

**IF YOU STRIKE A WOMAN: AN ANALYSIS OF HOW WOMEN ARE
REPRESENTED IN POLITICAL CARTOONS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S WOMEN'S
DAY, 2009-2017**

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ABSTRACT

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On 7 August 2017, two days prior to South Africa's National Women's Day, video footage of a representative of the State, Mduzuzi Manana, beating up a woman went viral. This marred the Women's Day celebrations of that year, as it became clear to the public that he was not going to be punished. As important political commentators, cartoonists used Manana's actions as an opportunity to depict the violence women face, even in a month dedicated to women. In these cartoons, Manana became the face of a patriarchal system, one which has deeply affected the quality of life for women who, to date, cannot claim their Constitutional rights. This thesis is interested in the mini-narratives of such cartoons, ones which offer a view on the status of South African women. Through this qualitative study, a textual analysis in the spirit of Critical Discourse Analysis of seven selected cartoons leads to a discussion of what their representations of women means for gender justice. What this research shows is that the representations that cartoons offer of the position of women in South Africa are complex. These cartoons articulate that South Africa has a long way to go to reach equality and gender justice. In order for gender justice to be realised, the representation of women needs to evolve into one which recognises women's plight but does not relegate them to the state of victimhood.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

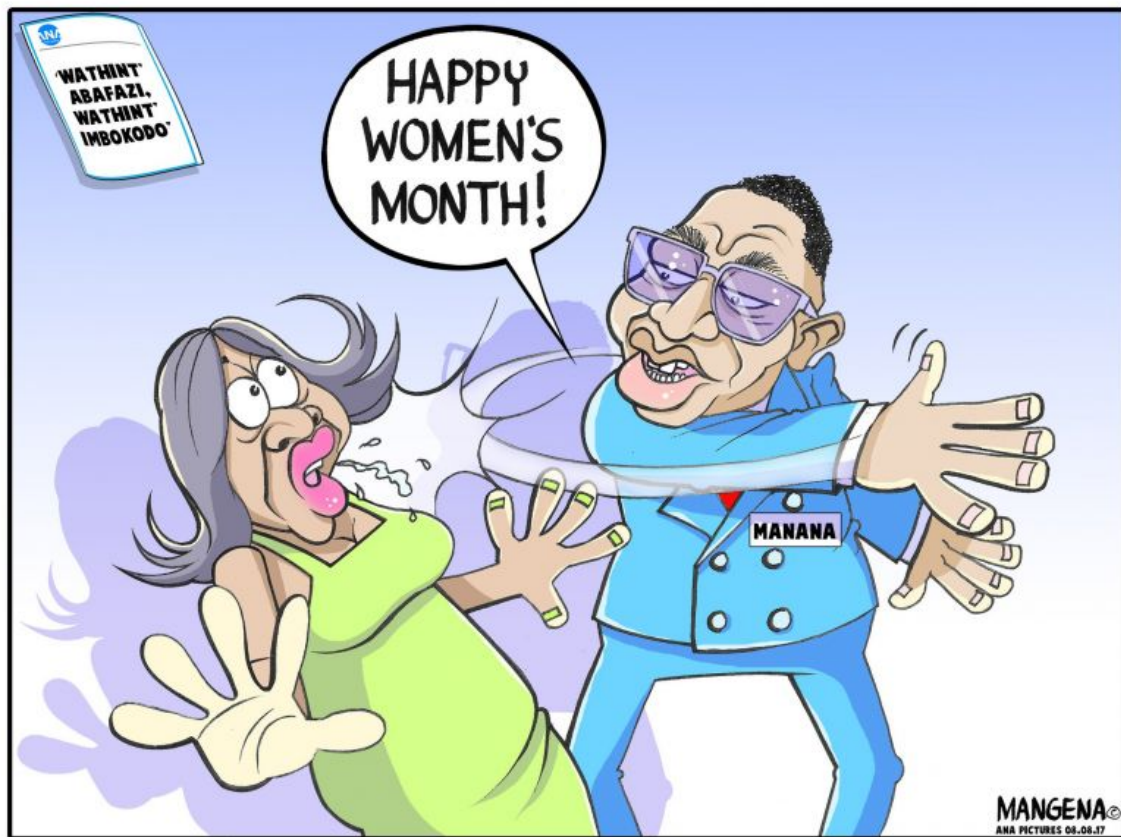


Figure 1: Mangena, B. 2017. 'Happy Women's Month', in *The Star*. Available on Africartoons.com

Background of Research

On South Africa's National Women's Day in 2017, three prominent local artists: Mangena (8 August, *The Star*), Yalo (10 August, *Sowetan*) and Zapiro (10 August, *Daily Maverick*) created and published political cartoons in response to a public issue. These cartoonists offer the readers specific narratives of Women's Day, each cartoon focussing on the then Deputy Minister of Higher Education, Mduzuzi Manana, as a symbol for gender-based violence (See Appendix 1.1). On 7 August 2017, Manana had assaulted three women at Cubana, a popular nightclub in Fourways, Johannesburg (Isaacs, 2017). A bystander filmed one of the incidents, in which Manana attacked Mandisa Duma (Herman, 2018). The two other women he attacked that night were Thina Mopipa and Noluthando Mahlaba, and although those attacks were not filmed, the footage of the one incident clearly shows Manana's violent behaviour directed towards a woman.

Manana's stated reason for acting violently towards these women stemmed from a comment made by Mhalaba, who apparently insulted him by asking, "Who do you think you are? You *istabane*"¹ (cited in Mahlangu and Goba, 2017). The timing of these attacks on women by a representative of the State was seen as highly ironic: amazingly, even in the month dedicated to celebrating women's rights, women remain vulnerable members of South African society. Manana's actions, in the broader context of South Africa's high levels of gender-based violence, suggested that men can attack women with little consequence. Following two weeks of public pressure, Manana resigned from his position as Deputy Minister of Higher Education. However, he remained in the African National Congress (ANC) leadership for a sustained period as a Member of Parliament until July 2018 (Citizen Reporter, 2018).

Manana's actions and the cartoons that comment on Women's Day are situated in a complex social and historical context. This context includes the recent historical struggle of South African women for gender equality, which is interwoven with and inflected by their historical participation in the anti-apartheid struggle (Hassim, 2002). The political cartoons that operate in this social context also have their own socio-historical context and discursive practices (Chute, 2017). As such, an analysis of Women's Day cartoons is multidimensional because one has to acknowledge the complexity of a terrain in which cartoons carry messages about society. Operating in this complex social context, the cartoons that appear on Women's Day offer a powerful critique of the purpose and efficacy of such a holiday, which prompted me to ask: *how are women represented in South African political cartoons of National Women's Day?* Further, which discourses are apparent in these cartoons? In short, are there multiple discourses present in each cartoon which speak more broadly to the current position of women in society?

By analysing Women's Day cartoons that appeared within a period of eight years, between 2009 and 2017, I hope to discover which discourses are at play within this genre of cartoons, and what ideas of South African womanhood such discourses construct. Discourses are sustained and circulated through representations such as political cartoons. As a highly noticeable genre, political cartoons are constructed within specific contexts with the aim of communicating, and thus mediating, information, ideas, values and attitudes to an audience. Tracking Women's Day cartoons from 2009 over an eight-year period provides a solid foundation for understanding how women's social position is viewed within this genre.

¹ A derogatory term to describe someone as homosexual

Women's Day is an important moment which gives cartoonists a pointed opportunity to comment on the state of women's rights and gender (in)justice in South Africa (See Appendix 1.2).

In examining these prevailing discourses, this research seeks to understand what the representations of women in Women's Day cartoons mean for gender justice. This is especially important as cartoons have become noticeable carriers of news and information (Chute, 2017: 1). Cartoonists themselves are precariously positioned, as they are at risk of causing public outrage because of the messages they choose to deliver (Mason, 2009). While the cartoons of 2017 focussed on gender-based violence targeted at a woman, there is chance for the cartoons from other years to show more dynamic representations of women, ones that do not only tie women to discourses of patriarchy and gender-based violence². This thesis is an exploration into what these cartoons represent and how this can inform our understandings about women, Women's Day and gender justice.

Women during apartheid (Context A)

'You strike a woman, you strike a rock'

'Wathint' Abafazi, Wathint' Imbokodo – 'you strike a woman, you strike a rock' – is a protest call that became a metaphor for women's strength and a symbol of the women's iconic anti-pass laws march of 1956 (Kerseboom, 2014: 291).

Historically, the use of pass laws in South Africa as a form of labour control applied only to men. Whenever attempts were to extend the system to black women, mass protests quickly resulted (Wells, 1982: i).

From 1916 – 1984, more than 17 million black South Africans were prosecuted and beaten for opposing pass laws. These exclusionary laws were put in place to control the movement of black people inside "white areas", urban businesses, and residential spaces which were reserved for white occupation (Savage, 1986: 181). Passes for women had been abolished in 1923, but the apartheid government sought to re-introduce them in 1948. This constricting control over the movement of black people by the government was met with episodes of intense resistance by black women (Wells, 1982: ii). In 1950, the apartheid government had further segregated South Africans by relocating millions of South Africans to 'Bantustans' –

² For the purposes of this thesis, patriarchy is understood as an institutionalised power relation, which values the dominance of men over women. Patriarchy thus sets the terms of engagement, for all aspects of life, including the overtly political and public actions of those in power (Connell, 2009: 78).

areas demarcated specifically for black residents (Savage, 1986: 182). The ‘Natives Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act of 1952’ was a policy to make pass laws apply to all black South Africans, no matter their sex or class. On 27 October 1955, the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) leaders, Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi, Rahima Moosa and Sophie Williams, headed a peaceful protest of 2000 women to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to demand that the pass laws not be extended to women (Kersebom, 2014: 287). Despite this protest, in 1956 the government issued ‘reference books’ to black women, precipitating nationwide protest (Wells, 1982: 290). These laws threatened to stop women from fulfilling provider roles, while increasing their vulnerability to police violence. Women were pushed to take a stand (Wells, 1982: 292).

Once again, Joseph, Ngoyi, Moosa and Williams led the protesters to the Union Buildings in Pretoria. This time, they were joined by 20 000 women. On 9 August 1956, women of all backgrounds marched for their rights and the rights of others to freedom of movement (Waylen, 2007: 527). This march was organised by FEDSAW and the ANC Women’s League (ANCWL), who facilitated communication and coordination of meetings for active participants who were protesting the extension of pass laws to women (Wells, 1982: 1). Through this march (and others) women played pivotal and politicised roles in the fight for a free South Africa (Kersebom, 2014: 111).

A result of this historic march, almost 40 years later, was the inclusion of women in the creation of a new political system for a democratic South Africa (Waylen, 2007: 522). Since 1995, this iconic moment of women’s unity and strength has been recognised each year on National Women’s Day. Celebrations of the day have included memorial lectures, commemorative marches, and the recognition of women’s contributions to the formation of a democratic South Africa (Kersebom, 2014: 298). The commemoration of South African women’s movements was extended from one day into a month, which runs for the whole of August (Kersebom, 2014: 298). Even so, Women’s Day only celebrates one specific event, with Women’s Month being a blanket claim over all other women’s movements that contributed to the liberation struggle.

The other side of the struggle

The strength of women as a unified force has become a “success story” in South Africa (Hassim, 2002: 693), which is one of the few countries that saw the active participation of women in the establishment of a democratic political system (Waylen, 2007: 522). This

success has elevated some women involved to the status of ‘struggle hero’, an accolade that has given rise to the illusion that South Africa has achieved gender equality (Kersebom, 2014: 24),

The African National Congress joins the men and women of South Africa in commemorating the National Women's Day. This day affords us an opportunity to recognize and celebrate the significant role that women have played in the South African struggle for liberation and development. Today, we have women representation across all sectors of society. Today, we celebrate women providing leadership in various fields including education, health, science, technology, aviation, business, public service, media and across civil society formations (Kodwa, & Sangoni, 2017).

What is highlighted in the above quotation are the achievements made by women in a range of occupations and at all levels of society. But, while politicians are quick to commemorate the moment of the march and its successful resistance to the dictates of apartheid, what is not discussed is the high level of violence and internal struggles that women faced within the anti-apartheid struggle itself (McClintock, 2009). This is particularly true of the violence endured by women within the ANC movement. There is a cruel irony underlying this since, on the one hand we have a national holiday to celebrate the ideal of women’s achievements, and on the other hand the violence women faced within these movements is seldom aired (McClintock, 2009). This is because nationalism is a fundamentally patriarchal philosophy and no nationalist struggle has treated men and women equally in terms of access to resources. This division of access results in rigid roles for women such as being biological reproducers, symbols and signifiers of national difference in male discourse, producers of cultural narratives, reproducers of the boundaries of the nation, and active participants in national movements (McClintock, 2009: 105). As such, this limited view of womanhood results in little space for the public redress of the very violence that women endured by their comrades (McClintock, 2009: 118).

Transition to democracy

The political transition, the Constitution, and the Equality Clause

During the political transition to democracy, women’s movements ensured that gender equality was lawfully protected by South Africa’s new Constitution (Hassim, 2002: 693; Constitutional Assembly, 1996: 5). The Women’s National Coalition (WNC) was formed by individuals from various women’s movements, including the ANCWL. The goal of the WNC

was twofold: firstly, the WNC aimed to ensure that women were represented in the transition to democracy, and secondly it aimed to fight for the establishment of women's right to equality within the new Constitution (Hassim, 2002: 694). To these ends, the WNC constructed the Women's Charter for Effective Equality, which outlined the wide variety of women's demands across racial and class divides. However, this Charter has not been drawn on by the ANC to address issues that affect women because the WNC lost momentum when many of its leaders entered Parliament after the 1994 election (Kersebom, 2014: 144). Nonetheless, women's rights to equality are included in South Africa's Bill of Rights: the state may not discriminate against anyone based on belief, culture, language, birth, gender, sex and sexual orientation (Constitutional Assembly, 1996). Gender equality is assured in Chapter 9 of South Africa's Constitution, where gender justice can be understood as the "transformative project" of creating a more inclusive society (Ozoemena, 2018: 1). This transformative project was put into place to combat the disempowerment of women and to recognise that women are productive members of society.

Gender (in)justice

Equality and sexual rights are protected by our Constitution as a foundational part of our law. The Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) was set up as an offshoot of Section 187 of South Africa's Constitution. Its mission is to alleviate gender inequality in South Africa (Commission for Gender Equality, 2018). Unfortunately, the elected leaders who are meant to protect women's rights have failed (Ratele, 2006: 53). Thus, women still face extraordinarily high levels of gender-based violence across South Africa (Kersebom, 2014: 3). The removal of barriers to full human rights for women is a priority of gender justice for social development. Gender justice is about the lived experience and quality of life for women who are currently disempowered (Ozoemena, 2018:1). In order for it to be realised, women need to gain substantive access to those socio-cultural, political and economic resources that will improve their circumstances and ensure quality of life (Ozoemena, 2018: 19). Because high levels of gender-based violence undermine the realisation of these rights (Kersebom, 2014: 3), the gender justice envisaged by the pioneers of our Constitution has yet to be realised. Efforts to maintain gender justice have been depoliticised, moving these societal problems to the private spaces of the home (Kersebom, 2014: 146). This has occurred because, outside of Women's Day celebrations, women's roles in political movements have been centred around the national liberation movement, rather than issues surrounding womanhood, such as bodily autonomy (Kersebom, 2014: 143).

Democracy

The statistics speak

There is a disconnect between the political representation of South African women and the lived experiences of its predominantly female population. This is an important contextual factor since 40% of all post-apartheid South African households are headed by women. Statistically speaking, South African women should be very empowered, since our *Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill* calls for 50% representation in decision-making processes. Current figures indicate that 44% of skilled labour is performed by women, while 32% of supreme court judges are women. On a global scale, South Africa is a leading country in its ratio of women company directors, and in terms of equal representation, we are ahead of Australia, Canada and USA (Ndinda & Ndlovu, 2018: 3). However, despite legal requirements and global comparisons, South African women still face gender barriers that curb their successes. For example, women have the right to freedom from sexual violence, but it was found in a 2016 study by The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) that 450 000 women have been physically harmed for dressing like men in public (Brouard, *et al*, 2016).

In the first comprehensive study of how South Africans feel about equality and sexuality, the HSRC in connection with The Other Foundation published *Progressive Prudes* (2016) which found that:

- 55% of all South Africans say that they will accept a homosexual family member.
- 27% know someone who is homosexual.
- 51% think homosexuals should have equal rights.
- 72% think homosexuality is morally wrong.

A large majority of South Africans hold conservative views on sexuality and gender roles (Brouard et al, 2016: 23). Statistics show that men are more likely to use violence against people who do not conform to their views on gender and sexuality (Brouard et al, 2016: 31). These statistics indicate that violence is directed at minorities within a broader context of gender-based violence. However, women are especially targeted. This violence often takes the form of sexual assault (Brouard, *et al*, 2016: 10) and rape, which has become the most notable form of gender-based violence though it exists alongside other forms of systemic violence experienced by South African women (Brouard, et al, 2016: 22). Gender-based

violence as directed towards women and girls is often based on “the assumption that girls ‘play hard to get’ and therefore should be pursued at all costs regardless of what they say” (Gqola, 2006:117). A compounding issue is when men use rape to ‘cure’ lesbian women, such acts are a display of male ownership over women. This violent masculinity, and the patriarchal people who enable violent behaviour, needs to be confronted (Gqola, 2007: 118).

Alarmingly, the *2016/17 Victims Crime Survey*, found that there has been a significant increase in sexual assaults: In the 2015/16 Survey, there were 29 473 sexual assaults which has increased to 70 813 in 2016/17. A compounding factor of gender inequality in South Africa is the fact that the country has one of the highest HIV rates in the world. The incidence of HIV has a strong gender and racial dimension, as black women are the majority carriers of the virus (Morrell, 2012: 14). As a disempowered group, women are at greater risk of contracting the virus due to the unequal power relations between them and men. Women who have experienced ‘intimate partner violence’ are more likely to contract HIV (Morrell, 2012: 14). These statistics lay bare some of the difficult terrain that South African women must navigate on a daily basis, terrain that is not aided by political leadership that serves the interest of the liberation movement rather than the interests of the women they have sworn to serve (Kersebom, 2014: 143).

Gender violence and inequality

Ironically, National Women’s Day is marked each year by our leading party, the ANC, who release a statement that usually commemorates the historical women’s march of 1956 and provide a comment on the current status of women (See appendix 1.3, Kodwa & Sangoni, 2017). The ANC’s commemoration of National Women’s Day of 2017 was no exception. Two days after Manana’s act of gender-based violence, the ANC government released their statement, which began:

The year 2017 has been a difficult year for South Africans. We have witnessed brutal killings of women and children. As a country, we need to redouble our efforts and ensure that women are not exposed to any form of harassment and discrimination (cited in Kodwa, 2017).

Without commenting on the incident involving Manana, this statement ends with a declaration that the justice system will help protect women from gender-based violence (See appendix 1.3). Yet it has become obvious that there is no concerted plan of action to change the oppression and violence that women face (Kersebom, 2014: 297). In a move that

distressed the public, Manana was invited to speak at a panel discussion on gender-based violence at a Women's Month event held by the ANC in 2018 (Eyewitness News, 2018). This event took place one year after Manana's attacks at Cubana. He remained in the fabric of the ANC as a Member of Parliament and was recently involved in yet another case of abuse against his employee, Christine Wiro, who accused him of assault (Herman, 2018). Manana's actions are not aberrations. They are situated in a complex socio-historical context in which political leaders (amongst others) have displayed examples of patriarchal violence and bring one to question whether the ANC is truly committed to protecting sexual rights and gender equality (Ratele, 2006: 51).

The role of news media on Women's Day

The news articles published in the wake of Manana's actions during August 2017 had a well-intentioned focus on raising awareness about contemporary gender-based violence. As important as these discussions are, they have a tendency of promoting the patriarchal view of women as hapless victims (Donyeli, 2017: 4). This is contradictory to the actual history of Women's Day, wherein women showed that they were fully capable of being active and effective in their battles. The focus on contemporary gender-based violence is also devoid of the context of gender-based violence that women faced within the struggle. This lends credence to Kyazze's (2017) statement in *Grocott's Mail*³, that women, "are on their own", implying that they will not be protected by the state or liberation movement from this violence and that they will have to defend themselves.

Gains for women

The powerful role that women do play in society has often gone unnoticed or forgotten, however, and South African women have proven that they are not just passive victims. This is shown in South Africa's high international ranking for women in leadership positions (Nyandoro, 2018), the rise of educated women (Nwosu, 2018), the historically impressive will of women in the fight against apartheid (Ndinda, 2018), and the wide range of survival strategies of women who seemingly have nothing in the face of oppressive systems. One such survival tactic that women have implemented is the *stokvel* – a form of a community savings project that was created and spearheaded by women who were discriminated against and disempowered through the apartheid system (Nyandoro, 2018). During apartheid women

³ Grocott's Mail is a community newspaper and is South Africa's oldest independent newspaper (Grocott's Mail, 2017)

were able to find some financial security in a very unstable economic system through various stokvels. A popular, but risky occupation for women in apartheid was the act of becoming a 'shebeen queen'. In this form of self-employment women would supply alcohol at cheaper rates than the beer halls. Although this was a lucrative way of generating income, it was also highly illegal and therefore very dangerous, but with limited economic prospects women were willing to take this risk (Edwards, 1988: 82; Hart & Rogerson, 2016: 20). During the transition to democracy, women were enabled to enter the economy independently of men (Nyandoro, 2018: 177).

A strategy that demonstrates the entrepreneurial spirit of the post-apartheid South African women is that of hand-weaving bags in order to sell them. Through this strategy women can support themselves and their families under the umbrella of a community-based employment scheme (Newman, 2016). Other examples which demonstrate women's survival strategies in South Africa include: the adoption of an international strategy called Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), where gender equality and women's empowerment is a goal to be achieved through education, economic development and women's representation in national parliaments (Kabeer, 2005: 13); women's fight for equal representation across racial and class barriers, specifically pertaining to domestic work and its exploitative nature (Cock & Bernstein, 2001: 147; Cock, 1987: 134); feminist writers such as Pamela Gqola, who states that the most practical way to fight gender-based violence is to "unmask the collective denial" of shared experiences of such violence (Gqola, 2007:118); and a recognition of the importance of property rights, which is complicated by married women who do not co-own marital property (Joireman, 2007: 1238). The above evidence and other feminist research show the obvious fact that women are capable of taking care of themselves. Yet, women are consistently constructed as inherently inferior to men (Jewkes, Levin, *et al*, 2003: 126).

Cartoons in context (Context B)

What are cartoons?

In combining words and images, usually within a single frame, cartoons are mini-narratives that offer the reader provocative opinions and arguments. For this thesis, cartooning is understood as a medium of communication, which encompasses a broad spectrum of genres. The 'Political cartoon' is one such genre which includes comics, editorial cartoons, and satirical illustrations. What unites the genre is the social and political focus of the content (Chute, 2017). While political cartoons are designed to offer commentary on current affairs,

they can be read and remain intelligible many years later without the availability of the immediate context. Effective political cartoons should be able to communicate a message to a global audience who lack insider knowledge. Not only do cartoons offer political commentary, but they can also be used as teaching aids. Zapiro remarks that his cartoons are used in the classroom: “I found it in English, History, Life Orientation and a couple of other subjects you find people using the cartoon, so for me it is enormously important.” (Zapiro, 2017). Their enduring relevance makes such cartoons important objects of historical record. Understanding the historical context of political cartooning in South Africa is important in understanding the significant impact these texts may have on South African society.

History of cartooning in South Africa

Political cartoons that make use of caricature to comment on political and social issues developed alongside the block printing press of the 15th century, although the cartoon only played a large role in politics in the 17th and 18th century in Britain and Italy (Schoonraad, 1989: 11). Cartooning about South Africa is said to have first appeared in 1819 through the work of George Cruikshank (Mason, 2010: 12). Cruikshank was a popular caricaturist in London and published two “1820 settler cartoons” on 7 September 1819 (Mason, 2010: 12). The two cartoons were produced in colour and were large, indicating that they were made for private sale and not for newspaper prints (Mason, 2010: 12). In the first cartoon, Cruikshank depicts the way the poor emigrants were given little choice but to settle in South Africa (Mason, 2010: 13). The second cartoon depicts the hapless settlers being attacked by wild animals and “bestial savages who attempt to eat them alive” (Mason, 2010: 13). These cartoons offer highly condensed ideas about a particular state of society; they are indicative of the social and political tensions that characterise their times (Lent, 2009). Initially, cartoons reached a small audience in South Africa, but as the printing press developed in South Africa, so did the reach of cartoons (Schoonraad, 1989: 22). Cartooning continued to be dominated by British media and English print in the early 1900s in South Africa. Cartooning became a legitimate form of work in the early 1900s, when the *Zingari* hired the first full-time cartoonist in 1854. Soon other publications followed suit (Schoonraad, 1989: 20).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the annexation of the Transvaal was a popular topic amongst cartoonists. Through this form of political discussion, cartoons became indispensable content for newspapers of the time. During World War 1, many prominent

cartoonists were active in South Africa, with soldiers drawing sketches of their experiences of the war. A turning point in South Africa's cartooning history is that of World War 2 and the election of 1948. Here, cartoonists were identifying themselves as Pro-Afrikaner Nationalists who were against participation in this war to end Nazi rule, or as Pro-British leadership who were supportive of joining war efforts to end Nazi power (Schoonraad, 1989: 24).

From the onset of National Party rule in 1948, cartoonists chose to either support apartheid or be in opposition to it (Schoonraad, 1989: 25). The way in which white South Africans depicted black South Africans during apartheid gives us insight into the discourses operating at this time (Mason, 2009: 258). White cartoonists who critiqued apartheid were in a contradictory position as they received the benefits of apartheid while simultaneously condemning it. Nevertheless, by the 1980s, cartoons were viewed as an important resistance tool. Given the lack of access to mainstream media during this period, cartoons were seen as a way of communicating with illiterate and semi-literate audiences (Mason, 2009: 250). Activists were able to develop their own print media through the support of international donors (Mason, 2009: 250). That cartooning relied on the press for circulation meant that the cartoonist's activism was often defined by the publications they worked for. Even at this stage of resistance cartooning, the overwhelming majority of cartoonists were white, and their work arguably lacked the details that can only be learned through lived experience (Mason, 2009: 250).

Since Cruickshank's cartoons, South African cartoonists have exposed the political landscape, at the same time that they are challenged to accommodate the diversity of South African experience. In a democratic South Africa, political cartooning is no longer a whites-only area and the little research on cartooning in South Africa has been dedicated to the development of a more racially diverse 'industry' (Mason, 2009: 250). John Lent and Andrew Mason have spearheaded research in South Africa on cartoons. Slowly, more attention has been given to South African cartoons, such as Sandra Pitcher's (2016) recent PhD thesis: *Deviant Doodling: Contextualising the Discourses of Zapiro in a socially responsible press*.

However, research in this area in the South African context is still scarce. Cartooning is seen to have shifted in its post-apartheid status. Within a decade of democracy, cartoons appeared to be less concerned with political commentary than they were to connect with a multicultural society. Political cartooning was seen as a "work in progress" as cartoonists had to

acknowledge the genre's past as embedded in oppression and find how to navigate its future as a democratic force (Mason, 2009: 253). The topics tackled by cartoonists since 1994 are far-reaching as they continue to develop their "unique profession" (Curtis, 2009: 2). Twenty years into a democratic South Africa, a wide array of issues is tackled through cartoons, which are no longer tied to the printed press, appearing online and in self-published works (Shapiro, 2017). One such issue is that of gender relations, which are brought into focus on Women's Day.

Women in cartoons

Historically and globally, women are not prominent within the cartoon genre, either as storytellers or as active characters (Gilmartin, 1998). In keeping with this international trend, it is South African men who create cartoons about Women's Day. These cartoons communicate messages about women and their place in society. As media makers, cartoonists are socially responsible for the messages their representations convey (Van Zoonen, 2012: 31). This is not to say that men cannot show empathy, or supply meaningful narratives of women, but it is a landscape that has been and continues to be dominated by men (Gilmartin, 1998).

Cartoonists are generally known by the readers of the newspapers in which their work is published. Well-known cartoonists include the three artists who made a commentary about the incident involving Mduzuzi Manana in 2017: Zapiro (Jonathan Shapiro), Yalo (Sifiso Yalo), and Mangena (Betheul Mangena). Within this male-dominated landscape, Stacey Stent, whose work is published in *Noseweek*, is currently recognised as South Africa's most notable female political cartoonist (Africartoons, 2018). While Stent's cartoons offer women characters as drivers of the narrative (see appendix 1.4), there are no cartoons about Women's Day under her Africartoons profile, nor did she cartoon about Manana. "I am still asked to submit 'feminist' cartoons if I'm invited to an exhibition. Perhaps it's because I am the only female represented, they want to kill 2 birds..." (Stent, 2017). The prevalent expectation that women should be voicing feminist issues because of their gender is problematic (Stent, 2017; see appendix 1.4).

Overview of goals and methodology

Previous research

Previous studies of cartooning in South Africa are largely concerned with representations of race, with special attention placed on Zapiro's cartoons (Mason, 2010). Andrew Mason has

dominated discussions on cartooning in South Africa and he, in partnership with John Curtis, set up the comprehensive online archive *Africartoons.com*. Given the general lack of research on gender and cartoons in South Africa, I have looked to previous studies that take a similar interest internationally. Research such as the study of the representation of women in political cartoons of the *1995 World Conference on Women*, are helpful in building an understanding for analysing cartoons in a South African context. By analysing the subject matter of cartoons and the ways in which women are represented (Gilmartin, 1998: 539), the social and political commentary of Women's Day cartoons can be situated in relation to gender justice. As a young South African woman, I am concerned with the issues of the representation of women in cartoons. The cartoons of Women's Day 2017 offered one narrative of Manana's abuse. In the linked genre of news reporting, women are repeatedly represented as victims of violence. Such narrow representations have led one scholar to reflect that news media forewarns women that taking action leads to suffering and that they should remain in the safety of their homes (Humphries, 2009). While this opinion suggests that news media representations of women offer women readers cautionary tales about their social role, the same cannot be automatically assumed of cartoons. Cartoons may offer different representations of women based on the nature of the genre.

A Qualitative methodology

For this thesis, quantitative and qualitative methods are combined for a textual analysis that is conducted in the spirit of Critical Discourse Analysis. This qualitative study samples in two steps. First, the set of Women's Day cartoons are identified and second, the sample is narrowed to a more practical size for the sake of analysis. The first step helps to identify the context, while the second step allows for a detailed interpretation (Gilmartin, 1998: 539). The term 'text' is understood as anything that can be 'read'. Textual analysis uncovers issues of language, meaning and power in society, by means of which media scholars are able to critique the versions of 'reality' at work within media texts (Fursich, 2009). Textual analysis is a useful tool for this kind of reading and interpretation, which encompasses a variety of methods (Fursich, 2009). The symbolic work of the images can be linked to a wider cultural context. In analysing these political cartoons, it is important to understand how images visualise, or make invisible social differences (Rose, 2012: 15).

Brief note on sampling and working with an online archive

The cartoons for this study are sampled from the online archive, *Africartoons.com* which includes cartoons that are published in recognised national and local publications, providing a comprehensive list of South African cartoonists. The fifty Women's Day cartoons, which provide the data for this research, were acquired by searching the tags: *Women's Day*, *Women*, *Women and Children*, *Women's Month*. The dates 2009-2017 have been chosen as I rely on the *Africartoons.com* website, which was created in 2009. For the sake of the detailed textual analysis, I purposively sample seven cartoons within this set. These cartoons are selected based on the themes that emerge from the larger content analysis of the set of fifty cartoons. The danger with working with an online archive is that it can shut down at any moment. In May 2018, *Africartoons.com* was unavailable as the site was being updated and later that year, Jerm's (Jeremy Nell) profile was removed for reasons unknown. However, other cartoonists generally do not have their own online archives, linking their blog pages directly to *Africartoons.com*. I therefore had to ensure that I had downloaded all the material required.

Goals of the study

Women's Day cartoons offer a moment in South Africa each year to comment on the social context of the time, thus the research question asks: *how are women represented in political cartoons of Women's Day and what are the implications of such representations for gender justice?*

Starting with this broad orientation, I explore the following questions:

- What do cartoons by prominent South African cartoonists say about Women's Day?
- How are women represented in these cartoons?
- Which meanings are attached to gender relations in these cartoons?
- What are the implications of these representations for gender justice in South Africa?

By analysing these cartoons over eight years, I hope to discover what these representations mean for gender justice.

Chapter outline

There are four chapters in this thesis. This chapter introduces the topic of research and the importance for such a study in a South African context – setting the scene for the rest of the

thesis. Chapter 1 provides the context for such research, placing importance on the historical basis for Women's Day as an explanation for why political cartoonists would give it any attention in the first place. It provides the context of cartooning as commentary and how the general patterns have not changed much in terms of gender since the onset of cartooning in South Africa.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework within which this thesis falls. It outlines the Cultural Studies and Media Studies frameworks within which this thesis falls, with an emphasis on Hall's theory of representation, Foucault's theory of discourse, and semiotics for the visual analysis of these cartoons. Feminist media theory is then discussed with emphasis on cultural politics as central to the feminist frame which informs the study. I then discuss gender justice, the requirements for such a discourse, and what the representations of women in these cartoons means for gender justice in South Africa. I then take this further with a discussion of South Africa's cartooning terrain, with a brief discussion on symbolic annihilation given its prominence in visual studies of the representation of women.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology and methods used for this research, which are qualitative. This chapter discusses the process for approaching the research question of how women are represented in political cartoons. A qualitative methodology of this thesis is outlined. This is followed by a discussion on discourse analysis, narrative analysis and visual social semiotics. Finally, ethical considerations have been made for this research.

Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the selected cartoons of Women's Day and discusses the findings. This research then concludes with a discussion of what these representations mean for gender justice.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

South African women face a highly misogynistic social terrain, one which is supported by male political leadership, as illustrated by Mduzuzi Manana's infamous public attack on women, as discussed in the previous chapter. Cartooning too, is open to charges of misogyny and surveillance. Here, one can question the representation of women in cartoons, in which the agency for representation is placed in the hands of the cartoonist, rather than in the hands of women themselves. This becomes all the more troubling in a social context in which women have few means for self-representation (Bennett, 2013:172).

Following the context set up in chapter one, this chapter discusses the literature that informs the theoretical framework of this thesis. As this study focuses on National Woman's Day political cartoons, the study falls into the fields of both Cultural Studies and Media Studies. Media studies focusses on the interwoven relationship between the media and society and identifies three important moments of media representation: the production of a text, the text itself and the consumption of the text. While each moment has its own integrity, the moment of the 'text' within its social and historical context is central (Prinsloo, 2009). As part of a textual analysis, a 'social constructivist approach' examines the identities and social relations that are formed and shaped by the media (Richardson, 2007: 15). Cultural Studies' relevance for this thesis derives from its concern to understand how cultural life is connected to and inflected by our social practices of media production and consumption.

This chapter begins by discussing the cultural studies framework of representation and discourse analysis. For this research, which focuses on gender as a form of representation, a post-structural feminist approach to understanding is taken. This approach to feminism and subjectivity takes a critical position on how power is maintained and legitimated through social institutions. It provides analytical tools for the study of power, with specific attention on the social divisions of gender, class and race (Weedon, 1995: 205). I begin with discussing cultural studies and how the cultural-critical approach is relevant to the study of texts such as cartoons. I then discuss textual analysis and the importance of the text as a moment within the circuit of culture. This is followed by a discussion on representation's connection to culture and meaning. Here representation is discussed in terms of both structuralist and constructionist approaches, in particular de Saussure's semiotic and Foucault's discourse approaches. Foucault's discourse approach is taken as the most appropriate framework for

analysing visual images because it enables the critical analysis of the multiple messages within each cartoon. A feminist lens is used to analyse the representation of women in cartoons. The chapter ends with a discussion on how these theories are important to understanding what the representation of Woman's Day by political cartoons means for gender justice.

Cultural studies

This thesis draws on a Cultural Studies framework which focuses on the ways in which identities, ideas and social practices are shaped by culture (Rose, 2012: 2). Within a cultural studies framework, culture is understood as a set of practices, wherein meanings are made through representations, which are shared and interpreted by members of a society (Rose, 2012: 2). These representations, and the way we interpret the world around us, inform our behaviour and social practices (Hall, 1997). Thus, culture is seen to be interwoven with our social practices which combine to create our shared histories. Culture informs the way people understand their social worlds as well as their own positions and actions within their lived contexts. Within this complex social world, media texts are created and disseminated, each with varying degrees of power (Curran, Gurevitch, & Woollacott, 1982: 22).

Textual Analysis

For this text-based study, the text is recognised as an important discursive moment between production and consumption while taking into account the socio-historical context in which the text appears. This is specifically relevant for the study of media content within a cultural studies framework (Fairclough, 2009: 238). Media scholars, it is argued, need a critical theory that relates to the context, the function of language and the discursive power of texts (Janks, 1998).

'Text' can be understood as anything that can be read and interpreted for meaning and can be considered as an area between production and audience. Each area operates as a moment in a 'circuit of culture' (Hall, 1997; Prinsloo, 2009). As a system of communication, all representation is a form of mediation. Media representations are involved in creating, sustaining and circulating culture. As such, media representations form part of what Hall describes as a 'circuit of culture' – a model that ties together representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation (Hall, 1997; Fursich, 2009: 239).

The circuit of culture is a model used to explain how representation is articulated together with culture. The circuit of culture involves four independent, yet mutually articulated,

“moments”: production, representation, consumption and identity (Hall, 1997: 1). Within this circuit, Hall emphasises the importance of language as the means of communicating shared meanings within a culture. Broadly, media play an important role in mediating social, political and cultural contexts in that selections are made about what is to be included or excluded within a text. In this way, mediations are representations which can be studied through textual analysis (Prinsloo, 2009). Textual analysis can uncover the ways in which language and meaning are linked to power in society. In order to discover how a discourse is at work within any one text, it is necessary to do a close reading and interpretation of the meanings that are offered to the reader. Textual analysis is a useful tool for this kind of reading and interpretation, which encompasses a variety of methods (Fursich, 2009).

Why Representation?

The concept of representation is important to cultural studies because representation links meaning and language to culture and cultural practices. In a cultural studies approach, ‘representation’ refers to the sharing of meaning between members of a culture. To represent something is to produce and attach meaning to something and communicate it to others through a shared language (Hall, 2013: 1). To use language, in the form of meaningful verbal or visual signs or images, is to represent something. ‘Representation’ can be defined as a description or depiction of something which can be brought to mind.

The constructionist approach

The connection between meaning, language and culture is a phenomenon which has provoked a number of explanatory theories (Hall, 2013: 3). “There are, broadly speaking, three approaches to explaining how representation of meaning through language works” (Hall, 2013: 10). These three approaches to representation include: the reflective, intentional and constructionist approach. Briefly, the reflective approach to representation understands language as simply mirroring that which already exists in our physical and social worlds. In contrast, those who adhere to an intentional approach to representation will argue that a representation expresses the author’s intended meaning. Hall finds both these approaches inadequate. Instead, he chooses a constructionist approach, which argues that meaning is constructed in and through language (Hall, 2013: 10). Within the constructionist approach there are two important understandings of representation: the discursive approach and the semiotic approach, both of which are appropriate for this study.

Shared maps of meaning

Representations and concepts are shared when they are organised into classifying systems. These classifying systems help us to collectively identify and organise the meanings we associate with the representation (Hall, 2013: 3). In Hall's (2013) model, the symbolic world of language involves mental representations which connect objects with concepts, giving meaning to our 'real' and imagined worlds (Hall, 1997: 3). We classify and organise these concepts into often overlapping groups, or "conceptual maps." As members of a culture, we share broad conceptual maps in order to communicate and construct a social world: it enables us as members of a culture to interpret representations in broadly similar ways (Hall, 2013: 3). These shared conceptual maps are communicated through a common language.

The sign and signification

This social constructionist theory of language and representation is largely shaped by the semiotic model of de Saussure (Hall, 2013: 18). In this model, the sign is divided into two parts: the signifier and the signified. The signifier, what you read or see or hear, is arbitrarily but conventionally related to the signified, the mental concept to which that sound, gesture or written mark refers. Thus, the signifier is associated with the signified, and both are required in order to construct and share meaning (Hall, 2013: 17). Central to this model of the sign is that the relation between the signifier and signified is both arbitrary and temporary: the meaning of a sign is not unchanging as the relationship between concepts and signifier can shift over different historical moments.

Sign systems and culture

Signs are tools of meaning-making, in that their use enables a reader to understand the concepts or ideas that the sign-maker is trying to communicate. To this effect, the sign-maker and sign-receiver need to have a common code of the meaning of a sign. Such a shared understanding is brought about through a process of negotiation; thus, the interpretation of signs is a social activity (Hall, 2013: 21). The functional definition of a sign as a tool of 'meaning-making' allows for a diverse array of things to be considered as 'signs', thus a gesture could be considered as a sign, so long as it is meaningful. Understanding that language is a system of signs used to construct and communicate meaning, is helpful in analysing the representations that texts, images and sounds offer the reader (Hall, 2013). An easy way to understand this is to consider the example of a visual image, such as a cartoon.



Figure 2: Snaddon, C. 2012. 'Women's Day cartoon', in *Africartoons.com*

In the above cartoon, sketched vertical and horizontal lines suggest a sphere, in which is set an irregular shape. A second sphere half appears from behind the first. Readers familiar with these conventions are expected to be able to interpret these rough lines as a view of the earth from space, in which we see a 'map' of the African continent that is simultaneously a portrait of a woman's head. She wears a 'doek', a common headdress worn by African women. She faces the second sphere, which the reader understands to be the sun, whose 'rays', suggested by some wavy lines, light up the right side of the image. The suggestion, that the African woman looks to the sun, or a new and brighter horizon, is left to the interpretation of the audience.

Semiotics is useful in the study of popular culture when activities and objects are viewed as a shared "language" through which meaning is communicated. Here, the meaning that is culturally assigned to these activities and objects can be uncovered through a semiotic analysis. Each cultural object or activity is 'read' by members of a society, and each cultural 'thing' can have multiple meanings and readings (Barthes in Hall, 2013: 53).

The meanings of cultural objects and practices are produced by the underlying codes (Hall, 2013: 22). “A code is a set of conventionalised ways of making meaning that are specific to particular groups of people” (Rose, 2012: 128). For example, a broad code for how we conduct ourselves as per each social setting helps us to navigate the world in which we live. Hall (2013) uses the example of the ‘Western’ fashion to explain how codes operate. The clothing communicates something about the wearer, such as their gender or socio-economic status. Individuals who share a code, interpret it in somewhat similar ways. There is possibility for slight differences in the meanings people make of any one sign, based on their identities and lived experiences. Someone’s context, such as their gender, age, class, or race, could affect the way they interpret a sign (Hall, 2013: 22).

Semiotics is particularly relevant to cartoons that make use of a combination of images and words to relay meaning. The code of the written part of the text requires the reader to have knowledge of that particular language in order to interpret it. Accompanying this written code is the image. Alone the image can have a wide number of meanings, and so the text helps to anchor the general meaning of the image (Barthes in Hall, 2013: 53). Political cartoons offer images and words together as a single sign, whose composite meanings are only made possible through a shared cultural understanding of both sign forms.

Visual signs

A political cartoon typically consists of both iconic and indexical signs. Visual signs can be referred to as ‘iconic signs’ because they look like the object or person being represented by the image. The written text, on the other hand, can be referred to as an ‘indexical’ sign, because the shape of the letters which communicate the words do not resemble the object being represented (Hall, 2013: 7). For example, in figure 2 above, the image of the woman looks like a woman and is thus iconic, whereas the text referring to the author bears no resemblance to the author himself and is thus indexical. In the work of political cartoons, both iconic and indexical signs operate simultaneously in order to communicate an idea in a short narrative. As such, a political cartoon is an instance of a complex visual language which economically communicates a dense cluster of meanings to the reader.

For the analysis and interpretation of the political cartoons in this study, there are two useful tools within semiotics. A denotative analysis, or a simple description of what is on the page, is the first useful tool in this stage of research. A connotative analysis follows the simple decoding of the signifiers at the denotative level. The connotative analysis is where the

cartoon's latent meanings are uncovered. For a connotative analysis, decoding is dependent on the "general beliefs, conceptual frameworks and value systems of society" (Hall, 2013: 24). For example, the cartoons which are studied in this thesis belong to a certain genre, that being political cartoons. This will affect the way the cartoon is read, as familiarity with the genre shapes the reader's expectations of the text's form and content. In this way, the image that is the cartoon would be the signifier, while the knowledge of the genre's characteristics would help the reader interpret what is signified. While a semiotic approach is useful in decoding an image, it is limited, concerned as it is with the way in which representation is a system of signs within language. But what of the larger system of representation on which meaning is based? (Hall, 2013: 27).

Discourse

In a semiotic approach, representation is understood at the site of the sign. However, in cultural understandings of representation, interpretation relies on wider 'units of analysis', such as narratives, groups of images and whole discourses on which knowledge is based (Hall, 2013: 27).

'Discourse', as a system of representation, is a group of statements that provide a particular way of knowing the world. This understanding of discourse is different to the linguistic concept because, here, discourse is concerned with the production of knowledge, and how humans understand themselves within their cultural setting (Hall, 2013: 28). The shift of attention from 'language' to discourse is important here. For Hall, discourse is a system of representation that includes, but goes beyond, language (Hall, 2013: 29).

Discourses inform our practices, our understandings of ourselves, and our interpretations of the world around us (Weedon, 1995: 14). Foucault's theory of discourse will guide the research in terms of analysing how forms of power are articulated through political cartoons. For Foucault, discourse implies a form of knowledge and ways in which we make meaning of our social worlds, which is encompassed by various institutions that inform individual's identity and practices (Weedon, 1995: 14). Institutions, such as news rooms, and the cartoons that are produced within this environment, are forms of social practice. Such practices determine what and who is included and excluded, normalising judgements that are broadly linked to power relations within a society. This social power is apparent within discourses that are produced within a society.

Formation of the subject within discourse

Foucault's 'discourse' is concerned with the way in which humans are produced as social subjects. It provides scholars with a way to understand human subjects within situated cultures and how ways of knowing are produced within a social and historical context that is fluid and can change slowly over time (Hall, 2013: 28). Discourse describes a system that includes both language and practice, and where ideas and practices are constrained within institutions. Discourses do not simply make rules for people to follow. Rather, people are produced within discourses and so they reproduce and outline the boundaries of institutions, through which discourses operate (Rose, 2012: 192).

In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality (Foucault, in Young, 1981: 52)

People's subjectivities and identities are constructed within the complex relationships of power in society (Weedon, 1995: 3). These complex relationships are formed by the discourses which operate at all levels of society, through cultural institutions and social practices. Their permeation into all facets of life gives them a kind of invisibility, and it is through the acceptance of these discourses as normal that humans give them power (Foucault in Young, 1981: 52). But discourses are also powerful because they are productive.

Discourse disciplines the subjects into certain ways of thinking and acting, but this is not simply repressive; it does not impose rules for thought and behaviour on a pre-existing human agent. Instead, human subjects are produced through discourse. (Rose, 2012: 143).

Discourses are productive because they increase human capacity within a regime of knowledge. However, these discourses are not permanent, and our awareness of them can render them less powerful. Foucault argues that through becoming conscious of the discourses that produce them as subjects, humans can seize control over the discourses that they operate within, thereby seizing control of their social realities.

Discourse and power

Power operates within and across societies at all levels through cultural institutions such as language, family and, importantly to this study, the media (Weedon, 1995: 5). But power is

not static: specific historical and cultural contexts are integral to the ways in which members of a society experience power and its effects. Foucault theorised how power and knowledge were linked and how power is experienced through the body (Hall, 2013: 32). Knowledge is linked to power as it informs our practices within institutions and operates at all levels of society in how it regulates social conduct, producing the “truth” about ourselves and our social and material worlds (Hall, 1997: 34). As such, access to knowledge and power are not permitted for all (Foucault in Young, 1981). Power is spread unevenly amongst groups within and across societies, resulting in social inequality as dominant forces struggle with other forces to maintain their power.

Foucault maps out how power is exercised through discourse and discursive practices. Rather than a top-down theory of power, from Foucault’s perspective power operates at all levels of society in order to regulate social conduct (Hall, 1997: 34). How discourses are reproduced in society speaks to their power operating in that society (Young, 1981: 49). Yet no power is exercised without a corresponding resistance. Discourse not only produces power, but also offers resistance, to undermine and expose power (Young, 1981: 50). A counter-discourse can operate in opposition to that which is powerful and visible (Young, 1981: 48). The difficulty in identifying discourses which operate in opposition to power is linked to knowledge formation. This ‘difficulty’ is apparent in the seemingly invisible nature of discourses. When one agrees with the discourse it often becomes difficult to identify (Prinsloo, 2009).

Why discourse and not ideology?

For a critical analysis of discourse, the boundaries and roles of institutions are important. In Foucault’s *Order of Discourse*, first, the social procedures of what is allowed or considered as ‘truth’ within discourses are discussed. Second, a discussion of how limiting ‘discipline’ within discourses is. Third, the way discourses are maintained through issues of access to power and knowledge, and in turn the way knowledge informs power (Young, 1981: 49). For such a critical analysis, Foucault suggests that we analyse our ‘will-to-truth’, to view discourse as an event, to reject the power of the signifier, to take the study of discourse beyond the text to our practices and to note the unstable nature of discourse.

Also useful for a critical reading is Thompson’s ‘critical conception of ideology’, which, like discourse, is concerned with unequal power relations within a society (Prinsloo, 2009: 126). For Thompson, however, power becomes domination when it is “systematically

asymmetrical” and serves the interests of one group over the needs of another over a period of time. In Thompson’s model, meaning is ideological if it serves to sustain such domination and the inequalities it produces. The presentation of symbolic forms can have social effect when: the symbolic form is presented as *legitimate* and should thus be supported, the process of domination is *dissimulated* and thus concealed, *unification and fragmentation* are implemented to unite or split people’s ideological views, and a *reification* process takes place to ‘naturalise’ relations of power (Janks, 1998: 200). An example of this could be a cartoon which supports women in a domestic social role:



Figure 3: Thompson, G. & Gomersall, D. 2015. ‘Women’s Day cartoon’, in *Africartoons.com*

In the above cartoon, humour is created by inverting the expected roles that men and women play. Thompson may argue that this particular text is no longer ideological because our social context and strive for equality will render this message transparent. However, ideology is conceptually limited in that it does not allow for intricate social contexts where the dominant power is not obvious (Prinsloo, 2009: 128). For this thesis, Foucault’s notion of discourse is more useful as it offers a more productive theory for analysing texts. This is because discourse allows for counter-discourses which contest domination (Prinsloo, 2009).

Newspaper Discourse and political cartoons

Political cartoons are often published by news organisations, which is an institution with its own discursive practices. News discourses include journalistic language, the processes of production and consumption of the news, and the relations news discourse has with social ideas and institutions (Richardson, 2007: 1). Given the power and centrality of the news globally, and that political cartoons appear most often in newspapers, it is useful to be aware of news discourses. By identifying the social problem, the researcher is able to reveal how power is operating in these texts, providing an opportunity to address problems of social

inequality (Richardson, 2007: 2). By identifying the representation of women as something of importance to analyse, the researcher must identify which discourses are operating in the text and examine the ways in which these support or contest hegemonic understandings of gender relations. The methods of studies of news media can be applied to this study of cartoons, in consideration of the cartoon's social context, cartoonist practices, and the character and function of cartoon language (Richardson, 2007: 2). To use Thompson's (1990) formulation, what meanings are offered in the service of power? And which discourses present contest these power-relations?

As a form of representation, language is central to discourse of political cartoons. Through language, meaning is created, shared, and can even be removed. In the discourse of news media⁴, language is social, integral to identity formation, active, powerful, and political (Richardson, 2007: 10). Language is *social* insofar as it is both produced by society and recreates it. Within a context, language enacts *identities* in that people project themselves differently. The *active* nature of language results in things being done in context, such as exposing or arguing. Language has *power* in that some people are taken more seriously than others. Finally, due to this power and the social aspects of language, it is *political* (Richardson, 2007).

Cartooning as discourse

Cartoons are a particular mode of representation which have wide reach as features of mainstream popular culture as well as global politics (Chute, 2017: 5). Cartoonists represent stories visually, often pairing illustrations with text to add to the persuasive value of the image (Farrell, 2004: 66) and using symbols and metaphors to make quick impact (Gilmartin, 1998). Political cartoons are no different and the role they play within the newspaper is to construct and comment on a social problem within a limited narrative (Greenberg, 2002: 182). Where a cartoon is published is important as this will often affect the message that is conveyed (Greenberg, 2002: 185).

The theories that inform this research are largely concerned with meaning and identity formation in a specific social-historical context (Mason, 2004: 14). Even when cartoons have an unknown intended meaning, the discourses apparent in the cartoons remain. In other words, an individual without the full context will still be able to construct meaning from the

⁴ And by extension – the discourse of political cartooning

cartoon due to the discourses operating in it. Discourses are articulated through the textual and visual qualities of cartoons (Rose, 2012: 141). Political cartoons are a form of visual discourse which makes social problems 'visible' (Greenberg, 2002: 182).

Feminist theory

While the gendered aspect of cartooning in South Africa is not a thoroughly researched area, the representation of women in news discourse can be helpful. Feminist media studies distinguishes itself from other media studies approaches as gender is central to its enquiry (Van Zoonen, 2012: 25). The research for this thesis draws on feminist media theory as it is focused on analysing gender as "a mechanism that structures material and symbolic worlds" (Van Zoonen, 2012: 25). The media is understood as being a powerful instrument of dissemination of information which reinforces patriarchal and hegemonic values. However, media can also be an instrument for oppositional messages (Van Zoonen, 2012: 31). The task of feminist analysis is to challenge the 'natural' authority of men by placing women as the focus of intellectual inquiry (Humphries, 2009: 2). Feminist research is political insofar as it is a reaction to women's subordinated position in society (Weedon, 1995: 5).

As a social construction, gender sets up "standards of judgment", by which social inequalities, organised along the lines of sexual difference, can be legitimated (Humphries, 2009). These social inequalities place women in a position of subordination to men in many facets of life, including the division of social labour, the distribution of income, the patterning of culture, the creation of households and the everyday lived experiences within societies (Connell, 2011: 107). The sexual division of labour in particular is closely linked to our understandings of masculinity and femininity. For example, in the domestic sphere, there is an expectation that women fulfil household duties, such as child-minding, whereas men are expected to perform more bodily intensive work, such as construction (Connell, 2009: 79).

Cultural politics, feminism and the media

Cultural politics is central to feminism (Weeson, 1995: 183). Key issues in feminist cultural politics are the invisibility of women and the need for 'Herstories' as women's experiences are often absent or minimised in most histories and literature. History has tended to focus on men's achievements, while women's roles are confined to the family space. This lack of "herstory", where women are acknowledged as active members of society, maintains women's subordinated position in society (Weedon, 1995: 186). Women's Studies was

formed to address this absence of writing on women and opened a space for new understandings of society and the self.

Where women are represented, these representations are recognised as being narrowly defining and repressive to women. A concern of this thesis is the unequal position of women in our social structure. In a range of media, women are assigned roles which are seen as inferior to those roles and social positions occupied by men, such as motherhood and home-makers, rather than as powerful businessmen and politicians (Macdonald, 1995: 12). In addition, media constructions of what women ought to be are often created through the male gaze that sexualises and degrades women (Weedon, 1995: 186).

Through repetition and changing of forms, the narratives that the media advances about women continue to naturalise the identity of women as ‘feminine’ (Macdonald: 1995: 13). These narratives also define what it is to be feminine in the first place. Exposure to these narratives in turn informs the kinds of socialisation that women (young women in particular), undergo. Thus, the ideas and practices that make up the discourses of what it is to be feminine perpetuate themselves through the media. The pervasiveness of these discourses therefore makes it essential to be cognisant of the representations of femininity and symbols of gender in order to interpret the world around us (Connell, 2009: 83).

The Sex/ Gender Divide

This thesis views gender as a “complex social, historical and cultural product” which has been linked to biological sex difference. From this viewpoint, gender is a social construction that arises out of the expectations that one’s social environment places upon them from birth. Ergo, gender is not inherently formed by one’s genitalia or hormone mix, thus the common understanding of gender as a binary of male/female is moot (Connell, 2009: 50).

The binary that sexual determinism sets up dictates that men and women ‘naturally’ think, feel and experience the world in different ways. These ideas are based on the biological differences between males and females (Connell, 2009: 50). The sexual reproduction system, which allows humans to procreate, is argued to be the defining difference between males and females. Such ‘biological determinism’ views femininity and masculinity as being informed by the physical differences between ‘males’ and ‘females’ (Macdonald, 1995: 17). However, human bodies are more nuanced than this binary allows. Not only are there many intersex

categories, but there are many overlapping similarities in the physical characteristics of males and females.

The importance placed on the differences between men and women based on their sex has problematic consequences. From this essentialist perspective, sex difference not only determines our reproductive purposes but that it also determines differences in strength, physical skills, intellect and sex drive (Connell, 2009: 53). Biology can thus be used to “excuse antisocial male behaviour and devalue women’s capacities” (Macdonald, 1995: 17), for example when men use their sexual ‘needs’ as a way to excuse rape (Kearney, 2012: 1) or defend their positions of power (Connell, 2009: 54). It also results in social expectations that men and women behave in particular ways and those that do not conform to these expectations are seen as social outliers (Tuchman, 2012: 42).

Understandings of gender which are based on biological sex differences result in a gender binary which consists of feminine women and masculine men (Van Zoonen, 2012: 30). Femininity is then linked to emotionality and cooperation, while masculinity is linked to rationality and competition. Women are seen as fundamentally different to men: women’s ‘nature’ is said to follow emotion rather than reason, while men’s ‘nature’ is the norm against which women are measured (Weedon, 1995: 178). These conservative ideas of women’s ‘nature’ are used to keep women in subordinated roles which are justified through arguing that this ‘nature’ is biologically fixed and unchangeable.

Gender regime

In contrast to such deterministic nations, Connell understands gender as socially constructed and ordered by what she terms “gender regimes” within a wider “gender order”. By “gender regime” Connell (2009) refers to the social patterning of gender relations and practices within social institutions, and ways in which people are divided and connected by these relationships. For example, the way gender is organised in the news room is an indication of the gender regime of that institution. The fact that most of South Africa’s political cartoonists are men speaks to the gendered patterns of production within that specialisation. However, gender regimes operate within a larger gender order (Connell, 2009: 72).

Gender order

Any society’s gender practices are powerfully shaped by the gender order prevalent at the time (Connell, 2009: 72). The gender order refers to wider societal patterns that last over a

long period of time. This wider pattern encompasses the gender regimes of institutions (Connell, 2009: 72). While not all institutions reflect the gender order, any society's gender practices are powerfully shaped by the gender order prevalent at the time (Connell, 2009: 72). In most societies, this order is a patriarchal one. Power is central to the gender divisions within a patriarchal system, placing men as the dominant 'sex class' (Connell, 2009: 74). This patriarchal power operates at all levels of society, both at the level of the state, between individual men or in institutions whose procedures privilege men (Connell, 2009: 74).

Hegemonic masculinity

The ordering of femininities and masculinities in their multiple forms at the level of the gender order is reflected in person-to-person relations within social institutions, or gender regimes (Connell, 2014: 183). At a large scale, there is a global dominance of men over women. The relationships between men is powered by hegemonic forms of masculinity, while there is no femininity that is hegemonic amongst women (Connell, 2014: 183). 'Hegemony' is understood as the social and cultural processes that allow for enduring forms of domination within institutions as well as private life. Importantly, hegemonic masculinity, where dominance of one group of men is achieved over another, is not acquired through physical force, rather it is achieved through our daily practices. The term 'hegemony' speaks to the domination of one group over others, hegemonic masculinity is thus the domination of a particular kind of masculinity over other expressions of gender. These other expressions are inclusive of 'subordinate masculinity' and all forms of femininity. Femininity cannot be hegemonic in the same way that masculinity is, as feminine people do not enjoy dominance in any sphere of life (Connell, 2014: 184). The common dominators between subordinated masculinity and femininity are that both are relegated to the private sphere, and both are policed into subjugation by the institutions of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2014: 187).

Subordinated masculinity

Subordinated masculinity can be based on various social factors including sexual preference, age, and income. Subordinate masculinities, though viewed as 'lesser' through the patriarchal gaze, still enjoy a degree of dominance as they still encompass versions of masculinity. Media images clearly define the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, publicising suggested roles for masculine men (Connell, 2014: 186). In this way, hegemonic masculinity is woven into our institutions, such as in mass media content. Though the other forms of masculinity are not completely obliterated by the hegemony, a clear hierarchy exists in which a form of

masculinity is valued over others. The majority of men do not need to model themselves on the cultural ideals of hegemonic masculinity, but all men who are complicit in the system will benefit (Connell, 2014: 184). Though power supposedly privileges all men, it is only wielded by a specific group of men. As such, hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to subordinated masculinities, although these masculinities are not as clearly defined or identified as the hegemonic form. Interestingly, men who are in power as a ruling class, do not need to embody all the ideals of hegemonic masculinity in order to remain in power (Connell, 2014: 184). The defining feature of hegemonic masculinity is heterosexuality, and its connection to the institution of marriage (Connell, 2014: 186). The institution of heterosexual marriage is widely recognised as the norm. Inversely, subordinated masculinity is heavily policed in many institutions including the lawfulness of same-sex marriage (Connell, 2014: 186).

Emphasised femininity and non-compliant femininity

Hegemonic masculinity encapsulates discourses that legitimate the global subordination of women globally. Women who are compliant in this system of subordination are characterised by what Connell terms “emphasised femininity”. Emphasised femininity accommodates the interests of men (Connell, 2014: 184). Unlike hegemonic masculinity, which is constructed within and for the public arena, emphasised femininity relegates women to the private spheres of the home and the bedroom (Connell, 2014: 187). This femininity is performed for men, as it encompasses compliance, nurturance and empathy as important features of being a woman (Connell, 2014: 188). Women who are resistant to this hegemony are characterised by non-compliant or resistant forms of femininity. There are also highly complex relationships between compliance and resistance where some women embody both tactics. The basis of this ever-changing relationship between compliance and resistance affects the gender order of a society. Much like with hegemonic masculinity, emphasised femininity prevents other forms of femininity from reaching cultural definition or recognition (Connell, 2014: 188).

Southern perspectives

The post-colonial African context in which this research is written cannot be ignored. As such, the contributions of feminist writings from a ‘Global South’ perspective, which link gender to broad issues of social concern, are invaluable (Byerly, 2006: 5). These feminist writings understand unequal gender relations as matters of social justice (Connell, 2011:

108). They are particularly concerned with the gendered experiences of women in colonial and post-colonial contexts (Rajan, 2000: 53). In perspectives from the global south, gender is analysed at the level of the gender order, which has been discussed earlier in this chapter (Connell, 2011: 108). South Africa's gender order is dominated by a patriarchal discourse.

The formation of our patriarchy in South Africa has been powerfully shaped by the history of the colonisation of this country (Connell, 2009: 74). Different forms of masculinities were powerful at different periods of time, prior to colonisation, during colonisation and apartheid, and also in the post-apartheid era (Morrell, 2012: 12). Gender and race hierarchies became the main features of colonisation in which both land and women's bodies were taken by European colonisers. Through the acts of conquest and rape, men were masculinised in specific ways and the restructured gender orders of the colonies were exploited to allow for male slaves and female domestic labour (Connell: 2011: 107). Apartheid demanded a specific kind of patriarchy that was linked to the racial order of society (Connell, 2011: 106). This patriarchy has had lasting consequences well into the post-apartheid era. The apartheid patriarchal order was structured to ensure hegemonic masculinity in the form of white political and economic dominance. In this structuring, masculinities not classified as 'white', such as 'traditional African' masculinities occupied the position of subordinate masculinities, in the broader social fabric. However, these same masculinities were hegemonic within their immediate contexts. To further complicate matters, the social order was also divided racially along geographic lines. In other words, within the direct social setting of a 'traditional African' home in a rural environment, the men occupied the position of socio-economic dominance over women, according to their class. This patriarchy was perpetuated through institutions such as customary law (Morrell, 2012: 12). Due to the divisions of masculinities in the past, the gender transformations in South Africa during the transition to democracy showed a contestation of competing patriarchies (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 835). Though male domination was contested by the women who played central roles in the liberation of South Africa (Connell, 2009: 74), the division of labour, distribution of income, the model of culture, the formation of households and the everyday lived experiences are all still formed unequally along gendered lines (Connell: 2011: 107). This sets up the important context in which this thesis is located.

In South Africa today, 'ruling masculinity' is embedded in heterosexuality, cultural ascendancy, and male promiscuity (Ratele, 2006: 51).

Ruling masculinity indicates a design of practices, relations, and supportive cognitive and affective discourses that seek to have us believe in the naturalness of men's power over women, other men and children (Ratele, 2006; 56).

Former President Jacob Zuma's patriarchal practices and promotion of discourses that enable ruling masculinity made him untrustworthy as a protector of equal rights (Ratele, 2006; 53). Following Zuma's example, other political leaders display their support for ruling masculinity in South Africa. Ruling masculinity incorporates attitudes and values which promote the 'naturalness' of men as powerful and women as subordinated (Ratele, 2006: 56). Hegemonic masculinity is used as a technique of power by many political leaders. This is true, even of female leaders who enact power over other women within institutions. Ironically, their perpetuation of patriarchy does not serve them, since it is still men who wield the power (Connell, 2014: 187). Thus, contemporary South African women find themselves firmly under the thumb of a patriarchal discourse with colonial roots, despite their 'equal' representation in parliament.

Gender Justice

Feminist writing from a 'Global South' perspective links gender to issues of broad social concern (Byerly, 2006: 5) and understands unequal gender relations as a matter of social justice (Connell, 2011: 108). 'Social justice' is linked to the redress of inequalities. In order to achieve gender justice, we need a gender democracy in which gender concerns of employment, unemployment, control of land and wealth are addressed. In the Global South, gender is related to social justice issues, with a specific concern directed towards gendered violence (Connell, 2011: 104). Justice is a call for amends to be made for current and past injustices. Being aware of a society's cultural patterns are important for addressing gender justice, specifically in South Africa where women are devalued, and the masculine is appreciated (Connell, 2011: 111).

In South Africa, violence as a tool for suppression of women is of central concern for gender justice because although formal legislative equality broadly exists, there is a lack of political will to enforce it and thus justice is not adequately addressed (Connell, 2011: 111). This means that achieving democracy does not necessarily end gender injustices. Since gender relations evolve over time, they take different forms within colonial and postcolonial contexts, it therefore follows logically that different approaches to gender justice need to be considered in these different contexts (Connell, 2011: 107). Thus, while the democratisation

of gender regimes is a useful process for attaining gender justice, a genuine commitment from individuals in power is necessary for the protection of equal rights (Connell, 2011: 111).

Approaches to understanding political cartoons

There are roughly four broad categories of cartooning in South Africa: Political or editorial cartooning, humour strips, educational comics and underground comix (Mason, 2009: 246). The 'x' in 'comix' indicates that the cartoons carry adult content and are not confined to commercial requirements (Chute, 2017: 13). For this research, I will only be analysing political cartoons, which are cartoons that focus on social or political issues (Schoonraad, 1989: 14). 'Political cartoons' are understood as cartoons that comment on issues of broad socio-political concern, but do not necessarily appear as editorial content. The 'cartoon' referred originally to a 'preparatory sketch' drawn by an artist to plan a scene prior to painting. It now means a 'humorous drawing' (Chute, 2017: 13).

Political cartoons are said to be the measure of the 'democratic health', as they are indicative of the state's tolerance for free speech (Hammett, 2010: 3). In Africa, political transitions to democracy provide a lot of material for cartoonists. Of equal importance to political will against gender injustice, is the right to comment on and bring awareness to the problems that women face. This right is enshrined in South Africa's Bill of Rights as the right to freedom of speech. Political cartoons serve an important function as commentators on the status of women in South Africa. Cartoons are often deemed controversial when they critique the power elite (Hammett, 2010: 5). For example, South Africa's prominent cartoonist, Zapiro, is often causing controversies with his cartoons.

Indicators of democratic health

Cartoons have changed in their uses over time, moving from a symbol of illiteracy to an important literary material (Chute, 2017: 1). Cartoons are a medium and as such, they encompass a variety of genres such as the superhero comic and the romance (Chute, 2017: 1). Cartoons are a particular mode of representation which has wide reach as a feature of mainstream popular culture, as well as in global politics (Chute, 2017: 5). Cartoonists represent stories visually, often pairing illustrations with text to add to the persuasive value of the image (Farrell, 2004: 66) and using symbols and metaphors to make quick impact (Gilmartin, 1998). Political cartoons play a role in constructing social problems within confined narratives (Greenberg, 2002: 182). Cartoonists create visual and verbal worlds,

images that relay extreme experiences and that can have a quick and powerful impact (Chute, 2017: 35). These devices are used in political cartoons in order to fulfil their highly important function as measures of democratic health. They fulfil this function by critiquing and undermining figures in power. The attitude towards criticism taken by those critiqued reveals the level of government tolerance of free speech (Hammett, 2010: 6).

In analysing cartoons that contain symbols which carry meaning, researchers can find out how discourses of gender are operating in these texts (Al-Mahadin, 2003: 131). Images, such as cartoons, offer specific versions of social categories, such as gender (Rose, 2012: 11). The general focus on gender-based violence in cartoons makes obvious the issue of male domination over women in South Africa. As a result of this domination, one of the societal manifestations is that men's interests are served (Connell, 2009). With Woman's Day being a recognised and widely celebrated holiday, cartoonists take note of the day – each cartoon gives insight into the social context of the time (Africartoons, 2018).

Rhetoric

Cartooning is a form of rhetoric. Within its single-panel, black and white structure, the cartoon makes a persuasive argument (Buchanan, 1985: 9). The task of the cartoonist is to provide commentary on a political issue that is both topical and can be used as evidence of a social history, in that they are “providing something that can become a documentation” (Shapiro, 2017). These “documentations” of past events have to be carefully interpreted in any analysis because they are offerings of an opinion and are thus not “accurate recordings of events” (Mason, 2010: 17). Alongside ‘opinion’, cartoonists are often limited by where they publish their work as they must fit that specific institution. What is important to note here is that the social commentary of cartoons is a form of rhetoric that can be analysed. Rhetoric is understood as a mechanism for convincing someone of your argument. While the cartoonist might create a world for an audience to consider, the audience must be persuaded by the design of the cartoon (Buchanan, 1985: 8). This argument is made in the way that the cartoon is designed in its single panel, black and white structure (Buchanan, 1985: 9).

In order to convey their messages within a single panel drawing, political cartoons must use few words and employ signs and symbols that are instantly recognizable and highly meaningful to the typical reader (Gilmartin, 1998: 536).

Political cartoons offer short narratives to their readers, who are positioned by the cartoon as they decode the text. Cartoons frame current issues that pertain to everyday life and provide an argument to persuade the reader (Greenberg, 2002: 182). The rhetorical work images do lies in the way an image constructs the rules of the world it creates. In providing a specific view, the image is providing a ‘truth’ about the world (Rose, 2012: 209). The words and images of political cartoons invite the reader into the scene as a witness of its ‘truth’ (Farrell, 2004: 72). This visual display of an argument of ‘truth’ is meant to evoke an emotional response from the reader (Farrell, 2004: 74). As cartoons encompass both image and written text, there are two mechanisms in place to relay an argument. The illustrations hold both artistic and rhetorical features, while the written text adds the descriptive and emotional elements of a narrative (Farrell, 2004: 6).

Artistic accuracy is not a requirement of political cartoons. Rather, a quick sketch provides the artists immediate response to an issue and can come across as sharing more authentic feelings (Farrell, 2004: 67). Often a cartoon will be ‘incomplete’ – using absences, or no image at all, to make a point (See Appendix4.1). For example, a cartoon that contains a portrait with no background, context or text requires the reader to use their imagination to interpret the text (Farrell, 2004: 69). However, it is not often that such an image would be without accompanying text or dialogue.

Narrative and argument are present in each political cartoon, and these structural features offer a means of interpretation. As a form of textual analysis, narrative analysis as an analytic approach that is useful for the exploration of media texts, such as cartoons (Prinsloo, 2009, 130). To analyse cartoons, it is important to consider what sense is being made of a social moment (event) in the text, how ideas are represented, what is included and what is left out of the representation and the political effect the resulting texts have on identity and power relations (Prinsloo, 2009: 130).

Women’s Day cartoons

Representations of Women’s Day in political cartoons, such as in 2017, raise important questions about which discourses are operating in these texts. Media representations of women are important because of the influence the media has over society (Byerly, 2006: 18). The mere category ‘woman’ is politically constructed within news media to be a passive receiver of men’s actions (Van Zoonen, 2012: 32). Media representations provide information of how women are placed in our society, often showing women as victims of

violence (Tuchman, 2012: 42). In these representations, especially over Women's Day, there is much concern over the weakened position of women in society.

This is particularly interesting in the relationship political cartoons have with the news. Political cartoons which appear in newspapers are often run alongside news stories (Al-Mahadin, 2003: 132). The role that cartoons play as news carriers is specifically important when women are repeatedly depicted as victims of violence, as this says something important about women's roles in society (Byerly, 2006: 40).

Media representation becomes important to feminist struggles as the media's influence over society continues to grow (Byerly, 2006: 18). News media is promoted as reporting the 'real' incidents in our society. While this is widely challenged, given that media content is carefully selected by the media makers, the news still provides information about our social world, albeit decontextualized information (Byerly, 2006: 39). These media representations provide information of how women are placed in our society, often showing women as victims of violence. The 'herstory' created in news media is often focused on women's marginalisation and victimisation (Byerly, 2006: 40).

A note on symbolic annihilation

Feminist studies of the media do a deep analysis of how the female body is represented for political purposes (Gilmartin, 1998: 131). These studies have shown that the media has relayed limiting, patriarchal and hegemonic values through its representations of women. Such a phenomenon is known as 'symbolic annihilation'. Symbolic annihilation occurs when the portrayal of women trivialises their experiences and places limitations on their potential⁵ (Gilmartin, 1998: 131). Put another way, symbolic annihilation occurs when the media's symbolic representation of women does not reflect their lived experiences (Carter, 2012: 365). There are two linked frameworks that are useful in analysing media messages: the 'reflection hypothesis' and 'symbolic annihilation'. In the reflection hypothesis, the media is understood as using dominant social values as material for content. As values change, it is expected that the images will reflect this change (Tuchman, 2012: 43). When this change does not occur, and the media continues to portray values that are no longer found in reality it is understood as symbolic annihilation.

⁵ For example, the consistent portrayal of women as hapless victims.

In order to fix this problem of representation, it is suggested that the media should offer more diverse portrayals of women (Van Zoonen, 2012: 32). The responsibility of representation then rests on the media producers such as cartoonists, who use symbols as a way to communicate messages visually, to not repeat the social expectations of the patriarchy in their narratives (Kearney, 2012: 6). It is important to gender justice that media producers create diverse portrayals of women because the media passes on news from one segment of society to another and is thus directly involved in the creation and maintenance of societal discourses. The dissemination of media remains a very one-sided flow of information (Tuchman, 2012: 42).

Previous studies

There is little access to information on gender in South African studies of cartooning. Previous studies of cartooning in South Africa are largely concerned with representations of race, with special attention placed on Zapiro's cartoons (Mason, 2010). Race, like gender, is a primary system which creates social hierarchies that are weakly based on skin colour and biology (Kersebom, 2014: 6). Within the assumptions that are based on biology, our lives are shaped, and the sex-difference discourse emerges (Kersebom, 2014: 86). Andrew Mason has dominated discussions on cartooning in South Africa and, in partnership with John Curtis, set up the comprehensive online archive *Africartoons.com*. International research, such as *The Representation of Women in Political Cartoons of the 1995 World Conference on Women*, are helpful in building an understanding for analysing cartoons in a South African context. By analysing the subject matter of cartoons and the ways in which men and women are represented and their masculinities and femininities made to mean, (Gilmartin, 1998: 539), the social and political commentary of Women's Day cartoons can be situated in relation to gender justice.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided the theoretical framework which informs the study for this thesis. While the critical studies framework provides the language for the study of texts and images within a constructionist approach, it is used in conjunction with feminist theories of gender, femininities and masculinities, as well as the basics of what cartooning is and how it operates as a distributor of discourse.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Where previous chapters have discussed the history of cartoons and the theory that informs this research, this chapter will discuss the methodological approach of this research. As has been established, political cartoons are an important carrier of news in South Africa. They can provide one with insights into a specific socio-historical context, such as Women's Day. In order to answer the research question; *How are women represented in political cartoons of Women's Day and what are the implications of such representations for gender justice?* this research takes a qualitative methodological approach as it provides the best tools for analysing the cartoons in question. The cartoons have been selected by their common denominator: that their content surrounds Women's Day. It would have been possible to do a rich analysis on one specific cartoonist's work – however, that would have narrowed the insights being revealed. This research therefore takes the broad approach of analysing multiple cartoons about Women's Day. The research uses the methods of: thematic analysis, textual analysis, discourse analysis and narrative analysis, in order to understand the representation of women in Women's Day cartoons, and more broadly to understand the implications of said representations for gender justice in South Africa.

Overview of a qualitative methodology

Within social sciences, qualitative approaches to research are contrasted with quantitative methods as devised for natural sciences. A dominance of quantitative methods in studies of mass communication has been contested by diverse qualitative methods within the social sciences (Jankowski & Wester, 2015: 44). Comparisons and debates over quantitative and qualitative methodologies take a philosophical form in that quantitative and qualitative approaches were created through the scientific community in order to do sound research (Jankowski, 1991, p.51). Such philosophical debates have made a significant contribution to a qualitative methodology for media research. Where quantitative studies are rooted in positivism which can generalize its findings, qualitative methods are broadly defined and are critiqued as not being replicable or generalizable. But a primary advantage of qualitative methodologies is that they offer useful tools for inquiry (Jankowski & Wester, 2015: 45).

An interpretive social inquiry is important to qualitative studies as it requires the researcher to be aware of how the process of interpretation has taken place. As such, a focus on how one

understands their surroundings from a subjective position is included in qualitative methodologies. This subjective position allows the researcher to use their political and social context to approach their research (Jankowski & Wester, 2015: 58). While it is then impossible for this kind of research to be ‘objective’, a balancing measure of reflexivity can assure that the researcher is aware of their positionality while embarking on their research. Reflexivity assures that the researcher remains consistent in their efforts by self-assessment of their own biases and interests in their pursuit of knowledge (Chilisa, 2012: 167). The reliability of such research is also assured through: adequate descriptions of the context, clarity on the sampling processes; triangulation of methods; and reaching data saturation through being explicit in the procedures of data collection and analysis (Jankowski & Wester, 2015: 69; Bless, 1988: 222). Taking care in being explicit in the details of this research is important because qualitative research processes have been critiqued by the quantitative camp (Jankowski & Wester, 2015: 58). This care also shows that the researcher has acknowledged their important task of embarking on knowledge-formation.

Data Collection

There are a variety of techniques for data collection in qualitative research. For this research, the online archive *Africartoons.com* was used as a catchment for the collection of data. This is because it is the most comprehensive archive for South African cartoons, and thus has the most diversity. Whilst some cartoonists such as Zapiro have their own personal and thorough archives, other prominent cartoonists like Nanda rely on the Africartoons website to distribute their work (Soobben, 2018). Because the site has cases of cartoonists collaborating on work, it was necessary to do a thorough check of the pages of every one of the over fifty cartoonists whose work is published in the archive. It was also necessary to create a private collection of the works I chose to analyse – as with any online archive, the accessibility to work is not assured (See Appendix 1.2). A recent example of this is the removal of Jerm’s profile from Africartoons in 2018.

Sampling

Once the *population* of the study was identified through data collection, the cartoons then needed to be narrowed down, or sampled, for further investigation (Deacon, 1998: 43). ‘Sampling’ is traditionally understood in terms of taking a smaller group as sample of the larger group in order to generalise findings. However, it can also be understood as the process of “selecting subjects for studies”, even when there is no intention to generalise (Bertrand,

2005: 65). Non-random, or purposive, sampling methods are appropriate for this qualitative study where cartoons and cartoonists are specifically selected within the Women's Day time-frame (Bertrand, 2005: 68). The sampling of this study is an example of *critical-case* sampling, as I am researching the specific phenomenon of Women's Day political cartoons (Deacon, 1998: 43).

In order to make this research possible, and for easy navigation of the Africartoons archive, the first step in the sampling process was to identify which cartoonists are active. An initial count in 2017 revealed that there are 33 active cartoonists on this site. Included in this list are well-known cartoonists such as Zapiro, Yalo, Nanda, Dr Jack and Curtis. These cartoonists are published in recognised national and local publications such as *Noseweek*, *Sunday Times*, *Mail & Guardian*, and *Sowetan*. Once the active cartoonists were identified, I could search their profiles and tags for Women's Day Cartoons. The fifty Women's Day cartoons were acquired by searching the tags: *Women's Day*, *Women*, *Women and Children*, *Women's Month*.

Selection

The chosen time-frame for the sample is 2009-2017, as the platform, *Africartoons.com*, was created in 2009. This online archive has become an important means to access cartoons as cartoonists rely on this site to showcase their work. For example, well-known cartoonist Nanda Soobben promotes his work by providing a link to this site in his personal blog. Given the unreliable nature of online access, once the cartoons were identified, I downloaded them onto my computer to store my personal archive of Women's Day cartoons. For this thesis I purposively sample seven cartoons which capture the theoretical concerns of this study. These theoretical concerns are organised into the themes of: women as victims of violence, patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity and hegemonic masculinity, overt political commentary, strong women, women in solidarity, ironic commentary on the Women's Day holiday, motherhood, corporate women, explicit representation and commemoration of the Women's Day march, and women colluding with patriarchy.

Data Analysis Methods

For the clarity of the research and findings, I have separated this study in sections A and B. While the overall aim is to deeply analyse a selected few cartoons, a content analysis (Analysis A) of all fifty cartoons selected from Africartoons was necessary. This is because

the content analysis allows for the uncovering of broad themes across the large sample. I was then able to make the selection of the seven cartoons for a thematic analysis (Analysis B).

Data Analysis A (content analysis)

Through employing multiple methods, one can ensure that the text has been thoroughly analysed (Jankowski & Wester, 2015: 63). As such this research makes use of the traditionally quantitative method of content analysis to enter into the data. While quantitative and qualitative research are seen as ‘divergent genres’ there are hybrid approaches that are based on technical choice, whereby methods are chosen according to appropriate technique (Bryman, 1988: 5). Triangulation describes the use of multiple methods for more valid results, so that “the weaknesses in each single method will be compensated by the counter-balancing strengths of another” (Jankowski & Wester, 2015: 62). Triangulation is constructive as it may help “uncover unexpected dimensions” (Jankowski & Wester, 2015: 62). It is important that the researcher includes an appropriate theoretical reflection on the findings and data. Here the “thick description” of qualitative research is of utmost importance (Jankowski & Wester, 2015: 63). A thick description is the detailed description of the sample in order to understand the actions within a social and historical context (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 271).

For my content analysis, the fifty cartoons were organised by artist. Then, the date and source of publishing were used to ascertain whether the cartoon was about Women’s Day. Codes were then chosen to determine what was happening in each cartoon. In this method, the first part is to quantitatively count all the cartoons and organise them into various themes which are related to the theoretical concerns of the thesis. In doing this initial count, underlying themes can be discovered across multiple images. While content analysis was originally developed for analysing the written text, it is also useful in visual analysis. There are four steps to content analysis. 1. Find the images 2. Devise categories for coding 3. Code the images. 4. Analyse the results.

I devised ten non-verbal communication categories which will link to the theoretical concerns. For this coding process, ten themes were highlighted. As these are very rich images I created a list of codes based on non-verbal criteria which were derived from theorists: from Lutz and Collins (1993) and Argyle (1983). In Lutz and Collins, a large list of codes is selected to uncover how power, race and historical context are operating in the text (Lutz and Collins (1993) cited in Rose, 2016, 91). I then narrowed down this list by comparing it to

Argyle's list in *The Psychology of Interpersonal Behavior* (1983) (See appendix 3.1) (Argyle (1983 cited in Lacey, 2009, 9).

Data Analysis B (thematic analysis)

In a thematic analysis, one is looking for patterns to establish a hypothesis about the discourses that are operating in the texts (Janks, 1997). In order to identify which cartoons to closely analyse from this large sample of fifty Women's Day cartoons, the methods of a thematic analysis were useful. For the full analysis of the selected cartoons, various qualitative tools, such as narrative methods were useful for a deeper understanding of how the visual, in combination with the text are communicating meaning. For this part of the analysis, the first step in a textual analysis in the spirit of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was to denotatively describe each cartoon. This was followed by a narrative analysis and then a discussion of the discourses operating in the texts. This opened a space for a discussion of what the findings mean for gender justice.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) explores the roles discourses play in maintaining relations of domination (Janks, 1998: 195). This critical theory is inclusive of the socio-cultural and historical context within which the text is produced and consumed. CDA focuses on the positioning of the text, whose interests the discourses serve, and the consequences of such positioning. This focus is achieved through analysing an object, considering its production and the socio-historical context in which it exists (Janks, 1997: 329). This analysis is made possible through methods provided by CDA. First, the text is viewed as an object of discourse, where the processes of encoding and decoding the text are socially constrained (Janks, 1997: 329). In other words, the text is constructed in the relationships between the producer, text and consumer (Richardson, 2007: 15). This is a useful framework to employ when investigating how representations affect social justice because CDA focuses on the way in which discourse can (re)produce social inequalities. CDA is a response, by seeking to effect change in social practices and social relationships (Richardson, 2007: 26). This approach to studying cultural phenomena is especially useful for the study of media texts.

The possibilities of the methods of CDA are multi-dimensional. This research incorporates textual analysis with a focus on discourse, as well as semiotic methods of visual analysis in order to discover how power is operating in these texts. Methods of CDA thus offer

investigative strategies to ensure that the research is embedded in a context, that the institutional conditions in which these texts exist are identified, and to consider the multiple ways in which these texts can be read (Fursich, 2009: 247). In a process of analysis which is in the spirit of CDA, first the text is identified, this is followed by an interpretation of the text, which is then explained in the social context in which the text appears. In this process of analysis, the text is read for the purposes of interpretation. What this means is that the text is critically read in a step-by-step analysis (Janks, 1997: 331). Starting at the site of the text, the researcher first reads the text to gain a hypothesis for which discourses are operating within it. These findings are then compared to other similar texts to confirm that the discourses have been accurately identified. For this analysis of cartoons which are both textual and visual, it is important to note that meaning cannot be made from the signs alone. The discourses in these cartoons which are made available to readers are related to the contexts in which they appear (Janks, 1997: 332).

Textual Analysis

The qualitative reading of these texts will be in the spirit of Critical Discourse Analysis insofar as the study focuses on the description of the texts (textual analysis), the interpretation of these texts (process analysis), and explanations of these texts (social analysis) within an account of the socio-cultural processes of production (Janks, 1998). The term 'text' is understood as anything that can be 'read'. Textual analysis can uncover issues of language, meaning and power in society, thus media scholars are able to examine which versions of 'reality' are operating within media texts (Fursich, 2009). Textual analysis is a useful tool for this kind of reading and interpretation, which encompasses a variety of methods (Fursich, 2009). A useful method for organising the analysis of these political cartoons is a qualitative content analysis. Content analysis offers specific procedures to quantify the data which is then qualitatively interpreted. In this way, the symbolic work of the images can be linked to a wider cultural context (Rose, 2016: 84).

Discourse Analysis

Discourse can be understood as groups of statements which shape the way we think about things and how this knowledge then has an impact on our actions (Rose, 2016: 141). This involves the institutional spaces within which discourses are constructed and where what can or cannot be said is regulated. This includes the knowledge and practices around visual images. Important here is the notion of intertextuality, whereby the meaning of an image can

depend on meanings of other images (Rose, 2016: 142). Discourse is connected to power in the way that it “disciplines subjects into certain ways of thinking and acting” (Rose, 2016: 143). There are dominant discourses, whereby there is power in knowledge. Here power does not necessarily operate in top-down manner but at all levels. This means that there can be counter-discourses which resist dominant discourse. can be explored in terms of resistance discourses. Discourse analysis is a method that “can be used to explore how images construct specific views of the social world” (Rose, 2016:195). For this research, discourse analysis is achieved through identifying the images that will make up the data of this study. Once the images are identified, the researcher explores how the image is constructed within its institutional location. Here, the arguments and narratives offered by the text are explored (Rose, 2016).

Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis allows for the researcher to uncover which discourses are operating in a text (Prinsloo, 2007). Foucault’s ‘Discourse’ in this research refers to a system of representation, where discourse is the making of knowledge through language. All meaningful practices operate within discourse (Hall, 1997:29). Certain discourses are privileged in media texts in that the genre of the news involves a certain set of practices and is organised in a particular way (Prinsloo, 2007). Knowledge is linked to power in that as it represents a ‘reality’ that is believed to be ‘true’ and regulates people’s actions (Hall, 1997:33). Narratives can be classified as genres which are shared through language and come in a wide variety of forms (Fiske, 1987).

The news has been ‘narrativised’ in that it produces ‘stories’ that are intentionally structured to be told and shared within all societies (Fulton, 2005). Narrativising the news makes it interesting for the consumer. The narrative of news is created by the angle, point of closure, individualisation, focalisation and chronology (Fulton, 2009). *The angle* refers to the plot. The headline and first paragraph will traditionally show what the story is about. *The point of closure* shows what the story is about and gives a plot summary. *Individualisation* refers to the way stories are usually linked to particular people (characters) or events. *Focalisation* refers to the point of view of the narrator. Finally, the *chronology* refers to the time sequence of a story and how news stories are often not structured chronologically, such as with this story (Fulton, 237). The angle and point of closure are given in the headline and first

paragraph of this text. There can be more than one narrative operating in a text and that the story can be told from different positions (Prinsloo, 2007).

Story-telling is an integral part of human behaviour. We tell stories as a process of communication. As mini-narratives, cartoons relay messages about the world to those that read them (Prinsloo, 2009: 131). The universal structure of narratives leads to the importance of having theories to study these texts and to study them in relation to the context in which they appear (Fiske, 1987). Structuralist theories allow for a close examination of the ways in which news stories are narrated and how power operates within the narrative. The intertextual nature of narratives is central to structuralist theories, whereby narratives are made and read within specific contexts (Prinsloo, 2009, 131).

There are two approaches offered by structuralist theories. First, the syntagmatic approach is concerned with the structure of a text and second, the paradigmatic approach is concerned with the latent patterns which work within a story (Prinsloo, 2009, p.131). Both syntagmatic and paradigmatic theories enable a deeper analysis of texts as one can first identify the structure of the text and then the positions offered by the text.

Syntagmatic approach

The syntagmatic approach analyses what the text presents in terms of what is included and excluded in the causally linked chain of events. All events, even those that must be inferred, are included in the narrative (Prinsloo, 2009: 132). Todorov (1960s) and Propp (1968) offer models which provide useful tools for analysis. Both have similar stages to a story shown in the appendix 3.2 (Prinsloo, 2007). An issue is that structuralist approaches are largely concerned with the structure and less with the content (Wigston, 2001).

Todorov provides a structure that allows for an entry point into a story. Central to Todorov's theory is the notion of causality, a linked chain of events rather than random happenings. First a state of equilibrium sets the scene. Second, is the disruption of the equilibrium as the result of an action. Third, the recognition is the acknowledgment of the disruption. Fourth is the attempt to repair the disruption, which results in action being taken. Fifth the restoration of equilibrium concludes. Importantly, over the course of the narrative, transformation has taken place. This means that the second equilibrium will not be the same as the first state of equilibrium (Prinsloo, 2009: 132). Todorov's model of equilibrium, disruption, recognition, action and (re) equilibrium is particularly helpful when analysing Women's Day cartoons.

Like written news stories, political cartoons often focus on the disruption, as the disturbance of the equilibrium is viewed as newsworthy. Todorov in combination with Propp is helpful in identifying the discourses operating in these cartoons (See appendix 3.2).

Propp's theory is more detailed than Todorov's theory. Propp offers thirty-one narrative functions which are organised into six sequential stages in the order of: preparation, complication, transference, struggle, return and recognition. A function is an action to develop the story. Where Propp is useful for this particular research is his notion of character functions. Propp provides seven character functions which play specific roles within the narrative: villain, donor, helper, princess and father, hero or victim and false hero (see appendix 3.2). Not all stories comprise all narrative functions and character functions. However, central to any narrative is the hero role (Prinsloo, 138). The narrative can be organised into a quest with a seeker-hero or it can involve a victim-hero who transforms their circumstances. Propp provides seven character functions, the act of the character, to identify the roles: villain, donor, helper, princess and father, hero or victim and false hero (appendix) (Prinsloo, 2007). It is important to find which role the character plays and note that one character can have more than one character function. Propp establishes four laws of the functions. First, the character functions are apparent in all tales. Second, the narrative functions are limited. Third, the six stages are always the same. Finally, all fairy tales have the same structure (Wigston, 2001).

Paradigmatic approach

Todorov and Propp's models are useful to identify the narrative structures but one needs to employ other strategies for a deeper reading of the text (Wigston, 2001). The paradigmatic approach is concerned with latent patterns of meaning within stories (Fiske, 1987). Here, the theory is concerned with the content of the story, rather than its manifest structure. Narratives have been shown to have similar sets of events and operate in relation to one another. To study the commonality across seemingly broad narratives, the concept of the myth was influenced by writers Levi-Strauss and Barthes. Their approaches to narrative converge at the importance of myth-making across cultures, where the deeper meaning of myths can only be revealed through theoretical analysis (Fiske, 1987:131). Levi-Strauss offers a structuralist theory of narrative which focusses on employing broad generalisations and organising them into binary oppositions in order to recognise the power operating in a text (Prinsloo, 2007). These binary oppositions help the researcher to analyse the deep structures within the text,

whereby myth provides “an imaginative structure by which contradictions can be thought through” (Fiske, 1987:132). Through theoretical analysis the underlying construction of meaning becomes more apparent.

Although both Levi-Strauss and Barthes offer theories of myth, these theories do differ. For Levi-Strauss, importance is placed on the universality of myth-making across cultures, whereas for Barthes, myths are apparent in “historically and culturally specific terms” (Fiske, 1987: 133). Barthes’ theory is useful in analysing the way action takes place in a complex story. Barthes identifies five codes that are used to make meaning. First the Hermeneutic or enigma: this is usually a riddle or mystery of a narrative. This code moves the story in a particular way. An enigma at the beginning of a narrative sets the story in motion. Second the semic code is the way the imagery has symbolic meaning which shows the theme of the narrative. Third the symbolic code is the binary oppositions that show the creation of the character in the narrative. Fourth the Proairetic or action code is the sequence of events. Fifth the referential code is the knowledge needed to understand the text (Wigston, 2001 :153). Specific to working with Propp’s and Todorov’s models, setting up an enigma–action grid allows one to see how the action plays out (See appendix 3.2).

Visual Analysis

Visual material is analysed for the way in which images render social difference. In analysing these political cartoons, it is important to understand how images visualise, or make invisible social differences. For a critical visual methodology, the images must be read carefully, the social context must be considered, and the researcher must be reflexive in the way they are reading the image (Rose, 2016: 17).

A social semiotic approach to the analysis of visual communication involves exploring what can be said about the image, the use of the images and how the use of these images can be interpreted (Van Leeuwen, 2001: 134). Social semiotics is a resource which provides researchers with a language with which to interpret the image. For example, a ‘resource’ such as ‘point of view’ speaks to the way people are positioned within an image and how these physical positionings imply power relationships. Semiotics provides the means by which show Visual signs are representations of the ‘real’ and can be interpreted for meaning (Hall, 1997: 5). ‘Visual technologies’ such as cartoons offer opinions about the world, displaying it through a particular lens. They are not simply “windows on the world”. Not only are images constructed in particular ways, but how we read and interpret images is itself socially

constructed (Rose, 2016: 3). With the weekly and sometimes daily role that cartoons play in our lives, these images form part of our social world. For this reason, images have social effects, in that they can render social difference and they construct social categories, such as gender, race and sexuality in particular ways (Rose, 2016: 14). The cartoon relies on shared conceptual and linguistic systems in order to be interpreted in the same way multiple times (Hall, 1997: 5). But in studying images such as cartoons, one is interrogating a broader visual culture and one must thus be aware of who is able to access the images and question how the image is seen in a particular social context (Rose, 2016: 15).

Visual Social Semiotics

A visual analysis of cartoons printed during Women's Month is based within social semiotics, which provide a language for analysing these visual texts. "In order to convey their messages within a single panel drawing, political cartoons must use few words and employ signs and symbols that are instantly recognizable and highly meaningful to the typical reader" (Gilmartina, 1998, np). *Communication* is achieved through the shared understanding of a message in its context. However, power differences can result in the interpretations of these messages being different (Kress, 1996: 11). *Representation* involves the creator of the sign choosing forms that best describe what it is they are trying to express. This representation can be coded for a specific context, or it can rely on any intertextual connection that is available to create new interpretations (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001: 3). But different rules of interpretation can be used in different contexts to make meaning from that representation (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001: 5). Social semiotics provides a detailed method for analysing meanings as communicated through people, places and things in the images. This method is useful in mapping out the possibilities of the texts through first analysing the 'system networks' or point of view as these are socially determined. The representational meaning of visual resources, narrative structures and conceptual structures are then identified. This is followed by identifying the interactive meaning and compositional meaning of the image (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001: 153).

Thus, social semiotics is a resource for critical research and is the entry point into this research. Through the systemic description of the image, the point of view can be identified and bring forward things that may not have been immediately recognisable. Second, social semiotics provides the language for a rich description of the images. Visual social semiotics is functionalist in that the images are understood as being formed to create specific kinds of

semiotic work (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001: 140). This semiotic work is identified by Halliday (1978) as three *metafunctions* which occur simultaneously: the ideational *metafunction* (semiotic systems of representing objects); the interpersonal *metafunction* (the relation between the producer and receiver of the sign); and the textual *metafunction* (semiotic systems which involve the ability to form texts which incur meaning through representation and interaction) (Kress, 1996: 41). Following this, the researcher is then able to identify the representational meaning which is communicated through the image.

Narrative structures of the image are identifiable through vectors, which are lines that connect the people in the image. The vector is often diagonal lines of sight which suggest a power relationship. When vectors are not present, conceptual structures can be identified. Such structures are symbolic in that they are reliant on recognisable characteristics to communicate meaning. Images create relationships through showing interactive meaning. This is set up through the contact, distance and point of view of characters included in the story (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001: 146). The compositional meaning of an image is identified through the information that the image is expected to provide, the framing of elements in the image, the salience or most noticeable points in the image, and the modality of the image (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001: 152).

Ethical Considerations

The pursuit of knowledge is an ethical endeavour and this form of knowledge production must be done responsibly (Ali, 2004: 125). While ethical practices do not guarantee that the research will not cause harm, the researcher can be responsible through acknowledging their position of power. The principles of beneficence, non-maleficence, respect for autonomy, and justice were adhered to for this research (Ali, 2004: 118). Thus, the purpose, methods, and risks of this research are outlined. This research is interested in the ethical considerations pertaining to the images being analysed. While anonymity is a prerequisite for much research with human subjects, it is difficult to promise anonymity if an image makes participants visible. However, given that this text-based study is of images that have been made for, and are already in, the public domain, the potential for harm is not anticipated (Rose, 2016: 328). All images that are included have been referenced to ensure that the producer of the image is acknowledged, and that the publication information is recognised.

This thesis is concerned with the way images make visible and construct social difference. In this study of visual images, versions of our social world are considered. Here, social

categories such as gender, class and race are rendered in particular ways. How the images are interpreted is also important to the ethical endeavours of this research. These images are embedded in a wider culture and have effects. This research is also cognisant of the fact that there are many possible interpretations of these images. This research also recognises images as having their own agency in that they are not just reflections of other meanings (Rose, 2016: 16).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the processes of Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Semiotics for approaching the research question. The methodology of this thesis, which is qualitative, has been outlined with specific focus on the methods of textual analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis and visual social semiotics. Finally, ethical considerations have been identified for this research.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

*Let me take you back to a cold morning **56 years ago**... Twenty thousand women staged a march on the **Union Buildings** in Pretoria...they came to protest the **Urban Areas Act**, commonly known as “**pass laws**”. They left petitions of **100 000** signatures... and stood solemnly in silence for thirty minutes... many with their children on their backs. (Thandi in Madam & Eve)*

Introduction

In this chapter, a thematic content analysis (Analysis A) of fifty Women’s Day cartoons⁶ is followed by a deeper, qualitative textual analysis of a selected seven cartoons (Analysis B). The objective of Analysis A is to provide context pertaining to the broad themes of Women’s Day cartoons. The objective of Analysis B is to examine, in detail, the representation of women in the selected cartoons. Analysis B is done via the methods derived from Critical Discourse Analysis and Semiotics, and includes an exploration of the themes, activities and mini narratives of each cartoon. This analysis process opens a discussion towards the end of the chapter of what such representations mean for gender justice.

Context (Analysis A and B)

Part of the work that cartoons do is to reflect and comment on societal events. During South Africa’s Women’s Day, cartoonists offer readers a broad range of the discourses that currently surround the idea of contemporary womanhood in South Africa. Given that political cartoons are commonly published alongside, or as part of, editorial content, what is offered is often a critical view of an issue that is of social importance (Shapiro, 2017). South African news media commonly publish such political fare, and the written stories on offer during Women’s Month offer a bleak view of the ontological status of womanhood. Past studies on the representation of women in news media in South Africa (and internationally) have critiqued the heavy attention placed on women as helpless victims of violence (Byerly, 2006; Gilmartin, 1998; Tuchman, 2012). In a similar way, Women’s Day cartoons place a heavy focus on women as victims of violence. Sometimes this victimisation is located in the context of the history of the day, but often the march of 1956 is not mentioned in the mini-narrative (see appendix 4.1). The irony is that the intention of Women’s Day, which is to honour the

⁶ As found on *Africartoons.com*

victory of women's contribution to the struggle, has been replaced by a narrative of female subordination, struggle and victimisation.

As an initial phase of this research, a short thematic analysis was conducted on the large sample of fifty cartoons (Analysis A, see appendix 4.1). This allowed for the identification of the kinds of themes with which this research is concerned. These themes are linked to the theoretical concerns of cultural studies and feminist media research (Analysis B, see appendix). The identified themes are: women as victims of violence; patriarchy (in the forms of hapless masculinity and hegemonic masculinity); overt political commentary; strong women; women in solidarity; ironic commentary on the Women's Day holiday; motherhood; corporate women; explicit representation and commemoration of the Women's Day march; and women colluding with patriarchy.

Thematic concerns	Total
1 Women as victims of violence	26x
2 Motherhood	8x
3 Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	23x
4 Irony of holiday	12x
5 Commemoration of the march	6x
6 Strong women	19x
7 Corporate women	7x
8 Colluding with patriarchy	5x
9 Political commentary (government elite)	22x
10 Women in solidarity	13x
11 Other	2x

I then identified seven cartoons that covered at least one of each of these themes. These cartoons cover the years 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2016, 2017. The appearance of cartoons is not consistent, with some years only holding one or two cartoons published for Women's Day, while other years hold twelve cartoons (see appendix 4.2).

Analysis B (see appendix 4.3)

A useful first step in a detailed analysis is a denotative analysis of the text. In a denotative analysis, the researcher does a simple description of the text. This simple description should provide a very basic understanding of what the text holds. This is in preparation for a connotative analysis in which the image is interpreted and both its overt and latent meanings foregrounded (Lacey, 2009: 7). This connotative analysis is the second step in a detailed analysis.

Given the nature of political cartoons, applying the principles of textual analysis is a helpful approach in analysing texts and interpreting them for meaning. First the medium (or form) of the text is identified, here the political cartoon. Second, the content of the text is identified (Lacey, 2009: 12). That these are cartoons means that these texts will be experienced in a way that is specific to the appearance of political cartoons in news media. In order to interpret the text for meaning, a semiotic approach is taken. In this approach, the signs of the image are identified and interpreted. As part of this approach, binary oppositions are drawn up to identify how we understand signs in relation to other signs (Lacey, 2009: 77). In binary oppositions, one is contrasted to its opposite meaning as culturally understood. This is then followed by a discourse analysis in the spirit of critical discourse analysis. In this analysis the site of the text is first identified and then described. This description is followed by interpretation for meaning, which is then understood in the broader context in which these texts appear (Janks, 1997: 331). It is important to be reflexive in this approach to analysing texts as our experiences will affect our interpretations (Lacey, 2009: 6).

Importantly, the research for this thesis is centrally concerned with representations of gender. The concern of this thesis is the discursive positioning of the representations of men and women which cartoons offer (Lacey, 2009: 190). As such, a useful method for this thesis is applying binary oppositions as ‘gender oppositions’. In this way, the questioning of who is active and dominant in the text, as opposed to a passive and submissive construction, shows whether the text is holding to ideal forms of masculinity or femininity. Such over-generalisations serve as a broad template for how gender is represented in texts (Lacey, 2009: 191).

For this analysis, published artists who regularly created Women’s Day content were selected. The selection process narrowed down the options to: Chip (2013, cartoon 4/50), Dr Jack & Curtis (2016, cartoon 9/50), Jerm (2009, 2011 and 2012, cartoon 14-16/50), Nanda

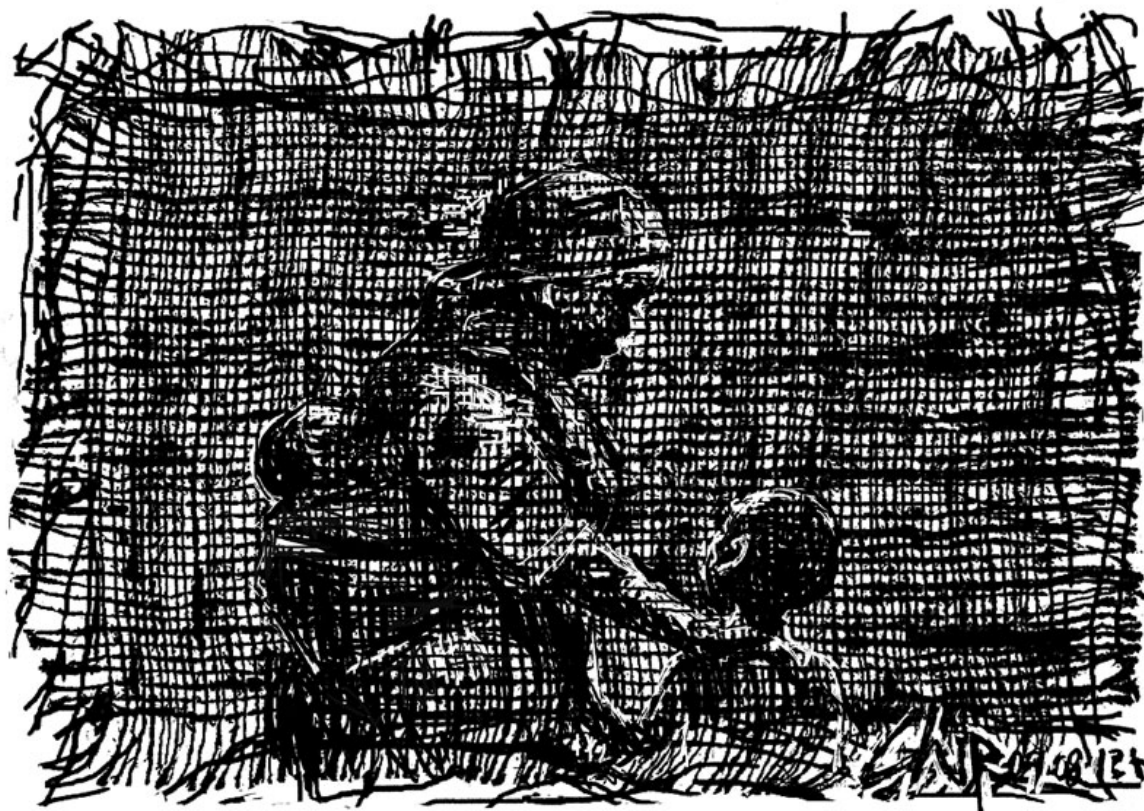
(2011, cartoon 32/50), S. Francis and Rico (2013, cartoon 21/50), Yalo (2013, cartoon 45/50) and Zapiro (2017, cartoon 50/50).

Once these cartoons were identified, I did a short content analysis (Lacey, 2009). This was useful in identifying the non-verbal communication. Non-verbal communication (NVC) is a way for reading and interpreting images without the use of verbal and written textual cues. If an image includes a depiction of a person, one can read and interpret what the body and face are communicating. Examples of NVC include facial expression, gaze, gestures, posture, body contact and clothing (Lacey, 2009: 11). This list is devised by Argyle in *The Psychology of Interpersonal Behavior (1983)* (Lacey, 2009, 9). Similarly, codes to interpret images are provided by Lutz and Collins (1993). These codes are based on power, race and historical context (Rose, 2012, 91). For this study, I devised codes to identify the NVC: location and surroundings, urban or rural, gender, age, gaze, facial expression, activity, body contact, clothes and wealth. These codes helped inform which theoretical concerns could be derived from each cartoon. I then narrowed down these theoretical concerns into ten broad themes as mentioned earlier.

Findings

The following cartoons are the seven chosen for analysis, each corresponding to at least one thematic concern:

1. Chip: Motherhood



Chip Snaddon “cut his teeth as an editorial cartoonist” for the Unite Democratic Front (UDF) newspaper *South*, in Cape Town in the 1980s. Chip is a cartoonist, book illustrator and storyboard artist for the advertising industry. He is known for his “parallel lined hatching”. Chip began his work with *The Argus* in 1998, which is where this particular cartoon for Women’s Day was published.

Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	Chip (cartoon 4/50)
Published	Cape Argus

This cartoon is organised as a cross-hatched single frame of three figures. The figures are silhouetted but one can identify an adult woman with an infant strapped to her back and a child standing next to her. While the context in which this cartoon was produced is noted, the focus of the analysis is on the image, the theme of which is motherhood. ‘Chip 09/08’ is placed in the bottom right corner. Alongside this cartoon are the tags: *Art, Babies, Children,*

Fabric, Families, Guidance, Mother's Day, Mothers, Parenting, Parents, Society, Strength, Textiles, Women, Women's Day, Women's Rights. As made available by this online archive, Chip published three cartoons of Women's Day between 2011-2013.

The context in which this cartoon appeared is provided by a partially unavailable article by the *Cape Argus*. Partially unavailable as the archive for this news organisation is scrapped once a significant amount of time has passed. In an article titled *Women need to be treated equally, not made special*, the writer laments the issue of a single day of celebrating women as being a cover for the disrespect women face throughout the rest of the year (Robinson, 2013). "We should all feel respected, empowered and celebrated every day. In fact, that is what our Constitution provides for" (Robinson, 2013). The purpose of the day is seen to be completely cosmetic as women are not able to claim their full rights and this impacts their quality of life.

This cartoon offers a version of events to communicate something about women on Women's Day. Since texts do not reflect the real but are versions of events (Prinsloo, 2007: 126), the issue the image is highlighting seems to be single-motherhood which is a prominent aspect of womanhood in South Africa. That this appears in the context of Women's Day reveals the inherent link of women to children and motherhood. The image is reminiscent of pictures from the 1956 Women's March in which mothers carried their children on their backs.



Figure 2: Available on SAHO (<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/1956-womens-march-pretoria-9-august>)

At the second level, a connotative analysis interprets these signs for meaning (Lacey, 2009: 7). The cross-hatch pattern connotes a hessian or straw material, often associated with the crafting and hand-weaving of bags which are sold in South Africa (Newman, 2018). The woman carrying the baby on her back is indicative of the immense responsibility placed on women in this country as often single-parents and providers (Nyandoro, 2018: 178). This is a familiar, even iconic, image for South Africans (see figure 2). Her clothing, with sleeves rolled to the elbow, suggests that she is here to work and provide for these two children. The rough quality of the hessian fabric from which her dress and doek are evocatively “woven”, together with the sturdiness of her body and the solidity of her stance, are indicative of working-class womanhood.

A narrative analysis reveals more. In this short narrative, we see a single-frame of a mother with her two children. While this is a single moment, we can infer meaning through what, or who, is absent in the story. Remembering that the cause-effect structure of events is purposefully linked (Prinsloo, 2007, p.131), the economy of the story presents what is relevant to move the plot forward. Here, the mother is moved into action by her need to take

care of the children. This story is seemingly a moment frozen in time, with no clear resolve. In this frozen moment, the hero is the woman in the centre of the image. For Propp, each story has a hero in order to move the plot forward. The hero is someone who has tragedy befall them which moves them to their quest (Prinsloo, 2007). Propp provides seven character functions, the action of the character, to identify the roles: villain, donor, helper, princess and father, hero or victim and false hero (appendix 3) (Prinsloo, 2007). It is important to find which role the character plays and note that one character can have more than one character function. The character in the image is dispatched by her need to provide for and protect her children, while her skills may allow her to succeed in this task.

In Chip's cartoon, the point of entry is the equilibrium of a mother and her two children. Given that there is little context provided in this particular cartoon, the meaning of this moment is inferred. The image captures a scene. However which narrative moment this cartoon represents is unclear. The woman recognises her responsibility to protect, comfort and provide for her children. Her gestures show that she provides concerned care and love for her children, fulfilling the expected role of the mother in our society. This is a single moment and the cartoon suggests that this is a process this woman will need to repeat in order to care for her children. The woman seemingly has no choice but to repeat the actions for her survival as her children depend on her. There is a stoic quality in all of this since she is aware of her suffering but continues to bear it with resilience.

What then, does this mean for the deeper patterns of the story? What are the discourses operating in the text? A useful entry into this is the binary oppositions of Levi-Strauss. Studying mythic narratives, Levi-Strauss focused on the deeper meaning of a text. Here the structure becomes less important. Poststructural approaches broaden the scope of analysis by applying Levi-Strauss's model to more than just myths. The binaries, which point to the discourses operating in the text, are indicative of the underlying contradictions in society, which are mediated by the hero figure (Prinsloo, 2007). By identifying the binary oppositions (see appendix 4.3), the underlying construction of meaning within the text becomes more apparent (Fiske, 1987). Some of the examples of the binary oppositions that are apparent in this cartoon are: Hero/Villain, Woman/Man, Mother/Father, Good Parent/Bad Parent, Protects Children/Ignores Children. Applying this model can help to identify the way the 'real' is constructed and makes the dominant discourses visible (Prinsloo, 2007). In this cartoon, we can infer that the hero is a working-class mother who is strong and caring.

Barthes may be useful in analysing the way action takes place in this “complex” story. The enigma and action codes are useful when looking at the action that this mother takes. In this story, the enigma for this hero is that the children need support and depend on her for survival. She responds to this by placing her hand comfortingly on her child’s shoulder and carrying her baby on her back. It is implied that she earns money through manual labour. Specific to working with Propp and Todorov, setting up an enigma–action grid allows one to see how this mother is not only experiencing a lack of help from an absentee parent, the binary oppositions show that the father of the children is incompetent in his absence (see appendix 3). However, because there is so little information provided by this cartoon, her solitude as a ‘single-parent’ is debatable. Rather, what can be inferred is that the role of the mother is romanticised. She is celebrated for her embracement of her role and her seeming resilience is celebrated.

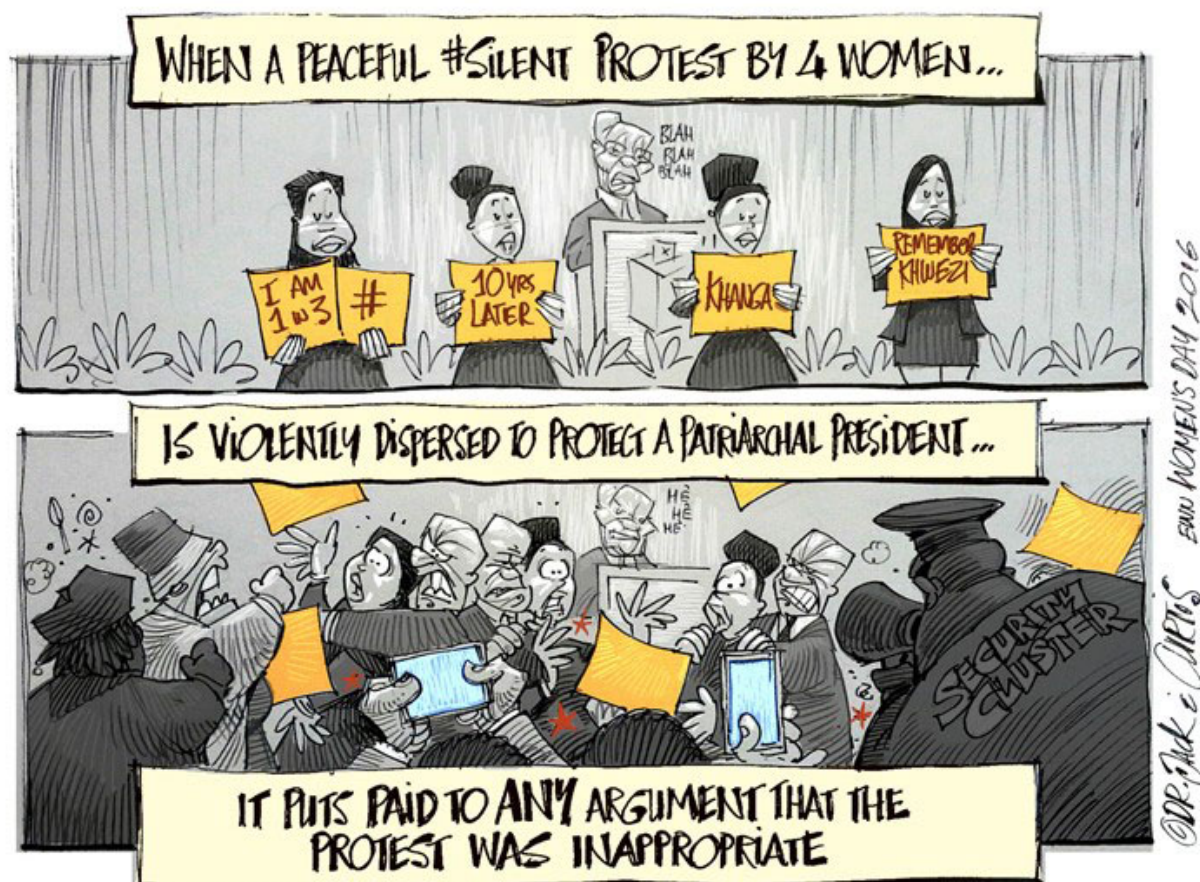
Discussion

While this story creates a sense of power for the mother who is seemingly alone in her quest, the narrative works within a strong patriarchal gender order that outlines how women and men should act. The woman in the story is valued for her ability to be a ‘good mother’ and provide for her children. She is seemingly alone in her quest, but she embraces her role of motherhood. Using Connell’s (2014) theory of gender order and patriarchy, the underlying meaning in this text is that South African women should be celebrated when they embrace their roles as mothers.

The focus on motherhood in the story makes obvious the issue of the patriarchal value placed on women in their abilities to reproduce and care for young. A societal manifestation of the domination of men over women is that men’s interests are served (Nyandoro, 2018: 178). Yet, in spite of the patriarchal context, the woman in the image appears indomitable, thus negating the claim that women are reliant on men. In a heteronormative reading of this cartoon, one would assume that both of these children belong to her and that emphasised femininity is apparent in this story. This woman is seemingly content in her role as mother and provider of these children. In spite of the patriarchal context, the woman in the image appears indomitable, thus discarding the claim that women are reliant on men. In the context of a patriarchal discourse in which gender sets up the standards of judgement, her survival defies the patriarchal order. This sets her up as a symbol of resistance and resilience.

The cartoon recognises the physical and emotional work that seems to be endured and embraced by 'ordinary' women. In this way the cartoon celebrates and acknowledges the work that women do. However, there is tension as her role is performed within patriarchy. That she is seemingly alone in her task as a parent, means that she is not only fulfilling a 'traditional' role of motherhood within patriarchy, but that she is showing non-compliant femininity by succeeding without the help of a man. Further, the connection between this image and the historical actions of women of 1956 is that the social standing of women in South Africa has barely shifted from the patriarchy of the 1950s (Kersebom, 2014). This is particularly true for women who are made to be single-mothers through no choice of their own. Whilst women now enjoy more Constitutional freedoms, these rights for many have not been realised beyond paper. This ambiguous image seems to validate women who face their challenges alone. Equally the woman in this image, like many in real life, undergoes symbolic annihilation as her womanhood is equated with motherhood (Tuchman, 2012). The resultant implication for gender justice is that decades of activism have challenged but not overthrown the patriarchal discourse dominant in South Africa.

2. Dr Jack & Curtis: Women as victims of violence, Patriarchy, Strong women, Political commentary, Women in solidarity



Since 2009, the award-winning duo Jack Swanepoel ‘Dr Jack’ and John Curtis ‘Curtis’ have been a team of cartoonists known as Dr Jack & Curtis. With a twenty-year career in creating editorial cartoons, Dr Jack is considered to be one of South Africa’s best cartoonists, illustrating features, books and magazine covers. While John Curtis has been active since 2003, having worked for the Cape Argus as their in-house editorial cartoonist. Curtis’ work has also been published in national and international newspapers. While Curtis collaborates with Dr Jack, he has partnered up with many other established South African cartoonists. The work of Dr Jack & Curtis is published in *City Press* and they became the official cartoonists for *Eyewitness News*.

Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2016
Cartoonist	Dr Jack & Curtis (cartoon 9/50)
Published	Eyewitness News

The above cartoon is titled ‘Echo of a #silentprotest’ on *EWN*’s website, and is published in *Africartoons.com* alongside the tags: *Activism, Activists, Amanda Mavuso, Anniversaries, Election Results, Excessive Force, Free Speech, Freedom of Assembly, Freedom of Expression, IEC, Jacob Zuma, Khwezi, Militarisation, Naledi Chirwa, One in Nine, Patriarchies, Protests, Rape Allegations, Rape Culture, Security Cluster, Silent Protests, Simamkele Dlakavu, State Security, Suppression, Tinyiko Shikwambane, Women's Day*. This cartoon is one of five Women’s Day cartoons by this team. These cartoons are dated 2009, 2011, 2012, 2014 and 2016.

This text-heavy cartoon is organised into five hand-drawn rectangular frames, three holding words and two holding images. The words are paired with the images stating in the first frame, “when a peaceful #silent protest by 4 women,” in the third frame, “is violently dispersed to protect a patriarchal president,” and in the fifth frame, “it puts paid to any argument that the protest was inappropriate.” To the right of the five frames are the words, “© Dr Jack & Curtis EWN Women’s Day 2016’. In the foreground of frame two is the image of four women dressed in skirts, holding signs that read, “I am 1 in 3 #”, “10 yrs later”, “Khanga”, and “Remember Khwezi”. Placed behind them is a man at a podium who is dressed formally and is saying “blah blah blah”. On the front of the podium is a poster of a voting paper entering a ballot box. The image is greyscale with the signs coloured in yellow and the text in red. The second image in frame four, shows men with bared teeth grabbing wide-eyed women. Dust clouds, stars, explanation marks and spirals surround the crowd. A silhouetted man in the foreground has “security cluster” written on his back. The yellow protest placards are wildly scattered, and blue screens are pointed at the women. The man at the podium, eyes closed, and mouth upturned says, “he he he”.

This cartoon comments on a ‘Remember Khwezi’ protest that took place on 7 August 2016 and interrupted the announcement of the election results in Pretoria. The four women held up placards to bring attention to the rape trial that happened ten years prior (Bateman, 2016). The political importance of announcing the election results meant that this event was broadcast nationally, thus making their peaceful protest widely visible (Bendile, 2016). Unhindered by this critique of then president Jacob Zuma, the government continued with Women’s Day celebrations. An *EWN*’s Women’s Day article that appeared in 2016 was titled ‘Women’s Day march to celebrate women’s contribution to struggle – Shabangu’ (Bateman, 2016). The article describes a commemorative march to the Union Buildings to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Women’s March of 1956. At this celebration, a statue of struggle hero

Lilian Ngoyi was unveiled by then president Jacob Zuma. This celebration happened a few days after a ‘Remember Khwezi’ protest. The cartoon fits in with the news content with which it appeared, adding to such political commentary and bringing awareness to a protest that was not to be ignored.

This cartoon correlates with a number of the themes that this research is concerned with, in particular, the themes of ‘women in solidarity’, and ‘overt political commentary’. In it, the four women (Simamkele Dlakavu, Naledi Chirwa, Tinyiko Shikwambane and Amanda Mavuso) are posed as heroes (Nicolson, 2016). They have placed themselves in a vulnerable position in order to take a stand against then-president Jacob Zuma, a very powerful man. At this highly visible event, where the local government election results were being announced, these four courageous women seized the opportunity to air their political views through a silent protest (Bendile, 2016). This event is the climactic setting in which the heroes confront the villain. An interpretation of the words on the placards shows the severity of the issue and makes it clear what this protest is about. “I am 1 in 3” refers to the rate of rape in South Africa, where it is commonly stated that one in every three women are raped. That it says “I” means that the woman holding up the placard is a rape survivor. The “#” is indicative of a social media device that can help content reach a wide audience, especially in times of protest. “10 yrs later” refers to the anniversary of Zuma’s rape trial. “Khanga” is a term to describe a piece of clothing that symbolizes respect and dignity in African womanhood and is what Khwezi wore at the time of the rape – for which Zuma was acquitted (Pather^a, 2016). “Remember Khwezi” is bringing attention to Khwezi, the rape trial.

In the cartoon narrative, these protestors appear to be resolute in their pursuit for justice. This highly visible space is important because their protest is directed towards Zuma, who is acting in his official state capacity at this event. By choosing this moment to protest, the women have shown that they do not find Zuma an acceptable president because justice has not been served for Khwezi. Importantly, the protestors remain peaceful even when they are met with violence. On a metatextual level, the act of the cartoonist in drawing and publicising the violent action taken against this peaceful protest could be viewed as the action of a hero’s helper in Propp’s character functions. Through the written text of this narrative the villain is the patriarchy which protects and upholds rape culture and allows for Zuma to maintain his presidency and power. While the villainy of Zuma and his henchman is the central focus of this cartoon, by implication those audience members who support the patriarchy are also held responsible and are thus also villainous. The cell phones as indicated in the fourth frame are

connotative of the audience and security being complicit with the assault as they cynically video the assault rather than intervening to protect the women.

Through Todorov's narrative functions we can see multiple narratives unfolding at once. In an oppositional reading, an audience member could perceive the event from the villain's perspective in which the equilibrium is an uninterrupted government event with a presidential speech wherein the patriarchal order continues uncontested. The disruption in this scenario is the upstaging of the President by the four women with a political agenda against him. The recognition of the surrounding characters of the disruption of the president leads to the violent action of suppression of the protest, thus re-establishing the (re)equilibrium of the patriarchal order. In this scenario, the rationale for the action taken is the disrespect shown towards the President by the protesters. This is supported by the fact that women representatives of the ANC colluded by urging the security forces to engage in the suppression of the protesters. (Nicolson, 2016). Additionally, that the President laughs at the act of suppression is an indicator of his glee at the comeuppance suffered by the women for their temerity in opposing him.

This highly visible and staged event demonstrated that women felt pushed to protest the patriarchal order. The cartoon followed suit by framing President Jacob Zuma as the symbolic face of the patriarchal order. These multiple narratives are dependent on the audience's prior knowledge and understanding of Zuma's rape trial as this cartoon holds readers responsible for their action or inaction. Thus, one can argue that the cartoonist sees the violent reaction to the protest as a disruption of equality and justice.

Discussion

This cartoon comments on a highly public and symbolically important political event at which women protestors were silenced by mostly male bystanders through physical force (Dr Jack & Curtis; Nicolson, 2016). The exclusive nature of the setting of the conflict raised the question of how did the women protestors get past security and come into such close proximity of South Africa's president? The answer to this can be seen in the second frame of the cartoon which suggests that the protestors complied with the formal dress code of the event. Complying with a patriarchal gender order, these women employed the dress code of emphasised femininity, wearing dresses, and feminine hair styles. In short, the activists adorned conventional feminine attire which was appropriate for this event. Given their appropriate attire, and manner in which they entered the premises they were able to get past

the security guards. This caused security guards at the event to disregard their presence, allowing the activists to gain access to the stage and undermine the president. Noting the irony is important when considering the non-compliant actions of the protestors.

One can thus conclude that the cartoon comments on the irony of the event by contrasting the peacefulness of the women's protest to the violence they were met with by the men in the room. The president whom they were protesting takes glee in this violent attack as indicated by his "he he he". The cartoon is supportive of the women by saying that the "condemnation of the protest as "inappropriate" is invalid given the women were "violently dispersed to protect a patriarchal president". The protestors are silent, and their placards have minimum text, but their message resonates loudly and comprehensively. The cartoon captures this contrast in a 'before and after' fashion. This is evidenced by the second and fourth frames which demonstrate peaceful silence and chaotic noise through contrasting the second frame of five static figures with the fourth frame which is populated with multiple figures in clustered positions. This shows that the violent reaction of the men was the inappropriate act and not the silent and peaceful protest of the women.

Feminism and patriarchy are juxtaposed symbolically in the cartoon as well. Consider that the second frame has mainly female characters who embody femininity, whereas the fourth frame shows predominantly powerful and aggressive male bodies in opposition to these women. This contrast establishes a symbolic binary of peaceful feminists and violent patriarchs. This leads to a discussion of the gender-order apparent in this cartoon. It leads one to question whether there is space for peaceful protest, or if this violent suppression will be the norm. The women who stood up to the authority of men were subject to condemnation. This is evidenced by the fourth frame of the cartoon where men take photos with their smart phones, yet none actively assisted the protestors.

3. Jerm: Women as victims of violence, Patriarchy, Irony of the holiday



Recently, Jerm’s profile was deleted from *Africartoons.com*, although his Women’s Day cartoons remain on the site and are linked to the *Women’s Day* hashtag. Jerm’s personal online archive reveals that he has worked for a few news organisations, including *The Times* and *The New Age*. Jerm, or Jeremy Nell, has also illustrated for publications internationally (Jerm, 2018). This particular cartoon was published repeatedly, first appearing in *The Times* and later in *The New Age*. He wrote, “Because today is a public holiday, I remixed an older cartoon of mine. But the sentiment remains.” (Africartoons, 2018).

Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2009-2012
Cartoonist	Jerm (cartoon 14-16/50)
Published	2009 – The Times, 2011 & 2012 The New Age

While it was published in different newspapers, all three versions are available on *Africartoons.com*, alongside the tags: *Abuse, Discrimination, Domestic Violence, Holidays, Rape, Sexism, Sexual Abuse, Spousal Abuse, T-Shirts, Violence, Women's Day, Women's Rights*. Jerm has five Women's Day cartoons as available on *Africartoons.com*, two of which are repetitions of the above cartoon. This single-frame cartoon is organised as a portrait of a large, strong, middle aged black woman who fills the frame. Dressed in a blue doek and a black t-shirt, she stands erect, arms at her sides, holding a cloth and a duster: this is a representation of a typical domestic worker. She stares straight ahead at the audience through lowered eyelids while her mouth is downturned in a grimace, her bottom lip clenched by her top lip. The emotion evoked by this expression is of deep frustration and anger. The words on her shirt state, "Sexual discrimination, financial inequality, violent acts of rape, domestic abuse, religious subordination, all I got was this lousy ~~T-shirt~~ Public Holiday."

The humour is created by the punchline of "and all I got was a lousy T-shirt" which is a parody of a popular t-shirt slogan, for example, "My mom went to London and all I got was this lousy t-shirt" (Crest of London, 2019). By using this convention, the cartoon is commenting on the expense of a desirable overseas holiday and the cheapness of the gift of a t-shirt. This is comparable to South Africa's holiday and the t-shirt as a consolation gift. The t-shirt does little to console the wearer who faces serious social disadvantages. The cartoon exchanges the t-shirt for a holiday to show that the holiday itself is worthless. A yellow speech bubble is placed on her left, "Happy @#!X?* Women's day," or "Happy fucking Women's day" is indicated by the symbols. To the right of this frame is "Jerm © Jeremynell.com."

2012 was a particularly popular year for cartoons of Women's Day, which is very interesting given a *Sunday Times* opinion piece by Moffett who wrote, 'Take your Women's Day and Shove it' (Moffett, 2012). In this article Moffett (2012) laments the amount of money spent on holiday celebrations, instead of on effective governance, which would be a far more useful way of improving the lived experiences of women. Moffett (2012) holds the government responsible for the weakened position of women in society by describing the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities as emblematic of a patriarchal discourse which infantilizes women by placing them amongst citizens who are unable to support themselves.

Trash that ridiculous, pointless, bloated Dept of Women, Children and People with Disabilities (how's that for neatly categorising us little ladies – not only does possession of a vagina constitute a disability, but vagina-owners are as powerless and lacking in agency as children) (Moffett, 2012).

Since the state is actively condemning women, Women's Day itself becomes merely a tool of distraction and placation. It is simply lip service to the idea of women's liberation, and not the active realization of it.

Like all the cartoons in this data set, Jerm's uses South Africa's most vulnerable demographic, black women, to make sharp comments on the failings of South African society. The character that Jerm chose to depict is a black woman, her props (a duster and a rag) indicate that she is a domestic worker, making her working class in a South Africa context. While there is a lack of background context, the cleaning equipment is indicative of domestic labour, a very common type of labour in South Africa that can often be exploitative (Nyandoro, 2018: 179). This exploitation has a deep history of resistance, one where women fought for their rights for protection in such a space (Cock & Bernstein, 2001: 147).

The fact that it has been repeatedly published makes this cartoon particularly interesting as it indicates that the cartoon captures a poignant sentiment succinctly. That such a sentiment remains the same over time demonstrates the slow pace of change. The medium that carries the commentary and the character in the cartoon adds an additional dimension to the commentary. All of these factors combined connote a commentary on South Africa's Women's Day: that no significant change has been realized for South Africa's most vulnerable citizens. Thus, the broad theoretical concerns of this cartoon are: Women as Victims of Violence, Patriarchy, and Irony of the holiday.

The woman in Jerm's cartoon is a victim-hero. Here she faces patriarchal society and a useless public holiday. The woman defies the patriarchal government and society who, through inaction, have subjected her to the worst kind of treatment. After such treatment, one would expect her to kneel down and comply. However, she stands tall, her gaze is directed at the reader and she utters a sarcastic holiday wish. This draws attention to her awareness of the injustices being done unto her.

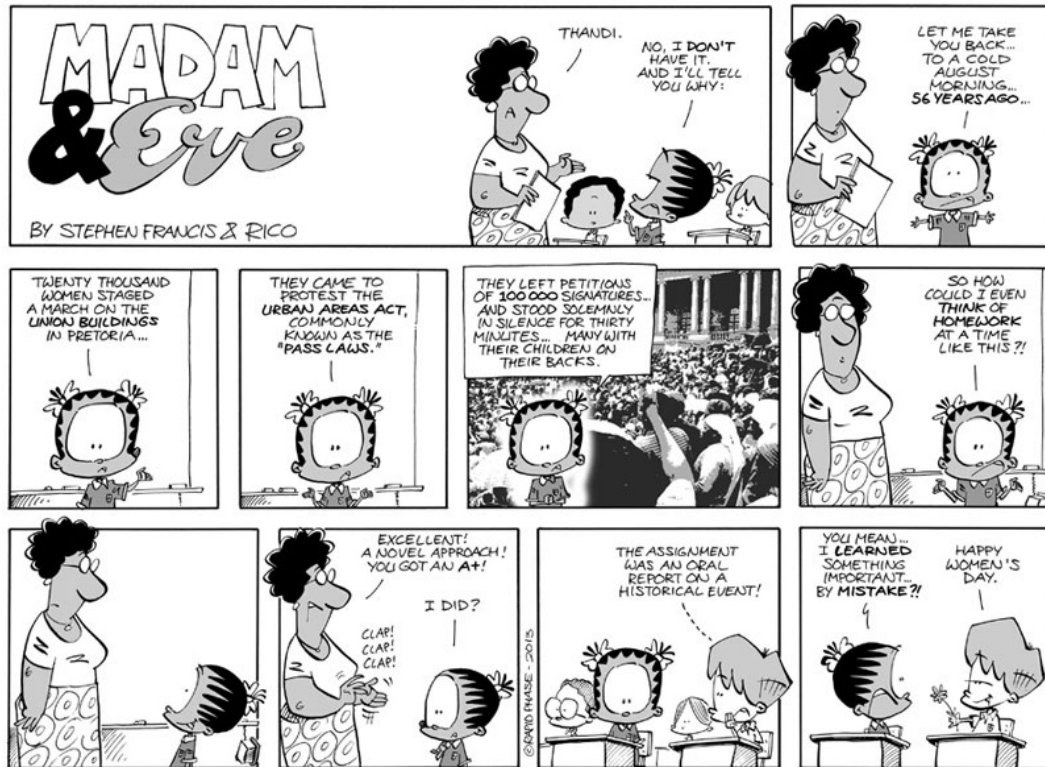
Using Todorov's narrative functions for the analysis of this mini-narrative, the equilibrium is that of a domestic worker who continues her work but gets a 'break' with a public holiday.

Reading this narrative with the hero being a woman who seemingly stands alone, we can see the disruption as the moment of the public holiday. This is shown through the t-shirt which is a supposed gift for the Women's Day celebration that year. The woman's t-shirt is indicative of the vulnerable position in which she finds herself and she recognises this through her displeasure of the day. She takes action through her sarcastic best wishes. That this cartoon is repeated over a couple of years is indicative that nothing has changed, and the equilibrium is one of inequality and exploitation of women, specifically of vulnerable women in our society.

Discussion

While this woman is baring the responsibilities that patriarchy has placed on her, her t-shirt is indicative of non-compliant femininity. Here awareness of the injustice done to her means that she is non-complacent despite her position in society. While she does what she needs to do to survive she is not complacent (Connell, 2009). The gender regime refers to the pattern of gender arrangements in different organisations (Connell, 2009). She takes her place in the gender-regime as a domestic worker. However, she is not valued as a human being. This is not seen as abnormal in the story. The gender order becomes apparent in the discourse of a domestic worker as women's work (Connell, 2009). By focussing on this woman, the 'natural' authority of men is challenged. However, the representation of women is narrowly defined. Here we see some problematic consequences of the role this woman plays in the context of South Africa and this holiday. From a Global South perspective, this cartoon highlights the numerous social barriers this woman, and others like her, face. This cartoon speaks directly to such oppression and symbolic annihilation. Therefore, the cartoon is commenting on the symbolic annihilation of woman rather than the cartoon being an act of symbolic annihilation.

4. Madam and Eve: Patriarchy, Commemoration of the march, Strong women, Women in solidarity



The much-loved *Madam & Eve* is one of South Africa's most successful cartoons. Created in 1992 by Stephen Francis, Harry Dugmore and Enrico 'Rico' Schacherl, *Madam & Eve* is a well-known South African cartoon strip that appears in thirteen daily publications, online, and in annual collections, boasting a readership of four million (Africartoons, 2018).

Dugmore has since left *Madam & Eve* but the cartoon is successfully continued by its two remaining creators. The strip follows the lives of four South Africans: Gwen Anderson, her mother Edith 'Mother Anderson', Eve Sisulu, and Thandi, Eve's little cousin (Africartoons, 2018). Stephen Francis writes the strip, while Rico does the illustrations.

Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	Madam & Eve (Cartoon 21/50)
Published	Mail & Guardian

This cartoon is made up of ten boxes – one long rectangle and nine similarly sized squares. "Madam & Eve, by Stephen Francis & Rico" is placed in the top left corner of the first frame. The focus of the narrative is the interaction between a woman and a little girl, with other

children as bystanders. The environment consists of: a realistic photograph of the Women's Day march, desks, chairs, and a chalk board. In the last frame, a child holds out a flower to the little girl. The dialogue is as follows:

Teacher: "Thandi."

Thandi: "No, I **don't** have it. And I'll tell you why: Let me take you back to a cold morning **56 years ago**... Twenty thousand women staged a march on the **Union Buildings** in Pretoria...they came to protest the **Urban Areas Act**, commonly known as "**pass laws**". They left petitions of **100 000** signatures... and stood solemnly in silence for thirty minutes... many with their children on their backs. So how could I even **think** of **homework** at a time like this?!"

Teacher: "Excellent! A novel approach! You got an **A+**" (claps).

Thandi: "I did?"

Boy: "The assignment was an oral report on a historical event."

Thandi: "You mean... I **learned** something important by **mistake?!**"

Boy: "Happy Women's Day."

This cartoon can be found alongside the tags: *1956, Apartheid Laws, Classrooms, Education, History, Homework, Pass Laws, Petitions, Pretoria, Protests, School, Teachers, The Struggle, Union Buildings, Urban Areas Act, Women, Women's Day, Women's March, Women's Rights*, on *Africartoons.com*. This particular cartoon was published by the *Mail & Guardian*. As a female character-driven tale, it comments on the emotive events of 1956, from the perspective of a child. The broad thematic concerns of this cartoon are:

Commemoration of the march, Strong women and Women in solidarity. That same year, the paper also released the article 'Women left out in the wilderness' to commemorate Women's Day (Kings, 2013). The article brings attention to the state of South African democracy, making the point that for many South African women, not much has changed since 1994. "This is a country that seems to be at war with its women" (Kings, 2013). This provides an important context in which to analyse the cartoon.

The story is moved by the hero, Thandi, who recounts the events of Women's Day to deflect her teacher's attention from the fact that she has forgotten to do her homework. Ironically,

her detailed and accurate account of the day results in her getting an A+: her homework task was to do a speech about a historical event. The audience does not know how Thandi acquired the knowledge, and she implies that she ‘learned something important by mistake’ thus implying that she unconsciously learned about the history of Women’s Day via an unnamed donor. In this cartoon, the dispatcher who sends the hero on her journey is the teacher who assigned the homework. The little boy who appears in the last two frames helps our hero to understand the magnitude of her actions, reminding her what the homework task actually was. The little boy’s action of handing Thandi a flower in the last frame is ironic, since it demonstrates that although he was aware of the homework task, and although he can grasp the importance of a holiday such as Women’s Day, his gesture is aligned with a patriarchal discourse.

Using Propp’s character functions in conjunction with Todorov’s narrative functions one can read that the equilibrium of this story is another ordinary day at school for Thandi. Our hero recognises a disruption when her teacher requests the homework which Thandi has forgotten about. Thandi acts quickly, repairing the disruption by reciting the history of Women’s Day and the significance of the day as a reason for not doing her homework. She unintentionally completes the homework through this oral history and equilibrium is restored when she passes the assignment. The last frame is important because we see the little boy give her a flower, a symbolic gesture that shows he is aligned with a patriarchal understanding of how one should celebrate this holiday.

Discussion

This *Madam & Eve* strip honours Women’s Day by serving as an entertaining yet educational device which is packed with information and irony. Thandi’s action of using Women’s Day to avoid accountability is indicative of an attitude many South Africans have toward Women’s Day (Moffett, 2012). In essence, this attitude can be summed up as Women’s Day being an excuse not to work, rather than an opportunity to remember the successful resistance of women to patriarchal apartheid laws. Instead of being a day of remembrance, Women’s Day has been transformed into a commercialised holiday with symbols of femininity, such as flowers, being gifted to women and girls, thus voiding the day of its political significance. This cartoon brings attention to the historical importance of the day as well as comments on the general attitude of South Africans to Women’s Day.

Nevertheless, this narrative is rare amongst Women's Day cartoons for its mentioning of the historical roots of the holiday (See appendix 4.1). This kind of historical retelling is important given that celebrations of the day rarely bring attention to the strength and effectiveness of women in the struggle narrative (Moffett, 2012). Rather, patriarchal discourses of women as weak and in need of protection are dominant. The general set-up of having a female teacher is indicative of a patriarchal gender regime, which dictates the appropriate roles for women in society. The simple act of the boy gifting Thandi a flower shows that the gravity of the day is lost on the boy, as the gesture is indicative of the patriarchal order of South African society. The last frame of this cartoon creates a visual juxta-positioning between the actual purpose of Women's Day and the contemporary way in which it is celebrated.

5. Nanda: Commemoration of the march, Strong women, Corporate women, Political commentary, Women in solidarity



Nanda Soobben first cartooned for Kwazulu-Natal's paper the *Post* in 1980. In 1985 he became South Africa's first black cartoonist to be employed by a mainstream newspaper, *Daily News*. "His unique style is characterised by striking caricatures with intricate hatching, closely cropped to fill most of the frame, and punctuated by bold statements emblazoned across the remaining space" (Africartoons, 2018). Nanda has received critical acclaim for his work, which has been exhibited in New York and Brazil. His book *The Wizard of HOD* which was published during apartheid is now a collector's item. Nanda has also branched to sports cartooning and owns a cartooning, animation and design school in Durban (Africartoons, 2018).

Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2011
Cartoonist	Nanda (Cartoon 32/50)
Published	Weekend Post

The above cartoon, titled ‘Two women of substance’, is a Women’s Day tribute wherein Nanda Soobbenn highlights two women who are working hard for the good of South African women (Africartoons, 2018). The cartoon breaks the mould of the often-negative connotations that Women’s Day cartoons hold. In it, Nanda has painted two overtly political women who have proven themselves to be effective and resilient in the battle against corruption. This cartoon’s tags are: *City Press, Corruption, Democracy, Ferial Haffajee, Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela, Women, Women's Day*. The broad theoretical concerns of this cartoons are: Commemoration of the march, Strong women, Corporate women, and Women in solidarity. This cartoon is one of four Women’s Day cartoons by Nanda.

In this cartoon, we see the portrait of two women accompanied by the words, “While some men are screwing up our democracy... There are some brave women who are trying to prop it up.. Thank you, Thuli and Ferial.. Happy Women’s Day!”. The text of this mini-narrative positions Thuli and Ferial as the heroes, who are active and effective in their ongoing battles against the villain, which the wording suggests is South Africa’s predominantly male leadership.

The context of who these women are and why they are being recognised in this cartoon is important. Without this knowledge it would be almost impossible to read the finer details of this narrative. Alone, these women are sprung into action by the patriarchal status quo. This story begins with the disruption and relies on the reader’s knowledge of the events surrounding these two women in 2011 to interpret the cartoon. The disruption occurs with a corrupt government and leadership. Ferial Haffajee and Thuli Madonsela’s actions to rectify this corruption and restore equilibrium was widely followed by news media. Nanda recognises the efforts of these women by commemorating their portraits in a cartoon. Their actions are alluded to but not described in detail. However, the battle is not over and so the story remains unfinished.

Discussion

The story of Ferial Haffajee

In 2011, Ferial Haffajee as the editor of *City Press* was recognized for being effective in her role in taking the paper forward with great success (Moodie, 2011). Her achievements at the *City Press* were not met with approval by all, however, and a columnist of the *Sowetan*, Eric Myeni, took aim at Haffajee in an article titled, “Haffajee does it for white masters”. The

content and timing of Myeni's article is linked to Haffajee's criticism of the then ANC Youth Leader, and now leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), Julius Malema (Du Plessis & Haffajee, 2011). Her stance against Malema's involvement through his company *On Point Engineering* in a dodgy tender deal in Limpopo was seen as politically slanted, given that she did not pursue members of opposition parties (McKune, 2011).

The gendered dynamics of this situation should not be ignored, given the ANC's history of propping up patriarchal values (as was the case during Jacob Zuma's Rape trial). Incidentally, Malema, at the time was a staunch Zuma supporter – having said he would “Kill for Zuma” (IOL, 2008). Haffajee's criticism of Malema was not simply journalism, but an affront to the corrupt patriarchal order of which the then President was the head. Myeni's article undertook to deflect from the corruption that Haffajee and the *City Press* uncovered by labelling Haffajee as a pawn of white racists, thereby implying that she herself was a racist and a self-hating black (Du Plessis & Haffajee, 2011). However, Haffajee's struggle credentials (as celebrated in Nanda's cartoon) stood in contrast to Myeni's defamatory claims, and his column was scrapped (Du Plessis & Haffajee, 2011). Although Myeni was punished for his actions, Haffajee still had to deal with the resulting reputational damage that his article caused (Du Plessis & Haffajee, 2011). Nanda's celebration of Haffajee is an intertextual counter-argument to Myeni's article. Nanda's portrait of Haffajee validates her efforts. Since the portrait is meant to commemorate Women's Day, Nanda essentially aligns Haffajee with the effective efforts of the 1956 march.

The story of Thuli Madonsela

Thuli Madonsela took over as South Africa's Public Protector in 2009. She quickly got to work by investigating a number of corruption cases, thus becoming a symbol of the anti-corruption movement. In August 2010, an article in the *Sunday Times* alleged the improper procurement by the South African Police Services (SAPS) and Transnet of premises owned by a Mr Roux Shabangu in Pretoria and Durban respectively (Bauer, 2011). The result of this article was the opening of a case by the leader of the Freedom Front Plus (VF+), a right-wing minority party, with the Public Protector. Through the investigation, Thuli Madonsela found that the Police Commissioner Bheki Cele, and Minister of Public Works Gwen Mahlangu-Nkabinde, had violated the rules pertaining to procurement processes.

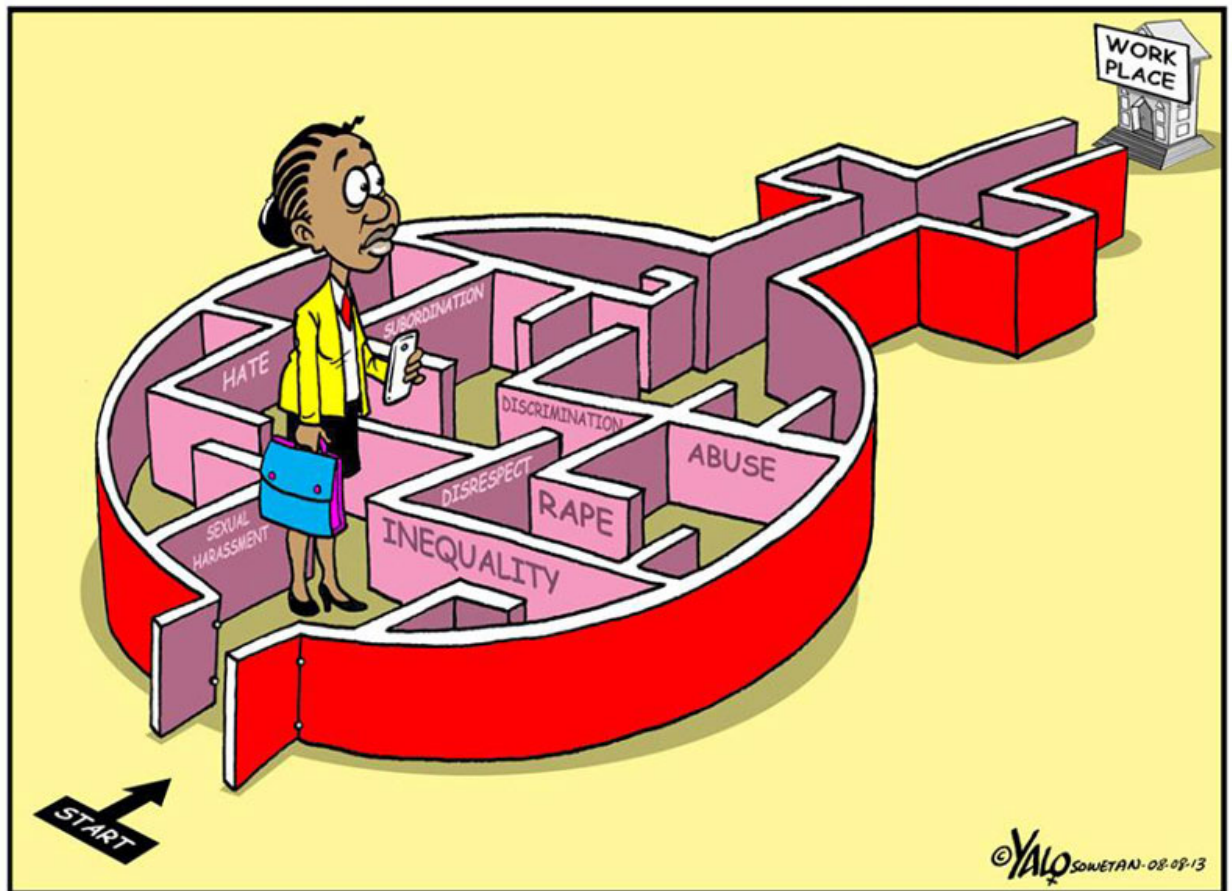
Madonsela's pursuit for justice provoked the SAPS which conducted a threatening visit to her office. Shabangu retaliated by accusing those investigating him of being racists who were out to sabotage a successful black businessman (Bauer, 2011). Mahlangu-Nkabinde retaliated against Madonsela by taking the findings to court. However, the most blatant attack on Madonsela's integrity came about on 6 July 2011, when the *Star* newspaper published an essentially false article accusing her of fraud. The article was published on the same day that Madonsela was to deliver a press briefing about the leases (Bauer, 2011). In this scenario one can clearly see the story of a woman in a position of power being targeted by individuals closely connected to the governing party. Nanda lends his support to Madonsela by celebrating her in his Women's Day cartoon of 2011.

Strong women

In the stories of Ferial Haffajee and Thuli Madonsela, we see women who stood up against a corrupt and patriarchal governing party. Their bold actions resulted in them being publicly persecuted and aligned with a racist conspiracy against the ANC. However, this did not deter them from pursuing justice in the face of corruption. Their overt non-compliance with political figures resulted in public shaming. Nanda's cartoon positions these women as heroes and thus serves to disrupt South Africa's patriarchal gender order.

The way these women are depicted in the cartoon widens the scope of how women are defined and places them as strong, active, and powerful members of society. Their gaze is directed assertively at the reader, their mouths are closed showing a silent and powerful smile, as if to show conviction in their actions. Though their bodies are omitted, the position of their necks, and upward focus of their heads shows openness – indicating confidence. Nanda has recognised their achievements through a simple depiction of two portraits and a few words.

6. Sifiso Yalo: Women as victims of violence, Corporate women



Sifiso Yalo began his cartooning career with the weekly isiZulu newspaper *UmAfrika*. He then studied with Andy Mason at *Artwork's Publishing Company*, following which he worked for *This Day* in 2003 as a daily cartoonist. Yalo's colourful signature cartoons won him the 2006 *Vodacom Cartoonist of the Year* award for the Gauteng region. He now works for *The Sowetan*, taking over from Zapiro as their daily cartoonist (Africartoons, 2018).

Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	Yalo (cartoon 45/50)
Published	Sowetan

In this 2013 Women's Day cartoon, Sifiso Yalo comments on the various barriers that women face in their quest for success in the economic field. This cartoon was found on *Africartoons.com* alongside the tags: *Abuse, Disrespect, Equal Opportunities, Equal Rights, Equality, Hate Crimes, Inequality, Job Reservation, Mazes, Rape, Respect, Sexual Abuse,*

Sexual Harassment, Subordination, Women, Women's Day, Women's Rights, Work. The use of symbols in this cartoon make it an interesting case study for this thesis, since they are used to densely articulate the theme of women as victims of systemic violence.

In this cartoon, a woman dressed in a yellow blazer, shirt, tie and pencil skirt is holding a cell phone and briefcase while she looks ahead to a structure labelled “work place”. She stands at the entrance of a pink and red maze constructed in the shape of the astrological glyph for women, ♀, in front of a sign that declares “start”. the various avenues of this maze are labelled “sexual harassment”, “inequality”, “rape”, “disrespect”, “abuse”, “discrimination”, “hate” and “subordination”. © Yalo Sowetan 08.08.13 appears in the bottom right corner.

Using Propp’s character functions, our victim hero is propelled by her quest for success in the workplace. As she looks towards her goal, she realises she must navigate a dangerous labyrinth. As she approaches her goal, she will be tested by several forms of gender discrimination and abuse. In Todorov’s model, the implied equilibrium is that time when the woman did not need a job and was ignorant of the challenges that lie in wait for her. The disruption happens when she pursues a career. She recognises the challenges ahead and hesitates at the start, looking askance at the difficulties that she faces. The cartoon depicts a moment where the story is not yet ended. The goal can be attained, but only by the woman overcoming and successfully finding her way out of the maze and its attendant traps.

Discussion

The character in the image represents the everyday woman, a person neither powerful nor renowned. Her mission is a simple one – yet it encapsulates the desires of many South African women. This mission is complicated by the various challenges that have been set up in a patriarchal workspace. These challenges are geared at the subjugation of women in the workplace (Ozoemena, 2018: 18). The cartoon’s engagement with the politics of gender in the workplace provides an interesting angle from which to view the struggles that women face in the corporate space.

Through reading the maze, we see that there is no ‘correct’ decision that this woman can make. At every turn she is met with violence. Dressing to the gendered code of a skirt and blazer, and wielding the magical agents of briefcase and mobile phone, will not protect her from such violence. It is a fact she must face as a woman in the corporate space: her very femininity, both prescribed and circumscribed by the female symbol, channel her through this

gauntlet of abuse. Because this maze is shaped as the symbol for womanhood, we can assume that men do not have to face such violence in the workplace. We can also assume that the various trials she must face are perpetrated by men. The ‘natural’ authority of men and how it impinges on women’s progress and autonomy is made silently apparent in this cartoon. In the context of Women’s Day, this cartoon portrays a bleak reality for the working woman.

7. Zapiro: Zapiro: Women as victims of violence, Patriarchy, Corporate women, Women colluding with patriarchy, Political commentary



Jonathan Shapiro (Zapiro) began his cartooning career as an anti-apartheid activist in 1983. By 1987 he was the editorial cartoonist for *South*, after which he attended the *School of Visual Arts* in New York. On his return in 1991 he began his work in educational comics including “*Roxy* (Aids education), *Tomorrow People* (democracy education) and *A Trolley Full of Rights* (a child abuse prevention comic) (Africartoons, 2018). In 1998 he began his work as the editorial cartoonist for *Mail & Guardian*, while publishing cartoons for other news organisations. After a scandal surrounding one of his cartoons, he left the *Mail & Guardian*, and began working for *Daily Maverick* instead. Zapiro is recognised both nationally and internationally, with numerous solo exhibitions, anthologies, and awards. His cartoons have garnered much attention and controversy (Africartoons, 2018), and is the most well-known cartoonist discussed in this thesis.

Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2017
Cartoonist	Zapiro (Cartoon 50/50)
Published	Daily Maverick

This cartoon is published with the tags of: *Allies, ANCWL, Bathabile Dlamini, Deputy Ministers, Gender Violence, Jacob Zuma, Mandisa Duma, Mduduzi Manana, Minister of Higher Education, Women's Day*. While Zapiro has a particularly acrimonious relationship with Jacob Zuma, he also often laments the women who collude with Zuma's system of corruption. This cartoon contains the themes of women as victims of violence, patriarchy, corporate women, women colluding with patriarchy and political commentary. I have chosen to analyse this cartoon on Mduduzi Manana as Zapiro has broadened the narrative to the political and social structures that allowed for abusers like Manana to flourish. This single-frame cartoon depicts two men and two women on a stage setting. From the bottom left corner some audience members look up with wide eyes at these figures. Reading from left to right, the first figure is a man who has a shower head attached the crown of his head. The depiction of a showerhead attached to Zuma's head is a creation of Zapiro's, which came about during Zuma's rape trial in 2006. During the trial, and upon the disclosure of Khwezi's HIV status, Zuma had stated that he took a shower afterwards and was therefore safe from infection (Koelble, & Robins, 2007: 317). Ever since then, Zapiro has used the showerhead as a mechanism to critique Zuma.

In the cartoon, Zuma is depicted touching his glasses with the middle finger of his right hand, as he gets ready to read the papers he holds in his left, while standing behind a podium emblazoned with the South African coat of arms. His expression is one of smug self-assurance. The woman seated next to him on his left is formally dressed, wears a hat with "Dlamini" written on it, and a badge with the lettering "ANCWL". The woman is also holding papers. She turns to the second man on her left, raising her finger in an admonishing manner, and exhorts, "Keep it down would you, deputy minister! ... We have speeches to make!" The banner behind her reads "Women's Day Govt. condemns gender-based violence". She is addressing the second man, who is also formally dressed; the text on his blazer reads "Manana". He raises his right fist threateningly and roughly grasps a woman's hair in his other hand. This second woman lies flat on her stomach on the stage floor. She has

a black eye and her shoe has fallen off. She is surrounded by a cloud of dust. In the top right corner is “Zapiro © Daily Maverick 10-08-17”.

In this layered narrative with a cast of villains and a woman victim, there is no apparent hero. At a first reading, this is a villain’s narrative, with no heroes apparent in the actual cartoon. Rather, we can deduce that the cartoonist is fulfilling the role of the hero by bringing to our attention and highlighting the hypocritical actions of the false heroes. The false heroes are commemorating Women’s Day at a gender-based violence awareness event, whilst ignoring the fact that their very associate is an active participant in gender-based violence. The cartoon portrays Bathabile Dlamini, the president of the ANCWL as a colluder in the patriarchy. She participates in this abhorrent behaviour by telling Manana to keep his violent actions quiet. Dlamini flanks former President Jacob Zuma who is literally giving the middle finger to his audience. She does not direct her attention critically at him, a stance which is reminiscent of the ANCWL’s staunch defence of Zuma during his rape trial (Pather, 2016). Out on the stage, Manana physically assaults the woman with little to no consequences as the audience watches with wide eyes. This tragic tale depicts an equilibrium of a national holiday celebration, disrupted by an embarrassing moment where Manana beats up a woman, and then is quietened by Zuma’s cronies, thus restoring the event. Zapiro takes action by holding the leading party accountable.

In this image we see three women: one colluder, one victim, and one passive observer. The presence of all three reveals the manner in which the patriarchal gender order perpetuates itself. This patriarchal order ensures the protection of the corrupt president and his male and female allies. The gender interaction is one of violence which keeps women ‘in their place’. The cartoon brings to light a severe issue of women colluding in their own oppression. This is made obvious through the example of Bathabile Dlamini – who frequently uses female liberation as rhetoric for political gain (Pather, 2016). This claim is substantiated by her statement in the cartoon ‘we have speeches to make’. The suggestions being made here by the cartoon is that Bathabile Dlamini does not really care about the betterment of South African women, and, as she is the figurehead of the ANCWL, the ANCWL itself does not care for the betterment of women (Pather, 2016).

Back to Manana and Women’s Day of 2017

Manana’s public display of violence towards women, and the ANC’s provocative silence concerning the case, points to a deep-seated hypocrisy and double standard at play: on the

one hand, the ruling party is seen to speak to the values of women's equality and liberation (such as in their Women's Day statement) but refuse to take responsibility for those in leadership who impinge on those rights (Grootes, 2017). This instance seemed to indicate that in the ANC, men can do as they please and the position of power that men have within the party works against any liberation movements of women. In other words, and as suggested by this cartoon, ANC men, and some of its women, are an active force of oppression (Grootes, 2017).

In early 2018, Mduduzi Manana was accused of assaulting his employee, Christine Wiro, this following his assault of three women at Cubana (which the above cartoon is referencing). Finally resigning as an MP, Manana once again avoided accountability, this time by pledging R1.5 million to various gendered initiatives (Citizen reporter, 2018). Manana was also invited to speak at a Women's Day event to discuss gender-based violence. His inclusion on the panel caused much public outrage (Eyewitness News, 2018). Although he was publically condemned for his actions, Manana remains firmly within the ANC machinery, and will no doubt make a return in years to come – as has been the case with other ANC politicians such as Tony Yengeni, who was found guilty of fraud in 2003 (Madia, 2018). Thus, one can conclude that despite the public outrage, Manana emerged from the situation relatively unscathed. If this is how South Africa's leadership operates then what does this say about South African society? In the broader context of South African patriarchy, men are placed in higher position of power relative to women. Ideally, leaders are meant to be the 'best representatives of society'; Zapiro's cartoon highlights that South Africa's leadership is anything but the best.

Conclusion

In each of the seven cartoons discussed in this thesis there is a trend to depict men being at the forefront of the fight for equality. While the cartoons themselves are mostly representative of women, the cartoonists often play the hero role (Zapiro, Dr Jack & Curtis, Madam & Eve). This is because it is the cartoonist who is publicising the importance of each mini-narrative. Given the nature of political cartooning, each narrative has a limited context and relies on the audience to fill in what is left unspoken, based on the visual clues the cartoonist presents them with (Chute, 2017). This means that there are multiple readings for each cartoon, but that all those readings are influenced by what the cartoonist chooses to include or exclude in their work. Given that South African cartoonists enjoy a large amount of freedom to express their views, cartoonists are able to convey their own insights, even when they do not have all the information required to portray the full picture (Lent, 2009: 21). Despite these limitations, cartoons present a visual narrative that can act as a piece of history, which is part opinion and part fact. Thus, cartoons can provide the reader with an interesting representation of the socio-historical context of the time in which the cartoons appear.

South Africa's rich history of women empowerment contrasts with the currently high levels of gender-based violence perpetrated against women (Kersebom, 2014: 3). By bringing attention to the historical basis of Women's Day, this research aims to understand how current representations of women in cartoons contribute towards gender justice. The idea of Women's Day being a celebration of women as powerful, significant and citizens of consequence, is instead replaced by multiple narratives of women as victims (Kersebom, 2014). This is frequently supplemented with images of women as hapless victims of sexual abuse and violence. The history of Women's Day becomes secondary in most political cartoons as gender-based violence becomes the prominent theme of the day.

The concern of this thesis is what the representations of women in cartoons mean for gender justice. In order to discuss where these cartoons fall on a spectrum of gender justice, an awareness of the kinds of gender relations operating in the cartoons is required. Gender relations are the socially ordered interactions between people in society (Connell, 2009). In each of these cartoons we see examples of gender relations.

In the first cartoon that was analysed, we see a mother and her two children. The implication, as discussed in the analysis, is that this woman who embrace their role as mothers and stand

strong in the face of adversity are to be celebrated. The tension is created because her role is admired within a patriarchal discourse. This implies that womanhood is celebrated when traditional roles, such as motherhood, are fulfilled. Her non-compliance is shown through her ability to care for her children in the absence of a man's help. Chip's cartoon is both for the betterment of women but critical of the slow progress that has been made.

In the second cartoon, Dr Jack and Curtis depict a silent protest gone wrong. Much like the four women who headed the 1956 march, we see four women in protest against a patriarchal society. While this cartoon depicts a factual event, frozen in time, the reader is left with the last image of women being overpowered. Again, the cartoonist's opinion, that society should support these women is made evident. However, the actual representation of the women in the cartoon itself does not show a just society nor does it show effective strong and capable women.

In the third cartoon, Jerm recycles a portrait of a domestic worker who faces multiple oppressions. She is cognisant of the pointlessness of Women's Day and recognizes that she is powerless to liberate herself. For this character there is no gender justice, and the audience is left with the impression that as disgruntled as she is, she will simply continue her life, unchanged.

In the fourth cartoon, a child's perspective on Women's Day is presented. This cartoon depicts an emotive and educational recounting of the historical basis for Women's Day. The cartoon shows how Women's Day is used by many South Africans as an excuse for a day off, rather than as a commemoration of an important historical event. The representation of women in this cartoon is dynamic, we see a teacher, a student, and a photograph of women standing up for their rights. In it, women are active, but so is the patriarchy.

In the fifth cartoon, the artist departs from the narrative of women as victims of patriarchal violence. He chooses to represent two women who were targeted for their work against a corrupt regime, as heroes rather than as victims. He juxta-positions these two effective women against ineffective male leadership. These women are two real examples to whom women can look for hope and guidance.

The sixth cartoon returns the reader to a depressing scene in which a woman stands alone in the face of a complex maze of abuse, ridicule, and hate for the simple act of being in the workplace. This cartoon is critical of the lack of gender justice for this woman but offers no

solutions to the problem. She is depicted at the beginning of the maze, her struggle before her, and the audience has no way of knowing what her actions, or their consequences, will be.

Finally, the seventh cartoon does not show women in resistance to the patriarchy, rather, it depicts the hypocrisy of South African leaders in the face of gender inequality and violence. The audience sees one colluder, one victim, and one passive observer. They also see the two arrogant men enacting their violence in different ways. Again, the cartoonist shows that there is no gender justice in South Africa, but rather points out the ineptitude and hypocrisy of the state. He holds the ANCWL leader, Bathabile Dlamini responsible given her special position as an individual who should be at the forefront of the struggle for gender justice.

Through the various representations of women in cartoons, we see a trend of acknowledgement of the moral right to equality that women have, and an acknowledgment that this moral right has not been met and is indeed actively thwarted by powerful social and political figures. Given that the cartoonists analysed should be aware of the socio-political importance of their commentary, their cartoons are generally helpful to the quest for gender justice (Lent, 2009). Although these cartoonists position themselves as allies, one cannot ignore that their representations of women still predominantly show women as oppressed, weak, and ineffective. Such portrayals are harmful to the quest for gender justice. In order for gender justice to be realised, the representation of women needs to evolve into one which recognises women's plight but does not relegate them to the state of victimhood. Nanda's cartoon is the best example of a representation which works with and for women for gender justice since it shows two women standing tall in the face of adversity.

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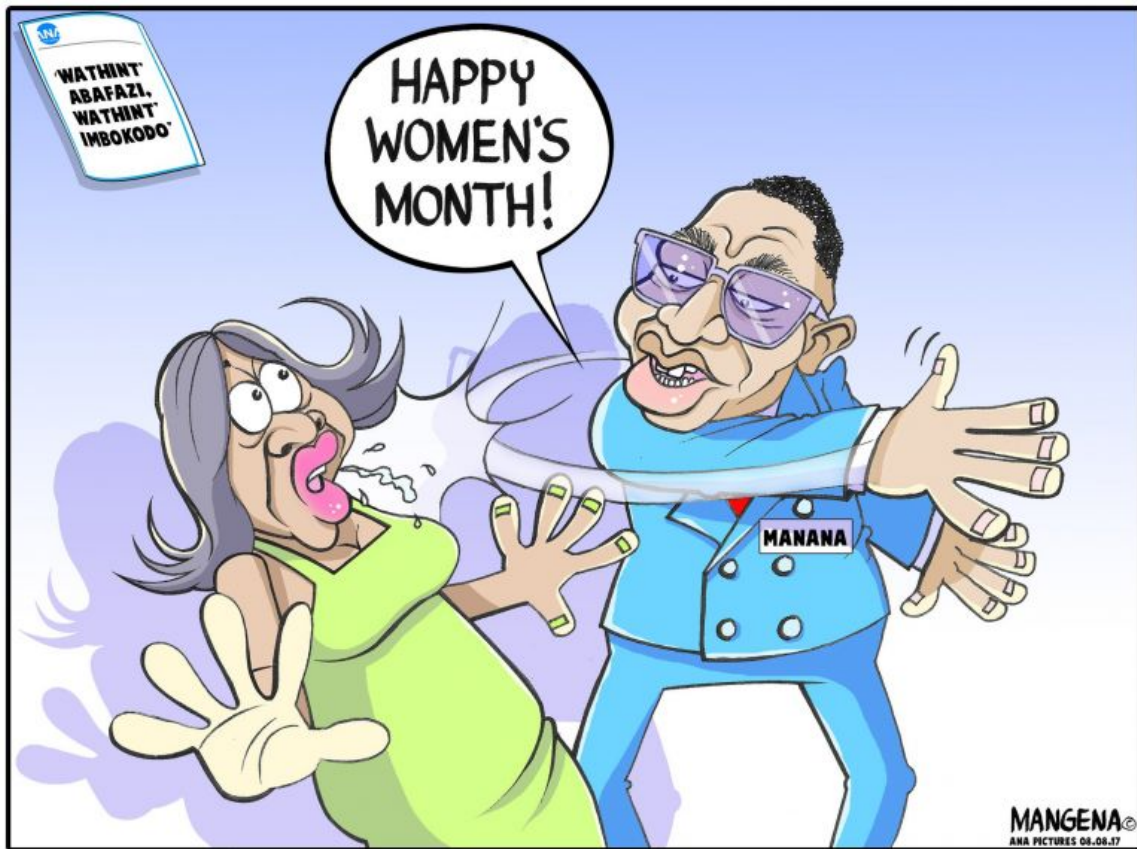
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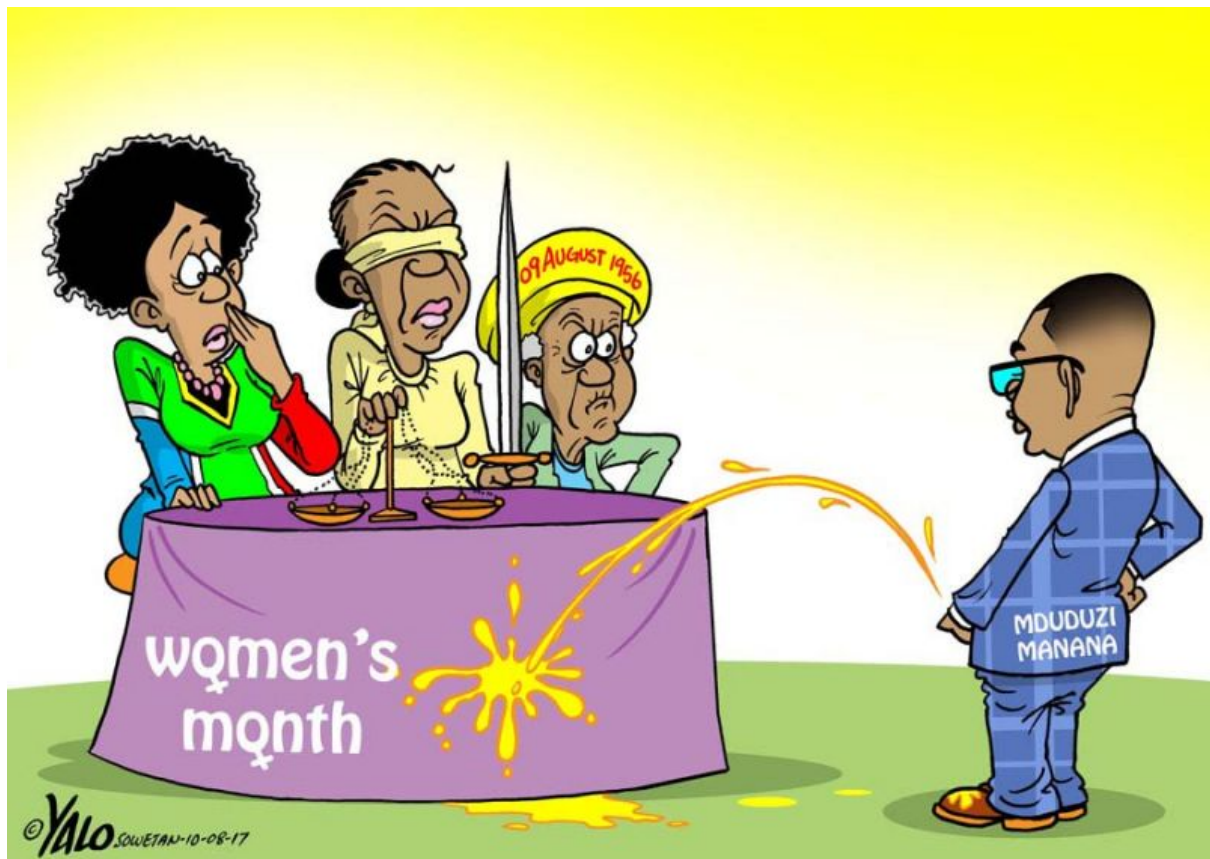
Appendix 1.1: Cartoons appearing on Women's Day 2017



Mangena, B. 2017. 'Happy Women's Month', in *The Star*. Available on Africartoons.com



Shapiro, J. 2017. 'Keep it down would you, Deputy Minister!...we have speeches to make!', in *Daily Maverick*, Available on Africartoons.com



Yalo, S. 2017. 'Women's Month', in *Sowetan*, Available on Africartoons.com

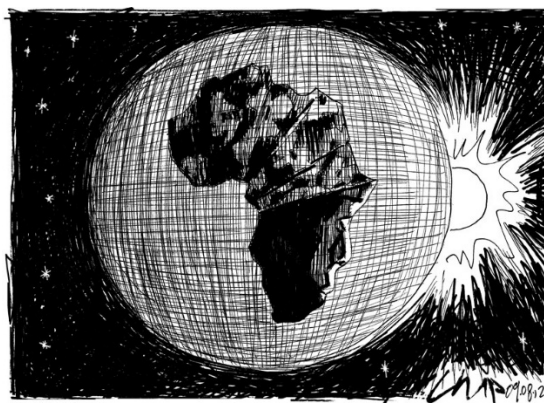
Appendix 1.2: A collection of all cartoons appearing on *Africartoons.com* for Women's Day. Enlarged in later Appendix for analysis



Date	2016
Cartoonist	1 Brandon



Date	2011
Cartoonist	2 Chip



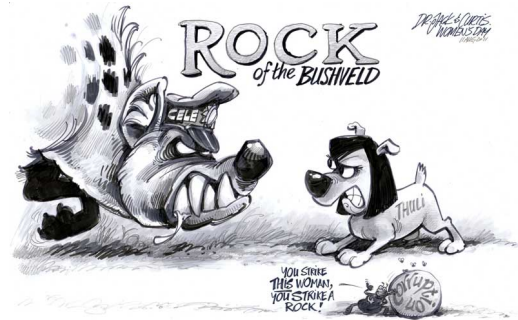
Date	2012
Cartoonist	3



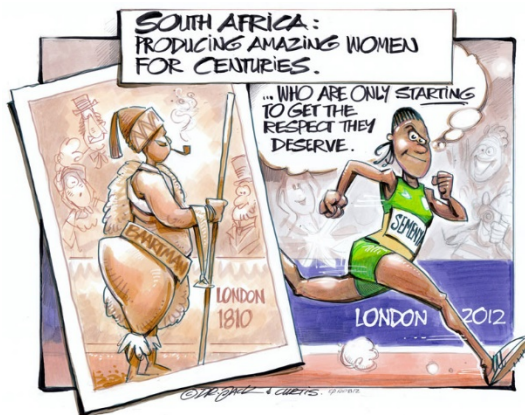
Date	2013
Cartoonist	4 Chip



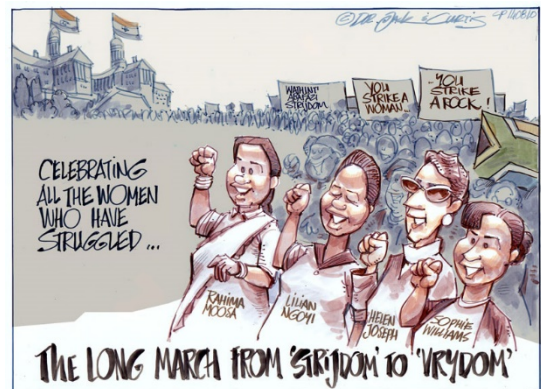
Date	2009
Cartoonist	5 Dr Jack & Curtis



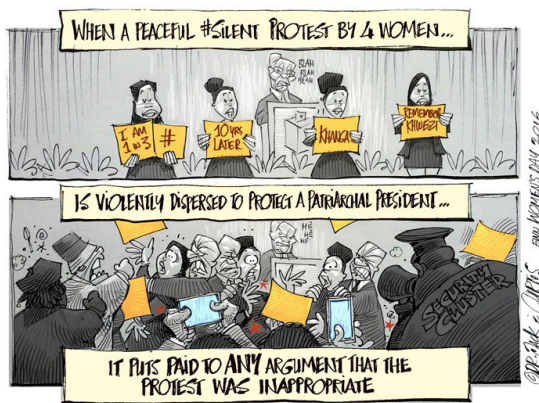
Date	2011
Cartoonist	6



Date	2012
Cartoonist	7 Dr Jack & Curtis



Date	2014
Cartoonist	8 Dr Jack and Curtis



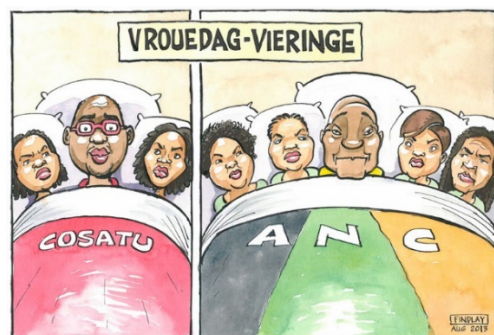
Date	2016
Cartoonist	9



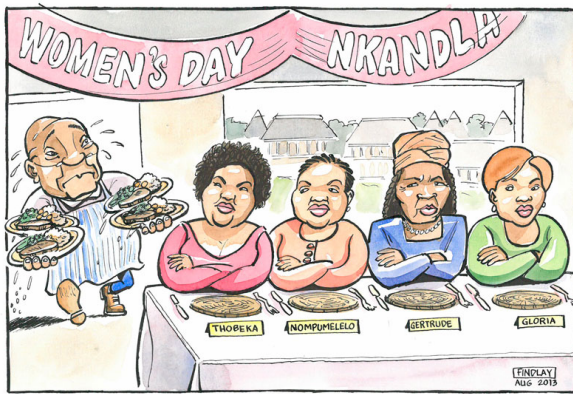
Date	2012
Cartoonist	10 Findlay



Date	2012
Cartoonist	11 Pannevis



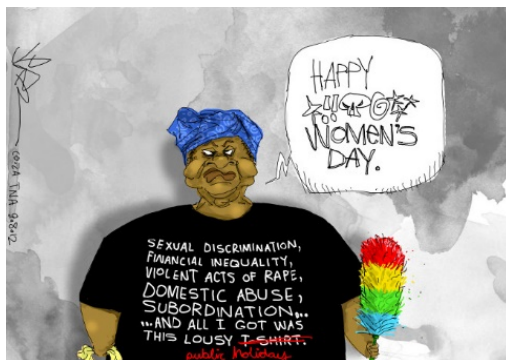
Date	2013
Cartoonist	12 Findlay

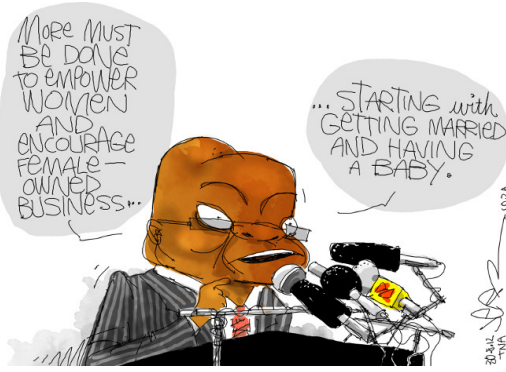


Date	2013
Cartoonist	13 Findlay



Date	2009, 2011 and 2012
Cartoonist	14, 15 & 16 Jerm





Date	2012
Cartoonist	17 Jerm

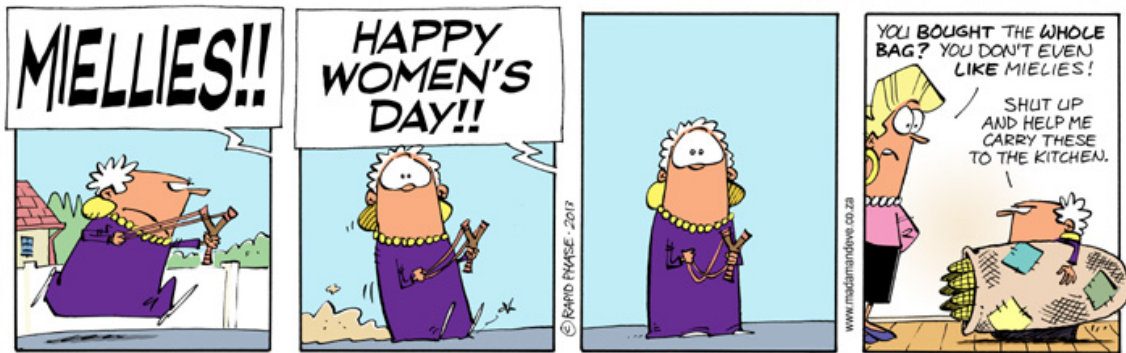
Date	2013
Cartoonist	18



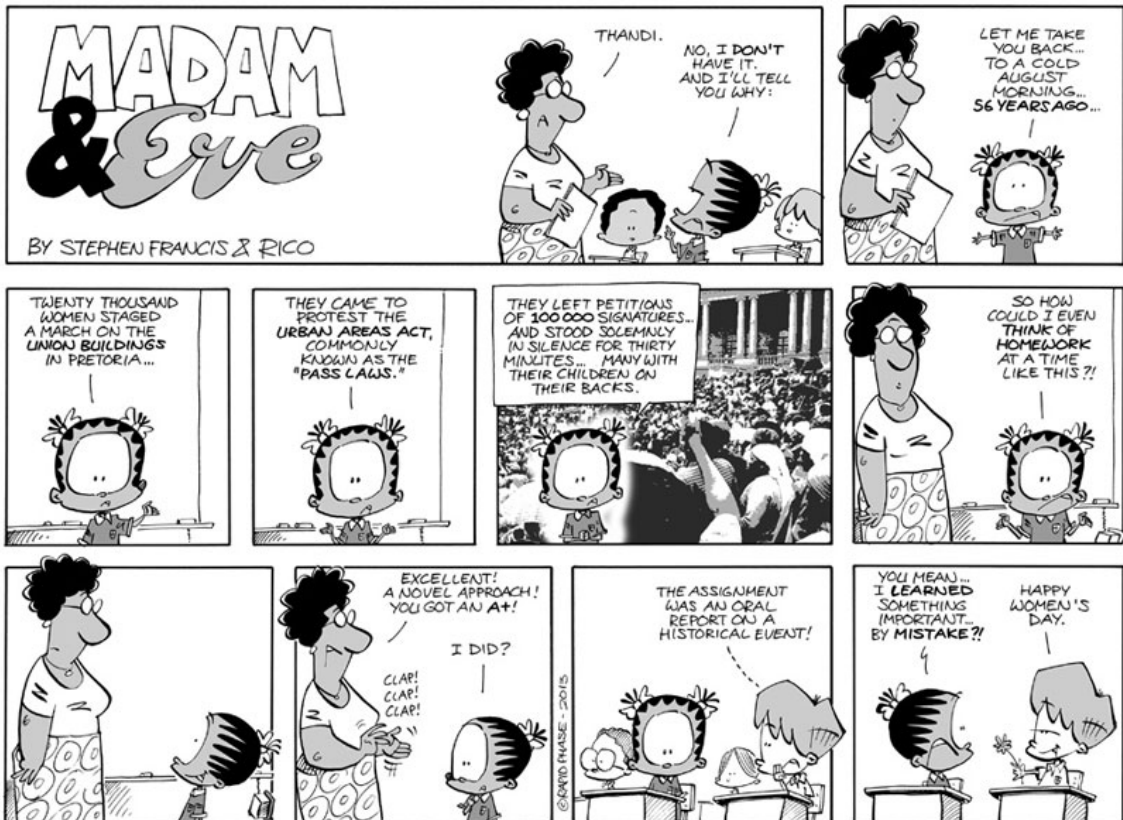
Date	2011
Cartoonist	19 M&E

MADAM & EVE

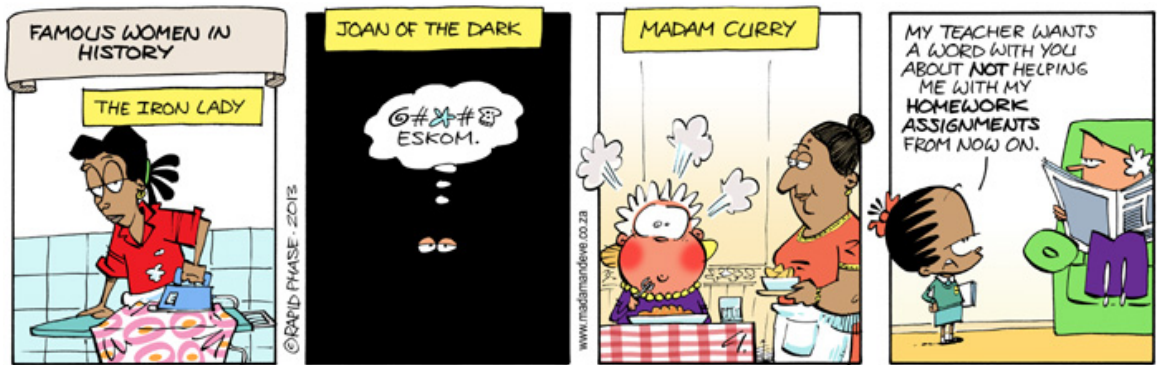
by Stephen Francis & Rico



Date	2013
Cartoonist	20



Date	2013
Cartoonist	21 M&E



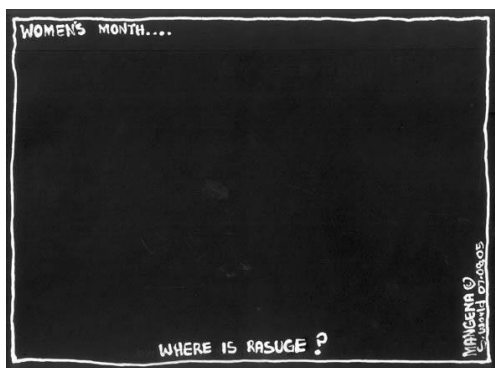
Date	2013
Cartoonist	22

Mama Taxi™

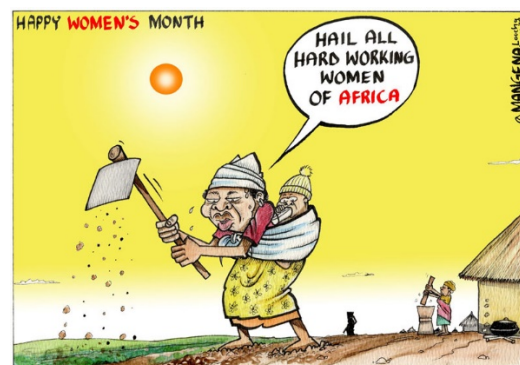
(words by) Deni Brown (pictures by) Gavin Thomson



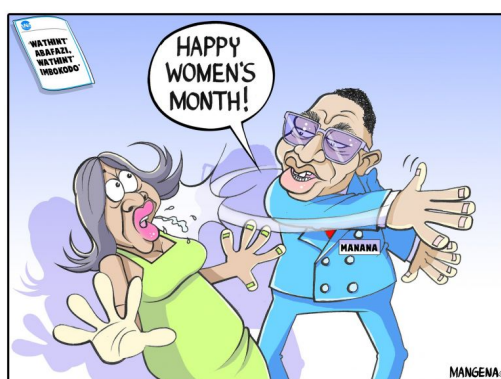
Date	2013
Cartoonist	23 Mama Taxi



Date	2005 (outside timeframe of study)
Cartoonist	24 Mangena



Date	2012
Cartoonist	25 Mangena



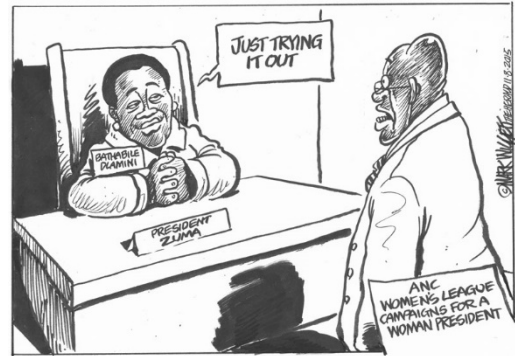
Date	2017
Cartoonist	26 Mangena



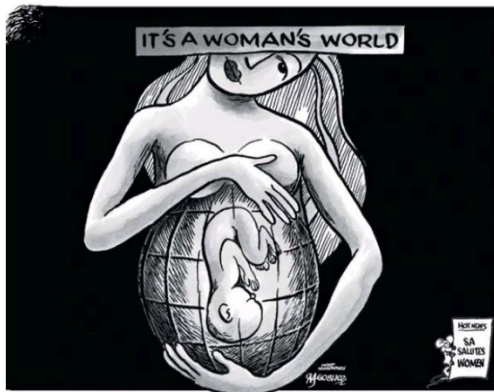
Date	2010
Cartoonist	27 Mark Wiggett



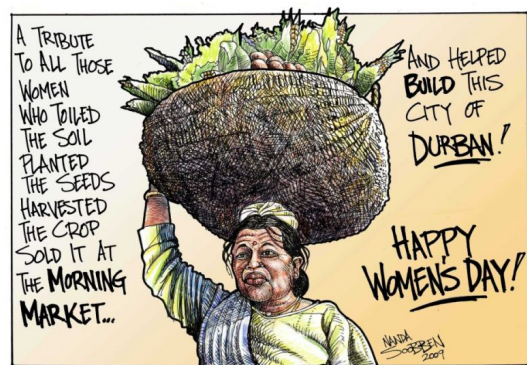
Date	2012
Cartoonist	28



Date	2015
Cartoonist	29 Mark Wiggitt



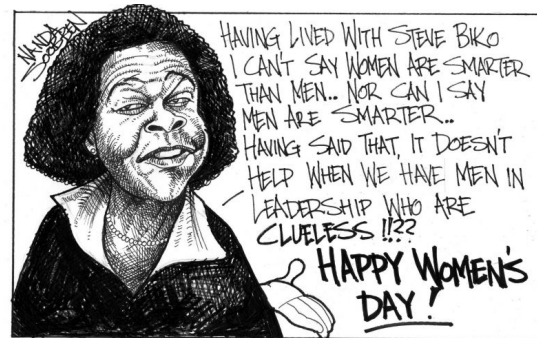
Date	2010
Cartoonist	30 Mqobhozi



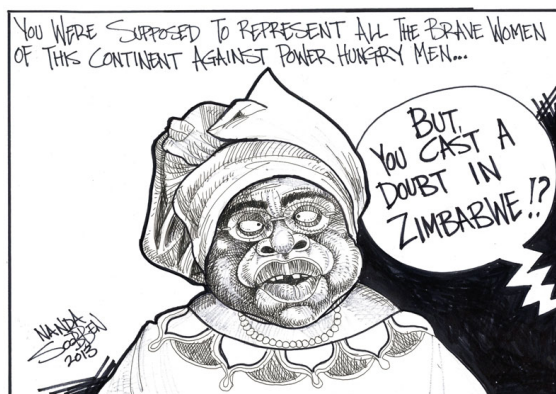
Date	2009
Cartoonist	31 Nanda



Date	2011
Cartoonist	32 Nanda



Date	2012
Cartoonist	33 Nanda



Date	2013
Cartoonist	34 Nanda



Date	2012
Cartoonist	35 Niel van Vuuren



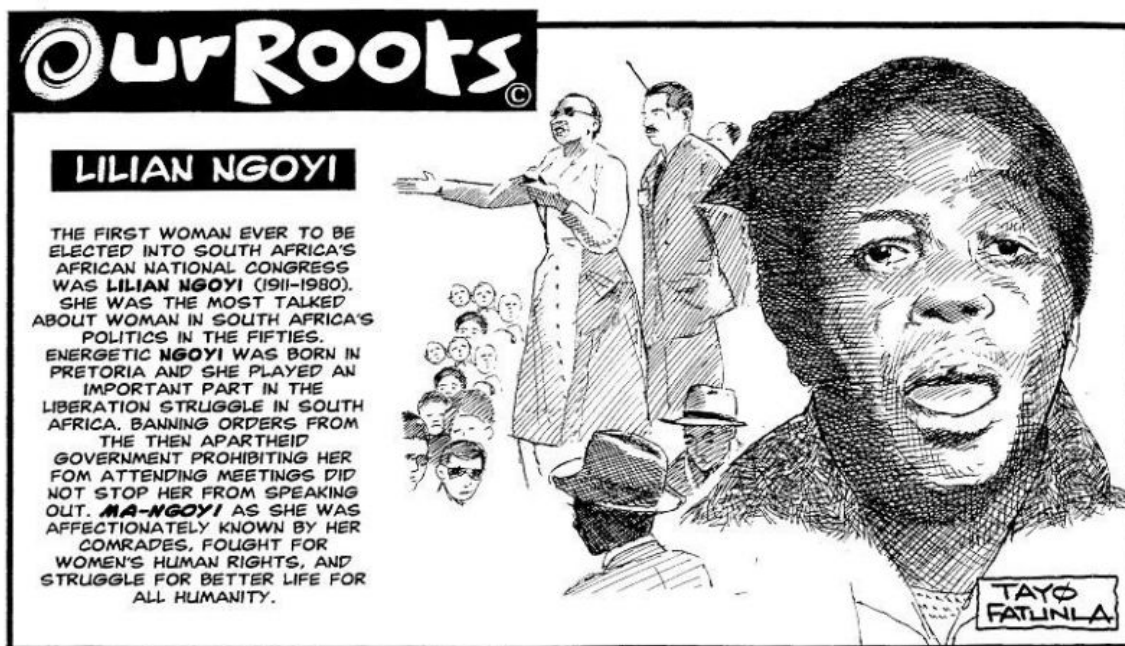
Date	2016
Cartoonist	36 Niel van Vuuren



Date	2015
Cartoonist	37 Qaps



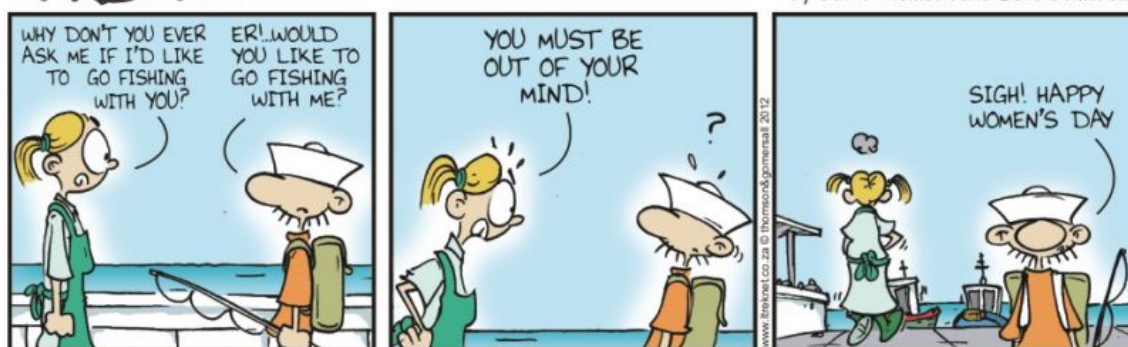
Date	2003 (outside of scope)
Cartoonist	38 Siwela



Date	1956 (outside scope)
Cartoonist	39

TREK NET

By Gavin Thomson and Dave Gomersall



Date	2012
Cartoonist	40 Treknet

TREK NET

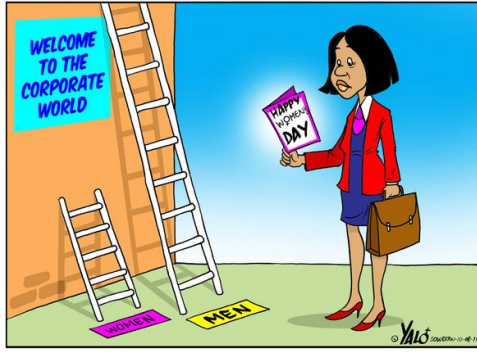
By Gavin Thomson and Dave Gomersall



Date	2015
Cartoonist	41 Treknet



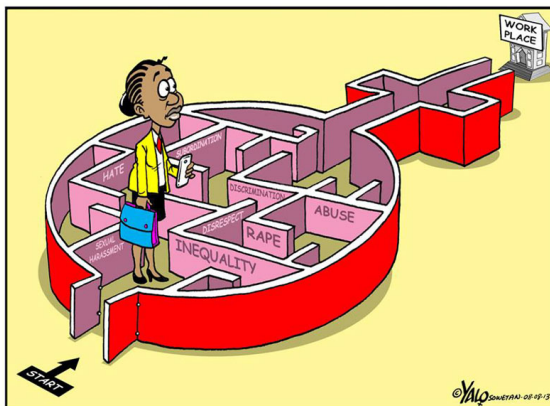
Date	2010
Cartoonist	42 Yalo



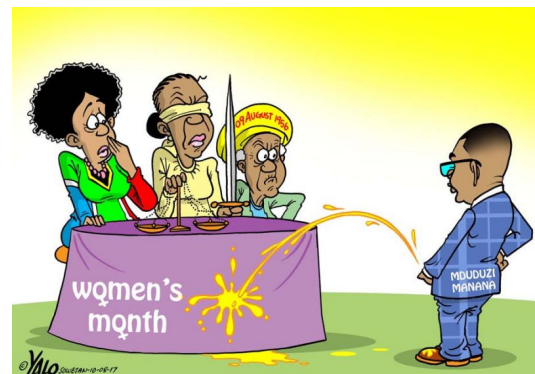
Date	2011
Cartoonist	43 Yalo



Date	2012
Cartoonist	44 Yalo



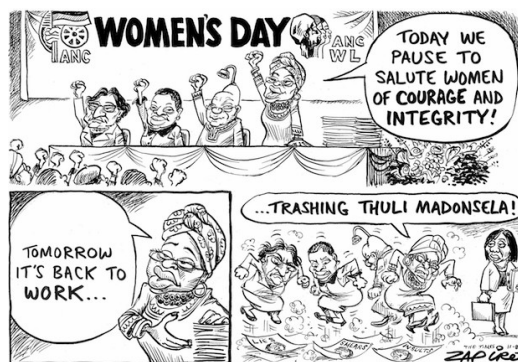
Date	2013
Cartoonist	45 Yalo



Date	2017
Cartoonist	46 Yalo



Date	2012
Cartoonist	47 Zapiro



Date	2015
Cartoonist	48 Zapiro



Date	2016
Cartoonist	49 Zapiro



Date	2017
Cartoonist	50 Zapiro

Appendix 1.3: ANC Women's Day statements

ANC statement on National Women's Day

09 August 2017

The African National Congress joins the men and women of South African in commemorating the National Women's Day. This day affords us an opportunity to recognize and celebrate the significant role that women have played in the South African struggle for liberation and development. Today, we have women representation across all sectors of society. Today, we celebrate women providing leadership in various fields including education, health, science, technology, aviation, business, public service, media and across civil society formations.

This day is a hard won victory for South Africa and for the many women who sacrificed their lives and fought against the subjugation of women. As we celebrate the huge strides that have been made, we must recognize the challenges that women continue to face including patriarchy, sexism, violence and many forms of discrimination.

So as we use today as an opportunity to reflect on strides we have made as a nation to advance women struggles, but it equally affords us an opportunity to look at what needs to be done to protect and empower women going forward.

As declared in the 2017 January 8th Statement "The ANC will actively work to improve women's access to economic opportunities and, in particular, business financing and credit so that women can pursue business opportunities in all areas". It remains a collective responsibility to ensure that women of this country, and beyond, are equally represented in the economy and receive equal pay.

The year 2017 has been a difficult year for South Africans. We have witnessed brutal killings of women and children. As a country, we need to redouble our efforts and ensure that women are not exposed to any form of harassment and discrimination.

As per the directive of the National Executive Committee meeting, held in May 2017, we must affirm the freedom of women and engage in campaigns that involve communities in the prevention of femicide and rape. We have full confidence in the justice system that they will do what is necessary to deal with gender based violence.

The African National Congress calls on all South Africans to mark this day by rededicating themselves to the realization of the vision of those gallant women of 1956 who sought a country where they had equal opportunities, felt safe and had the freedom to contribute as equals in our country's development.

Issued by the African National Congress
Enquiries
Zizi Kodwa 082 330 4910
National Spokesperson
Khusela Sangoni 072 854 5707
National Communications Manager

Kodwa, Z. & Sangoni, K., 2017. *African National Congress: South Africa's Liberation Movement*. (Online), accessed 8 May 2018, available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/content/anc-statement-national-womens-day>

Statement on the occasion of National Women's Day

9 August 2016

The African National Congress (ANC) congratulates all the women of South Africa on the occasion of National Women's Day. This day is a time for both reflection on and celebration of the gains made by women in our young democracy.

This day also marks the 60th anniversary of the historic Women's March to the Union Buildings by more than 20 000 women to protest against the pass laws of the apartheid government.

The occasion has been marked by the unveiling of statues in the city of Tshwane of the leaders of the march, as well as an address by President Jacob Zuma.

Thousands of women have converged on the laws of the Union Buildings to recreate the march, many of them travelling long distances from other parts of the country.

It was the dedication and tenacity of these women pioneers that forged the way for South Africa to become a society founded on the principles of equality and non-sexism.

It was because of these brave women that today South African women occupy a multiplicity of roles: not just as wives and mothers, but as teachers, entrepreneurs, businesswomen, politicians, community workers, activists, church leaders and active members of society.

The women who marched on the Union Buildings in 1956 knew, that in the words of VI Lenin: that "the emancipation of women and their equality with men is impossible and remains so as long as women are excluded from social production and restricted to domestic labour."

Today we can say proudly that thanks to the policies of the African National Congress (ANC) South Africa is a country where gender equality and gender representation is a fundamental tenet of governance.

In August, Women's Month, we celebrate the selflessness, resilience and heroism of the women who played a pivotal role in the liberation of our country.

South African women today, especially our young women, have taken up the baton from the pioneers of the Women's March. They are evidence that women of this country will continue to take a stand against any forms of oppression on the basis of gender.

The ANC government has, since the dawn of democracy in 1994, made tremendous progress in ensuring women are able to take up their rightful place in the leadership of our country.

We now live in a society that respects the enduring principles of freedom, equality, justice, human dignity and equal opportunities for all.

Before 1994, only 2.7% of those in Parliament were women. This has changed considerably. Today 44% of our Parliament consists of women, and women make up 43% of Cabinet.

Through our National Gender Machinery we have mainstreamed women's issues throughout government planning to ensure that every single policy, decision or programme that is rolled out takes the needs, considerations and circumstances of women into account.

The ANC government continues to work towards equity for women in all sectors of our economy, and is encouraged by efforts especially in state-owned enterprises.

The ANC government continues to prioritize facilitating access to educational opportunities and support for young women, in our schooling system.

It is the ANC government that is enabling young women to learn and take up opportunities for a better future.

Women's Month is also a time for reflection. We know that the mainstreaming of gender is imperative because it is women who are still the poorest in our country, and black rural women in particular. It is women who face triple oppression on the basis of race, class and gender.

It is to women that we must direct the lion's share of our efforts if we are to eradicate the social ills we still face as a country of poverty, discrimination, and disease.

The ANC, and the ANC Women's' League (ANCWL) in particular is making a huge contribution through the many struggles and victories we have attained.

The lives of hundreds of thousands of women across the country have been transformed for the better.

Yet we face challenges. Domestic and gender-based violence figures remain worryingly high. Older men preying on younger women are cutting down our young people through disease and an eroding of social values. Women continue to be victimized through sexual crimes. Despite a progressive legal and regulatory regime, women continue to face discrimination in the workplace, and are denied access to opportunity on the basis of class and gender.

To honour the women of 1956 the ANC will continue to work towards accelerating our programme of radical socio-economic transformation, particularly for the lives of women.

We will continue to accelerate the national agenda to eliminate poverty, improve education and access to health services, create decent jobs and reduce the disparities that continue to exist in our society.

Issued by
Zizi Kodwa
National Spokesperson
African National Congress

Enquiries
Khusela Sangoni 0728545707

Sangoni, K. 2016. 'Statement on the occasion of National Women's Day', in *ANC.org*, (online), accessed 8 May 2018, available at <http://www.anc.org.za/content/statement-occasion-national-womens-day>

Appendix 1.4: Email correspondence with Stacey Stent, 2017

Stacey Stent

MA: Cartooning in South Africa

Inbox x



Bianca Levin <levin.bianca20@gmail.com>

Mar 31
(10 days
ago)

to stacey.stent

Dear Stacey Stent,

I am currently doing research for my MA thesis at Rhodes University. I want to find out the reasons behind the lack of women in cartooning in South Africa. I am trying to get a better understanding of SA's cartooning industry.

I have conducted an interview with a woman who is in the graphic novel world. She said that it wasn't a lack of women that was the problem but that there was a lack of recognition for women in the field.

In my current investigation I have found very few academic resources on South African female cartoonists. I am trying to get hold of Andy Mason's *What's So Funny?* to get a better historical sense of SA's cartooning.

Could I please ask you a few questions about your experience as a cartoonist in SA?

Kind regards

Bianca Levin

076 273 7339



Stacey Stent

Apr 4 (6
days
ago)

to me

Dear Bianca,

Thanks for your email.

Interestingly I was recently reading something about Suelan Becker, a Brazilian cartoonist where the first half of the article refers to her as a man. I am attaching a picture of her. They seem to switch to her correct gender half way through the article but didn't bother to go back to correct what seemed like the assumption that being a cartoonist, she must be a man.

The global cartoon community is much larger than most people think and looks like the majority of them are without cartoon work. The dearth of women, specially woman in the political cartoon arena, is particularly stark. Even though there are high profile female political cartoonists in countries like Tunisia, Egypt,

Palestine they still swim against a tide of male cartoonists. Iran interestingly has a higher number of female political cartoonists. This could be in solidarity with Atena Farghadani who as far as i know is still serving a 12 year sentence for a single anti government cartoon.

I often get asked about the scarcity of women cartoonists and frankly it's a question that still baffles me. Editors on the whole are often generally tetchy about cartoonists. Perhaps many feel that hiring women is just going too far in what is obviously an established male world. The Mail and Guardian has apparently just replaced the great Zapiro with a white man, relatively unknown as a cartoonist. There were several young black cartoonists interested in that job - at least one of them was a woman. Personally I have not had a problem getting printed since I first cut my cartoonist's teeth with Mail and Guardian right from the days it was still the Weekly Mail. But in those days the editors were the calibre of Anton Harber and it was a very different newspaper.

I am still asked to submit 'feminist' cartoons if I'm invited to an exhibition. Perhaps it's because I am the only female represented, they want to kill 2 birds...

I could ramble on but need to get to work. Hope that helps

Stacey

Virus-free. www.avast.com

Appendix 3.1: Codes

Lutz and Collins (1993) and Argyle (1983). In Lutz and Collins, a large list of codes is selected to uncover how power, race and historical context are operating in the text (Rose, 2016, 91 and 92).

1. World location
2. Unit of article organisation (region, nation-state, ethnic group, other)
3. Number of photographs including Westerners in an article
4. Smiling in a photograph
5. Gender of adults depicted
6. Age of those depicted
7. Aggressive activity or military personnel or weapons shown
8. Activity level of main foreground figures
9. Activity type of main foreground figures
10. Camera gaze of main person photographed
11. Surroundings of people photographed
12. Ritual focus
13. Group size
14. Westerners in photograph
15. Urban versus rural setting
16. Wealth indicators in photograph
17. Skin colour
18. Dress style ('Western' or local)
19. Male nudity
20. Female nudity
21. Technological type present (simple handmade tools, machinery)
22. Vantage (point from which camera perceives main figures)

I then narrowed down this list by comparing it to Argyle's list in *The Psychology of Interpersonal Behavior (1983)* (Lacey, 2009, 9).

1. Facial expression
2. Gaze
3. Gestures and other bodily movements
4. Bodily posture
5. Bodily contact
6. Spatial behaviour
7. Clothes and appearance
8. Non-verbal aspects of speech (for example tone of voice, or grunting agreement)

My list as garnered from the above:

Non-Verbal Communication
Location, surroundings
Urban or Rural
Gender
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)
Facial expression
Gaze
Activity, gesture, posture
Body contact
Clothes and appearance
Wealth indicators

Appendix 3.2: Narrative Analysis

Todorov's narrative functions and stages:

- Equilibrium: Sets the scene
- Disruption: Equilibrium is disrupted as result of action
- Recognition: The disruption is acknowledged
- Action: Attempt to repair the disruption
- (Re)equilibrium: Restoration of the equilibrium, and the story concludes

Propp's character functions

- Hero: Departs on a search, reacts to demands of donor, marries.
- Donor: Provides hero with magical agent
- Helper: Moves the hero, makes good a lack, rescues from pursuit, solves task, transforms hero
- Princess: Assigns a difficult task, father punishes the false hero, marries.
- Dispatcher: Sends hero on journey
- Villain: Causes harm or lack, fights with hero
- False hero: departs on search, reacts as donor, makes unfounded claims as hero.

Propp's narrative functions and stages:

Stage 1: Preparation (Todorov Equilibrium)

1. A member of the family leaves home
2. A prohibition or rule is imposed on the hero
3. The prohibition is violated
4. The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance
5. The villain gains information about this victim
6. The villain attempts to deceive the victim, take possession of victim, or victim's things
7. The victim is taken in by deception, unwittingly helping the enemy.

Stage 2: Complication (Todorov Disruption and recognition)

8. The villain causes harm to family member
- 8a. member of family lacks something
9. Lack is made known. Seeker hero is given request and goes on quest. Victim hero is sent away, freed from imprisonment.
10. The hero or seeker plans action against the villain

Stage 3: Transference (Todorov Action)

11. The hero leaves home
12. Hero is tested, attacked, prepare the way to receive magical agent/helper
13. The hero reacts to actions of future donor
14. Hero uses magical agent
15. The hero is transferred to location of the object of the search/quest

Stage 4: Struggle (Action)

16. The hero and villain join direct combat
17. The hero is branded
18. The villain is defeated
19. The initial misfortune is lack is resolved

Stage 5: Return (Action)

20. The hero returns
21. The hero is pursued
22. The hero is rescued
23. The hero arrives home or in another country and is not recognised
24. A false hero makes a false unfounded claim
25. A difficult task is set for the hero
26. The task is accomplished

Stage 6: Recognition (Todorove (re)equilibrium)

27. The hero is recognised
28. The false hero or villain is exposed
29. The hero is transformed
30. The villain is punished
31. The hero marries and ascends the throne

Barthes enigma and action [Example]

Enigma	Action (Mthembu)
The children need support	The woman places her hand comfortingly on her child's shoulder and carries her baby on her back.
She and the children need to survive	She makes bags/goods out of the hessian

Binary oppositions [Example]

hero	villain
woman	man
adult	child
strong	weak
poor	rich
Clothed	naked
Self-sufficient	needy
Alone	together
At risk	safe
Gives comfort	Makes uncomfortable
works	unemployed
Self-employed	unemployed
vulnerable	protected

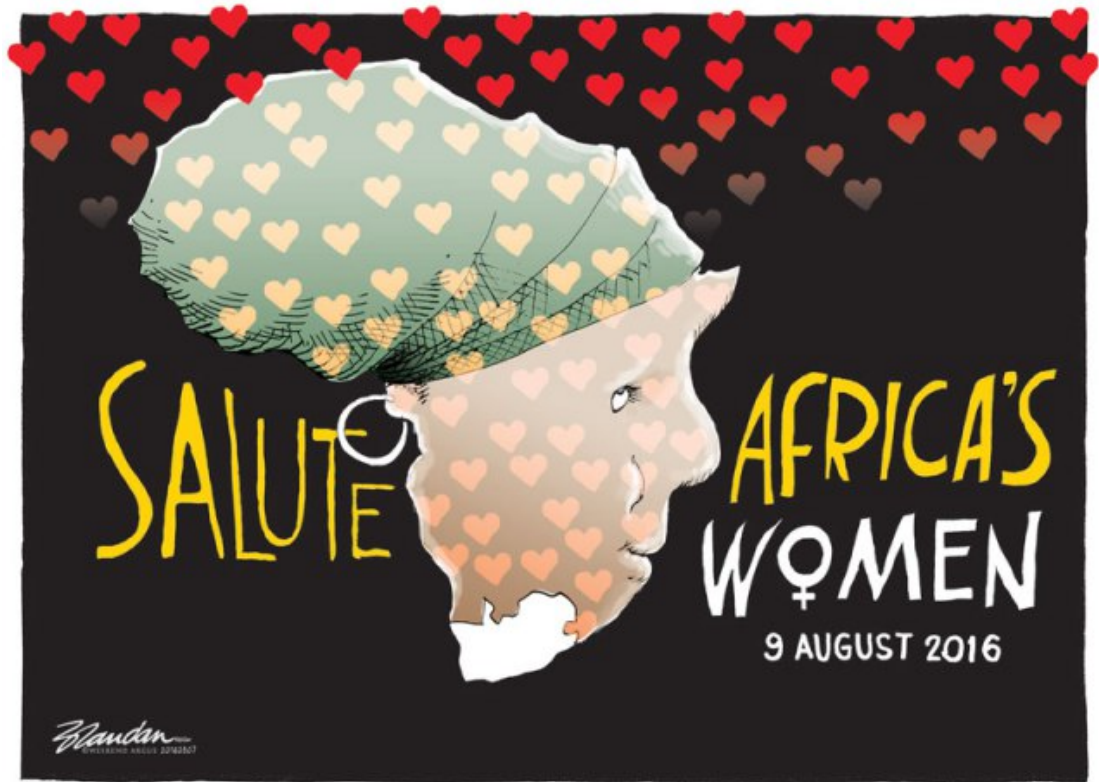
Appendix 4.1: content analysis of 50 cartoons

Counting cartoons:

Thematic concerns	Total appearances of themes
1. Women as victims of violence	26x
2. Patriarchy as shown through:	23x
2.1 Hapless Masculinity	12x
2.2 Hegemonic Masculinity	11x
3. Overt political commentary	22x
4. Strong women	19x
5. Women in solidarity	13x
6. Ironic commentary on the Women's Day holiday	12x
7. Motherhood	8x
8. Corporate women	7x
9. Explicit representation and Commemoration of the Women's Day march	6x
10 Women colluding with patriarchy	5x
11 Other	2x

Chosen cartoonists

1. Chip – cartoon 4 (2013) theme 7 and 11
2. Dr Jack and Curtis – cartoon 9 (2016) theme 1 2 3 4 5
3. Jerm – cartoon 14 -16 (2009-2012) theme 1 6
4. Francis and Rico cartoon 21 (2013) theme 4 5 9
5. Nanda cartoon 32 (2011) theme 4 5 8 9
6. Yalo 45 (2013) theme 1 8
7. Zapiro 50 (2017) theme 1 2 3 8 10



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2016
Cartoonist	1 Brandon

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Africa, South Africa, public
Urban or Rural	Both
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Smiling
Gaze	Off the frame
Activity, gesture, posture	A woman's portrait embodies Africa
Body contact	None
Clothes and appearance	Doek

Wealth indicators	Related to continent and world perspective
Other	Mother Africa

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	X



A BIG PLUS.

Chip 09-08-11

Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2011
Cartoonist	2 Chip

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	The World with focus on Africa, public
Urban or Rural	Both
Gender	Women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	All
Facial expression	NA
Gaze	NA
Activity, gesture, posture	NA
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	NA

Wealth indicators	NA
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Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	
Other	Women are important

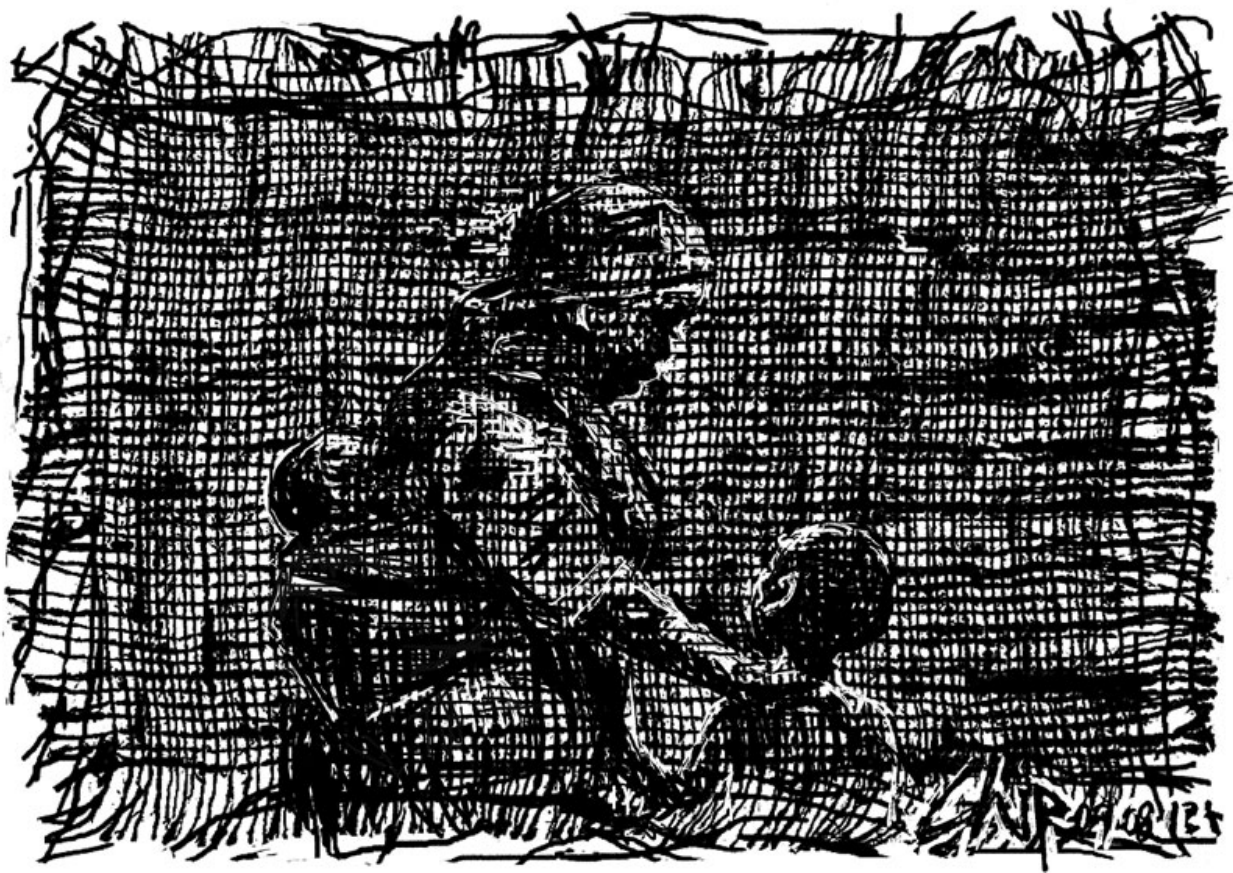


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	3

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	World, focus on Africa, public
Urban or Rural	Both
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Neutral
Gaze	Off the frame
Activity, gesture, posture	A woman's portrait embodies Africa
Body contact	None

Clothes and appearance	Doek
Wealth indicators	NA

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	X
Other	Mother Africa



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	4 Chip

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	public
Urban or Rural	Rural
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult, child and infant
Facial expression	NA
Gaze	To child
Activity, gesture, posture	Place hand on child's shoulder
Body contact	Yes
Clothes and appearance	Doek and work clothes

Wealth indicators	Poor/working class
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Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	X
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	
Other	Women in weak position

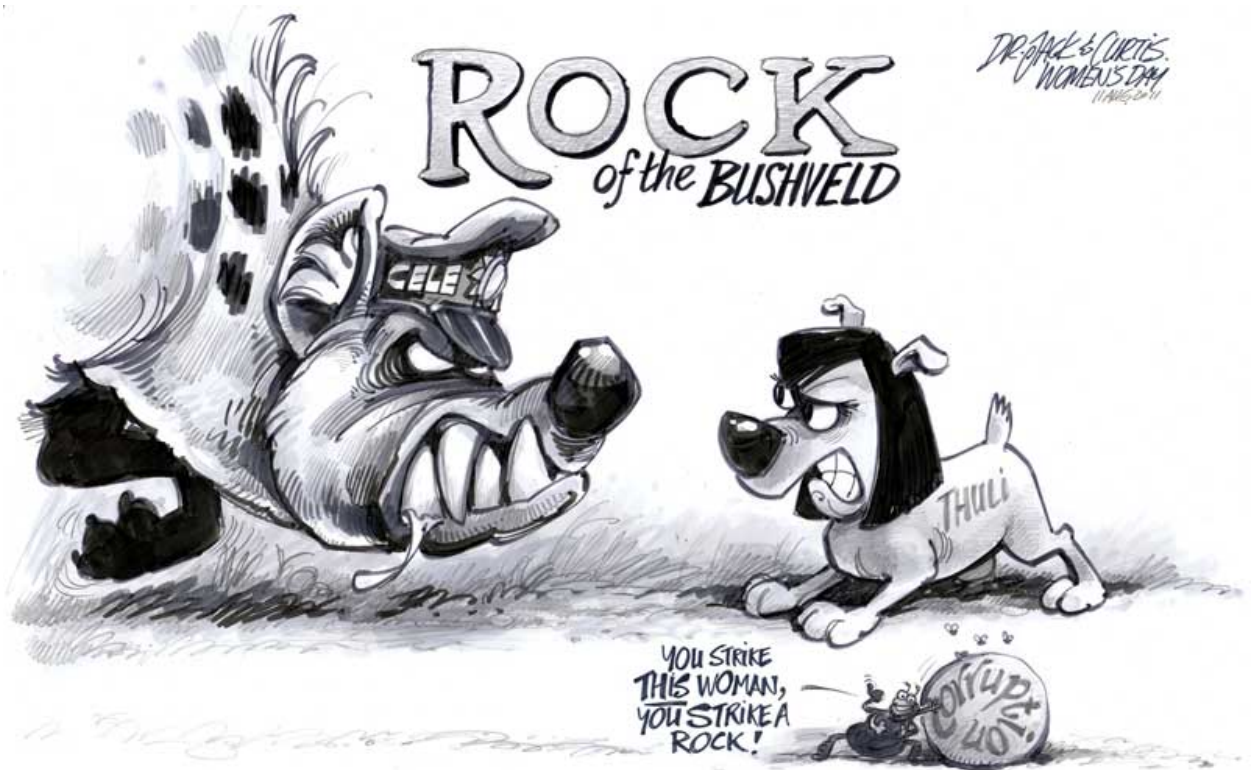


Cartoon is commenting on WD	No
Date	2009
Cartoonist	5 Dr Jack & Curtis

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Cartoon is commenting on WD	No
Date	2009
Cartoonist	5 Dr Jack & Curtis
Location, surroundings	Waiting room for gender-testing
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Man and Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Young adult
Facial expression	Concerned and angry

Gaze	She at him and him off the page
Activity, gesture, posture	Waiting, bent over, in conversation
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	In sports uniform
Wealth indicators	Sports Elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	
Other	Sexist and racist system

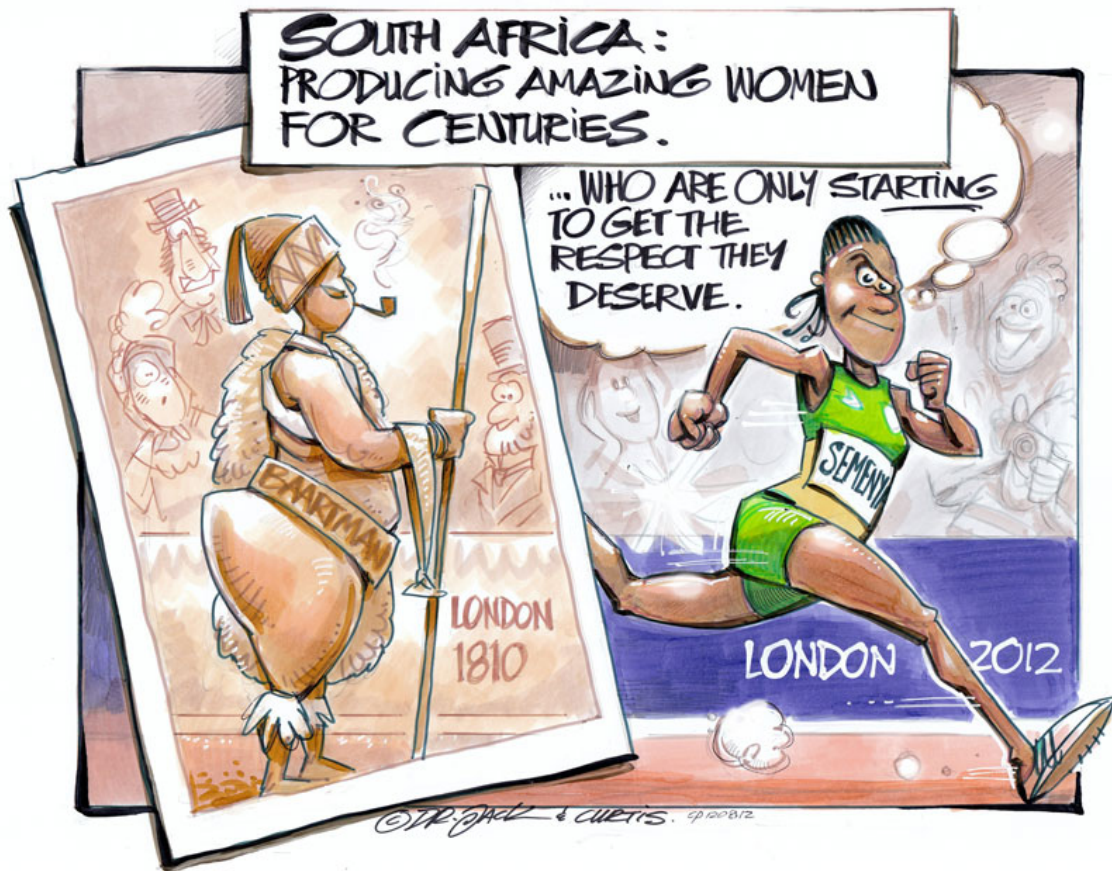


Cartoon is commenting on WD	yes
Date	2011
Cartoonist	6

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Bush veldt, public
Urban or Rural	Rural
Gender	Man and woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Teeth bared
Gaze	Each other
Activity, gesture, posture	Ready for attack
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	As dogs

Wealth indicators	Hat and hair indicate that part of SA structures
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Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	

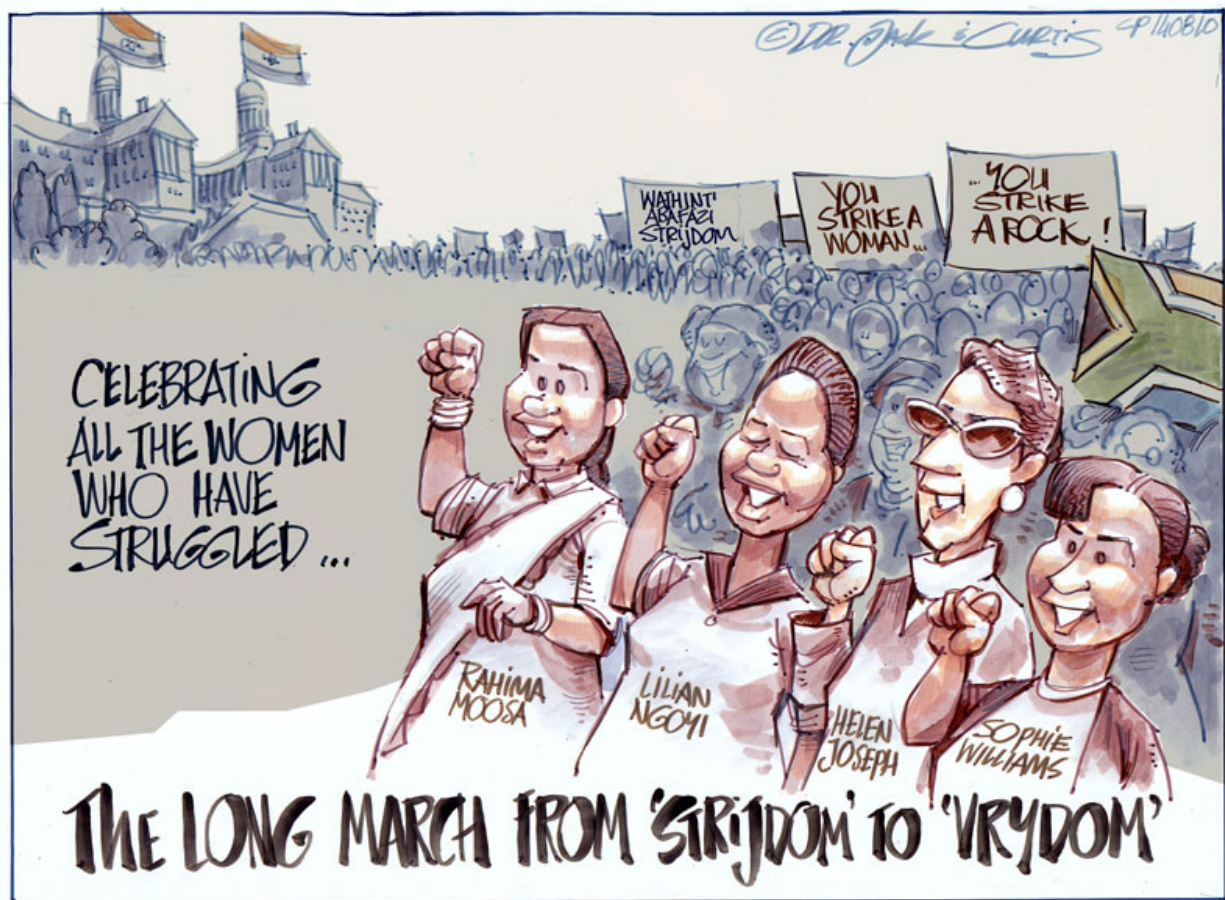


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	7

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	London, public
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Determined
Gaze	At audience
Activity, gesture, posture	Standing to be viewed and running in view
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Sports wear and 'traditional' dress
Wealth indicators	Sports elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2014
Cartoonist	8 Dr Jack and Curtis

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	SA Parliament
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Smiling and determined
Gaze	Off the frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Fists raised in march

Body contact	Shoulder to shoulder
Clothes and appearance	Formal
Wealth indicators	Mixed

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	X
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	X



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2016
Cartoonist	9

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	SA, Hall and podium - public
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Men and women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Determined, shocked
Gaze	Eyes closed to off the page or at attackers
Activity, gesture, posture	Upright and then under attack

Body contact	None to grapbbbed
Clothes and appearance	Skirts, uniforms, formal
Wealth indicators	Govt elite and working class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	X



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	10 Findlay

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Zuma's home, private
Urban or Rural	Rural
Gender	Man and women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Complacent and frowning
Gaze	At each other
Activity, gesture, posture	He lies in bed, confident as they stand in doorway
Body contact	NA – shoulder to shoulder

Clothes and appearance	Naked and dresses
Wealth indicators	Elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	

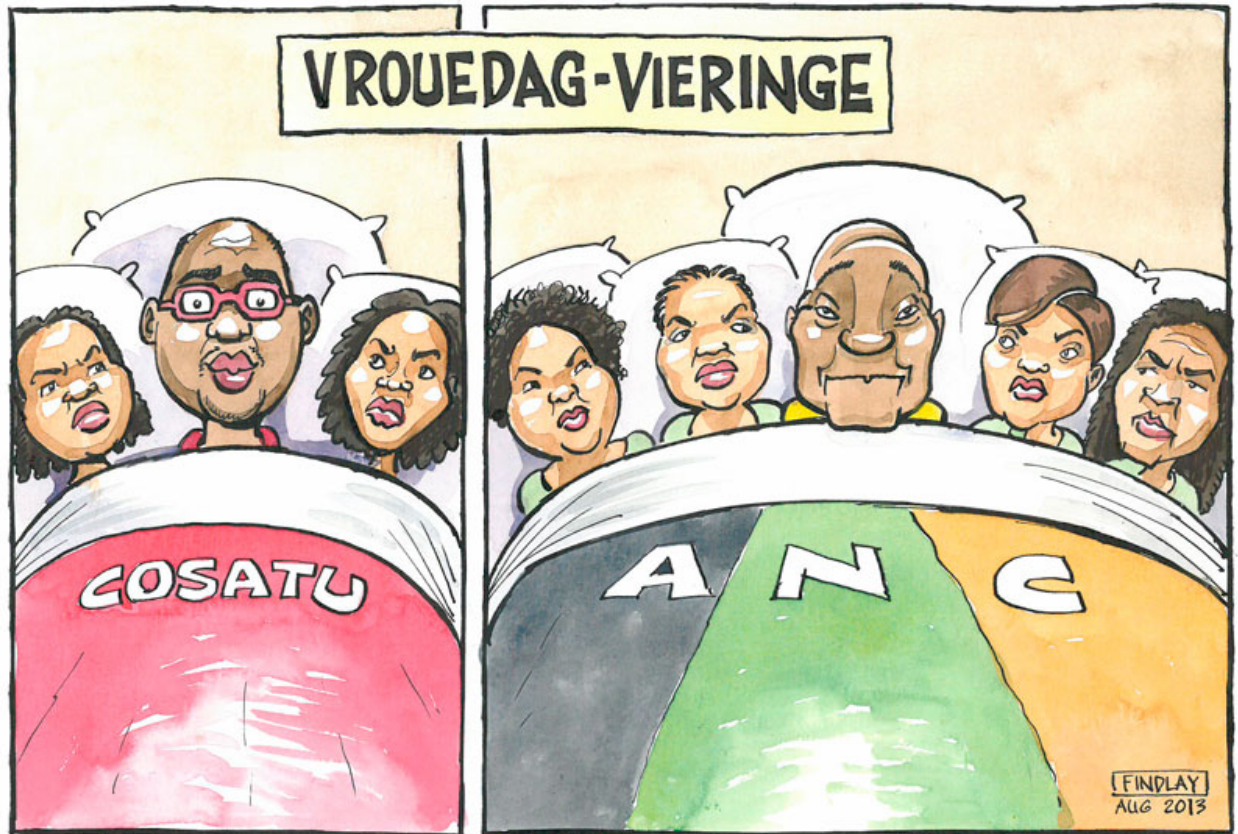


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	11 Pannevis

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Olympics, public
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Determined
Gaze	Back at other runners
Activity, gesture, posture	Running
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Sports uniform
Wealth indicators	Sports elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	X

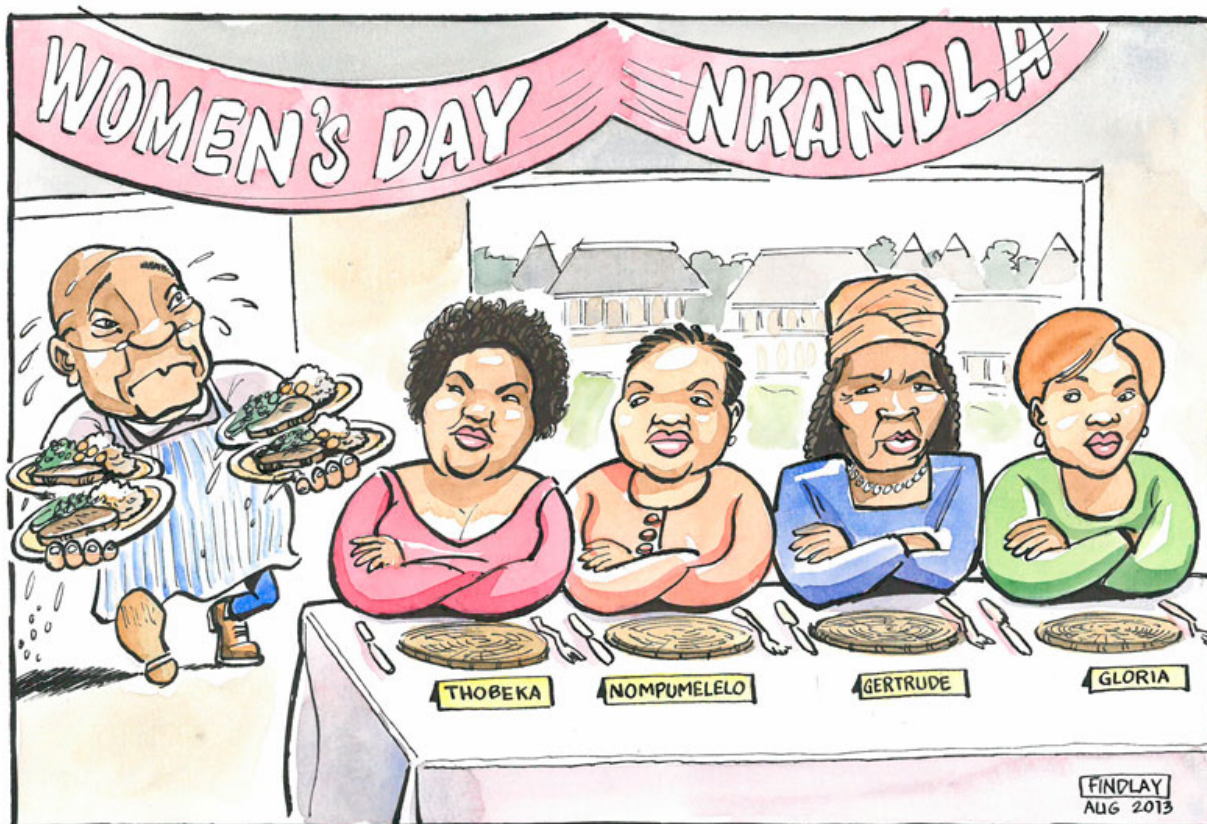


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	12 Findlay

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Bedrooms, private
Urban or Rural	Rural
Gender	Men and women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Women frown, men look concerned
Gaze	Women at men, man at audience
Activity, gesture, posture	NA – lying in bed
Body contact	Shoulder to shoulder
Clothes and appearance	Pyjamas

Wealth indicators	Govt elite
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Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	13 Findlay

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Dining room of Home, private
Urban or Rural	Rural
Gender	Man and women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Frowning
Gaze	At each other
Activity, gesture, posture	Arms crossed as food is served
Body contact	Shoulder to shoulder
Clothes and appearance	Formal and aprin

Wealth indicators	Govt elite
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Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2009, 2011 and 2012
Cartoonist	14, 15 & 16 Jerm

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	SA, lack context - indoors
Urban or Rural	Lack context
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Frowning
Gaze	At audience

Activity, gesture, posture	Standing erect, holding cleaning equipment
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	TShirt and doek
Wealth indicators	Poor/ working class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



15



16



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	17 Jerm

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	SA Public podium

Urban or Rural	Lack context
Gender	Man
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Neutral
Gaze	Off frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Speaking and pointing
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Formal suit
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	X
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	18

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	SA, alley
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	NA
Gaze	NA
Activity, gesture, posture	Twisted on flooe
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Work clothes
Wealth indicators	middle class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2011
Cartoonist	19 M&E

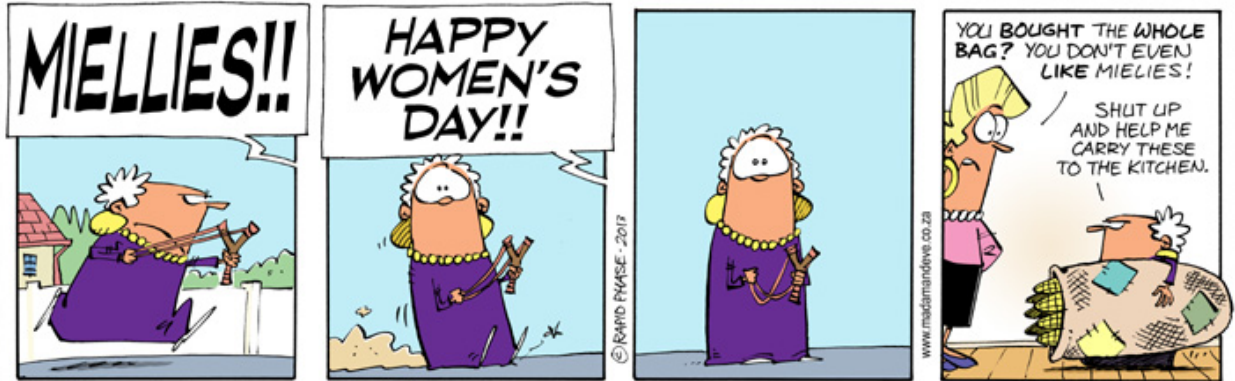
Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Suburbs, public

Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Man, women, boy and girl
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Mixed
Facial expression	Neutral and smiling until last frame
Gaze	Each other
Activity, gesture, posture	In conversation
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Casual
Wealth indicators	Working class/ middle class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	Hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	X

MADAM & EVE

by Stephen Francis & Rico

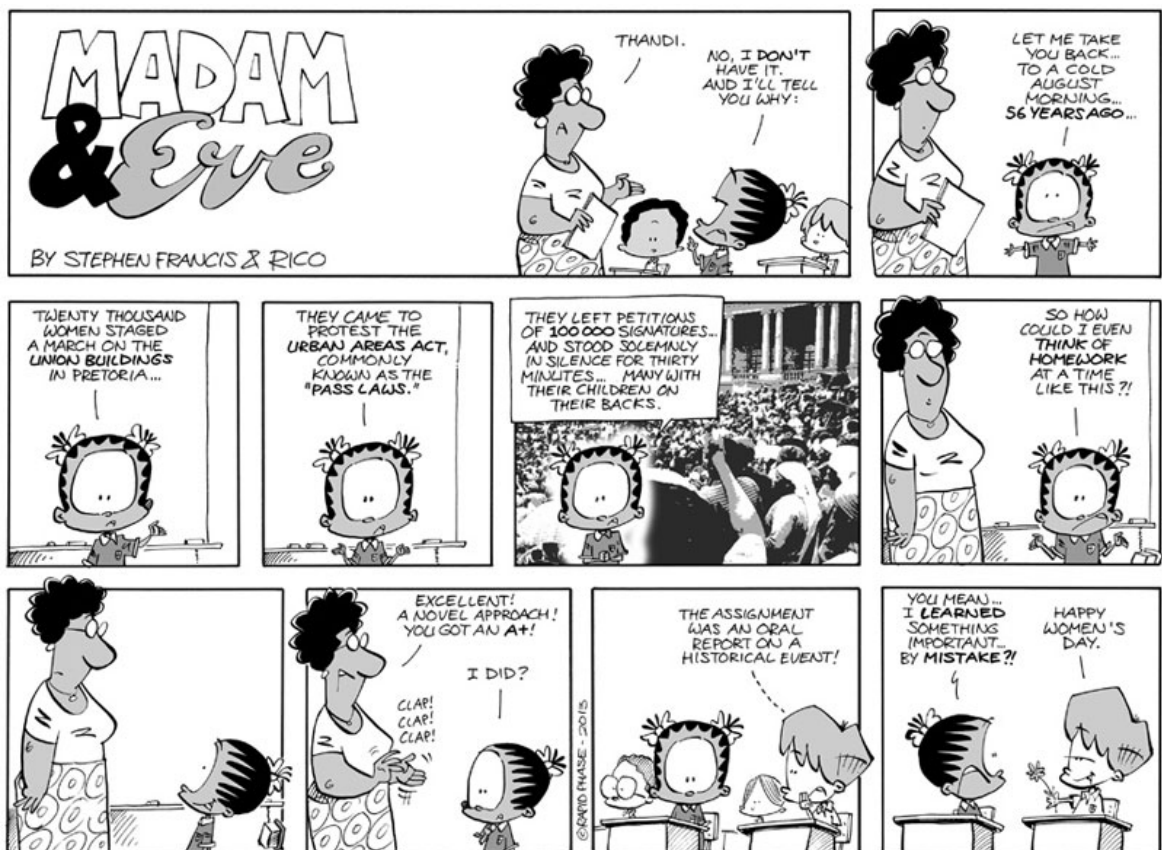


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	20

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Suburbs, public
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Determined, sad
Gaze	Audience
Activity, gesture, posture	Running with catty, stops and carries miellies
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Smart casual dress
Wealth indicators	Middle class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	

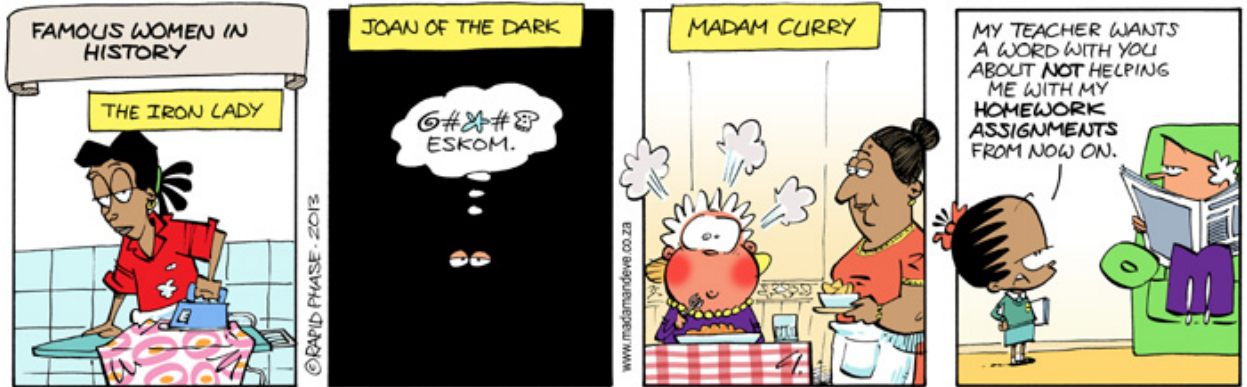
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	X



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	21 M&E

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Classroom, public
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Mixed
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult and children
Facial expression	Wide eyed
Gaze	Audience
Activity, gesture, posture	Talking and clapping
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	School uniform
Wealth indicators	Mixed

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	Hapless
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	X
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	X



Cartoon is commenting on WD	No
Date	2013
Cartoonist	22

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Home, private
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult and child
Facial expression	Mixed
Gaze	Each other
Activity, gesture, posture	Talking
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Casual
Wealth indicators	Middle class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	

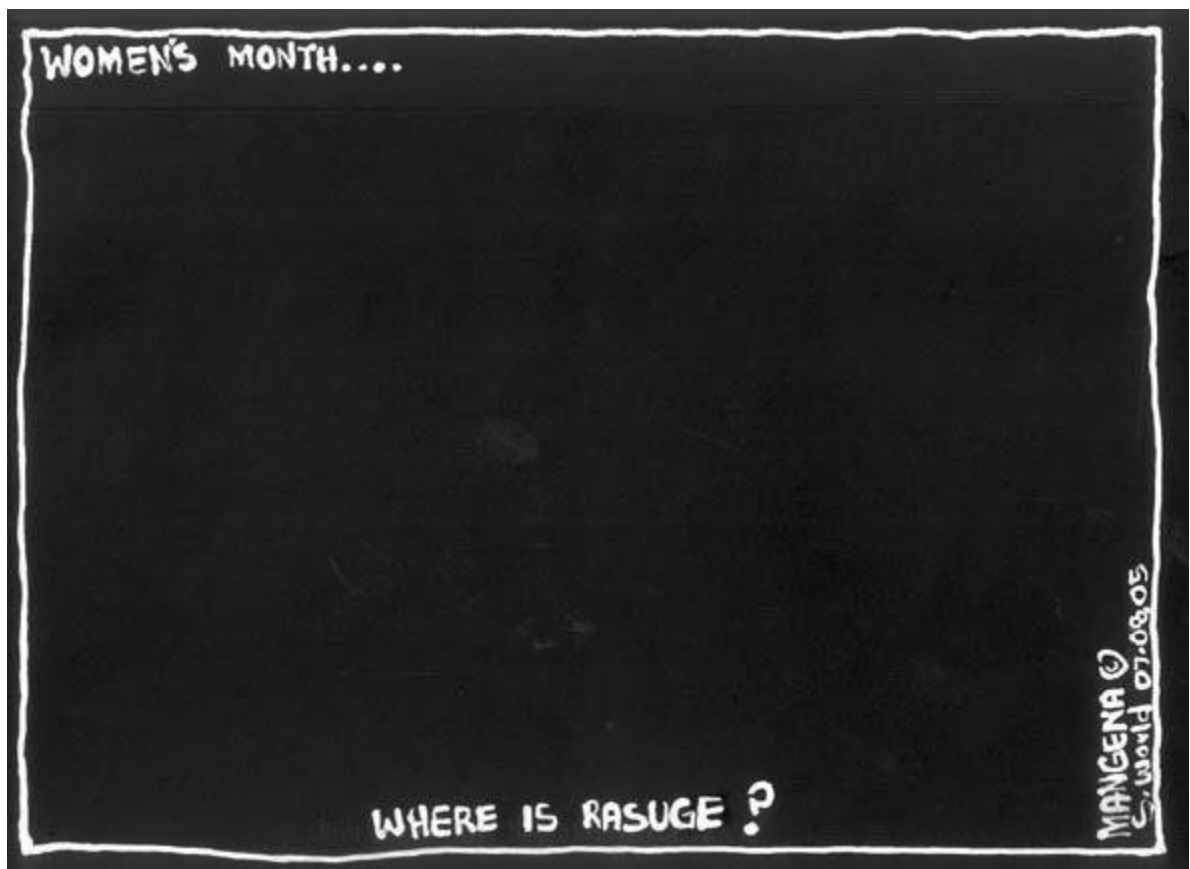
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	23 Mama Taxi

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	SA – side of road
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Men
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Young adult
Facial expression	Confused
Gaze	Each other
Activity, gesture, posture	Sitting, eating lunch
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Construction uniform
Wealth indicators	Working class

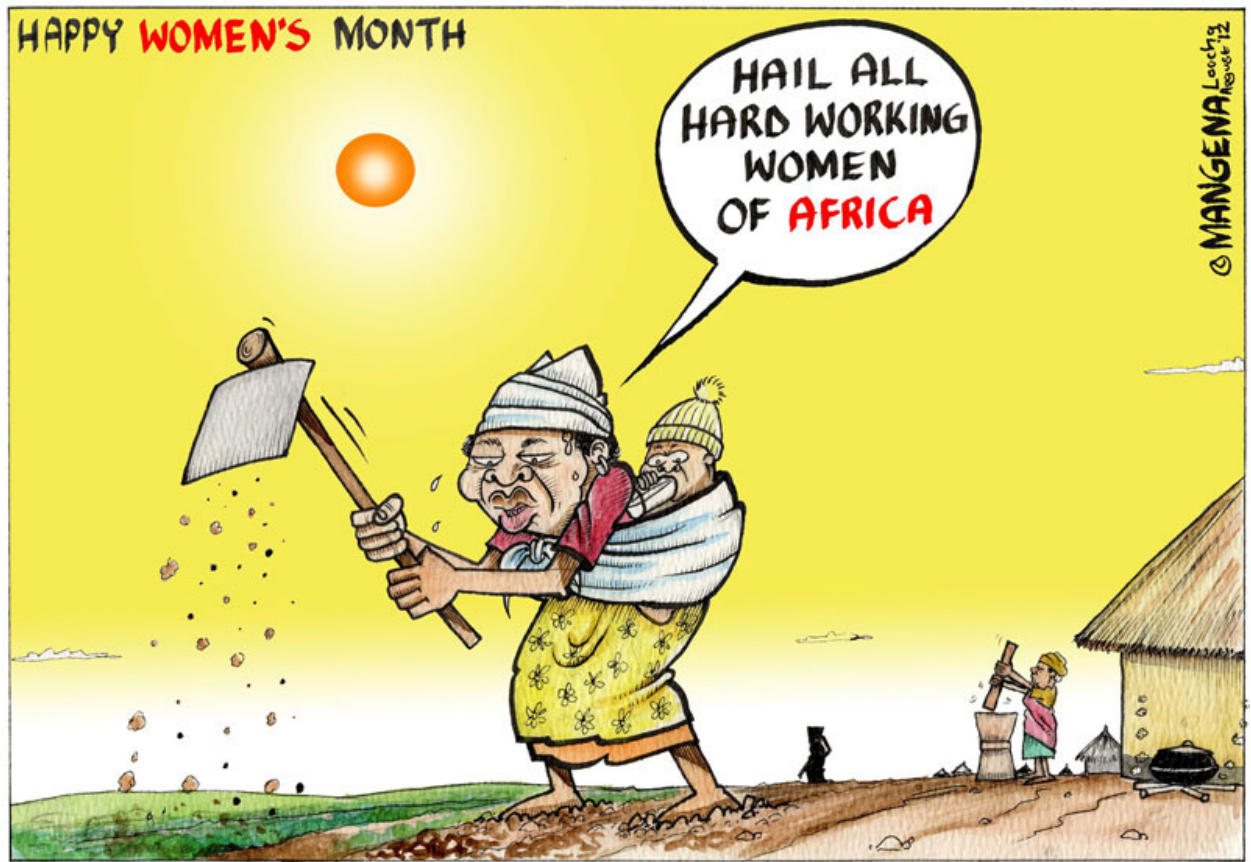
Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2005 (outside timeframe of study)
Cartoonist	24 Mangena

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	NA
Urban or Rural	NA
Gender	NA
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	NA
Facial expression	NA
Gaze	NA
Activity, gesture, posture	NA
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	NA
Wealth indicators	NA

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	

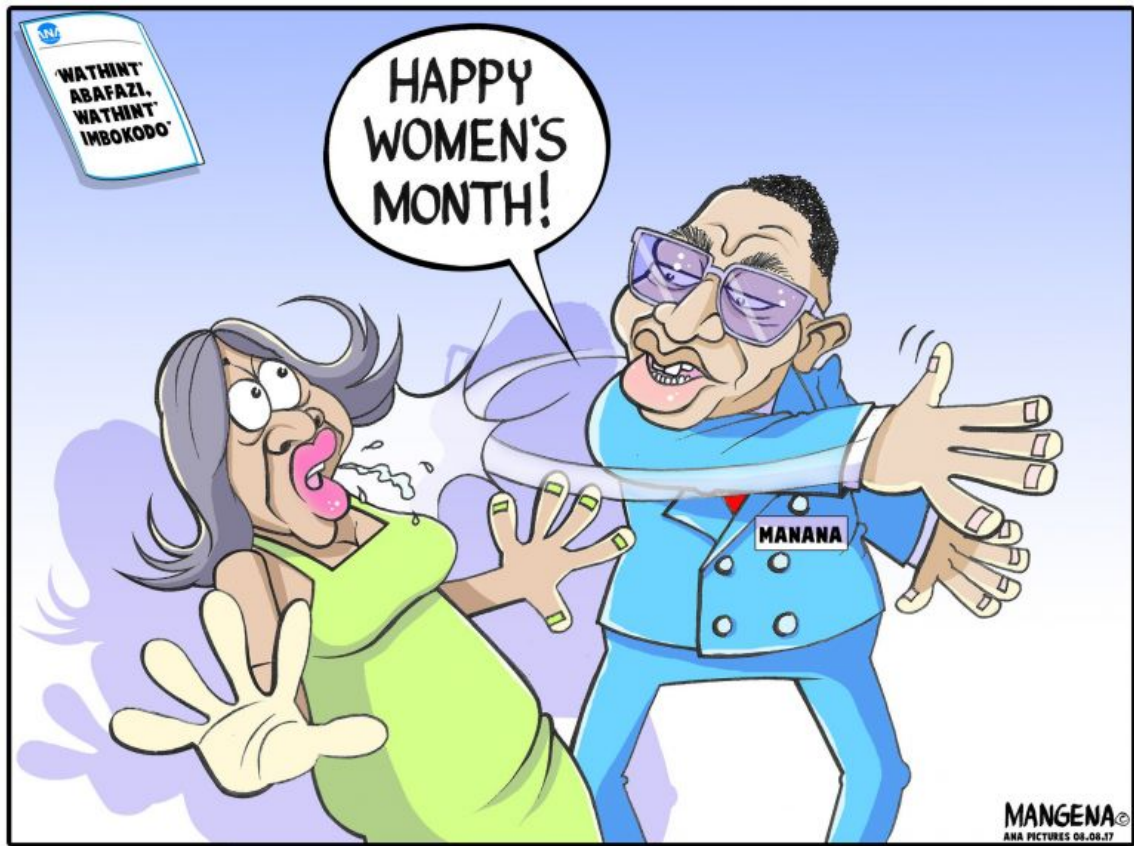


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	25 Mangena

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Farm, public
Urban or Rural	Rural
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult and infant
Facial expression	Frowning
Gaze	To ground
Activity, gesture, posture	Toiling soil
Body contact	NA – baby on back

Clothes and appearance	Work clothes
Wealth indicators	Working class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	X
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2017
Cartoonist	26 Mangena

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	NA
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Man and woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Shocked and angry
Gaze	Each other
Activity, gesture, posture	Slaps her in the face
Body contact	Slaps her in the face

Clothes and appearance	Smart casual
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2010
Cartoonist	27 Mark Wiggett

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	In a house, private
Urban or Rural	Rural
Gender	Man
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Neutral
Gaze	TV
Activity, gesture, posture	Slouched on couch
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Casual
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	

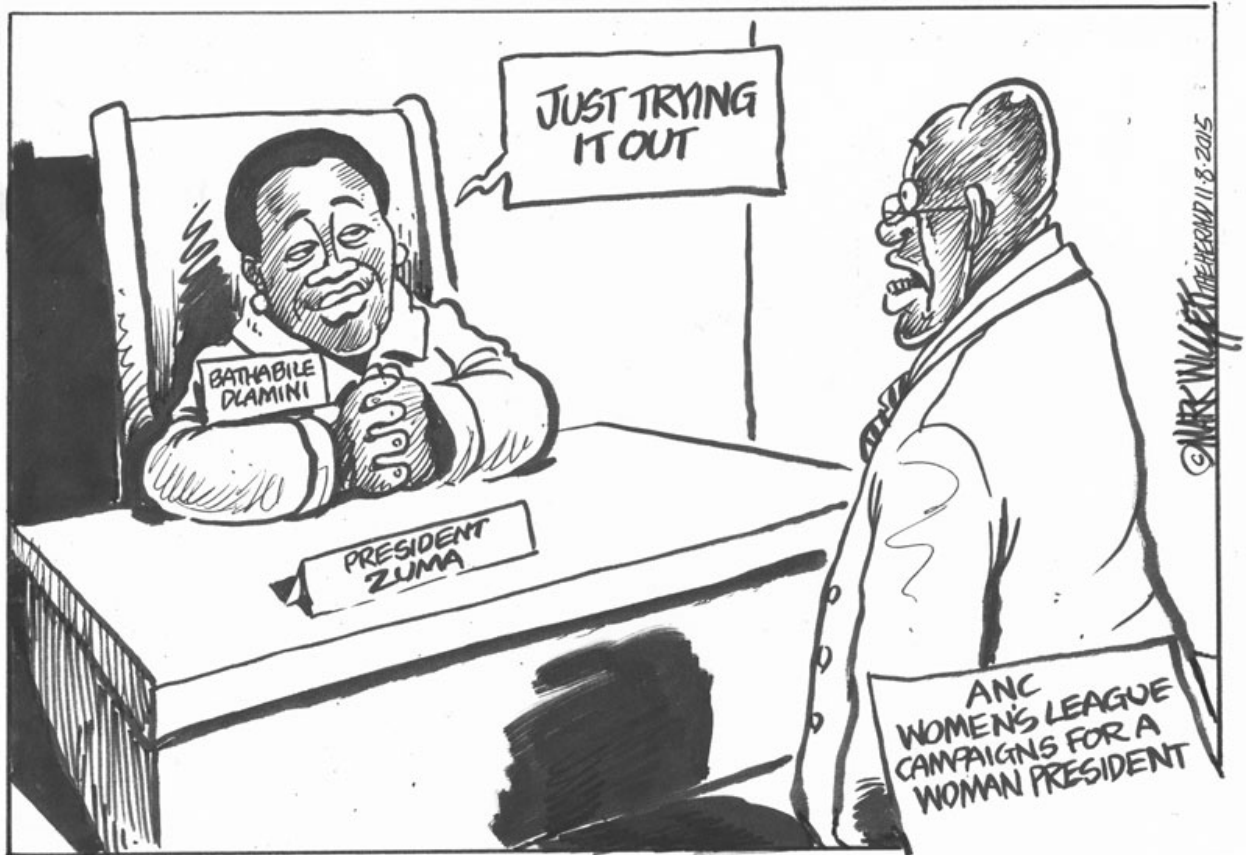


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	28

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Home
Urban or Rural	Rural
Gender	Man and women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Worried an angry
Gaze	Back of his head
Activity, gesture, posture	Cooking and serving
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Women in dresses, he is in an apron
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	

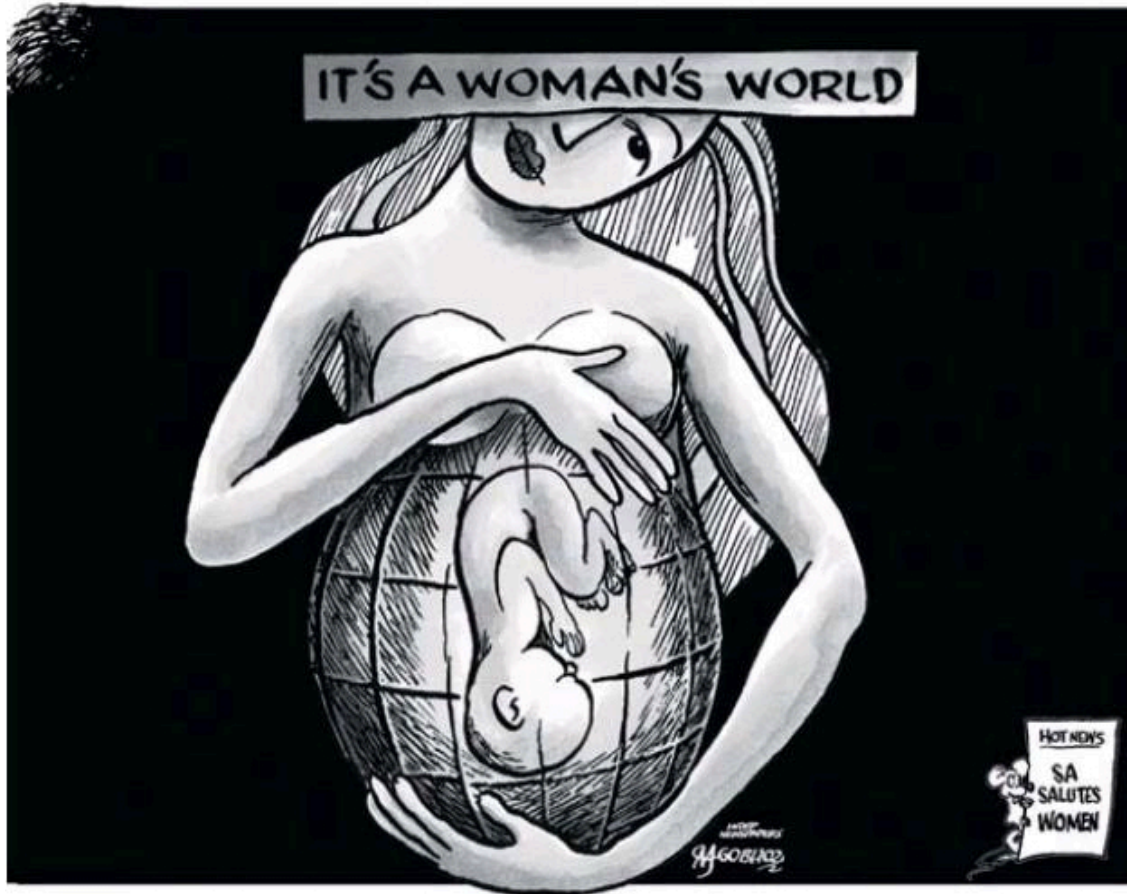


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2015
Cartoonist	29 Mark Wiggett

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Office, private
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Woman and man
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Smiling and shock
Gaze	Each other
Activity, gesture, posture	Sitting at desk, hands clasped

Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Formal
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	X
Women colluding with patriarchy	X
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	

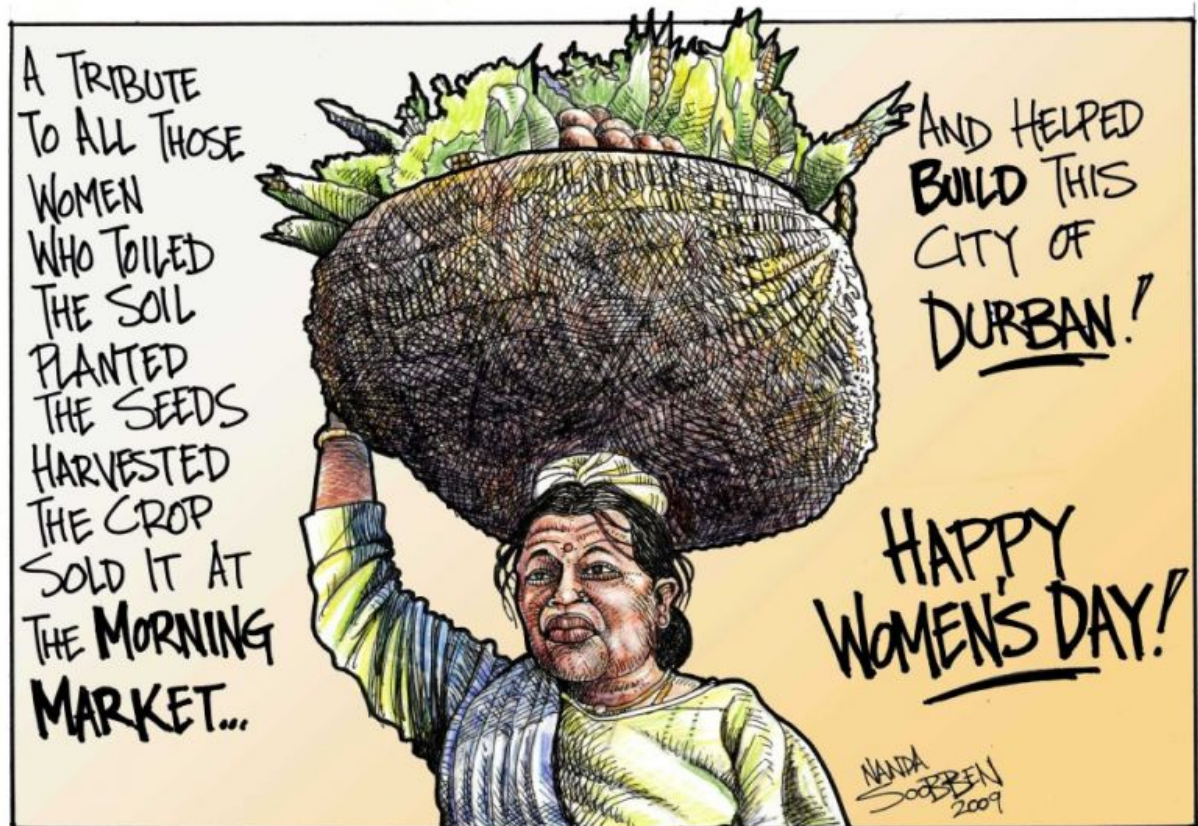


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2010
Cartoonist	30 Mgoobhozi

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	World
Urban or Rural	NA
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Neutral
Gaze	Audience
Activity, gesture, posture	Hold belly
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Pregnant with world
Wealth indicators	NA

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	X
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2009
Cartoonist	31 Nanda

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	NA – market place (connoted)
Urban or Rural	NA
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Determined
Gaze	Off frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Carrying goods
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Traditional dress

Wealth indicators	Working class
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Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	X
other	Women as hard workers

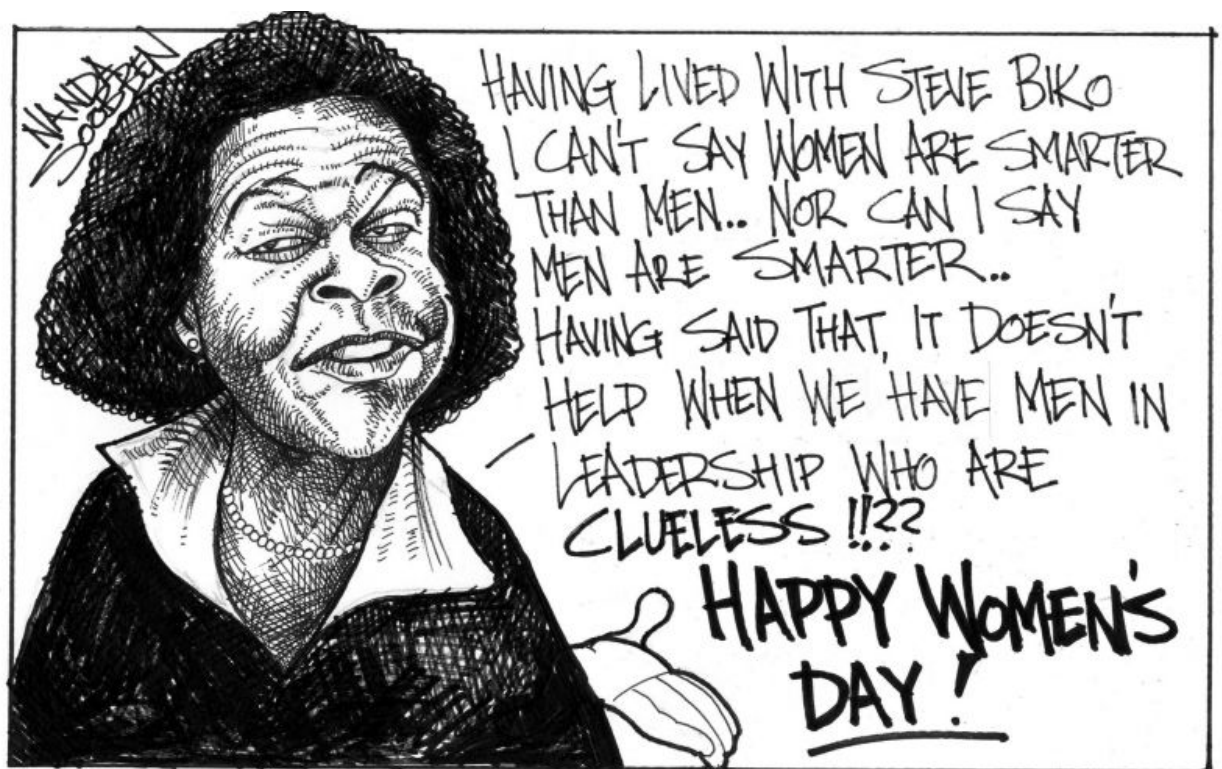


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2011
Cartoonist	32 Nanda

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	NA
Urban or Rural	NA
Gender	Women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Determined, confident
Gaze	Audience
Activity, gesture, posture	NA – portrait
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	NA

Wealth indicators	Govt elite
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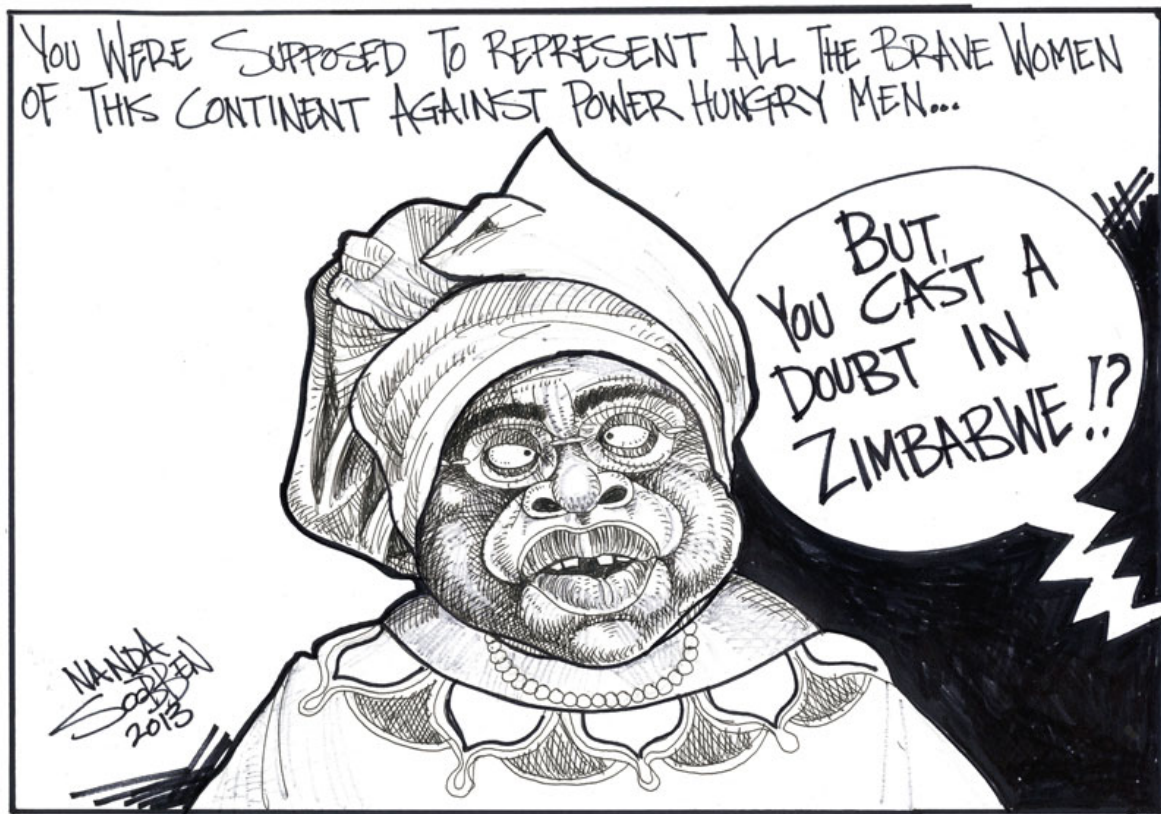
Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	X
Strong women	X
Corporate women	X
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	X



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	33 Nanda

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	NA
Urban or Rural	NA
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Confident
Gaze	Off frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Erect
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Formal
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	X
Strong women	X
Corporate women	X
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	No
Date	2013
Cartoonist	34 Nanda

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	NA – public
Urban or Rural	NA
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Stupidity
Gaze	At self
Activity, gesture, posture	Standing

Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Formal dress
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

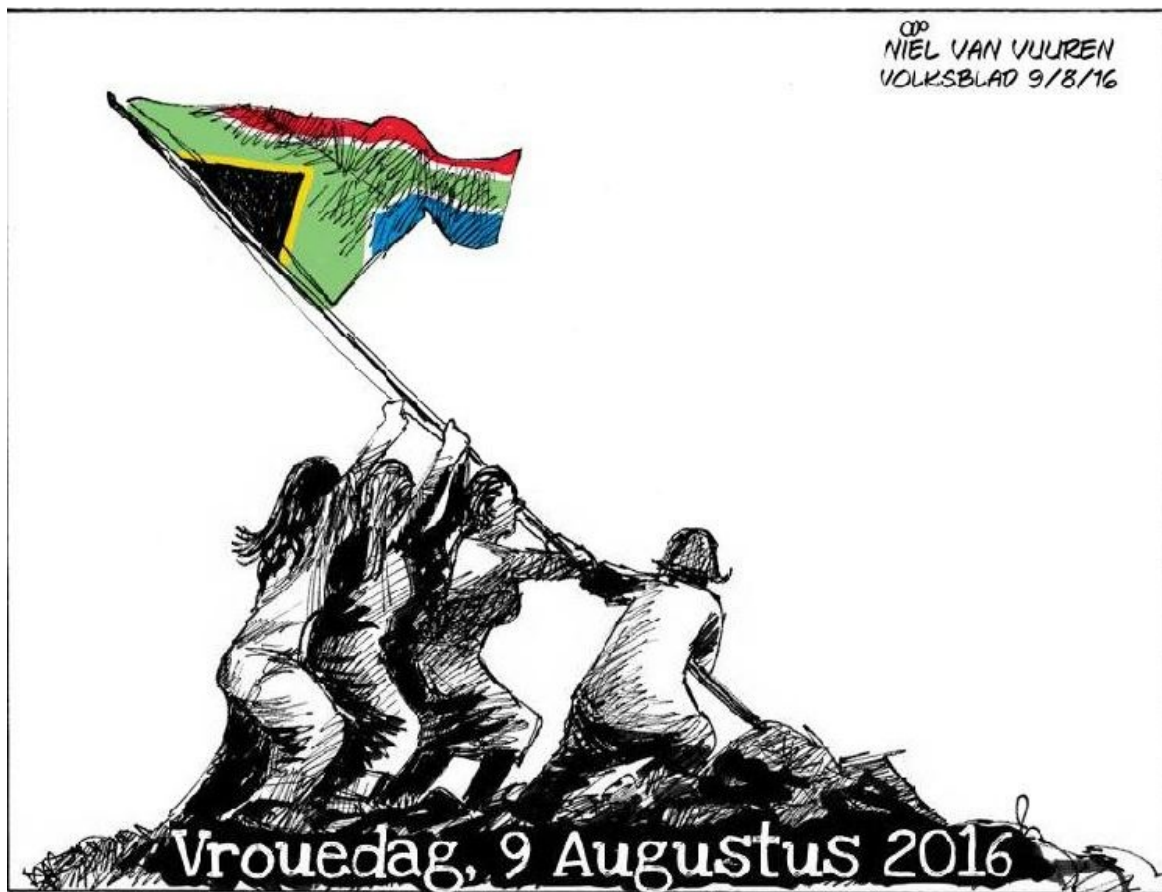
Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	X
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	35 Niel van Vuuren

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Home, private
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Man and woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult and infant
Facial expression	Unconcerned and frowning
Gaze	TV
Activity, gesture, posture	Slouched and hunched
Body contact	NA – child on leg
Clothes and appearance	Casual
Wealth indicators	Working - Middle class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	X
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2016
Cartoonist	36 Niel van Vuuren

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Battlefield
Urban or Rural	NA
Gender	Women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	NA
Gaze	Away
Activity, gesture, posture	Hoisting flag

Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Dresses
Wealth indicators	NA

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	X

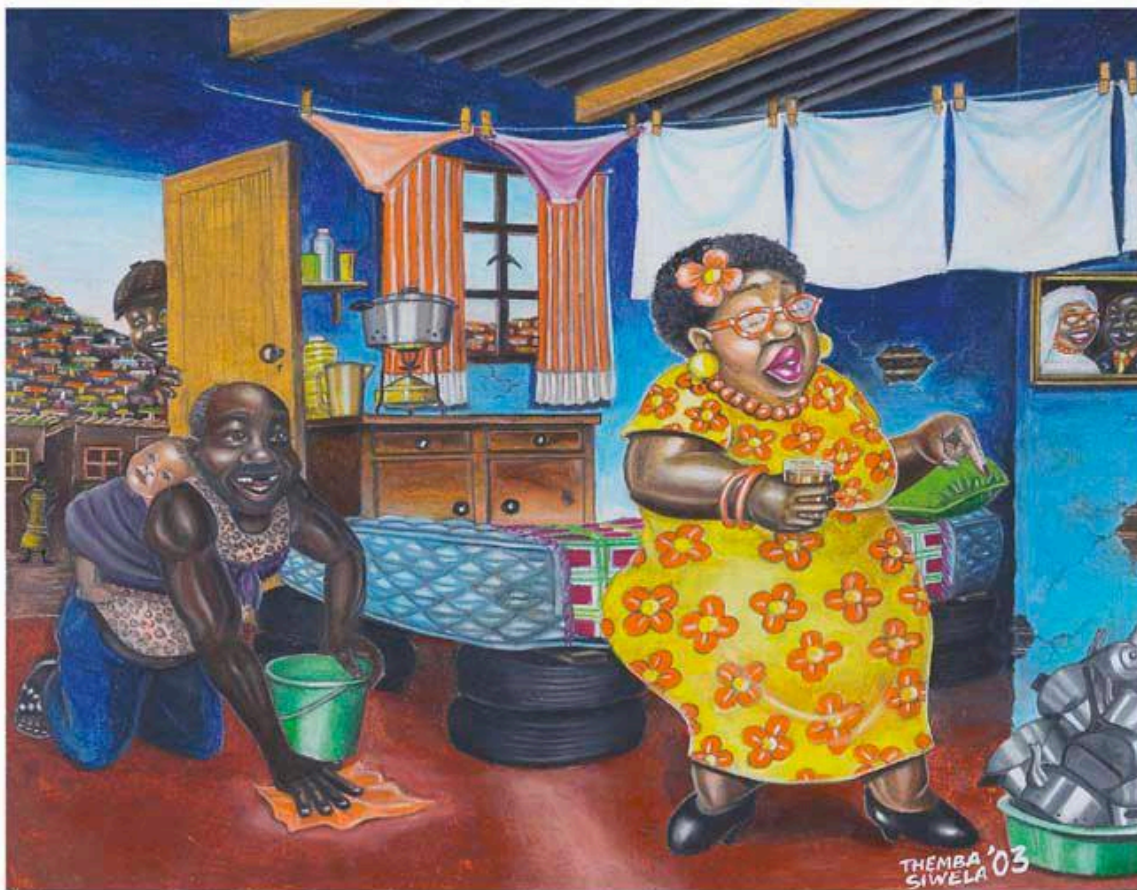


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2015
Cartoonist	37 Qaps

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	NA
Urban or Rural	NA
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult and children
Facial expression	Frown
Gaze	Off frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Slightly hunched, holding belly
Body contact	Child on back

Clothes and appearance	Smart Casual
Wealth indicators	Working class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	X
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	
Other	Women in weak position

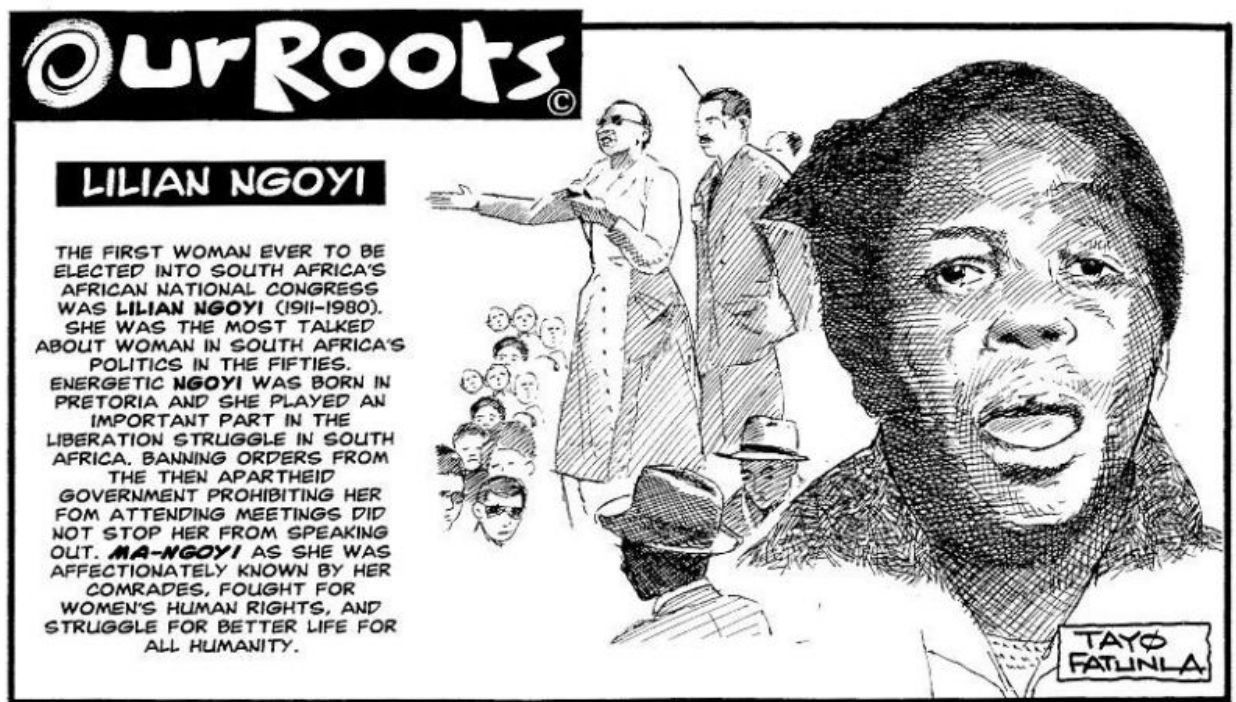


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2003 (outside of scope)
Cartoonist	38 Siwela

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Home, private
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Man and woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult and infant
Facial expression	Smiling
Gaze	At her and off page
Activity, gesture, posture	Cleaning
Body contact	NA – baby on his back

Clothes and appearance	Smart casual
Wealth indicators	Working class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	X
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
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Date	1956 (outside scope)
Cartoonist	39

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	March
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Mixed
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Speaking
Gaze	Audience
Activity, gesture, posture	Protesting and negotiating
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Formal/casual
Wealth indicators	Mixed

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	X
Strong women	X
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	X

TREK NET

By Gavin Thomson and Dave Gomersall



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	40 Treknet

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Fishing dock
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Man and woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Young adult
Facial expression	Angry and confused
Gaze	Each other and off frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Leans forward and hunch
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Work clothes
Wealth indicators	Working class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless

Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2015
Cartoonist	41 Treknet

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Home, private
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Man and woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Young adult
Facial expression	Neutral
Gaze	At work and audience
Activity, gesture, posture	Cleaning
Body contact	Hands her a beer

Clothes and appearance	Apron and casual
Wealth indicators	Working class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2010
Cartoonist	42 Yalo

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Bar, public
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Men
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Neutral
Gaze	Each other
Activity, gesture, posture	Talking at bar
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Casual

Wealth indicators	Middle class
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Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hapless
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2011
Cartoonist	43 Yalo

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Outside, public
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Shock
Gaze	Paper
Activity, gesture, posture	Reading
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Corporate
Wealth indicators	Middle class to elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	X
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	

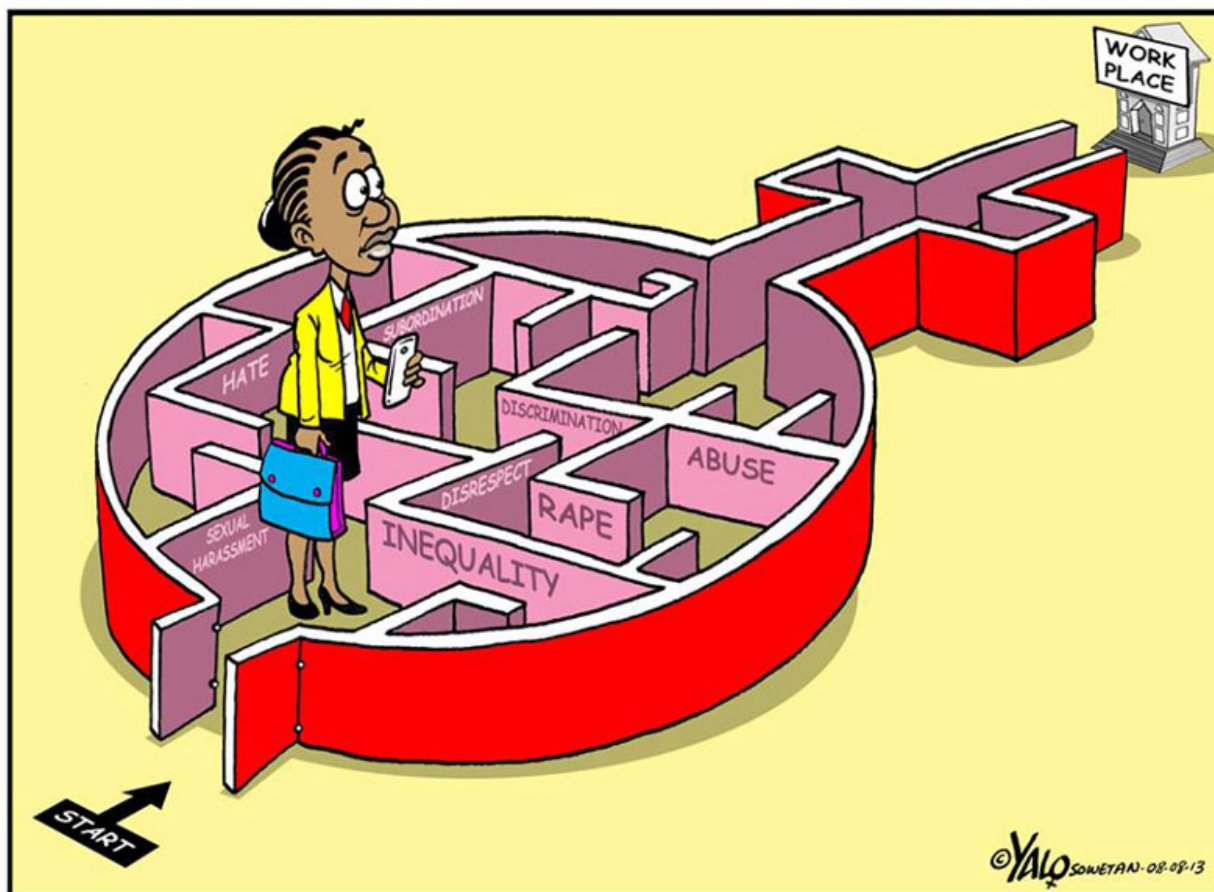


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2012
Cartoonist	44 Yalo

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	SA Restaurant, public
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Woman and man
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Angry and indifferent
Gaze	Each other
Activity, gesture, posture	Ordering off menu
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Formal
Wealth indicators	Elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	X
Corporate women	X
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	

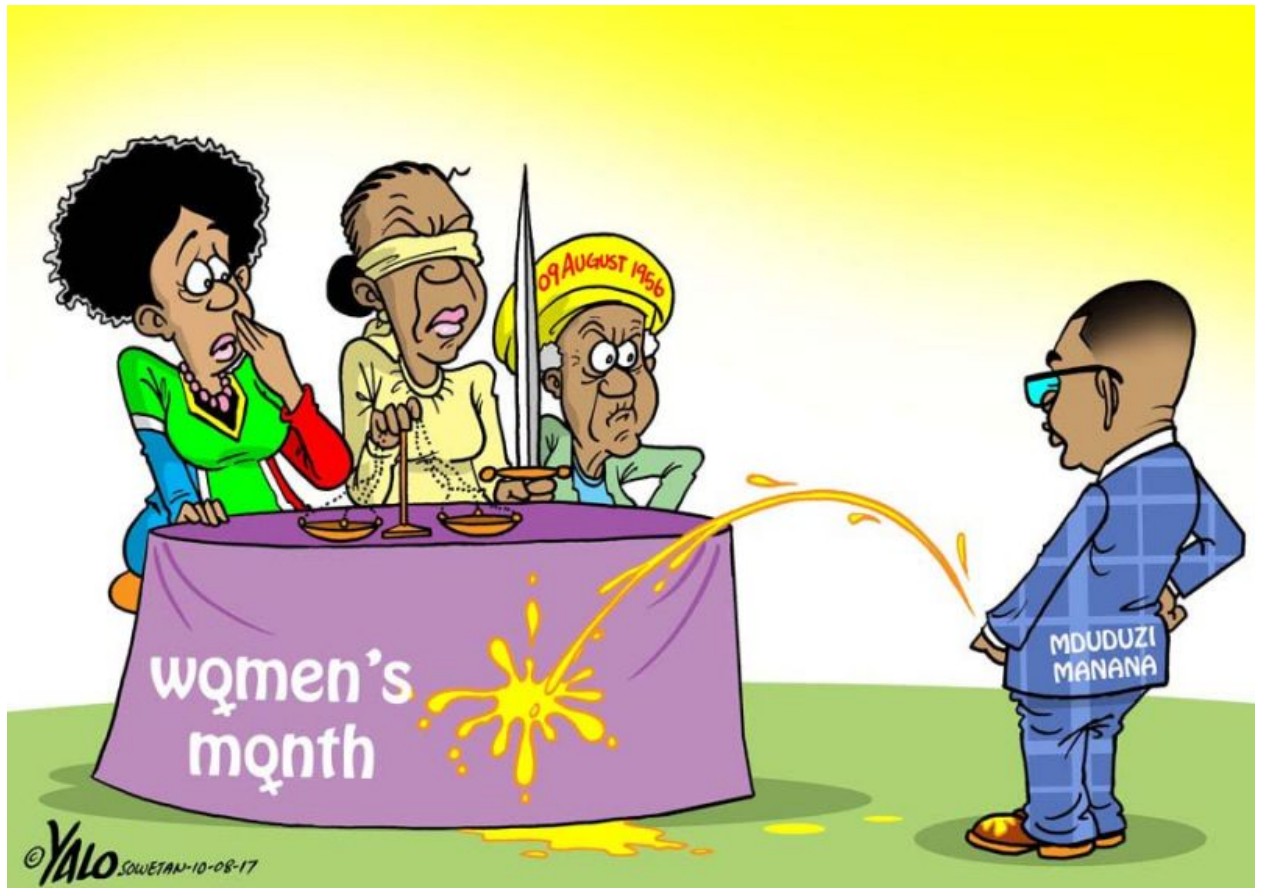


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2013
Cartoonist	45 Yalo

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Maze
Urban or Rural	Both
Gender	Woman
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Young adult
Facial expression	Shock
Gaze	At work place
Activity, gesture, posture	Standing at start of maze
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Corporate
Wealth indicators	Working class

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	X
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2017
Cartoonist	46 Yalo

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	South Africa
Urban or Rural	Both
Gender	Women and man
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Angry
Gaze	At man
Activity, gesture, posture	He is urinating on their table
Body contact	NA

Clothes and appearance	Elite
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	No
Date	2012
Cartoonist	47 Zapiro

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Outside
Urban or Rural	Both
Gender	Mixed
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Pain and triumph
Gaze	Off frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Marching on people
Body contact	Feet on back
Clothes and appearance	Formal

Wealth indicators	Elite vs working class
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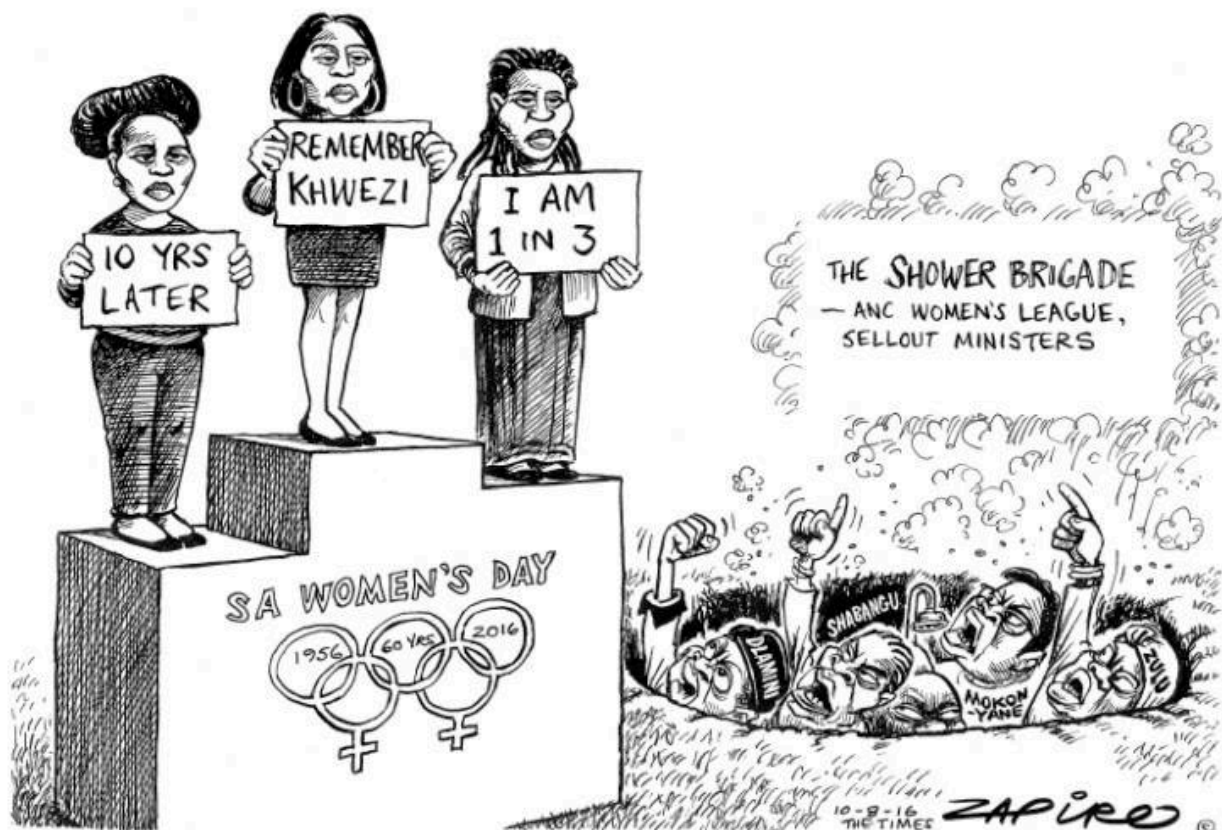
Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2015
Cartoonist	48 Zapiro

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	At table
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Women and man
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Indifference and anger
Gaze	At people in frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Talking and jumping
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Formal
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	X
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	X
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	



Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2016
Cartoonist	49 Zapiro

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Podium
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Women and man
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Blank and anger
Gaze	Off frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Stand in protest
Body contact	NA
Clothes and appearance	Smart casual

Wealth indicators	Working class
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Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	
Women colluding with patriarchy	X
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	X

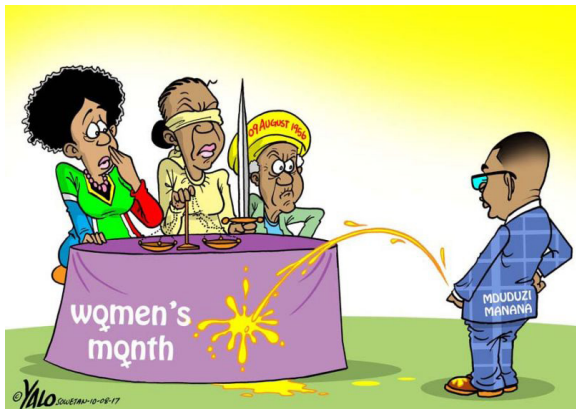
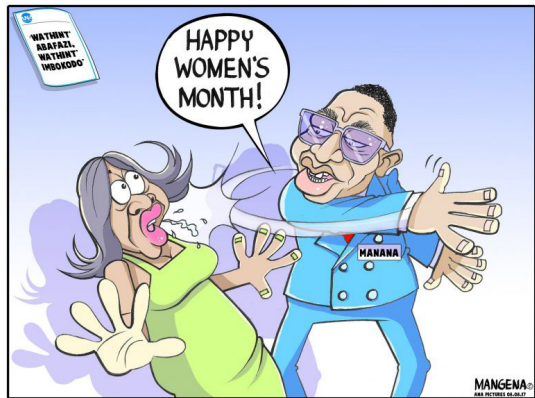


Cartoon is commenting on WD	Yes
Date	2017
Cartoonist	50 Zapiro

Non-Verbal Communication	Findings
Location, surroundings	Podium
Urban or Rural	Urban
Gender	Men and women
Age (Child, teenager, young adult, adult)	Adult
Facial expression	Shock, frown, anger
Gaze	Off frame
Activity, gesture, posture	Beating up woman
Body contact	Beating up woman
Clothes and appearance	Formal
Wealth indicators	Govt elite

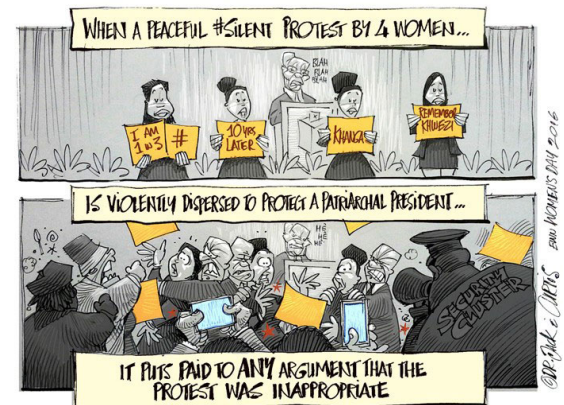
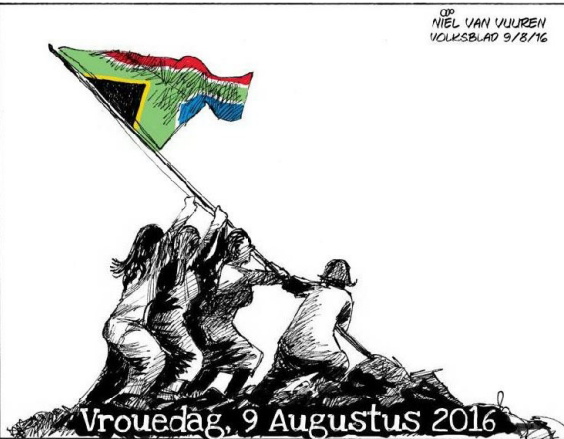
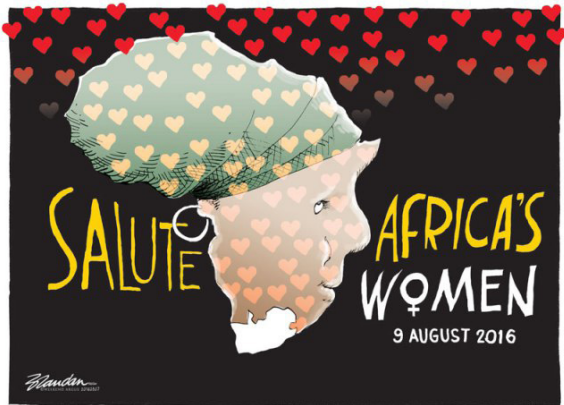
Themes	Appearance of theme
Women as victims of violence	X
Motherhood	
Patriarchy as shown through hapless masculinity or hegemonic masculinity	X hegemonic
Irony of holiday	
Commemoration of the march	
Strong women	
Corporate women	X
Women colluding with patriarchy	X
Political commentary (government elite)	X
Women in solidarity	

2017



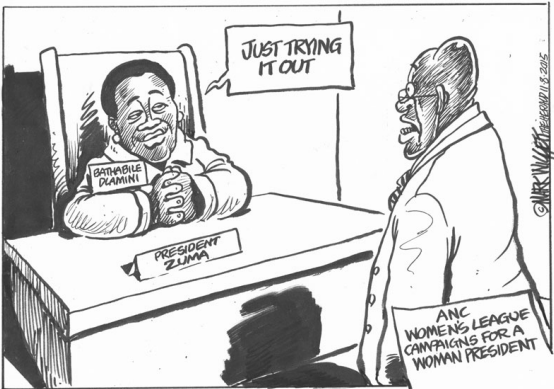
3

2016



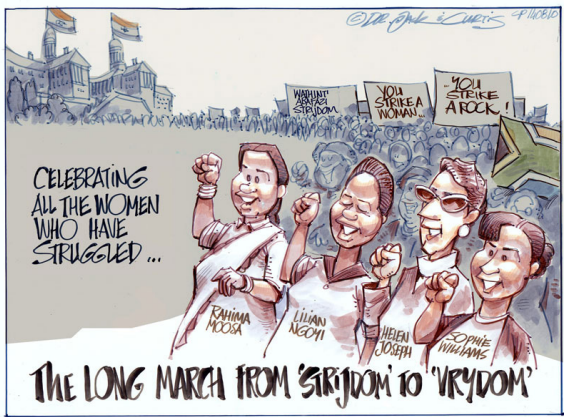
4

2015



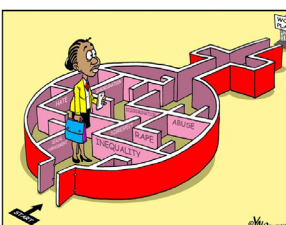
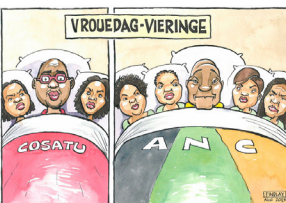
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2014

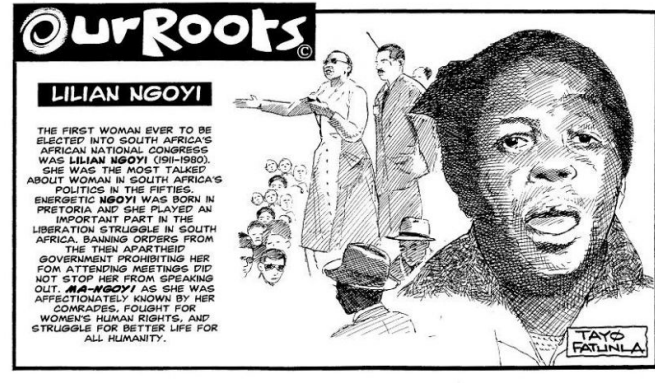
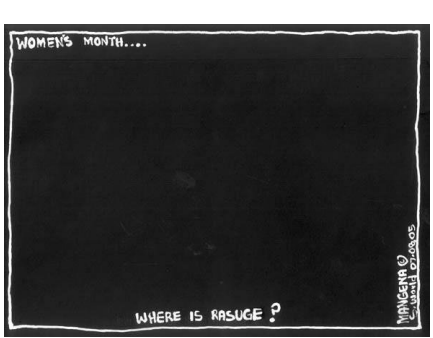
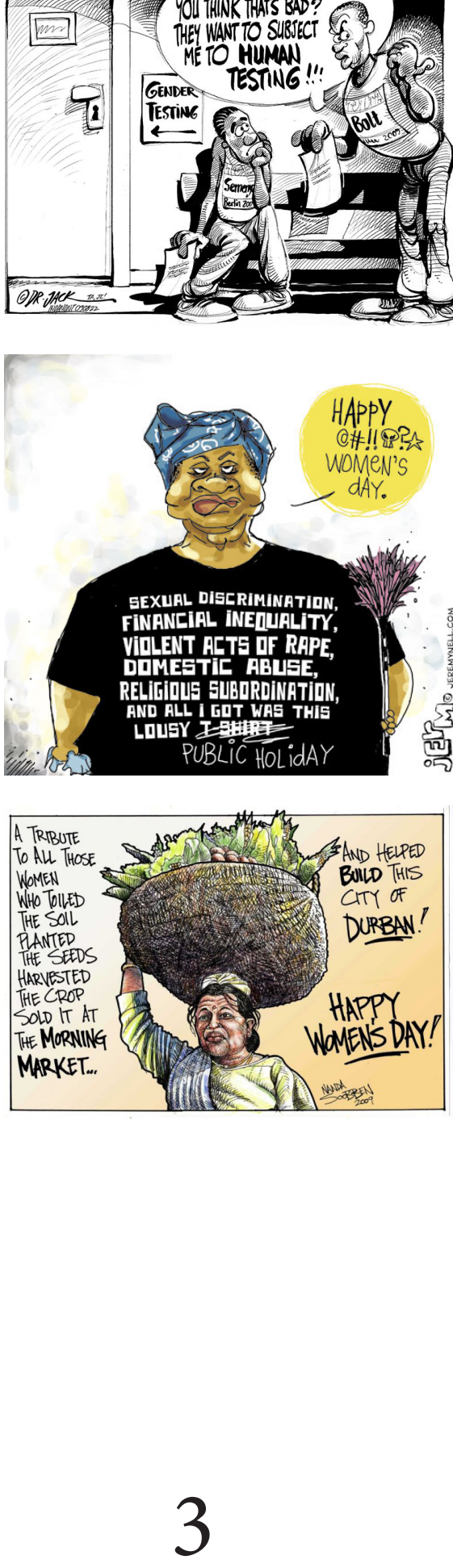
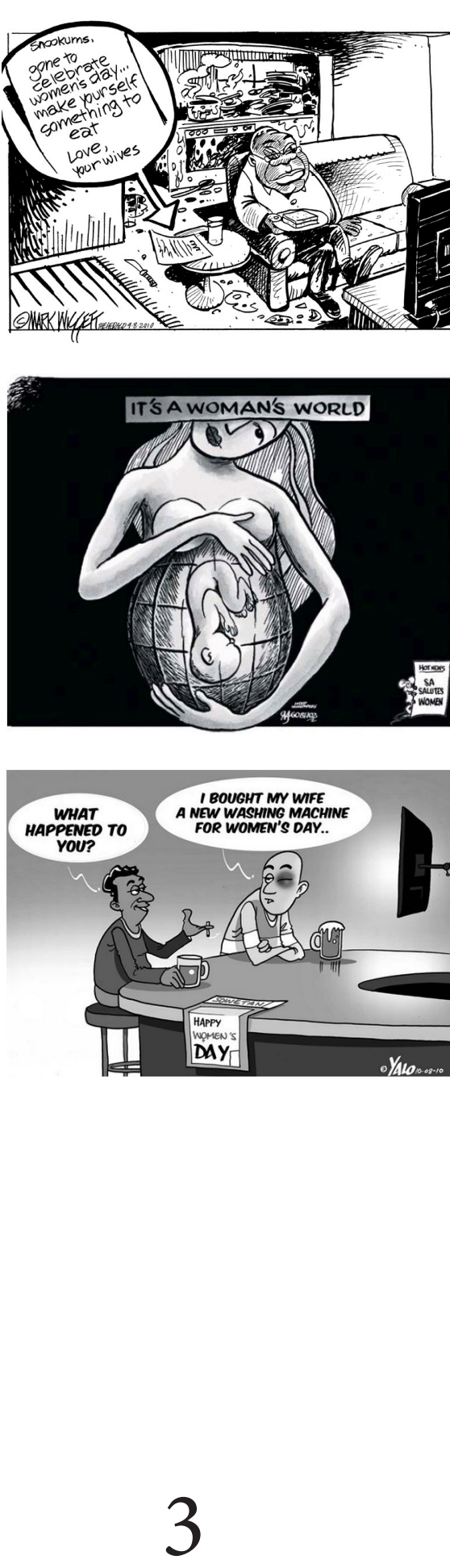


1

2013

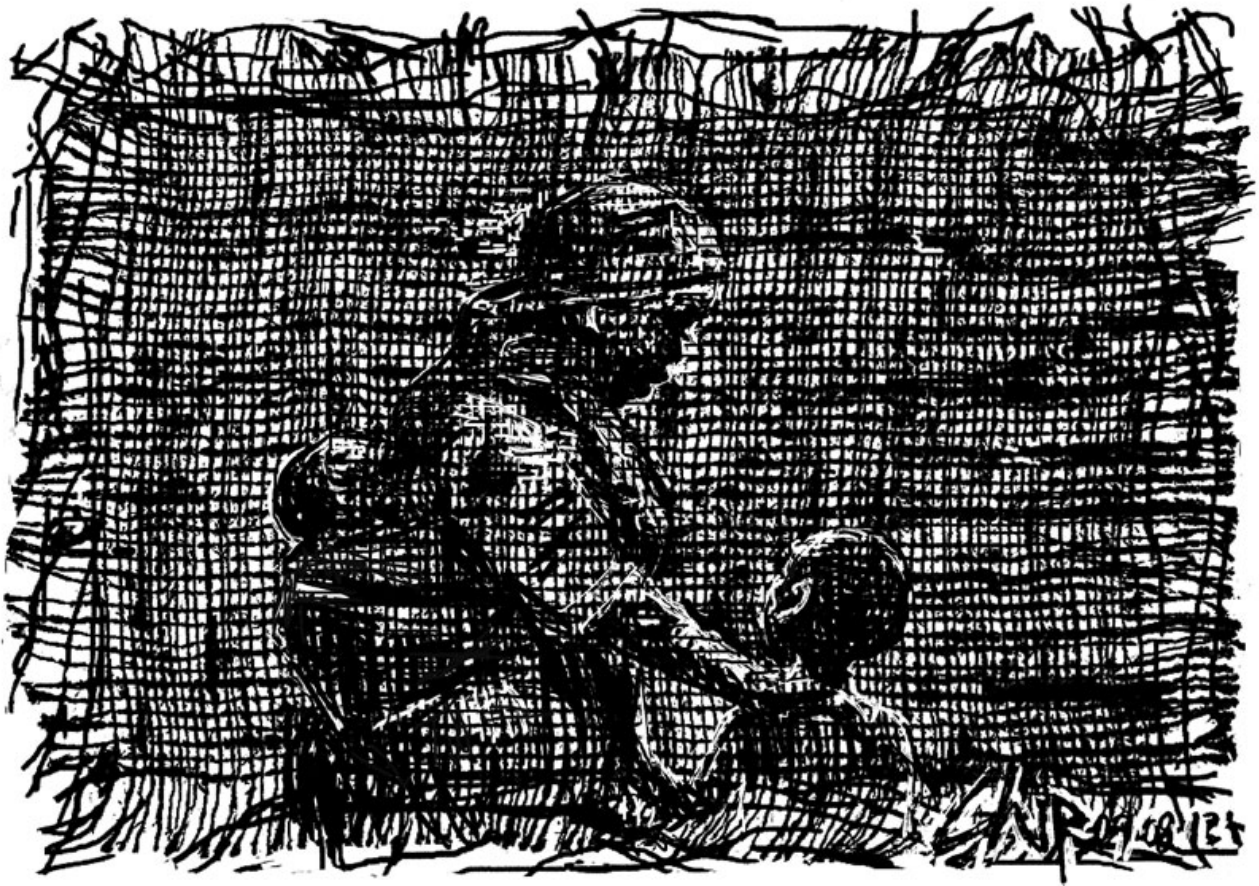


10



Appendix 4.3: Thematic analysis

1. Chip



Semiotic approach:

- Signifier: Figure of human-like shapes. Signified: three people in relation to one another. Sign: A mother and her two children.
- Denotation: the simple identification of the signs as perceived by the reader at the first level.
- Connotation: Making associations of the signs – we associate a particular signified with a signifier.

Denotative

Lines crosshatch in rectangle shape. There appears to be a woman with a baby strapped to her back and her hand on a child's shoulders. 'Chip 09/08' appears in the bottom right corner.

Connotative

The cross-hatch pattern connotes a hessian material, often associated with the crafting of bags which are sold informally at markets in South Africa. The woman carrying the baby on her back is symbolic of the immense responsibility placed on women in this country as often single-parents and providers. This is a familiar image for South Africans. Her dress suggests that she is here to work and provide for these two children. Her dress and the hessian fabric are indicative of the kind of work she will perform.

Binary oppositions

Hero	Villain
Woman	Man
Good parent	Bad parent
Carries her baby	Neglects baby
Protects children	Ignores children
Adult	Child
Endures	Weak
Clothed	Naked
Self-sufficient	Needy
Family	Alone
At risk	safe
Gives comfort	Makes uncomfortable
works	unemployed
Self-employed	unemployed
Informal work	Formal work
vulnerable	protected

Textual Analysis

- Medium: Cartoons
- Genre: political cartoons
- Framing (position from which the image is perceived): Rectangular shape holding three people who are encompassed by the fraying edges of the frame.
- Angle: a straight-on position

- Distance: medium close-up
- The subject: a woman, a child and a baby. The woman is placed at the center
- Setting: she is silhouetted within the hessian bag.
- Gaze: the audience can look at the figures uninterrupted or unchallenged.

Narrative Analysis

Propp's character functions

- The hero is the woman in the centre
- Dispatcher: her children
- Helper: Her skills

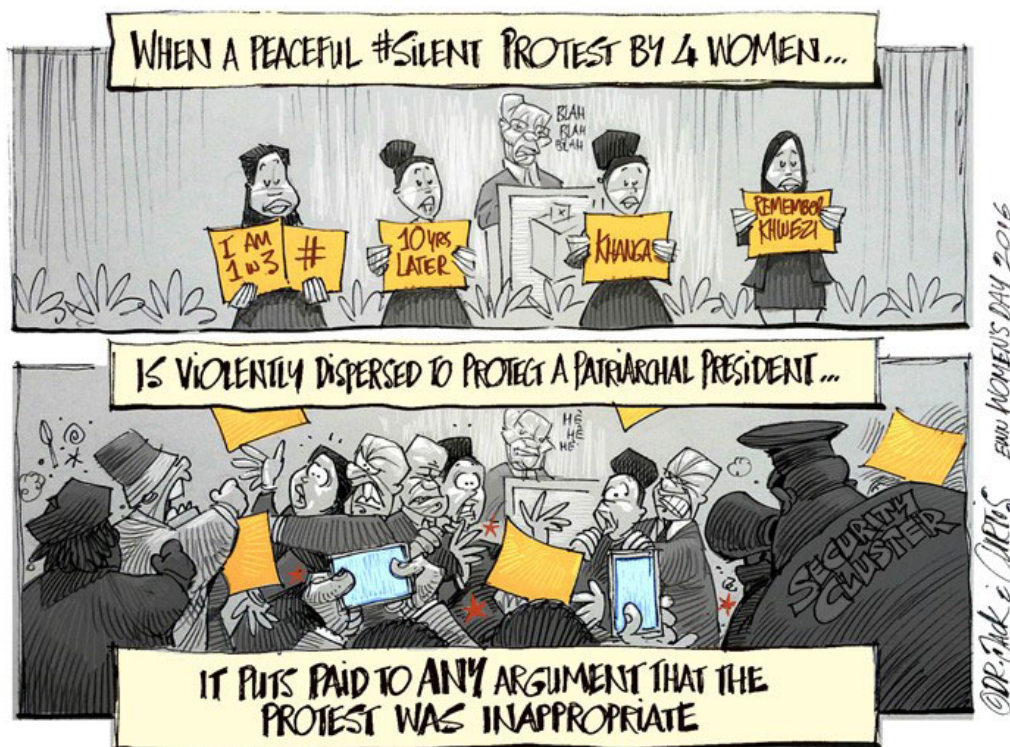
Todorov's narrative functions and stages:

- Equilibrium: She is a mother/ guardian of two children.
- Disruption: She is seemingly alone in her struggles
- Recognition: she needs to be supportive of her children
- Action: She weaves bags for sale at a market (implied by the crosshatch)
- (re)equilibrium: this is one moment in which the story is not yet ended.

Barthes enigma and action

Enigma	Action
The children need support	The woman places her hand comfortingly on her child's shoulder and carries her baby on her back.
She and the children need to survive	She makes bags/goods out of the hessian

2. Dr Jack & Curtis



Semiotic approach:

- Signifier: Figure of human-like shapes. Signified: three people in relation to one another. Sign: A mother and her two children.
- Denotation: the simple identification of the signs as perceived by the reader at the first level.
- Connotation: Making associations of the signs – we associate a particular signified with a signifier.

Denotative

There are five rectangular frames, three holding words and two holding images. The words are paired with the images stating in the first frame, “when a peaceful #silent protest by 4 women,” in the second frame, “is violently dispersed to protect a patriarchal president,” and in the third frame, “it puts paid to any argument that the protest was inappropriate.” To the right of the five frames are the words, “© Dr Jack & Curtis EWN Women’s Day 2016’. The first image is of four women dressed in skirts, holding signs that read, “I am 1 in 3 #”, “10 yrs later”, “Khanga”, and “Remember Khwezi”. They are placed in front of a man who is

formally dressed and stating “blah blah blah” at a podium. There is a box with a cross on it which is placed in front of the podium. The image is greyscale with the signs coloured in yellow and the text in red. The second image shows men grabbing the women, teeth showing, while the women are wide-eyed. The men are dressed in suits, while one has “security guard” written on his back. The yellow papers are dispersed and blue screens are pointed at the women. The man at the podium is smiling and saying “he he he”.

Connotative

The man at the podium is dressed and shaped to be recognized as former president Jacob Zuma. The “blah blah blah” is indicative of the unimportance of what it is he is stating. The box on the front of the podium is a symbol for voting. One can read that this speech is taking place at an official government event. The four women are dressed neatly to suit the environment of this event. They are standing still – indicating a peaceful protest. This is also indicated by the words which state this is a peaceful and silent protest. The signs they hold up are stating rape statistics and refer back to the famous rape trial involving Jacob Zuma and Khwezi. The ‘#’ is indicative of the social media protests which are often promoted through using hashtags. That these are four women who are met with violence nods to the historical moment of 1956, which Women’s Day is based on. The cartoon aims to settle any and all debate that this kind of violence towards these peaceful protestors is inappropriate.

Binary oppositions

heroes	villains
women	men
silent	loud
peaceful	violent
citizens	Government elite
attacked	attackers
matriarchy	patriarchy
feminist	Masculinist
Against rape	Support rape
protest	complacent
disempowered	powerful
vulnerable	protected

Textual Analysis

- Medium: Cartoons
- Genre: political cartoons
- Framing (position from which the image is perceived): Five Rectangular shapes holding a group of people.
- Angle: a straight-on position
- Distance: medium close-up
- The subject: the four women are the focus of the cartoon but Zuma is also a notable character.
- Setting: A formal speech
- Gaze: the audience can look at the figures uninterrupted or unchallenged

Narrative Analysis

Propp's character functions

- Hero: The four women
- Donor: This event, and the media attention official government events garner availed this moment for these women to protest.
- Helper: Their cards help them to communicate silently and peacefully a powerful message.
- Dispatcher: the fact that ten years after the rape trial of Khwezi and our current rape statistics pushed the women to protest
- Villain: The men who acted violently towards the women to protect the president. And the audience who supported this violent behaviour.
- False hero: this could be the failure of our laws which are meant to protect women from this kind of violence.

Todorov's narrative functions and stages:

- Equilibrium: another government event with a president's speech, a patriarchal society continues unchallenged.
- Disruption: The four women protest silently at this event.
- Recognition: The surrounding men and security are against this protest
- Action: the men violently attack the women to stop them from protesting

- (re)equilibrium: the patriarchal order is re-established and people debate whether the women deserved what they got.

Todorov's narrative functions and stages:

- Equilibrium: a patriarchal society that does not protect women.
- Disruption: the continued disrespect as shown to women, the 10 year anniversary of Khwezi's rape trial.
- Recognition: The women take a stand against the patriarchy.
- Action: the four women protest
- (re)equilibrium: the story is not yet ended, women are met with violence and the status quo is protected.

Barthes enigma and action

Enigma	Action
A patriarchal order, which protects Zuma and allows him to continue in his role.	Four women peacefully protest.
Women are faced with violence, specifically sexual violence.	Four women peacefully protest against this violence by holding up signs that highlight the rape statistics, bringing attention to the rape case involving Zuma and Khwezi.
The women's protest is met with violence	The women remain peaceful under attack.

3. Jerm



Semiotic approach:

- Signifier: Figure of human-like shapes. Signified: three people in relation to one another. Sign: A mother and her two children.
- Denotation: the simple identification of the signs as perceived by the reader at the first level.
- Connotation: Making associations of the signs – we associate a particular signified with a signifier.

Denotative

A woman stands erect, arms at her sides and holding a cloth and a duster. She is staring straight ahead, eyelids lowered and mouth downturned, her bottom lip clenched by her top lip. She is wearing a blue doek and a black t-shirt. The words on her shirt state, “Sexual discrimination, financial inequality, violent acts of rape, domestic abuse, religious subordination, all I got was this lousy T-shirt Public Holiday.” A yellow speech bubble is

placed on her left, “Happy @#!X?* Women’s day.” To the right of this frame is “jerm © Jeremynell.com.

Connotative

Her dress is suggestive of her profession as a domestic worker, while her facial expression is indicative of her anger, exhaustion and frustration of her current location. As a domestic worker, she forms part of a very vulnerable group of women in society and her t-shirt indicates that the public holiday does not do enough to rectify these issues.

Binary oppositions

Hero	Villain
woman	Man
Weak	Strong
Poor	Rich
Domestic employee	Employer
inequality	Equality
Black	White
At risk	Safe
Informal work	Formal work
vulnerable	Protected

Textual Analysis

- Medium: Cartoons
- Genre: political cartoons
- Framing (position from which the image is perceived): One frame which a women fills.
- Angle: a straight-on position
- Distance: medium close-up
- The subject: the woman
- Setting: No context
- Gaze: the audience can look at the figures but are challenged as she gazes back

Narrative Analysis

Propp's character functions

- Hero: The woman stands tall as the main character of this story.
- Villain: Patriarchal society
- False hero: Women's Day public holiday

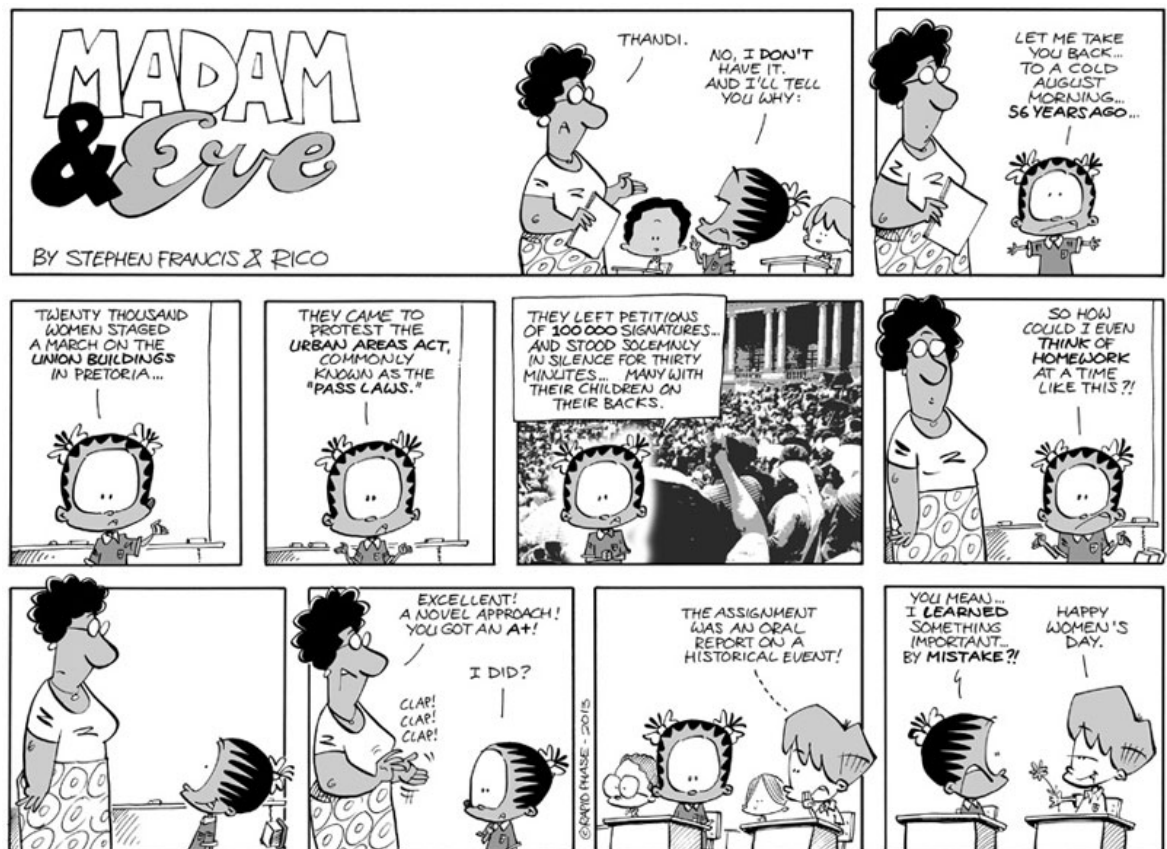
Todorov's narrative functions and stages:

- Equilibrium: Domestic worker continues her work but gets a 'break' with a public holiday.
- Disruption: the public holiday has not fixed society's inequalities.
- Recognition: her t-shirt is indicative of the vulnerable position in which she finds herself.
- Action: She sarcastically wishes everyone a happy holiday.
- (re)equilibrium: as this cartoon is repeated over a couple of years is indicative that nothing has changed and the equilibrium is one of inequality and exploitation of women, specifically of vulnerable women in our society.

Barthes enigma and action

Enigma	Action
Public holiday	Wears t-shirt
She is required to work on the holiday	She holds her cleaning equipment
The holiday has not improved her life	She wishes everyone a <i>happy</i> Women's Day.
2016 threatened with guns on road	Reports to police

4. Madam and Eve



Semiotic approach:

- Signifier: Figure of human-like shapes. Signified: three people in relation to one another. Sign: A mother and her two children.
- Denotation: the simple identification of the signs as perceived by the reader at the first level.
- Connotation: Making associations of the signs – we associate a particular signified with a signifier.

Denotative

This cartoon is made up of ten boxes – one long rectangle and nine similarly sized squares. “Madam & Eve, by Stephen Francis & Rico” is placed first in the top left corner of the first frame. In these frames we see an adult woman, children – with attention on a little girl, a photograph of a group of people and desks, chairs, chalk and a board. In the last frame, a child holds out a flower to the little girl. The dialogue is as follows:

Teacher: “Thandi.”

Thandi: “No, I **don’t** have it. And I’ll tell you why: Let me take you back to a cold morning **56 years ago**... Twenty thousand women staged a march on the **Union Buildings** in Pretoria...they came to protest the **Urban Areas Act**, commonly known as “**pass laws**”. They left petitions of **100 000** signatures... and stood solemnly in silence for thirty minutes... many with their children on their backs. So how could I even **think** of **homework** at a time like this?!”

Teacher: “Excellent! A novel approach! You got an **A+**” (claps).

Thandi: “I did?”

Boy: “The assignment was an oral report on a historical event.”

Thandi: “You mean... I **learned** something important by **mistake?!?**”

Boy: “Happy women’s Day.”

Connotative

This cartoon is heavy with dialogue and communicates a story about a little girl who is at school and did not do her homework. However, she is rewarded for completing the task as she gives a historical recount of Women’s Day. The uniforms and surroundings suggest that they are in school and that the child who gives her the flower is a little boy.

Binary oppositions

Hero	villain
Woman	man
Adult	child
Little girl	Little boy
Student	Teacher
School uniform	casual
Talking	silent
Active learning	Accidental learning

Textual Analysis

- Medium: Cartoons
- Genre: political cartoons
- Framing (position from which the image is perceived): Made up of many frames
- Angle: a straight-on position
- Distance: medium close-up and long shots
- The subject: Thandi
- Setting: In a school
- Gaze: the audience can look at the figures but are challenged as Thandi gazes back

Narrative Analysis

Propp's character functions

- Hero: Thandi
- Donor: Unknown but taught her of the history behind Women's Day.
- Helper: Little boy helps her understand why she passed the assignment, further he hands her a flower to help her celebrate the holiday.
- Dispatcher: the teacher

Todorov's narrative functions and stages:

- Equilibrium: Children are at school
- Disruption: Teacher requests her homework
- Recognition: Thandi gives an excuse for not doing her homework
- Action: In explaining, she completed the task by giving a detailed account of the history of Women's Day.
- (re)equilibrium: She passes the assignment.

Barthes enigma and action

Enigma	Action
The teacher asks for the assignment	Thandi doesn't have it and gives a reason as to why
Teacher rewards her with high marks	She is confused as to why
Little boy clarifies why she did so well.	She is surprised.

5. Nanda



Semiotic approach:

- Signifier: Figure of human-like shapes. Signified: three people in relation to one another. Sign: A mother and her two children.
- Denotation: the simple identification of the signs as perceived by the reader at the first level.
- Connotation: Making associations of the signs – we associate a particular signified with a signifier.

Denotative

The portrait of two women is accompanied by writing, “While some men are screwing up our democracy... There are some brave women who are trying to prop it up.. Thank you, Thuli and Ferial.. Happy Women’s Day!”

Connotative

This cartoon is celebrating women who are fighting for women's rights currently. He is highlighting their important work, while critiquing our male-led governance that is failing South Africa.

Binary oppositions from the news story

Hero	villain
Woman	man
Strong	weak
Self-sufficient	needy
Alone	together
At risk	safe
Protectors	Aggressors

Textual Analysis

- Medium: Cartoons
- Genre: political cartoons
- Framing (position from which the image is perceived): one frame
- Distance: Close up
- The subject: The portraits of Thuli and Ferial
- Setting: No context
- Gaze: the audience can look at the figures but are challenged as Ferial gazes back

Narrative Analysis

Propp's character functions

- Hero: Thuli and Ferial
- Villain: our predominantly male leadership

Todorov's narrative functions and stages:

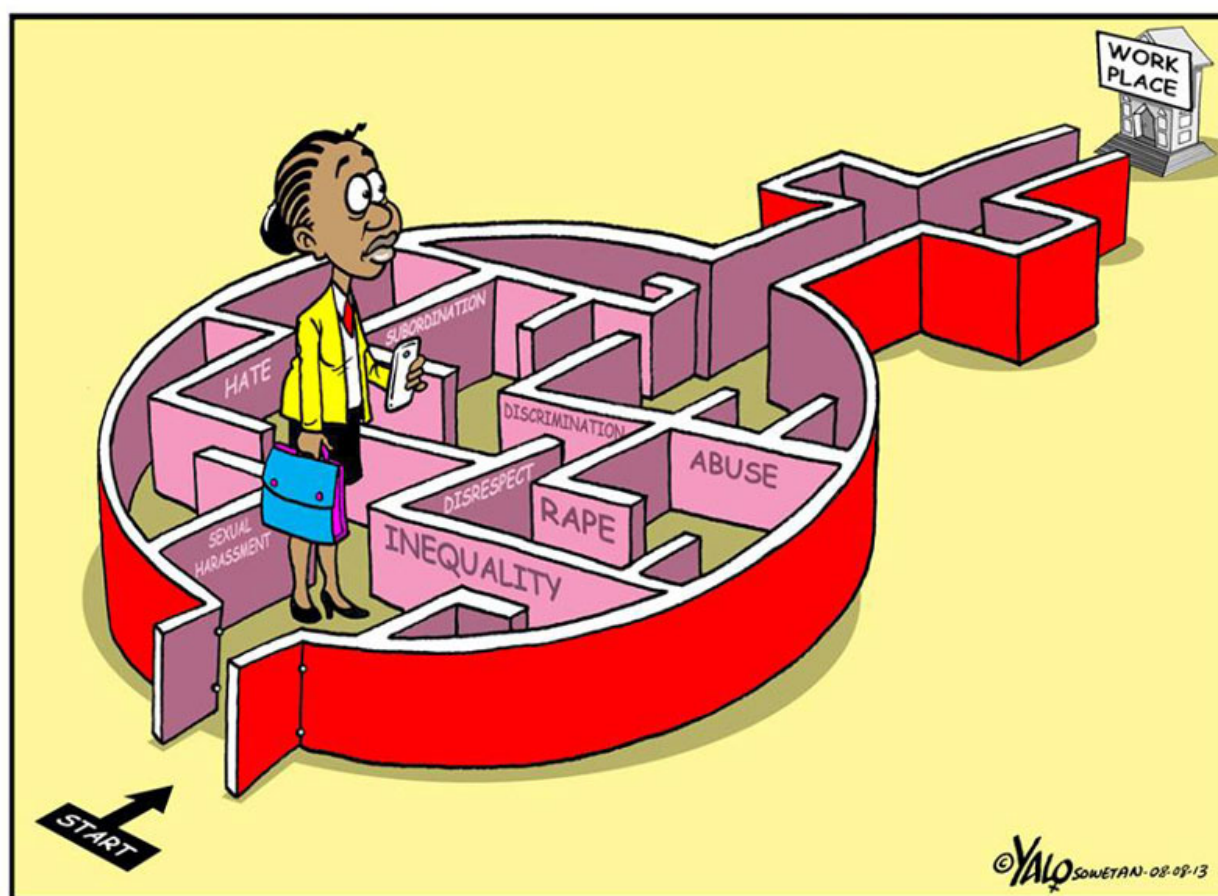
- Equilibrium: our patriarchal society
- Disruption: women who fight for our rights
- Recognition: Nanda recognises this through two women

- Action: cartoon highlights two women's achievements
- (re)equilibrium: Women'

Barthes enigma and action

Enigma	Action
Patriarchy – status quo	Women fight for our rights
Women's Day	Nanda recognizes their efforts through a cartoon.

6. Sifiso Yalo.



Semiotic approach:

- Signifier: Figure of human-like shapes. Signified: three people in relation to one another. Sign: A mother and her two children.
- Denotation: the simple identification of the signs as perceived by the reader at the first level.
- Connotation: Making associations of the signs – we associate a particular signified with a signifier.

Denotative

A woman dressed in a yellow blazer, shirt, tie and pencil skirt is holding a cell phone and briefcase while she looks ahead to a structure with the words “work place” written on it. She is surrounded by a pink and red maze and in front of “start”. This maze is shaped as a circle with a cross extending from it. The words “sexual harassment”, “inequality”, “rape”, “disrespect”, “abuse”, “discrimination”, “hate” and “subordination” are all placed inside this maze. © Yalo Sowetan 08.08.13 appears in the bottom right corner.

Connotative

The maze is shaped as the symbol for women. This maze is demonstrating all the societal challenges that women have to face in order to succeed.

Binary oppositions from the news story

Hero	villain
Woman	man
Vulnerable	Protected
employee	employer
Formal attire	civvies
Self-sufficient	needy
Alone	together
At risk	safe
works	unemployed

Textual Analysis

- Medium: Cartoons
- Genre: political cartoons
- Framing (position from which the image is perceived): one frame
- Distance: long shot
- The subject: A woman standing in a maze
- Setting: A maze pointing to employment
- Gaze: the audience can look at the figures unchallenged

Narrative Analysis

Propp's character functions

- Hero: Women who pursue careers
- Donor: their education/ability to be hired
- Dispatcher: Her societal need for a job to survive.
- Villain: Patriarchal issues which subordinate women.

Todorov's narrative functions and stages:

- Equilibrium: Societies status quo
- Disruption: in pursuing a career a woman is met with many issues
- Recognition: she looks ahead at the challenge
- Action: she enters the maze
- (re)equilibrium: this is one moment in which the story is not yet ended.

Barthes enigma and action

Enigma	Action
Woman needs employment	She seeks employment
She is met with challenges	She considers her status as a woman

7. Zapiro



Semiotic approach:

- Signifier: Figure of human-like shapes. Signified: three people in relation to one another. Sign: A mother and her two children.
- Denotation: the simple identification of the signs as perceived by the reader at the first level.
- Connotation: Making associations of the signs – we associate a particular signified with a signifier.

Denotative

In this single-frame cartoon, two men and two women are depicted. There is also a hint of a crowd in the bottom left corner. The first man, on the left has a shower head attached to his crown, he is touching his glasses with a middle finger and holding papers while standing behind a podium with a symbol on it. The woman seated next to him is wearing a hat with “Dlamini” written on it. She is also wearing a badge with “ANCWL” written on it. She is also holding papers, is formally dressed and states “Keep it down would you, deputy minister! ... We have speeches to make!” The banner behind her reads “Women’s Day Govt. condemns

gender-based violence”. The second man is also formally dressed, on his blazer it reads “Manana”. He has his fist raised and has a woman’s hair in his other hand. Finally, a woman is flat on her stomach on the ground. She has a black eye and her shoe has fallen off. She is surrounded by a cloud of dust. In the top right corner is “Zapiro © Daily Maverick 10-08-17”.

Connotative

This cartoon depicts president Jacob Zuma at a Women’s Day event, held by the government. He is accompanied by Dlamini who is shown to allow the abuse of women by men. Her only concern is that they keep it quiet. This cartoon refers to Manana’s beating up of women in a club during Women’s Month in 2017. This cartoon is a symbol of the corrupt governing body.

Binary oppositions

hero	villain
women	Men
Stand up for women’s rights	Collude with patriarchy
weak	strong
Civilian	Government elite
Alone	together
At risk	safe
vulnerable	protected

Textual Analysis

- Medium: Cartoons
- Genre: political cartoons
- Framing (position from which the image is perceived): one frame
- Distance: long shot
- The subject: Zuma faces audience, Dlamini twists in chair to acknowledge Manana, Manana beats up a woman, woman falls flat. Diagonal line from Zuma to the woman on the floor.
- Setting: they are on a stage, addressing an audience
- Gaze: the audience can look at the figures unchallenged

Narrative Analysis

Propp's character functions

- Hero: Zapiro as the cartoonist who points these issues out
- Donor: Manana's beating up of women and the governments mishandling of it.
- Villain: Zuma and his government

Todorov's narrative functions and stages:

- Equilibrium: A women's Day event is held
- Disruption: Manana beats up a woman
- Recognition: Zapiro draws cartoon
- Action: He places Dlamini at centre to tell Manana to be quiet
- (re)equilibrium: this is one moment in which the story is not yet ended.

Barthes enigma and action

Enigma	Action
Women's Day event	Manana beats up a woman
Manana embarrasses ANC	Dlamini tells him to be quiet