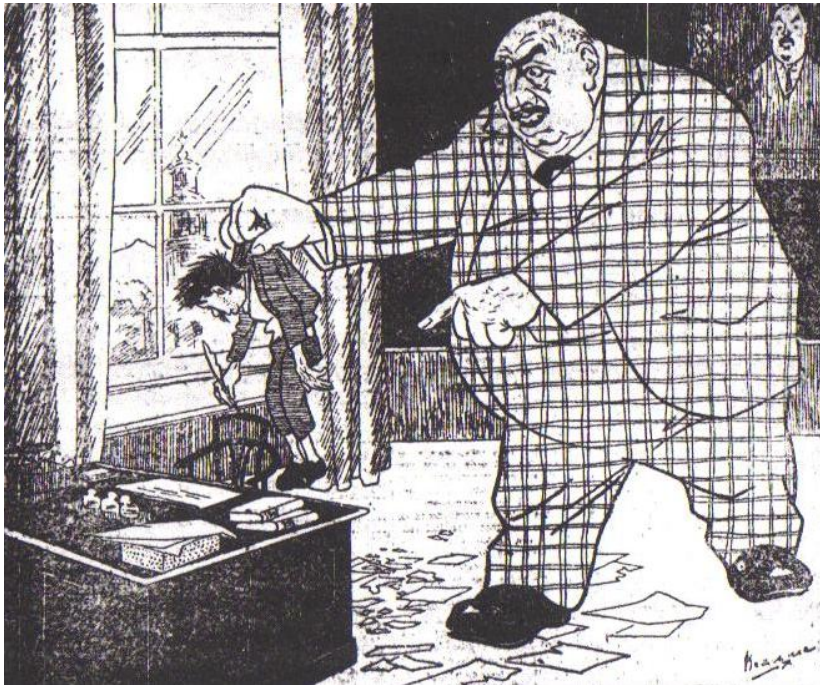


Figure 1: “Who’s the boss?”. Hoggenheimer instructs a journalist during the national elections of 1915. This cartoon was published in *De Burger*, 1915-10-20 (Muller, 1990: 196)

This researcher contends that Boonzaier can be compared to Zapiro in several ways, such as being a cartoonist of international stature and having a relatively free hand in creating his visual commentary, working for several publications, being masters of symbolism, and being ardent students of the “great masters” of pictorial humour (Liebenberg, 1989: 2, 84; Amato, 2005: 86; Zapiro’s biography, 2010: 1).

Die Burger replaced Boonzaier with Thomas Ochse Honiball (1905 – 1990) in 1941. Honiball was instructed to carry on with Boonzaier’s style and to use Hoggenheimer in his cartoons to maintain continuity (Muller, 1990: 350, 714-715). At first Honib all obliged, but soon he developed his own style, which was not as vicious as Boonzaier’s could be (Muller, 1992: 140; Scholtz, 1992: 140; Verster, 2003: 293). Nevertheless, Honiball’s influence should not to be underestimated (Cillié, 1980: 80).

Boonzaier is said to be “the man who killed Botha”, as his cartoons discredited General Louis Botha, the premier of the Union of South Africa to the extent that he eventually retired from politics (*Die Burger*, 1936: 14; Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 69).

Honiball played a similar role in ridiculing Botha's successor, General Jan Smuts, to promote the National Party to power in 1948 (Cillié, 1989: 80; Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 16, 29; Verster, 2003: 298). Smuts never admitted that Boonzaier or Honiball's cartoons irritated him, but Botha was hurt by Boonzaier's attacks. However, neither of them attempted to take the cartoonists to court (Liebenberg, 1989: 76; Muller, 1990: 360, 610).

In 1976 the very talented artist Frederick (Fred) Jacobus Mouton (born 1947) succeeded Honiball as the official cartoonist of *Die Burger* (Mouton, np: 2001). In collaboration with his editors Mouton has been an influential figure in the National Party's bid to remain in power until the early 1990s. He succeeded in ridiculing opposition leaders like Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party and Van Zyl Slabbert of the Progressive Party, but may have been less of a satirical force than his predecessors, probably because of the more moderate political stance of *Die Burger*, which inhibits truly scathing commentary (Fransen, 1999: 182; Mouton, 2001 np).

At the launch of the first publication of Mouton's cartoon collections, he was hailed as the Rembrandt of South African cartooning by the art connoisseur Hans Fransen, referring to Mouton's aesthetic prowess (Fransen, 2001). However, Zapiro is arguably the more effective cartoonist, at least in part because of the greater freedom he has as a freelance cartoonist (Shapiro, 2005: 152; Verster, 2009a: 4).

This researcher contends that Boonzaier, Honiball and Mouton are the very best cartoonists the Afrikaans press have employed and that they set the standard for visual satire in at least the Afrikaans press, while playing an important part in the political sphere on a national level as well. Therefore he is of the opinion that black cartoonists will play a similar role in the publications they work for, especially to influence black readers.

Afrikaans newspapers like *Die Vaderland*, *Die Transvaler*, *Volksblad*, *Beeld* and *Rapport* also have had talented cartoonists working for them, such as Leonard (Len) Lindeque (1936 – 1980), Mynderd Jacobus Vosloo (born 1955) and Charl Malan Marais (born 1934), (Verster, 2003: 186). The Russian-born Victor Ivanhof (born 1909) was one of only a handful of foreigners who worked as editorial cartoonists for Afrikaans papers (Ivanoff, 1946: np; Verster, 2003: 164).

English newspapers like *The Star*, the *Natal Witness*, *The Sunday Express*, *The Argus* and *Cape Times* published the work of many outstanding cartoonists, according to Vernon, all immigrants at first (2000: 104-105). Locally born English-speaking cartoonists gradually took over and some outstanding cartoonists championed the cause of the Struggle against apartheid. Bob Connolly (1907 – 1981), John Jackson (1919 – 1981), Abraham Berelowitz alias Abe Berry (1911 – 1992) and David Marais (1925 – 1974), among others, were all influential (Verster, 2010a: 16).

Tony Grogan (born 1940), David (Dov) Fedler (born 1940), Jeremy Talfer Nell (born 1979), and Zapiro are carrying on the work of the liberal cartoonist in South Africa today (Mason & Curtis, 2009: 2; Verster, 2010a: 16).

Despite the role cartoons have played in local politics, this genre have not yet reached the level of popularity or earned the respect in South Africa as an art form it enjoys in many other countries. In 2003 this researcher wrote that

“Circumstances which is to an extent unique to this country, has had a decisive influence on the development of pictorial humour in South Africa [and] because pictorial humour is humorous in nature, it can be surmised that the general conception has been that such works are silly and trivial and therefore unimportant, an inhibiting factor to the development of [this genre]” (2003: 189).

The term “pictorial humour” was used to include caricatures, comic strips and cartoons, because these sub-genres of pictorial humour are frequently confused with each other. Most South Africans will look at any of these art forms and deem it insignificant, without considering the motive behind it or the possible effect it may have (Van Schoor, 1981: 10; Cillié, 1989: 9).

In a country such as South Africa where the majority of its people do not regard pictorial humour as part of their heritage or culture, this attitude is more likely to prevail. As postulated in 5.2.1, editorial cartoons per se originated in Europe and could therefore be perceived as “Western”, “white” and irrelevant to this country and its socio-political milieu. According to Mason

“The tradition of hard-hitting caricature and mockery is highly developed in liberal western democracies. But we also have to factor in the African tradition in which there is a strong emphasis on respect for leaders. People worry about how satire and mockery impacts on their dignity. These are contested principles, germane to the ongoing encounter between Africa and the west” (Daniels, 2009: 1-2).

The “encounter” Mason refers to is probably at the core of the Zapiro-Zuma animosity. However, Mason also points out that “Cartooning is a great field to be in because it’s such an accurate barometer of political and social conditions” (Daniels, 2009: 1).

Cartoons comment on universal themes, such as crime, abuse of power, pandemics and natural disasters, in a way most people across cultural boundaries can understand, with or without written text and the need for literacy (Geipel, 1972: 24). Humour and satire also constitute a common bond between peoples, even though there are variations on the approaches, prevailing themes and genres, as well as shared experiences accrued as cultural background (Die geskiedenis, 1936: 14; Verster, 2003: 27).

As proven in my earlier research, the editorial cartoon as a vehicle of satire has gradually grown in stature and popularity with South Africans, including the majority of the nation

who do not have a Western background, precisely because of its potential to promote ideas, beliefs and ideologies. This perception is also articulated by Mason (2008: 1) and Curtis (2010).

In 2009 the relative small number of black cartoonists operating in South Africa was lamented by Mason, as this state of affairs indicates the need to enhance the awareness of cartooning among black South Africans (Daniels, 2009: 2). However, in the book *Don't joke: the year in cartoons* (2009: 13), edited by Mason and Curtis, the work of a number of black cartoonists, such as Brandan Reynolds, Wilson Mngobhozi and Sifiso Yalo is displayed (Mason & Curtis: 2009: 54-56; Verster, 2010a: 16).

The presence of upcoming cartoonists augments well for the future of cartooning in South Africa, provided they are allowed to operate in a democratic society recognising freedom of speech and freedom of expression as black readers identify more readily with black cartoonists (Mason, 2008: 1; Daniels, 2009: 2).

Since the introduction of cartoons in South Africa in the 1800s, many of the multitalented artists known as cartoonists have contributed not only to the greater awareness of what the art of cartooning constitutes, but also of the many issues it explores. Cartoons can only be fully appreciated and implemented if they are understood by their target audience, the general public or so-called masses, and the more people exposed to this genre, the bigger its impact will be (Verster, 2003: 194).

Of all South African cartoonists from different eras and political affiliations, Zapiro stands out as one of the best exponents of visual satire across all possible boundaries (Daniels, 2009: 2; Verster, 2009a: 4). His impact will ultimately be in the interest of every South African, as his contribution as a satirist is a contribution to freedom of speech. Moreover, Zapiro is seen as a leading figure among South African cartoonists and therefore his colleagues find inspiration from his success (Mason, 2010).

It has been stated that when one cartoonist is bullied into submission, others will follow suit (Lamb, 2004: 84). This researcher is of the opinion that cartoonists of a lesser stature than Zapiro will hesitate to comment as they should, if he is silenced. If such a state of affairs is reached, cartoonists may well go underground, as in the pre-1994 period. However, the internet might be the ideal stage for cartoonists to operate in future (Zapiro, 2010).

According to Zapiro the amount of freedom cartoonists are given to criticise is a "litmus test for democracy" (Shapiro, 2005: 139). His own criticism of Zuma may prove to be a telling example of this test.

5.4 Zapiro and Zuma

Since Zapiro and Zuma are the pivotal characters in the critique of the Rape of Justicia cartoons, background studies of both of them were conducted.

5.4.1 Zapiro

The cartoonist known as Zapiro has become a household name in South Africa and evolved from a passionate activist against apartheid to a zealous critic of all powerful, prominent people across racial boundaries. South Africa is a country where such boundaries are hard to encompass, because of a centuries long conflict between cultures (Sparks, 1990: 395; De Waal, 2010: 1).

Zapiro made a name for himself as an influential critic of the apartheid regime, and in the post-apartheid South Africa he has generated debate regarding issues like AIDS and corruption, and the ANC government's apparent ineptitude to handle these issues (Manto defends Aids policies, 2006: 1; ANC: COSATU's not sticking to alliance, 2010: 1).

Zapiro was born Jonathan Brian Shapiro of Jewish parents in Cape Town on 27 October 1958. He studied architecture at the University of Cape Town, but then changed to art at the Michaelis Art School. In 1982 he was conscripted into the army for the compulsory two year National Service (Amato, 2005: 88; Zapiro's biography, 2010: 1)

In 1986 two of Zapiro's cartoons were published in the *Weekly Mail* (Amato, 2005: 88). He started drawing cartoons for *South* in 1987, but after he was awarded a Fulbright scholarship, he left to study cartooning at the School of Visual Arts in New York in 1988 (Vernon, 2000: 188).

In 1990 he returned to South Africa (Amato, 2005: 19). Zapiro worked for *South* again, and created politically orientated comic strips during this period, namely *Roxy* (for Aids education, 1992), *A trolley full of rights* (against child abuse, 1993) and *Tomorrow People* (for voter education, 1994) (Mr Jonathan "Zapiro" Shapiro, 2009: 3; Zapiro's biography, 2010: 1).

Influences in Zapiro's development as a cartoonist was the French comic strip artists Albert Uderzo (born 1927) and René Goscinny (1926 – 1977), who became famous for their *Asterix* books, as well as the Belgian Georges Remi alias Hergé (1907 – 1983), who created the *Tintin* books (Retief, 2006: 29; Verster, 2007: 16).

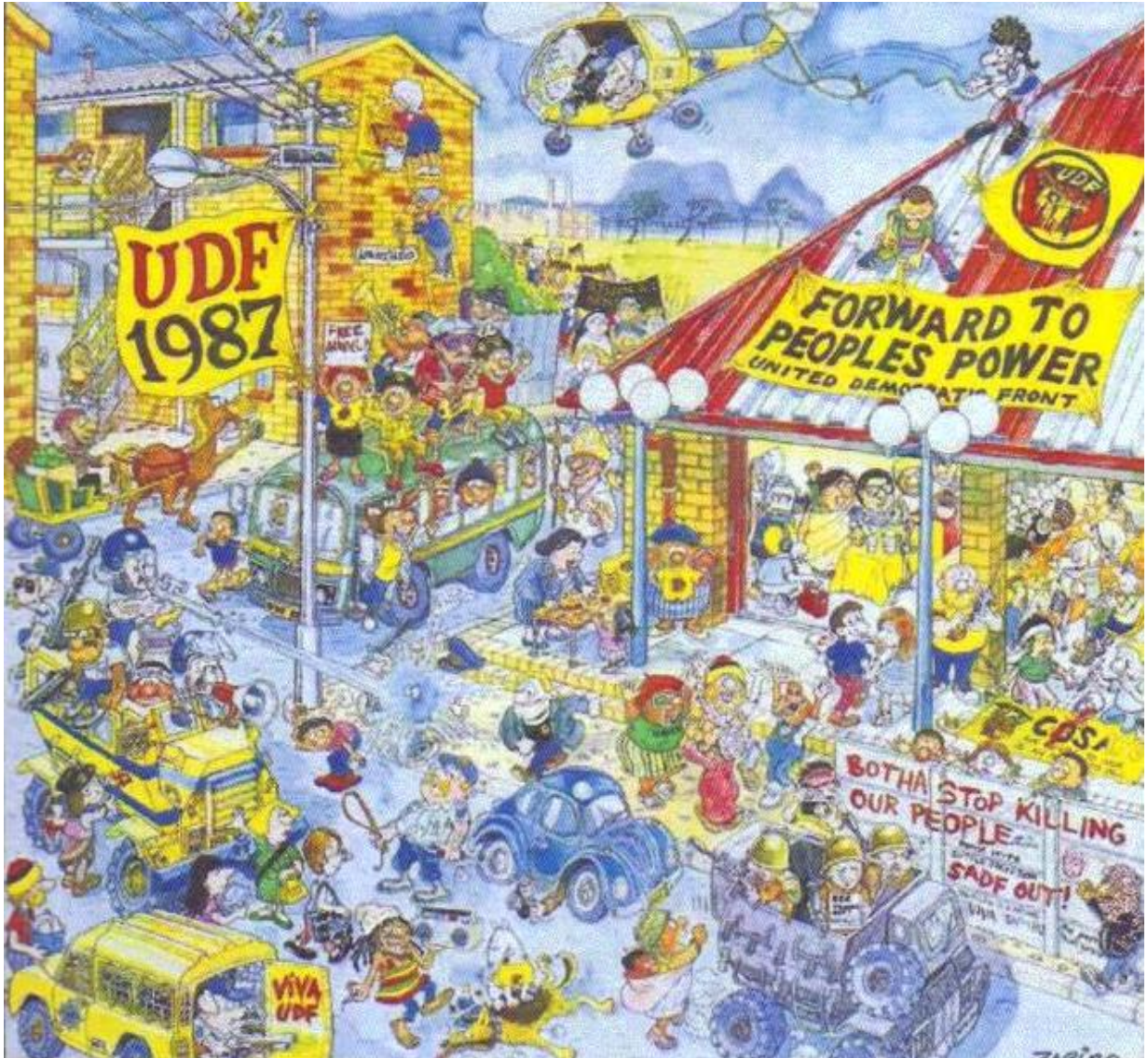
While in the USA, Zapiro studied under comic book icons like Will Eisner (1917 – 2005), who created *The Spirit* series and Art Spiegelman (born 1948) who won fame with his graphic novel *Maus* when he received a Pulitzer Prize in 1992 for this book (Amato, 2005: 16).

Local inspirations were the cartoonists David Marais (see 5.3.2) and Derek Bauer (1955 – 2001) (Amato, 2005: 86). Zapiro initially based his cartoon style on Bauer's, but soon developed his own characteristic style and techniques (Amato, 2005: 18-20).

Zapiro came into prominence after he was detained by the security police in 1988. Zapiro was mistakenly arrested, as there was another activist named Shapiro active at the time (Vernon, 2000: 188; Amato, 2005: 14).

Vernon states that Zapiro is possibly the only South African cartoonist to have been detained for his political beliefs (2002: 185). In fact, the black cartoonist Mogorosi Motshumi had already been jailed for this supposed crime in 1978, ten years before Zapiro (Lent, 2009: 23). This researcher did not find references to other instances of South African cartoonists being incarcerated as a result of their work.

A calendar (see Figure 2) Zapiro created for the UDF (United Democratic Front) (Amato, 2005: 12) established him as a partisan cartoonist and a propagandist with emotive skill (Amato, 2005: 14).



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Figure 2: “UDF calendar”. In this calendar which Zapiro created, several activists are identifiable, while members of the armed forces are depicted as type-caricatures (stereotypes) (Amato, 2005: 13)

During this period Zapiro also created the logo for the End Conscription Campaign, which reached iconic status (Retief, 2006: 3) (see Figure 3).

From 1994 to 2005 Zapiro worked on a freelance basis for the *Weekly Mail* (the *Mail & Guardian* since 1995) and *The Sowetan* (Vernon, 2000: 193; Mr Jonathan “Zapiro” Shapiro, 2009: 1-2). Zapiro worked as editorial cartoonist for the *Cape Argus* from 1996 to 1998. In 1998 he was contracted by the *Sunday Times* as well. Working for three newspapers meant that he regularly had to create three versions of the same event or issue

for three different readerships of the three papers, described as “a difficult juggling act” (Vernon, 2000: 193).

Zapiro is the epitome of the modern cartoonist in that, while his major employers operate from Johannesburg, he lives and works in Cape Town (Vernon, 2000: 193). While many editorial cartoonists work closely with the editorial staff of the newspapers that employ them, Zapiro eventually worked only freelance, obtaining more independence and more exposure in this way. No editor or editorial team decides what he should draw and very few of his cartoons had been turned down (Verwoerd & Mabizela, 2010: 157).

According to Amato

“the new stage gives the political cartoon a globally subversive potential. And cartoonists in the developing world, among them South Africa’s Zapiro, are seizing the opportunity to address an international audience by satirising northern centres of power, particularly the US and Europe” (2005: 6).

Zapiro has stated that no-one tells him what to draw, which offers him more freedom than cartoonists have had traditionally (Retief, 2006: 26). In 1910 Boonzaier declared: “No cartoonist can ever achieve great results unless attached to a strong paper” (Scholtz, 1973: 11).

In Boonzaier’s lifetime the above statement could hardly be disputed. However, circumstances have changed radically since then. Newspapers are not necessarily the ideal vehicle for cartoons any more because of corporate interests in media institutions, as well as changing patterns in reader preferences (Lamb, 2004: 232, 235).

Zapiro has positioned himself well to adapt to changes in the working environment for cartoonists. For this reason his satire also has the most impact on the current political stage (Zapiro, Jacob Zuma, 2010: 1).

Apart from utilising two of the country’s two largest mass-market English-language newspapers, *The Sowetan* and the *Mail & Guardian*, and one of the most influential weeklies, the *Sunday Times*, his work can be viewed on websites, such as Zapiro’s own, and the sites of the newspapers he collaborates with. Therefore his commentaries on societal issues receive considerable attention and acclaim (Amato, 2005: 12).

Zapiro’s work was eventually published in a variety of South African newspapers, with the *Cape Times*, *The Star*, *The Pretoria News* and *The Mercury* later added to his *curriculum vitae*. This proved his popularity with the public and that editors across South Africa acknowledged him as one of the best visual commentators in the country (Lamond, 2007: 37).

Many South African cartoonists’s work is only available in Afrikaans newspapers, or in papers published in indigenous black languages. This eventually restricts the impact of

their satire, in contrast with Zapiro's work which enjoys a bigger platform, locally and abroad. Zapiro's influence can therefore scarcely be underestimated.

According to Amato, Zapiro occupies a

“potent cultural stage with a dual voice: one that combines a persistent satirical assault on the seats of national and global power and with an unambiguous commitment to the fundamentally optimistic ‘nation-building’ narrative within South African culture” (Amato, 2005: 12).

Zapiro's importance as an opinion former is highlighted by the accolades he has received. Among these is an Honorary Doctor of Literature by the University of Transkei in 2004 (Zapiro, 2010: 1).

In 2001 Zapiro was the winner of the Sport Category, CNN African Journalist of the Year and several Mondi Newspaper Awards followed (Retief, 2006: 3). In 2005 Zapiro received the Prince Claus Award from the Netherlands by the Prince Claus Fund and also Communicator of the Year by the Tshwane University of Technology. The *Sunday Times* honoured him with the Honorary *Sunday Times* Alan Paton Literary Award (Mr Jonathan “Zapiro” Shapiro, 2009: 2).

Cartoonist of the Year and Journalist of the Year awards followed in 2006, which were local awards, and in 2007 he was awarded the Courage in Editorial cartooning by the Cartoonists Rights Network Institute in Washington, USA, demonstrating his international standing (Mr Jonathan “Zapiro” Shapiro, 2009: 2). In 2009 Zapiro was awarded the South African Comedy Award for “best humorous cartoon” (Swart & Ncana, 2008: 1).

Zapiro has been invited as speaker at several events, such as at the World Economic Africa's Forum in Durban in 2003. He acted as guest speaker at arts festivals, media seminars and cartooning conventions and workshops, which is an indication of his status as a visual journalist. Since 1985 Zapiro has participated in approximately 30 group or solo exhibitions locally and internationally, such as the group exhibition “In the jaws of apartheid” at the School of Visual Arts, New York, in 1989 (Mr Jonathan “Zapiro” Shapiro, 2009: 1-2).

Zapiro has had several collections of his cartoons published, since 1996 to 2009, with titles like *The Madiba Years* (1996), *The ANC went in 4x4* (2001) and *Da Zuma Code* (2006). These publications present a pattern, which shows his willingness to criticise the ANC, a development from Mandela's tenure as state president to Zuma's in particular (Mr Jonathan “Zapiro” Shapiro, 2009: 3).

While he was an active member of the now disbanded United Democratic Front, Zapiro initially considered himself an activist who could draw cartoons (Amato, 2005: 12).

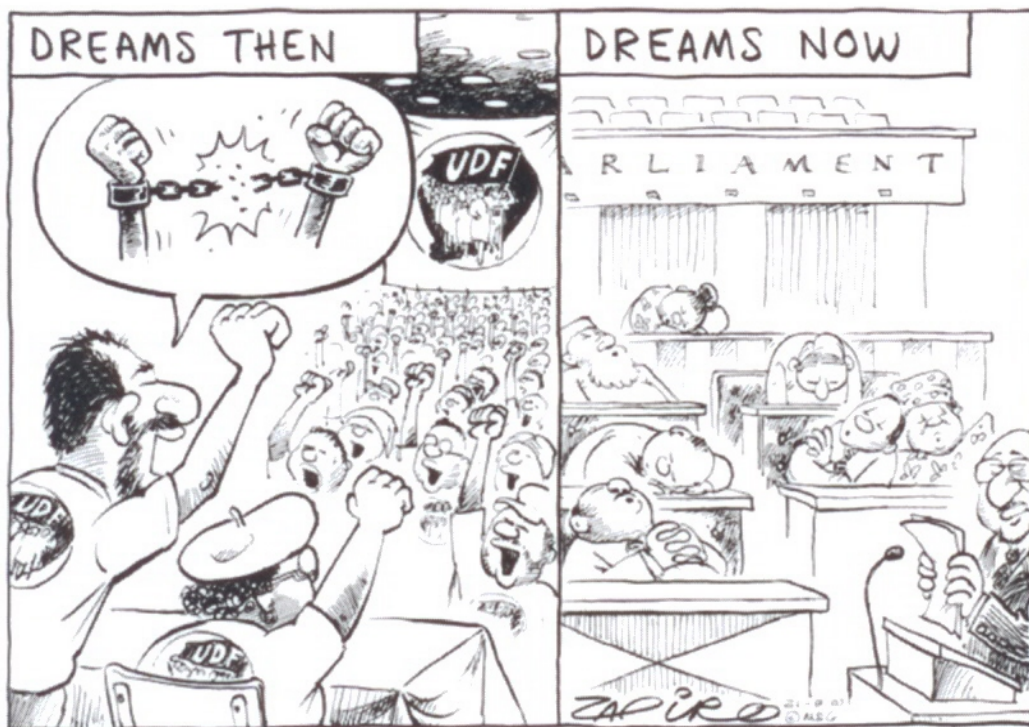
This perception has changed, although he maintains that he is only 20% artist and 80% political journalist (Shapiro, 2005: 139; Retief, 2006: 3). In this respect Zapiro holds a different opinion than most cartoonists, as the majority consider themselves to be artist first and commentators second (Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 31), or refuse to be categorised at all (Nell, 2010).

In 2000 Vernon wrote that a constant theme in the work of Zapiro is his support for the ideals of the ANC (Vernon, 2000: 193). A decade later, when Zapiro was asked how he felt about some of his former comrades' corrupt actions, he responded: "I find the tension very difficult to deal with. Because maintaining a balance between criticism that is positive and criticism that is quite destructive is difficult" (Amato, 2005: 31).

He added that he believes that most ANC leaders are good people and because he shares a Struggle background with them, he is "not always trying to destroy what they are doing [...] But I often find it very tough to deal with" (Amato, 2005: 31).

The motivation behind the Rape of Justicia cartoons should be seen against this background of shifting political alliances, such as is the case with the Mbeki and Zuma factions, the widely held view of Zuma's ineptitude as head of state and the rise of a new generation of black militants, such as Julius Malema, increasing instances of hate speech on blogs and other public platforms. The political landscape has changed vastly since apartheid and Zapiro has had to decide whether he will be loyal to the ANC or to his own ideals (Amato, 2005: 30).

Zapiro has expressed his regret and anger regarding the corruption and ANC government in numerous cartoons (see Figure 3) (Amato, 2005: 30; Hoffmann, 2010: 2).



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Figure 3: “Dream on”. Zapiro illustrates his disappointment with the leaders of the Struggle in the second part of this cartoon. The breaking of shackles in the first part also refers to his logo for the End Conscription Campaign (Amato, 2005: 30).

Amato describes Zapiro’s dilemma as follows:

“Like most political cartoonists, Zapiro must consciously and/or unconsciously assemble a balanced ideological system, a roughly unified analysis of political events which reconciles conflicting truths and positions by affording them varying degrees of weight. He must articulate a strident opinion on a topic, and be ready to revisit the topic from a different angle if his position is invalidated or complicated by new events” (2005: 34).

Zapiro’s involvement with anti-apartheid resistance in the eighties has given him political credibility that many South African cartoonists, such as Fred Mouton, lack, and he has what Amato calls a “refined but vigorously self-assured vantage point when appraising post-apartheid politics” (Amato, 2005: 29) However, this does not mean he is immune from attack by the present regime or black people in general (Dixon, 2008a: 1; La Vita, 2009: 11; Majova, 2009: 1).

Zapiro has stated that he cannot predict how people will interpret his work, but he does know that he can influence them:

“We have to understand that maybe all our symbolism and all our miracles are not necessarily going to carry through entirely into winning over the world on every front. And in a way if a cartoon articulates something like that it can enter the public consciousness [...]” (Amato, 2005: 87).

Zapiro does not shy away from controversy, although he has admitted to being perturbed by the reaction certain cartoons have caused (Amato, 2005: 88). In the case of the Rape of Justicia cartoons he has defended his right to draw such cartoons on several occasions, but also disclosed once that he perhaps went too far with the rape metaphor (Retief, 2006: 29). On other occasions he acknowledged that a cartoonist may portray an issue in a certain way, only to be proved wrong later when more information has been disclosed (Amato, 2005: 84-85).

In the instance of the Rape of Justicia cartoons, Zapiro was irresolute. He also conferred with several people before he sent the first cartoon for publication (Du Plessis, 2008a: 1; Zapiro: I thought, 2008: 1). The furore this cartoon caused and the reaction from the Zuma camp convinced Zapiro that he was on the right track and encouraged him to draw more cartoons commenting on this issue (Rabe, 2006: 1; Dixon, 2008a: 2).

5.4.2 Zuma

It has been suggested that Zapiro spend too much time and energy on lampooning Zuma, while other national issues receive too little attention (Wyngaard, 2010: 3; Zweni, 2010: 1). On the other hand, as president of the ANC and also now (2010) president of the country, Zuma embodies the policies of the ruling party. More importantly, perhaps, is the fact that his personal activities frequently make the headlines (South Africa: Zuma should pledge, 2010: 1). As Lamb (2004: 191) has stated, the actions of public figures are in the public domain and therefore Zuma is a newsworthy personality, both in his official and “private” capacity.

The life of Jacob Zuma can be seen as a South African rags-to-riches story, and therefore he is regarded by many as the people’s person (Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, 2010: 1). Zuma’s background and character therefore show sharp contrasts with that of his predecessor, the more aloof and academic Thabo Mbeki (Mbeki, 2002: 9, 16; Mueller-Hirth, 2010: 1).

Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma was born on 12 April 1942 in Inkandla, KwaZulu-Natal. His humble beginnings as a Zulu herd boy is well-documented, as well as his lack of formal schooling (Zuma and Bullard, 2008: 1; Johnson, 2009: 507).

Notwithstanding his lack of formal education, Zuma excelled as a “people’s person”, with an extraordinary ability to instil loyalty and inspire others (Mueller-Hirth, 2010: 3). To be able to rise from poverty to affluence and from obscurity to the state presidency,

attests to his ambition, tenacity and survival abilities during periods of strife as well as threats to his life, literally and politically (Mbeki's failure heralds, 2007: 1; Profile: South Africa's President, 2010: 2).

In 1958 Zuma's political career started when he joined the ANC and in 1962 he became an active member of their military wing *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (Mr Jacob Zuma, 2009: 1-2). In 1963 Zuma was arrested and convicted for conspiring to overthrow the government. He served a sentence of 10 years imprisonment on Robben Island. After his release in 1973 he became involved with mobilising resistance in Kwazulu-Natal (KZN) until 1975.

In 1975 Zuma left the country for Swaziland and then Mozambique, focusing on providing leadership to ANC structures operating within South Africa (Mr Jacob Zuma, 2009: 1).

Eventually Zuma lived in several African countries and rose through the ranks to become a member of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC in 1977. He also served in the ANC's Military Committee and Political Committee in the mid-1980s and returned to South Africa in 1990 when the ANC was unbanned (Mr Jacob Zuma, 2009: 1-2).

Zuma was instrumental in the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and made a name for himself as a negotiator with the FW de Klerk government (Mr Jacob Zuma, 2009: 2). In 1990 he was elected chairperson of the ANC for the Southern Natal region, became Deputy Secretary General of the ANC in 1991. In 1994 Zuma was elected National Chairperson of the ANC in KZN, and was re-elected in 1996 (Jacob Zuma, 2010: 3).

After being elected Chairperson, Zuma was deployed to bring peace and stability in that volatile environment. He was then appointed MEC of Economic Affairs and Tourism for the KZN provincial government (Mr Jacob Zuma, 2009: 1).

Zuma is the patron of the Moral Regeneration Movement (Mr Jacob Zuma, 2009: 1). However, Zuma's personal indiscretions regarding multi-partner sexual relations and allegations of corruption would undermine his credibility in this regard (Meldrum, 2006: 2; Zuma child, 2010: 1).

Zuma has filled many principal positions and received several awards for leadership, such as three Honorary Doctorates from the Universities of Zululand, of Fort Hare, and of Medicine in South Africa. In 1998 Zuma was awarded the Nelson Mandela Award for Outstanding Leadership (Ons in-kôsie, 2010: 12; South Africa: Zuma should pledge, 2010: 1).

In 1997 he became Deputy President of the ANC, with Thabo Mbeki as President of the ANC and in 1999 Zuma was elected Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, again with Mbeki as his superior as State President. He was relieved of this post by

Mbeki in 2005, due to allegations of corruption (Jacob Zuma, 2010: 4; Mueller-Hirth, 2010: 2). However, Zuma remained Deputy President of the ANC. With the support of influential institutions like the ANCYL, COSATU and SACP, Zuma began a campaign to ascend to the highest position in the country (Jacob Zuma, 2010: 1; Mueller-Hirth, 2010: 2).

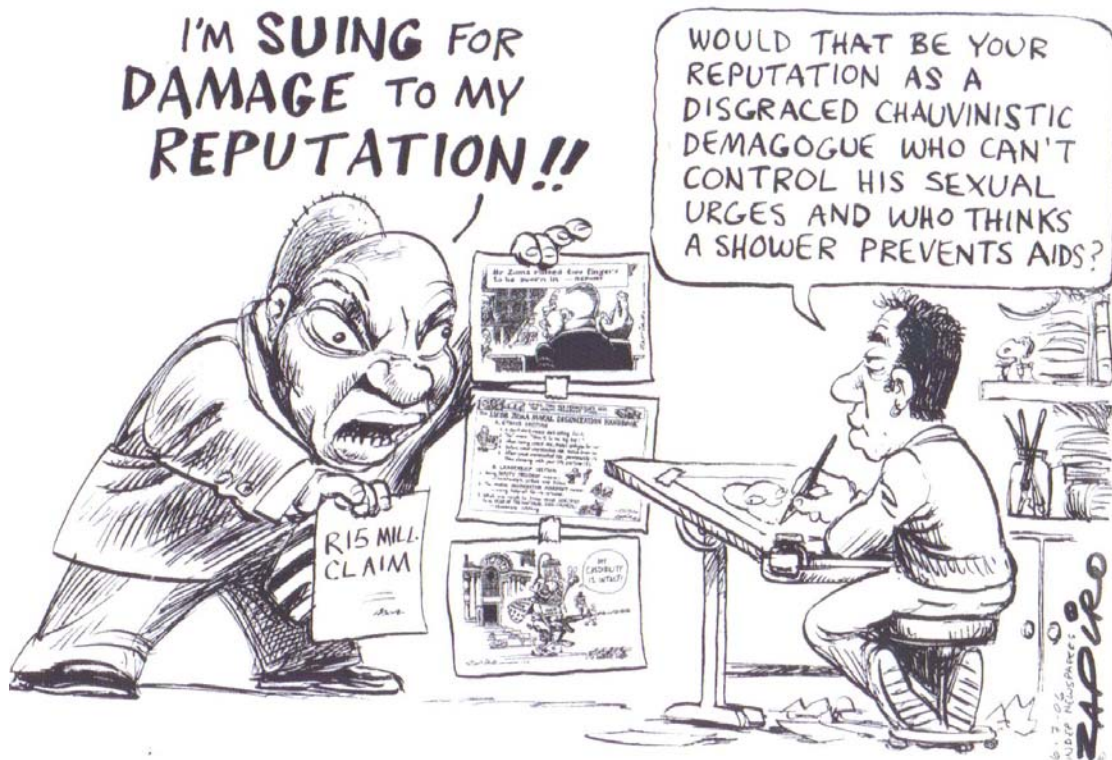
Zuma's image as a victim of elitists with a hidden agenda within the ANC, as well as the charisma that has had him compared with Jesus Christ, generated mass support across tribal boundaries. Subsequently the ANC was divided into Zuma and Mbeki camps (Mueller-Hirth, 2010: 3-4).

The popular perception of Zuma as a warm, fatherly figure and a Struggle hero that did not deserve to be exploited by Mbeki's allies eventually swayed the majority of ANC followers to reject Mbeki as their leader. In 2007 Zuma replaced Mbeki as President of the ANC and on 9 May 2009 he was inaugurated as the third democratically elected President of the Republic of South Africa (Mr Jacob Zuma, 2009: 1; Jacob Zuma, 2010: 3; Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, 2010: 1).

As indicated, Zuma has distinguished himself as a leader during the Struggle period. However, since his return to South Africa certain events cast a shadow on his moral character and his ability to lead as President of South Africa. These incidents have provided cartoonists with ample themes for satire (Ons ink-ôsie, 2010: 12; South Africa: Zuma should pledge, 2010: 1).

Apart from several corruption charges (involving almost R4 million), the accusation of rape (the Kanga Case) and his polygamous lifestyle has influenced many South Africans' perspective of Zuma (Dixon, 2008a: 2; Johnson, 2009: 509, 511; Zuma child, 2010: 1-2). It has been stated that although Zapiro contributed to the negative press regarding Zuma's image, no one caused more problems than Zuma himself (Zapiro: I thought, 2008: 1; Zapiro, 2010) (see Figure 4).

As a political commentator and visual satirist, Zapiro has endeavoured to point out the less admirable aspects of Zuma's character (Pillay, 2010: 1).



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Figure 4: “My reputation”. Zapiro expressed his sentiments on Zuma’s legal objections explicitly in graphic terms (Zapiro, 2006: 131)

Zuma has proceeded to sue Zapiro thrice for damage to his dignity and reputation (Dixon, 2008a: 1). While the Rape of Justicia cartoons have generated the most interest, there have been other cartoons that elicited defamation claims, as will be discussed in 5.5.2.

5.5. Cartoons in court

5.5.1 Background

In an article about the first cartoon of the Rape of Justicia collection, the following statement was made:

“The immediate background to the publication of the Zapiro cartoon is important as it provides relevant, even vital, information on the context that gave rise to the cartoon” (ANC condemns cartoon, 2008: 2).

This statement referred to the fact that specific court cases led to the creation of the Rape of Justicia cartoons, as these cartoons were a commentary on Zuma and his attitude to the justice system of South Africa. These cases include several accusations of corruption against Zuma, while the cartoons also refer to the rape trial in which Zuma

was acquitted. During these court proceedings Zuma's supporters declared that a "political solution" was called for: that Zuma was falsely accused and verbal attacks and threats were made on the judiciary. Zuma himself made disparaging remarks against the justicial system (Du Plessis, 2008c: 1; Isaacson, 2009: 1).

To compound matters, Zuma's legal team declared that as state president, the law should not be applicable to the head of state, that is Zuma (Du Toit, 2009: 2; Zille, 2010: 1).

As far as commentators like Zapiro was concerned, democracy's fundamental rights were threatened (ANC condemns cartoon, 2008: 3; Zapiro cartoon gets SA, 2008: 1; Nicolaides, 2010: 1), because the judicial system, a crucial component of democracy, is undermined. Zapiro explained in a caption beneath a cartoon: "They've vowed to kill, demand a 'political solution', threatened anarchy and smeared and bullied a judge."

Zapiro added that:

"Gwede Mantashe [Secretary General of the ANC] said how there would be anarchy if Zuma's case went ahead. Zuma himself threatened the judiciary. Julius Malema made his infamous statement about killing for Zuma in that context. Judges were accused of being counter-revolutionary. That is why the cartoon depicted the rape of justice. That was the fear and it still is" (Du Plessis, 2008c: 1).

Zapiro's conviction was the inspiration to a number of cartoons by South African cartoonists (Ons in-kôsi, 2010: 12; Mason & Curtis, 2009: 37, 43, 49, 91). The multitude of cartoons criticising Zuma and his supporters led to Zapiro being accused of racism and of him orchestrating a vendetta against Zuma (Haffajee, 2008: 1).

The cartoons were deemed as in bad taste and that Zapiro and his editors misused their right to freedom of speech to attack Zuma (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1; Rights body clears Zuma, 2010: 2). Zuma also filed libel cases against Zapiro, which in total was the largest claim for defamation in South Africa law legal history (Rabe, 2006: 1; Smith, 2008: 3).

Zapiro attacked Zuma on several issues, but two main themes were noticeable, namely comments on corruption and Aids. Zuma's alleged promiscuity and his apparent indifferent attitude towards "safe sex" in his personal life has incensed Zapiro, especially after Zuma's rape trial in 2006 (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1).

Zapiro's sentiments were shared by many South Africans, as the statement by Patrick Lekota, the president of Cope (Congress of the People) suggests: "[Zuma's] continued use of African custom as a smokescreen is also no longer acceptable" (Zuma child, 2010: 2).

Cope's women's provincial leader Clara Motau added that

“[Zuma’s] outdated and baseless customary affection to making love to every woman, and without protection [...] is blatantly demeaning every woman and making our beloved country and its good people the laughing stock of the human race” (Zuma child, 2010: 2).

Of all Zuma’s amorous indiscretions the so-called “Kanga Case” was probably the turning point for many South Africans who, like Zapiro, were willing to give him a fair chance to prove himself as a worthy state president. This case was the best-known of the several legal battles Zuma has been involved in and, if not the inspiration for Zapiro’s Rape of Justicia cartoons, then a motive for them (Hunter-Gault, 2009: 1; Zapiro: I thought carefully, 2009: 1).

This case also acts as a reference point for the public when interpreting the Rape of Justicia cartoons (Hunter-Gault, 2009: 1; Zapiro: I thought carefully, 2009: 1). Certain political commentators have recognised this, and protested against the inference to Zuma being a rapist because he had been acquitted of rape (De Vos, 2008b: 2; Harvey, 2008: 1; Van der Westhuizen, 2009: 1).

In the “Kanga Case”, Zuma was accused of raping a 31-year old HIV-positive woman in December 2005 (Verster, 2009a: 1; Johnson, 2009: 544). In *The kanga and the kangaroo court*, author Mmatshilo Motsei referred to the kanga (skirt) the alleged rape victim was purported to be wearing when she had sex with Zuma (Motsei, 2007: 153).

Zuma’s defence was that by wearing this skirt, the woman known as Zwe di, had announced her availability for consensual sex (Motsei, 2007: 153). Besides the promiscuous nature of the liaison to which Zuma confessed, he also admitted that he did not take any precautions against contracting sexually transmitted diseases (Motsei, 2007: 193; Verster, 2009a: 1).

Compounding matters was the fact that at that time Zuma headed the National AIDS Council, which signified that he represented an organisation tasked with addressing the spread of a pandemic that was responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of South Africans. More than 5 million of South Africa’s population of approximately 50 million is infected with the HIV virus. One of the strategies of this council is to discourage unprotected sex (South Africans given 100 free condoms, 2010: 1).

Thus, when Zuma admitted that he had sex with the woman who accused him of rape without using a condom, while knowing she has been diagnosed HIV positive, Zapiro created a number of cartoons depicting Zuma as promiscuous and reckless – and a bad example for the youth of South Africa (Robertson, 2006: 2; Zuma child, 2010: 2).

Zuma’s statement that he took a shower after having sex with his accuser as a preventative measure against contracting Aids caused much criticism. This also led to Zapiro drawing showerheads on the heads of his Zuma caricature (see illustrations in Chapter 6). This symbol of Zuma’s irresponsible behaviour became well-known to the

public, and other cartoonists also used it for that reason (see Figure 5) (Verster, 2003: 299, 310).



Figure 5: “Clash of symbols”. Symbols associated with Mbeki (a pipe) and Zuma (a showerhead). Mouton originally attached a condom on to Zuma’s head, but eventually adopted Zapiro’s showerhead as the better-known icon (Mouton, 2006: 32)

The adoption of popular symbols or characters by several cartoonists is part of the tradition of cartooning (see Figures 6 a and b), and can be seen as confirmation that the original has been effective, as it is evidently understood by the readers.

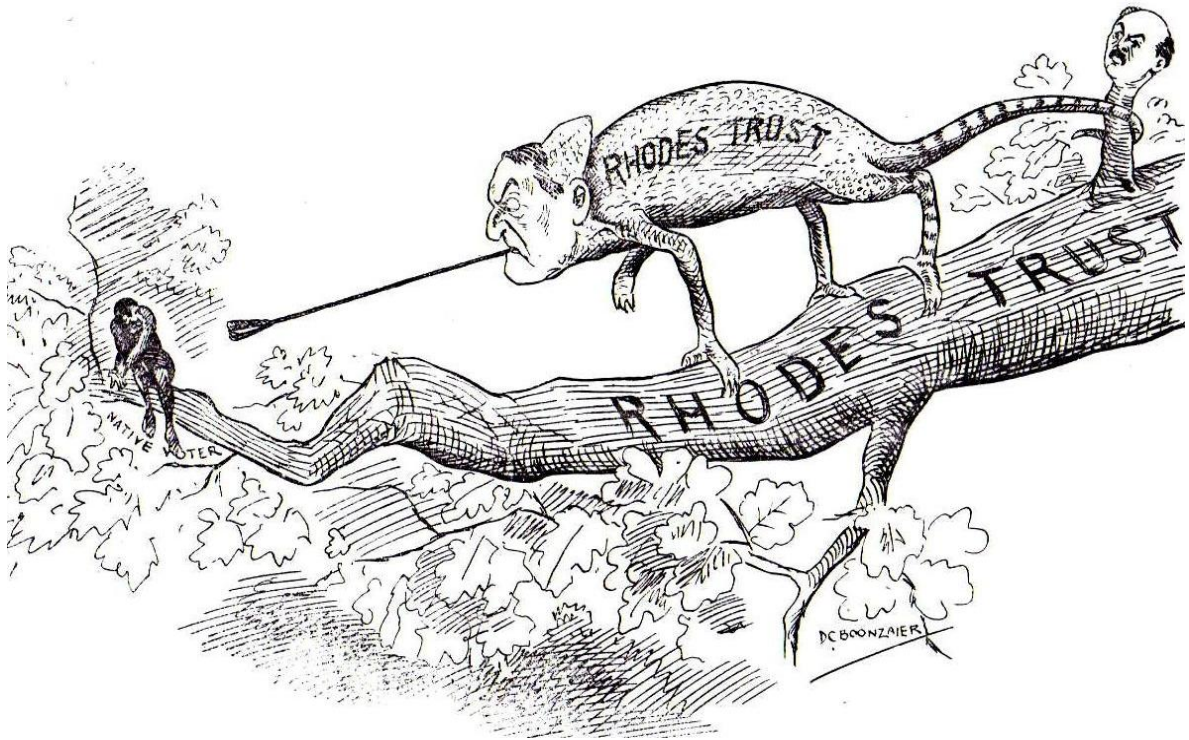
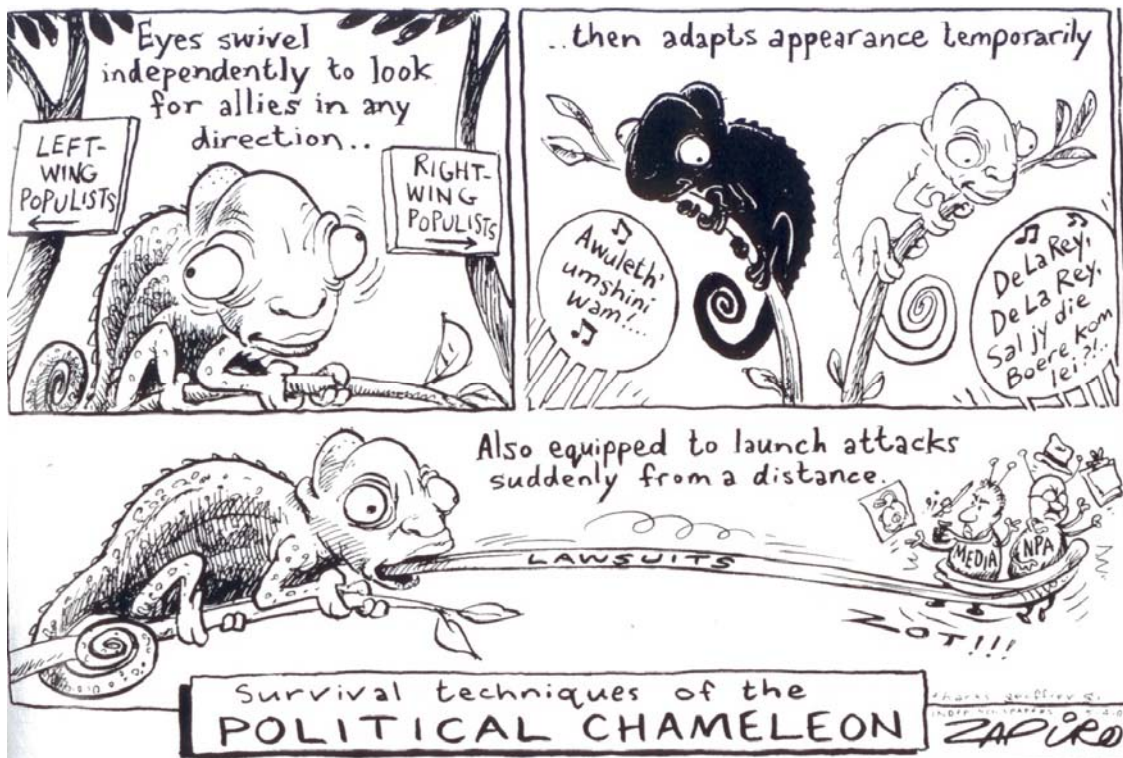


Figure 6 a: “Out on a limb”. Many cartoonists have used the chameleon to portraying the untrustworthiness of politicians. Boonzaier suggests a hidden agenda by depicting Rhodes “catching” a voter while holding on to his henchman L.S. Jameson (Verster, 2003: 169).



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Figure 6 b: “Changing colours”. Zapiro utilises the chameleon as a symbol to portray Zuma as sly, opportunistic and generally untrustworthy (Zapiro, 2007: 87).

5.5.2 Suing Zapiro

While in detention in 1988 Zapiro was asked by the security police why he drew them as pigs. He responded: “I draw what I see” (Amato, 2005: 14; Hans, 2006: 1). Now, almost 30 years later, he is being sued by Jacob Zuma for depicting Zuma as a “male chauvinist pig”, and himself accused of being a racist (Hans, 2006:1, Haffajee, 2008: 1). Zuma accused Zapiro and his editors of insulting him and doing the “dirty work” of others with hidden agendas (Media insulted me, 2006: 1).

On 15 September 2009 Zuma sued Zapiro for R7 million for alleged damage to Zuma’s reputation and to his dignity (Ons In-kôsie, 2010: 12; Zuma sues Zapiro, 2009: 1). At the time of doing the research for this thesis, the case was still pending.

As stated, the clash between Zapiro and Zuma is not the first instance of a cartoonist and a ruler of a country who were in dispute concerning editorial cartoons. The fact that there are not many examples of satirists who have been convicted for what they do regularly, suggests that Zuma has little chance of winning a case against Zapiro (De Vos, 2008a: 1). This, however, is referring to the international context, which in practice may not have relevance to the local situation.

Zapiro stated that he was initially impressed with Zuma (Hans, 2006: 2). Zuma had indeed an impressive curriculum vitae as a freedom fighter and as a leader. However, a host of corruption charges against Zuma changed Zapiro's view regarding the enigmatic Zulu politician (Smit, 2006: 13).

The rape trial of 2005 strengthened Zapiro's resolve to expose Zuma as an insincere populist whose words meant nothing more than what his immediate audience wanted to hear and who is not able to set an example in the campaign against HIV/Aids (Smith, 2006: 13). Zuma, the former freedom fighter proved to be a wily politician, well-skilled in surviving scandal, and intent on becoming the president of South Africa, which he did in 2009 (How the Zuma saga, 2006: 1).

Zuma's stance on his reputation being harmed has much to do with ethno-cultural tradition. This brings into play the tradition of the cartoonist's freedom of expression, which is a "Western" tradition, versus that of the African view, namely to have respect for leaders that borders on reverence (Daniels, 2009: 1).

The "Western" legal system has also traditionally protected cartoonists in a democratic system (Lamb, 2004: 186). Although Zuma has used African or Zulu traditions as reasons for his actions, such as polygamy, he uses the essentially Western legal system to defend himself against Zapiro's criticism.

The tradition of free speech is based on the condition of fair comment. According to Lamb (2004: 192) comment has to be the honest opinion of the critic harbouring no ill will and based on disclosed facts. Furthermore, it has been stated that politicians must earn respect in a democratic system, not expect it to automatically come with a certain rank or position (Krüger, 2003: 1).

Zapiro answered Zuma's intention of taking him to court with a cartoon questioning Zuma's reputation (see Figure 4).

Regarding Zuma's complaint that Zapiro's commentary constitutes an invasion of his private life resulting in emotional distress, precedents exist where courts have ruled in favour of satirists (Gould, 1981: 11; Schoonraad & Schoonraad, 1989: 13; Lamb, 2004: 191, 203).

Zapiro declared that:

“people do not generally sue cartoonists. It's a pretty dead-end thing to do. And it's a silly ploy to pursue. It brings all the arguments back into the public spotlight and even adds more fuel to the fire for cartoonists to feed off” (Lamond, 2007: 35).

The aim of satire and parody is to distress and therefore nothing can be more threatening to the long tradition of satiric commentary than a cause of action on the part of politicians

for emotional distress (Lamb, 2004: 191). For this reason the dignity of a specific public figure has to be weighed against the threat to freedom of speech.

To adopt the attitude of the American cartoonist Charles Press who declared that editorial cartoonists must reveal their leaders as “moral degenerates who are undeserving of what they receive from the system” (Lamb, 2004: 59) may be too extreme, but the view that cartoonists should “grab people by the lapels, shake them and say, ‘Don’t you understand what’s happening?’” (Lamb, 2004: 233) is a standpoint that has merit in a liberal democracy.

The cartoonist’s contribution to society is to criticise, not to report on facts (Lamb, 2004: 186). In the USA courts have ruled that whenever cartoonists have commented on a matter of public concern, there would be no libel (Lamb, 2004: 205). It has to be said, however, that the current press-government relationship in the USA, which fits the social responsibility model discussed in Chapter 4, fosters and protects freedom of speech, where “[d]espite their occasional viciousness and obvious falseness, the courts have declared cartoons to be protected expression” (Lamb, 2004: 203).

It has also been written that the American constitution “[...] does not defend profanity, but the merely distasteful” (Lamb, 2004: 198).

Zapiro is well-known for his criticism of the apartheid regime, to the extent that many black newspaper readers were under the impression that he is black himself (Verwoerd & Mabizela, 2000: 153). Zapiro considered this misconception as a compliment to his ability to represent the perspective of black people as well as a testimony to his solidarity with them (Verwoerd & Mabizela, 2000: 153; Verster, 2009b: 16).

According to an expert in constitutional law, it seems improbable that Zuma will win the defamation case against Zapiro, as the Constitutional Court has developed the common law of defamation to bring it in line with the spirit and purport of the Bill of Rights. In practise this means that a public figure like Zuma will not find it easy to win a defamation case. In a case against Zapiro certain matters, such as the utterances Zuma and his supporters had made against women, gay men, judges and HIV/Aids, may be discussed again. This will certainly be to Zuma’s detriment (De Vos, 2008a: 1).

However, Zuma may at least be allocated a substantial sum of money in an out of court settlement. An example of such a settlement is when Zuma accepted a R50 000 settlement offer from the owner of *Rapport* newspaper Media24 (Zuma, paper settle, 2008: 1). The claim was for a “degrading and defamatory heading” above a photo with a caption that was printed in the publication on 30 December 2007 (New Zuma claim, 2008: 1)

A South African editor who decides to publish a cartoon which may result in Zuma filing a libel case, will be aware of the fact that Zuma has sued media institutions for more than R60 million up to date (Smit, 2006: 1; Smith, 2008: 1).

The Rape of Justicia cartoons has prompted Zuma to sue Zapiro for R15 million initially, but this claim has been reduced to R7 million (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1). However, Zapiro does not stand alone as the accused. The editors who publish his work are themselves under scrutiny during an extremely volatile period in South African politics, as the criticism on Makhanya and Haffajee proves (see 5.6).

The main concern to opinion makers is to ensure that this scenario does not revert to the totalitarian state of affairs previous to democracy in 1994. At present the media situation in South Africa relates to the libertarian model, which advocates the view that the press should entertain, as well as inform the public, while adhering to capitalist principles to secure profits. According to this concept the press seeks out the truth and monitors the government. Freedom of speech is legally entrenched, within certain parameters (see 3.2).

Satirists like Zapiro, as well as the editors they work with, are currently under pressure to prove whether the adage “watchdogs at the gates” or “gatekeepers” is suggestive of their roles in a democratic post-apartheid society. Several commentators have lamented the fact that freedom of speech is under greater threat than before 1994 (Scholtz, 2009: 29). Zapiro regards this viewpoint as an overstatement, but has expressed his concern about the attitude of the government regarding a so-called media tribunal to monitor the press (Zapiro, 2010).

5.6 The role of the editor

The editorial page of a newspaper usually contains both an editorial cartoon and an editorial column. Newspaper publishers started hiring cartoonists to improve the circulation of their papers (Lamb, 2004: 70). Most editors believe that: “[...] cartoons represented a type of visceral commentary unmatched by editorials and appealed to a vast number of readers” (Lamb, 2004: 70).

Many editors realise that politics are a natural arena for visual satirists, which is why the terms “editorial cartoonists” and “political cartoonists” are often used interchangeably (Lamb, 2004: 59).

Ultimately, the extra dimension a cartoonist brings to the editorial page of a newspaper is still appreciated by most editors, although cartoons can focus so much attention on themselves that the editorial can be overlooked. Professional jealousy can cause tension between the editor and the cartoonist, which may result in the dismissal of the cartoonist (Lamb, 2004: 142).

The relationship between editors and cartoonists are not always as benevolent as may seem. There are several reasons for such a state of affairs, one being the perspectives, training and personalities of editors versus that of cartoonists:

“Editorial cartoons are generally confrontational in nature, and often so are the people who draw them. Cartoonists can be temperamental and argumentative,

particularly if they believe strongly that they have nailed an issue or a politician – even to a cross” [...] “Editors, in contrast, usually are former reporters trained to keep their opinions out of their copy. They are verbal rather than visual. They do not become editors by continually challenging authority. While compromise is valuable in international diplomacy and organised politics, it is often the death of an editorial cartoon” (Lamb, 2004: 132).

To work as a team complementing each other is therefore difficult to achieve, should the editor be overly assertive or the cartoonist too individualistic. Cartoonists who have editors who agree with them on most instances and who respect the cartoonist’s position enough to give him latitude to express him/herself generally flourishes (Cillié, 1989: 8; Lamb, 2004: 134). Some cartoonists, like Zapiro, are generally left to decide on what they want to satirise, while others decide with the editor on the final product (Kotzé, 1989: 656; Liebenberg, 1989: 53).

Some editors are uncomfortable with cartoonists because the editorial cartoon is the most extreme form of expression in a newspaper, contending that cartoons cannot be edited (Lamb, 2004: 143). It seems evident that the cartoonist must be held in high esteem by the editor he works for if a productive working relationship is to exist (Lamb, 2004: 128).

It is in the news room where the freedom of the cartoonist is measured, or as in the case of Zapiro, by the editor. The beliefs, tastes, politics, even sense of humour of the editor is of importance, as the editor has the power to veto cartoons (Lamb, 2004: 128).

Traditionally both the professions of editor and cartoonist are dominated by white men (Lamb, 2004: 227). It can therefore be argued that the viewpoints and interests of white men will be promoted by most editors and cartoonists, which include their style of journalism, utilising of free speech and democracy. In the case of Zapiro and the Rape of Justicia cartoons the traditional model is not applicable, and neither is the allegation of racism. Although Zapiro is a white male, his editors are not all white or male (Hans, 2006: 2).

The editor who first published the original Rape of Justicia cartoon, is black namely, Mondli Makhanya of the *Sunday Times*, while another is Ferial Haffajee, a black female, at the time editor-in-chief of *Mail & Guardian* (*Mail & Guardian* editor, 2009: 1).

In an interview with an American journalist, Zapiro made the following statement:

“I am close to (*Sunday Times* editor) Mondli Makhanya. He had no hesitation in publishing [the first Rape of Justicia cartoon]. There are many other black editors, opinion makers and columnists who are essentially behind what I have done here. But there are some who have accused me flat-out of racism, which I reject. I do have a long history of involvement in the (anti-apartheid) Struggle” (Dixon, 2008a: 2).

In the previous quote Zapiro referred to the support he had from the editor who first published the first Rape of Justicia cartoon in September 2008. He did not say whether there are editors among those who have accused him of racism or if any editors distanced themselves from the cartoons, but mention that “many” editors are “essentially behind” him (Controversial cartoon awarded, 2009: 1).

At the time it was unclear who these editors were, but as Zapiro received the Graphic Journalist of the Year award for this cartoon eight months after it was published, it can be assumed that the majority of senior journalists in South Africa were indeed supporting Zapiro in this respect (Controversial cartoon awarded, 2009: 1).

Guy Berger, head of Rhodes University School of Journalism, led the Mondi Shanduka Awards judging panel. He was quoted as follows:

“The judges did not necessarily endorse the sentiments of the controversial ‘Rape of Justice’ cartoon, but acknowledged it as an outstandingly powerful visual statement that had been deliberately designed to elicit enormous reaction” (Controversial cartoon awarded, 2009: 1).

Berger’s statement may have been guarded, but the implication is clear – a significant number of influential media practitioners supported the message of what they called the “Rape of Justice” cartoon.

While Berger and his fellow panellist could use democracy and objectivity as excuses, Makhanya had to take sole responsibility for his decision to publish the cartoon. Subsequently he was criticised and insulted by supporters of Zuma (ANC horrified, 2009: 1; Disgust at Zuma, 2008: 1; Du Plessis, 2009: 16).

The ANC demanded Makhanya’s dismissal as editor of the *Sunday Times* and declared that:

“... the [first] cartoon depiction of our collective leadership and a string of errors that it continues to make in its reporting, calls into question the integrity of Makhanya as editor” (ANC condemns cartoon, 2008: 3).

Zapiro admitted that both he and Makhanya were put under extreme pressure and expressed his appreciation for the editor’s refusal to apologise for the possible damage to Zuma’s name (Dixon, 2008a: 2). Other editors who collaborated with Zapiro were also criticised, together with the publications they represent (Harvey, 2008: 1).

Makhanya was accused of being unethical and called a “ranting dictator who finds joy in manipulating the truth” (ANC horrified, 2009: 1; Zapiro cartoon of Zuma, 2009: 1).

In a country where racial division is endemic and accusations such as those Zapiro refers to can be expected under the relevant circumstances, Makhanya showed confidence in Zapiro’s motives by not arguing with the cartoonist about the probable consequences of

such a cartoon, as could be expected. If one takes into account that this same editor discharged the well-established columnist David Bullard in 2008 for alleged racism, Makhanya has shown great confidence in Zapiro's integrity when he criticised the head of state personally (Du Plessis, 2008b: 9).

It is generally known that editors have resisted pressure from, e.g., lobby groups regarding religious issues as these editors believe that they should defend freedom of speech. The so-called Mohammed cartoons are a case in point. After a Danish paper, *Jyllands-Posten*, published cartoons that were perceived by Muslims to be insulting to their religion in September 2005, violent protests broke out and certain newspapers were closed down, with editors and cartoonists even sent to jail in certain countries where the controversial cartoons were reprinted (*Jyllands-Posten* Muhammad cartoons, 2010: 10).

Although Denmark has a democratic constitution that protects freedom of speech, the editor of *Jyllands-Posten* was pressured into apologising for printing the cartoons (SA editor threatened, 2006: 1). This type of tactic did not work in South Africa when a number of the Mohammed cartoons were published here. Editor of the *Mail & Guardian*, Ferial Haffajee, received threats, but refused to apologise. A Muslim organisation, however, won a court interdict to stop the *Sunday Times* from publishing the cartoons (SA editor threatened, 2006: 1).

The *Sunday Times* stated that:

“We declined to give an undertaking not to publish the cartoons, not because we were intent on publishing them, but because we strongly oppose the attempt by any group to edit or censor the newspaper” (SA editor threatened, 2006: 2).

On this issue South African newspapers have shown solidarity and Zapiro can feel confident of their support. Haffajee has declared that: “By my book, cartoonists who don't go too far are not worth their crayons” (2008: 1).

It is stated that media autonomy can be illustrated in terms of a continuum: at one extreme the media are completely taken over by outside interests, for instance by the state or corporate institutions, and on the other end, the media are totally free to admit or exclude material at will. However, in normal conditions neither extreme will prevail (McQuail, 2005: 319).

In South Africa most editors, in accordance with the support and goals of SANEF (South African National Editors' Forum) strive for autonomy from outside influences (Constitution of the South, 2010: 1).

This researcher contends that the editors to whom Zapiro submits his work have so far exhibited this inclination and therefore play a vital part in promoting freedom of speech together with this cartoonist.

Freedom of the press is generally held to include the right not to publish and thus to withhold access to information or opinions (McQuail, 2005: 318). Editors like Makhanya have chosen not to take the way of the least resistance and to publish material which they knew would evoke criticism from pro-governmental institutions which occur regularly with accusations of exploitation of freedom of speech (Wyngaard, 2010: 3).

This stance is also required of owners of newspapers. Lamb (2004: 226) contended that:

“Publishers need to be convinced that hiring a cartoonist is good for their newspapers [...], both journalistically and economically. But this becomes problematic as long as newspapers put profit margins over journalistic responsibilities, which is frustrating for editorial cartoonists and many editorial page editors, who understand what publishers do not: that local cartoons bring a dimension to the editorial page that otherwise would be missing.”

While the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) has been susceptible to government interference, it seems that the printed media in South Africa is more resistant to outside pressures (Zuma rape cartoon, 2008: 2; Rabe, 2009: 17). Makhanya maintained that he took the decision to publish on his own and that he did not feel any pressure from the board of his holding company, Avusa Media (Editor defends cartoon, 2009: 1).

Critical commentators like Zapiro are dependant on support from the mass media and particularly on sympathetic publishers (Pissarra, 1991: 3). Should cartoonists lose this support and the exposure newspapers provide, visual satire may well revert to the individual efforts reminiscent of Hogarth and Daumier, although, instead of hundreds of printing presses, the internet could be the vehicle to carry messages to the masses. Amato (2005: 6) stated that the internet:

“offers a virile and charismatically lucid (if innately reductive) alternative to the often turgid and pedestrian arguments against global political and economic injustice by academics, journalists and nongovernmental organisations.”

Whatever the medium utilised by satirists, it seems that a cartoonist like Zapiro is indeed the “canary in the coal mine for freedom of speech in South Africa” (Zapiro, Jacob Zuma, 2009: 1).

Pissarra proclaimed that “gross social inequalities and [...] unjust societies, particularly those in crisis, provide fertile grounds for political cartoonists.” He added: “censorship provides the veil behind which other forms of repression can take place and be hidden from the public eye” (1991: 1).

The above statement referred to press censorship, but the work of the cartoonist as visual or graphic journalist is undoubtedly an important component of an effective resistance against oppression (Pissarra, 1991: 2). The legal battle between Zapiro and Zuma has again drawn attention to this fact (Saunderson-Meyer, 2008: 25).

At present Zapiro's stature prevents his opponents from simply pushing him aside. However, during the apartheid era, especially during the 1980s, several newspapers, such as *Die Vrye Weekblad*, the *Rand Daily Mail* and *Sunday Express* were censored (Pissarra, 1991: 5). A State of Emergency was declared in 1985 and in effect the Minister of Home Affairs, then Stoffel Botha, could decide what "freedom of the press" meant (Pissarra, 1991: 6).

This situation led to unhealthy practices, which included self-censorship. Some of Zapiro's cartoons were censored, not by the authorities, but by order of the editor out of fear of reprisals (Pissarra, 1991: 24; Shapiro, 2005: 140-41).

Cartooning has been described as "the ultimate editing exercise" due to its ability to summarise complex issues in "shorthand", if effectively rendered (Pissarra, 1991: 24). This editing should be the prerogative of the artist and not be forced upon him or her. Pissarra's statement that "[p]olitical cartoonists are indeed fortunate that the heterogeneous character of cartooning provides them with differing models for inspiration, without providing rules" (1991: 29) can only be applicable to a democratic milieu in which freedom of speech is upheld in accordance to the Constitution of South Africa.

Cartoonists are acknowledged as influential figures in a democratic milieu. To be able to work to their fullest potential, satirists require certain conditions: first, a degree of free speech. Second, an interest in the part of an educated public to become involved in political affairs. Third, the satirist must believe he or she can have an influence. Fourth, there must be a large audience that enjoys wit and imagination and appreciates satire. Furthermore, editorial cartoonists make their greatest impact when the following conditions exist: social unrest, charismatic politicians, an appropriate technology, a healthy newspaper industry and a supportive editor.

Conversely, cartoonists are least likely to succeed when there is "a state-sanctioned repression, a contented or fearful status quo, and an abundance of banal politicians on the front pages" (Lamb 2004: 61-62).

However, this means that freedom of speech must be ensured, the relationship between cartoonists and editors must be good and both parties have to work as a team (Lamb, 2004: 152).

It is this researcher's view that in Zapiro's case, he has been fortunate to enjoy the special privileges of cartoonists in a democratic society, but most importantly, he also has benefited from the protection and goodwill of editors who strive to maintain democracy.

5.7. Conclusion

Zapiro's commentary on the perceived threat on the judiciary by Zuma and his supporters was made in the form of editorial cartoons, which are part of Western cultural tradition.

The role of the cartoonist to disclose wrongdoing by means of visual commentary is usually condoned by most democratic societies.

Editors are expected to defend their cartoonists and to provide the necessary latitude for them to function optimally. In this respect Zapiro has earned the esteem and trust of the editors he collaborates with, as traditionally had been the case with the leading cartoonists both in the global and local contexts. However, should Zapiro lose the protection of his editors, he could be rendered obsolete as an editorial cartoonist.

5.8 Summary

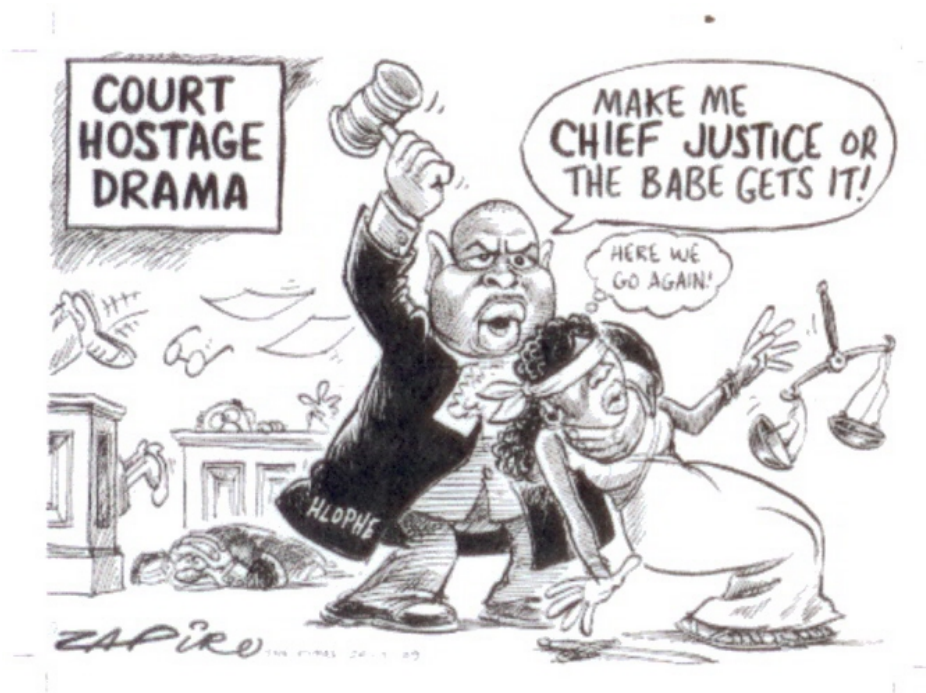
Editorial cartooning as a genre spread from Britain in the 1800s to most countries in the world. Subsequently a tradition of visual criticism evolved as part of the democratic rights of free peoples, including South Africa. Against this background, the origin of the Rape of Justitia cartoons, as well as the furore it has caused, have to be analysed in order to understand the impact it has on not only the two characters central to the event, Zapiro and Zuma, but also the importance of cartoons in politics and the media specifically, and media freedom in general.

In the next chapter the Rape of Justitia cartoons will be discussed individually and as a collective, with references to the events that lead to their creation.

Chapter 6: Analysis of cartoons

6.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the analysis of the seven cartoons related to the Justicia character as utilized by Zapiro, with special attention to inferences to Jacob Zuma. In these cartoons the South African legal system, personified by Justicia, is either being assaulted or strikes back after being threatened. Although Zapiro has used Justicia in other cartoons (see Figures 7 – 9, as well as a brief discussion of each), the focus of this study is on cartoons where it is suggested that Justicia will be molested by Zuma.



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Figure 7: "The hostage" – see discussion below (Zapiro, *The Times*, 2009-05-26: 18).

In the cartoon "The hostage", which was published two years after the first Rape of Justicia cartoon, Zapiro has utilised his version of the Justicia character to comment on the statements of Judge John Hlope in connection with allegations against his conduct and competency (Hlope lawyer lashes out, 2009: 1).

Justicia's thoughts are shown (see text in cartoon) to be that she is under attack again, referring back to the events that prompted the original Rape of Justicia cartoons. Justicia is held hostage and her attacker threatens to kill her, symbolically, with the judge's gavel. Zapiro chose to portray Hlope as a domineering and unreasonable person, but not as a rapist.



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Figure 8: “Dark work” – discussion follows (*The Times*, 2009-07-30: 16).

In the cartoon (“Dark work”) Judge Hlope is depicted as a vampire, ready to abuse Justicia (suck her life blood), or in fact undermine the South African judicial system, by keeping his actions secret from the press and the public. This cartoon refers to an attempt to keep the hearings regarding a complaint of misconduct against Hlope *in camera* (Media win right, 2009: 1). Hlope is portrayed as a vampire, not as a rapist.



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Figure 9: “Mouthwash” – see discussion below (Zapiro, *The Times*, 2010-02-16: 16).

In the cartoon (“Mouthwash”), (again clearly shown to be a black woman), she holds Julius Malema, ANC Youth League president, across her knees like a child, while washing his mouth with soap. Neither Zuma, nor any reference to rape is evident, which positions the cartoon outside the scope of this study as well.

As indicated in 4.3, certain criteria for analysing editorial cartoons have been identified. According to these criteria, Zapiro’s Rape of Justicia cartoon series will now be discussed. These cartoons are therefore treated as a collective, starting with the first cartoon, which was published in the South African newspaper the *Sunday Times* on 7 September 2008, to the seventh cartoon, published in *The Times* on 15 January 2010.

The criteria for analysing editorial cartoons are divided into three categories (see 1.5). The categories are Content, Literary, and Technical. Literary analysis and technical analysis can be considered the methods used by the cartoonist to visually represent the content of the specific issue or theme the cartoonist wants to comment on. The reader must be aware of the content or theme under discussion to fully understand the message of the cartoon (Van Schoor, 1981: 7; Vernon, 2000: 5).

Editorial cartoons become easily dated because of their immediacy – they comment on the news of the day, i.e., affairs which are relevant then, which may be all but forgotten a week later (Van Schoor, 1981: 8; Verster, 2003: 65). For this reason, a background of each cartoon is needed in order to contextualise it.

Zapiro's first cartoon ("Collaboration") established the format on which the others are built and therefore this cartoon attracted the most attention and evoked most of the debate related to the cartoons depicting Zuma and Justicia. Therefore, for the purposes of analysis in this chapter, the first cartoon is used to set the theme, followed by references and comparisons between the respective cartoons.

To simplify the identification of these cartoons, each cartoon has been allocated a specific title by the researcher (see 6.3.2 – 6.3.7).

6.2 Background

The implementation of symbols, metaphors and personification has been explained in 4.3.3. The use of feminine characters as the personification of something good, pure and sometimes defenceless, is part of cartooning history. These women are typically tall, slender and Caucasian, modelled on statues of ancient Greek and Roman goddesses. The Statute of Liberty is part of this convention – see Figure 10).



Figure 10: "In memoriam" (Verster, 2003: 203).

The cartoon ("In memoriam") by T.O. Honiball (1905 – 1990) comments satirically on the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. Honiball implied that the freedom, supposedly guaranteed to all American citizens, as symbolised by the Statue of Liberty, did not prevent King from being refused that right, even the right to live.

This caricature of the Statue of Liberty shows her to be a white woman in the tradition of Greek and Roman goddesses, and resembles most depictions of Justicia (Gill, 2010: 2). Ironically, Zapiro had used a black Liberty figure as a symbol during the Struggle years and this figure became "[...] an icon of progressive, non-racist, non-sexist thinking", according to the cartoonist Andy Mason (2008: 2).

The image of a righteous, sometimes vulnerable, sometimes triumphant woman has been utilised globally by several cartoonists since the developmental stages of editorial cartooning.

Examples of these cartoon figures are also to be found in early South African newspapers. In the cartoon “De Zegepraal” (“The Triumph”), published in *De Burger* in 1917, D.C. Boonzaier portrayed a woman personifying the truth, being blindfolded by General Louis Botha. This character is not to be confused by Justicia, because the sword he is holding is not hers, but symbolises martial law. Botha used martial law to prevent the distribution of a book, namely “Hoe zij stierven” (“How they died”) by G. Jordaan, in 1915.



Figure 11: “De Zegepraal” (*De Burger*, 1917-12-02: 3).

Another cartoon featuring Justicia (Figure 12), this time by Donald Kenyon for the *Daily Dispatch* in 1977, alluded to the death of Steve Biko (1946 – 1977) in suspicious circumstances. The minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, is depicted holding one of several newspapers regarding this incident, while Justicia is demanding an explanation (Vernon, 2000: 139).

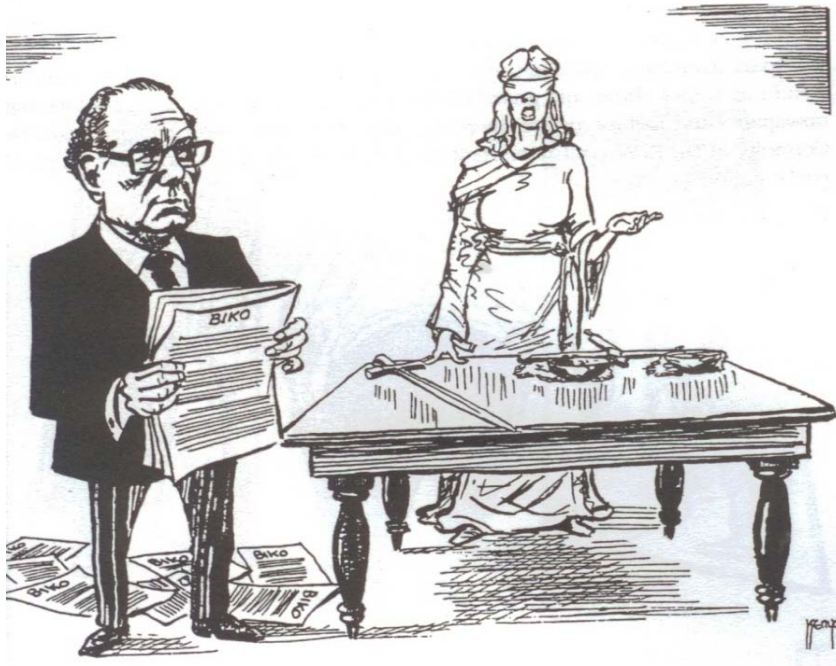


Figure 12: “Hearsay?” (Vernon, 2000: 139).

In Kenyon’s cartoon Justitia is again presented as a white female. Her sword and scales are visible on the table in front of her. She seems to be arguing Biko’s case, although he was already dead at the time.

From the examples provided and Zapiro’s statements about Justitia’s significance as an allegorical personification of the moral force in judicial systems, it is clear that most readers with knowledge of Western tradition will be able to grasp the role she plays in cartoon iconography. The fact that it adorns many of the world’s courthouses has rendered it one of the best known statutes, on any continent – not only Europe (Blind justice, 2010: 1). This global cognisance is precisely the reason why cartoonists use the image of Justitia in their work.

Justitia became known in her present guise as a matron carrying a sword and scales, sometimes wearing a blindfold, during the Renaissance in Europe (1300 – 1500 AD). It is generally accepted that she is a combination of several goddesses who embodied Right Rule for Greeks and Romans. The blindfolded Roman goddess Fortuna (luck), the Hellenistic Tyche (fate) as well as Greek Nemesis (vengeance) is all part of the modern iconography of Justitia. Parallels can also be made with the Hellenistic deities Themis (divine order and law) and her daughter Dike, who carried scales (Lady Justice, 2010: 1).

Justitia is often depicted with a set of scales, usually suspended from her left hand (not always – see Figure 13). These scales were supposed to measure the strength of a case’s support and opposition. The double-edged sword she normally carries symbolises the power of Reason and Justice. The blindfold indicates that justice should be meted out

objectively, without fear or favour and regardless of identity, power or wealth (Lady Justice, 2010: 1).



Figure 13: “Universal symbol”. A statue of Justitia at Chuo University, Suginami, Japan. The robe, sword and scales are typical (Lady Justice, 2010: 1).

As cartoons are supposed to be easily read and readily understood, symbols and other elements of cartooning (see 6.3) have to be known to most readers of editorial cartoons (Pisarra, 1991: 27-18). Zapiro makes the supposition that most readers of his cartoons recognise Justitia and are able to understand his allegorical inferences, or as Pisarra stated:

“[...] the cartoonist has to operate within the limitations of general public awareness. The answer to doing this is to use what [Derek] Bauer calls ‘symbols’ and what Zapiro calls ‘archetypes.’[...] What both cartoonists are referring to is the eclectic use of reference points that are sufficiently established in the popular imagination so as to be recognized and understood” (1991: 28).

The question is whether the reference points Zapiro use are necessarily suitable for a broader readership in a post-1994 South Africa. Justitia may be well known in Europe and Asia, but not necessarily familiar to an African readership.

Zapiro was not the first cartoonist to use Justitia or rape in the context of the ANC and its allies versus the South African justice system. Figure 14 shows one such cartoon by John Curtis, which was published in 2006 (Curtis, 2010: 2). However, Zapiro was the first to draw a rape scene about to unfold.

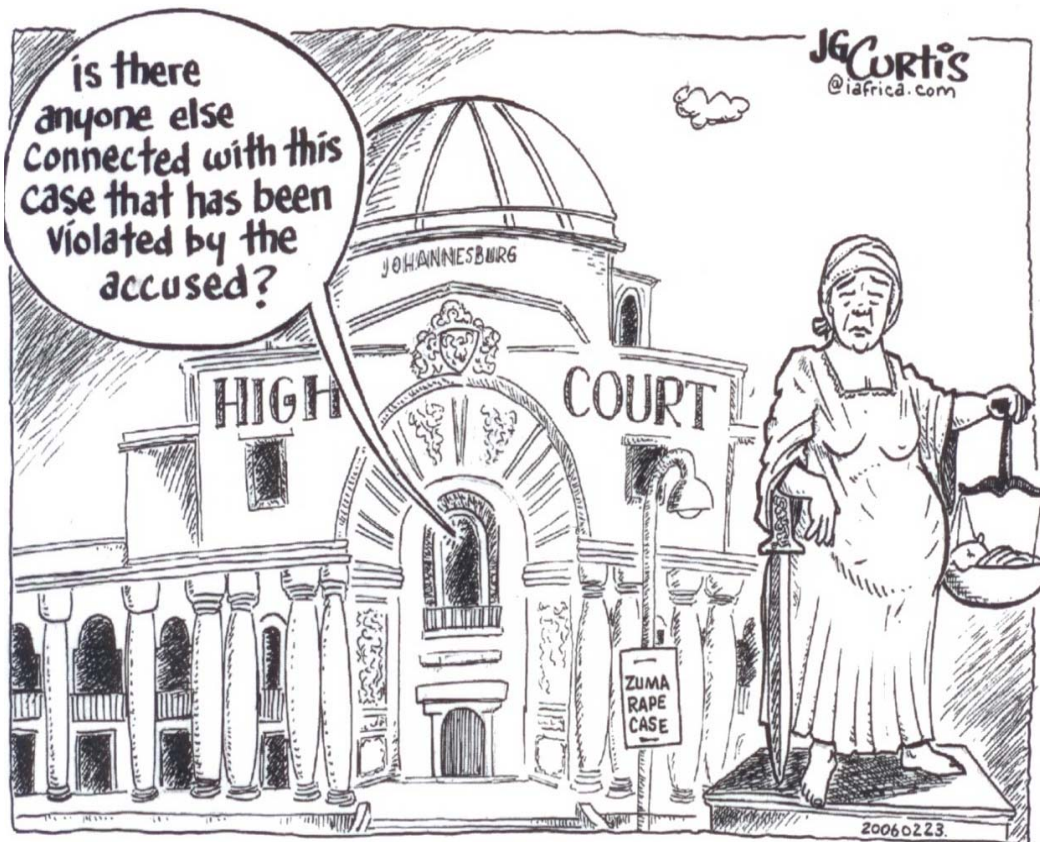


Figure 14: “Justicia’s dilemma”. Curtis’s rendition of Justicia after being violated by Zuma (*Cape Argus*, 2006-02-23: 17).

In Figure 14 Curtis inferred that Justicia is pregnant by showing her with a distended belly and a baby’s hamper hanging from her scales. At her back a poster says: “Zuma rape case”. A voice emitted from the court building, asking who, besides the alleged victim (“Zwedi” in the “Kanga Case”) had been violated by the accused. The reader is expected to make the association between the accused, the alleged crime and the pregnant Justicia, who had an unhappy expression on her face.

The allegation that the ANC is undermining the South African Constitution by attacking the justice system as one of the pillars of the Constitution, has been made by other cartoonists beside Zapiro, such as Mouton (see Figures (9 and 10), Brandan (Mason & Curtis, 2009: 6), Dr Jack (Mason & Curtis, 2009: 11), Mason (Mason & Curtis, 2009: 56) and Yalo (Mason & Curtis, 2009: 13).



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Figure: 15: “Subversive action”. Zuma’s supporters attack women’s rights, according to Fred Mouton (*Die Burger*, 2006-03-08: 14).

This cartoon by Mouton implied that Zuma and his supporters were undermining the justice system. On the placards was written “To rape one woman, is to rape all women” and “We want to change the fate of our daughters”. The caricature of a mouse in the bottom right hand corner said: “More powa to women”, referring to the acronym “POWA” (People Opposing Women Abuse) seen on the clothing of the woman next to Justicia.

In this way the cartoonist declared his support to the women’s plight and his disagreement with the alleged subversive tactics of the Zuma faction. The dark background indicated that proverbial stormy weather may be on the way.

Mouton echo’s the scepticism Zapiro has of Zuma’s innocence, despite Zuma’s acquittal on rape charges (see 5.5.1). While Mouton’s cartoon referred to rape and the undermining of the judicial system, he chose not to use a rape scene like Zapiro to confer his message. Mouton made it clear that he believed Zuma and his followers were responsible for abusing the justice system, but to symbolise this violation, he preferred violence to rape (see Figure 16).



Figure 16: “Roadkill”. Mouton accused Zuma and his supporters of abusing Justicia, but no suggestion of rape is evident. Mouton chose to portray Justicia as a blonde white woman (Mouton, 2009-04-08: 18).

When Zapiro conceptualised his version of Justicia, he chose to portray her as a person appearing to be an African woman. The fact that rape is the theme, even though allegorically, as Zapiro explained (Robertson, 2006: 2), and the fact that an African woman is shown to be exploited, suggested that Zapiro was of the opinion that African women is the most vulnerable section of all women in South Africa.

During a personal interview, Zapiro said that the claims by Zuma and other commentators that Justicia is white, were probably purely politically motivated. He also confirmed that he drew Justicia as someone representing women of South Africa, “who can be anyone, but is most probably black” (Zapiro, 2010).

Mouton also depicted the oppressed and protesting group as African women in Figure 15. Moreover, it was an African woman (“Zwedi”) who accused Zuma of rape in 2005, which reminds readers of that event when viewing the Rape of Justicia cartoons (South Africa: events of 2009, 2009: 1).

Zapiro and Mouton’s cartoons draw attention to the predicament of African women in particular, because African women is not only the largest faction of female demographics in South Africa and therefore constitutes the majority of rape victims, but recent research indicates that gang rape is also more prevalent in black townships than anywhere else in South Africa (Gang rape: a youth cult, 2009: 1; Wood & Jewkes, 2010: 1).



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Figure 17: “Leader” (Zapiro, *Mail & Guardian* 10-16-03-2006: 23).

In “Leader” Zapiro depicted Zuma as the populist who leads the entranced masses, singing his inciting war song. Instead of bullets, he fired sperm, referring to his reputation as a womaniser and the rape trial of 2006. In the background Justitia was looking on with an exasperated expression.

Justitia was drawn as a black woman, which in this instance may also be seen as alluding to the black woman who accused Zuma of raping her. Zuma was shown to be dancing gleefully, shooting sperm bullets in celebration, while singing the Struggle song “Awuleth’ umshini wami”.

As indicated in the cartoon, this means “Bring me my machine gun”. The way he was holding the gun and the type of “ammunition” he is using refers to his alleged sexual recklessness in the country with the highest incidence of rape in the world (Johnson, 2009: 184). The extremely high number of HIV/Aids cases in South Africa is connected with the high occurrence of rape (Gang rape: a youth cult, 2009: 1).

The expressions of the black men following him indicated a state of slavish hero-worshipping. The prevalence of gang rape by young black men and association with power and status in a culture of violence was apparent, as well as the bad example Zuma

is providing. The reverence most Africans have of their leaders is relevant (see Chapter 5), which is why Zapiro wrote “Leader ...” in the top left hand corner of the cartoon.

6.3 Analysis

6.3.1 “Collaboration”



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Figure 18: “Collaboration” (*Sunday Times*, 07-09-2008: 18).

i. Background

As discussed in Chapter 5, this cartoon caused a furore in the South African and overseas media (Jacob G Zuma, 2009: 1). While Zapiro was criticised and even threatened by many of Zuma’s supporters, he also received support from various individuals and institutions (Controversial cartoon awarded, 2009: 1; Editor defends cartoon, 2009: 1).

South Africans seem to be divided on this issue, as illustrated by comments in the media – journalists generally support Zapiro, because they recognise his efforts to defend freedom of speech and other constitutional rights, as guaranteed by the Constitution (Controversial cartoon awarded, 2009: 1; Daniels, 2009: 1). Most of his detractors objected to Zapiro’s lack of respect for Zuma (Krüger, 2008: 1; Swart & Ncana, 2008: 1).

Some accused him of harbouring a personal hatred for Zuma (Haffajee, 2008: 1; Fury over new Zapiro cartoon, 2010: 1). This accusation was repeated when Zapiro created more cartoons depicting Zuma as if intending to rape Justicia (Zapiro cartoon angers NUMSA, 2010: 2).

The stimulus for the creation of the cartoon was explained by Zapiro himself on several occasions (Du Plessis, 2008a: 1; O'Grady, 2008: 5; Du Plooy, 2009: 10). Zapiro has it against the aggressive and subversive attitude of Zuma, his legal advisers and many of his supporters among the public. In Chapter 5 this issue is extensively discussed (Du Plessis, 2008c: 1). Zapiro paraphrased this attitude as follows: "They've vowed to kill, demanded a 'political solution', threatened anarchy and smeared and bullied judges" (Zapiro, 2008: 124).

ii. Content analysis

A caricature of Jacob Zuma was shown unbuckling his belt, while four other men, identifiable by their physiognomy and the organisations they represent, held down a struggling, blindfolded woman. The caricature on the far left represented Julius Malema, president of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), followed by Gwede Mantashe, ANC Secretary General, with Blade Nzimande, Secretary General of the South African Communist Party (SACP) as the third person. On the far right was Zwelinzima Vavi, Secretary General of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1; Verster, 2009b: 10).

The intended victim was identified by the sash around her torso, which displayed the words "Justice system". This means she was a caricature of Justicia, personifying the South African justice system. Her mouth was open, which implied that she was probably calling for help, but no words were shown as written text. Mantashe is the only person speaking, saying: "Go for it, boss!" Thus Zapiro accused the ANC, as represented by Mantashe, of sanctioning Zuma's alleged subversive actions against the South African judicial system.

iii. Literary analysis

A. Characterisation

Zapiro depicted Zuma as a would-be rapist who eagerly unbuckled his belt while being presented with a victim. Zuma was not committed to the act yet, but the inference was clear, and the second cartoon ("Respect", 11 September 2008) would confirm that the inferred rape did take place.

In previous instances (see Figure 17), Zapiro has depicted Zuma as a man who does not even attempt to curtail his libido and "Collaboration" builds on Zuma's negative reputation, that Zapiro has already established at this point.

While Zapiro did not draw an actual rape, the suggestion of Zuma taking advantage of the situation is clear in the scene that was to follow from that moment "frozen in time". The

rape trial of 2006 (“Kanga case”) has linked Zuma’s name to rape already, even though Zapiro argued that he referred to Zuma’s misuse of the South African legal system, not to an actual rape (Byrne, 2008: 1; Verster, 2009a: 11).

“Collaboration” would not have the same meaning, and the response from both the general public and Zuma’s supporters would certainly not have been as intense if the “Kanga case” did not take place. In the minds of many readers Zapiro has branded Zuma as a rapist despite Zuma having been acquitted of rape in court. To exploit and dominate is part of Zuma’s character, according to the image Zapiro projects in his cartoons.

B. Contextualisation

Editorial cartoons have to be conceptualised as commentary on a specific event. Thus the picture (and written text) is read in a certain context. “Collaboration”, as stated in 6.3.1 A, refers to Zuma’s attitude towards the legal system. Zapiro responds to Zuma’s statement that judges are not God and the ANC is more important than the Constitution (As die waghond blaf, 2010: 18). Zuma’s supporters threatened with violence if judgement should not be in favour of Zuma and called for a “political solution” (Courting disaster, 2008: 10; Zapiro, 2008: 124).

The “Kanga case” as well as events that took place before the above statements by Zuma and his supporters, such as Zuma’s alleged promiscuity, is part of the complete picture which forms the contextual background to “Collaboration.” The presence of the dripping showerhead on the head of the Zuma caricature is a reminder of Zuma’s statement that he took a shower after having sex with his alleged victim (Du Plooy, 2009: 10; Johnson, 2009: 550).

This reference to the “Kanga case” and Zuma’s social life in general has to be taken into account when analysing this cartoon, but also when discussing every other cartoon containing Justicia and Zuma as caricatures.

C. Humour

While many editorial cartoons are humorous, “Collaboration” was purely satirical – the caricatures of the five men and the woman certainly were not humorous. Neither is the theme of the cartoon. On the contrary, a tragedy was about to unfold, namely a rape.

Humour, in contrast with satire, implies sympathy – the adage “to laugh with and not to laugh at” is relevant. By depicting Zuma with his pants sliding down and part of his posterior showing, does not indicate sympathy, or respect for him. Humour also refers to some manner of entertainment and while this cartoon may be construed as entertainment, it was not created primarily for this purpose.

D. Irony

Zapiro has stated repeatedly that Zuma as a political leader should lead by example. Zapiro holds the view that Zuma is failing unequivocally and this is the reason of his increased criticism of Zuma and the ANC leadership (Mason, 2009: 2).

While Zuma's followers called him "boss" in the cartoon, anyone dropping his pants and raping someone cannot be respected as a leader ("boss").

According to Greig (1923: 186) "[...] irony simply says one thing and means another, generally the opposite". Greig is of the opinion that no method used by satirists is as effective as irony (1923: 185).

E. Metaphor

Zapiro has implemented the showerhead as metaphor, while the cartoon as a whole is a metaphor as well, according to Zapiro. He has explained that a metaphor is a device he uses to "[...] show all the things that he is feeling" (Verwoerd & Mabizela, 2000: 155).

As explained in Chapter 4, "metaphor" means "a subjective, unrealistic image is implemented to make a comparison, rather than a literal description to explain an issue, event or person". "Collaboration" explains an issue, rather than a single event. More than one person is involved, namely the ANC, represented by Zuma, and its four alliance partners, embodied by Malema, Mantashe, Nzimande and Vavi.

F. Personification

While the showerhead and the rape scene are metaphors, "Justicia" is a personification, because this term means that a person and not an object is used to embody an abstract concept. The cartoonist Andy Mason commented: "In his visual representation of this archetypal icon, the cartoonist has humanised her, turning her from a symbolic, statuesque figure into a real person" (Mason, 2008: 1). Mason actually meant that although Justicia is not a real person, her so-called "Africanisation" makes it easier for African women to identify with her – in this way she becomes real to them.

G. Sarcasm

Sarcasm, normally associated with sneering remarks, is not evident in the cartoon. Mantashe's words, as well as the intended actions of the caricatures in the cartoon suggest cruel indifference, rather than sarcasm.

H. Satire

Satire refers to art forms such as literature or pictorial text such as cartoons which represent human shortcomings in a ridiculous manner. Zuma's corpulent figure and exaggerated upper lip makes him look like a lecherous buffoon who has no moral restraint or qualms against raping a helpless woman. The facial expressions of the four collaborators are exaggerated, but rendered accurately enough to be easily recognisable.

I. Symbolism

A symbol is a motif or attribute that stands for ideas known to contemporary viewers (Davies, 1990: 528). Therefore most South African readers have to be familiar with symbols used by a cartoonist for it to be effective.

Certain objects shown in this cartoon are symbolic, because the cartoonist relies on the reader to make associations between these objects and commentary depicted in previous cartoons, to once again interpret a specific message.

Zuma's showerhead is used as marker or identification tool, because readers are supposed to associate it with his sexual exploits, especially the alleged rape of which he was acquitted two years previously. By repeatedly rendering Zuma with the showerhead affixed to his pate, readers are able to identify Zuma by this one symbol alone. Should only the showerhead be shown, readers will immediately realise that mention is made of one person, which can only be Jacob Zuma.

The scales of justice are symbolic of Justicia's vocation as fair and independent arbitrator of justice. The clothing of the five masculine caricatures are not symbolic in the same sense as the showerhead and the scales, because these are actually the type of clothing they usually wear – it may be typical, but is hardly symbolic. Justicia's clothing generally identifies her as a centuries-old allegorical persona.

iv. Technical analysis

A. Body Language

Zapiro uses the posture and facial expressions of his caricatures to indicate their intentions and emotions. They all look expectant of what Zuma, their recognised leader will do, without any sign of sympathy for the victim. Justicia, or the justice system of South Africa, is subordinate to the will of Zuma, or in fact, the ruling faction, represented by the five male caricatures.

B. Characterisation

The visual indicators suggest the four characters depicted in the background unquestioningly follow Zuma's directives, with no sympathy for his opponents. Vavi and Malema have declared their willingness to kill for Zuma on more than one occasion (Harvey 2008: 1; Manyati, 2010: 1).

The words "Justice system" on Justicia's scarf in this (and the next two cartoons) identifies her as an allegorical personification, as Zapiro has stated (Du Plessis, 2008a: 1). From the cartoon "A victory" onwards, the scarf was not included, as Zapiro had by then already established the caricature as a personification of the South African justice system.

Zuma's positioning in the scene shows his importance, because he is the first caricature the viewer sees – on the left, from which direction the cartoon is read normally, and in the foreground. He stands relaxed, grinning and seems to unfasten his belt unhurriedly. His followers present a victim to him, like a present or an offering, to ravage at leisure. This proves that he is in command, and he accepts this as the natural order of things, arrogantly and disdainfully.

C. Distortion

With “distortion” is meant that a subject is taken to alarming extremes. The reason for this technique is to attract attention to certain features of a caricature of an activity, according to Keener (1992: 38).

Zapiro did not implement distortion in the sense of misrepresentation or falsification in the usual manner which some cartoonists do (see Figure 19), although the figures are physically shortened and rounded in the style that is characteristic of Zapiro (see Figures 20 and 21 as examples of how this aspect of his style did not change).

D. Exaggeration

In order to make a caricature easily recognizable, certain characteristic features are usually exaggerated to draw attention to them, in this instance, the shape of Zuma’s head and the Negroid features of the caricatured men. In typical cartooning style their noses are broad and their lips are extremely full. In the case of Caucasian persons their noses might have been excessively long (see De Kock’s nose in Figure 27).

E. Composition

Composition includes the positioning of depicted objects within the frame of the picture. Usually the most important or dominating objects will be situated in the foreground. In this instance, Zuma is seen first, as a cartoon is read from left to right (Zapiro, 2010). Justicia is positioned in the middle, which also draws attention to her, showing her relative importance, although Zuma is the dominating figure. The four men in the background play the roles of “extras” or supporting actors in this drama. The most important aspect of this cartoon’s composition is the perspective the cartoonist has chosen.

Visual perspective refers to the angle from which the reader sees the depicted scene. The angle is one of the first choices that the cartoonist has to make when planning the composition, both regarding to a high or low angle or a frontal, side or rear view.

Zapiro chose to represent Zuma from the back at a 45 degree angle. In this manner he could show Zuma’s collaborators from a frontal view to ensure recognition, as well as presenting a clear view of their expressions. He could have drawn them from the back to obscure their faces and their identities, but he clearly wanted to expose them in their supposed roles as supporters of Zuma in the metaphorical rape of the justice system. Zapiro also could have drawn them from the back, with the acronyms of their respective organisations written on their back, but he wanted to show their facial expressions.

Zapiro did not have to show Zuma’s face, because the shape of his head and the showerhead, together with his stocky body, identifies Zuma as the would-be rapist. However, enough of Zuma’s face is shown to suggest that he is eager to commit the deed. Zuma’s caricature wears sharp-pointed shoes in all the cartoons.

F. Style

According to Van Schoor an artist must be able to draw well to ensure that his or her work is visually attractive (1981: 9). Although cartoons do not have to be aesthetically pleasing, most readers will recognise and appreciate the cartoonist's artistic ability, which contributes to the impact of the cartoon. A badly drawn cartoon does not augment the cartoonist's credibility as a visual commentator (Verster, 2003: 277).

Visual artists have to master the basic techniques of draughtsmanship before they can develop an individual style (Rosenthal, 1960: 10). Zapiro's reputation as a cartoonist is based on his ability to depict satirical commentary in both a distinctive and attractive manner. The reader can enjoy the artwork as well as understand the message and thus the overall impression is stronger than just witty communication or skilful drawing.

Style is an aspect of a cartoonist's work that evolves from early influences, to eventually represent the selective ingraining of such influences (Shaw, 1984: 245). The style Zapiro is presently known for is generally known as "cartoony" – the rounded manner and clear, clean lines in which figures are drawn, originally made famous by artists of Disney Studios (Disney cartoon drawings, 2010: 1). When Zapiro started out as a cartoonist, he did not always draw such rounded figures, but rather followed Derek Bauer's distorted renditions of caricatures and objects included in his cartoons (note the thin lines in Figures 19 & 20).

When the artist simplifies the rendering of a subject, for instance to stereotype rather than to create a naturalistic representation, such a subject would be "stylized" (Davies, 1990: 524). This process is typical of cartooning as a genre.



Figure 19: “Goodbye” (Vernon, 2000: 163).

This cartoon by Derek Bauer was published in the *Weekly Mail*, which became the *Mail & Guardian* in 1995 (23-30-03-1989: 12) when the then state president, P.W. Botha was being ousted from his position, but refused to recognise the inevitability of the situation. Thin, sketchy lines and extreme distortion characterised Bauer’s style, which suggested the bizarre milieu of apartheid politics.

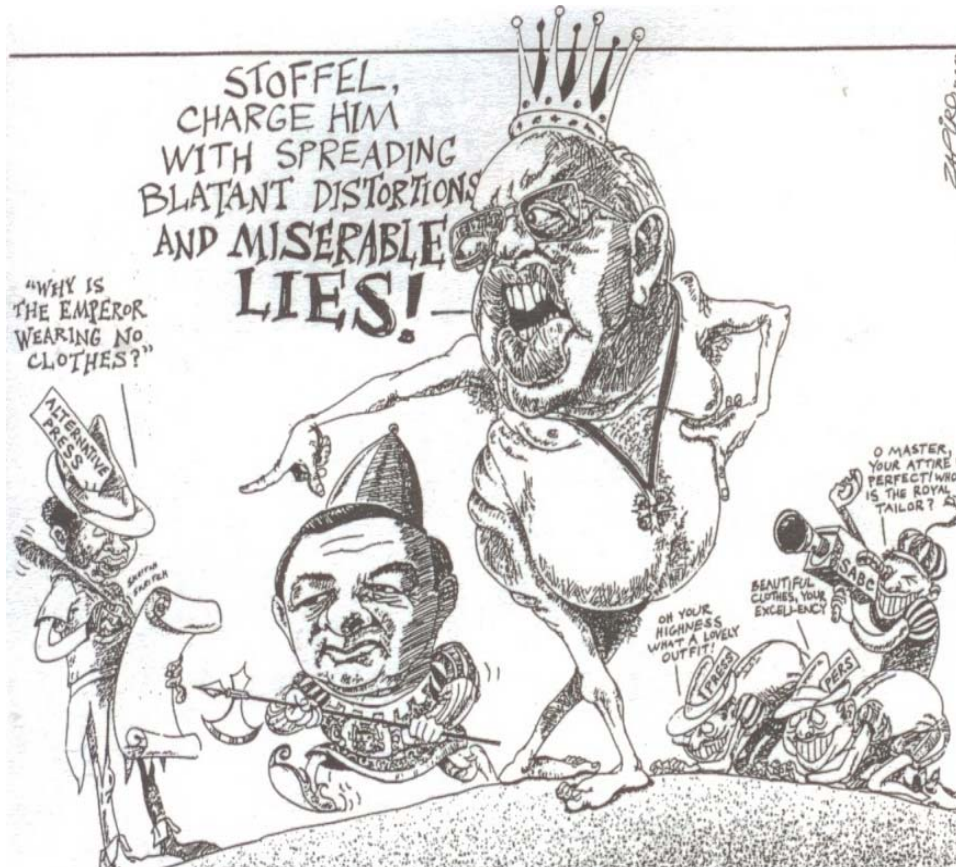


Figure 20: “The emperor’s new clothes” (Vernon, 2000: 161).

“The emperor’s new clothes” was first published in *South* in August 1987. This cartoon was a commentary on P.W. Botha’s dominance of the press. Bauer’s influence was evident – the thin, densely-rendered lines and fine dots created a busy, almost dirty look, and gross distortion (see the emperor’s facial features) caused an absurd, nightmarish effect.

v. Appraisal

The cartoon “Collaboration” was evaluated according to the criteria as identified above (A-F).

As Zapiro later stated repeatedly, this image was meant to be allegorical: a certain political group, represented by a certain leadership clique, prepares to violate the justice system of the country. The scene is undeniably shocking, especially because of the high propensity of rape in South Africa. According to some estimates, one woman is raped every ten minutes (Robertson 2006: 2) and about half a million rapes occur per annum (Zapiro on rape, 2003: 1).

Thus, the cartoon was not only meant to be allegorical, but to be shocking. Other cartoonists commented on the same issue, but none managed to evoke the response that Zapiro did. Generating debate is the duty of a cartoonist and Zapiro succeeded in this respect as the reader can understand the situation, and can identify with it.

6.3.2 “Respect”



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Figure 21: “Respect” (*Mail & Guardian*, 2008-09-12-18: 23).

i. Background

Despite the aggressive response from Zuma and his supporters, Zapiro persisted with his criticism on Zuma’s statements regarding the justice system (Du Plessis, 2008b: 2). According to Zapiro, the Zuma camp was misleading the public by pretending that they recognise the law and the Constitution, while threatening with mass action and stating that the ANC is more important than the Constitution (Die regters, 2009: 12).

ii. Content analysis

The same people were caricatured in exactly the same positions, and wearing the same clothes, to signify an exact repeat of “Collaboration”. However, there were certain

differences between the two cartoons. Firstly, the showerhead was not dripping in “Respect”. This may suggest that Zuma was not quite as eager as before, perhaps because he has had his way before and that the act was becoming repetitive to the point of routine. Secondly, “Justicia” was not struggling. Her eyebrows are knitted to show her outrage, but her mouth is closed as if she is not calling out for help any more. This may suggest that she is resigned to the fact that no help will come. Nevertheless, her legs are still pressed together to show that she would not be a willing partner (Zapiro, 2010).

In a sense the cartoonist was projecting his own feelings of frustration in the attitude of Justicia, but also that of what he perceived to be the feelings of the judiciary and a portion of the public. Zapiro interpreted the mood of his fellow South Africans just as the readers of his cartoon interpret his cartoon. As with journalism in general, one can say that the needs of the public is mirrored by journalism, while opinion journalism, including the work of cartoonists, act as opinion formers to influence and evoke debate (Zapiro, 2010).

iii. Literary analysis

A. Characterisation

In this cartoon Zapiro suggested that the five men he caricatured are sanctimonious, even while intending to collaborate in a heinous crime, namely rape. At the same time, since Zapiro contends that it is metaphorical, they were misleading the public by pretending that they respect the justice system, while actually abusing it.

According to Zapiro, Zuma and his four allies had no respect for the justice system. As “Justicia” is a female character, Zapiro hinted at Zuma’s personality traits as a philanderer and a polygamist. The same inference applied to the four collaborators depicted in the cartoon, and because they represented their organisations, this accusation signified Zapiro’s view of these organisations not being honest regarding women’s rights.

The deliberate actions of the five men depicted in the cartoon suggested that they were criminally guilty of abusing their leadership positions. After Zapiro exposed them in “Collaboration” they persisted with their support of Zuma, which indicated that they were unrelenting and by implication unfit to be leaders.

“Justicia” frowned, which shows her resentment, but seems to be otherwise resigned to what will happen. The reader can interpret Justicia’s attitude as also that of the officials representing the justice system, as well as the attitude of the public, who may be unhappy with the state of affairs, but accept the total dominance of the tripartite alliance as inevitable.

B. Contextualisation

“Collaboration” has set the scene in more ways than one (Zapiro, 2010). Subsequently every cartoon referring to Justicia will invoke memories of the four caricatures pinning her down, with “Zuma” readying himself to engage in a criminal act.

“Respect” also referred to “Collaboration” because of the similar perspective from which the cartoon was viewed, literally and technically spoken. The three dots in the written texts (see speech bubble) of “Respect,” indicated a continuation of what had been said before. Thus a sentence was being completed in “Respect” that had begun in “Collaboration”.

Zapiro suggested that Zuma did deviate from his alleged disrespect of the justice system, but simply went on from where he had left off four days previously. Therefore, according to Zapiro, nothing had changed from 7 September to 11 September, despite Zuma’s statements to the contrary.

C. Humour

As with “Collaboration”, the second cartoon in this series did not make use of humour as a tool to clarify the cartoonist’s message. There is nothing humorous about rape and Zapiro is well aware of the shock-value (Zapiro, 2010). He acknowledged the fact that the first reaction when seeing the cartoon is that of distress (Smook, 2008: 6). Yet he decided to sustain the indignation he was causing by using the same scene.

D. Irony

Zapiro used irony because he wanted to imply that Zuma and his allies are doing the opposite of what they proclaim. The supporters of Zuma disagreed with Zapiro’s interpretation, as was evident from their reaction to the cartoon (Zweni, 2010: 1).

Perspective and interpretation is relevant – Zapiro offered his interpretation of Zuma’s actions from the perspective of what he claimed to be morally correct, while Zuma’s supporters hold the opposite view. Each individual reader of the cartoon has the prerogative to decide whether Zapiro’s commentary is fair, and if so, whether Zuma’s words about respect were ironical.

E. Metaphor

Zapiro persisted with the same scene with no added elements to either enhance or downplay the impact of the criticism he directs at Zuma and his supporters since “Collaboration”, despite the disapproval evoked by the latter cartoon. By retaining this controversial image, Zapiro insisted that rape as a metaphor of Zuma’s attitude towards the justice system was still valid.

F. Personification

Again there was no change in Justicia’s demeanour. She was still portrayed as vulnerable, yet defiant.

G. Sarcasm

The biting sarcasm of Zuma’s words reflected Zapiro’s opinion that the Zuma camp had no respect for the law and that their statements on the contrary were false. Their insulting announcements regarding what they thought of certain judges and what they would do to them were relevant (Haffajee, 2008: 1).

H. Satire

The manner in which the attitudes of the depicted caricatures were portrayed suggested that Zapiro accused them to be pretending to believe what they do is justified. Zuma and his alleged accomplices were exposed as sanctimonious charlatans who mislead the public to promote their own agendas.

I. Symbolism

Zapiro used the same symbols to signify that the actions of the depicted persons were on a set course. Zuma and his allies professed to respect the law, but proceed to violate it.

iv. Technical analysis

A. Body Language

Zapiro again used the posture and facial expressions of his caricatures to indicate their intentions and emotions. They all looked at ease and in agreement with what Zuma would do, with no sympathy for the victim. Justicia seemed to be resigned to the fact that she would be exploited again, although the frown visible above the blindfold suggested that she does not submit willingly.

B. Characterisation

Body language and facial features are important tools in portraying intentions or character traits to elucidate the opinion of the cartoonist. Zapiro succeeds in combining comic conventions with sound drawing techniques to expose the inner, unspoken features and mannerisms of his targets. The visual indicators implemented in this cartoon suggested the depicted individuals were untrustworthy, sly and cruel.

C. Distortion

The similarity in the portrayal of the caricatures again emphasised the intention of the artist, namely to show that virtually nothing has changed in the attitudes of the relevant people.

D. Exaggeration

Neither the antagonists nor the protagonist were rendered differently, for the same reasons as previously stated.

E. Composition

Zapiro could have changed the physical viewpoint of the scene by showing Zuma's face or a close-up view of Justicia's features, but the scene stayed the same, almost as if to suggest that the reader should try to spot the differences to "Collaboration".

F. Style

The style stayed the same, as could be expected, because of the reasons provided above, but also because the artist wanted the readers to recognise his work, in order to assist the reader to make a connection with the message of "Collaboration" and the rest of the series named the Rape of Justicia cartoons.

Gombrich describe style as a way to explain the perception of an artist to viewers. Expression and persuasion are pivotal elements in th is respect (1968 : 8-9). Zapiro managed to make an impact with “Collaboration” and had no need to deviate from a successful formula.

v. Appraisal

This cartoon was evaluated according to the criteria as identified above (A-F).

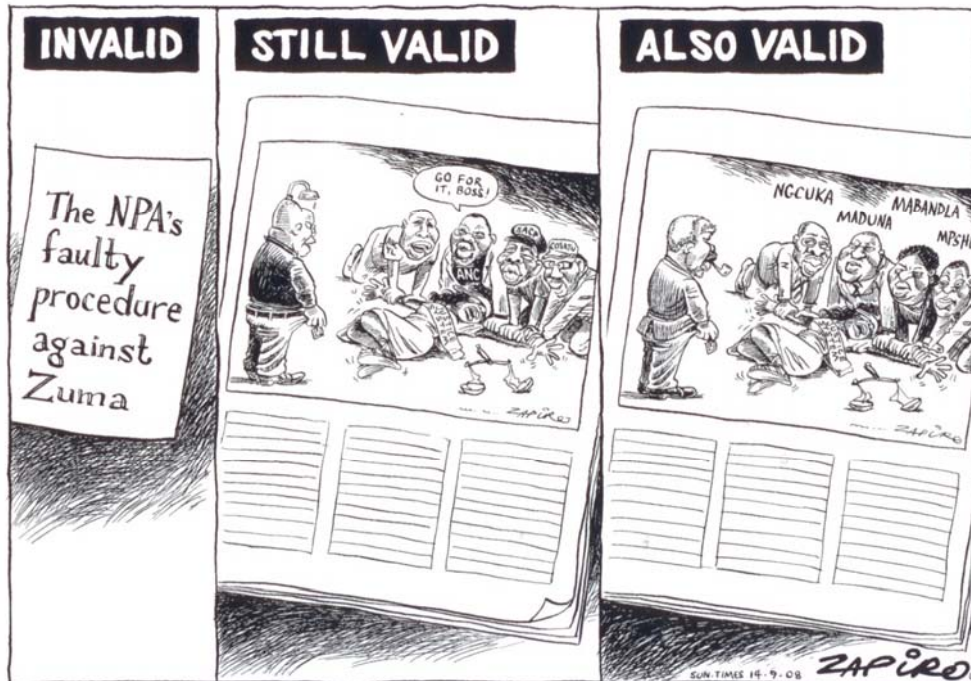
Zapiro relied on the reader’s knowledge of “Collaboration” to understand what Zuma’s words and the cartoon in its entirety mean. This cartoon cannot stand alone, because it comments not only on Zuma’s actions, but also on “Collaboration” as an entity. Without knowledge of “Collaboration”, “Respect” will make no sense to future researchers, as is the case with “Also valid”.

All elements analysed are as required for a successful cartoon, but more so if this cartoon is seen as part of a sequence of images. If “Respect” and “Collaboration” are read as an ongoing commentary, or as a comic strip with a string of panels, a more complete picture evolves, and therefore a better understanding of each cartoon and the role it plays in the collective, namely the Rape of Justicia cartoons.

The fact that Zapiro’s editors decided to publish more cartoons with this theme after the response “Collaboration” had, proved that they agreed with his opinion regarding the threat to the integrity of the justice system.

In the opinion of the researcher the cartoon delivered its message in a clear and direct manner and is deemed an example of highly effective visual satire.

6.3.3 “Also valid”



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Figure 22: “Also valid” (*Sunday Times*, 2008-09-14: 20).

i. Background

This cartoon by Zapiro suggested that Thabo Mbeki violated the justice system as much as Zuma did when Mbeki and his allies allegedly interfered with the Zuma trial (De Vos, 2008b: 1). Consequently, Supreme Court Judge Chris Nicholson ruled that the Scorpion’s decision to prosecute Zuma on fraud and corruption charges was illegal, as Zuma’s claims of political agendas in his prosecution were “not completely unbelievable” (Round one to Zuma, 2008: 1; Zapiro, 2008: 126).

Zapiro criticises Mbeki along with the people holding down *Justicia* because he was of the opinion that they are guilty of aiding Mbeki in his inappropriate endeavours. Zapiro provided the reason for the cartoon in the first panel of this comic-strip type of pictorial commentary (see Figure 22).

According to Zapiro he deemed it only fair to comment on Mbeki’s disregard for the law after he criticised Zuma for doing the same. He is of the opinion that “Also valid” did not elicit the response that “Collaboration” did, because “Collaboration” has such a powerful impact that the cartoons that followed were overshadowed in the process (Zapiro, 2010).

ii. Content analysis

In this cartoon, Mbeki took over the role of rapist from Zuma, while Bulelani Ncguka, Penuel Maduna, Bridgette Mabandla and Mkotedi Mpshe replaced Zuma's allies to pin down Justicia.

Mbeki was pictured in exactly the same position as Zuma, with Justicia also lying in the same position and the four supporters in the same kneeling positions as the four figures in "Collaboration" and "Respect". The positioning of the figures and their facial expressions were similar to "Collaboration". The cartoon sequence, where "Respect" was juxtaposed with the last panel depicting Mbeki and his supporters, made it clear that Zapiro accused the Mbeki faction of also "raping" the Constitution for personal political gain.

According to a law expert the judgement by Justice Chris Nicholson confirmed what many people have suspected, namely that

"Mbeki and his cabinet have interfered in the decision to prosecute Zuma to gain a political advantage in a political battle for the position of ANC president and that the constitutionally guaranteed independence of the NPA has been fatally breached in the process" (2008a: 1).

Zapiro chose to not only refer back to a previous cartoon, for instance work that was published the previous week by relying on the informed reader's memory, but created a short comic strip (i.e. "sequential art"), which means that the last two cartoons are aligned with each other to show off similarities in the actions of opposing political factions.

iii. Literary analysis

A. Characterisation

By repeating the exact scenario depicted in "Collaboration" and "Respect", Zapiro suggested that not only were Zuma and Mbeki equally wrong in what they did, but that Mbeki's allies portrayed in "Also valid" were guilty of the same wrongdoing as Zuma's collaborators were. According to Zapiro, all these people were violating the justice system and are accomplices in the crime of misleading their supporters as well as the public in general to further their own agendas.

B. Contextualisation

In the context of violating a helpless victim, either physically as in an actual rape scenario, or figuratively as in the case of this cartoon, accomplices were as guilty of rape as the person involved in the act itself. By referring to the previous cartoons, Zapiro was contextualising "Also valid" without the need to explain the panel depicting Mbeki and four of his supporters.

C. Humour

No element of humour was evident. This was a brutal accusation of a crime about to be committed, with no attempt to show sympathy, not even to the victim.

D. Irony

Readers who understand the context should grasp the irony of the depicted situation – while Mbeki had accused Zuma of wrongdoing, Mbeki was also accused of illegal methods to bring about the fall of his political opponent Zuma. By following the incorrect procedure Mbeki provided Zuma with an avenue for escape. This proved to be more ironical as Zapiro could know when creating the cartoon, because Mbeki's alleged actions contributed to Zuma being allowed to remain out of prison and to become Mbeki's successor as state president. Thus Zapiro's sharp criticism of Mbeki (when creating the cartoon) was also eventually justified.

E. Metaphor

Rape as metaphor was again utilised to underline Zapiro's opinion that both Zuma and Mbeki disrespected and misused the South African justice system to further their own interests.

F. Personification

Justicia was still the personification of justice and all that is good, while Mbeki and his allies personified the opposite in this instance. Zapiro had thus once again expressed his dismay at the direction his erstwhile Struggle comrades have taken.

G. Sarcasm

The words "Also valid" can be seen as sarcastic, as Zapiro did not imply that the actions of the relevant persons can be validated in any way. "Scornful and bitter ridicule" as characteristic elements of sarcasm, are applicable.

H. Satire

As satire is supposed to refer to human weaknesses, such as foolishness and roguery, represented in a ridiculous manner, the three cartoons implied that the Mbeki group was exactly as foolish, roguish and unethical as the Zuma camp.

I. Symbolism

A symbol is a motif that alludes to an idea known to contemporary viewers (Davies, 1990: 528). Zapiro did not rely on the knowledge or memory of his readers when he created the three-panelled strip – he made his message as clear as possible by using the exact same symbolism as in the previous cartoons regarding the rape of Justicia.

iv. Technical analysis

A. Body language

The fact that the expressions and postures of the caricatures in this cartoon were almost identical to those in "Collaboration" and "Respect", again emphasised Zapiro's message

that all ten politicians should be held accountable for undermining the South African justice system (Du Plessis, 2010: 1).

Their facial expressions showed indifference to the fate of Justicia, apart from raised eyebrows (Ncguka and Mpshe). Maduna showed no emotion, while Mabandla looked dim-witted with her open mouth and glazed eyes.

B. Characterisation

It seemed that Ncguka and Mpshe may have had some apprehension, because of their raised eyebrows, but Mbeki's supporters showed no empathy for Justicia, which suggested their lack of moral conviction and willingness to follow Mbeki's lead even if his actions were wrong.

C. Distortion

Very little distortion was evident. Zapiro could have attempted a more animated scene, by showing more emotion from any of the caricatures or by exaggerating their physiognomy in the manner many cartoonists do (see Figures 19 and 20).

D. Exaggeration

No real exaggeration was perceptible – except for the heads of the caricatures being larger than what would have been the case in a realistic, non-satirical drawing. All five caricatures were easily identifiable.

E. Composition

The exact same composition, including the exact perspective, was used in “Also valid” as in “Collaboration” and “Respect”. In this way Zapiro suggested that he has not altered his personal perspective in a concrete or conceptual way.

F. Style

Zapiro drew the caricatures of Mbeki and his supporters in his usual relatively simplified and easily identifiable manner. The implementation of the comic strip format was not his usual approach, but not rare for him either (see Figure 23).



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Figure 23: “Hovering showerhead” (*Mail & Guardian*, 2009-05-21-25: 22).

v. Appraisal

The caption “Also valid”, referred to “Collaboration” and “Respect”, because “also” suggests something similar happened, which the reader would have been aware of.

It is significant that this cartoon evoked no outcry, which indicated that Mbeki lost much of his status and support. In contrast to Zuma, and his cohorts, the Mbeki faction made no attempt to respond to Zapiro’s criticism. It can be argued that “no comment” was the best strategy, as this cartoon made no discernable impression on the public in comparison with the cartoons in which Zuma have been lampooned. To sue Zapiro, like Zuma did, would have drawn more attention to the issue.

The cartoon was deemed effective regarding the requirements of visual satire.

6.3.4 “A victory”



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Figure 24: “A victory” (*Mail & Guardian*, 2009-01-16 - 22: 19).

i. Background

On 12 January 2009 the Supreme Court of Appeal upheld an appeal against a court ruling that effectively meant that Zuma could still face charges of corruption, fraud, racketeering and tax evasion.

High Court Judge Chris Nicholson found Zuma had the right to make representations before the National Director of Public Prosecutions decided to re-charge him (Zuma not in the clear, 2009: 2). Zapiro’s “A victory” portrayed the shock and discomfort this decision by the Supreme Court caused in the Zuma camp.

ii. Content analysis

This cartoon suggested that “Justicia” had triumphed over her attackers. Zuma, as the rapist, had been injured in his private parts, presumably by a kick. Zapiro therefore suggested that this is the appropriate way to punish a sexual offender. The four

collaborators seemed to have been assaulted in another way, namely pummelled senseless.

The caricature representing Zuma was angry, frustrated and in physical pain, while “Justicia” walked away with her head held high and displaying a hint of a smile, to indicate that justice had been served in a satisfactory manner.

Justicia’s features is now unmistakably Negroid – while Zuma may have mistaken her for a white woman as he stated during the radio interview mentioned in Chapter 5, her full lips, curly hair, dark cheeks and broad nose indicated the opposite.

iii. Literary analysis

A. Characterisation

It seemed that Zapiro was stating that Zuma was injured where it hurts most for a man like him. In this way Zuma’s reputation as a philanderer was used to affect an opinion of his morals. Thus Zapiro was staying within the paradigm on the metaphor of sexual violence.

Justicia was portrayed as dignified and more capable to defend herself as previously deemed possible. Her “mopping up” of the four characters in the background showed her to be a match for them as well as their ineptitude as a coalition.

B. Contextualisation

In the context of the ruling by Justice Nicholson, Justicia achieved a victory over Zuma and his followers although in reality no physical violence was involved, Zapiro suggested that the Zuma camp must be extremely frustrated, to the point of physical distress.

A caption supplied with this cartoon on Zapiro’s website states:

“On 12th January 2009, the Supreme Court of Appeal upheld an appeal by the National Director of Public Prosecutions against a High Court ruling that halted the prosecution of ANC leader Jacob Zuma. This means that the front-runner in the upcoming South African presidential elections will still have to face corruption charges” (Zapiro January 2009 cartoons, 2010: 1).

Although the original cartoon published in the *Mail & Guardian* was not accompanied by an explanation of the cartoon’s meaning, readers were able to view the above caption on the website, which contextualises the cartoon and validates the interpretation provided by the researcher.

C. Humour

Although the typical cartoon expression of a free-for-all is used in this scenario, there was no real humour involved, as there was no sympathy for the vanquished. Even the slapstick style, with its typical usage of comic conventions like dust clouds, distorted bodies and circling stars, was barely amusing.

D. Irony

Irony has been described as “ambivalence reduced to a technique” (Greig, 1923: 185) and remains one of the satirist’s most dangerous weapons. Zapiro suggested that even the powerful Zuma and four helpers could not defeat a single, blindfolded woman. It also meant that while the South African justice system was under populist attack, it could win against the so-called masses led by Zuma’s allies.

As rape had been used as metaphor for Zuma’s actions, his personal injuries, in contrast to that of his allies, were ironically appropriate, as seen from the cartoonist’s perspective.

E. Metaphor

The metaphor of sexual violence is extended to a more physical fight in the case of the four collaborators. Zuma is still portrayed as a sexual predator by restricting his punishment to injury to his private parts. Zapiro makes a distinction between Zuma and his allies in this regard.

Nobody was killed – the ridiculous positioning of the defeated group and their comical expressions suggested that they were hurt, but alive. This suggested that a battle was won, but that the war was not yet over.

Justicia was not shown holding a sword, because if she had used it, her enemies would have been more seriously injured than their bruised bodies suggest. Traditional cartoon conventions, namely clouds of dust and stars circling heads, indicated pain and unconsciousness, but not death or serious injury.

Justicia was holding her scales to show that a just verdict was reached, but she was not holding the scales above her head to indicate total victory, as in a victory salute like the well-known Black Power salute.

Zuma’s showerhead was tied in a knot, indicating that his “flow” or progress, the so-called Zuma Tsunami, had been halted.

F. Personification

In this instance Zuma and his supporters personified defeat, while Justicia personified victory.

G. Sarcasm

It may be a matter of interpretation, but this researcher is of the opinion that the “sharp, bitter ridicule” referred to in Chapter 4 alludes to written or oral text, which was absent in this cartoon.

H. Satire

The injuries to the Zuma caricature were shown to be physical and directed to his sexual organs, which was a symbolic indicator to be hurt where it hurts most. In the case of a pianist, broken fingers would have had the same inference.

I. Symbolism

As stated, the knotted showerhead symbolised that Zuma has come to a halt, even if temporarily. The showerhead was damaged, but not broken off or destroyed, and neither was Zuma's career as a politician. The circles of stars around the heads of the four collaborators, as well as the four stars emanating from Zuma's pants indicated the severe discomfort the Zuma alliance was experiencing at that time.

Justicia's blindfold was still in place, signifying her objectivity, and her scales were evenly balanced to imply that the "playing field" had been levelled in an even-handed way.

iv. Technical analysis

A. Body language

Justicia's smile and erect, proud bearing proved her satisfaction. Zapiro suggested that she was a graceful, tenacious woman, representing Justice, who would prevail as she had done over centuries. On another level, the exploited women of South Africa were also accredited with these qualities of endurance and with feminine grace.

Zuma was shown cringing with pain and grimacing, while his eyes were looking in different directions. His posture and eyes suggested an evil, underhand nature and the fact that he was not knocked down like his four supporters, indicated that he was still dangerous.

B. Characterisation

Zuma was thwarted, but dangerous and a menacing figure despite his discomfort. His supporters were depicted as ineffectual and easily overpowered. Their facial expressions did not suggest intelligence or resolve.

Justicia was portrayed as resilient and proud, despite having been debased by the Zuma clique, and moving on to the next scene of conflict.

C. Distortion

Zuma and his allies were shown with contorted faces and bodies to indicate the devastation inflicted on them by Justicia.

D. Exaggeration

The four men were shown to be levelled with the ground with comical expressions of bewilderment and distress. Their bodies were in uncomfortable positions and their features are excessively rendered as ponderous, to imply a bovine dim-wittedness.

E. Composition

In this scene, Zuma's face was rendered fully to show his anguish, as was the case with his allies. Zapiro seemed to revel in the fact that these characters had been thwarted in their quest for domination over the justice system and he wanted to share his satisfaction with the readers.

Zuma's supporters were lying entangled in the background, away from him, to show that the ANC, represented by Zuma, was still standing, more to the foreground and more powerful than its allies.

Justicia was walking away, to the right and out of the picture as the reader would read the cartoon. She was literally leaving her assailants behind in the dust.

F. Style

Zapiro did not alter his style of drawing or presentation significantly in order to make a profound statement, but "A victory" had significantly less gravity than, for example, "Respect". The tension had been released and a sense of relief is evident.

The type of rendition of an event seen in "A Victory" is known as "slapstick", which is described as "reliance upon wild activity" (Keener, 1992: 38). Despite the seemingly frivolous scenario, this style suited Zapiro's intention to depict power-hungry politicians as ridiculous caricatures of what they really are.

v. Appraisal

This cartoon was evaluated according to the criteria as identified above (A-F).

The cartoon differed from the previous cartoons in that it depicted an event that had happened and not an event that was just about to take place. Therefore there was no sense of anticipation drawing the reader into the picture.

As no indications as to the identities of the men were made, the cartoonist relied on the political awareness of the reader and the probable knowledge of Zapiro's other cartoons related to this subject. The verdict Zapiro expressed in this cartoon proved to be premature and it does not have the panache of especially "Collaboration" and "Respect."

However, despite the slapstick rendition of a violent act, this cartoon works well enough – the reader can clearly see that the woman has somehow triumphed over five men, in emphatic style.

6.3.5 “Lost sword”



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Figure 25: “Lost sword” (*Mail & Guardian*, 2009-04-03 - 09: 27).

i. Background

Zapiro created this cartoon after the National Director of Public Prosecutions (NPA), Judge Mokotedi Mpshe, announced that the National Prosecuting Authority decided to drop charges against Zuma. He stated that it did not mean that Zuma had been acquitted of the charges against him, but that there had been an abuse of process by the former head of the Directorate of Special Operations (DSO), Leonard McCarthy (Mpshe: Zuma decision not an acquittal, 2009: 1).

However, Mpshe added that the NPA, as guardians of the Constitution, could not see its way clear to continue with the prosecution, and that there was no chance that the NPA would not re-charge Zuma. The acting head of the DSO, Advocate Sibongile Mnzinyathi, then said that there would be no further prosecution of Zuma by the NPA (Mpshe: Zuma decision not an acquittal, 2009: 1).

According to Zapiro, as indicated next to the relevant cartoon on his website, political pressure was put on the NPA to drop all charges against Zuma (Zapiro April 2009 cartoons, 2009: 1).

ii. Content analysis

Justicia was on her knees, in a helpless, almost submissive position, but still holding on to her scales. She was therefore in a precarious position, but still had not given up. She was still trying to be a fair arbiter of justice. The wording on the sash, namely “Equal justice” was clearly visible, whereby Zapiro was emphasising the importance of equality of the justice system.

The menacing figure with sword in hand was sizing Justicia up to administer the killing blow. His eyes were glowing with evil intent and he was grinning with glee. By depicting Zuma in this way, Zapiro underlined the words of opposition leaders regarding this issue. Bantu Holomisa, leader of the United Democratic Movement (UDM), said:

“It is a shameful day in our country’s history. People must brace themselves, our justice system is crumbling. The justice system has been sacrificed on the altar of political expedience” (Mpshe: Zuma decision not an acquittal, 2009: 3).

Mangosothu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), said: Justice has been compromised every step of the way. Now we will have to face the consequences” (Mpshe: Zuma decision not an acquittal, 2009: 3).

Patricia de Lille, leader of the Independent Democrats (ID), declared: “The first casualty is the principle of all is equal before the law” (Mpshe: Zuma decision not an acquittal, 2009: 4).

Despite the condemnation of Mpshe’s ruling by several influential commentators, the ANC managed to manipulate the justice system to prevent Zuma from being prosecuted. Zapiro interpreted this incident as Justicia being in mortal danger.

iii. Literary analysis

A. Characterisation

Zuma was portrayed as a murderer about to execute his arch enemy, which the informed reader would know, was in fact the justice system. Should Zuma be found guilty and incarcerated, his bid for power as president of South Africa would be nullified. Zapiro portrayed Zuma as an evil ghoul with an inhuman grin and with an unholy light emanating from his slitted eyes.

Justicia, in contrast, was handicapped by her blindfold. Even though she was in this vulnerable position, she did not remove the blindfold. This suggested that she would remain objective and not stoop to Zuma’s level, even if she was literally and figuratively on her knees.

B. Contextualisation

In the context of Zuma having ascended to the highest court and the strategic “high ground”, the cartoon was commenting on the law being misused to affect a killing blow to the upholding of justice in South Africa.

This interpretation was confirmed by the caption provided on the Zapiro website, which stated:

“Political pressure from the ANC and its alliance partners is put on the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) before their media briefing to drop all charges against Jacob Zuma” (Zapiro April 2009 cartoons, 2010: 1).

C. Humour

No humour was intended in this chilling commentary on the exploitation of the South African legal system by the very person aspiring to become the supreme leader of this country.

D. Irony

Justicia was about to be killed by her own sword, implying that the legal system is used on itself. Justicia could have been shown to fall on her own sword, but Zapiro made it clear that it is Zuma himself who was dealing the killing blow.

By asking if anybody can see her sword, Justicia was vainly asking for help. The fact that she received no answer could also be interpreted as the inability of the public to see what is happening before it is too late.

As mentioned, the fact that she steadfastly refused to remove her blindfold, even though she is alone in mortal danger, was ironical, because she struggled on to represent those who have forsaken her. In this respect Justicia’s position was comparable with that of the Biblical figure Jesus Christ when his own people demanded his execution, while he refused to denounce them.

E. Metaphor

Justicia was attempting to uphold justice by clutching her scales and using one hand to search for her sword. Even in her precarious position Justicia managed to keep the scales level. By being fair the system was exposing itself to exploitation. The words “Equal justice” on her sash was ironical, because the scene did not indicate such justice being served, especially to the system itself, alias Justicia.

The fact that Zuma was holding the sword in both hands implied that he was in full control and could deliver the *coup de grace* whenever he was ready. He was dressed smartly, but the man inside the suit was a pitiless monster, morally corrupt and laughing at his helpless victim. According to Zapiro Zuma was making a mockery of the justice system, while also bringing it to a fall.

F. Personification

Justicia was portrayed as fair and resilient, but helpless. Zuma was the opposite of fairness and is all-powerful. While Justicia personified good, Zuma was evil incarnate, according to Zapiro.

G. Sarcasm

Justicia's words were not sarcastic, but ironical, as someone had already found her sword and intended to kill her with it.

H. Satire

The use of Justicia's sword as the means of her demise was an ironical use of a metaphor, which indicated satire. The portrayal of Zuma as an assassin and Justicia as a victim was a criticism of the position of the legal system at that moment, namely the wrongful execution of justice in the hands of a criminal element. Justice was being put to the sword, according to Zapiro.

I. Symbolism

Zapiro utilised the same symbols, namely the showerhead, and Justicia's sash, blindfold, the scales and sword of justice. The focus was on the sword as the symbol of the sharp side of justice, or the executive component.

The dark shadowing in the background contributed to the gloomy atmosphere to symbolise impending disaster.

iv. Technical analysis

A. Body language

Zuma's stance indicated his readiness to pounce on Justicia and the legal system as such. His carnivorous smile suggested satisfaction and his eyes show focused on his intended target.

Justicia had raised eyebrows, which indicated distress. She was still trying to find her way against the overpowering assault by the Zuma faction, but seemingly in vain. She was in a precarious position, but still alive. Zapiro could have drawn her head in a bowl being served to Zuma like John the Baptist to Herod in The Bible (Matthew, 1958: 21), but her execution was still not a *fait accompli*. Zapiro hereby suggested that there is still hope for a miracle to save the justice system and defeat Zuma.

B. Characterisation

Zuma's character was severely criticised by Zapiro. There was no ambiguity in the way Zuma was shown as wicked character. He was depicted as a murderer, even though figuratively. Zuma's malevolence was clear, just as Justicia was still depicted as the embodiment of good. In her simple, if outmoded attire she personified the opposite of Zuma as the bad man in a smart suit.

C. Distortion

Zuma's face was made rounder as usual, sunk into the neckline of his suit. His face was not excessively distorted, but the size of his head was accentuated, especially the protrusion at the back upon which the showerhead perches firmly. Instead of distorting Zuma's face to connote moral depravation, Zapiro simplified Zuma's features in a typical cartoony manner – the mouth was a half moon with predatory teeth and his eyes were mere slits with no pupils. In effect Zapiro changed Zuma's face into an evil, zombie-like mask.

Justicia was drawn in a much more realistic manner, proving the artist's sympathy with her.

D. Exaggeration

Zuma's large, knobbly head and evil expression was exaggerated for effect, as explained.

E. Composition

The two figures were drawn at an angle in which both their faces could be seen clearly. Zapiro wanted to show their expressions as well as leave no doubt to their identities. He could have shown Zuma from behind, but chose to shown him from a frontal perspective. Justicia is positioned in front and at a lower level than her assailant. This indicated her importance to the viewer, although Zuma held the strategically higher ground and, therefore, literally had the upper hand.

F. Style

Zapiro used his usual technique of rounded and foreshortened figures when rendering Zuma as a caricature to ridicule him. Black ink was used liberally to indicate shadows and impending evil and to solidify the corpulent figure of Zuma as a real and danger to justice and the political equilibrium in South Africa.

v. Appraisal

This cartoon was evaluated according to the criteria as identified above (A-F).

This cartoon was effective, as it offered a strong and clear message. Zuma was the evil executioner, and Justicia was the seemingly helpless victim. Zuma took advantage of the fact that Justicia was unarmed and blindfolded, implying his opportunism, ruthlessness and even cowardice.

Technically, the cartoon was well drawn and the caricatures were easily recognisable despite the dramatisation of the situation and Zuma's evil, mask-like countenance.

While the first three cartoons implied a rape would take place, this cartoon made it clear that a murder would be committed. Zuma was even more recognisable. Ironically, the cartoons depicting Zuma as a rapist evoked more criticism than this cartoon proclaiming him as a murderer. Due to the rape situation in South Africa these cartoons seemed to

touch a raw nerve. Moreover, killing is something that is depicted often in cartoons, but rape is not (Zapiro, 2010).

Criticism on the cartoon was its lack of subtlety, which borders on defamation (Zapiro cartoon of Zuma, 2009: 1). Conversely, Zapiro could have created an even grislier scene depicting a naked, violated corpse or showing the beheading graphically.

All factors considered, the cartoon succeeded in its main goal, namely to put forward a specific message effectively.

6.3.6 “Pontius Mpshe”



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Figure 26: “Pontius Mpshe” (*Mail & Guardian*, 2009-04-9 - 16: 27).

i. Background

As mentioned in 6.2.5, acting National Director of Public Prosecutions Justice Mokotedi Mpshe announced that corruption charges against Zuma will be dropped. Mpshe said it was the most difficult decision of his life (NPA drops charges, 2009: 1).

The alleged abuse of process by the former head of the Directorate of Special Operations (DSO), Leonard McCarthy was cited as the reason for this decision (Mpshe: Zuma decision not an acquittal, 2009: 1).

The NPA Deputy National Director, Willie Hofmeyr, stated that it was impossible for the NPA to proceed with the Zuma case “because of the manipulation of the process” (Mpshe: Zuma decision not an acquittal, 2009: 2).

Opposition leaders like Helen Zille of the Democratic Alliance (DA) and Bantu Holomisa of the United Democratic Movement (UDM) criticised the decision by Mpshe as “a victory of politics over justice” (Mpshe: Zuma decision not an acquittal, 2009: 3).

Zapiro himself said of the cartoon (Figure 26):

“I agree with the many legal experts that the ‘legal’ reason given by Mpshe was not substantive and that the dropping of the charges was a political decision paving the way for a Zuma presidency. The crucifixion metaphor carried added weight in being drawn at Easter” (Zapiro’s *Mondi wins explained*, 2010: 1).

ii. Content analysis

Although rape was not the theme of this cartoon, Zuma was still involved and Justicia would again be violated. Zapiro chose to use the Easter theme because the cartoon was published during the Easter period of 2009. While Zuma had been likened to Jesus as “someone who has suffered” (Cloete, 2010: 21), Zapiro suggested that Justicia was the real victim, and Zuma was a sly manipulator.

Pontius Pilate was depicted washing his hands of the decision to crucify Jesus Christ. Mpshe was seen in the role of Pilate, assisted by Willie Hofmeyr on the far left. Zuma was overseeing proceedings, while also providing water for the ritual. Mpshe’s washing symbolises his denial of wrongdoing, as he stated that Zuma was still not acquitted, although the charges against him had been dropped.

Justicia is depicted as nailed to the cross, together with her scales of justice and wounded with her own sword. This wound is referring to the sword wound Jesus suffered when he was publicly executed on Golgotha (John, 1958: 147). The jeering crowd are portrayed brandishing hammers to demonstrate their complicity, while the names of Mbeki and Zuma are visible on the boxes of nails, as further linkage to the abuse of Justicia (see “Also valid”).

iii. Literary analysis

A. Characterisation

Zuma was portrayed as a figure literally dipping his head into the picture, which implied his actions to be devious, cowardly and manipulating. By supplying the water for Mpshe, Zuma was suggested to be directing Mpshe’s actions. In contrast with “Lost sword”, the focus of “Pontius Mpshe” was again on Justicia, but in the latter cartoon Mpshe was more central in Zapiro’s commentary as well as in the composition of the cartoon.

“Pontius” Mpshe was likened to Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor of Judaea who literally and figuratively washed his hands of the death of Jesus (John, 1958: 147). He thus implied that Jesus was innocent, but denied responsibility. According to him the Jewish Council sentenced Jesus to death and he had no choice in the matter. Mpshe was portrayed as someone who does not take responsibility for his deeds. Zuma pretended to be pious, but Zapiro implied that he was actually callous. Zapiro thus rejected Mpshe’s statement that this judgement was one of the most difficult decisions he ever had to make (NPA drops charges, 2009: 1).

Hofmeyr was a willing accomplice by holding the washbasin for Mpshe and thus assisting Mpshe in making the decision. He was portrayed in a subservient position.

Justicia was likened to Jesus by being placed in the same position. She was innocent of any crimes and sacrificed by her own people. Despite their betrayal, Justicia was willing to die for “her people”.

The jeering crowd in the background were brandishing hammers to prove their compliance to Justicia’s fate. The figure on the far left could have been former president Mbeki who Zapiro had shown in “Also valid” to be partly responsible for Zuma’s acquittal on corruption charges.

B. Contextualisation

In the context of Justicia being sacrificed by the people whom she represented, this metaphor was feasible. Zapiro used the crucifixion of Jesus as a point of reference during the celebration of Easter at the time of publication.

C. Humour

No vestige of humour was evident in this tragic scene. Hofmeyr and Mpshe were mercilessly ridiculed by Zapiro. Even though Plato had said that “malice or envy is at the root of comic enjoyment” (Greig, 1923: 225) this type of “black humour” was absent in this cartoon.

Most effective cartoons make the reader experience a sense of understatement, which is the opposite of slapstick or hyperbole. To not provide too much information, the reader is permitted to participate in the interpretation of the cartoon (Keener, 1992: 380). Therefore no witty word text or explanatory slogans, humorous or otherwise, were needed in this cartoon.

D. Irony

It can be considered ironical that Zapiro, a Jew, drew this scene from what is probably the most poignant and consequential event in Christian history and a key to Christian religion. One can speculate that as a Jew Zapiro is aware that his ancestors committed a terrible injustice almost 2000 years ago, and that this kind of miscarriage of justice should not be repeated.

The actions of the crowd were ironical, as they were aiding in an act that would be detrimental to the well-being of their country by murdering their own champion for justice. Each nail could be seen as a decision taken to degrade the justice system, like the proverbial nails in a coffin. They were depicted as naïve, but dangerous, which was also ironical, because despite their child-like demeanours, they were still as deadly and cruel as the men behind Justicia’s agony.

The sword stuck in Justicia’s side referred to a similar wound that Jesus suffered. In the case of Justicia the sword was not removed to make sure that the readers notice the inference to Justicia being wounded with her own sword. This comment by Zapiro is

similar to the use of the sword in “Lost sword.” Zuma did not decapitate Justicia, but wounded her severely and then handed her over to her own people to be crucified.

Judges Mpshe and Hofmeyr’s acts were ironical because they should uphold the law instead of delivering Justicia to the rabble and distancing themselves from the decision to do it.

A further ironical feature of this cartoon was the fact that Zuma, a lay preacher himself, had been likened to Jesus by some of his followers (Cloete, 2010: 21). However, Zapiro did not show Zuma being crucified, but Justicia. Zapiro suggested that Justicia was the lamb led to the slaughter, not Zuma. Thus he implied that Zuma was not a saviour, but actually the opposite.

E. Metaphor

Zapiro used a biblical scene because he assumed that most South Africans were familiar with the crucifixion of Jesus at the behest of the Jewish Council. As explained, the sword was a metaphor for the executive component of the justice system. Justicia was supposed to wield this sword, but had been wounded with it. Her scales were nailed with her to the cross to show the contempt her detractors have for her. The scales were hanging slightly askew to show that judgement had been passed, but that it was not fair.

In the cartoon Zuma provided the water for Mpshe to wash his hands from the infamous showerhead. This water was as ineffective to exonerate Mpshe of his guilt as was the water Zuma showered with after his infamous sexual act in 2006 (to prevent infection of HIV/Aids, as he then explained). It can also allude to his promises to improve his personal life and to deliver on his political promises.

F. Personification

Apart from Justicia, the only human figure used to embody an abstract concept to a certain extent, was Zuma, who acted as a plumbing appliance. As all the other characters represent people who actually exist, they did not personify, but represented real persons.

G. Sarcasm

Pilate may have been sarcastic when he washed his hands, but Mpshe did not intend sarcasm when he exempted Zuma from further investigation. This researcher holds the view that Zapiro was being ironic rather than sarcastic by using the crucifixion theme to lampoon Hofmeyr, Mpshe and Zuma. Zapiro would hardly make a frivolous referral to Justicia’s plight, namely the concern he himself has regarding the implied threat to the Constitution.

H. Satire

The satirical elements of this cartoon can be divided in three categories, namely the mindless behaviour of the crowd, the tragic suffering of Justicia and the roguishness of the three characters in the right-hand corner of the picture. Justicia was therefore the victim of the weaknesses of humankind and Zapiro held up these weaknesses to scorn by means of ridicule and irony.

I. Symbolism

The water has been explained as a symbol of indifference. The cross and the sword symbolised cruelty, hatred and ignorance of the very people Justicia is representing. According to Christian doctrine Jesus was not sacrificed only for the Jews, but for all peoples, including coming generations. The significance of his crucifixion was not realised at the time, but the repercussions was much wider than his own people could imagine. In the case of Justicia, Zapiro suggests that the damage done to the South African judicial system will impact on the lives of coming generations of South Africans.

iv. Technical analysis

A. Body language

The facial expressions of the caricatures conferred their emotions and intent. The crowd was derisive and murderous, Hofmeyr looked like a sycophant serving his master, Mpshe was disdainful and pharisaical. Zuma looked gleeful and wicked, smiling slightly.

B. Characterisation

The caricature of Zuma was sly and scornful as usual. He was working from behind the scenes, doing only what is necessary to attain his goals. The sneer on his face and the roving eyes characterised him as a moral degenerate.

Mpshe acted important with his drawn up shoulders and erect stance and Hofmeyr looked like a gibbering idiot. Justicia showed no expression and seemed to have at last surrendered. The crowd looked as if they crave revenge, but was deluded as to who their real enemy was.

C. Distortion

No real distortion was evident, except for Hofmeyr's extremely flabby features and the too-large heads.

D. Exaggeration

The heads of Hofmeyr and Mpshe were very large in comparison with the rest of their bodies. Members of the crowd were also depicted as such. This is not unusual in cartoons, as has been explained in 4.3.4

E. Composition

Zapiro drew all the figures in the cartoon facing the viewer as to ensure recognition. Zuma was clearly exposed as the puppet-master that operates mostly out of sight.

The positioning of the characters was deliberate in the composition of this scene. The crowd was unimportant and away to the far left and Justicia on her cross is the centrepiece. Even though she was the victim, she occupied the highest position in the scene. Of the three figures on the right, Zuma had the highest position, even though he was bending down. Then Mpshe was somewhat lower and Hofmeyr, who had the lowest rank, was placed lowest.

F. Style

The three men in the right hand corner were portrayed in the normal irreverent style Zapiro utilises when creating visual commentary. The crowd seemed dangerous, yet childish and naïve. Therefore they were easily provoked and useful as cannon-fodder for the conniving politicians.

v. Appraisal

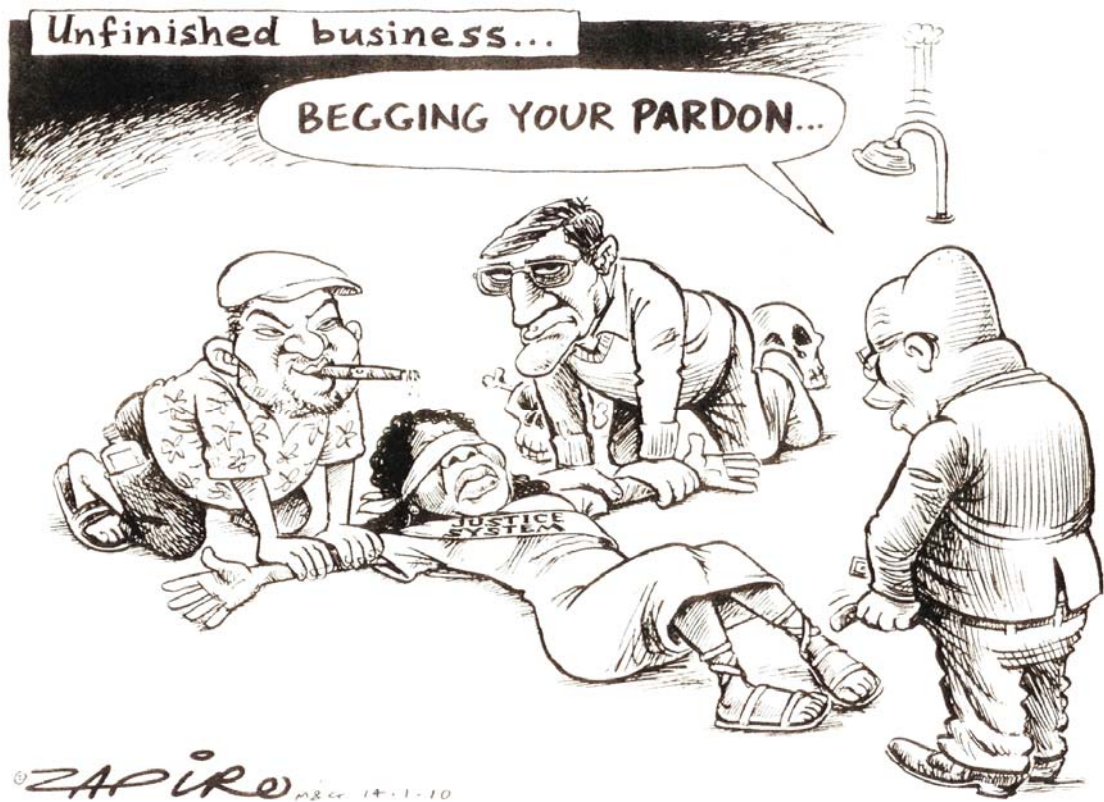
This cartoon was evaluated according to the criteria as identified above (A-F).

Cartoons depicting religious events have proven to be risky, as Zapiro has acknowledged himself (Zapiro, 2006: 51; Eybers, 2010: 11). Portraying Christ as a black woman would probably have caused an uproar during the apartheid era, but no such response occurred. It can be surmised that the Christians in general agrees with Zapiro's view of Zuma's violation of the justice system and that Justicia is recognised as an established cartoon caricature personifying justice, not just any black woman.

The cartoon succeeded in all categories discussed, but did not draw the attention the rape scenes of the first three cartoons did. The allegory also worked up to a certain point, because all its inferences were not immediately understandable.

For an uninformed reader it may not be clear why Justicia had been wounded, and an informed reader may wonder why she had been wounded by a sword and not a spear. Jesus was wounded by a sword in his left side as Justicia was, but according to all medieval paintings, by a spear in his right side (Hasting, 2000: 53). According to Zapiro, he was unaware of this. He drew the sword in this position simply to balance the composition (Zapiro, 2010).

6.3.7 “Unfinished business”



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Figure 27: “Unfinished business”. (*Mail & Guardian*, 2010-01-15 - 21: 23).

i. Background

In 2005, Schabir Shaik, a businessman from Durban was convicted on corruption charges. According to several press reports at the time, the judge stated during the trial that Shaik and Zuma had a “corrupt relationship” (Basson, 2010: 1; De Bruin, 2005: 1). The judge, Hilary Squires, later denied that he had made such a statement (Judge denies, 2006: 1), but the inference was that Zuma benefitted from financial transgressions committed by Shaik.

Shaik eventually was paroled on the premise of being terminally ill (Joubert & Cloete, 2010: 2; Fury over new Zapiro cartoon, 2010: 1). Then it was reported in the media that Shaik was spotted playing golf and driving around with no sign of illness (Liebenberg, 2009: 1).

In January 2010 it was reported that Eugene de Kock, a former commander of Vlakplaas, a counter-insurgency base during the apartheid era, applied for presidential pardon. De

Kock was convicted on 86 criminal counts, including murder, and sentenced to 212 years in prison in 1996 (Coetzee, 2010b: 2; Van der Westhuizen, 2010: 1).

Shortly after De Kock applied for a pardon, it became known that Zuma had visited him in prison in April 2009. Commentators speculated that De Kock might be paroled as a political trade-off for a reprieve for Shaik (Joubert, 2010a: 1; New Zapiro cartoon causes fury, 2010: 1; Union blasts Zapiro, 2010: 1).

The cartoon evoked an angry response from the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), who stated that the cartoon “implants in the minds of the public” that Zuma is a rapist despite being cleared of rape charges by a court of law. NUMSA described the cartoon as reckless by depicting a woman about to be raped in a country wracked by violence and abuse against women.

The presidency confirmed that it had received Shaik’s application for a presidential pardon, and that Zuma met with De Kock, although no details regarding the meeting were provided (Fury over new Zapiro cartoon, 2010: 1; Zapiro cartoon angers NUMSA, 2010: 10).

ii. Content analysis

Zapiro drew Justicia again in a prone position, with Zuma loosening his pants. The descending showerhead suggests that Zuma had returned to his old ways of saying something while doing the opposite, according to Zapiro. Zapiro promised to remove the showerhead to give Zuma a fair chance to prove himself as state president, but should Zuma fail to do so, the showerhead would return (Hoffmann, 2010: 10) (see Figure 23).

The presence of the showerhead, the similarities with “Collaboration” and “Respect” and the sarcastic dialogue (in the speech balloon) all indicate that Zapiro believed that Zuma was still disrespecting the judicial system.

Justicia was still fighting her lone battle, trying to keep her knees together and defy Zuma. She frowned, but did not cry out, which signified her lack of trust in the public to come to her rescue.

iii. Literary analysis

A. Characterisation

Schabir Shaik was shown as a crafty and arrogant person, taking pleasure in the situation. He was looking at Zuma as his partner in this crime about to happen, not at the man next to him or at Justicia. This is Zapiro’s way of implying that these two men have been partners in previous dealings. Shaik’s attire was casual, implying that he is carefree and enjoying himself.

De Kock showed no real emotion, as would be expected from a “psychopathic killer” who is used to rationalise his crimes by “just following orders”.

Zuma was again portrayed as a sexual predator, eagerly unbuckling his belt while pretending to apologise.

B. Contextualisation

Zapiro was referring to the situation as explained, namely that should he pardon any of the two applicants, he would be making a mockery of justice and the Constitution. Both Shaik and De Kock are convicted felons and in Zapiro's view they should pay their debts to society.

The words "Unfinished business" referred to Zuma as state president being in a position to pardon Shaik, and was also wordplay on their previous relationship as business partners. De Kock is included in this "deal", because he could act as collateral. To set Shaik free would appear to be favouritism by Zuma, but if the apartheid apparatchik De Kock would also be freed, it was suggested, the public might be appeased (Zapiro cartoon angers NUMSA, 2010: 1).

C. Humour

No humour was intended. While some people may consider the scene portrayed as black humour, Zapiro has stated that he regards Zuma's contempt for the law as a disgrace to the legacy of the Struggle (Dixon, 2008a: 1). Thus was unlikely that he would joke about Zuma's alleged misconduct, especially as Zapiro has stated that he was disgusted with the way perpetrators like De Kock showed no remorse during the Truth and Reconciliation trials (Verwoerd & Mabizela, 2000: 156).

D. Irony

Zuma's words were ironical. He, or rather Zapiro, referred ambiguously to press reports that Zuma would give De Kock a presidential pardon. The cartoon related to applications for presidential pardons from both Shaik and De Kock.

E. Metaphor

The scene as a whole was a metaphor for violation of the justice system, and of Zuma's refusal to really respect the law, as had been suggested since the first rape cartoon "Collaboration", in 2008.

The bottle in Shaik's pocket referred to his medical parole and the cigar was a refutation of his claim to be terminally ill, as he wore a Hawaiian-type shirt and informal slip-on shoes.

Behind De Kock skulls and bones were visible, referring to his former career as enforcer of the apartheid regime. De Kock was sentenced to 212 years incarceration for torturing and murdering several of his political opponents (Zapiro cartoon angers NUMSA, 2010: 2). Metaphorically, the skeletal remains of his victims are the "baggage" he will always carry with him.

F. Personification

Justicia was the only figure personifying anything in the cartoon, as the other three figures were caricatures of living people.

G. Sarcasm

Zuma was not being sarcastic, but rather ironic by mocking Justicia with wordplay on the application for presidential pardons by his accomplices Shaik and De Kock.

H. Satire

Zapiro used typical satirical indicators like symbols, irony, wordplay and a metaphorical scene to comment on an immoral process, namely the violation of the justice system.

I. Symbolism

The showerhead descending to Zuma's head was indicative of Zapiro's estimation of Zuma's performance as a head of state. Zapiro decided to take away the offending appendage when Zuma was elected state president in 2009, but promised bring it back if Zuma does not fulfil expectations (Hunter-Gault, 2009: 1, Verster, 2009a: 13).

The cigar, slippers and Hawaiian shirt symbolised the "good life" Shaik is supposedly living, while the bottle refers to the "terminal illness" he had been diagnosed with (Shaik op baie duns, 2010: 10).

iv. Technical analysis

A. Body language

Zuma was the main antagonist in this scene. He leaned over slightly to show intent, but seems relaxed, as he was smiling and talking while he unbuckled his belt.

Shaik seemed relaxed as well, smiling and sitting with his weight evenly balanced. De Kock had an implacable expression, but his eyes did not look as if he was trusting Zuma. His weight was shifted forward, as if he was ready to run, like a sprinter proceeding to propel himself out of the starting blocks.

B. Characterisation

Shaik's eyes and sly smile were indicative of his role as Zuma's crooked business partner. He smoked a cigar which traditionally indicates wealth and his informal attire referred to his affluent lifestyle.

De Kock looked on poker-faced, as if astutely studying Zuma's actions, but he showed no sympathy for Justicia. The darkened lenses of his glasses added to his sinister appearance, although he actually does wear such glasses.

C. Distortion

Apart from De Kock's extremely large nose, small forehead and long jaw, very little distortion was perceptible. Shaik's face was slightly rounded, but very recognisable. Zuma is rendered in the usual way, with the back of his head distended upwards.

D. Exaggeration

De Kock's forehead was almost non-existent, his nose was made larger and his jaw was ridiculously elongated to make him look sinister, but he was still easily recognisable. Justicia showed little exaggeration apart from her slightly disproportionate head.

Shaik's face was rounded, but also a good likeness. Even his rotund figure was not totally unrealistically rendered. The shape of Zuma's head was exaggerated, but not more so than usual in cartoons.

E. Composition

The angle is a mirror image of the first three cartoons depicting Justicia being held down and Zuma preparing to rape her. The perspective was the same, namely a 45 degree angle, but now Zuma was on the right hand side of the picture.

As mentioned, according to the Western tradition cartoons were read from left to right, as was the case with the other Rape of Justicia cartoons showing Justicia and Zuma. By reversing the reading order, it could be interpreted that Zapiro suggested that Zuma was returning to his old ways by going backwards and not forwards after becoming state president. However, during an interview Zapiro stated that he wanted to add variation to the subject to make readers look at the same situation from a fresh perspective (Zapiro, 2010).

F. Style

Justicia's physical proportions were realistic, but the heads of the three men were rendered larger than in real life. By drawing them as short, childlike figures even though they are adults, and in a perverse way, celebrities in their own right, Zapiro denied them respect and mocked them.

v. Appraisal

This cartoon was evaluated according to the criteria as identified above (A-F).

This cartoon was well rendered, as the caricatures were instantly recognisable, the symbolism and wordplay were clear and the scenario was comprehensible. "Pontius Mpshe" could be seen as a culmination of the abuse of Justicia, but with "Unfinished business", Zapiro revisited the scene of the first crime symbolically.

This cartoon has been described as justifiable, because of the following reasons:

"1. The parties involved are accurate. 2. While it may seem a drastic way of putting it, the criminal justice system is being raped. 'Rape of a criminal justice system' is often how cartoonists and journalists describe political abuse thereof. 3. The situation being described i.e. the holding down of the criminal justice system in order for individuals to get their own way is also accurate" (Zapiro cartoon is justified, 2010: 1).

The researcher is in full agreement with the above mentioned evaluation.

6.4 Conclusion

Zapiro has drawn ten cartoons depicting Justicia over the period of study according to which this research project delimited itself. Seven of these cartoons in which Justicia was shown to be threatened directly or indirectly by Zuma, were chosen to be analysed by the researcher.

These cartoons, especially “Collaboration” and “Unfinished business”, led to an outcry from Zuma’s supporters (O’Grady, 2008: 5). Much of the criticism of Zapiro’s Rape of Justicia cartoons was against the use of rape “as a metaphor”, according to Zapiro (Smook, 2008: 6).

It was argued that rape is too sensitive an issue to be used in cartoons, especially in South Africa (O’Grady, 2008: 5). The reason is that South Africa has an unnaturally high incidence of rape and has even been described as “the rape capital of the world” (Rape in South Africa, 2010: 1).

The international police agency Interpol has indeed revealed that South Africa leads the world in rape incidents. According to this study, one in every two women would be raped, which amounts to 50% of the female population. Police also estimated that only one in every 36 rape cases was reported and of those only 15 % culminated in a conviction. On average, 1 300 women are raped every day (Rape in South Africa, 2010: 1).

In the Rape of Justicia cartoons where Zuma was the main antagonist, he had helpers to hold down the victim, which constitutes gang rape. This type of rape is also prevalent in South Africa, mostly in black townships with young men as the most common perpetrators (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993: 2; Wood & Jewkes, 2010: 1).

Although Zuma was found not guilty of rape in 2006, the subject of rape is linked to his name (Jarvis, 2010: 2; Zapiro, 2010) and therefore the first Rape of Justicia cartoon in 2008 has evoked memories of the Kanga Rape Trial only two years earlier (Verster, 2009a: 11).

Zapiro stated that he consulted with female friends regarding the use of rape as a metaphor and that they supported his decision with their assurance that the shock value of using this sensitive scenario outweighs the negative response which was to be expected (O’Grady, 2008: 5; Evans, 2009: 1).

Zapiro also mentioned that the most opposition against the cartoon came from male commentators (Dixon, 2008a: 1-2). His conclusion was that women, as victims of male abuse, need championing, and cartoons are potent weapons in the battle for the acknowledgement that rape is a crime (Dixon, 2008a: 2). A significant percentage of men

in South Africa deny that rape is immoral, which makes this issue worthy of debate (Johnson, 2009: 217-218).

The well-established existence of Justicia as a cartoon character and the recent usage of this character by South African cartoonists provided a plausible reason for Zapiro's decision to use her as the victim in his cartoons.

Of all the cartoonists who used Justicia in connection with abuse of the South African justice system, Zapiro created the most graphic scenario to exploit the elements of Justicia as an African woman living in the country with the highest occurrence of rape (Johnson, 2009: 184; South African rape survey shocks, 2009: 1; Rape in South Africa, 2010: 1). For this reason Zapiro attracted the most attention, including widespread criticism, even death threats (Cartoonist receives death threats, 2008: 1).

An example of critical commentary is Anton Kannemeyer's painting "The liberals". Kannemeyer referred to the theory that rape by black men was a common fear among white suburbanites. According to Kannemeyer this urban myth of the black men planning to rape and pillage is hampering even liberal whites in their efforts to reach out to blacks (Marais, 2010: 6)

However, by applying Kannemeyer's cartoon as an illustration to his article, Marais not only commented on the supposed dread of blacks by whites in general (see Figure 28), but also on Zapiro's Rape of Justicia's cartoons. The woman was in the same position as Justicia in Zapiro's cartoons "Collaboration", "Respect" and "Also valid", while the figure preparing to take off his pants was reminiscent of the Zuma-as-rapist caricature. The man being murdered in the top right hand corner referred to the fear of white men being powerless to defend women.

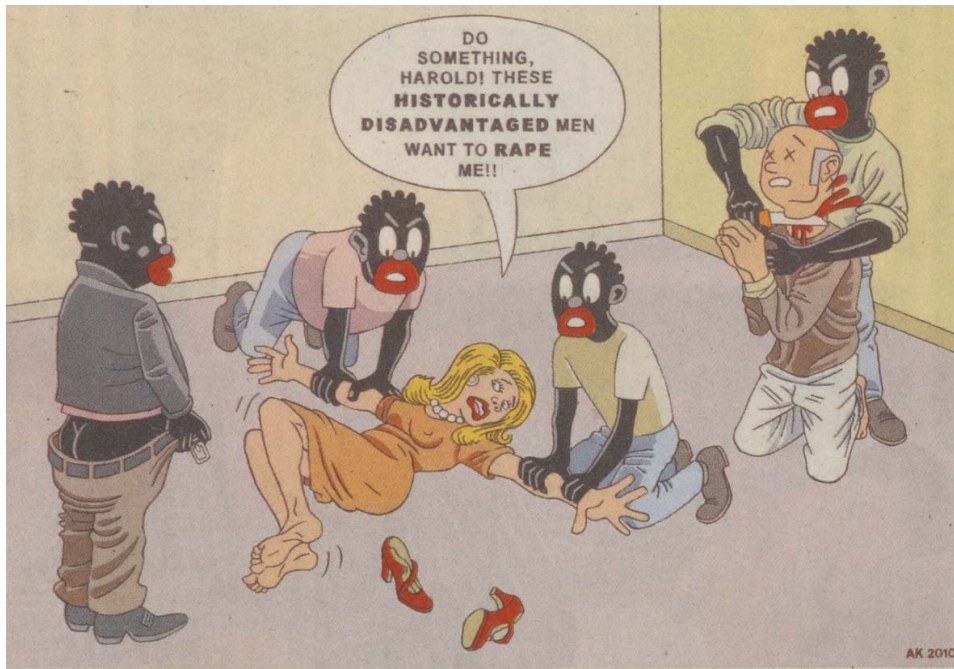


Figure 28: “The liberals”, a painting by Anton Kannemeyer, created for an exhibition in April 2010 (Marais, 2010: 7).

It is the contention of the researcher that if Marais and Kannemeyer were suggesting that Zapiro’s cartoons were actually a manifestation of white bias to black men such as Zuma, this argument is unfounded. Since rape is not endemic to any race group or even one particular gender (Jecks, 2009: 1), to assume that most black men are intent on raping white women implies racial prejudice.

However, independent studies have shown that rape is about power rather than sexual gratification and that disempowered men are the most instances likely to commit rape (Gang rape: a youth culture, 2009: 1). In South Africa most men who are in this position are young black males. Conversely, most rape victims in South Africa are black women, because they are in the majority, as well as the most vulnerable to such attacks, not white women (Andrews & Ellmann, 2001: 343; I am at the lowest, 2008: 73).

During an interview Zapiro mentioned that the main reason for the first cartoon (“Collaboration”) was the outrage he experienced regarding the threat to the justice system, while a secondary motive was the anger he has about rape in this country. This is not experienced as a personal fear, but as empathy for exploited individuals (Zapiro, 2010).

Taking the “Kanga case” into account, the abovementioned statistics and Zapiro’s personal statements regarding Zuma’s actions, the supposition that Zapiro depicted white fears about black men, seems unfounded. Kannemeyer’s argument may well be indicative of the beliefs of several racist members of the South African society, but Zapiro’s own history as an activist disproves this allegation.

To claim white people project their own fears upon Zuma may be relevant in an ironic manner, because Kannemeyer drew himself as the murder victim in his version of a gang rape scene. Therefore it can be concluded that it was not Zapiro, but Kannemeyer in fact who projected his own fears or bias pictorially. If Zapiro commented on his personal fears, it was not on physical rape, but on the allegorical rape of the justice system (Zapiro, 2010).

Marais was therefore correct that Zapiro commented on collective fears, as other commentators, such as Wasserman also stated (Hans, 2006: 2), but the fears Zapiro depicted were not about race specifically.

In contrast with Kannemeyer's view, most cartoonists supported Zapiro in his criticism of Zuma and against what they proclaim to be a danger to constitutional rights such as freedom of speech. No other cartoonist accused Zapiro of projecting his fears on to Zuma, as the rape of Justicia cartoons were generally accepted among journalists as an allegorical commentary (Mason, 2008: 1-2; Mason & Curtis, 2009: 6; Daniels, 2009: 1-2).

In Figure 29 Zapiro is shown to be the victim, although not of rape, but he is pinned down just like Justicia by two of the original collaborators, Malema and Mantashe.

The reason for their inclusion is their criticism of Zapiro in this matter. Zuma's shoes and trousers could be seen on the far right. This time he said: "Bring me my machine gun," which alluded to the Struggle song he is known for (see Figure 17), as well as the anti-Zapiro stance that he and his supporters took at the time.



Figure 29: “Reversed roles”. Zapiro about to be attacked, as seen by Esterhuysen (Mason & Curtis, 2009: 6).

Ironically, Mantashe says “We are in favour of freedom of the press”. His words remind the reader of Zuma’s words in “Respect”, when he stated that he and his supporters respect their victim, Justicia. In this cartoon Esterhuysen used irony on three levels. Firstly, he refers to Zapiro’s work in the utterances of the caricatures. Secondly, he substituted Justicia with Zapiro himself, implying that like Justicia, Zapiro is alone and helpless against Zuma and his supporters. Thirdly, the fact that Esterhuysen created this cartoon means that Zapiro is in fact not alone and forsaken by his allies as was the case with Justicia.

All South African cartoonists and other journalists do not necessarily support Zapiro in all his comments, or even acknowledge him as a leading visual commentator (Bubear, 2009: 1). However, concern about the threat to a free press is indubitably the reason why they laud his efforts to expose such menaces (Steenkamp, 2009: 5). While Zapiro is able to satirise Zuma and the alliance partners of the ANC, the Constitution is upheld and symbols like Justicia will endure (Mason & Curtis, 2009: 6-7).

6.5 Summary

This chapter deals with the actual seven cartoons which constitute The rape of Justicia cartoon series by Zapiro, which comments on the perceived threat to the South African

justice system by the Zuma camp. Other cartoons, either created by Zapiro or by other cartoonists, which have bearing on this theme were also analysed in order to contextualise the issue of political manipulation of the justice system. *Justicia* as a symbol of justice was discussed, including the challenges in this regard in local context.

Each of the seven cartoons were analysed according to the principles set out in Chapter 4, with a short background added to sketch the events leading to Zapiro's visual commentaries. An appraisal of each individual cartoon was provided, based on contextual, literary and technical criteria. In conclusion, the researcher interpreted the content of the chapter in order to state his opinion regarding the issues discussed.

Chapter 7: Final analysis

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study (see 1.3) was primarily to determine whether Zapiro's criticism of Zuma was valid. In other words: was the Rape of Justicia cartoons fair comment? According to the Mail & Guardian this is the bottom line regarding the Rape of Justicia cartoon issue (Zuma rape cartoon, 2008: 2) and this researcher is in agreement with their assertion.

In order to resolve this matter, certain related issues which came to the fore in the course of this study had to be addressed first – see 7.2.

As a secondary focal point, the researcher has attempted to position this study within the parameters of academic conjecture, as indicated in Chapters 3 and 4.

According to the arguments postulated, the South African media functions within the structures of a democracy, on the supposition that freedom of speech is a fundamental human right. Democracy, in its truest form depends on a free press (De Vries, 2010; Zapiro, 2010).

Editorial cartooning thrives in conditions where pictorial satire is allowed to expose transgressions, even by the highest ranking politicians. In a democracy the Authoritarian and Soviet-totalitarian models of the media do not apply, which means that cartoonists should be operating according to the conditions proposed by the Libertarian theory (see 3.2.).

The researcher has favoured the humanist approach to study Zapiro's works, as it was deemed appropriate to implement qualitative, rather than quantitative methodology. The reason for this preference is that the legality of the Rape of Justicia cartoons as social and political commentary is based on ethical grounds. Consequently, a qualitative judgement is required (see 4.2).

Furthermore, as a prominent factor in the South African mass media, Zapiro's cartoons are accessible to millions of readers and as such it was pertinent to analyse both the validity and the relevance of these visual commentaries. Hence, according to the Critical theory (see 3.3), as well as by means of applying contextual, literary and technical criteria, a conclusion has been formulated (see 7.3).

7.2 Arguments

As mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6, certain arguments for and against the Rape of Justicia cartoons have been put forward by commentators as a result of the debate these cartoons generated. The arguments deemed most relevant are subsequently discussed.

Of the several points of criticism against Zapiro regarding the Rape of Justica cartoons, subjectivity have been the most common theme; directly or inferred. As for the latter, the accusations of a personal hatred, or a vendetta against Zuma, racism and even the projection of personal *Angst*, all have bearing on Zapiro being subjective in his criticism of Zuma and his supporters. Direct accusations of prejudice against Zuma mostly came from spokespersons for the ANC and its tripartite partners, as discussed in Chapter 5.

The researcher will subsequently analyse each argument critically and postulate an opinion based on findings resulting from this study in its entirety.

A. Bad taste

Mention of bad taste was made in commentaries on internet blogs and by statements by commentators from a variety of interest groups (Disgust at Zuma rape, 2008: 1; Zapiro; I thought, 2008: 2).

The use of rape as a metaphor has been judged as dangerous, insensitive and tasteless (De Vos, 2008b: 1-2). In this regard Zapiro was on unstable ground and he acknowledged the fact by emphasising his reluctance to upset individuals and that he consulted with female friends before submitting the cartoon “Collaboration” to the editor of *Sunday Times* (Du Plessis, 2008a: 1; Zapiro, 2010).

According to Zapiro, the women he had consulted told him that the cartoon “[...] contained a second level of criticism on violence against women in South Africa; a very patriarchal society” (Controversial cartoon awarded, 2009: 2; O’Grady, 2008: 5). Zapiro also maintained that he first thought of rape as a metaphor when he conceptualised the initial cartoon (“Collaboration”). He said that as he wrote his ideas on paper, he imagined the rape scene as an allegory and that he looked up “rape” in a dictionary, which defined the term as the abuse of a system as well as a physical action (Zapiro, 2010).

Zapiro admitted that he had expected the “strong reaction, as the image was outrageous, and a very explosive thing” (Controversial cartoon awarded, 2009: 2). He stated that he realises that certain people will perceive the use of rape as a metaphor as distasteful, as well as link the cartoon with Zuma’s rape trial in 2006. Zapiro said that he did not make the connection himself at the time he conceptualised the cartoon (Zapiro, 2010).

Admittedly, the image of rape is no joke and a sensitive issue in any country, but more so in South Africa, because of the high occurrence of this crime, and the high mortality rate due to HIV/Aids (Cheng, 2010: 1). Moreover, Zuma’s name is automatically linked to rape, because of the trial of 2006 (“Kanga case”), it is understandable that Zuma would want to avoid reminding the public of this issue. However, as was stated in Chapter 6, Mbeki and his supporters did not sue Zapiro for the same allegations of raping the Constitution (“Also valid”).

De Vos warns that when cartoonists use shock tactics excessively, eventually the danger exists that readers become “desensitized” and ignore even the most persuasive warnings (2008b: 1). The daily reports of crime, the high death rate of Aids victims, even shocking

stories of infants dying in hospitals because of neglect and incompetence seems to become very common (Baleta, 2010: 1), which substantiates De Vos's apprehension in this regard.

Regarding matters of taste the Press Code of Professional Practice (SA) states that

“A newspaper has wide discretion in matters of taste but this does not justify lapses of taste so repugnant as to bring the freedom of the press into disrepute or be extremely offensive to the public” (Press Code, 2009: 2).

The researcher contends that while Zapiro signified a rape to take place, he did not overstep the boundaries of good taste, as has been the case with other cartoonists who leaves nothing to the imagination of the readers (see Figures 30 and 32).

Conversely, it is the nature of art to push boundaries (Fransen, 2010), as it is the duty of the journalist to make the public aware of anti-social conduct, hypocrisy and double standards (Press Code, 2009: 1).

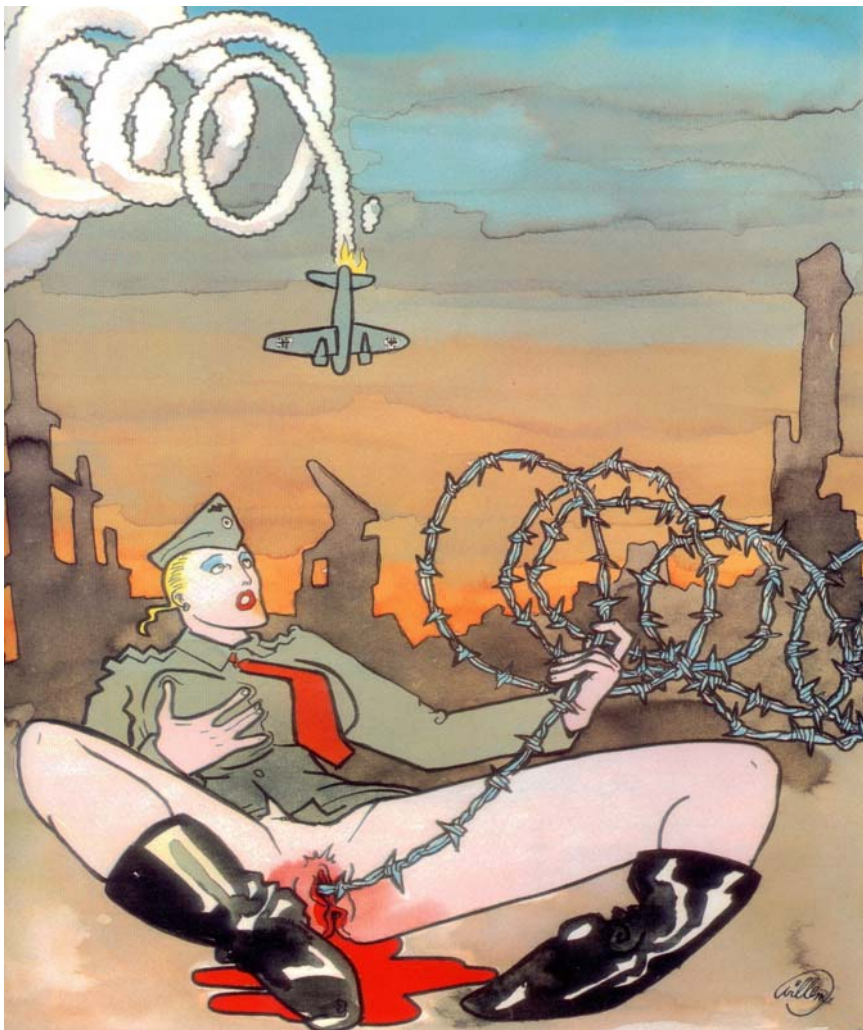


Figure 30: “Masochistic nightmare”. The cartoonist depicts participation in war as self-mutilation in a shocking manner. While making a clear statement, he risks losing sympathy for his sentiments with this horrific graphic statement (Faur, 1998: 59).

According to Berger

“Zapiro’s cartoon does push the boundaries of what we may consider acceptable [...] It’s the nature of the medium – it’s supposed to do what it does. It’s not meant to make us feel fuzzy and patriotic and ready to take up arms to defend the leader. It’s designed to get us talking. At least we’re now talking” (2008: 2).

In the radio interview mentioned in 1.1 and 6.3.4 ii, Zuma called Zapiro’s cartoons “vulgar” and that the cartoonist is “invading his dignity”. Zapiro said what he does “... is exactly what journalists, cartoonists and satirists do in democratic societies” (Hunter-Gault, 2009: 1).

Tawana Kupe, a media critic and professor at the University of the Witwatersrand, defended Zapiro on another radio programme, declaring that “it’s bad taste, but bad taste is part of an artist’s creativity” (Hunter-Gault, 2009: 2).

Matatha Tsedu, chair of the African Editor’s Forum, disagreed with Kupe, saying that “bad taste and legal are not necessarily the same. The cartoon may be in good taste but may be legally wrong. The court must pronounce on whether Zapiro has crossed the line” (Hunter-Gault, 2009: 2).

This researcher agrees with Kupe that bad taste is not the primary goal of an artist. A cartoonist creates specifically to deliver a message and taste, ethics or aesthetics are relevant, but not all-important. Furthermore, appealing to the justice system to defend a person who is only willing to accept its rulings when it suits him, seems contradictory and ironical.

Zapiro may occasionally be guilty of overstepping the bounds of good taste, as the SACHR has found, but with the Rape of Justicia cartoons he did not violate any fundamental human rights, and “acted with bona fide artistic creativity, in the public interest” (Mataboge, 2010: 10).

In conclusion, the only objection by the Young Communist League, as well as COSATU and others complaining about the Rape of Justicia cartoons (ANC horrified by Zuma cartoon, 2008: 1) this researcher concurs with, is that sensitive readers may find some of these cartoons unsavoury. Zapiro himself agrees with the viewpoint that some readers may find his work distasteful (Zapiro, 2010).

It is also the opinion of this researcher that some of his other cartoons are far less subtle (Zapiro, 2008: 13, 96), while the Rape of Justicia cartoons at the very least carry a message that is significant to the preservation of democracy in South Africa.

B. Disrespect

Supporters of Zuma have reiterated the viewpoint that Zapiro shows no respect for Zuma as a leader, especially as head of state. According to them it is expected of Africans to hold their leaders in high esteem (Daniels, 2009: 1). On the other hand, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, Zapiro is convinced that South African politicians believe that they are better than other people and therefore satirists have to bring such politicians down to earth (Du Plessis, 2008a: 1; Du Plessis, 2010: 1). As such Zapiro adhered to the Western democratic tradition of cartooning, as media ombudsman Franz Krüger states:

“Respect is a fine thing, but in a democracy it is not something that automatically attaches to prominence. It has to be earned. In fact it is the job of the cartoonists to be disrespectful of those in high office and not to allow status to silence them” (Krüger, 2008: 1).

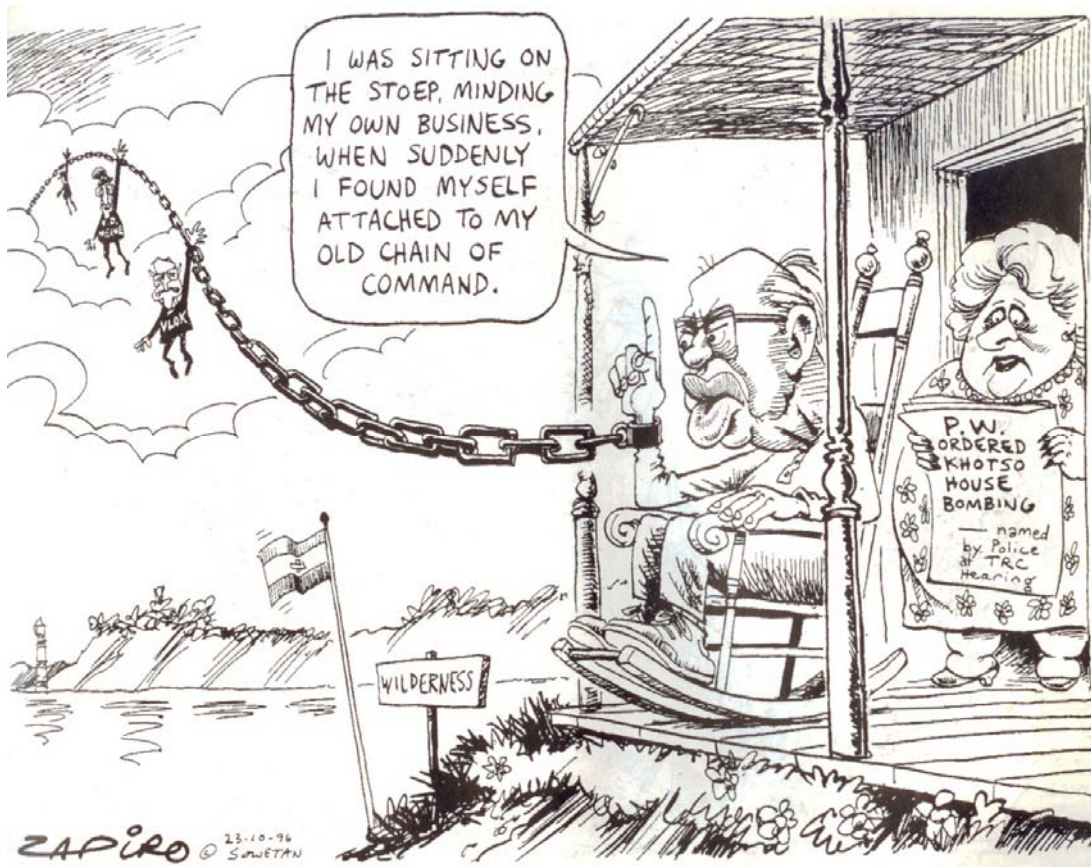
Zapiro himself said that the role of the cartoonist is the same wherever there is freedom of expression, which is

“to knock people off their pedestals and to maintain a watchdog role when it comes to democracy and justice. It’s also to be rude and offensive and to make new connections and start debates and to be hard to deal with” (Dixon, 2008b: 2).

Zapiro is not the only cartoonist who prefers the aggressive stance. It seems that the best satirists in all genres believe in being antagonistic. Respect for authority is not a priority for cartoonists, but rather to attain the respect, if not fear, from those in authority (Shaw, 1984: 239). Therefore, in a multi-cultural country like South Africa, a cartoonist has to criticise anyone from any race group or political affiliation to be effective as a political commentator.

This researcher will argue that Zapiro have not shown more respect to white people or to leaders of the apartheid regime than he does for black people or leaders of the ANC-dominated government. Zapiro has pointed out repeatedly that he is “tackling people in power, who happen to be black, rather than because they are black” (Krüger, 2008: 1).

Zapiro has indeed shown no respect for people who abuse power, no matter who they are (see Figure 31). If he is to be criticised himself, it would rather be because his opinion on a specific matter may be speculative, not because he is prejudiced against a prominent figure like Zuma.



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Figure 31: “The chain gang”. Zapiro pointed out that former state president P.W. Botha (1916 – 2006) could not be exonerated from his deeds after retiring to his beach home in Wilderness. In his portrayal of the finger-wagging, fleshy-faced old man and his plump wife, Zapiro showed no respect for the Bothas (Zapiro, 1996: 31).

C. Effective cartooning

This researcher agrees with expert the opinions of other South African cartoonists that since the start of his career as a cartoonist, Zapiro has improved markedly as an artist and as an independent political commentator to attain the position he now holds, namely the foremost editorial cartoonist in South Africa (Mason, 2008: 1; Curtis, 2010; Zapiro, Jacob Zuma and freedom, 2009: 1).

This researcher is further of the opinion that in order to achieve this feat, he had to sever his filial bonds to the ANC. At the time of writing this thesis, Zapiro stands outside the circle of the ruling regime, facing its full wrath. Conversely, he has earned the respect and support of the majority of his colleagues in the media, as is reflected by the numerous awards he has won since the start of his career.

According to peer reviews of Zapiro's work complies with the highest standards of cartooning. His work is described as "simple, direct draughtsmanship", combined with "wicked wit and the ability to think sideways [which] make him a world-class cartoonist". The judges also mentioned that Zapiro is the best South African cartoonist because he is able to "look beyond the obvious and turn situations on their heads" (Mondi Shanduka Newspaper Awards, 2010: 2).

Satire, as it is generally understood, is supposed to be deleterious and it is not expected of the cartoonist as satirist to explain or apologise (Hambidge, 2008: 6; Verster, 2009a: 4).

As discussed in Chapter 6, the relevant cartoons all complied with standards deemed acceptable for editorial cartoons, with some reservations in certain instances. However, Zapiro managed to send a message to his readers that evoked vigorous debate, as reflected in the media.

It may be argued that the cartoon as a genre is not part of African culture, which also would signify Zapiro's cartoons to be less effective as commentaries, because a significant number of South Africans would not read them or be visually literate enough to understand them.

However, although many of his compatriots may not have regular access to the internet or even newspapers, this researcher contends that Zapiro's work has been in circulation for more than 20 years and he is well known as an anti-apartheid activist among the majority of the citizens of this country. Cartoons are contrived to be easily understood, even to illiterates, which is the real power of this genre (Shaw, 1984: 233; Lamb, 2004: 55-56).

Cartoons are not a new commodity to the majority of Zapiro's readers, even if they are not necessarily part of their culture. The debate generated by the Rape of Justice cartoons is proof of the awareness of Zapiro's satire. Moreover, this debate will stimulate interest in cartoons and the effectiveness thereof as satirical instruments.

On this subject columnist William Saunderson-Meyer stated that

"Cartoonists offer us a visual critique on current events, politics and politicians. The best do it with incisive wit but it is only in exceptional cases that a cartoon manages to define the discourse in a particular issue. Zapiro's cartoon has done just this. It draws an unambiguous line that delineates the thinking on Zuma's judicial predicament. On one side stands representatives of the most powerful political groupings in the country; on the other stands an independent judicial system as defined by the Constitution" (2008: 25).

According to Saunderson-Meyer Zapiro's attack on the particular leaders is unprecedented, while the same can be said about the assault of these leaders on the judiciary. Saunderson-Meyer declared that "[...] the ANC alliance is trying to subvert justice to its political will and deflect the true focus of the debate" (2008: 25).

The focus of the debate this commentator was referring to is whether Zuma is corrupt, not whether the judiciary is impartial (2008: 25). By redirecting the debate on Zuma's actions back to the original core issue, Zapiro's cartoons were thus effective, even though it was necessary to implement shock tactics.

D. Freedom of speech

First and foremost Zapiro's work has to be evaluated according to the main function of an editorial cartoonist, namely as a key role in the safeguarding of democracy by defending freedom of expression.

In 5.6 it was stated that a pressing concern exists among South African journalists regarding freedom of speech. Some cartoonists have stated that post-1994 South Africa is in danger of being under worse threat of censorship than before 1994 (Scholtz, 2009: 12). Zapiro has distanced himself from this viewpoint (Zapiro, 2010). Nevertheless, he has singled out the ANC and its alliance partners as a threat in this regard (Scholtz, 2009: 12).

Given the relative freedom enjoyed by cartoonists as modern-day court jesters, they are in the best position to make people aware of dangers to their constitutional rights, of which the freedom of speech or expression is identified as a fundamental right (Krüger, 2008: 2). The Constitution protects this right of every individual citizen of the country:

“The Roman law *actio injuriarum* protects an individual's rights to dignity, reputation and physical integrity. This act has to contend with finding justifiable balance between two conflicting rights: the right to the individual's personality unimpaired, and the right of others to express themselves freely, even if this freedom encroaches on your personality rights” (Burchell, 1998: vii).

Therefore the Constitution defends the cartoonist's right to express his/her opinions. In this way the cartoonist, together with his/her editor can play a decisive role as “watchdogs of democracy”. To achieve this objective, the editor's role is primarily to provide the necessary environment for the cartoonist to be effective (Lamb, 2004: 182; Biyela, 2010: 10).

In opposition to this ideal, there is ample evidence that Zuma and his supporters have undermined and disparaged the judiciary (Hoofartikel Zuma se lastersaak, 2006: 1).

This researcher will therefore argue that if the president of a country disregards the laws of that country, the rule of law will eventually be replaced by anarchy (Zapiro cartoon is justified, 2010: 1). The SAHRC contended that “to condemn a legitimate expression of opinion such as this [“Collaboration”] would constitute an invasion of the right to freedom of expression” (Mataboge, 2010: 10).

E. Libel

As discussed in Chapter 5, Zuma has sued Zapiro for defamation to the amount of R7 million. This comprises of R5 million for alleged damage to Zuma's reputation and R2 million for alleged damages to his dignity (Mataboge, 2010: 10).

A definition of libel is "to make or publish a defamatory statement or representation, about a person" (Hanks, 1980: 847). The question is therefore to ascertain whether Zapiro was guilty of such a misdemeanour regarding the content of the Rape of Justicia cartoons.

The Young Communist League of South Africa reported Zapiro to the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), because they contended that the Rape of Justicia cartoon (identified as "Collaboration" for the purposes of this thesis) discriminated against Zuma, against women and against rape victims. Therefore the finding of this commission is relevant. The SAHRC issued the following statement:

"The commission found that the cartoon expressed a level of free, open, robust and even unrestrained criticism of politicians by a journalist and had stimulated valuable political debate. Although the SAHRC finds the cartoon and the words issued in relation thereto probably offensive and distasteful, same falls short of and does not constitute hate speech, unfair discrimination under Promotion of Equality and the prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act or a violation of any fundamental human rights contained in the Constitution" (Mataboge, 2010: 10).

According to the SAHRC the right to freedom of expression outweighs Zuma's right to dignity (Mataboge, 2010: 10).

The job description of a cartoonist is said to be critical, prejudiced and passionate, even libellous (Lamb, 2004: 203). The fact that there is no clear and formal job description for a person pursuing the career of editorial cartoonist contributes to the uncertainty regarding what is allowed, and what is out of bounds for the visual satirist. The cartoonist is also employed as a journalist, yet stands apart from reporters who are expected to conform to certain ethics, of which fairness, discipline and verification are expected (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007: 12-13).

D.C. Boonzaier, esteemed and feared cartoonist of a previous generation, even described cartoons as "misrepresentations and lies" (Muller, 1990: 363).

While it is generally understood that the statements of columnists and cartoonists are not necessarily objective and fair, their opinions are associated with that of the publication which carries their work. Therefore the publications in which Zapiro's work is published, may be held accountable. Ultimately, the editor is as guilty of libel as is the cartoonist, because the editor makes the decision to publish the cartoon (Lamb, 2004: 128).

In this respect editors may recant and apologise for the harm a cartoon may have caused, like Nic Dawes of the *Mail & Guardian* regarding the controversial cartoon depicting Mohammed on a psychologist's couch (Eybers, 2010: 11; Smith, 2010; 1; South Africa

enters, 2010: 2). In the instance of the Rape of Justicia cartoons, the editors involved had resolutely supported Zapiro in refusing to apologise, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Editors such as Dawes have to uphold the standards of journalism as set by the Press Code of Professional Practice (SA). The Code contends that

“The basic principle to be upheld is that of the freedom of the press is indivisible from and subject to the same rights and duties of the individual and rests on the public’s fundamental right to be informed and freely to receive and to disseminate opinions” (Press Code, 2009: 1).

The Code also states that

“The public interest is the only test that justifies departure from the highest standards of journalism and includes [...] preventing the public from being misled by some statement or action of an individual or organisation, [and] detecting or exposing hypocrisy, falsehoods or double standards or behaviour on the part of public figures [...]” (Press Code, 2009: 1).

According to these standards Zapiro and his editors have acted within their rights to criticise Zuma and the tripartite alliance, in order to inform the public of what has been interpreted as duplicity and untruthful behaviour by Zuma and his allies.

However, the Code concedes that “Reports, photographs or sketches to matters involving indecency or obscenity shall be presented with due sensitivity towards the prevailing moral climate” (Press Code, 2009: 2).

This researcher contends that “the prevailing moral climate” is open to interpretation, and that the prevailing political climate may be of greater interest to politicians, which is why the tripartite alliance insisted on a “political solution” for Zuma by the judiciary (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1; Isaacson, 2009: 1). This very political solution is what Zapiro is illustrating by his Rape of Justicia cartoons.

With particular reference to Zapiro’s work, the Code states

“In both news and comment, the press shall exercise exceptional care and consideration in matters involving the private lives and concerns of individuals, bearing in mind that any right to privacy may be overridden by a legitimate public interest (Press Code, 2009: 2).

According to Lamb American courts have ruled in similar cases that “in a matter of public concern there would be no libel” (2004: 205).

The question remains whether Zapiro’s portrayal of Zuma as a rapist is libellous or not. According to legal expert Faan Coetzee, Zuma has to prove that Zapiro attacked him personally, as an individual. Coetzee expounded as follows:

“If Zuma wanted to take Zapiro to court because Zapiro depicted Zuma as a rapist, it can be libellous, because he was innocent and not a rapist. If Zuma argues in general that he [Zuma] does not attack the judiciary, his case will fail” (Du Plessis, 2008b: 1).

Should the case go to court, the onus would therefore be on proving Zapiro was incorrect in alluding that Zuma was threatening the judiciary specifically. This would mean that Zuma was not figuratively attempting to rape a woman, *Justicia* being an allegorical figure, as Zapiro contended. Thus Zuma would effectively sue a satirist for making an allegorical statement, as the SAHRC stated: “An image is not a person, thus harm cannot be incited against an object” (Mataboge, 2010: 10).

Zapiro’s graphic statement would then be theoretical and not an accusation of actual rape. This would also mean that the association with the “Kanga case” cannot be proven, as suggested by Zuma’s supporters (see Chapter 6).

F. Objectivity

On the subject of prevalence or lack of objectivity by cartoonists, the point had already been made that no satirist is supposed to be inhibited by fear of commenting on issues of public interest, such as the conduct of political leaders (Nell, 2010). It has been argued that being critical is essentially the primary duty of the cartoonist (Lamb, 2004: 72, 74).

Objectivity has been described as the “unfortunately dim silhouette of journalism’s foremost practice” and as “the fuel that fires journalism’s engine, an ideal and an ideology”. Some journalists embrace objectivity and others reject the concept (Miraldi 1990: 14; Brand, 2007: 12).

According to the *South African concise Oxford dictionary* objectivity refers to “not [being] influenced by personal feelings or opinions in considering and representing facts” (2002: 801).

McQuail postulates that the function of objectivity in journalism is to instil trust and reliability on the part of the news audience towards the news on offer (2005: 563).

However, Campbell (2001: 100) argues that complete objectivity is impossible, because as human beings, reporting on issues affecting the human condition, “one cannot separate one’s history from oneself”. He is of the opinion that a person’s upbringing and education influences the way in which a person perceives an event, and therefore also how one reports on it.

“A number of journalists viewing the same event will likely ‘see’ things differently as the lens through which they view the event will vary from journalist to journalist” (Campbell, 2001: 100).

According to Campbell the concept of the “lens” through which news is perceived and in turn reported, relates to the theory of framing – which refers to how news information is

presented (McQuail, 2005: 378). It is a way of interpreting isolated facts and placing it in context, and by so doing, journalists depart from pure objectivity by introducing some unintended bias (McQuail, 2005: 379).

Sonwalkar also states that:

“Although most journalists try to be objective, impartial and fair in their professional endeavours, their exertions are invariably conducted within a socio-cultural framework, which determines the nature and limits of their activities (2005: 167).

This researcher is convinced that cartoonists do place certain issues into context, but without pretence to objectivity. They may interpret issues differently, but consider this their right as independent commentators. The bias which cartoonists introduce is acknowledged, if not expected.

Zapiro has admitted that his upbringing has shaped his perspective on politics and that he considers himself an activist first and foremost (Amato, 2005: 12).

In effect, of all types of journalists, cartoonists enjoy the most freedom and being subjective is the essence of their freedom. This does not mean that they should not be fair and balanced in their criticism (Verwoerd & Mabizela, 2000: 153; Nell, 2010; Verster, 2010b: 10).

G. Overkill

Cartoonists can go too far with their ridicule and in effect defeat their own ends by causing the public to sympathise with the intended target (Verster, 2009a: 10). One commentator stated that Zapiro has created the most popular caricature in South Africa, namely Jacob Zuma (Coetzee, 2008: 1). The tubby, knobbly-headed, wall-eyed lecherous character of Zapiro’s creation has appeared frequently in newspapers, on the internet and even in a satirical puppet show (Brümmer, 2009: 10; Zapiro’s shower, 2009: 1).

The frequency of this preposterous caricature may cause the public to grow accustomed to it as a harmless, unrealistic boogiemanager-type of object. It can therefore be argued that Zapiro may have dehumanised Zuma to the level of an urban legend. If this is the case, Zapiro has cried wolf too often and made fun of Zuma to his own detriment.

This researcher is of the opinion that the satirist has to ensure that he or she creates satire and not humour. Satire shows no mercy and offers no sympathy, but if the cartoonist goes too far and is seen as to enjoy the process without a compelling reason, his commentary will be interpreted as spiteful, personal hatred and subjective in general. The *raison d’être* of every cartoon must be ethical or it will be deemed invalid.

As the Democratic Alliance has stated, “the cartoon [“Collaboration”] may just shock South African leaders to their senses” (Zapiro cartoon gets South Africa talking, 2008: 1).

It may be doubtful that politicians across party lines will take Zapiro seriously, but voters may. Moreover, since a political party issued such a statement, it indicates that the relevant cartoon and those that followed it were discussed on party political level.

Zapiro has commented on a variety of issues and individuals, as the subject index on his website (www.zapiro.com) indicates. Most cartoonists alternate political criticism with social commentary as not to be perceived as one-dimensional and to keep the interest of the public (Shaw, 1984: 239). The alternative would lead to overkill, especially if one individual, such as Zuma, is lampooned incessantly. In this respect Zapiro follows the normative cartooning model.

H. Personal vendetta

The allegation that Zapiro has a vendetta against Zuma (Zapiro cartoon angers NUMSA, 2010: 2) will be difficult to substantiate, because Zuma had not attacked Zapiro personally, but reacted to Zapiro's criticism. Therefore Zapiro does not seem to have a personal reason for seeking out the president to denounce him.

As has been pointed out by several commentators, Zapiro has attacked other prominent politicians over a number of years, including Nelson Mandela. Those individuals that have elicited more criticism than others, like the late Minister of Health, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang (1940 – 2009), have been likewise criticised by other commentators, such as Zapiro's fellow cartoonists. Zapiro explained that his initial feelings of admiration for Zuma as a leader have changed to disgust because of his sexual exploits and disregard for the judicial system (Hans, 2006: 2).

Regarding the accusation of Zapiro harbouring a private hatred for Zuma, Pierre du Toit, chair of the Department of Political Science at Stellenbosch University, stated

“Political cartoonists take certain items that are in the public domain and satirise them [...] Zuma can hardly argue that Zapiro is using aspects of his [Zuma's] private life to cast him in a bad light” (Hans, 2006: 2).

Du Toit's statement resonated with the comment by Zapiro that it was not his problem that Zuma has a “history” regarding promiscuity (Du Plessis, 2008a: 1). Moreover, Zapiro had declared that he was willing to give Zuma a chance to redeem himself and that the issue he had with Zuma was about his penchant to make promises he does not intend to keep (Hunter-Gault, 2009: 1; Gule, 2010: 1).

The fact that Zapiro removed the showerhead from his Zuma-caricatures for a time (see Figure 23) indicates that the allegation of a vendetta against Zuma is insubstantial. Zapiro challenged Zuma during a radio broadcast to show commitment to freedom of expression, rather than just pay lip service to it. Zapiro said that “... a responsible press is one that holds its politicians to account” (Derby & Cohen, 2008: 1; Hunter-Gault, 2009: 1).

In 2009 at a debate regarding the role of the cartoonist in a democratic society, Zapiro said that he is not obsessed with Zuma, but treats him the same as he had treated many other politicians (Steenkamp, 2009: 5).

This researcher is of the opinion that while Zuma has featured in numerous of Zapiro's cartoons, Zapiro had indeed criticised several other politicians relentlessly. The onus has always been on influential people, regardless of race, gender or affiliation. An overview of the cartoons on Zapiro's website and cartoon collections in print show this to be a fact.

I. Projection of personal fears

The Afrikaans poet Danie Marais proposed that white South Africans are paranoid in their collective attitude towards black people in general (Marais, 2010: 7). However, by referring to the cartoon "The liberals" by Kannemeyer (see Figure 28), it could be concluded that Zapiro implemented rape as a metaphor because of this shared fear.

As discussed in Chapter 6, Zapiro, as anti-apartheid activist has proven himself to be non-racist and would have no more reason to fear physical harm from black people in general, than anyone else in South Africa. An irrational fear for black men in particular, is deemed unfounded. Zapiro himself stated categorically that rape as a physical action, is of secondary importance regarding the Rape of Justicia cartoons (Zapiro, 2010). Zapiro could also have used a white woman as a rape victim, as Kannemeyer did, but chose not to do so.

As argued in Chapter 6, Kannemeyer has a penchant for portraying himself in his work (Botes & Kannemeyer, 2001: 4, 32, 38; Van Staden, 2006: np; Gule, 2010: 1; Van Bosch, 2010: 10).

This researcher contends that it is Kannemeyer who seems to be projecting himself, rather than commenting on Zapiro. The depiction of graphic sex, rape and murder with a racial undertone is also recurrent in Kannemeyer's work (Redelinghuys, 2010: 11) (see Figure 32). The same cannot be said of Zapiro.

Thus, if Kannemeyer prefers to focus on such themes and is likely to project himself into his work, it does not mean other artists share this proclivity.



Figure 32: “The racial taboo”. The theme of interracial sex or rape of whites by blacks is common in Kannemeyer’s *Bitterkomix* collections (Van Staden, 2006: np; Botes & Kannemeyer: 35, 36), which is not the case in Zapiro’s work.

In contrast with the allegations of *angst* projection by Zapiro *The Times* stated that

“Shapiro has encapsulated in one drawing the biggest threat to South Africa’s future – that our justice system will be the sacrificial lamb offered up on the altar of ‘our saviour,’ Zuma” (Zapiro cartoon gets South Africa talking, 2008: 1).

There is no indication of Zapiro having a problem with black men or that he personally feels threatened by violent crime. On the contrary, Zapiro has given his reasons for his cartoons on several occasions, as discussed in this thesis.

According to Zapiro he had one fear when he created these cartoons. That fear was for the threat to the judiciary by people who stated that judges were counter-revolutionary and they (Malema for example) would kill for Zuma in that context (Du Plessis, 2008: 1).

J. Racism

In response to the first Rape of Justicia cartoon (“Collaboration”) Julius Malema, president of the ANCYL declared that “there are white racist journalists who project African leadership as irresponsible and we will never allow that (Krüger, 2008: 1).

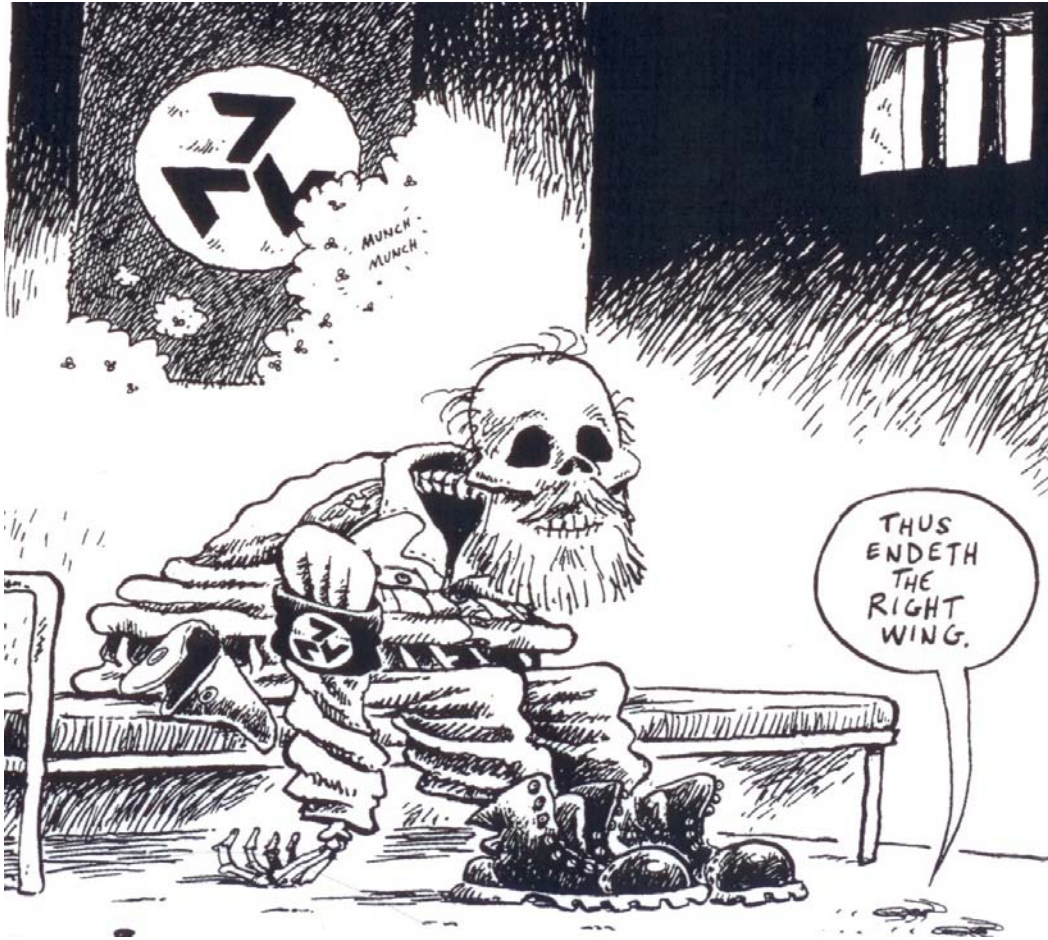
On the grounds of racism, the well-known Struggle record of Zapiro and the many examples of opposition to the apartheid regime, including severe attacks on white political leaders (see Figures 31 and 33), prove such accusations as unfounded. Zapiro’s reaction on the racism allegations was that it was a “red herring” (Controversial cartoon awarded, 2009: 2). Other commentators have agreed with Zapiro that the so-called

“... race-card exonerates one from blame and responsibility. Even if Zapiro was black he could have been labelled as a puppet of the Western media and that is quite common in Africa” (McKeon, 2008: 14).

While Zapiro has attacked the ANC alliance and Zuma repeatedly in his cartoons, he has also attacked racism (see Figure 33). Irrespective of this fact, Zapiro has been accused of racism, being counter-revolutionary and “disrespectful towards the masses” (Beddy, 2008: 17).

This last accusation suggests that Zapiro as a white man is criticising black people, and as discussed in Chapter 5, discredits Zapiro in the eyes of many black people (Verster, 2009a: 16). Zapiro himself has been outspoken against racism, for instance distancing himself from the columnist David Bullard, who according to Zapiro was justly dismissed because of his racist writings (Zapiro, 2010).

The accusation of racism is too easily bandied about and to attach this to Zapiro is unfounded and absurd, as no evidence for such accusations could be found.



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Figure 33: “Forgotten”. Zapiro depicted the right wing leader Eugène Terre’Blanche (1941 – 2010) as forgotten and redundant, wasting away in prison. This portrayal of a prominent supremacist leader is indicative of Zapiro’s attitude towards racism (Zapiro, 2001: 80).

K. Symbolism

Zapiro has explained that journalists frequently refer to “the rape of the justice system” when the system is blatantly undermined. In order to render this idiomatic expression graphically in a cartoon format, a woman is the logical choice, as women are generally perceived as rape victims, rather than men. The best-known symbol for justice happens to be the allegorical figure *Justitia* (see Chapter 6), a universal symbol representing justice systems for centuries (Du Plessis, 2008a: 1; Zapiro defends Zuma cartoon, 2008: 1).

However, *Justitia* as representing the Western concept of law and order, is not endemic of Africa (as argued in Chapter 6), where illiteracy and isolation from cultures outside the continent still contribute to a lack of awareness of, for instance, ancient Greek and Roman myths. As such it cannot be expected of the majority of readers in South Africa to

be aware what *Justicia* represents. The fact that Zapiro felt the need to explain that *Justicia* is “a centuries-old representation of justice”, emphasise that his symbol exists outside the cultural paradigm of many South African readers.

Zapiro is quoted that the tripartite leaders know what *Justicia* stands for, but pretend ignorance to the fact (Zapiro in cartoon uproar, 2008: 3). However, he cannot know this indubitably, because if there are members of the public who are unaware of *Justicia* and what she stands for, members of the tripartite leadership may also be unaware of this symbol.

Symbolism is one of the most effective elements of cartooning (see Chapter 6) and therefore it is deemed logical that Zapiro would choose to implement it as a technique to promote his views. As discussed in Chapter 5, Boonzaier had created a symbol of capitalism (*Hoggenheimer*) that made a lasting impression on his contemporaries and is still remembered more than half a century later (see Figure 1).

Zapiro’s rendition of *Justicia* may not have the same lasting impact as a memorable caricature, but the role “she” may yet play in the battle for the freedom of the press could prove to be significant. She presents a visual, identifiable image, as opposed to abstract arguments regarding threats to Constitutional rights.

Zapiro has used *Justicia* as a symbol before he created the Rape of *Justicia* cartoons (Zapiro, 2001: 111). This means that he did not create his rendition of *Justicia* to attack Zuma specifically. The early versions of *Justicia* resembled a black woman, which indicates that he did not intimate that Zuma was raping a black woman, rather that a white woman, when he later used *Justicia* in the Rape of *Justicia* cartoons. (Zapiro, 2001: 111). Therefore, race is not the issue in this case, but abuse of power.

It can be argued that Zapiro has Africanised *Justicia*, as opposed to Mouton’s traditional-looking blonde *Justicia*, so that African readers can identify with her, even if they do not recognise her as a mythological figure. Readers can all understand the concept of rape, namely the subjugation of one person to the will of another, as rape is not about sex, but about power. Dominance and vilification are universal phenomena, as is maltreatment of people in vulnerable positions by those in power.

The SAHRC found that *Justicia* is a metaphorical representation of the justice system, and as a non-human object, “she” cannot be considered to be the victim of an actual rape. The commission also agreed with Zapiro that the tripartite alliance called for a political solution and threatened the judiciary. Therefore the commission supported Zapiro by declaring that “[the cartoon] was a political expression, published in the public interest and as such, deserves heightened protection” (Mataboge, 2010: 10).

From a historical perspective of cartooning as a genre, Lamb also argues that “one cannot reasonably interpret a cartoon as literally depicting an actual event or situation” (2004: 202).

Arguments have been made in favour and against the use of *Justicia* as a symbol. However, the researcher is convinced that despite the relative lack of understanding of the relevant symbolism, *Justicia* is deemed appropriate as a symbol in the context of the South African historical milieu and *Zeitgeist*.

L. Tradition and the cartoonist

With “tradition” is meant both African tradition of respect to leaders and to Western tradition of regarding cartoonists as virtually sacrosanct on matters of satire. While cartoonists traditionally enjoy a certain indulgence in Western societies, they are not immune to criticism themselves, or from prosecution (Coetzee, 2010a: 11; Nell, 2010; Verster, 2010: 10b). The very judicial system Zapiro wishes to defend with his version of *Justicia* is supposed to be blind in its fairness, which means he is as liable to be indicted for libel as is anyone else.

Furthermore, South Africa is not a Western country and the majority of its citizens adhere to African cultural traditions. While many ethnic Africans are adopting modern conventions to move away from tribalism to the global village by way of the media, there is also a significant resistance to what is seen as westernisation (Shutte, 1993: 2, 89; Mbeki, 1998: 300.).

This trend is reflected in the media on a daily basis, but probably no more so than by the present government in its attacks on the media and even by proposing an “Africanisation” of the judicial system (Hlope calls for Africanisation, 2009: 1; Pillay, 2009: 1) and a media tribunal to monitor the so-called anti-African media (Zapiro slams media tribunal, 2008: 1; Brown, 2010: 1).

Antagonism to censure by cartoonists is not limited to South Africa. Cartoonists in other African countries have voiced similar complaints over a number of years (Medubi, 2009: 216: 2).

As explained in Chapter 6, the disrespect that cartoonists traditionally show to authority figures is deemed unacceptable and un-African to many Africans. It is difficult to conceive that an African court would state that cartoons are “protected expression [...] despite their occasional viciousness and obvious falseness”, as has been the case in courts in the USA (Lamb, 2004: 203).

However, the cartoonist’s purpose is not only to criticise or to expose wrongdoing, but also to inform, educate and to stimulate debate (Joubert, 2010c: 2; Mataboge, 2001: 10).

The debate generated by the Rape of Justice cartoons acted to make *Justicia* and what she stands for known to many people who were ignorant regarding this. Consequently, these now enlightened individuals are empowered to debate the issue and to make informed decisions (Berger, 2008: 1).

7.3 Conclusion

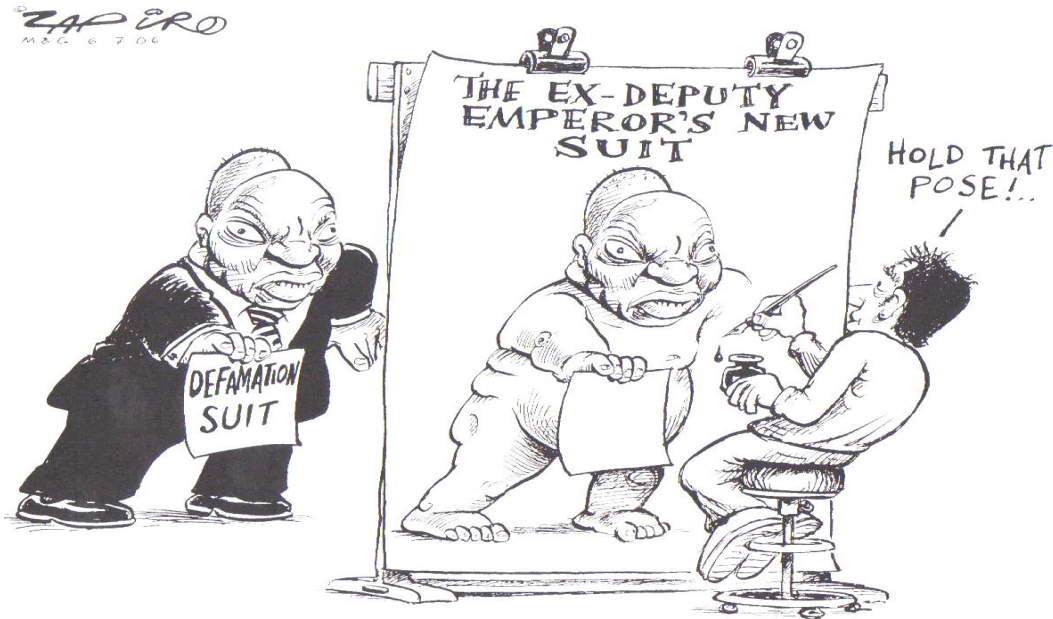
As head of state Jacob Zuma can claim that Zapiro not only disrespected him as an individual, but has also shown disrespect to the position of state president (New Zapiro cartoon causes fury, 2010: 1).

The Constitution protects Zuma's rights as much as it guarantees Zapiro's right to freedom of expression. Therefore Zuma was within his rights to sue Zapiro for damages to his name. However, Zuma by right of his position of state president has a responsibility to set an example regarding ethical behaviour (Zumafikassie oor privaathed, 2010: 14). This aspect outweighs his individual rights, as his actions are in the public interest (Mataboge, 2010: 10).

Consequently it is expected of Zapiro and any other journalist to expose unacceptable behaviour on the part of people in leadership positions. When the president of the country makes statements that is interpreted as threatening to the freedom and general well-being of the state, a journalist would be forsaking his or her duty when not drawing attention to such a situation.

As a cartoonist operating in a democratic society, Zapiro is privileged to criticise anyone within the parameters of what is seen as acceptable satire (Hoofartikel Zuma se lastersaak, 2006: 1).

As argued in 7.1, Zapiro's cartoons may have bordered on defamation and bad taste, but he has not gone to the extreme lengths certain other cartoonists have (see Figures 30 en 32). Zuma's conduct in both his personal life and the political sphere has evoked criticism from many commentators (Johnson, 2009: 514, 544; Rabe, 2009: 1). Therefore, this researcher is convinced that Zapiro's belief that Zuma brought this criticism on himself, is justified (see Figure 34).



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Figure 34: “Hold that pose”. Zapiro showed his defiance of Zuma’s threats against him, while inferring that Zuma is guilty of being a bad example as a leader (Zapiro, 2006: 131).

Pictures have the power to shock and to be offensive, but some sensitivities are more worthy of consideration than others (Krüger, 2008: 2). Ultimately the question is whether Zapiro’s attack on Zuma constituted fair comment. According to Berger it was, because it criticised the dangerous attack on the Constitution by the parties who pretended to uphold the Constitution, namely Zuma and his supporters. They also asserted that they have never attacked the judiciary, which Zapiro pointed out as untrue (Berger, 2008: 2).

Should Zapiro, and the media by implication, be silenced, the fourth estate will become the lapdogs of their political masters. Independent news coverage, commentary and thinking will be suppressed. Such a state of affairs will also mean the end of democracy for all practical purposes (Coetzee, 2010a: 17).

It is the contention of this researcher that Zapiro has acted within both the historical context of the issues he commented on and the expectations of an editorial cartoonist, namely to attack people who consider themselves to be above the law. As Boonzaier put it: “It is the right of the cartoonist to accost thick-skinned politicians” (Muller, 1990: 656).

Zapiro seems to agree with Boonzaier, as well as with Lamb’s statement that patriotism and nationalism are not synonymous (2004: 219) when he said: “There are some people who now consider me to be the enemy. And this is very strange, very strange” (La Vita, 2009: 11).

At the time this thesis was written, the ANC and its alliance partners were propagating a media tribunal consisting of politicians to replace the media's self-regulating system (Joubert, 2010b: 2; McFarlane, 2010: 5).

This researcher is of the opinion that the debate generated by Zapiro's Rape of Justicia cartoons contributed to this undemocratic proposal. Conversely, Zapiro will undoubtedly be on the forefront in the fight against censorship, while his fame as a cartoonist should provide support to the cause which may become an integral part of a new Struggle.

Zapiro's stance against Zuma epitomises the bulwark of democracy resisting an invading force seeking to undermine it. Lamb's statement, that if one cartoonist is silenced, others will follow, is manifestly applicable (2004: 84). This one aspect of the Rape of Justicia cartoon debate deems Zapiro's commentary both necessary and valid.

Should the government succeed in implementing censure by means of a media tribunal, an autocratic rule will ensue along the lines of the Authoritarian or Soviet-totalitarian models as discussed in Chapter 3.

A cartoonist is required to operate within the context of editorial cartooning as a medium, which constitutes "reporting the times", and making history in the process (Liebenberg, 1989: 49). This history is the story of not only the elite of a society, but that of society in its entirety, as endorsed by the Humanist approach (see Chapter 3).

If the cartoonist also plays a pivotal role in the defence of the freedom of expression of every citizen in his or her country, he has earned more than the right to this very freedom himself.

7.4 Summary

This chapter functions as the culmination of the critique of the Rape of Justicia cartoons. In 7.2, objections (e.g., libel and racism) and concurrences (e.g., defending freedom of expression and the use of Justicia as a symbol) evoked by these cartoons are discussed, with references to relevant themes explicated in previous chapters. Conclusively the validity of the Rape of Justicia cartoons, as proposed in 1.3, is expounded: Zapiro's visual satire stands vindicated in the struggle for true democracy in a country with a history of episodic censorship since the 1800s.

Pissarra, whose study of Zapiro's work preceded this thesis by almost two decades, is allocated the final précis for the motive for visual commentary such as the Rape of Justicia cartoons:

"The *raison d'être* [sic] for political cartoons is to communicate with an immediate audience through the use of visual and literary texts (or part thereof), which function as signifying systems for the production of meaning, or provide for the consumption of meanings" (1991: 4).

In response to Pissarra's statement, one can make the assertion that, according to the norms of Critical theory, the result of Zapiro's criticism of Zuma and his allies, has been

“[...] an increased self-consciousness about the role of the critic, and the different social and historical circumstances that interfere with communication [...] (Critical theory definition, 2010: 2).

Zapiro needed to adjust to changes in the political landscape since his days as a supporter of the United Democratic Front, namely to re-think his role as a shaper of political opinion in a post-1992 South Africa. In his opinion, blind loyalty to the ANC was not an option (Zapiro, 2010). Moreover, the attitude of the Zuma faction, which has become progressively militant since Zuma's rape trial in 2006, has also been noted and criticised by the general public (Zapiro, 2010).

The ANC's evolution from resistance movement fighting an unjust regime, to being criticised as a corrupt and undemocratic government, is in accordance to the Cyclical theory discussed in 3.4.1. Conversely, Zapiro's development as a critic, shows an evolution in the opposite direction as that of the ANC under Zuma's leadership. By accomplishing this feat, Zapiro proved that he has remained true to his beliefs as a satirist, namely to expose wrongdoing.

In the final analysis, however, it has never been the goal of satirists to be objective or fair. In the case of editorial cartoonists *per se*, there is a long tradition of subjective antagonism towards what these critics consider to be unfairness. When they criticise the wrongdoings of prominent people in society, they assume the role of observers, standing outside society and pointing fingers, pens and brushes at the objects of their wrath. Therefore, to sue Zapiro for attacking Zuma in cartoons is to sue him for doing his duty.

8.List of illustrations

<u>Figure:</u>	<u>Page no:</u>
1. Who's the boss?	50
2. UDF calendar	56
3. Dream on	60
4. My reputation	64
5. Clashing symbols	67
6.a Out on a limb	68
6.b Changing colours	69
7. The hostage	79
8. Dark work	80
9. Mouthwash	81
10. In memoriam	82
11. De Zegepraal	83
12. Hearsay?	84
13. Universal symbol	85
14. Justicia's dilemma	86
15. Subversive action	87
16. Roadkill	88
17. Leader	89
18. Collaboration	90
19. Goodbye	97
20. The emperor's new clothes	98
21. Respect	99
22. Also valid	104
23. Hovering showerhead	108
24. A victory	109
25. Lost sword	114
26. Pontius Mpshe	120
27. Unfinished business	126
28. The liberals	133
29. Reversed roles	135
30. Masochistic nightmare	139
31. Chain gang	142
32. Racial taboo	151
33. Forgotten	153
34. Hold that pose	157

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