

## Images of a nation in crisis: A critical analysis of Zapiro's *Rape of Lady Justice* cartoons

### ABSTRACT

Political cartoonists have, in recent years, faced victimisation for daring to speak truth to power. In December 2010, South African cartoonist, Jonathan Shapiro (Zapiro) was sued for portraying former President Zuma as a rapist. In February 2018, his contract of over ten years with *The Sunday Times* was abruptly terminated. These developments show that cartoons can be effective tools of undermining and resisting power. This article critically analyses Zapiro's *Rape of Lady Justice* cartoons in the context of South African politics under Zuma's presidency. The ANC-led government under Jacob Zuma was perceived as corrupt and gravitating away from the ideals of a democratic state. Underpinned by Bal et al.'s (2009) model of caricature, this article seeks to examine, firstly, how the cartoon, as a medium of expression, pokes fun at its object of caricature, and secondly, how the broader socio-political context of Zuma's presidency inspired Zapiro's *Lady Justice* cartoons.

### INTRODUCTION

Although some scholars such as Achille Mbembe (2001) believe that artistic interventions such as cartoons achieve nothing more than reifying power, many agree that cartoons are a powerful means of expressing dissent and/or challenging political power. Hammett (2010:4) argues that cartoons "provide fruitful avenues through which to engage with the realities of social injustice, exploitation and inequality". Eko (in Willems, 2011) characterises cartoons as "politically sensitive, even dangerous texts" that may incite citizens to question the status quo and demand democratisation and liberalisation. Willems (2011:127) locates cartoons in the domain of what he calls the "hidden script" which subverts and undermines the public transcript of those in power. Apart from providing a medium and a platform for exploring key debates in political geography, cartoons also provide provocative, satirical and subjective illustrations and interpretations of events, people and social issues, framed by ideology, morals and agendas (Hammett & Mather, 2011:104). Hammett (2010) further characterises cartoons as "windows on a nation's psyche" while Terblanche (2011:157) calls them "barometers of a nation's consciousness" that cannot be treated "merely as comedy for entertainment". These descriptions show that cartoons play an important role in affirming societal values and moderating political excess.

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In a democratic society such as South Africa, cartoons also act as “barometers of press freedom, tolerance of free speech and critical thought, and of resistance to dominant power relations” (Hammett 2010:2). This article recognises cartoons as serious forms of commentary that “offer important oppositional viewpoints on social and political issues” (June, 2011). It, therefore, seeks to critically analyse how Zapiro’s *Lady Justice* cartoons engage with the socio-political environment in which they were produced. The article is divided into three sections. The first section explores the social and political context that inspires Zapiro’s *Lady Justice* cartoons. This includes the internal politics of the African National Congress (ANC) during Zuma’s presidency, such as the politics of patronage, gendered inequality and the state capture phenomenon. This is followed by a presentation of a model of caricature by Bal et al. (2009) which I have adopted as a framework for analysis. The last section critically analyses Zapiro’s *Lady Justice* cartoons against the backdrop of ANC politics, and through the theoretical prism of Bal et al.’s (2009) model of caricature.

## **1. THE ANC AND THE POLITICS OF PATRONAGE**

Since its inception in 1912, the African National Congress (ANC) has always professed to be an organisation guided by democratic, people-centred principles. However, following the ascension of Jacob Zuma to the presidency in 2009, the party has been dogged by rumours of escalating corruption and the personalisation of power (Lodge, 2014:1). Although Zuma’s candidature was shrouded with allegations of corruption and unethical behaviour, he became President of South Africa following the general elections of 2009. His Presidency, which was also tainted by political scandals, came to an end in February 2018 when he was recalled by his party and forced to resign. The ANC of Jacob Zuma was characterised by “the emergence of internal rival groups constituted by personal loyalty rather than shared ideological beliefs” (Lodge, 2014). Although neo-patrimonial behaviour is not a new phenomenon, scholars seem to agree that this behaviour became more pronounced during former President Zuma’s tenure. Johnson (2017:39) has summarised Zuma’s tenure as “disastrous”, a period where “corruption ran riot, led by the example of the President’s own family and their friends and benefactors,” “whose tentacles [spread] everywhere in government departments and in state-owned industries”.

In providing a broader context to the crisis which faced the ANC during Zuma’s presidency, Lodge (2014:20) notes that patrimonial relations have been part of ANC politics for a long time. In the early years of the organisation’s history, “family and friendship ties bound leadership together”. Members of the early ANC in Natal, Western Transvaal and the Eastern Cape such as Langelihle Dube and Pixley ka Seme, Sol Plaatje and Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela and the Sisulus, were respectively connected through clan membership, schooling, friendship and marriage. Patrimonial relations were also forged in the struggle against apartheid where expediency often called for adaptation to the circumstances of the time. Gary Kynoch (2005) argues that during the struggle the ANC incorporated criminal elements for purposes of fighting the oppressive regime. Moreover, criminal elements were also used by the ANC to fight its territorial battles with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The point here is that elements of criminality and patronage in the ANC have a long history; although they arguably became exacerbated during Zuma’s

reign. Beresford (2015) notes that the incorporation of criminal networks into the ANC during the struggle period nurtured criminal activity within the party and strengthened a patrimonial political predisposition.

Over the years, many ANC cadres have been involved in shady dealings in politics and in the business world. Names that come to mind include Tokyo Sexwale, who, in 2012, “was reported to be selling his stakeholding in the ABSA group to finance his ‘war-chest’ for contesting the leadership elections at the ANC’s national conference” (Lodge, 2014:13). Patrimonial behaviour also assumed a new face after 1990 when ANC, under pressure to transform itself from a liberation movement to an electoral machine, adopted a broad based approach to its membership recruitment. In a study on the rise of gatekeeping in ANC politics, Beresford (2015:227) defines neo-patrimonialism as the blurring – or even complete breakdown – of the distinction between public and private authority: the former exercised through the impersonal institutions of the state and the latter through informal patron-client networks rooted in social institutions and loyalties that predate the establishment of the colonial state. Beresford (2015:228) also notes that in South Africa, there is growing evidence of informal patronage-based political networks working in parallel with, and sometimes in opposition to, the impersonal political institutions of the state.

This is the political context in which Zapiro’s *Lady Justice* cartoons are situated – the perceived (and real) gradual decline of the ANC from the position of a principled liberation movement to a clientelist organisation and a bridge for individual self-enrichment. Successive ANC policy conferences have highlighted the rise of gatekeeper politics and the increase in the number of cadres who join the ANC for personal gain. Beresford (2015:228) characterises gatekeeper politics as a situation whereby “political leaders in positions of authority or in public office control access to resources and opportunities in order to forward their own political and economic ends”. It has become evident over the years that whoever wins the ANC Presidency often gets into power with a large clientele to be rewarded with positions in government. Although gatekeeper politics is not synonymous with corruption, “corruption is a pervasive symptom of it” (Beresford, 2015:229) because the gatekeeper is often obliged to find “ways” to reward supporters.

Former President Zuma’s rise to power was also punctuated by factionalism and allegations of gatekeeper politics. In fact, Bassett and Clarke (2008) argue that the labour movement COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) and the SACP (South African Communist Party) supported Jacob Zuma not because he offered something different from what Thabo Mbeki offered, policy wise, but because Zuma promised a new network of patrimonial relations from which they stood to benefit. This shows that the politics of the Alliance in the Zuma era became not only the politics of compromise but also of patronage. Beresford (2015:232) identifies two dimensions of gatekeeping and/or patronage, as it played out in the ANC-led alliance. The first is “the direct use and abuse of public authority to consume and distribute the spoils of the state along private channels”. The second is “the use and abuse of access to public authority to facilitate private capital accumulation, which one might refer to as crony capitalism”. While the South African political landscape during Zuma’s presidency experienced unprecedented levels of neo-patrimonialism, this phenomenon is not a unique feature of the postcolonial state, neither

is it limited to South Africa, rather it is “inexorably bound up with the development of capitalism and can be witnessed to varying degrees in even the most consolidated liberal democracies” (Beresford, 2015:247).

## **2. GENDERED INEQUALITY**

Since the dawn of democracy in 1994, South Africa has witnessed significant transformation in the lives of the formerly marginalised. However, in terms of women's rights, there seems to be a disjuncture between what the Constitution espouses and what obtains on the ground. South Africa still has the highest rates of rape and femicide in the world (Vetten, 2014). In his cartoons, Zapiro plays with the rape motif to show the intersection between sexuality and politics and to highlight both the plight of women and the excesses of the political elite. Although the ANC generally articulates South Africa's economic challenges in terms of poverty, unemployment and inequality, the latter still has a gender. In his *Lady Justice* cartoons, Zapiro draws from Jacob Zuma's 2006 rape trial to highlight the gendered nature of inequality in South Africa. In 2006, Zuma was accused of raping Fezeka Khuzwayo (popularly known as Kwezi), the daughter of a family friend. Although he was eventually acquitted, the sexual politics that emerged from the trial became an invaluable resource for Zapiro's satirical pen. Hassim (2009:57) argues that the Zuma rape case was an important reminder of the extent to which gender inequality in South Africa is embedded in class inequality and the historical legacies of apartheid.

Jacob Zuma's victory in the rape trial constituted a step backwards for the emancipation of women in South Africa because it created the impression that the political elite could easily use their influence to manipulate the justice system. Given his position in society and his role in the liberation struggle, Zuma's behavior during the trial militated against efforts to free women from oppressive cultural practices. In his defense, he “presented himself as a Zulu traditionalist who could not possibly rape because he had easy access to sex, given that he was a polygamist” (Hunter, 2011:1119). Lodge (2014:20) notes that Zuma's sexist remarks during the trial appealed to the ANC's new support base in the form of the “unemployed youth, for whom a political ideology constructed around patriarchal notions of masculinity had a special appeal”.

Suttner (2009) explains Zuma's behavior during the trial in terms of the warrior tradition that was valorised in the anti-apartheid struggle where a man was supposed to be brave and prepared to die for his cause. “One of the aspects of a warrior tradition is that booty is seized, spoils of war are taken, and rape sometimes occurs” (Suttner, 2009:231). Although the warrior tradition is rich with feats of heroism, it also has “many cases of abuse of power over women, including forced marriage to a member of a more powerful group and outright rape without such a marriage” (Suttner, 2009:231). The rape trial showed that whatever the Constitution espoused was not embraced by the generality of the South African public and that politicians could manipulate tradition and culture for political ends.

Zuma's posturing as a traditionalist played into the racial politics of post-apartheid South Africa. In the public domain, he was seen as a man being persecuted by a Eurocentric justice system for

practicing his culture. Waetjen and Maré (2009) intimate that the pursuit of cultural expression and cultural rights has come to signify a stand against the legacies of racism. This is why some of the issues that arose during the trial were “described by Zuma himself as matters of cultural etiquette, matters pertaining to private domestic arrangements of patriarchal morality”. What Zuma’s trial did, at least at that time, was to situate women in “an ambiguous and painful position in the politics of culture” (Waetjen & Maré, 2009:75), where on one hand, they were expected to uphold African (Zulu) culture, while on the other, they were supposed to fight against a practice which was considered culturally appropriate. In a situation where “culture is politicised as a legal and secular right” and “gender is de-politicised [as a] normatively ‘private’ and ‘customary’ domain”, “asserting the rights of women can come to be defined as cultural treason” (Waetjen & Maré, 2009:75).

In an article on sexual politics in the context of the Jacob Zuma rape trial, Robins (2008) argues that there seems to be a tension between sexual rights espoused in the Constitution and the actual behaviour of individual South African citizens. While the Constitution advocates equal rights for all, public practice seems to be conservative, traditionalist and patriarchal. One should also note, as will become apparent in Zapiro’s cartoons, that this disjuncture between constitutional provisions and the reality on the ground is not only limited to sexual rights, but also extends to political and economic rights. Those who are politically connected seem to enjoy more economic rights than those who are not.

### **3. STATE CAPTURE**

During the second term of former President Zuma’s tenure, South Africans witnessed a new political phenomenon, which came to be known as “state capture”. This is a phenomenon whereby powerful business people influence political decisions for purposes of advancing their economic interests. Although the term “state capture” became synonymous with the Zuma presidency, there is still no consensus as to what it means. Some argue that if the state refers to the three arms of government which consist of the executive, the judiciary and parliament, it is almost impossible to talk about state capture (Zuma, 2017). However, as it is represented in the South African public sphere, state capture does not refer to the capture of the organs of the state, rather it refers to the way former President Jacob Zuma allegedly relinquished his powers as head of state and government to powerful players in the corporate sector, i.e. the Gupta family. Shai (2017:64) argues that since President Zuma was the head and image of the South African government and state, the perceived undue influence on his administration by the Gupta family was extrapolated as constituting “state capture”. In an attempt to unpack this phenomenon, Shai (2017) identifies two types of state capture, viz. systematic and predatory. Systematic state capture is common in neo-liberal democracies where the private sector maintains a relationship with government to further its business interests while predatory state capture is “a system in which one or few individuals hold specific political figures ransom and bully their way to individual gain” (Shai, 2017:66). The first type is not usually labelled as state capture because governments often need business to drive their economic goals. However, state capture as it is understood in South Africa today occurs when some business people exert or are perceived as exerting undue influence on government or public officials. For Shai, (2017:66) a captured economy is trapped in

a vicious cycle in which the policy and institutional reforms necessary to improve governance are undermined by collusion between powerful firms and state officials who reap substantial private gains from the continuation of weak governance.

Scholars such as Shai (2017) argue that there was nothing extraordinary about the relationship between the Gupta family and the government of former President Zuma. The problem was not that the Gupta family had a business relationship with the state but that the relationship was not properly managed. Successive governments in South Africa since apartheid have always had a relationship with business. White business has over the years “worked behind the scenes to pull the strings of state governance during successive apartheid regimes and to a lesser extent Nelson Mandela and Mbeki’s administrations” (Shai, 2017:69). Corporate influence on state affairs is not only a South African affair but also a global one. However, the manner in which the relationship was performed in the public domain opened it up to public scrutiny and the scathing satire of cartoonists such as Zapiro.

#### **4. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS**

This article deploys Bal et al.’s (2009) model of caricature to critically analyse Zapiro’s *Lady Justice* cartoons in terms of how they draw from specific socio-political issues to mock what was perceived as the degeneration of political morality in South Africa during Zuma’s presidency. The cornerstone of satire is the criticism of the abuse of power and the injustice perpetrated by the dominant party (Bal et al., 2009:230). Satire is a highly emotive genre which appeals to all and sundry including the illiterate. For the purposes of this study, satire can be defined as “the use of ridicule, irony or sarcasm to lampoon something or someone” or “an artistic composition designed to generate laughter” (Bal et al., 2009:231). Caricature, on the other hand, refers to “a picture or description ludicrously exaggerating peculiarities or defects in persons or things” (Bal et al., 2009:231). Bal et al. (2009:232) developed a model for caricature which analyses political cartooning by asking two questions: What are the necessary conditions for someone or something to be caricatured? What is the mechanism for caricature and how does it relate to the necessary conditions?

In this model of caricature, an object can be satirised if it invokes one of the following: sympathy, gap or differentiation. *Sympathy* refers to how an audience relates to an object of satire (Terblanche, 2011:158). The audience must be able to identify with, or feel something about, the object of satire. This feeling, whether it is hate, love, disgust, etc., is what Bal et al. (2009) call an “affective bond” between the viewer and the object of satire. In the case of cartoons, viewers may love, hate, admire or feel repulsed by certain behaviour, for example Jacob Zuma’s morality, or Zapiro’s representation of women. In addition to soliciting sympathy, a caricature should create a gap or a disconnect between image and reality. It is the gap between what is portrayed in the cartoon and what is known in real life that makes caricature possible. Bal et al. (2009:232) emphasise that for satire to occur “there must be a perceived gap, disparity or dissonance between image and reality”. The gap maybe a truth known by the audience or could exist in the imagination of the satirist as a type of alternative reality (Terblanche, 2011:160).

Lastly, caricature also requires *differentiation* or the separation of the object of caricature from the usual. As Bal et al. (2009) argue, the “the undifferentiated cannot be caricatured”, which suggests that an object or person cannot solicit laughter unless they are made to look different. The differentiated elements constitute unique attributes that distinguish objects of satire from other objects (Terblanche, 2011:158). Differentiation can be physical, for example, differences in colour, shape, or size, or ideological, i.e. differences in terms of abstract things such as intelligence, wisdom or luck. Although these conditions (sympathy, gap, and differentiation) are necessary for caricature to occur, they cannot, in themselves, produce caricature. The catalyst for caricature is exaggeration, which can be defined as “a process of magnifying that which differentiates a person or thing”. While exaggeration can be deployed both at the physical or ideological (abstract) levels, “the potential for caricature is magnified when the exaggeration is focused on the abstract, or the ideological” (Bal et al., 2009:233). It is caricature at ideological level that makes viewers see particular objects of caricature in a certain way. In Zapiro’s *Lady Justice* cartoons, the showerhead that is perpetually fixed on Zuma’s head represents him as an unethical leader.

I use Bal et al.’s (2009) model of caricature as a framework to analyse Zapiro’s *Lady Justice* cartoons. Their model of caricature asks two questions that focus on, firstly, the conditions that make caricature possible, and, secondly, the mechanism of caricature (methods or techniques) and how it relates to the conditions that make caricature possible. The model suggests that there is a relationship between the conditions that enable caricature, the object of caricature and the methods of caricature. Zapiro’s *Lady Justice* cartoons are based on the person of Jacob Zuma and the political situation in South Africa during his presidency. While individual cartoons focus on specific incidents, such as the NPA’s decision in April 2009 to drop corruption charges against Zuma, the whole *Rape of Lady Justice* series seeks to highlight and censure political excesses within the South African body politic.

## **5. ZUMA AND THE RAPE OF JUSTICE: AN ANALYSIS**

The notion of the “rape of justice” which runs through Zapiro’s *Lady Justice* cartoons is derived from the 2006 rape trial in which former president Zuma was accused of raping the daughter of a family friend. Although Zuma was eventually acquitted, Zapiro continued to deploy the rape metaphor to critique and vilify Zuma’s way of doing politics. The cartoon below appeared in the *Sunday Times* on 8 September 2008 after Judge Nicholson’s decision to declare Jacob Zuma’s prosecution invalid.



Source: [www.zapiro.com](http://www.zapiro.com)

Mason (2010) situates his reading of the cartoon in the context of the disillusionment which accompanied Zuma's rise to power particularly in the liberal media fraternity. The sense of disillusionment arose from two primary concerns: first, that ANC leaders had failed to uphold the high expectations of personal conduct required by the Constitution (and exemplified by Mandela) and were actively seeking to erode the powers of oversight invested in constitutional mechanisms designed to safeguard democracy; second, that the state was clearly unable to meet popular expectations by providing the majority of the population with tangible benefits emanating from the new democracy (Mason, 2010:48).

The cartoon portrays former President Zuma unbuckling his trousers and getting ready to rape Lady Justice with the assistance of the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the ANC Youth League, and the ANC itself. Zapiro appeals to the viewer's *sympathy* (disgust, anger, empathy, etc.) firstly by portraying former President Zuma as a shameless rapist who could undress in public. Undressing in the presence of one's subordinates could be read as a metaphor for immoral and/or unethical leadership. Regardless of one's political affiliation, this cartoon invokes sympathy. In fact, when the cartoon came out in September 2008, Zapiro was castigated as racist by Zuma's vocal supporters such as the then ANC Youth League President, Julius Malema. The cartoon draws most of its symbolism, for example, the showerhead fixed on Zuma's head, from the rape trial of 2006. This representation

can be read as repulsive given that Zuma was eventually acquitted of the rape charges. However, as I have argued before, this cartoon is not only concerned about issues of guilty or not guilty but also the politics of gendered inequality that emerged from the rape trial. To rape, therefore, is not only to violate someone sexually but also to engage in activities that are perceived as violating the Constitution. The showerhead on Zuma's head is a metaphorical reference to his statement during the rape trial that he had taken a shower after having sex with an HIV-positive woman to reduce chances of contracting the disease. By linking a visual symbol (the showerhead) to a statement of belief and behaviour, Zapiro both critiques Zuma's actions and beliefs, and undermines his power and legitimacy to speak or act on those beliefs (Hammett, 2010:6).

Lady Justice represents both the justice system which was arguably "raped" when Zuma was acquitted and Kwezi, the victim of the alleged rape, who was arguably silenced by the judgment. In this context, Lady Justice, who lies helpless and vulnerable, as shown by her posture, solicits sympathy (pity) while Jacob Zuma and his comrades appear as symbols of selfish masculinity. A gap between image and reality is evident in the way the physical features of the men are grotesquely exaggerated. Zuma has a bulging forehead, a depression in the middle of his head and a showerhead sticking out of the top of his head, presumably in place of his brain. His alliance partners (the ANC, the ANC Youth League, the SACP and COSATU) have thick lips and bulging eyes. While the "thick lips" have colonial connotations, which could probably imply that Zapiro is indeed racist, the bulging eyes may suggest that violating the Constitution became a spectacle during Zuma's rule. Mason (2010:55) notes that "Zapiro's depiction of Jacob Zuma as libidinous and menacing, reinforced by the showerhead mechanism which associates Zuma with the threat of rape, is consistent with a historical tendency to depict Africans as menacing and libidinous".

However, Mason (2010) is also aware that the use of colonial stereotypes is not only limited to Zapiro's cartoons. In fact, cartoons convey their message through what Moloney, Holtz and Wagner (2013:287) call "infantilising and physiognomic stereotyping". Exaggeration of physical features and stereotyping create a gap between image and reality and thus make caricature possible. In their model of caricature, Bal et al. (2009) argue that differentiation isolates the object of caricature so that it can be caricatured. In this cartoon, differentiation is achieved both at the physical and ideological levels. At the ideological level, Zapiro vilifies Zuma by associating him with ignorance (the showerhead – which refers to his claim that he took a shower after sleeping with an HIV-infected woman) and patronage (the alliance partners who are depicted as blindly watching the rape of the justice system).

In discourses of the nation, a woman is usually represented as a mother; an embodiment of national values. Zapiro subverts this symbolism to highlight, not only the vulnerability of women in a patriarchal nation but also institutions such as the judiciary when politicians lose their moral compass. In a political system that does not respect the rule of law, the most vulnerable members of society often bear the brunt of neglect. Zapiro portrays ANC-alliance politics as characterised by relations of patronage. This is evidenced by the way Zuma's accomplices, powerful men within the ANC and the alliance, seem to be under a spell. The cartoon can be read as a depiction of what Lodge (2014) has characterised as neo-patrimonialism. Bassett and Clarke (2008) have argued that ANC-alliance partners such as COSATU and SACP supported Jacob Zuma's rise to

power, not because he offered something different but because they assumed that he would be different from Thabo Mbeki who had side-lined them.

The fact that the Youth League and the alliance partners look on as the President abuses the judiciary implies moral degeneration which allegedly became deep-rooted in the ANC of Jacob Zuma. This is why Mason (2010:56) maintains that the cartoon should be seen as “a statement of profound disillusionment and loss of faith in the capacity of the ANC government to meet the idealistic goals of the liberation movement and to live up to Mandela’s shining example”. In other words, rape (a symbol of lawlessness and selfish politics) has become a public spectacle to be celebrated without any sense of shame. Although Zapiro’s cartoons have been read as an attack on the person of Jacob Zuma, I argue that Zuma represents what is perceived as the new culture of the ANC. This cartoon transcends the view that Zuma was a rotten apple in an otherwise principled movement. It shows that his actions were sanctioned and/or condoned by cadres within the party and the alliance.

The cartoon below is a sequel to the first *Lady Justice* cartoon and appeared in the *Mail and Guardian* on 11 September 2008.



Source: [www.zapiro.com](http://www.zapiro.com)

The cartoon has come to be known as *Lady Justice 2* because it plays with the rape motif of the previous cartoon to highlight new developments in ANC politics. Bal et al.'s (2009) conditions for caricature, namely sympathy, gap and differentiation are accentuated through the words "... but before we start, I just want to say how much we **respect** you!" Through these words, Zapiro portrays former President Jacob Zuma as arrogant and hypocritical. Unlike in the previous cartoon where the focus was on Zuma's presumed intention to rape, as shown by the unbuckled belt, in this image, the focus is on the open palm gesture which implies that Zuma's authority. The implication is that the first "rape" of the Justice System, in which Zuma faced no consequences, has emboldened him to do more. The word "respect" is in bold to highlight the "double-speak" which is usually associated with politicians and the contrast between the word and what is about to happen. The irony here is that it is impossible to respect a woman and violate her sexually at the same time. These words are clearly intended to emphasise the violator's resolve to have his way in spite of what Lady Justice stands for. At least as portrayed in this cartoon, former President Zuma has no "respect" either for Lady Justice or the justice system. In this context, the word "respect" actually means "disrespect".

While the first cartoon focused on Zuma as perpetrator, this cartoon uses the plural 'we' to suggest that Zuma is not solely to blame for the moral rot (perceived and real) in the ANC. The statement echoes what Zuma and former ANC Secretary General, Gwede Mantashe, said in the aftermath of Zuma's acquittal, that they respected the Judge's decision. The statement was ironic because of what the public already "knew" about former President Zuma. Zapiro creates a gap between what Zuma said and what is known about him in the public sphere. The ellipsis (...) and the conjunction "but" at the beginning of the statement suggest that Zuma and his supporters believed something else (...) which is not mentioned in this speech. Thus the ellipsis and the conjunction create dissonance between image (words) and reality (the unsaid). Differentiation is also attained both on the physical and ideological levels. In the first cartoon, Zuma's accomplices looked anxious, with eyes wide open, but in this cartoon, they look timid and blind. Given that none of the individuals is blind in real life, closed eyes could imply feigned ignorance "blindness" which is a feature of relations of patronage. Probably, Zapiro is being prophetic here because the Alliance partners (COSATU and SACP) and Julius Malema (the then leader of the Youth League) have already apologised to South Africa for "blindly" supporting Zuma's rise to power (Verasamy, 2016). It is the gap between the blind individuals in the cartoon and the sighted ones makes caricature possible. The closed eyes imply that the Alliance partners and Julius Malema were, at that point, trapped in a patrimonial relationship that kept them blind to Zuma's wrongdoing. Bassett and Clarke (2008:790) have argued that when Zuma put forward his candidature for presidency, "the left latched onto him, in part, because he was ambitious enough to appear open to adopting a progressive economic agenda in exchange for the support of the trade unions and other disaffected ANC factions ... but his strongest attribute was that he was not Mbeki". The metaphor of blindness suggests that the ANC of Jacob Zuma embraced a new culture of patronage where "comrades" were not expected to see wrongdoing in their leaders. Zuma's eyes are also closed, probably because he had become so used to violating the Constitution that he could do it without looking.

In Bal et al.'s (2009) model of caricature, exaggeration facilitates caricature once the necessary conditions are in place. The cartoon also implies that the rape of women (Lady Justice) in South Africa is a product of collusion between perpetrators (rapists) and those who are supposed to uphold the rule of law (public officials). The Jacob Zuma rape trial showed that rape is sometimes committed against the backdrop of a patriarchal social fabric which condones such behaviour. Closed eyes are therefore, by extension, symbolic of entrenched patriarchy (the natural attitude) which seems to permeate every sphere of South African society.

Although the ANC, particularly Jacob Zuma and the Youth League, sued Zapiro for his cartoons (Terblanche, 2011:159), Zapiro continued to lampoon the ANC and Jacob Zuma. Following the passing of the Protection of State Information Bill in 2013, Zapiro satirised the bill as an attempt by the ANC to interfere with free speech. The cartoon below mocks the bill which the ANC says was designed to bar the media from reporting on private state information (Underhill and Pillay, 2012).



Source: [www.zapiro.com](http://www.zapiro.com)

This cartoon also subscribes to the conditions for caricature highlighted in Bal et al.'s (2009) model of caricature. *Sympathy* is invoked through the image of a terrified Lady Free Speech

who is battling to escape the firm grip of the ANC, impersonated by Secretary General, Gwede Mantashe. In light of the previous cartoons, Zuma is represented as a habitual sex offender, a representation which was seen, in some circles, as disrespectful of Zuma's position (Mason, 2010). Like Lady Justice, who lies helpless with her scales of justice on the ground, Lady Free Speech is about to be similarly violated, although she is still holding her torch (which symbolises light or information). The gap between image and reality is created through the labels "Govt" and "ANC" for Jacob Zuma and Gwede Mantashe respectively. The implication is that the Protection of State Information Bill was passed to save the interest of the ANC although all was done in the name of government. In this case, the ANC Secretary General, Gwede Mantashe, and former President Zuma simply swapped positions to make sure the Bill was passed. *Differentiation* is also achieved at both physical and ideological levels. Lady Justice is distinguished by her scales of justice and the blindfolded eyes, while Lady Free Speech is identified through her torch of information and the sash of free speech. On the other hand, Zuma has the trademark disfigured head and showerhead as well as unbuckled belt. On the ideological level, Lady Justice and Lady Free Speech represent the ideals of a democratic society while Jacob Zuma and Gwede Mantashe represent patrimonialism. Although Mantashe looks terrified (as shown by his bulging eyes), he has no choice but to help his "boss".

In this cartoon, Zapiro continues to play with the rape motif; the only difference is that Lady Free Speech has taken the place of Lady Justice. While some scholars have criticised Zapiro for stereotyping women (Mason, 2010) and making fun of their plight in South Africa, my contention is that the use of women as symbols of political/sexual violation highlights not only the collusion between power and patriarchy in the exploitation of women but also the gendered nature of inequality in South Africa. The cartoon suggests that the patriarchal/political culture of comradeship, which promotes silence in the midst of misconduct by political leaders, is to blame for the gendered inequality that is evident in South African society. As shown in the cartoon above, Jacob Zuma is only able to violate Lady Free Speech because he has the support of Mantashe (ANC) who is firmly holding the bewildered-looking woman. While in previous cartoons, Zuma was assisted by his alliance partners, here, he is only assisted by Gwede Mantashe, who represents the ANC, as implied by the inscription on his jacket. The absence of the alliance partners may suggest that they have already been "swallowed" by the ANC. However, it may also suggest that Zuma has consolidated his power and no longer needs the support of the alliance.

As in the previous cartoons, Zapiro still plays with the rape motif. Lady Justice, who has been a victim of Zuma's sexual/political appetite, lies on her back, seemingly tired and urging her fellow sister, Free Speech to "Fight, sister, fight". The outraged look on Lady Free Speech's face shows that she cannot believe what is about to happen to her. Her expression can be read as symbolising the reaction of the media fraternity to the Information Bill, which they saw as an attempt to censor freedom of expression (Seokoma, 2010). Read together with the previous cartoons, this cartoon portrays the ANC of President Zuma as bent on destroying institutions that ensure a vibrant democratic society.

The cartoon below, which appeared in the *Daily Maverick* on 11 April 2017, is the last in the series of Zapiro's *Rape of Lady Justice* cartoons.



Source: [www.zapiro.com](http://www.zapiro.com)

Zapiro's *Lady Justice* cartoons have developed a metanarrative which represents former President Jacob Zuma as a corrupt politician. This article is not interested in whether this narrative is correct or otherwise; it is only interested in investigating how Zapiro develops this narrative: What conditions are necessary to caricature Zuma's behaviour and what mechanisms do cartoons deploy to poke fun at their objects of caricature? Since Zapiro has already invoked sympathy in the public through his previous cartoons, the cartoon above is probably easy to understand, especially for those who follow Zapiro and South African politics. This cartoon is situated in the discourse of "state capture" in which it is alleged that the Gupta family exercised undue influence on former President Jacob Zuma for its business interests. These allegations were revealed when former Ministers such as Fikile Mbalula and Mcebisi Jonas revealed that they were first informed about their appointments by members of the Gupta family. The cartoon above shows Lady Justice, dressed in the South African flag, and being held down by then State Security Minister David Mahlobo, former Social Development Minister, Bathabile Dlamini and New Age editor Moegsien Williams, as a Gupta brother prepares to rape her. This cartoon invokes the viewer's sympathy in the form of disgust and anger at Zuma for allowing himself to be

manipulated. Similarly, for those who supported former President Zuma, this disgust was directed at Zapiro for portraying the President in negative light on the basis of allegations. As viewers, we are also likely to be repulsed by the alleged behaviour of David Mahlobo and Bathabile Dlamini, i.e. helping the Guptas to economically rape South Africa. One is also likely to feel pity for South Africa, a country which allegedly became a victim of individual greed impersonated by Zuma and the Gupta brothers. Unlike the previous cartoons, where Zuma was the culprit, this cartoon is more offensive because Zuma has given away his “raping rights” to his friends – a scenario which implies that he does not care about the well-being of the country.

The statement “She’s all yours, boss!” captures the relationship of patronage which allegedly existed between Zuma and the Gupta family. The word “boss” is usually associated with South African street lingo and it is sometimes used as a title for someone involved in shady dealings. The fact that former President Zuma (in this cartoon) refers to one of the Gupta brothers as “boss” suggests that he had abdicated his boss-ship to the Gupta family. The statement can be read as confirmation that Zuma had effectively transferred his title and raping rights (political influence) to the Guptas. The notion of “state capture” refers to this perception that Zuma opted to look away while his friends “raped” the country. On this note, Martin and Hussein (2017:24) intimate that “the Guptas [ran] South Africa’s state machinery in a manner that benefit[ted] not only themselves, but also their alliances, commonly referred to as the *Premier League*, at the national and provincial levels of the state”. As an embodiment of the state, the President is expected to protect and defend the country rather than let her be abused. This cartoon draws from discourses of gatekeeping, the sexual politics of the Jacob Zuma trial of 2006, and the state capture phenomenon to suggest that self-serving criminality has become the *modus operandi* within the ANC. In terms of physical differentiation, this cartoon achieves caricature by portraying former President Zuma as a gangster in a suit. On the ideological level, Zuma comes across as a selfish politician prepared to commit the worst possible crime (gang rape) for his personal benefit.

Lady Justice, as portrayed in this cartoon, is not only a symbol of the South African justice system but also of South Africa as a whole, as implied by the national colours of her dress. The implication is that Zuma’s relationship with the Guptas subverted not only the justice system but also the rights of every citizen represented by the national flag. Former President Zuma is depicted as looking away from the crime scene in a thuggish gesture which could be read as representing feigned ignorance. While looking away may suggest that Zuma was not aware of the Guptas’ corrupt dealings, the fact that he is standing side by side with one of the Gupta brothers and urging him to rape the country, implies that he is complicit. In their model of caricature, Bal et al. (2009) point out that exaggeration (and stereotyping) make caricature possible. Zuma has a broad nose, thick lips and a misshapen head. These features, which make him look like a fierce creature rather than a human being, are problematic in the South context because they reinforce colonial stereotypes. However, it is these stereotypes that Zapiro appropriates to differentiate Zuma as an object of caricature.

Portraying the South African justice system as a woman and a victim of rape plays into discourses of gendered inequality in South Africa. In the same way that women are endangered by a deeply

entrenched patriarchy, the justice system is also perceived as under threat from self-serving and corrupt politicians. Zapiro's cartoons imply that those who are supposed to protect the Justice System are, in fact, responsible for compromising her integrity. To portray former President Zuma as a rapist is thus to put him on the level of a social outcast, with no respect, not only for his personal integrity but also the integrity and welfare of the country. Zapiro draws from discourses of factionalism and cronyism within the ANC to sketch "a more detailed, nuanced narrative regarding engagements with changing social, economic and political conditions in the post-colony" (Hammett, 2010:24). The former Minister of State Security, Mr David Mahlobo, who, ideally, should protect the interests of the country, is portrayed as one of those aiding the Guptas to rape South Africa.

The two Gupta-linked media organisations, ANN7 and *The New Age*, are also portrayed as accomplices, pinning down Lady Justice and aiding the Guptas. ANN7 and *The New Age* have been accused of running a media campaign aimed at sanitising Zuma's corrupt leadership and fanning interracial tensions (Cameron 2017). While the Guptas are represented by a man with a long, beaked nose, *The New Age* and ANN7 are also represented by the Indian-looking face of Moegsien Williams – the editor of *The New Age*. This infiltration of South African politics by the Gupta family, particularly the perception that the Guptas have power to influence tenders and ministerial appointments (Lodge 2014), is what has come to be known as "state capture". Unlike in the first *Rape of Lady Justice* cartoon where Zuma was aided by the Alliance partners, in this one, the Alliance partners have been replaced by the Guptas and ministers in Zuma's cabinet. Zapiro creates a gap between image and reality by portraying Bathabile Dlamini (President of the ANC Women's League) as an accomplice in the rape of Lady Justice. What is being emphasised here is the politics of patrimonialism (Lodge 2014) that makes public officials partake in wrong doing for personal gain. Bathabile Dlamini's role in this cartoon suggests that the Women's League was "captured" to promote Zuma's political interests. In fact, South African politics under former President Zuma is depicted as a network of relationships/partnerships of patronage.

## **7. CONCLUSION**

This article has argued that Zapiro's *Lady Justice* cartoons, which date back to former President Zuma's rape trial of 2006, can be read as representations of a nation in crisis. Jacob Zuma's tenure as President of South Africa was marred by allegations of corruption and state capture. In fact, Zapiro's *Lady Justice* cartoons seem to portray the political crisis in South Africa during this period as synonymous with Zuma's leadership. Following Zuma's resignation on 14 February 2018, Zapiro captured the moment as "the end of an error" with the "f" in "of" shaped as a showerhead to symbolise the end of rule by ignorance. The showerhead represents Zuma's philosophy of washing as an antidote to HIV/AIDS. The first *Lady Justice* cartoon, which appeared in 2008, ridiculed the alleged relationship of patronage between Jacob Zuma, the ANC Youth League and the Alliance partners. In the run-up to his presidential bid, Jacob Zuma was accused of different crimes which ranged from corruption, racketeering, money laundering to fraud (Gumede 2008:262). However, his political allies campaigned against his prosecution, claiming that the charges were trumped up by President Thabo Mbeki who wanted to curtail Zuma's presidential

ambitions and make way for his own bid for a third term. In Zapiro's cartoons, former President Zuma is portrayed as a villain bent on destroying South Africa's democratic institutions. Zapiro appropriates the rape metaphor to highlight not only the excesses of the political elite but also the gendered nature of inequality in South Africa. Although Zuma is a perpetual presence in the *Lady Justice* cartoons, his aides keep changing. While in the first cartoon, he is assisted in raping Lady Justice by comrades within the ANC and the Alliance, in the other cartoons he is assisted by specific individuals within the ANC such as former Minister of Social Development, Bathabile Dlamini and former ANC Secretary General, Gwede Mantashe. Read together, Zapiro's *Lady Justice* cartoons constitute an attack on ANC politics during Zuma's presidency. One should note, however, that with the ascendancy of Ramaphosa to the presidency, Zapiro has not been able to produce particularly scathing political cartoons – a situation which could be accredited to his fixation with Jacob Zuma.

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