An Analysis of Satirical Cartoons during the Xenophobic Violence in South Africa

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DECLARATION

The Registrar Academic

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL (Howard Campus)

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ABSTRACT

In the months of May 2008 and February 2015, South Africa was plagued with xenophobic attacks that affected migrants from African countries such as Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Steenkamp, 2009: 441). These xenophobic attacks quickly became an ethnic, racial, economic and structural issue. Artists in South Africa reacted through their "weapon" of choice - Art. Many satirical cartoons being published which helped highlight the above issues. For this research, I have analysed ten South African editorial cartoons (which are created by South African artists) that focused on xenophobia in 2008 and 2015.

These cartoons were sourced from local and national South African newspapers. I have chosen three theoretical lenses to analyse how South African satirical cartoonists portrayed the xenophobic violence in South Africa. The first lens used was Xenophobia theory; the second lens was Elements of Cartooning and the third lens was Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque. The final analysis integrated all three lenses which provided a deeper analysis. The research was aimed at investigating how South African cartoonists dealt with the xenophobic outbreaks in 2008 and 2015.

The study concluded that cartoonist portrayed the xenophobic violence in South Africa as being a catastrophic and senseless occurrence. Through the use of satire, cartoonists helped the reader to ascertain valuable information such as the causes and main contributors of xenophobia in South Africa as well as who were the main targets and highlighted the consequences of the attacks. The application of Bakhtins Carnivalesque to the analysis of the cartoons emphasised how the cartoonist can be likened to the Jester of the medieval carnival, as they mock and debunk the hierarchical structures that exist. The cartoonist is thus revealed as a powerful figure who holds the ability to effect change through cartooning.

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CHAPTER ONE

NATURE OF RESEARCH

"It is an artist's duty to reflect the times."

- Nina Simone

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Cartoonists have been recognised as being "satirical chroniclers" who have recorded history through their cartoons (Conradie, Brokensha, Pretorius, 2012: 39). These "satirical chroniclers" have the ability to highlight the essence of an event through simple yet powerful caricaturing. They also have the skill to stir emotions and affect public outlook on an event. The cartoons produced during the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa bore testament to the influential nature of the satirical cartoons and cartoonists, and how they had the potential to highlight the causes and outcomes of the violence with just a few strokes of the pen (Vernon, 2008: 8). Intriguingly, there are presently many studies published on the presence and manifestations of xenophobia in South Africa, however there is a paucity of research with regards to the representations by South African cartoonists on the xenophobic violence in South Africa. This thesis attempts to investigate the power of South African cartoonists and the role their cartoons played during the xenophobic violence.

1.2 CONTEXT

Pandemonium broke out in South Africa during the month of May 2008, when foreign nationals were attacked in an upsurge of xenophobic violence. The attacks claimed the lives of 56 people and saw over 342 shops looted and 213 burnt down (South African History online, 2017). According to *Al- Jazeera*, foreigners were "accused of spreading disease, stealing jobs and sponging off basic government services like electricity, running water and healthcare" (Essa, Patel, 2015). This quickly became an ethnic, racial, economic and structural issue, as not only foreign nationals feared for their lives, but South Africans minority groups as well.

February 2015 saw a reprise of malicious xenophobic attacks. Who can forget the grotesque images of Emmanuel Sithole, a Mozambican immigrant, which went viral in the media? He was callously cornered, repeatedly stabbed and left for dead (Swails, 2015). The statements made by Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelethini during his address to Pongola community members allegedly encouraged the 2015 attacks. The King criticised the government for not being able to control the influx of foreigners entering South Africa and stated, "We are requesting those who come from outside to please go back to their countries" (Ndou 2015).

During this volatile period, a powerful voice of reason came from cartoonists from South Africa and abroad. Many challenging satirical cartoons were being published in newspapers that showed the artists' points of view on these events. The cartoons published criticised the government for not responding effectively and also provoked the "powers that be" who were accused of sparking the xenophobic attacks. Cartoonists seemed to be the voice of reason during this tumultuous period. Many of the cartoons that were published in the South African national and local newspapers developed conversations around xenophobia. The cartoons also helped to create an awareness of the attacks using satire.

1.3 MOTIVATION

I sunk back in my chair as I read the headline: "*I fear for the future here in South Africa*" (Ncube, 2015). The article gave a gloomy account of the gruesome attacks on foreign nationals residing in the country. I was suddenly overwhelmed with a feeling of helplessness, because the only thing I had the power to do was to reach for my phone and send my friends a perfunctory 'be safe message'. I knew that their ebony-toned skin coupled with their thick Nigerian accents made them easy targets for xenophobic individuals, determined yet again to make them feel unwelcome in South Africa.

Simple daily routines such as taking the taxi or walking to the supermarket suddenly became a fearful activity for my friends. Although not physically affected by the violence, it did take a toll on them psychologically. I particularly remember when my

friend - whom I was supposed to co-facilitate a tutorial with- refused to leave his apartment because he was fearful of being attacked or subjected to any type of 'xenophobic prejudice'. He had every reason to be scared as the xenophobic stoning, torching and raping of 2008 could have easily became a reality for him. The campus that we tutored at was located in close proximity to the Durban central business district, which at the time was rife with clashes between xenophobic South Africans, the police and foreign nationals (News 24, 2015). I recall the atrocious images and videos that surfaced on various social media platforms depicting the foreign nationals protesting the xenophobic violence with machetes and knives in hand.

Due to the overwhelming number of displaced foreign nationals, many were bussed to places of safety; some were temporarily placed in camps on sports grounds situated in Chatsworth, Isipingo and Phoenix (Ramphele 2015). One of these camps was located close to my place of residence. Many of the people in my community provided meals and clothing for the victims of the attacks. When I drove passed the makeshift 'refugee' camps, I could not help but wonder about the manic perceptions and the malicious attacks that some of the innocent migrants sitting in that tent had to endure. Even though the xenophobic attacks have declined in South Africa, the aftermath is an ongoing saga as foreign immigrants and refugees are left displaced, jobless and still are fearful for their lives.

Satirical cartoons that commented on the xenophobic violence easily caught my attention; they even were a popular topic of discussion amongst my friends and colleagues at work. One of my colleagues even cut out a Zapiro cartoon - which humorously pointed out King Zwelithini inciting the xenophobic violence - and stuck it on the entrance to her office (it quickly became a conversation starter). I even noticed that the points of views expressed by the cartoonists in their cartoons were actually influencing my friend's understanding of the xenophobic attacks. Due to the enthusiasm shown towards these cartoons, I decided to research the cartoons that depicted the xenophobic violence.

1.4 RESEARCH FOCUS, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims of this thesis are to analyse how did South African cartoonists deal with the xenophobic outbreak in 2008 and 2015 as well as to understand what is xenophobia and what were the underlying causes of the attacks. In order to achieve these aims I will focus on South African satirical cartoons that emphasised the xenophobic attacks that occurred in South Africa and were published during 2008 to 2015. The research will also aim at examining the ways in which South African cartoonists portrayed the attacks in their cartoons and how the theory of the Carnivalesque was manifested in these satirical cartoons. The objectives of this thesis will therefore investigate the following:

1. What is xenophobia and how did it manifest in South Africa?
2. How are the Elements of Cartooning used in the creation of cartoons depicting xenophobia?
3. How does Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque contribute to our understanding of satirical cartoons?
4. In what ways did the South African cartoonists comment on and challenge actions, opinions and attitudes (including those by politicians and media) during 2008 and 2015.

1.5. METHODOLOGY

The theories that will be employed in this study (Xenophobia theory, Elements of Cartooning and Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque) will assist me in reading the cartoons and understanding how the cartoonists use satire to portray the xenophobic violence that devastated South Africa. This research is qualitative in nature as well a desktop research that drive the analysis of satirical cartoons found in newspapers.

1.5.1 DATA COLLECTION

I will select ten satirical cartoons that were published in South African newspapers from the period 2008 to 2015. Five South African cartoonists will be chosen for this study and only two cartoons drawn by each of these cartoonists will be selected. The

subject matter of the cartoons should be based on the xenophobic attacks that occurred in South Africa. The cartoons chosen will be analysed using concepts such as: metaphors, stereotypes, distortions, caricatures and visuals clues.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.6.1 XENOPHOBIA THEORY

Xenophobia theory will be the first lens that will be used to analyse the cartoons. This theory will help provide background knowledge needed to comprehend how cartoonists utilise historical facts on the xenophobic attacks and use this information to create their cartoons. The literature review will also focus on the statistics of the violence which will give insight into the various causes of xenophobia in South Africa and will in particular, look at whether South Africa's past of apartheid had any role in the breeding of xenophobia.

1.6.2 ELEMENTS OF CARTOONING

Elements of Cartooning will help me to understand the technical elements of the cartoon. I will specifically focus on how the cartoonists use satire to create humorous cartoons with highly political and social messages. I will also examine the various components of satire such as humour, irony, parody and caricaturing and explore how all these mechanisms work together in creating a tool that artists use to humiliate public figures. Another component of the Elements of Cartooning is that it is beneficial to the study in investigating what factors come into play to influence the artist's point of view and how their views are exhibited in the cartoons they create.

1.6.3 CARNIVALESQUE

Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque will be used as the third theoretical lens through which to analyse the cartoons. This theory is beneficial to this study as the Carnivalesque includes folk culture and grotesque realism, which will enable me to understand the workings of satire in the cartoon. Folk culture includes components such as folk laughter, parodic literature, and billingsgate wit; grotesque realism

includes exaggeration of bodily features and therefore can be equated to caricaturing done by cartoonists. Grotesque realism also places emphasis on carnal functions of the human body. I will attempt to look at how these features of the Carnivalesque are manifested in the cartoons that will be analysed in this thesis.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

1.7.1 CHAPTER ONE

This chapter provides a brief context into the subject matter of this thesis. It also states the motivation for the study as well as the theoretical framework that will be utilized in the study.

1.7.2 CHAPTER TWO

The literature review will be divided into three sections. In section one I will focus on Xenophobia theory. In this section I discuss the definitions of xenophobia; apartheid and its effects on xenophobia; the general attitude exhibited towards non-nationals in South Africa; and lastly I expound on whether the attacks were a form of new racism. In section two, I examine Elements of Cartooning. This section includes a brief history of cartooning; definitions of a cartoon; what is the artist's point of view; how visual literacy affects one's interpretation of cartoons; and lastly whether there are any dangers involved in cartooning. The last section of the literature review interrogates Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque, which discusses elements of folk culture and grotesque realism. I also examine the limitations to the Carnivalesque and how agency is demonstrated at the carnival. Lastly, I discuss the Carnivalesque in relation to Stalinism and the application of the Carnivalesque in other areas of society.

1.7.3 CHAPTER THREE

This chapter will focus on the methodology that is used in this study. A brief description is provided about the cartoonists selected for this study as well as the reasons why I chose these specific cartoonists. Lastly I will discuss the criteria that I used to select the cartoons.

1.7.4. CHAPTER FOUR

This is the analysis chapter and is divided into four sections. In section one of the analysis I use Xenophobia theory to analyse three cartoons. In section two I use the Elements of Cartooning to analyse three cartoons. In the third section of this chapter I apply Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque to analyse two cartoons. In the last section of this analyse I use all three lenses to analyse two cartoons.

1.7.5. CHAPTER FIVE

This chapter contain a summary of what was discussed in the thesis. I will deliver an overview of the three theoretical lenses used for the analysis of the data and I discuss the analysis and findings.

1.8 CONCLUSION

There have not been many studies conducted specifically on how South African cartoonists depicted the xenophobic crises in South Africa. Most of the research regarding the xenophobic attacks has focused specifically on the triggers and underlying causes of the attacks. Therefore this topic is relevant to the field of media studies and will help to add to the understanding of the power of the media and more specifically South African cartoonists during times of crises.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE ON XENOPHOBIA THEORY, ELEMENTS OF CARTOONING AND BAKHTIN'S THEORY OF THE CARNIVALESQUE

"Art is not what you see, but what you make others see."

- Edgar Degas

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Munusamy Writes (*Daily Maverick*, 2015):

> This is South Africa in the year 2015, 21 years into democratic rule. It is seven years since the last mass outbreak of xenophobic violence when 62 people were killed and thousands of migrants were displaced. The sound bites are the same seven years later – foreigners take South Africans' jobs and must go back to their own countries.

The xenophobic outbreak of 2008 and 2015 in South Africa sparked reactions of disbelief; criticisms and some might even say provocation from the South Africa media. Research conducted in South Africa focussed on the contextual factors of the xenophobic violence. Cartoonists used satirical cartoons to vent their feelings as well as share their perspectives of the violence. Despite the myriad of articles and cartoons published on the xenophobic violence in South Africa, there exists a paucity of research on the role that satirical cartoons played during this volatile period. This chapter will encompass literature on Xenophobia, Elements of Cartooning as well as Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque.

Chapter Two is divided into three sections. Section One includes the various terminologies and language adopted by South African media to describe the pogroms of 2008 and 2015. I also discuss the contributing factors that lead to the xenophobic attacks in South Africa with specific focus on the effects of apartheid on xenophobic violence. This section will also examine the various attitudes and perceptions held by

certain South Africans regarding the presence of foreign nationals in the country. In Section Two I discuss the history of cartooning and how cartoonists utilise the elements of satire, humour and irony in their cartoons. I will also focus on the role and voice of the artist as well as the dangers of cartooning. In Section Three, I discuss Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque, particularly grotesque realism, folk culture and the material bodily principle.

2.2 XENOPHOBIA THEORY

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The months of May 2008 and February 2015 stand as a gruesome memorial of all the lives lost and affected by xenophobia outbreaks. The events of May 2008 left over 60 people murdered, dozens raped, 700 wounded and more than 10 000 displaced (Landau, 2011: 1). February 2015 saw the reprisal of the xenophobic attacks, which the media reports, began in Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal. Around 300 foreign owned shops were set on fire and were looted. The 2015 xenophobic wave left over 2000 foreign nationals displaced by the violence and around five killed (South African History Online, 2017).

This chapter will focus on issues surrounding xenophobia in South Africa, with specific focus on the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks. Firstly, I will be investigating the various definitions provided for the term- xenophobia, as defined by scholars, and then move onto investigating the concept of 'foreigners' in South Africa. Secondly, I will look briefly at the factors that scholars have identified, that could have contributed to the xenophobic violence in South Africa. Lastly, I will include the debates that exist around the adoption of the term 'Xenophobia' used by the media to label the attacks.

2.2.2 DEFINING XENOPHOBIA

The commonly accepted definition of xenophobia amongst scholars is "an intense dislike, hatred or fear of those perceived to be strangers" (Taifira, 2011: 114). This was the term that the majority of the major news networks (viz. *Al Jazeera, E News, News24*) also employed to describe the 2008 and 2015 attacks. McDonald and Jacobs

similarly describe xenophobia as "the deep dislike of foreigners" (2005: 295). The various definitions of xenophobia emphasise negative connotations, as we see in the commonly accepted definitions above: a deep-rooted hatred or fear of foreigners. These behaviours/attitudes are said to have manifested in the local South Africans who committed the attacks on foreigners and had been "exacerbated" by the various media outlets and by the government (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005: 295). Governmental authorities and various community leaders were also accused of being xenophobic.

Boepple and Watts reiterate definitions of xenophobia provided by other scholars. They describe xenophobia as an "unreasoned or irrational fear of that which is perceived as being foreign or strange" (1996: 497). Boepple and Watts make mention of a type of xenophobia termed "political xenophobia". Political xenophobia is examined as using public policy to cause discrimination against foreigners (1996, 497). Laws and public policies may be put into place to curb or hinder non-nationals (Boepple and Watts, 1996: 497). This type of xenophobia is understood as "irrational…Xenophobia" (Boepple and Watts, 1996: 492). These measures are put in place legally as a mechanism of control, whether the population of foreigners is high or low – laws are used to regulate and control them (Boepple and Watts, 1996: 498).

Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur write that the term "political xenophobia" was introduced to highlight that xenophobic attacks not only aim at targeting foreigners but also the socially weak or *socially different* people, such as homosexuals (2003: 309). Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur concur with Boepple and Watts that this type of xenophobia uses public policies to discriminate against foreigners due to "real or imagined conflict with national interests" (2003, 309). The limiting of rights and activities of ethnic minority groups and socially different groups by the majority or more powerful groups also characterizes political xenophobia (Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur, 2003: 309).

The nature of xenophobic violence in South Africa (in 2008 and 2015) was that the majority of the victims were "black" immigrants from other African countries. Due to this occurrence, certain media outlets and academics refrained from using the term xenophobia to describe the attacks, rather, opting to use the terms Afrophobia and

Negrophobia. Negrophobia is described as the "fear or dislike of black people and their culture", whilst "Afrophobia denotes the fear or dislike of Africans and their culture" (Taifira, 2011: 115). A phobia is then a "neurosis characterized by anxious fear of an object or anything outside of the individual that must be aroused by fear and revulsion" (Taifira, 2011: 115). Taifira argues that terminologies used by the media are not the appropriate terms to describe the attacks of 2008 and 2015 as there were minority groups of other races and nationalities that were attacked during this period of time, such as Chinese, Pakistani and Bangladeshi nationals (Human Sciences Research Council, 2008: 5; Patel and Essa, 2015). There were also attacks that were noted against South African ethnic minority groups who were based in conflict areas, including the sePedi and isiTsonga (Human Sciences Research Council, 2008: 5). McDonald and Jacobs therefore suggest that it may be difficult to differentiate xenophobia from other terms such as racism, ethnocentrism and nationalism (2005: 295).

The mainstream media however highlighted the blatant fact that foreigners who were of Caucasian descent were not affected by the xenophobic attacks. This lead to the question: how did the 'attackers' identify foreigners? The xenophobic outbreak also revealed a disturbing factor, when South African ethnic minorities were labelled as being foreign (Landau, 2011: 8; Monson and Arain, 2011: 36). This act of labelling reveals ignorance and lack of understanding on behalf of South Africans.

Another scholar, Taifira, states that one has to take into consideration the effects of apartheid, and the relations between black South Africans and black non-nationals prior to 1994. Taifira calls for the term xenophobia to be deconstructed, as he does not feel that it is a fitting term to describe the attacks of 2008 and 2015. He goes on to suggest that the term 'new racism' should be used in the context of the 2008 and 2015 attacks and that 'new racism' defines the relationship between black South Africans and black non-nationals (Taifira, 2011:114).

2.2.3 APARTHEID AND ITS EFFECTS ON XENOPHOBIA

The Xenophobic attacks, fuelled by ethnocentric attitudes, resentment towards the government, unemployment and other motives culminated in the xenophobia outbreak

of 2008 and 2015. However, many scholars have labelled South Africa's gruesome past of apartheid as being a possible trigger for the xenophobic attacks.

A direct translation of the word apartheid from Afrikaans to English, translates the word as "Apartness" (South African History Online, 2017). The main aim of the apartheid regime was to separate the various racial groups in South Africa, by means of the implementation of various laws, such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 and Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951 (South African History Online, 2017). According to Landau, the apartheid laws that governed South Africa for less than half a century, acted as a precursor to the xenophobic violence. The democratic government inherited a myriad of challenges from the apartheid government such as income poverty, inequality and racial problems (Seekings, 2011: 21).

Landau suggests that one of the effects of apartheid was that the apartheid state of South Africa (1948- 1994) had socialized its citizens into a process of 'othering', by implementing the various segregation laws. This 'groomed' certain citizens to discriminate against non-nationals by focusing on language and culture. Landau states that the apartheid regime "turned against its own would-be citizens, the state categorised and excluded 'surplus people' from both politics and would be urban space" (2011: 5). In the same manner, "blacks in particular began the process of exclusion in their townships by a system of othering". Landau states that (2011: 5):

> During the apartheid era, black South Africans were made to be temporary sojourners in the city; aliens whose usefulness lasted only for as long as they could build the city, care for gardens and pools, or nurture white children. As a 1921 Transvaal Province Commission argued, '[T] he Native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefore when he ceases to minister.'

Issues that still linger after 20 years of democracy and are unresolved by the newly elected democratic government have built tensions in the community. Thus those living with non-nationals in rural areas get frustrated when the non-nationals seem to be getting better jobs and being financially superior to them. Monson and Arain's findings concur with the arguments made by Landau. Monson and Arain suggest that the acts of violence against foreigners were learned because the people living in these

areas had been subjected to division under apartheid law. In essence history repeats itself, this time, the "African brother" bearing the brunt of the violence. Monson and Arain did a study of areas that were previously affected by apartheid concerning the segregation laws and how the inhabitants of these areas reacted or acted out during the xenophobic outbreak. From their study they deduced that (2011: 39- 40):

> Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus – ironically themselves the product of forced removals – bear the divisive effects of the apartheid era's ethnically zoned hostel complexes, homeland-linked governing structures and poor service delivery which, since 1994, have sustained 'severe social pathologies that ravage the social fabric of Kathorus in waves of intensity' (Skosana, 2011). The 'deep, patriarchal and autocratic codes' imposed on residents during apartheid continue to have an impact upon life in these areas today: 'subversive cultures of militancy, defiance and 'lawlessness' continue to characterise the 'democratised Kathorus community' (Ibid: 13, 42).

Taifira concurs with Monson and Arain - that the behaviour of South African locals during xenophobic violence could be simply emulating what they had learned during apartheid. They mimic the way they were oppressed; they now oppress others in the same manner as they were under apartheid. Taifira states that, "population groups that were previously racially subjugated express the same attitude towards their own" (Taifira, 2011: 115).

The xenophobic outbreaks of both May 2008 and February 2015 were not just a spontaneous act of violence, but also a boiling pot of animosity that had been brewing over a long period. Many township residents admitted that, "the impetus for the violence was their own" (Landau, 2011:1). The situation was so dire that the community leaders even drew up ultimatums "demanding that foreigners should get out" (Landau, 2011: 12). "Where words are not enough, business associations and gangsters kill(ed) foreign shopkeepers, residents and other purported competitors. Dozens have been killed since the violence 'ended'" (Landau, 2011: 2).

The main aim of the exclusion and violence against 'foreigners' was to expel them from the country. Landau states that, "such exclusion itself reveals the degree to which migration, xenophobia, and non-racial forms of discrimination remain overlooked or are overtly silenced in scholarly, popular, and political discourse"

(Landau, 2011: 2). There have not been many scholars who have focused on the topic of non-racial discrimination in African countries. However, the topic of non-racial discrimination has now been highlighted by the violent outbreaks in this country that were genocidal in nature. According to Landau, the xenophobic violence, "revealed cracks in the country's legal order and social compact" (Landau: 2011: 2).

2.2.4 ATTITUDES TOWARDS NON-NATIONALS

South Africa's shaky economy was not able to cope with the influx of non-nationals, let alone its own citizens. The booming population of South Africa and its lack of resources all culminated to an eruption of violence on non-nationals who were the soft targets (Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 59). Living conditions in the country could have also influenced the attitudes of South Africans towards non-nationals; after democracy South Africa was ranked the 10th most unequal country in the world (Landau, 2011: 11). This can be linked to the lack of resources in the country, jobs, and rate of unemployment, which leads to other issues such as poverty, poor health facilities and education etc. These elements that add to the inequity in the country further acted as a mechanism of division amongst people and in this case, non-nationals. According to Landau, "the economic and physical securities of those who reside in South Africa are comparable to that of those living in war zones elsewhere in the world" (Landau, 2011: 11).

Many sources had reported that, locals had accused non-nationals of "being the source of HIV/AIDS, the primary cause of crime, and a threat to South African jobs and cultural values" (Landau, 2011: 6). Other stereotypes that are attached to foreigners include the belief that they bring drugs into the country and are responsible for prostitution and human trafficking. This statement cannot hold true for all non-nationals that live in South Africa. In 2006 a survey revealed that 84% of South Africans believed that South Africa was admitting too many non-nationals into the country (Landau, 2011: 6). Non-nationals have been "socially excluded" in order apparently to "maintain the well being of the insiders" (Landau, 2011: 11).

Some South African citizens reacted negatively to the presence of non-nationals living in their area. "The approach for the Somalis to come and just settle in our midst

is a wrong one. Somalis should remain in their country. They shouldn't come here to multiply and increase our population, and in future, we shall suffer. The more they come to South Africa to do business, the more the locals will continue killing them." (Landau, 2011: 13). On the other hand, some residents also seems concerned about the well being of the non-nationals in general, they did not want them to be killed by the locals.

South African citizens stated in an interview that they (the 'attackers') "are not trying to kill anyone but rather solving the problems of our own country. The government is not doing anything about this, so I support what the mob is doing to get rid of foreigners in our country" (Landau, 2011: 13). Some South Africans feel that by threatening and killing non- nationals they were performing an act of justice on behalf of the country. This is a naïve approach to the problems South Africa faces. Even if South Africa did not have non-nationals working and residing in the country, the issues of unemployment, lack of jobs, food, health, education and other resources will exist. According to Fauvelle–Aymar and Segatti, "Gurrs' relative deprivation theory insists on inequality and poverty as key factors of the violence" (2011: 59).

During the violence, community leaders also made statements that seemed to spur on the xenophobic attacks. An Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader (Mr Mbatha) in Madlala (located in the Alexandra township) tried to justify the attacks by stating the following (Landau, 2011:13):

> "The government is now pampering them and taking care of them nicely. As long (as) the foreigners are here we will always have unemployment and poverty here in South Africa. There was no poverty and unemployment in South Africa before the influx of foreigners … there is too much of them now. If the government does not do something people will see what to do to solve the problem because it means it's not the government problem it is our problem".

Mr Mbatha was clearly making a statement and working on the crowds' emotions for political gain. There is no concrete evidence to validate whether the claims are true. He is thereby inciting violence as he insists that 'foreigners' are taking jobs. When influential people make statements like these, it has a ripple effect in the community, mobilizing people to be violent. Residents of the Itireleng community, located in the

North West Province in South Africa, added that (Landau, 2011:13):

> "These people (non-nationals) come here to destroy. They come here and, as South Africans, we are deprived ... If the government is failing to stop them at the borders, we shall stop them here in Itireleng. We are not the police; we do not ask for passports, they are forged anyway".

Most of the 'proletariat' of society feed off public statements made by politicians and community leaders. Due to a lack of agency, people then stereotype and assume that all foreigners are the same, believing that all have forged passports, coming to destroy their homelands. Residents believe if they do not take matters into their own hands, the foreigners will "jeopardize the state and the great South African renaissance" (Landau, 2011: 13).

Monson and Arain have also concluded that "foreigners had received warnings to leave the area or face attacks" and that citizens participating in the removal of foreigners and violence towards them were directly violating the law (2011: 34). Monson and Arain have described the xenophobic attacks as being, "far less organised and more overtly criminal" (Monson and Arain, 2011: 34).

Fauvelle- Aymar and Segatti, have commented that the failure of authorities to take effective action had further contributed to the xenophobic violence. The scholars pose a question: "If the attacks reflected the failure of public authorities were they merely following a pattern observed elsewhere in Africa and other developing countries?" (Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 57). The trend of not being able to deal with the crises effectively could be linked to the stability of a country and its economic status.

Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti quote Pillay, who comments on the culture of entitlement. Pillay suggests that South Africans who were disgruntled with what the democratic government had offered them, sought to take what they thought was rightfully due to them. In other words, if the government cannot provide for their needs, the 'disgruntled' citizens shall take it by force. This according to Pillay reveals delivery issues that have emerged during the xenophobic attacks (Pillay quoted in Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 59). The lack of service delivery demonstrates that the South African government was unable to cater to the public's basic needs and could have caused the public to be frustrated over poor service delivery issues.

Therefore this could have led to some South Africans venting their frustrations on foreigners who are "soft targets" (Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 59).

Fauvelle–Aymar and Segatti conducted this study because most studies that were investigating the xenophobic attacks only concentrated on the conditions for the violence and not what actually triggered the violence (2011: 56). The aim of the study was also to investigate whether there exists an "objective link between the expression of anti-foreigner violence, population profiles and spatial distribution?" (Fauvelle–Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 59) Fauvelle–Aymar and Segatti pose two questions in their study (2011:56-57):

> Is there an objective correlation between areas affected by violence and a specific socio-economic profile? Why do some of the young, poor and unemployed mobilise and resort to violence against foreigners in certain areas and not in other, when socio-economic indicators and levels of and anti-migrant sentiment are comparable.

The data for the above study was obtained by looking at the various electoral wards across the country that experienced acts of violence from 10 May 2008 until 4 July 2008 (Fauvelle–Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 65). The study conducted by Fauvelle–Aymar and Segatti concluded that there are three socio-demographic variables and five socio- economic variables that have been instrumental in the orchestrating of the violence. The socio-demographic variables placed in order are: *Male, Black* and *Language heterogeneity* (2011: 68).

On average, males constituted 49% of the population in sample wards therefore it is expected that the higher percentage of men in wards would increase the probability of violence (Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 68). The wards that had a higher percentage of males were usually those that had large worker hostels and these places historically have had a reputation for violence (Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 68). It is interesting to note that Fauvelle–Aymar and Segatti were curious concerning the hypothesis that the higher percentage of males existing in a ward could also affect matrimonial competition in the wards (2011: 68).

As identified by identified by Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, *Black* was the second socio-demographic variable that contributed to the xenophobic violence (2011: 68). In

the majority of the wards, this variable varied between an astounding 100% to almost 100% in Fetakgomo in Limpopo. However the variable scored as low as 1% in the wards in Breede Valley Western Cape (Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 68). These variations are attributed to the racial segregation that South Africa inherited from the apartheid regime.

The last socio-demographic that was recognised by Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti was *language heterogeneity*. The supposition made by the authors was that wards with higher levels of language heterogeneity would have a higher probability of violence. The authors used the Herfindahl index to ascertain the above hypothesis (Fauvelle – Aymar and Segatti, 2011:69). The data concluded that levels of violence were higher where there was heterogeneity concerning language and income (Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 77). The study also concluded that the socio- economic variables such as unemployment, very low income, income inequality, income heterogeneity and lastly housing, also contributed to the xenophobic violence in wards (Fauvelle– Aymar and Segatti, 2011:67-69, 77).

The above study suggests that the more diverse and area becomes, the lack of similarities start to impact on the way people behave. Groupings occur, with people gravitating towards people of similar likeness in a context of diversity. The above occurrence contributes to the process of 'othering', which is defined by Weis as "that process which serves to mark and name those thought to be different from oneself" (Weis quoted in Canales, 2000: 18). When the process of "othering" occurs- that could lead to violence upon those who are not part of their "group" (Fauvelle –Aymar and Segatti, 2011: 67).

Taifira adds that we could view the attacks against non-nationals as being culturally based. The process of 'othering' had occurred and the non-nationals were seen as a threat to the jobs of the locals. Non- nationals were viewed as invaders whose intent was to usurp the "hard won materialities which the locals earned with sweat and blood", possibly viewing a non- national as being a parasite, leaching off all the benefits of democracy which "fellow South Africans" fought for (Taifira, 2011: 116).

Many of the non-nationals that live in the Alexandra Township are usually from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland. According to Taifira, the Alexandra Township is the primary destination for external and internal migrants (2011: 117). Many of the settlers have also been living in the township since apartheid days; they have now married and settled down (Taifira, 2011: 117).

2.2.5 MEDIA AND XENOPHOBIA

One of the ways that people usually can recount acts of violence is through the perspective of the media, which itself contributes to shaping the audience's understanding and perception of the xenophobic attacks. General views of xenophobia portrayed the violence as binary - the South Africans being evil and foreign nationals being the hopeless victims (innocent). The media was indeed working on the public's emotions to stir up empathetic responses (Monson and Arain, 2011: 27). Humans rely on memory to recount events that have past; it is easy for memory to morph over time and the media definitely plays a role in moulding the way one remembers past occurrences. Monson and Arain draw upon the studies of Foucault to support these statements (2011: 27):

> As Foucault notes in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, the production of truth has its own history –'the history of an error that we call truth'- and we were loath to participate in the 'baking process of history', through which over time the truth may have hardened into 'the sort of error that cannot be refuted'. We were keenly aware that a record of events offered through the filter of the media embodies both memory and amnesia.

Using the media to assist in recounting the xenophobic attacks is dangerous because the media can cloud our memory through the manner in which they portray events. Simply reading a media point of view of the attacks could give the audience a "decontextualized view" (Monson and Arain, 2011: 32): "we cannot imagine that linguistic artefacts are a simple product of the social world; they also produce social structures in a particular way that can contribute to the maintenance or revision of meaning and power relationships" (Monson and Arain, 2011: 29).

Media reports repeated imagery of the "angry, rampaging mobs and crowds, this lack of context gives rise to the dominant image of emotion-driven mob psychology, even

where reporting makes reference to activities suggestive of mobilisation" (Monson and Arain, 2011: 32). Media accounts do not provide us with a holistic perspective of the xenophobic violence. The media did not give the audience an in-depth perspective of the "mob" or South African perpetrators. The media also did not fully answer what was the reason for the violence. Instead the media used vocabulary such as angry, uncontrollable and ungovernable to describe South African mobs attacking non-nationals (Monson and Arain, 2011: 32). Xenophobia was contrasted in the news media to that of a virus, this could have suggested to the audience that the locals engaging in the xenophobic onslaught have no ability to exercise agency. By juxtaposing the attacks to a virus, news media outlets could have portrayed 'xenophobic perpetrators' as mindlessly indulging in the violence (Monson and Arain, 2011: 37, 38):

> A vocabulary implicitly likening the violence to a 'spreading' disease or engulfing 'wave' began to emerge more strongly as reporting began on the third township to be affected by anti-foreigner attacks. The portrayal of the xenophobic violence as a spreading disease elides both the country's history of similar violence and existing evidence of widespread xenophobic sentiment held across race and class. […] The language of disease is evoked here once again, with attacks spreading and 'breaking out' in additional communities. Yet, if there is a disease-like character to anti-foreigner violence there is an a-historical effect to presenting it as a communicable disease.

A study conducted in 2001 stated that the reporting of the migration of non-nationals into South Africa by the media had a very negative tone (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005: 295). Thus, this prejudiced style of writing, indeed has a harmful ripple effect on the community who read those newspapers. It was also discovered that many newsletters and editorials were very sensationalist and critical in their approach to the immigrants and used a lot of anti-immigrant language (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005: 295). Jacobs and McDonald state that there is no single/universal explanation for the xenophobic coverage in South Africa as it is 'a highly contextualised phenomenon" (2005: 296).

2.2.6 XENOPHOBIA vs NEW RACISM

Goldberg describes racism as "discrimination against others based on their putatively different social membership. Commentators assume that when discrimination and prejudice happen among people of the same skin colour (where immigrants are

concerned) it is xenophobia, not racism" (Quoted in Taifira, 2011: 115). Taifira goes on to suggest that the discourse of xenophobia should end because he believes that the attacks in 2008 and 2015 exhibited forms of racism, which he categorised as the "New Racism" (Taifira, 2011: 115). Taifira insists that definitions such as Negrophobia, Afrophobia and Xenophobia do not show the characteristics of the xenophobia attacks (2011: 114-116). New racism, he believes is "practiced by people of the same population group" (2011: 114). This new racism can be classified as racism that is culturally based (2011: 114). The reasons for Tiafira's strong statement is due to his observation that the violence that was perpetrated by 'black' locals on black non-nationals were reminiscent of apartheid white anti-black racism.

Neocosmos asserts that the South African government introduced a modified form of racism by excluding those who are "not seen as belonging to the nation" (Quoted in Naicker, 2016: 4). There are many factors that contributed to this, such as State legislation and practice, as well as criminalising migration. The latter is said to have been an issue that has existed during the apartheid regime, an issue that was inherited by the democratic South Africa, which has enabled "state arbitrariness towards foreigners" (Quoted in Naicker, 2016: 4).

Taifira characterised the 2008 attacks in South Africa as pogroms (Taifira, 2011: 114). He believes that 'blacks' incited the attacks, which viewed the culture of blacks from another ethnic group as being inferior (Taifira, 2011: 114). Taifira continued to deconstruct the terminology of racism implying that South Africans our understanding of racism has always been about discrimination and prejudice against people of different skin colours or seeing oneself as being superior to another race. Therefore the media opted to use the term xenophobia to categorise the 2008 attacks. However Taifira believes that the media and people/citizens were misusing the word xenophobia and he instead views it as a type of racism. He also provides us with a comprehensive definition of racism; he suggests that it is not "necessarily based on skin colour, but on difference in culture, nationality, language, dress, habits and ethnicity" (Taifira, 2011: 114). Taifira believes that the term xenophobia is inadequate to describe or comprehend the black on black violence (Taifira, 2011: 114).

However appealing the term New Racism is in the identification and labeling of the 2008 and 2015 massacres, I strongly feel that the term should not be used exclusively to describe the violence. The definition provided by Taifira of New Racism bears similar descriptions to the term 'ethnocentrism'- which can be viewed as one of the many contributing factors to the attacks. Ethnocentrism is defined as "the tendency of people to view their own culture as being supreme in terms of its priority and worth" (Cleary, 2015: 31). The terminologies New Racism and Ethnocentrism can therefore be viewed as two of the contributing factors to the xenophobic violence whilst the term xenophobia is an all-encompassing term and is more apt in defining the attacks of 2008 and 2015 in South Africa. By utilising strong words such as 'fear', 'hatred', 'deep dislike' to define the term xenophobia- it in turn seems to suggests crueller implications in comparison to Taifira's definition of New Racism. Therefore, for this thesis I will utilize the word Xenophobia in my understanding and analysis of the 2008 and 2015 attacks.

2.3 ELEMENTS OF CARTOONING

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Dov Fedler, a South African cartoonist, describes the satirical cartoonist as being a satirical chronicler, which could connote the cartoonist's ability to provide a timeline of events through the narrative of their cartoons (Conradie, Brokensha, Pretorius, 2012: 39). As the events unfold in reality the cartoonist "strikes back" with cartoons to comment on the events. Ken Vernon writes, the "cartoonist poses an instinctive ability- almost to the point of clairvoyance, […], this ability to cut directly cut to the heart of a subject with just a few strokes of a pen" (2000: 8). Cartoons have thus served to communicate underlying issues of these events to the public through use of satire. In this part of the literature review, I will provide definitions of a cartoon as well as a brief history of cartooning. I will deliver some insights into how the artist's point of view affects interpretation, and how the cartoonists use satire to develop the narrative in their cartoons.

2.3.2 WHAT IS A CARTOON

The word cartoon typically refers to a drawing or animation (Wickham, 2015-online). A cartoon can also be defined as, "a humorous drawing; (an animated cartoon on film; (or a) full size drawing as a sketch" (Branford, 1991: 112). The word originates from the Italian word "*cartone*" which means a large sheet of paper or cardboard, which could refer to the medium on which the artist used to draw or paint on (Wickham, 2015). According to Wickham, the word "cartoon" used traditionally to refer to a full-scale drawing done in oil paint, tapestry or for a fresco (2015). Cartoons can also be viewed as a simplified illustration, which uses a small amount of elements (captions, dialogue etc.), to communicate a message to the audience (Pappalardo, 2016).

There are various types of cartoons: comic strip cartoons, political cartoons, editorial cartoons, gag cartoons, to name a few (Angelfire, n.d). Comic strip cartoons are usually made with more than one panel that shows the progression of the narrative (Angelfire, n.d). Political cartoons serve as a commentary of current events (Angelfire, n.d). Bal et al states that, "political cartoons, by definition, strive to exploit the most obvious or grotesque features of a leader and put them on display, and in so doing, go directly to highlight or attack a political image" (2009: 230). Editorial cartoons usually create cartoons from the viewpoint of the newspaper or magazine; they are based on current events and habitually have an educational purpose (The Opper Project, n.d). Gag cartoons are contained in a single panel and mainly appear in greeting cards or magazines (Angelfire, n.d).

Typically people used the term political cartoons and editorial cartoons interchangeably. Zyglis states that there is a distinction between an editorial cartoon and a political cartoon. Zyglis states that even though people may use these terms interchangeably there are slight differences that exist between the two (2003: 12). He states that both these cartoons have an editorial message and appear in various newspapers and magazines and at its most basic level it is graphic art combined with commentary (2003: 12, 13). He begins his argument by stating that there are three types of cartoons, each serving a specific purpose: social cartoons, political cartoons and comic art (2003: 13). The roles of these cartoons are distinguished as follows:

"The social cartoon comments on society or culture, the political cartoon comments on government, and comic art comments on the human experience" (Zyglis, 2003: 14). Zyglis states that an editorial cartoon conveys a distinct editorial message in a witty manner (2003: 14), while a political cartoon "brings order through governmental action" (Press quoted in Zyglis, 2003: 14). He also mentions that an editorial cartoon has a journalistic dimension as well as a graphic art dimension that are important in distinguishing it from other types of cartoons.

2.3.3 HISTORY OF THE EDITORIAL CARTOON

According to Mason "cartooning' is the term chosen to refer collectively to the making of cartoons, caricatures, comics and Comix" (2004: 28). The beginnings of editorial cartooning finds its roots in the French tradition of storytelling called Bande desinee, which translates to "drawing strips" (Mason, 2004: 48). Mason writes that the narrative features of the cartoon can be also be observed in prints that date back to 10th Century China and even to ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics (2004: 49). Mason states that cartooning is a "field of blur lines" and that as a site of activity, it interacts with other art forms such as graphic design, journalism, film, plastic arts, storytelling and so on (2004: 49). Mason states that it is difficult to find a field that does not influence cartooning semantically (2004: 49).

According to Lord Baker of Dorking, the beginnings of the cartoon can be traced back to the period between 1700-1770, when artists used the technique of "caricatura"; this word is derived from the Italian root word "caricare" which means, "to exaggerate". This style of drawing is aimed at emphasising the "most striking features" for comic effect (2011). Giambattista Tiepolo (1696-1770), an Italian painter drew the caricature below and it dates back to the 1770's (see Figure One).

Figure One: An example of caricature in the 1700's, by Giambattista Tiepolo, n.d,
Italian Ways, Public Domain.

British artist, William Hogarth (1697-1764), who is regarded as the "Father of British caricature" used the technique of caricaturing and developed a new style of art that included "full characters" and did not use exaggerations (Baker, 2011). He wanted to "depict critical moments in life, in act and in consequence" (Baker, 2011). Hogarth accomplished the above by dividing his illustrations into frames. These frames helped to carry the narrative of the illustration as well as to depict movement of time (Baker, 2011).

Below is an example of one of Hogarth's illustrations, titled "*The Four Stages of Cruelty*" (see Figure Two). Each frame has a subtitle: the first frame is titled, "*First*

stage of cruelty", which depicts men abusing small animals with many onlookers jeering the men on. The second frame is titled "*Second stage of cruelty*", which also illustrates men abusing/ killing domestic animals (a horse and a sheep) on the city streets. The third frame is titled, "*Cruelty is Perfection*", this shows a man names Tom Nero who has murdered his girlfriend, after he coaxed her to steal valuables from her mistress. There is an angry mob behind Nero wielding pitchforks; Nero seems chuffed after committing the murder. The last frame is titled, "*The Reward of Cruelty*", this shows Nero upon a surgeons table, being tortured by being cut open from his abdomen with his organs hanging onto the floor into a bucket and exposed as a treat for the dog (Finney, n.d). The illustration by Hogarth demonstrates elements of storytelling and the incorporation of the "frame"; these elements will later be incorporated in the development of the satirical cartoon.

Figure Two: *The Four Stages of Cruelty*, by William Hogarth, 1809, Michael Finney, Public Domain

The years 1770-1830 was considered the Golden Age of cartooning as social satire started to blossom by offering commentary and observations of the latest social pretensions and current fashions (Baker, 2011). The key figures during this period were Townshend, Bunbury, Woodward and Nixon, who were said to have transformed cartooning by having a more playful approach to drawing as well as having a "strong element of personal caricature" (Baker, 2011). During the 1780s, political satire started to flourish, with many caricature exhibitions being held as well as etchings and engravings being sold as luxury items (Baker, 2011).

In America, "Join or Die" (see Figure Three) was one of the first American Political cartoons created in American cartooning history (Zyglis, 2003: 19). Franklins cartoon was aimed at unifying the colonies due to the "Indian and French problems" (Zyglis, 2003: 19). The cartoon was also later used during the American Revolutionary War in which it was used to "encourage solidarity against the British" (Armitage, 2016). Franklin's usage of the image of the snake refers to a myth that indicated if the pieces of a severed snake were joined together before midnight it would come back to life (Zyglis, 2003: 20). This illustration of "Franklin's snake is significant in the development of cartooning because it became an icon that could be displayed in differing variations throughout the existing visual media of the day" (Virginia, n.d). Zyglis asserts that Franklin's cartoon was ahead of its time due to its realistic graphic style and, through its simplicity of design, delivered a powerful message (2003: 20).

Figure Three: *Join or Die*, by Benjamin Franklin, 1754, Armitage, Public Domain

The start of the French Revolution in 1789 acted as the impetus for the development of satirical propaganda in France and Britain, which resulted in the creation of "a new type of sophisticated visual and verbal satire" (Baker, 2011). Moving on to 1819, the revival of the wood graving technique coupled with printing technology of the time allowed for image and text to be distributed to a wider audience (Baker, 2011). Caricatures as well as illustrations were now not only accessible to society's elite but also now widely available to the common person. Baker states (2011):

> In August 1819, the local Yeoman Cavalry attacked a crowd of peaceful protestors in St Peter's Fields, Manchester. The government response was the repressive Six Acts, including an increase in stamp duty that tripled the price of many papers. The publisher William Hone and George Cruikshank, the foremost caricaturist of the Regency, answered these attacks on Reform with a little 24-page shilling (5p) pamphlet, *The Political House That Jack Built*. It would go through 50 editions and sell 100,000 copies.

Pictured below is a page from the pamphlet that was created by William Hone (writer) and George Cruikshank (Illustrator) done in 1819 in London (see Figure Four). This pamphlet was created as a reaction to the authoritarian British Government after they implemented the "repressive Six Acts" (Baker, 2011; British Library, n.d). The pamphlet is named after a nursery rhyme, *The House that Jack Built* and "satirises lawyers, the church, the monarchy and the army, and on the front page proposes that writing is more powerful than force" (British Library, n.d).
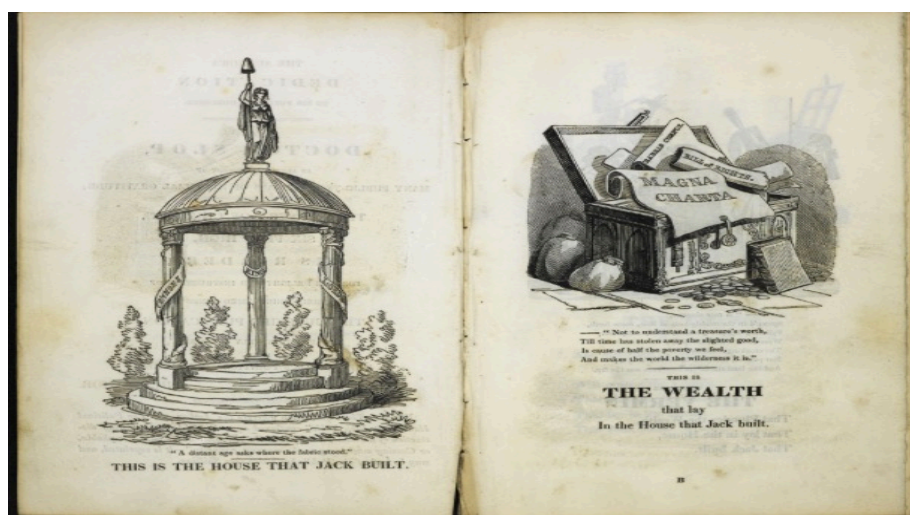
Figure Four: *The Political House That Jack Built,* by William Hone and George Cruikshank, 1819, British Library, Public Domain

The period between 1830-1914, also known as the Golden age of satire in Britain, saw the beginnings of the "humorous magazines" (Baker, 2011; Steinhauer, 2015). With the rise of "humorous magazines", the word "cartoon" started being used in a manner, which we understand today (El Rafaie, 2009: 185). This advancement in cartooning history was due to the introduction of the Reform Bill in 1830-1832. The act sought to have representation from the middle classes and working people in parliament for unrepresented towns; however there was lots of agitation from the rise of unions to support the Bill, the House of the Lords' rejection of the Bill, and the "tumultuous passage of Lord John Russell's reform bill from March to the 'days of May' in 1832" (Navickas, 2015). The crises created a burst of satirical prints that found a home in satirical magazines. It also encouraged the creation of caricatures of noble men, Kings and Queens, Lords and Ladies, and so on (Steinhauer, 2015).

The first of these was a weekly comic newspaper generated in England, entitled *Punch* (1841) (see Figure Five)*,* which was created by "journalist Henry Mayhew and the printer-engraver, Ebenezer Landells" (Baker 2011). Even the name of the newspaper is suggestive of the satirical impact the illustrations and commentary will have on those who read it as well as those to whom it is directed. Later on, during the 1880s the photochemical process was introduced to the printing industry, which enabled the artist's illustrations to be more detailed on newsprint. Steinhauer writes that the technological advancements in printing made it very easy for artists to transition from verbal to a visual satire (Bury quoted in Steinhauer, 2015). The new production processes now allowed for printing and distribution to be easier (Bury quoted in Steinhauer, 2015). Below is an image of the cover of the first edition of *Punch* (17 July 1841).
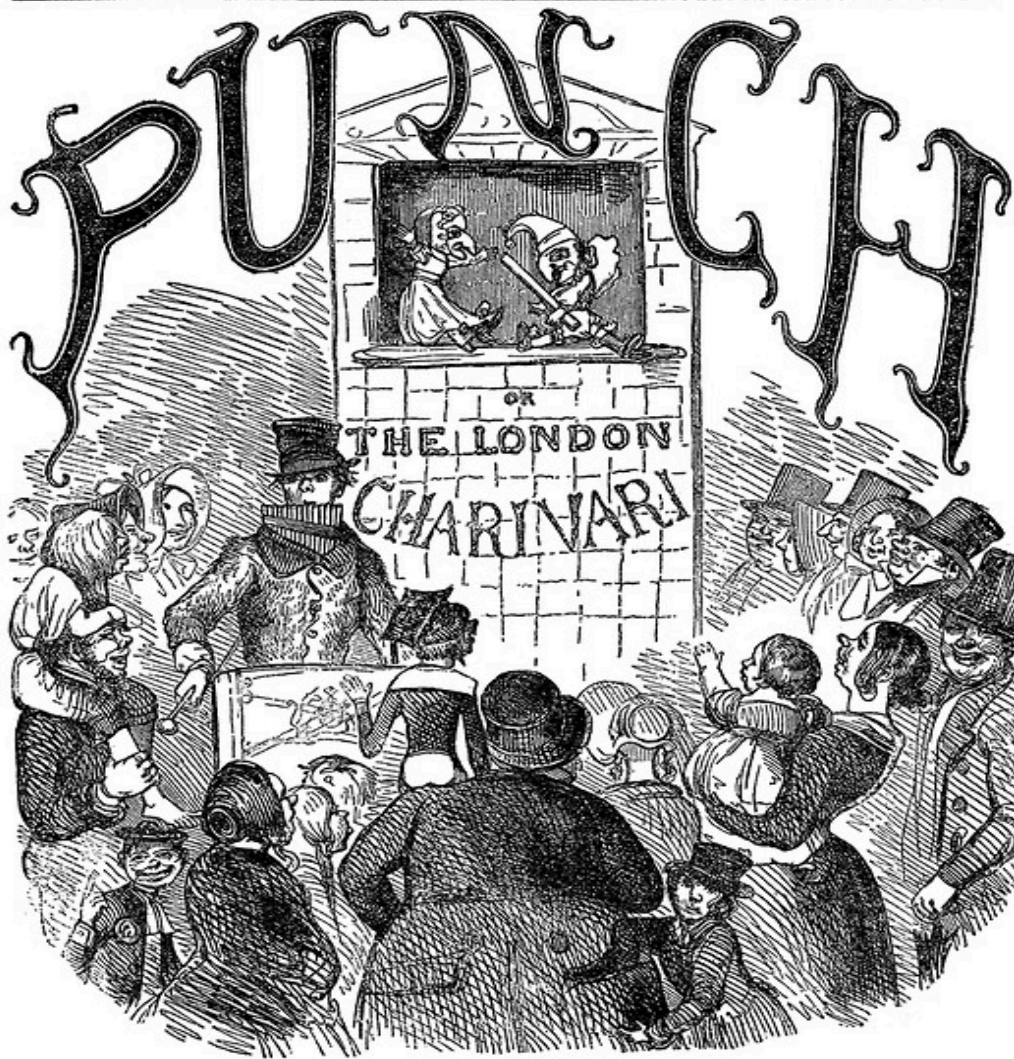
Figure: Five: The cover of the first edition of *Punch*, Archibald Henning, 1841, Punch, Public Domain.

During this period in American cartooning history emerged Thomas Nast, whose cartoons appeared in the newspaper, *Harper's Weekly* in 1871 (Zyglis, 2003: 21). Nast's cartooning was said to have a "revolutionary effect" on American editorial cartooning because his cartoon, *Who Stole the People's Money*, assisted in exposing the ills of corrupt kingpin, William Marcy Tweed (Zyglis, 2003: 21). Tweed was said to control the New York political realm with the Democrats during the late 1800s and was accused of draining millions of taxpayer's money (Fischer quoted in Zyglis, 2003: 21). Tweed was arrested two years after the cartoon was published and it was reported that he stated, "I don't care so much what the papers say about me. My constituents can't read. But damn it, they can see pictures" (Fischer quoted in Zyglis,

2003: 21).

The next stage to the development of British cartoons was called the "Modern Times", which was between the years 1914-1961. The World Wars acted as an impetus for artists to support their country through use of national symbols and personification. One of the magazines mentioned during this period for "entertaining audiences" during the World Wars was called *The Sketch*, (Baker, 2011). Baker recognises the artist named H.M Bateman, whom was said to have "perfected the wordless cartoon", during this period (2011). One of the most influential graphic artists that emerged during that time was Ronald Searle. Some of his work incorporates dark humour and cynicism that was informed by the World Wars (Blake, 2011).

World War II, in America saw the emergence of many cartoonists who made commentary on the war. There were three significant cartoonists that surfaced during this period, Bill Mauldin, Herbert L Block (Herblock) and Pat Oliphant. Mauldin served as a Sergeant during the Second World War and his cartoons allowed Americans to see the war "from the frontlines" as he depicted the narrative of the war through two characters in his cartoons named *Willy* and *Joe* (Zyglis, 2003: 23). "Mauldin's famous Willy and Joe cartoons portrayed a war of frustration and emptiness, abandoning the notion that war is a noble enterprise. His cartoons rallied the support of the troops and the resentment of higher military officials" (Hess quoted in Zyglis, 2003: 23). Herbert L Block began cartooning in 1929 but really began having influence when he started working for the *Washington Post* in 1946 (Zyglis, 2003: 24). "Herblock's artistic style became the staple of cartooning at the time" (Zyglis, 2003: 24). Block's style utilized caricature and incorporated a lot of expression in his characters whilst paradoxically keeping them simple in order for the message to be apparent (Zyglis, 2003: 24, 25). Finally Oliphant, originally from Australia, moved to America in 1965 to work at the *Post* (Zyglis, 2003: 25, 26). Oliphant was recognised for creating "dynamic people and scenes" in his cartoons (Zyglis, 2003: 26). Oliphant possessed a unique cartooning style as he used artistic techniques such as loose scribbles and loosely drawn lines in order to indicate movement (Zyglis, 2003: 26).

"New Satire started to emerge around the year 1961 during the post war period" (Baker, 2011). There was a new British satirical magazine that was established called *Private Eye.* The magazine took a no holds barred vicious approach to politics, which appealed to many emerging cartoonists at that time (Baker, 2011). Baker states (2011):

> For the first time in many decades caricature took centre stage. Two revolutionary artists pushed British satire to the extreme, both visually and politically: Ralph Steadman and Gerald Scarfe. Wally Fawkes, 'Trog', brought intense focus to caricature and political cartooning through his ability to condense a complex situation into a single memorable image.

Cartoons are still published in newspapers and magazines today and are mostly featured in the opinion or editorial section; they are usually humorous and political in nature (El Rafaie, 2009: 185). Some of the most hard-hitting cartoons are drawn during political or social upheaval (El Rafaie, 2009: 185). Some 21st century examples include cartoonists commenting on the 2001 terrorist attack on the twin towers; the kidnapping of 276 schoolgirls in Chibok, Nigeria by terrorist group Boko Haram in 2014; the confusion around the nuclear deal between Iran and the USA; and most recently in South Africa, the Fees Must fall movement (see Figure Six) that started in 2015 and is ongoing.

Figure Six: Cartoon depicting the Vice Chancellor of Wits University the facing pressure of the Fees Must Fall Movement, Findlay, 2015, eNews Channel Africa, Public Domain

2.3.4 SATIRE, IRONY AND HUMOUR

There are many elements that contribute to the creation and mechanics of a cartoon but in this section I will only be discussing satire, irony and humour. According to Bal et al, Satire finds its origins in ancient Greece, where plays were used to mock and question the roles of political leaders openly on stage (2009: 231). These satirical plays were highly emotive and triggered a reactions and responses from the audience (Bal et al, 2009: 231). Cartoonists (political cartoonists in particular) can therefore be compared to the ancient Greek playwrights, as they also use satire in their cartoons to speak about social injustices and question the motives of political leaders.

Satire is a broad term that encompasses various elements such as irony, sarcasm and ridicule (Singh, 2012: 65). There are many synonyms that are used to refer to satire, such as "burlesque, caricature, and parody" (Singh, 2012: 65). According to Singh (2012: 65):

> Satire refers to literary forms in which vices or follies are ridiculed. Satire is the general term, which often emphasizes the weakness more than the weak person, and usually implies moral judgment and corrective purpose: Swift's satire of human pettiness and bestiality. Irony, sarcasm and satire indicate mockery of something or someone.

Another definition describes satire as a literary form that uses humour to expose "flaws, critique society, and ridicule politics. Such devices include humour, irony, and exaggeration" (*Writing Explained*, n.d). Bal et al echo the above definitions of satire stating that, "satire, the use of ridicule, irony or sarcasm to lampoon something or someone, is derived from the Greek for burlesque—an artistic composition designed to generate laughter" (2009: 231). From these definitions of satire we can deduce that it is an element used in various forms of literature to mock, scorn, make fun of any publicised event, or it can be directed at people and it is done in a humorous fashion.

Many cartoonists' employ satire in their cartoons in order to address taboo subjects and sensitive topics such as religion, race, gender issues and other. Singh states that the use of satire helps to address these topics in a manner that is "humorous" and avoids coming off as being too "pretentious" (2012: 68). Singh continues to write that satire assists in "raising awareness" about issues that affect society and therefore is a powerful literary tool in the graphic and performing arts (2010: 68). He states that

satire uses "wit as a weapon and as a tool to draw attention to both particular and wider issues in society" (2010: 68).

Humour is also an element frequently used in satirical cartoons. The definition of humour is the ability to be amusing or comic (Branford, 1991: 363). Essentially, humour refers to the ability to perceive something as being funny. Bakhtin noted that humour is needed in order to reduce social pressure (Bakhtin quoted in Bal et al, 2009: 232). Humour can be found in various art forms both verbal and non-verbal (Singh, 2012: 66). In order for a cartoonist to use satire in a humorous fashion, the cartoonist has to look at their target audience and determine what they would find funny. Singh writes that there are three levels of comprehension that the audience can operate in, which will determine how humorous the audience will perceive the content (2012: 66):

> There is a universal humour (the first level) that can be understood by everybody, without regard to culture or formal education. Humour, at the second level, need not be as visual as on the first level. Sexual, political, or religious jokes, where humour acts as a relief from repression or inhibition, belong to this category. The third level of humour requires a high command of language and its stylistic devices. Its main channel of expression is irony. The audience for this sophisticated humour is cultivated and refined. In it we distinguish two kinds: compassionate, directed to the heart; intellectual, directed to the mind. It is an elitist or high-class humour. The humour of the third level never loses its touch of class and charity.

With regards to satire, we can see that humour and irony can be intertwined when creating comic content. Singh states "Irony is a means to humour" (2012: 67). This means that irony can be used to indicate something in a humorous fashion. Irony is therefore an important element of satire. Singh writes, "Irony is the use of words to convey meaning that is the opposite of its literal meaning. It is a technique of indicating, as through character or plot development, an intention or attitude opposite to that which is actually or ostensibly stated" (2012: 65). The use of irony in cartoons or any other genre can be used to expose contradictions of depicted characters, their actions or expressions. Singh highlights that the use of irony to expose contradictions is one of the essential features it possesses (2012: 65).

There are two common uses of irony that can be featured in cartoons: verbal and

dramatic irony (Inman, 2016). Verbal irony is when the speaker states something and means something else, and Dramatic irony is when the audience understands the events that have occurred or will occur but the characters do not (Inman, 2016).

In their study of cartoons, Conradie, Brokensha, Pretorius (2012) review how irony functions in a cartoon. Their studies assert that irony can be used as a "device" that enables to artist to draw inconsistencies with the subject matter in terms of the "literal and intended meaning", thus drawing the audience's attention to these discrepancies. Irony can also be used to "echo or quote" certain expectations from a certain group of individuals (i.e. common targets of the cartoonist such as politicians, religious leaders etc.), thus irony is used as a "subversive strategy" to critique the subject matter. Lastly, irony can be utilized as a mechanism, which the cartoonist can use to "accuse" the subject matter of their contradictions, thus looking at irony as a tool to spotlight issues (Conradie, Brokensha, Pretorius, 2012: 43). Irony can therefore be used as a tool to spotlight discrepancies in their subject matters lives through use of binary oppositions, for example by placing their subject matter in a situation which is contrary to statements they had made.

2.3.5 ARTISTS POINT OF VIEW

There are many questions that revolve around what informs and influences the artist's point of view (in this case the cartoonist's point of view) when they start the process of creating a cartoon. In order to answer this vast question, one has to take into consideration a multitude of elements. The starting point will have to be understanding the background of the artist, where they grew up, including the social, economic and educational contexts, which can affect the way the cartoonist's perceptions of the world was formed.

When reviewing personal elements that helped shaped the artist's point of view, we also need to consider the role agency plays in the formation of perception. With agency, an individual can break with the perceptions created by their upbringing. The artist can draw on an array of subjects such as the political climate of a country, tragedies, natural disasters, social movements, scandals and other highly publicised events. The question remains as to the manner in which the artists will portray the

subject matter in their cartoons, as there are a variety of factors that can influence the artist's point of view.

Burlin asked: "What is the artist's point of view? Contemporary thought is not a temporary thing. It reflects the passion and aspirations of a people. The artist deals in terms of his own with images related to this contemporary life and its aspirations; he sets the pace" (1949: 49). It seems that the answer to the question posed will constantly change according to the context and period in which the artists live. The point of view of artists will also be determined by what he/she would like to achieve with their art and by what they find inspiring at the time.

Burlin further states that artists do not paint arbitrarily as they always have some sort of social consciousness that guides their point of view (1949: 49). He argues that even if the artist's works had no relation to the times, the social pressures of the time would snap him/her "out of his shell" (1949: 49). One has to take into consideration that Burlin wrote this article a few years after World War II, during which art was used to speak to a purpose, such as dealing with the trauma and after effects of War. One can assume that the above could be the "social pressures" that Burlin refers to (Post-war European art (Artsy, 2017).

Halper and Douglas propose that one of the factors that could affect the artist's point of view is the manner in which they viewed themselves (2009: 236). The previous generation of artists viewed themselves as "great creators and magicians", whilst today's artists are trying to detach themselves from such lofty assertions, instead trying to be "an ordinary man" (Halper and Douglas, 2009: 236). Therefore we can assume that the artist's viewpoint can be influenced by the manner in which they perceive their role in society, thereby influencing the message of their artwork. In this case, it may very well mean siding with ordinary people against the social elites. Therefore we can deduce that art (in the context of this thesis I refer to art in the form of a cartoon) is a highly reflective piece that is influenced by what the artist perceives as being important at the time (they are drawing the cartoon). The larger contexts can affect the way in which the artist depicts events, characters and other elements in a cartoon. In this important sense then, cartoons are 'public' art.

2.3.6 VISUAL LITERACY AND INTERPRETATION

The upsurge of the "literate reader" coupled with the rise of the weekly newspaper created a demand for cartoons to be featured in these papers. The power of influence of the cartoon lies in its visual nature, which enables readers of various literacy levels, to "read" the cartoon. The reader is not required to be "literate" in linguistics in order to understand the intent of the cartoon, or even have knowledge of the workings of mechanisms such as humour, satire or dark comedy (or any other elements used). The reader can simply view the cartoon and interpret it according to their own understanding. The type of literacy that the audience or reader operates in when looking at a cartoon is termed "visual literacy".

Visual literacy can be described as the ability to recognise images and to identify the role of these images in the world (Elkins quoted in El Refaie, 2009: 183). Visual literacy can also be seen as the ability for an individual to use their ordinary everyday perceptions to understand and view images (Messaris quoted in El Refaie 2009: 183).

El Refaie emphasises the need for an increase in visual literacy amongst today's audiences, this is because visual forms of communication are becoming more prominent in the media. El Refaie observes that, "[in] a world increasingly dominated by visual forms of communication, […], the ability to make sense of visual texts is becoming ever more important" (El Refaie quoted in Conradie, Brokensha, Pretorius, 2012: 40). The audience must be able to comprehend and interpret the meaning and purpose behind many of the visuals presented to them in order to be perceptive about the intentions of the producers' use of visual imagery. The audience should avoid at all costs being duped by the media and therefore visual literacy becomes an important aspect in creating a more informed audience.

However, there are also the factors that come into play beyond the text, after it has been published. The text and its meaning then takes on a life of its own according to how the reader will interpret the text. Roland Barthes and his theory of "the death of the author" explain this phenomenon well. There are many ways in which the audience can interpret the text/cartoon and it all depends on the lens through which they view the cartoon. This can be dictated by (but not subject to) a whole host of

factors, such as social structure, socialisation and agency (and other factors too many to name) that will influence one's view. "These goals are pursued with frameworks that operate 'beyond the text' in the 'extra-linguistic world' of social context" (Molina, 2009: 185).

With regards to visual literacy and cartooning, there seems to be a negative stereotype associated with cartooning as many view it as a medium that is easy to read and is aimed at people who are too lazy to read (El Refaie, 2009: 181). Artist Ralph Steadman actually complained about the above stereotype: "the cartoon's now regarded as little more than a 'readily digested pictorial vision' of the written word, intended for those who do not wish to read, who cannot read, or who will just not understand" (El Refaie, 2009: 181). It seems that many scholars assume that the simplicity of the cartoon is catering for an uneducated, lazy audience, which in itself talks down to the audience reading the cartoon and assumes that they are dim-witted. It seems that many scholars overlook the power of the cartoon due to its simplistic nature; however El Refaie asserts that it is the simplicity of the cartoon and its ability to be easily read that contributes to its complexity (2009: 181). El Refaie writes that it is precisely this misconception that has led to a lack of research on this genre of cartooning (2009: 182). She writes that scholars that have done research into cartooning have discovered that artists and readers act as partners in the process of creation of meaning (Elaser, Frahm and McCloud quoted in El Refaie, 2009: 182).

There are specific features in satirical cartoons that "advance the text's argument"; some of these include humour, satire, irony, visual imagery and metaphors. These features in cartoons encourage the reader to interpret the text using various literacy skills. Cartoons that are published in newspapers and magazines generally use single panels, speech bubbles, labels and captions to communicate their message to the audience (El Refaie and Hörschelmann, 2010: 197). According to Edwards, "most cartoons use an imaginary, make-believe scene to refer to real-life events and characters" (Edwards quoted in El Refaie and Hörschelmann, 2010: 197). The above technique used in cartooning compels the reader to read the cartoon through a metaphorical process, as the reader has to associate images used in the cartoon with real life events (El Refaie and Hörschelmann, 2010: 197). Due to the multimodal nature of cartoons, El Refaie and Hörschelmann have concluded that in order to read a

cartoon one has to do the following; "(1) to establish the referents of a cartoon both on the level of the make-believe world and of the real-life world of current political events, (2) to impose a narrative on the cartoon image, and (3) to draw on inter-textual references" (2010: 200).

2.3.7 DANGERS ASSOCIATED WITH CARTOONING HUMOUR

One of the dangers associated with this type of humour, is that it can very easily be framed as hate speech. This is because many cartoonists who target political and public figures in their cartoons usually depict the targets in a manner that mocks that person. The individuals who are the butt of the cartoonist's jokes usually view this as a violation of their human rights. There are many cases, in South Africa, where artists have been sued on the grounds of defamation of character. The Mail and Guardian reported that Zapiro (a South African cartoonist), and Avusa (a media company in South Africa) were sued by President Jacob former for a sum of R5 million for damages to his reputation (Zapiro, 2008). This charge came after Zapiro published a cartoon of the President, depicting him raping "Lady Justice" (Zapiro, 2008) (see Figure Seven).

Figure Seven: Cartoon depicting former President Zuma about to rape the justice system, Zapiro, 2008, Zapiro.com, Public Domain

This is where the great debate over freedom of expression and hate speech comes into play. The lines in this area are very blurred. Another danger that lies in anarchic humour in today's society is that the artist can also risk his/ her life by tackling taboo subject matters in a manner which some people do not approve of. This is true, especially when it comes to making radical statements concerning religion and other belief systems as one can face execution by religious, political extremists and perpetrators of the law. For example, on the 7th of January 2015, eleven people were shot dead at the satirical newspaper *Charlie Hedbo's* headquarters in France. Two masked gunmen, whom claimed to be affiliated to the terrorist organisation Al-Qaeda, took responsibility for the terrorist attack. The terrorists reasoning behind the manslaughter was that the magazines satirical cartoon representations of their religious leader, Prophet Mohammed was done in a distasteful and disrespectful manner (CNN Library, 2017).

The act of publishing one's cartoon in the mass media is risky for cartoonists. Every now and again, cartoonists come into the spotlight for their "controversial" depiction of public figures in their cartoons. In South Africa, we have not heard of any famous artists that were killed over their art or drawing, however, there was an incident where a painting was defaced. Artist Brett Murray called the painting "*The Spear*". This incident, had stirred up much controversy with the notion of artistic expression and defamation of character. The painting depicted former President Zuma sporting a very powerful "soviet style stance" with his "genitalia exposed" (Gibbons, 2012).

There was a huge stir created over *The Spear*, many debating whether the painting was racist or just licensed artistic expression. Two people defaced Murray's painting: Barend La Grange and Louis Mabokela, who were both arrested (Naidoo, 2012). La Grange and Mabokela defaced the painting independently of each other (Naidoo, 2012). It was said that La Grange defaced the painting to illustrate that not all whites are racist and it was alleged that Mabokela defaced the painting to restore "human dignity" (Naidoo, 2012).

In 2007, French satirical artist, Cabu (real name: Jean Cabut of *Charlie Hebdo*), created a series of cartoons to express his anger at city Mayor Jacques Médecin.

According to Weston, Cabu was shocked by Médecin's prioritization of "city beautification projects", simultaneously concealing the increasing amount of parking meters in the city, which allegedly, the mayor's wife held shares in (2009: 118). Cabu tackled these allegations against the Mayor and his wife, with satirical cartoons, which were published in *Charlie Hedbo*. The Mayor sued Cabu for these illustrations; the case was taken to court, resulting in Cabu losing the case and being fined 300 francs (Weston, 2009: 118).

 The above example serves to illustrate that artists are moved by what provokes them and therefore respond to these issues with cartoons. The artist's response can have negative outcomes with regards to the law as we can see in the case study above. When the artist highlights topical issues and "points the finger" at people involved in controversial issues, especially when it involves high profile people in society such as politicians, socialites and so on, there is a risk of the cartoonist being sued for defamation of character.

2.3.8 XENOPHOBIA AND CARTOONS

Pertinent to this study, is the topic of cartoons and xenophobia. There has not been a lot of research conducted in this field of study. However, many South African cartoonists did express their disgust and disbelief at xenophobia in their editorial cartoons (Conradie, Brokensha, Pretorius, 2012: 56).

South Africa's most prevalent cartoonist Jonathan Shapiro (Zapiro) tackled the xenophobic crises with use of irony and satire in his editorial cartoons. Conradie, et al, noted that Zapiro's cartoons that were challenging the issue of xenophobia, emphasised values that expressed unity and justice (2012: 57):

> Zapiro also attempts to influence social views, through texts based on an ideology that condemns xenophobia. As such, the cartoons take a particular value system, which may or may not reflect the majority of South Africans' views, as a starting point. This, in turn, may construct solidarity with fellow Africans as a desirable trait.

Cartoonists stood in solidarity with each other to fight against xenophobia through their art form. Cartoonists opposed the views of those who feel that the "foreigners"

only come to take jobs from the locals in South Africa. In the analysis section of this thesis I will be analysing ten cartoons that focused on the xenophobia attacks in South Africa.

2.4 BAKHTIN'S CARNIVALESQUE

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin was a Russian literary theorist and philosopher of language (Britannica, 2017). He was most recognised for his contribution to the study of literature, in particular, for highlighting the importance of laughter; folk humour, grotesque realism and the Carnivalesque in literature. Bakhtin highlighted these topics in his dissertation on the French writer, François Rabelais, titled *Rabelais and His World* (Bakhtin, 1984). In this part of the literature review, I will be expounding on some of the elements of the Carnivalesque as highlighted by Bakhtin in *Rabelais and His World*. I will also provide criticisms of Bakhtin's theory of Carnival, and lastly provide some examples of the Carnivalesque in popular culture.

2.4.2 INTRODUCING THE CARNIVALESQUE

In order to understand Bakhtin's carnival, one needs to delve into its components. The Carnivalesque is embedded in folk culture and Morris explains that there are three areas of folk culture that were identified by Bakhtin: a) Carnival Festivities (the various feasts), b) Parodic Literature, and c) Language of the Market Place (1994: 195). The above three areas share a perception of human existence; Bakhtin called this *grotesque realism*. *Grotesque realism* manifests in exaggerated bodily protuberances and an emphasis on primary bodily functions such as eating, drinking and sexual intercourse. Physical abuse such as beatings and comic debasements are also prevalent. In folk culture, the body is not individualised and is comically debased in order to be festively reborn (Morris, 1994: 195).

Bakhtin states that folk culture manifests itself in three closely interwoven forms (1984: 5):

1) Ritual *spectacles*: such as pageants etc.
2) Comic verbal *compositions*: both oral and written
3) Various genres of *billingsgate*: such as curses, oaths, popular blazons

Bakhtin goes on to discuss each of the above forms of folk culture in detail. He describes the comic festivities and the ritual *spectacle* as having a very important place in the life of medieval society. Bakhtin states that along with pageants at the carnival, there also occurred the various festival feasts, such as the Feast of the Fools, Feast of the Ass, Easter and so on. Even the medieval Churches held parish feasts, which provided lots of activities for amusement with the participation of monsters, dwarfs, giants and trained animals (Bakhtin, 1984: 5).

Bakhtin speaks of the carnival atmosphere that was prevalent in the duration of the feast as well as agricultural feasts that occurred in the city. He goes on to state that the civil and social ceremonies also took on this carnival ambience, as these ceremonies incorporated comedic aspects, such as clowns and fools, into the formalities. The role of these clowns and fools was to mock and make fun of tributes rendered to the church, various official rituals and so on (Bakhtin, 1984: 5). According to Bakhtin, "minor occasions were also marked by comic protocol, as for instance the election of a king and queen to preside and a banquet 'for laughter's sake'" (Bakhtin, 1984: 5).

Morris explains that the carnival's "most powerful mode of expression is laughter, but it stems from a comprehensive way of seeing human existence that cannot be isolated in any particular aesthetic form or practice. Everybody participates in the carnival" (Morris, 1994: 194). Bakhtin recognises that these rituals that were based on laughter stood in sharp contrast to the feudal, ecclesiastical and political cult forms and formal ceremonies (Bakhtin, 1984: 5). These Carnivalesque ceremonies offered its participants escape from the mundane and oppressive realities of daily living. As Bakhtin puts it, the carnival offered "a completely different, non-official, extra-ecclesiastical and extra political aspect of the world, of man and of human relations; they built a second world and a second life outside officialdom" (Bakhtin, 1984: 6).

Bakhtin understood that the comic festivals and spectacles were not religious and it is the laughter that emanates from these festivals that acts as the stimulus to free the

ritual from religiosity, mysticism and piety (Bakhtin, 1984: 7). Bakhtin writes; "Thus carnival is people's second life, organised on the basis of laughter" (1984: 8).

The optimistic views Bakhtin held on the freedom and liberation that carnival laughter offered its participants was later challenged by Lindahl (1996), who offered a critique to Bakhtin's understanding on carnival laughter. The purpose of Lindahl's study was to illustrate that there were certain elements missing from Bakhtin's interpretation of the carnival. Lindahl states that Bakhtin's theory of the carnival overlooks factors such as community celebration and self-definition (Lindahl, 1996: 57). Lindahl's study takes Bakhtin's ideas on the carnival and tests them against a real-life medieval enactment. The medieval-esque enactment is called the *Courir de Mardi Gras* that occurs in New Orleans, Louisiana, USA. This Latin event was brought to New Orleans in 1699 by the French explorer Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville (Brasseaux, 2016). The *Courir de Mardi Gras* bares many similarities to the medieval carnival examined by Bakhtin. These similarities include the use of costumes, games involving the community, playing the roles of jester and beggar as well as performing comic antics (Brasseaux, 2016).

 Bakhtin states that, historically the carnival had its "genetic links" to that of ancient pagan festivals. Examples of ancient pagan festivals can be dated back to Greece, when celebrations were held around the seasons as well as to celebrate various Greek Gods (Guitar, 2007). Bakhtin revises the earlier "purer feast" and compares it to the feast of the medieval carnival. The earlier feast, according to Bakhtin, represented stability, was unchanging and perennial. The earlier feast asserted hierarchy and the dominant values of the time. This essentially set the tone for the earlier feast and therefore the concept of laughter was foreign to it (Bakhtin, 1984: 9). Bakhtin argues (1984: 10):

> As opposed to the official feast, one might say that carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing and the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalised and completed.

The suspension of ranks during the carnival was supportive of the assertion put forward by Bakhtin that the carnival was not supportive of social or political

hierarchy (Bakhtin, 1984: 10). Bakhtin states that at the official feasts, people were expected to dress in their full "regalia, ranks and merit" (Bakhtin, 1984: 10). The carnival acted contrary to the expected dress code of the official feast; everyone present at the carnival was treated as equals, no one was to show off their rankings, therefore creating equality amongst the carnival attendees. The social order was therefore temporarily suspended at the carnival (Bakhtin, 1984: 10). This temporary suspension of hierarchical structures at the carnival created what Bakhtin described as being a "utopian ideal" (Bakhtin, 1984: 10).

Bakhtin adds that this utopian ideal created a communication amongst the various social orders: "this temporary suspension, both ideal and real, of hierarchical rank created during carnival time made a special type of communication possible in everyday life" (Bakhtin, 1984: 10). Simon Dentith, argues that carnivals were used to "mobilise against the official culture of the Middle Ages" (Dentith, 2005: 64).

However, Dentith also points out that Bakhtin's interpretation of the Rabelaisian carnival reinforces the bonds of authority by its temporary suspension (2005: 71). The fact that the carnival was only allowed to function for a specific period, tells of the constraints put on this utopia; the carnival has to end at some point. With regards to this study, the carnival can also be paralleled to the temporary nature of the editorial cartoon that exists for as long as the paper is in circulation. The cartoon is read and kept for a period until it is recycled or the physical paper is thrown away. The temporary nature of the editorial cartoon also speaks of the events that continue after the cartoon. The cartoon only acts as a commentary for a specific period until new events unravel. However these stories that cartoonists portray in their cartoons can be immortalised in the minds of its audience, just as the carnival, although allowed for a brief period, is immortalised in the minds of its participants.

2.4.2.1 FOLK CULTURE: FESTIVE FOLK LAUGHTER (RITUAL SPECTACLES)

Bakhtin identified three aspects of carnival laughter. Firstly, it is a "festive laughter", which is the "laughter of all people". Secondly, this carnival laughter is not an individual experience as the carnival laughter is directed at everyone. Lastly, Bakhtin describes the carnival laughter as being ambivalent (Bakhtin, 1984: 11-12).

Bakhtin expands on the second trait of the festive laughter, which is directed at all people. In essence, the second trait of the festive laughter, illustrates that the carnival does not have favouritism: everyone present is made fun of, including those who participate in the laughter. The second trait of the festive laughter was vital in creating an atmosphere of equality.

"In the carnival, folk parody shatters the shell of authoritarian restraint, symbolically killing the old order and replacing it with the image of rebirth created from the timeless, utopian laughter of the people" (Bakhtin, 1968: 205). Lindahl sees this laughter as cathartic to carnival participants, in venting frustrations and so on (Lindahl, 1996: 66).

In as much as Bakhtin expresses that the carnival seeks to liberate ordinary people and create an atmosphere of equality, there are elements to the carnival that unassumingly subjected its participants to conformity and in a sense inequity. This can be observed through the various games and parodies played at the carnival, an issue that has been emphasised by Lindahl (1996). The use of masks at the carnival was one of the aspects of inequity that Lindahl (1996) highlights at the carnival. Masquerading under the banner of equality, the masks that were worn by the carnival goers were also a method by which to separate the elite from the proletariat (folk) (1996: 61). "(The) carnival provides a means of expressing tensions simmering within the group itself" (1996: 61). The carnival games therefore were a playful method of expressing and working out tensions that existed within the various social groups (Lindahl, 1996: 61).

2.4.2.2 FESTIVE FOLK CULTURE: COMIC VERBAL COMPOSITIONS

Bakhtin's second manifestation of festive folk culture, the comic verbal compositions, was infused with the carnival spirit and images that existed in the carnival. Monks and Clerics, who participated in the festivities, also produced comic literature; these were called "monkish pranks" (Bakhtin, 1984: 13). These humorous writings took the form of parodies of sermons and prayers, Carnivalesque debates, comic dialogues and eulogues (Bakhtin, 1984: 13-15). The compositions were

"developed in the disguise of legalised carnival licentiousness and in most cases was systematically linked with such celebrations" (1984: 13).

2.4.2.3 FESTIVE FOLK CULTURE: THE VARIOUS GENRES OF BILLINGSGATE

At the end of chapter four of *Rabelais and His World*, Bakhtin explored the third trait of folk culture, the various genres of billingsgate. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, billingsgate was a fish market in London. The language used at the billingsgate market was so loud and uncouth that later on "billingsgate" was used as a byword to refer to foul language (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d).

Bakhtin defines billingsgate as, "A new type of communication which creates new forms of speech or new meaning given to old forms" (1984: 16). This new form of communication permitted mutual mockery to occur at the carnival. Bakhtin explains that abusive words were uses affectionately (1984: 16). Bakhtin further argues about Billingsgate as a form, which allows the user to speak freely without the constraint of verbal etiquette (1984: 16):

> Verbal etiquette and discipline are relaxed and indecent words and expressions may be used, […], the abuse is grammatically and semantically isolated from context and is regarded as a complete unit, something like a proverb. This is why we can speak of abusive language as of a special genre of billingsgate.

Bakhtin further states that the abusive language, mockery and insults used at the carnival were "ambivalent": even though they were mortifying and humiliating, simultaneously this abusive language also revived and renewed its participants (Bakhtin, 1984: 16). The genre of billingsgate also encompassed profanities and oaths (Bakhtin, 1984: 17). With reference to this study, this feature of the carnival bears much resemblance to the duality of editorial cartooning. The ability of the artist to provide mortifying portraits in a cartoon in a humorous manner echoes this trait.

Dentith (2005) assesses the beginning of Rabelais' book called *Pantagruel,* which exemplifies a type of billingsgate. Rabelais praises his own book and at the same time is harking for someone in a sort of mocking tone to find another book that can match up to his. His praises himself and in the same breath he is insulting other writers.

Rabelais states, "Is this nothing? Then find me a book in any language, in any branch of art and science that possesses such virtues, properties and prerogatives. Find it, I say, and I will buy you a pint of tripes! (Rabelais, Pantagruel, Prologue)" (Dentith, 2005: 67). It is interesting to note that tripe was considered poor man's food (Spragg, 2014: 29). The language here can therefore be considered foul and "abuse-like" in its tone. Rabelais is almost harassing the reader to show him any other writing that is better than his. "The swing from the mock-serious tone of the praise of his own book to the comic offer to buy tripe becomes, in this account, a characteristic swing of grotesque realism in which the play of the upper and lower sphere is set in motion" (Dentith, 2005: 67). Bakhtin notes the quick transition in Rabelais' tone from being harsh and intimidating and then to a more comical tone when offering tripe as the prize. Dentith equates the example given above to that of "market-place abuse" (2005: 67).

2.4.2.4 THE MATERIAL BODILY PRINCIPLE AND GROTESQUE REALISM

Bakhtin highlighted the reoccurring imagery of primary bodily functions in Rabelais's novels. The emphasis on primary bodily functions is what Bakhtin characterised as *the material bodily principle*. Rabelais used this feature in his writings to emphasise primary bodily functions such as eating, drinking, defecation, urination, sexual intercourse and so on. This emphasis on the biological functions of the body and use of this imagery is what Bakhtin referred to as *grotesque realism* (Bakhtin, 1984: 18-19). "The material bodily principle in grotesque realism is offered in its all popular festive and utopian aspect" (Bakhtin, 1984: 19).

Bakhtin describes grotesque realism concerning the material bodily principle as being positive, universal and representing all people (1984: 19):

> The material bodily principle is contained not in the biological individual, not in the bourgeois ego, but in the people, a people who are continually growing and renewed. That is why all that is bodily becomes grandiose, exaggerated, immeasurable, […], this exaggeration has a positive, assertive character. The leading themes of these images of bodily life are fertility, growth, and a brimming over abundance. […] The material bodily principle is a triumphant, festive principle; it is a banquet for the entire world.

Bakhtin affirms that one of the essential principles of grotesque realism is degradation, and this principle was most apparent through the antics of the medieval clown (1984: 19). The medieval clown transferred high ceremonial gestures or rituals to the material sphere in order to degrade, parody and bring down chivalry and formal ceremonies (Bakhtin, 1984: 20). The medieval clown had to "turn their subjects into flesh" (Bakhtin, 1984: 20). In this study, Bakhtin's medieval clown can be equated to the editorial cartoonist. The cartoonist can publically humiliate the political elite and can represent themselves superior to others in the social strata through forms of mockery and degradation in their cartoons.

Bakhtin writes (1984: 21):

> Degradation here means coming down to earth, […], To degrade is to bury to sow and to kill simultaneously in order to bring out something more and better, […], It therefore relates to acts of defecation and copulation, conception, pregnancy and birth, […], Grotesque realism knows no other lower level; it is the fruitful earth and the womb. It is always conceiving.

"The feast (every feast) is an important primary form of human culture" (Bakhtin, 1984: 8). Feasts existed and continue to exist as a facet of human culture. With regards to the carnival, Bakhtin places specific focus on the bodily functions, shared by all humanity. They way in which these primary bodily functions work is no different from human to human- we all eat, defecate etc. The "how" we eat and "how" we defecate may differ but the fact remains that everyone performs these bodily functions and it may act as a unifier at the carnival. Rabelais's material body principle also emphases how the external adornments to the body seek to divide a society. Bakhtin illustrates how this principle is broken down at the carnival.

Dentith points out that, "Nevertheless, the book undoubtedly articulates an aesthetic which celebrates the anarchic, body-based and grotesque elements of popular culture, and seeks to mobilise them against the humourless seriousness of official culture" (2005: 64). The "rebellious carnival body" as Wade puts it, is a law unto itself (2012: 318). Bakhtin seeks to portray the carnival as a space in which one can lose inhibitions and express them in a manner in which normal rules and regulations that existed at the time would not allow. The body thus becomes the medium, through

which this anarchy can occur, to behave in a manner that is seen as taboo in normal society, to rebel from the rules. The body is the locus of the rebelliousness. This rebelliousness can be observed during strikes and protests in our country, South Africa. A recent example of this would be the *Fees Must Fall Protest* during which the body was used to express the students' disgruntlement towards the government. Students used their bodies to express behaviour that they will not normally exhibit on a daily basis, such as taking off their tops in public (after police started firing rubber bullets, a small group of female students took their clothing off in protest to show police officers that they were unarmed and that there was no need to shoot). Other students during this protest burned university property, looted stores, burned bins, and broke windows, also assaulting students that did not participate. The *Fees Must Fall Protest* can this be seen as a sort of carnival in which the protesting students used their bodies in order to incite anarchy. Dentith provides a greater insight into grotesque realism (2005: 64):

> Rabelais is famous, after all, as the writer who celebrates the body which eats, digests, copulates, and defecates, but who does so in a wild, exaggerated and grotesque way. But this grotesque realism is not Rabelais' invention; it is rather to be understood as the literary expression of a central attitude in popular culture, expressed most evidently in the life of carnival with its feasting, Feasts of Fools, games playing and symbolic inversions. This attitude is to be traced to what Bakhtin calls 'the collective ancestral body of all the people' (RW 19), that is to the epochally prepared ground of carnival images and festive forms which is no less than the material and bodily continuity of human life. 'The essential principle of grotesque realism', Bakhtin writes, 'is degradation' (RW 19), but he is also insistent that this degradation is not merely a negative process. On the contrary, Bakhtin stresses the ambivalence of carnival imagery and its use in Rabelais. The degradation enacted in carnival and in carnivalized writing—the incessant reminders that we are all creatures of flesh and thus of food and faeces also—this degradation is simultaneously an affirmation, for even 'excrement is gay matter' (RW 175), linked to regeneration and renewal.

Bakhtin presents the medieval carnival as an event associated with destruction. My understanding of this aspect of the carnival is that the participants (of the carnival) must "kill off" their old self and mundane lifestyle in order to be reborn again. One cannot receive the benefits and live in the fullness of the carnival unless the old self dies or is temporarily forgotten. Death and destruction beget life and renewal. This element itself subverts structures that are placed by the natural order of life, wherein, one is born into the world and life naturally gravitates to its natural consequence of

death. Bakhtin sees the carnival as a reversal of the natural order of life and in essence, is reflective of the belief system of reincarnation by which one dies in order to be reborn. One can therefore see the individual participating at the carnival as being temporarily reincarnated into an emancipated being.

"The re-creative nature of the carnival shows itself precisely at the time of destruction" (Lindahl, 1996: 61). Lindahl recognises one major difference with the folklore concept of destruction as compared with the one portrayed by Bakhtin (Lindahl, 1996: 61). Bakhtin identifies that the target of destruction at the carnival were the elite structures, such as the "culture of the rulers, against whom the carnival 'folk' single-mindedly united" (Lindahl, 1996: 61).

The cartoonists seek to attack the public personas of the elite in order to portray them in a new light, so the public can produce a new discernment towards these individuals. The cartoonist can also inspire new ideas and develop critical ways of thinking around certain ideologies that exist in society.

2.4.3 CARNIVAL AND HIERARCHY

Lindahl (1996) states that the carnival was organised on the basis of laughter, thus people congregated at the carnival in an attempt to flee from the ordinary day-to-day life to experience freedom of expression and the temporary liberty that the carnival offered (1996: 62). Lindahl continues by stating that the carnival, although it offered a sense of freedom, was also constrained in its expression. He draws comparisons between Bakhtin's carnival and Mardi Gras festivals (1996: 63):

> Mardi Gras are extremely creative and free, but it is so precisely at those moments when it is most ordered and constrained. In France, carnival participants were subjected to contests far more formalized and rigorous, […], in all these events, play was bounded by strict rules and roles: the various trades and factions had their own carnival societies, and identified themselves with identical costumes. Furthermore, they normally carried their tools of trade in their processions through the city streets.

Lindahl (1996) argues that the workingman still carried around his tools of trade, which could have been aimed to consciously or unconsciously separate and divide carnival goers by means of social strata and workmanship. On the other hand, it may

be seen as a sort of celebration of the working class man upon which the foundation of the city/country was built and to make known that this carnival is for them.

Lindahl stands firm on his position that the carnival did indeed incorporate hierarchical structures in its proceedings: "When one moves from the Cajun Country Mardi Gras to the carnivals Rabelais witnessed and Bakhtin researched, the hierarchical structure of the proceedings grows even more pronounced. The carnival did not destroy hierarchy but simply rearranged its contents" (1996: 65).

The exterior festivities of the carnival camouflaged the darker side that existed. Lindahl states that new research suggests that the carnival had two sides to the so-called "brief rule" of the underprivileged (1996: 65). These "duplicated power structures" that were demonstrated through the games and frivolities at the carnival, according to Lindahl, "simply reaffirmed their submission to the social order" (Lindahl, 1996: 65).

One of the activities at the Feast of the fools that can be perceived as "reaffirming submission to the social order", sought to elevate a poor man's status to Bishop. This "poor man" was elected based on how ugly he was. Even though this endeavour attempted to break down hierarchy, it simultaneously brought about a disposition of inequity by using the newly appointed "Bishop" to illustrate who is poor, middle and elite, and to mark standards of beauty (Lindahl, 1996: 65). The person chosen to be Bishop was chosen by his social status of being amongst the poor in society. If the bishop was chosen by anyone of the attendees of the carnival, overlooking social creed and looks, then only this activity demonstrated equality. Thus one can view that this activity was used to mock religious hierarchy of the time whilst simultaneously making a spectacle of the "poor man". "Not for one second during such enactments was the official social structure dismantled, even in the context of play, […], Hierarchy was thus supplanted but not subverted" (Lindahl, 1996: 65).

The elite may even have rejoiced in their impermanent displacement at the carnival, and he suggests that the lower classes could just have been given power for a day in order to vent resentments (Lindahl, 1996: 65). According to Todorov (1984), the Carnivalesque freedom that Bakhtin wrote about was merely an illusion and used as a

safety valve to allow the poor to vent their frustrations (Lindahl, 1996: 65). Lindahl highlights the issue that Bakhtin overlooks the fact that the bloody sport games and competition at the carnival still enforced hierarchy, indicating there has to be a winner and a loser crowned at the end of these gruesome sports and games (1996: 65). The carnival, according the Lindahl, thus enforces the very thing that it wished to dismantle- hierarchy. The carnival could have also functioned as entertainment for the masses. There was nothing for the elite to lose; the elite had everything to gain, as the carnival was still temporary. According to Lindahl, "Medieval carnival flowed from the premise that the upper and lower classes can, and should be distinguished. Without this paradigm there would be no carnival" (1996: 65).

According to Lindahl, Bakhtin's *Rabelais and his World*, neglects to emphasise one of the most "joyous and life affirming aspects of the carnival", which is the created hierarchy by the carnival goers (1996: 66). It is in the subtle rules and boundaries that are created by the participants of the carnival that thy find most freedom.

Bakhtin limits his concept of folklore to only two social functions, "First, folklore's role is to ridicule and to metaphorically destroy the established order" (Lindahl, 1996: 66). Lindahl states that Bakhtin only focuses on the parodic element that was present at the carnival but ignores the non-parodic elements of folklore at the carnival which Lindahl states was as important as the former. Some of the non-parodic elements were dramas of group independency and intragroup conflict (Lindahl, 1996: 66). The second problem Lindahl states is that Bakhtin insists that folklore is timeless, "ahistorical, and anti-historical", and continuously projects "dreams of equality, perfect harmony, eternal birth" (1996: 66). However, the carnival is a product of folk humour that has been developed over thousands of years (Lindahl, 1996: 66).

The carnival could have been used as a form of control and guise for destruction and violence. The cartoon, just like the carnival, can be used as a source of violence to mobilise or to plant ideologies into the minds of the individual. The cartoon can be used to promote the cartoonist's motives as mentioned in the previous chapter, and it can also be used by the powers-that-be to promote certain ideologies and propagate ideas and values. The cartoon must then be read critically. The cartoon can be used many ways: 1- to promote the ideals and values of the elite; 2- to voice the opinion of

the people, those that have their voices dampened by the elite; 3- to express the ideas of the cartoonist; and 4- the cartoon can also give voice to both sides of the argument/situation that exists.

Dentith point out that various carnivals all over Europe were used for various functions (2005: 73):

> Thus, in a typical way, the activities of feasting and processions, games and competitions, were organised by different festive societies, whose complex social differentiation and symbolic allegiances were used in different ways. The carnival at Romans, therefore, suggests not that the carnivalesque has one univocal social or political meaning, but that it provides a malleable space, in which activities and symbols can be inflected in different directions.

Dentith writes, "Bakhtin's first translator and influential promoter in the American academy, Caryl Emerson, has written that 'the weakest, least consistent, and most dangerous category in Bakhtin's arsenal is the concept of "carnival"' (2005: 63). This statement made about the carnival echoes the sentiments of many critics whom have had their reservations about Bakhtin's theory on the carnival. Many have even argued that the carnival has been a site of subliminal conflict and it not as optimistic as Bakhtin portrays it to be. The carnival is thus a concept which, like all theories, can be contested. I will attempt to provide the views that illustrate the pros and cons of Bakhtin's theory of carnival. I will also examine views that seek to develop the theory of the carnival. The literature that I will provide on Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque will focus on other research that have used this theory in relation to cartoons focusing on other topics.

"There has been considerable disagreement on whether Bakhtin does or does not overemphasise the role of carnival forms in Rabelais; or perhaps this should be put the other way, if you accept the force of Bakhtin's local analyses, to ask whether he does or does not underemphasise the role of humanism" (Dentith, 2005: 70). The idea of lowering all that is ideal - in a sense, the spiritual aspect of the self - to a more material plain, giving into your whims, fancies and carnal inhibition - opposes all that is sacred to spirituality. Many religions especially those dominating during the time of the Rabelais carnival, mainly Catholics and Christianity, would have taught the individual to deny oneself and to seek pleasures of the spirit rather than the flesh. The

theory of grotesque realism at the carnival opposes this notion as it beckons its participants to delve into the self and indulge in the pleasures of the flesh, with emphasis on eating, drinking and other things associated with the body/flesh. It is contradictory to the spiritualism of Catholicism and Christianity. Thus, Bakhtin presents grotesque realism as a form of humanism, which denies any higher spiritual power. Dentith however offers an alternative point of view (2005: 71):

> But the most common objection to Bakhtin's view of carnival as an anti-authoritarian force that can be mobilized against the official culture of Church and State, is that on the contrary it is part of that culture; in the typical metaphor of this line of argument, it is best seen as a safety-valve, which in some overall functional way reinforces the bonds of authority by allowing for their temporary suspension.

In other cultures, some carnivals had elements to it that sought to degrade certain people that the elite or those were in power sought to demean and publically ridicule. It could be possible that at these carnivals, the elite were privileged to perform things that were usually not done by or expected from them such as possibly participating in violent acts against the less fortunate. The morbid side could have been indulging in carnal activities that were frowned upon in civil society- such as sleeping with prostitutes, beating, running amuck. The elite in private could have certainly done these; however at the carnival it could have been done openly. On the other hand, the carnival could have been used as a mechanism to make fun of the public who did not fit the social norm; as seen in the quote below, widows and widowers who remarried people younger than them were ridiculed (Dentith, 2005, 72):

> Furthermore, it is hard to accede to a version of carnival, which stresses its capacity to invert hierarchies and undermine boundaries, without at the same time recalling that many carnival and carnival-like degradations clearly functioned to reinforce communal and hierarchical norms. Part of the festivities of the Roman carnival, for example, included the ritual degradation of Jews, who were forced to participate in races through the streets of the city. One of the main aims of the charivari, a carnivalesque ritual which involved such activities as loud satirical singing outside individuals' houses, and their enforced parade seated backwards on a donkey, was to degrade people who had transgressed community sexual norms—its typical victims were widows or widowers who married partners younger than themselves, scolds, and husbands who allowed themselves to be beaten by their wives. (The Skimmington ride in The Mayor of Casterbridge is a descendant of English versions of charivari.) The carnival inversions, the world-turned-upside-down of these festivities, were clearly not aimed at loosening people's sense of the

rightness of the rules which kept the world the right way up, but on the contrary at reinforcing them. Even Bakhtin's generous notion about laughter
, that it cannot be made to serve the purposes of dogmatic intolerance and violence—that 'it does not build stakes'—does not withstand the evidence to be found in the murderous religious struggles of sixteenth-century France.

There were also some very crude acts that occurred at some carnivals. It could be possible that people could have taken advantage of the anarchic nature of the carnival to the extreme to abuse their carnival rights. It seems like these individuals took advantage of the system and instead of using laughter as a means of catharsis, they used violence. Dentith states that the elite expressed their "deep-seated antagonisms" during the carnival, through violence (2005: 73). The elite, according to Dentith, turned the carnival into a blood sport, they used this event to kill leaders of political parties they opposed while still dressed in costume (2005: 73). It seems that the elite masqueraded their barbaric nature as fun and in the spirit of the carnival. Dentith (2005: 73) also mentions that carnivals in France included riots and cross-dressing (men dressing up as women). It also seems that people used these carnivals to express taboo practices. The carnival thus provided a space in which hierarchies could be overturned (Dentith, 2005: 73).

The space of the carnival materialises the concept of utopianism. The carnival brings to life all of the hopes of the people; it therefore, in terms of utopianism, gives the individual a glimpse into what a utopian society could look like. The concept of utopianism at the carnival can also give insight into what Bakhtin wished the carnival could achieve, in that it only presents the positive aspects of the carnival and assumes that man can live in harmony without social hierarchy or rules being enforced upon them. Unfortunately, Bakhtin does not look at the ability of people being capable of interfering with this utopian environment as they did in reality. People took advantage of the rules being lifted off and some violated human rights. One could possibly look at Bakhtin's idea of the carnival and utopianism as his vision as to what man can aspire to, without the constraints of the oppressive values and practices.

2.4.4 ASSERTING AGENCY AT THE CARNIVAL

John Fiske, in his book: *Understanding Popular Culture* focuses on how people can turn "Cultural commodities to their own interests and find pleasure in using them to

make their own meanings of their social identities and social relations" (1989: 69). Fiske comments that to an extent, these "cultural commodities" can be "meanings' of insubordination made by and in the interest of the subordinate, and oppose those promoted by the power-bloc and its ideological practices: "But resistance to domination can take many forms, only some of which lie in the production of oppositional meanings" (1989: 69). This can be applied to the more negative view of the carnival as a mechanism created by the elite which wishes subliminally to control the masses. On the other hand, the participants of the carnival could have created their own meanings from the activities at the carnival. In a way, they have made the carnival their own, and have thus temporarily overturned the power of the elite.

The creation of meanings from that which was initially created as a system of control by the elites of society can be found in every realm of culture. For example, the school uniform is generally used to create uniformity amongst schoolchildren. According to the rules at the school where I completed my Secondary education, the uniform had to be neat and tidy, dresses had to be below knee length for females, belts should be worn waist high and ties had to be worn at all times. This rule was obviously broken at the school by some female students whom wished to create a new look for themselves and be more fashionable at school. Dresses were taken to a seamstress to be altered and made to sit slightly above the knee; belt hoops were removed in order for the belt to sit on the hips and not the waist, lastly, ties were always worn loosely. Those who did not adhere to school dress codes were considered to be "cool". Just like at the carnival, the students aimed to change rules and created resistance to the restrictions and 'identities' that were placed upon them.

Besides the "production of oppositional meanings", other forms of resistances that Fiske mentions are "those of evasion, getting around social control, of dodging the discipline over self and others that those in power attempt so insistently to exert" (Fiske, 1989: 69). The carnival saw people of all walks of life participate in its utopian moment. The various classes sought to create their own sense of understanding at the carnival and could have subverted meanings that were imposed upon them at the carnival. If the elite intended to use the carnival as a method of control, the masses would have taken to task these control mechanisms and used it to

create their own meanings at the carnival. This view certainly promotes Bakhtin's view of the carnival as a space of utopian freedom.

Fiske mentions that social control is "fragile" and it is "resented" (Fiske, 1989: 69). The truth is that no one likes to be controlled, whether it is from the ruling classes or from the ground up. There will always be a clash of power. For example, the short film called *#Disrupt* (2016) is based on the anti-rape protests that were organised by students and some lecturers at Rhodes University. The aim of the student protests was to highlight the issue of rape at the campus and for justice to be served to sex offenders on campus. In the film, a group of protesting students address and try to mobilise a group of students having a lecture to join the protest. The protesting students demanded that the lecture be stopped. When the lecturer did not comply, the protesters started chanting and came into the class to disrupt the lecture. This in a way is a form of subverted control that is imposed from the so-called subordinate in order to achieve their goal of disruption to get the point across to the elites, in this case, University management.

The case of Rhodes university *#Disrupt* protest saw mechanisms of control being used by protestors and the university – by using police to control the protestors. Protestors barricaded the entrances of the university, disrupted and instigated the university to take action against the sex offenders. On the other hand, the systems of control that the university used were the police that are provided by government to establish law and order. The police used force, rubber bullets and stun grenades to disperse protesting students. The clash of authority and control came from both sides as students refused to move and police did not let a student out of their custody that was having a panic attack. The students used their "rebellious carnival body" to make a statement by breaking codes of social norms in order to let their voices be heard.

Cartoonists, also "disrupt" in order to be heard. Cartoonists defame people's public image, they tackle taboo topics and offer alternate point of view to the public/audience. Cartoonists use satire in order to mock the elite and present them in a subordinate position, in order to bring the audience's attention to the plight of the situation/events/ by "turning the world upside down".

2.4.5 BAKHTIN'S CARNIVAL AND STALINISM

Rabelais and His World can be read as a book with underlying messages aimed towards the Stalinist Russian government at the time. The rebellious carnival body all points towards a decoded message aimed at the government about the people being free to voice their opinions of the day. It a sense, it was Bakhtin's vision of a free world in which people can express themselves, free of governmental oppression. Therefore the interpretation of Rabelais's works by Bakhtin can be viewed from the context in which Bakhtin lived which could have influenced his understanding and reading of the novel.

The cartoons that I will later analyse can be viewed as such, with the cartoonist using cartoons to create an environment or world in which s/he sees the governmental structures that are tyrannical, brought down in his/ her cartoons. Just as Bakhtin uses the book on Rabelais to express his opposition to the government, the cartoonist follows suit. The cartoonist's work can have multiple functions: to highlight topical issues, to mobilise the audience, and in its subtext as a mechanism to direct their frustrations against unjust governments. The cartoon can be seen as a rebellious piece, just like the rebellious carnival body, which does not adhere to the rules, the "anti-authority spirit" of the carnival as represented by Rabelais. The laughter can also take on a negative tone. This is the mocking tone of the laughter, which is experienced by the reader at the end of the cartoonists' joke.

Dentith suggests that *Rabelais and His World* is best read as a coded attack against the Stalinist regime (2005, 68): "The book can be read as a hidden polemic against the regime's cultural politics". Dentith writes (2005: 69):

> Bakhtin's account of carnival may have been partly prompted by the Bolshevik intellectual Lunacharvsky's account of laughter and comic writing that sees it as the merest safety valve for social tensions. The regime's grip on cultural policy tightened significantly after 1934 when 'socialist realism' was officially promulgated as the only permissible aesthetic for the novel; much of Bakhtin's account of grotesque realism may be seen as an implicit rejoinder to this.

In the same manner as *Rabelais and His World* can be read with double meaning, the cartoons that we will be analysing can of course be read in the same respect. These

cartoons on xenophobia are layered with meanings, tackling the system in which we live. The artist can also make a point of using grotesque humour and laughter in order to highlight the corruption in government and point the finger at leaders in an unassuming way. This is the reason why using the theory of the Carnivalesque works well with the subject matter of the thesis. Bakhtin is making commentary on the politics of his day through the lens of the carnival. I will be using this theory to also analyse the xenophobic cartoons in South Africa and research how the cartoonist is making a commentary of the political climate of the time. Dentith writes (2005: 69):

> …more than an analogy is drawn; there is a danger of this analogy ignoring the historical element in Bakhtin's argument. Part of his case, after all, is that the historical conjuncture which produces Rabelais is a particular one; since the Renaissance we have witnessed a fragmentation of the alignment between popular—festive forms and a critical anti-authoritarian spirit. Carnival, therefore, in the particular sense in which Bakhtin uses the word and despite his willingness to extend its range of meaning, is not a transhistorical phenomenon. We can perhaps get some confirmation of this from the very writer whom I have quoted to demonstrate the continuing aptness of Bakhtin's notions, Milan Kundera. Despite the laughter that he directs against the pieties and stupidities of Stalinist rule in Czechoslovakia both before and after 1968, that laughter does not seem to me to have the positive regenerating force that Bakhtin ascribes to carnival laughter, but is rather produced in a sardonic and negative key. The synthesis that Rabelais and sixteenth-century represent has indeed broken down.

Dentith suggests in the above quotation that the reader must take in to consideration the time in which Bakhtin wrote *Rabelais and His World* as the political situation at the time could have coloured Bakhtin's outlook of the carnival.

2.4.6 CARNIVALESQUE FEATURES IN OTHER AREAS OF CULTURE

Although not directly related to my field of study, it is worth mentioning that this system of distraction that allegedly occurs at the carnival (mentioned above) is an age-old one, and can be observed through modern day media and entertainment. The system can aim to distract the masses from being aware of repressive laws or the corrupt practices of the elite. The system can use major sporting events or celebrities as tools for distraction.

Sylvain Timsit explains the strategy of distraction in his article entitled, *Top ten media manipulation strategies* (Timsit, 2010):

> The job of media is not to inform, but to misinform: divert public attention from important issues and changes decided by the political and economic elites, by the technique of flood or continuous flood of distractions and insignificant information.

Timsit also warns us, those journalists that also leak private information such as the "hacktivists" or the popular WikiLeaks could be leaking information with ulterior motives (Timisit, 2010). A current example of this would be the recent release of private emails from presidential candidate Hillary Clinton and John Podesta (a senior Democratic Party official) by Wiki-leaks, which served the interests of the extreme right in the USA.

Moving back to the issue of the carnival and the supposed hierarchical control, one has always to consider other aspects. We cannot only assume that the proletariat is necessarily trapped by the workings of the carnival. We can assume that participants of the carnival can from part of the active audience. The active audiences subvert systems of power and structure, they prove that they the audience or participants of the carnival are not passive recipients of power. As proposed by Wade, meaning is not a one-way transmission that is passively accepted by the receiver, but its meaning is negotiated between the text and its viewers/readers (Wade, 2012: 5).

2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I discussed the three main theories viz: Xenophobia theory, Elements of Cartooning and Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque. In Section One I provided the various definitions of xenophobia and other terminologies that were employed by the media to describe the attacks. I also discussed the factors, triggers and variables that contributed to the violence, such as lack of resources, lack of employment, poor health and non- provision of education for South African nationals. Section two included literature around the history and development of the cartoon as well as how cartoons were used as political tools to speak out against social injustices and corruption. In Section Three I discussed Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque that highlighted the various elements of the theory, such as Festive Folk culture, which

manifested itself as various carnivals by creating as atmosphere of freedom and utopia for its participants. I also provided a background to Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque and also examined the material bodily principle and grotesque realism that focused on carnal activities specifically: eating, drinking, urinating, sexual intercourse, defecation etc. These were attributed to the freedom that the carnival brought for a brief period.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

"When artists give form to revelation, their art can advance, deepen and potentially transform the consciousness of their community."

\- Alex Grey

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter expounds on the methodological elements employed for this thesis, such as the objectives, method of data collection, the aims of the research as well as the lenses that I have selected to analyse the cartoons in Chapter Four. I also will provide motivations for choosing these specific theoretical lenses to interpret the selected cartoons as well as to indicate the validity and reliability of the research I have conducted.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design is important in establishing procedures and methods that will assist in guiding the researcher to conduct the study. "The research design refers to the overall strategy that you choose to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring you will effectively address the research problem; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data" (de Vaus, 2001).

The research design also informs the planning of the research project as it assists with creating a structure to maximize validity and results of the project. It also constitutes of three aspects: Research aims; Data/ information sources; and considerations of validity and reliability (Mouton and Marais, 1990: 193).

3.2.1 THE RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

"Research aims are more specific and reflect more precisely what the research wants to find out" (Sammons, n.d). The aim of this is to investigate the role of satirical cartoons in South Africa, which focussed on the xenophobic violence during 2008 and 2015.

My research questions are:

1. What is xenophobia and how did it manifest in South Africa?
2. How are the Elements of Cartooning used in the creation of cartoons depicting xenophobia?
3. How does Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque contribute to our understanding of satirical cartoons?
4. In what ways did the South African cartoonists comment on and challenge actions, opinions and attitudes (including those by politicians and media) during 2008 and 2015.

In order to answer the above research questions, I researched the history of xenophobia in South Africa, Elements of Cartooning as well as Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque.

3.2.2 LENS ONE: XENOPHOBIA THEORY

Theories around the xenophobic violence in South Africa helped me understand the background and context to these cartoons linked to xenophobia. It helped me engage with the discourse and history of xenophobia in our country. Xenophobic attacks in recent years have been influenced by many various factors, such as South Africa's unstable economy and many social, environmental and political issues. South Africa has also been previously seen as a nation that was divided by apartheid. The effects of apartheid 21 years later are still evident in our land and has also aided in fuelling the xenophobic outbreaks in this country. Therefore I chose to look at xenophobia studies in South Africa in order to provide me with more background information to analyse the cartoons.

There were several factors that impacted on the outbreak of xenophobia in South Africa: Apartheid (Historical factors) (Landau, 2011: 5), high unemployment rate (economical factors), poor service delivery, assumptions that foreigners were the source of drugs and HIV (social factors) (Landau, 2011: 6) Therefore this theory then provided the contexts from which to analyse the cartoons from thus being the first lens of analysis. This lens helped me to analyse the cartoons for the following:

1. Depiction of xenophobia in South Africa
2. Factors contributing to the outbreak of xenophobic outbreaks
3. Implications of Xenophobia in South Africa

3.2.3 LENS TWO: ELEMENTS OF CARTOONING

This lens was used to examine the visceral elements that bring the cartoons to life. These elements include, colour, form, shape, caricature and characters, focal point, foreground, background, speech bubbles and so on. These elements are intrinsic to the creation and interpretation of cartoons. The elements add a depth to the analysis of a cartoon as each one plays a specific role in shaping ones reading of a cartoon, for example the choice of colour used in the cartoon can immediately impact on the overall tone expressed (McNee, 2009). I also examined the prevalence of power dynamics illustrated in the selected cartoons, which manifested in a variety of ways such as use of caricature, symbolism etc. Language was also a major focus of analysis, as cartoonists choose phrases or words very carefully in order to make a point. The choice of language or phrases that the cartoons used were directly linked to humour, irony and satirical elements in the cartoon as they were either utilized to poke fun at the subject of the cartoon or to highlight an opinion of the cartoonist. Humour can be the direct result of language or it can lend itself to the humour of the cartoon (Tsakona, 2009: 1181). I examine specifically how the Elements of Cartooning are manifested in the features listed below:

1) Power dynamics
2) Artist point of view
3) Subject Matter
4) Illustrated context

3.2.4 LENS THREE: BAKHTIN'S CARNIVALESQUE

This lens is informed by Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque. This lens provided me with tools me to analyse the role that the cartoonists played during the xenophobic violence in South Africa. The analysis also includes a discussion on satirical cartoonists being equated to the jester at the carnival and an examination of the use of laughter, tropes and parody in these satirical cartoons. I also discussed the temporality of the carnival creating a type of utopia in comparison to what is portrayed in the satirical cartoons on xenophobia. Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque was useful in that it brought all the elements of the cartoons together, allowing me to examine the manner in which the cartoonists use satire as a form of subversion to call out the powers-that-be and in some cases, to demean them. I analysed the cartoons in this section using the elements listed below:

1. Folk culture: carnival festivals, parodic literature, and language of the marketplace.
2. Folk culture manifested in: ritual spectacles, comic verbal compositions, billingsgate: curses, oaths, blazons.
3. Grotesque realism: degradation, anarchic, exaggeration, beatings, comic debasement, lowering of the supernatural and death.
4. Material bodily principle with an emphasis on eating, drinking, urination, defecation, sexual intercourse.

3.2.5 MULTI-LENS ANALYSIS

In this section of the data analysis I used all three lenses to analyse two cartoons. This method of analysis illustrated how each lens contributed to a depth of analysis in the cartoons, with each lens offering a unique yet deeper understanding of the cartoon. Figure Eight (pictured below) provides a visual that indicates the various lenses that I have utilized to analyse the data for this thesis and serves to illustrate how I have analysed my cartoons.
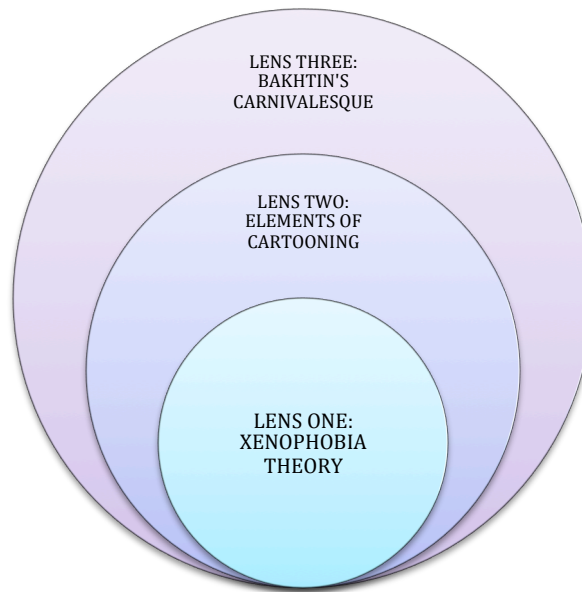
Figure Eight: The three theoretical lenses that I used to analyse my data

3.3 WHAT IS QUALITATIVE RESEARCH?

Due the nature of the content of this thesis, I chose to do qualitative research. This qualitative study relied upon discourse analysis and semiotics to interpret texts (cartoons), and is located within the interpretative paradigm. I chose to do qualitative research as it allows for multiple research methods to be used (Struwig and Stead, 2001: 11), as well as allow me to give my own insight and perspective of the data. A qualitative study permits for research to be open and unstructured on the other hand it also allows for my research to be grounded in theory (Struwig and Stead, 2001: 12-13). Qualitative findings grow out of three kinds of data collection: observations, interviews and harvesting information from documents (Patton, 2002: 4). Qualitative analysis uses qualitative data, which includes "information such as words, pictures, drawings, paintings, photographs, films, videotapes, music and sound tracks" (Struwig and Stead, 2001: 13). Denzin and Lincoln suggests that a host of materials can we used to gather information which can be "ethnographic prose, historical narratives, first person accounts, still photographs, life history, fictionalized "facts" and biographical and autobiographical materials amongst others" (2013: 20). This study is qualitative in nature as it relied upon sourcing editorial cartoons from newspapers and an interpretation thereof.

Discourse Analysis is a method used in qualitative studies in order to analyse texts to interpret their "implicit meaning" rather than the "explicit content" (Denscombe, 2007: 308). "Discourse Analysis involves a 'deconstruction' of the data in order to expose the ways in which text or visual images do the work of creating or sustaining particular aspects of social life" (Denscombe, 2007: 308). This method of analysis was beneficial in unpacking the various subtexts that were latent in the cartoons and relate it to the context of the xenophobic violence in South Africa. Undertaking a discourse analysis also allowed me to also investigate the "hidden messages" contained in the cartoons, "reflect" their meanings, "generate and reinforce cultural messages" of the cartoonist as well as be an "active interpreter" of the cartoon (Denscombe, 2007: 308).

I also incorporated semiotic analysis, as cartoons are rich in semiotic content. With regards to the semiotic analysis I looked at each aspect of the cartoon and analysed what it denoted (Denscombe, 2007: 307). This allowed me to analyse the contrasts and similarities in the cartoon and interpret their symbolic meanings (Denscombe, 2007: 307).

3.4 WHAT WILL THIS STUDY ENCOMPASS?

This was a desktop research in which I analysed cartoons from an interpretive point of view. I only analysed ten South African editorial cartoons (which are created by South African artists) as I reached data saturation. The cartoons that were selected focused on xenophobic attacks in 2008 and 2015. These cartoons have been published in local and national South African newspapers which are the Sunday Times, The Times, The Phoenix Tabloid, The Weekend Argus, and Independent Newspapers.

3.4.1 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

Data for this thesis was gathered from South African cartoons that were based on xenophobic violence during the two waves of xenophobia from 2008 to 2015. This study sought to analyse two cartoons each from five South African cartoonists.

3.4.2 MACRO CONTEXT: XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

The cartoons that were chosen for the study highlighted issues around the recurring xenophobic violence in South Africa. It also created a space for commentary around the xenophobic violence during the time period of the years 2008 to 2015. According to an article sourced from *South African History Online*, xenophobia in South Africa had reached pandemic proportions on 11 May 2008, when violence against non-South Africans erupted in a Johannesburg township. The victims of these attacks were mostly Black Africans of Mozambican and Zimbabwean nationality. The violence quickly spread to other townships and major cities, including Durban and Cape Town. The violence continued erratically during 2008 and 2015 and has since left thousands of migrants displaced, businesses destroyed and countless lives lost (South African History Online, 2017). The background to the xenophobic violence in South Africa has already been discussed in detail in the literature review section of this thesis (see Chapter Two).

3.4.3. MICRO CONTEXT

The analysis of the selected cartoons attempted to ascertain what the cartoons revealed regarding the xenophobic violence and what was the role of the cartoonist. The analysis is divided as follows:

A) Relation of the cartoons to the xenophobic outbreak in South Africa:
- Allegations over who initiated the xenophobic violence.
- Did the xenophobic violence highlight issues around poor service delivery in the country?
- Did the violence highlight deeper issues existing in South African Society?
- The violation of South Africa's constitution.
- Alleged hateful comments made by certain political leaders.
- Inability of government to take effective action.
- The humiliation of Mandela's legacy.

B) How did the cartoons use the following elements?

- Satire.

- Humour.

C) What were the Elements of Bakhtin's carnivals in the cartoon?

- This is based on the assumption that the theory of the Carnivalesque can be illuminatingly applied to the reading and analysis of these cartoons.

3.5. SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

The sampling technique I chose for this study is purposive sampling. This type of research, according to Denscombe is when the "sample is 'hand picked' for the research" and the researcher already knows about the specific event or people and is more likely to produce valuable data in this instance (2007:17). These events (in this thesis- xenophobia in South Africa) " are selected with a specific purpose in mind, and that purpose reflects the particular qualities of the people or events chosen and their relevance to the topic of the investigation" (Denscombe, 2007: 17). This type of sampling was thus applicable to this study because I knew background context to the xenophobic violence and had already seen many cartoons been published in newspapers on the topic. Purposeful sampling thus helped me to select the cartoonists and the cartoons that help generated appropriate analysis and findings for this study.

3.5.1. SATIRICAL CHRONICLERS

The five cartoonists that I had chosen for this study are all of South African nationality. These cartoonists usually publish their cartoons on various media platforms. I, however only focused on the cartoons that were published in the South African national and local papers. The cartoonists I had chosen for this study are Jonathan Shapiro (*Zapiro*), Brandan Reynolds, Nanda Soobben, Wilson Mgobhozi (*Mgobhozi*) and Jeremy Nell (*Jerm*).

The above cartoonists have made significant contributions to editorial cartooning in South Africa. They have also used their editorial cartoons as a form of activism

against various social injustices that were committed nationally and internationally. These cartoonists are also very well known locally and nationally. I have chosen these cartoonists, as they are representative of the major racial demographics in South Africa, namely: Black, White, Coloured and Indian. Their works are also very accessible as they are published in local and national papers weekly. There are also a number of resources available to collect information on these cartoonists. These cartoonists also published a variety of cartoons during the two xenophobic waves in South Africa of 2009 and 2015.

3.5.2 SELECTING THE CARTOONS

The cartoons I have chosen range from the years 2008 to 2015. The editorial cartoons I have chosen are all based on the issue of xenophobic violence in South Africa. The cartoons have been published as editorial cartoons in newspapers and some I have accessed from online newspapers. I have chosen to source these cartoons from newspapers (online and print media) as these newspapers have a high circulation rate-ranging from a reach of 6 139 426 to 1 126 532 people (Manson, 2017). These media can be easily accessed by a various population demographics in South Africa. All who are "visually literate" can interpret cartoons and in some cases, do not require a lot of background context in order to understand the punch line of the cartoons. Visual Literacy is understood as the ability for the reader to recognise images and apply their ordinary everyday perceptions to understand the cartoon (refer to chapter two) (Elkins quoted in El Refaie, 2009: 183). It is also important to note that cartoons are a form of art and therefore, can be interpreted in numerous ways.

These cartoons helped to create a space in which people can discuss the horrific tragedies that occurred during the xenophobic crises in South Africa. They expose the lack of assistance and immediate intervention from the South African government, the paradox that exists between the South African Constitution and the lack of upholding its values. These cartoons also served to highlight the power of the political and cultural elite in South Africa and their potential to mobilize the masses (see Chapter Two), as well as their incapacity to atone for their accidents or misconstrued messages.

The criteria I complied for selecting these cartoons were as follows (College Ready, 2015):

1. Time frame: Cartoons had to be published between the years 2008 to 2015
2. Producers: Cartoons had to be illustrated by South African cartoonists.
3. Publishers: The cartoons had to published in a newspaper- physical or online.
4. Historical context: The cartoons had to contain elements that pertained to xenophobia in South Africa.
5. Elements of cartooning- Cartoons had to contain one or more of the following: Metaphors, Distortions Stereotypes, and Caricatures, list words, places and numbers.

3.6. RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

This research was a desktop research project and due to the scope of this research I did not any questionnaires or interviews to obtain information. This research used interpretative analysis of the cartoons that was informed by the theoretical framework provided by Bakhtin's Carnivalesque, Elements of Cartooning and Xenophobia Theory. Therefore, in order to control "system bias and confounding variables", I chose five cartoonists, which offered a broader perspective to xenophobia in South Africa (Mouton and Marais, 1990: 194). The five cartoonists all hail from different racial and ethnic backgrounds and therefore lent itself to their interpretation of the xenophobic violence. The diversity amongst the cartoonists contributes to the reliability and validity of this thesis. Three lenses were used to analyse the sources for this study viz: The Carnivalesque, Elements of Cartooning and Xenophobia theory.

3.7 WHAT ARE THE LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY?

There has not been any research conducted specifically on cartoons that focused on the xenophobic violence in South Africa. In addition, there have not been any studies done around analysing how the Carnivalesque manifests itself in cartoons that focused on the xenophobic outbreak in South Africa.

Due to the scope of this study I didn't use interviews or questionnaires. Although interviews would have given me a clearer understanding into the perspective of the cartoonist on the specific cartoons I have selected, interviews are argued to be "a

performance for the interviewer" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013: 137). Denzin and Lincoln state that interviewees give a well-rehearsed account of "the past, told and retold to a certain version of events". This can imply that interviews are not always reliable sources" (2013, 137).

3.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I discussed three lenses viz: Xenophobia theory, Elements of Cartooning and Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque. These lenses offered rich and meaningful ways of analysing the cartoons. The cartoons will be analysed from an interpretative point of view. All the cartoons that were selected for this study were published (between 2008-2015) in local and national South African newspapers and were drawn by South African cartoonists - who varied across the major racial groups in the country. The preferred cartoons were selected on the basis that it depicted the xenophobic violence that ravaged South Africa whilst also providing information on the background, causes and effects of the xenophobic violence. The cartoons were also selected on the basis that they exhibited elements mentioned in the Elements of Cartooning chapter (such as humour and satire). Finally, I have noted that this research is a qualitative in nature as it contains my own interpretation and analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

*"Art is not a mirror held up to reality
but a hammer with which to shape it."*

- Bertolt Brecht

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This section consists of ten Cartoons that were analysed using three theoretical lenses: Xenophobia Theory, Elements of Cartooning and Bakhtin's Theory of the Carnivalesque. This data analysis is divided into four sections, each using the theoretical lens mentioned above.

Sections one is comprised of three cartoons that have been analysed using lens one: Xenophobia Theory. This theory has provided the background (macro and micro) context to the cartoon and helped illustrate the implications of Xenophobia in South Africa from 2008 to 2015.

Section two includes three cartoons that have been analysed using lens two: Elements of Cartooning. I will focus analysing the use of satire, irony, colour, the use of speech balloons and in conjunction with dialogue, caricature, subjects, subject matter and lastly the artist's intention/point of view.

Section Three contains two cartoons that have been analysed using lens three: Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque. The cartoons were analysed using the following elements of the above-mentioned theory:

1. Folk culture: carnival festivals, parodic literature, and language of the market place.
2. Folk culture manifested in: ritual spectacles, comic verbal compositions, billingsgate: curses, oaths, blazons.
3. Grotesque realism: degradation, anarchic, exaggeration, beatings, comic debasement, lowering of the supernatural and death.

4. Material bodily principle: with emphasis on: eating, drinking, urination, defecation, sexual intercourse.

Lastly, section four comprises of two cartoons and incorporates all three theoretical lenses to analyse these cartoons.

4.2 LENS ONE: XENOPHOBIA THEORY

This section contains three Satirical Cartoons. The analysis of these cartoons encompasses the following:

1. Depiction of xenophobia in South Africa
2. Political Influence
3. Deeper issues of South Africa's past
4. Implications of Xenophobia in South Africa

4.2.1. "THE UNABRIDGED BIRTH CERTIFICATE" BY BRANDAN REYNOLDS
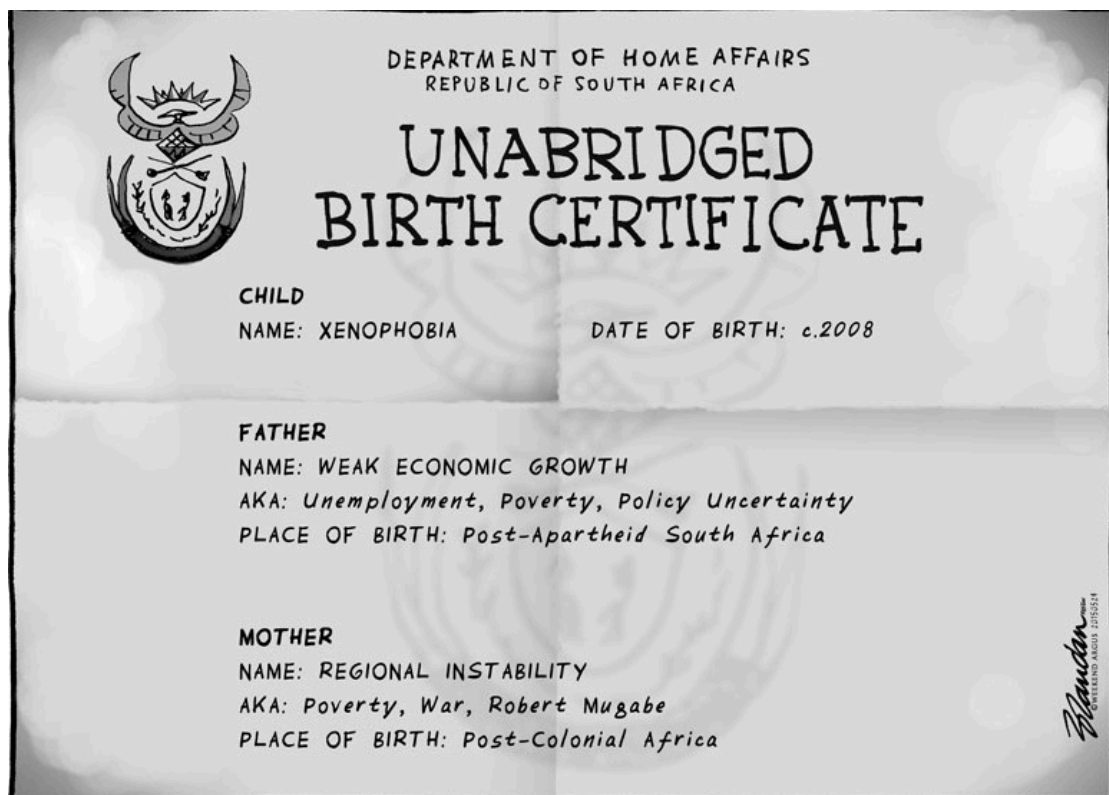
Figure Nine: The Unabridged certificate, by Brandan Reynolds, 2015, Weekend Argus, Public Domain

The above satirical cartoon is a parody of a South African Unabridged Birth certificate to comment critically on the xenophobic violence in South Africa. It alerts the reader that xenophobia was birthed from these underlying causes and was not just a random act of violence. There is no other "image" depicted except for the South African coat of arms located on the top left hand corner of the cartoon as well as a watermark of the coat of arms behind the text. The words on the abridged certificate indicate to the audience how the cartoonist depicted the xenophobic violence in South Africa. The cartoonist uses the visual of the abridged birth certificate to help contextualise the violence, by providing the reader with an explanation of the causes of xenophobia in South Africa. This is a most intelligent cartoon, as it focuses cleverly on what where the various social causes of xenophobia (reflected using the metaphor of the parents) were. Reynolds is therefore providing us, "unabridged" information on what were the underlying factors that gave "birth" to this monstrosity labelled, Xenophobia.

The child's name on the certificate indicated by Reynolds is named "Xenophobia". The cartoonist states that Xenophobia was born in 2008. By using the birth certificate as the basis of this satirical cartoon, it appears that Reynolds has personified "Xenophobia", as well as the "parents" of Xenophobia, in order to demonstrate that this ghastly phenomenon is a living being that is tangible to all those who experience it.

4.2.1.1 FATHER: WEAK ECONOMIC GROWTH

Xenophobia is represented being fathered by South Africa's "weak economic growth". Reynolds gives the reader a better description of what he perceives to be *weak economic growth* by providing the text, "AKA" (also known as), underneath the name. Reynolds relays to the reader that weak economic growth is "unemployment, poverty and uncertainty" (Human Sciences Research Council, 2008: 12). Reynolds draws on explanations of xenophobia found in academic scholarship to illustrate the various contributing factors to the xenophobic outbreak.

Many perpetrators of the xenophobic violence stated that "foreigners" are entering South Africa and taking jobs that according to them were supposed to be theirs.

However, it is highly ironic that most of those who were targeted were African nationals who came to South Africa and started small businesses. The foreign nationals who were targeted were spaza shop owners, etc., who have created jobs for themselves. "Blame for economic hardship falls upon non-nationals for causing 'enormous financial burden on the country because of their health, education and housing needs'" (Hanekom and Webster, 2009: 92).

According to Business Tech, South Africa has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world (Business Tech, 2016). According to research conducted by Hanekom and Webster the unemployment rate in South Africa was recorded above 22% in the years 2007 and 2008, it was also mentioned that this figure was frequently higher in townships (2009: 15). This unemployment rate has created feelings of bitterness and anger amongst those who are jobless. Thus this frustration amongst the unemployed had morphed into xenophobia, with angry South Africans targeting businesses run by other African nationals as well as innocent South African nationals.

Unemployment is also linked to poverty. For when there is unemployment the next factor we look at is cost of living. A person living in poverty will not be able to afford efficient medical care, food, clothing and suitable shelter. Therefore the issue of foreign nationals coming to South Africa to seek employment has caused tension with unemployed South Africans who are frustrated with the employment rate in South Africa. The frustration of poverty had amalgamated with other tensions to form xenophobia. According to Hanekom and Webster, over 50% of the South African population live below the poverty line (2009: 92).

Policy uncertainty in South Africa was the last internal factor that Reynolds states in his cartoon. According to Baker, Bloom and Davis (2015):

> Policy uncertainty (also called regime uncertainty) is a class of economic risk where the future path of government policy is uncertain, raising risk premium and leading businesses and individuals to delay spending and investment until this uncertainty has been resolved. Policy uncertainty may refer to uncertainty about monetary or fiscal policy, the tax or regulatory regime, or uncertainty over electoral outcomes that will influence political leadership.

The above goes hand in hand with the weak economic growth of the country. Due to the government's inability to respond the xenophobic violence promptly, this led to businesses delaying investing in the country that caused the JSE (Johannesburg Stock Exchange) to become unstable. This therefore affects the economy, which in turn affects the poorest in the country. According to Tejvan Pettinger (2012):

> Stability: Stock markets dislike shocks that could threaten economic stability and future growth. Therefore, they will tend to fall on news of terrorist attacks or spikes in the price of oil. They will also dislike political instability, which may make it difficult to pursue strong economic policies.

4.2.1.2 PLACE OF BIRTH: POST- APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Reynolds alludes to the fact that the above factors or the "Father of Xenophobia" had all developed after South Africa entered democracy. It also indicates to the reader that the xenophobic violence is a result of an array of unresolved issues that existed in South Africa after the country entered Democracy. Issues like dealing with segregation, unemployment, inequality, ideological issues etc. were not properly dealt with and therefore, these unresolved issues snowballed and lent itself to the numerous acts of violence and in this case, the xenophobic attacks (Andrews, 2017; Naicker, 2016:4).

This could infer that the transition between the apartheid government and democratic government of South Africa was not entirely smooth, as one would perceive it to be (the transition was between the years 1991 and 1994 when the new democratic government took over (History Channel, 2017). It left many problems unresolved and still manifesting in the country. Certain interventions that were supposed to put in place by the new democratic government, to alleviate poverty (poverty is pointed out by Reynolds as one of causes of xenophobia) may have not been effective.

The idea of a democratic South Africa brought with it hopes for a new future, driven by radical transformation. However change in South Africa also had to be processed in the minds of people. Individuals might have been expected to unshackle their

minds from the apartheid indoctrination that for some had been forced upon their thought processes for over 50 years (History Channel, 2017). Citizens that had once been under the apartheid government were expected to create an oneness amongst all living in South Africa, a "*Simunye*" (a Zulu word meaning: *we are one*) if you will. However, the cartoon emphasises that this was not the case, that the new democratic government had a difficult task of trying to unpack a heavy baggage of tension, strife, inequality, inequity and ideological mayhem left by apartheid, which had a hand in the development in the xenophobic violence.

4.2.1.3 PARENTS OF XENOPHOBIA

Reynolds has personified the factors that have created xenophobia and have given these various contributing factors the titles: *Mother* and *Father* that gave birth to xenophobia. The father represented the internal factors and the mother represented the external factors that contributed to the xenophobic violence. One might conclude that the cartoonist depicts xenophobia as a living a breathing creature and not something that exists on a piece of paper or in the minds of individuals. It is alive and breeding amongst us in society and has the ability to spiral out of control until plans and measures are put in place to eliminate the threat of xenophobia. It indicates to us that xenophobia was born out of various factors that existed in post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa. The cartoon therefore takes an 'academic' angle by drawing attention to larger contextual causes of xenophobia.

4.2.1.4 XENOPHOBIA'S MOTHER: REGIONAL INSTABILITY (EXTERNAL CAUSES)

The "*mother*": of xenophobia has been named "*Regional Instability*". This attributes a sense of unpredictability to *xenophobia's mother*. Reynolds points out in the cartoon that there are various types of instability that exists in Africa beyond South Africa's borders. These can be political, economic, social etc. Reynolds emphasises that these issues of instability have existed for a long time. The cartoonist implies in this cartoon that we cannot entirely blame the democratic government for the problems caused by xenophobia or the problems that built up to the xenophobic violence, as causes also lay outside South Africa: regional instabilities generated migrations to South Africa.

4.2.1.5 "ALSO KNOWN AS"

Poverty outside of South Africa is mentioned for the second time in the cartoon under the mother's description. This can indicate that it is a key player in the development of the violence in South Africa (the main antagonist).

4.2.1.6 WAR

In the context of the post-colonial Africa, Reynolds could be referring to contemporary African wars outside of South Africa that cause African nationals to seek asylum in South Africa. There are approximately 65 000 recognised refugees residing in South Africa and 230 000 asylum seekers awaiting a decision from South African Home Affairs (Cape Town Refugee Centre Partners, 2017). Some of the countries that refugees and immigrants come from are the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Zimbabwe to name a few. Zimbabweans were reported in 2010 to be the "highest on the list of people seeking asylum" due to political and economic instability in the country (SAPA-AP, 2010).

4.2.1.7 ROBERT MUGABE

Many news media outlets refer to Robert Mugabe as "The Black Hitler" (Holland, 2009). Reynolds could be pointing out the economic deterioration of Zimbabwe, when their currency reached junk status after failing to clear their debt of USD$ 233 million (Chikuhwa, 2004: 318). Due to the cost of living increasing, political instability, and high rate of unemployment many Zimbabweans fled to South Africa. It was estimated that 2 million Zimbabweans fled to South Africa in 2007 (*The Report: South Africa*, 2008: 20). The Government did not effectively deal with the issue of masses of immigrants entering South Africa from Zimbabwe. This could have added to mounting tensions in the country between immigrants and South Africans living below the bread line, as this constitutes an enormous amount of refugees.

4.2.1.8 "DATE OF BIRTH: 2008"

A clear indication that Reynolds is referring to the year that the xenophobic violence reached pandemic proportions in South Africa, making headlines around the country and the world.

4.2.1.9 WHO INITIATED THE XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS?

Reynolds does not blame any individual or group of people for the xenophobic attacks; instead he tries to create a holistic view of the various elements that played a role in contributing to the xenophobic attacks of 2008. The only name mentioned in the cartoon is that of Robert Mugabe.

This cartoon is therefore interesting in that it makes a point of trying academically to understand the deep causes of xenophobia in South Africa, instead of being swept away by the anger and the violence, and because it uses irony to be critical of the xenophobia. Birth certificates are usually joyous documents celebrating new life, while here the certificate ironically documents violence and death. Bakhtin would say it is a "world turned upside down", the 'new' South Africa a nightmare of racist murders.

4.2.2. "MANDELA AND THE RAINBOW NATION VERSUS THE MIGHTY ZULU WARRIOR" BY NANDA SOOBBEN
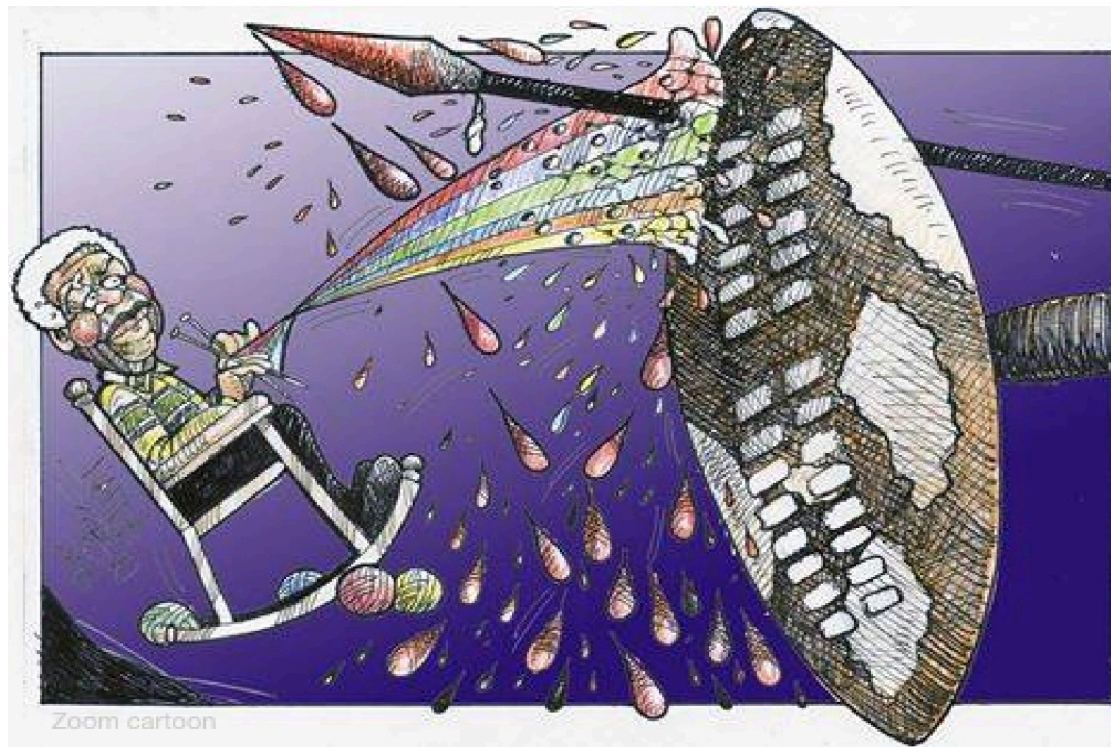
Figure Ten: "Mandela and the rainbow nation versus the mighty Zulu warrior", By Nanda Soobben, 2015, Phoenix Tabloid, Pubic Domain

Nanda Soobben displays the xenophobic violence in South Africa as being a bloody mess, violent and destructive.

4.2.2.1 NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA

The cartoon pictures a character that resembles the late Nelson Mandela. Mandela was one of the key figures behind the democratic movement in South Africa; he was also the leader of the African National Congress. He is an icon worldwide and his face is highly recognised. Soobben is commenting on the healing legacy of Mandela being slowly destroyed by ongoing violence against various groups of people in the country. Soobben could be illustrating that the legacy and democratic values that Mandela fought so hard to achieve are compromised by the xenophobic violence. The two are at odds against each other and it seems that the "rainbow nation" is finding itself at odds with the Zulu spear.

4.2.2.2 "KNITTING" THE RAINBOW NATION

The cartoon illustrates Mandela knitting a rainbow. Knitting is archetypically a hobby of the elderly, therefore Soobben finds it befitting of the elderly Mandela to be knitting. Knitting is also considered a very gentle activity as opposed to the violence depicted at the other end of the image. The rainbow that Mandela is knitting can signify the "*rainbow nation*" (the democratic South Africa) that Mandela helped to build. Mandela could also be making a shield of his own using the knitting wool, in order to protect the people from the attacks of the bloodied spear. His work is the construction of peace after the anti-apartheid struggle, but the spear is very aggressive and seems to be attacking the peaceful efforts made. The act of knitting is one that requires patience whilst the art of knitting brings together multiple strings of wool. This can connote the reconciling unification of the various race groups that were previously separated by the apartheid regime. Mandela is trying very hard to retaliate against the violence with his legacy as well as the vital fundamentals of democracy that he helped create.

4.2.2.3 THE POWERFUL ZULU SHIELD AND SPEAR

The imagery of the Zulu shield and spear could indicate that majority of the violence in 2015 had been perpetrated by the Zulus. According to colonial myths, the Zulus were described as being a superior ethnic group who were masculine and were identified as violent warrior people and Soobben draws on this myth of 'warrior people' (Mawere and Marongwe, 2016: 90-91). The imagery of the Zulu weapons can also represent all those who follow the Zulu traditions and customs- traditional Zulu men are usually portrayed as being very proud of their culture and give off a sense of superiority and ethnocentrism.

Soobben demonstrates in this cartoon that the violence could have been politically driven. These traditional Zulu weapons of warfare can also point the finger to statements made by King Goodwill Zwelethini, the very symbol of Zulu traditionalism. It was alleged that King Goodwill made remarks that foreigners should leave South Africa. The King's remarks were viewed to have sparked the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban and quickly spread to other parts of South Africa

(Sanders, 2016: 175). The statements had significant impact amongst followers of the king and people started taking the law into their own hands by committing crimes against African foreign nationals. The shield can also connote that the epicentre of the violence was in Kwa-Zulu Natal, as this province is known as the kingdom of the Zulus.

The blood that is dripping from the spear can indicate that the xenophobic attacks in South Africa resulted in a blood bath as many people were killed, shops looted, people evicted at the hands of black South Africans. It seems that everything that South African democracy stood for has fallen to the hands of xenophobia.

The use of the spear can also indicate that men were the main offenders during the xenophobic outbreak, as Zulu men typically use these weapons. They are also instruments of warfare. It stands in stark contrast to the fragile wool that Mandela is using to knit against the fierce Zulu shield. They are definitely binary oppositions. It can also indicate that our democracy is fragile and can easily be damaged by violence.

The cartoon- in line with Xenophobia theory- sees South Africa's xenophobic violence in ethnic terms, as an expression of ethnic chauvinism where 'nativist' traditionalist nationalism (here that of the Zulu's) sees itself threatened by the outsider/foreigner, thus turning into violence. The cartoon's tone is deeply ironic – post-apartheid South Africa's dream of the reconciled 'rainbow nation' is being undermined by a backward-looking ethnic arrogance and violence.

4.2.3. "A NATIONAL DISGRACE" BY MGOBHOZI

Figure Eleven: "A national disgrace", by Mgobhozi, 2015, Independent Newspapers, Public Domain

4.2.3.1 THE BLOODBATH

Mgobhozi interprets the xenophobic violence in South Africa as a bloodbath that swept throughout the country. This "bloodbath" is illustrated by the map of South Africa that is coloured in red with what looks like splutters of blood all around the edges of the outline of South Africa as well as a splutter of blood on the left of South Africa. The cartoon also evokes pain and the grotesqueness of the violence. Mboghozi plunges South Africa into darkness in a sea of black and South Africa is now covered in crimson red blood. The blood also encapsulates the severity of the attacks that were violent and brutal. Many people died gruesome deaths during the spate of xenophobic attacks. A very memorable image was of the "Burning Man". The man's name Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave, a Mozambican national who had been working in South Africa. On the 18th of May 2008, he was beaten, stabbed and set alight by a group of men, at Ramaphosa, a township just east of Johannesburg (Tromp, 2015).

4.2.3.2 WEAPONS OF WARFARE: THE MACHETE AND THE AXE

The machete and the axe that are crossed over each other in the middle of the map of the bloodied South Africa indicate to the reader the weapons of warfare chosen by the participants of the violence. In 2015, when the xenophobic violence intensified again in South Africa, many African nationals took to the streets with machetes and axes in order to protect themselves and their shops from South Africans whom were attacking them. This also led to a clash between the African nationals and the South African Police Service (SAPS) (Odunayo, n.d).

The machete and axe also ties into the caption provided by the cartoonist of the xenophobic violence being a national disgrace. The cartoon depicts South Africa as a country that is highly prone to bloodshed, irrational decision-making and unlawfulness. The crossing over of the machete and the axe could depict a national emblem similar to that of the symbol of the Soviet Union (Russia- their symbol is the hammer and sickle). Mboghozi could be alluding to similarities between Russia and South Africa. The axe and the machete at its best suggest human progress and the positive productivity of labour. This image ironically contrasts this cause by suggesting that destruction and violence as the reality of post-apartheid South Africa.

4.2.3.3 THE GRAVEST THREAT TO MAN

Mboghozi provides a quote above the bloody image of South Africa. The quote reads, "Racism & Xenophobia…man's gravest threat to man- maximum of hatred for a minimum of reason" by Abraham J Heschel (an American-Jewish theologian who was referring to the Jewish genocide of 1941-1945 with this particular quote). This quote represents the cartoonist's feelings towards the xenophobic attack and suggests that the violence was unjust without reason.

Mboghozi, using this particular quote, suggests that the racism and xenophobia were crimes that were uncalled for. The foreign nationals who were attacked had no reason for such hatred to have been thrust upon them. The word racism appears in the above cartoon; although xenophobia seems to look like black on black violence, some scholars argue that it is indeed a category of racism (Taifira, 2011: 115). This cartoon

makes connection with studies on xenophobia, which emphasise racism at its dark heart - the hostility to a racially defined other.

4.2.3.4 "HOT NEWS: A NATIONAL DISGRACE"

On the bottom left side of the cartoon, the cartoonists included a little side caption that reads, "*Hot News: A National Disgrace*". This clearly emphasises to the reader that the xenophobic violence according to the cartoonist- is indeed a disgrace to South Africa. South Africa is a country that endured around fifty years being ruled under the apartheid government. The cartoonist could be delineating to the audience that South Africans are supposed to uphold the constitution of the land as well as the democratic rights of our country. This Bill of Rights of South Africa clearly states that we are not to discriminate against anyone of any ethnicity, race, religion etc (*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996: 6). This is a very beautifully crafted constitution on paper; however the cartoonist points out that some citizens have clearly not abided by it.

4.3 LENS TWO: ELEMENTS OF CARTOONING

This section contains three cartoons and is primarily involved in analysing the cartoons by looking at the following elements:

1. Power dynamics
2. Artist point of view
3. Subject Matter
4. Illustrated context

4.3.1 "XENOPHOBIA MUST STOP… BUT WE WONT LET THOSE **** BUY OUR LAND" BY JERM
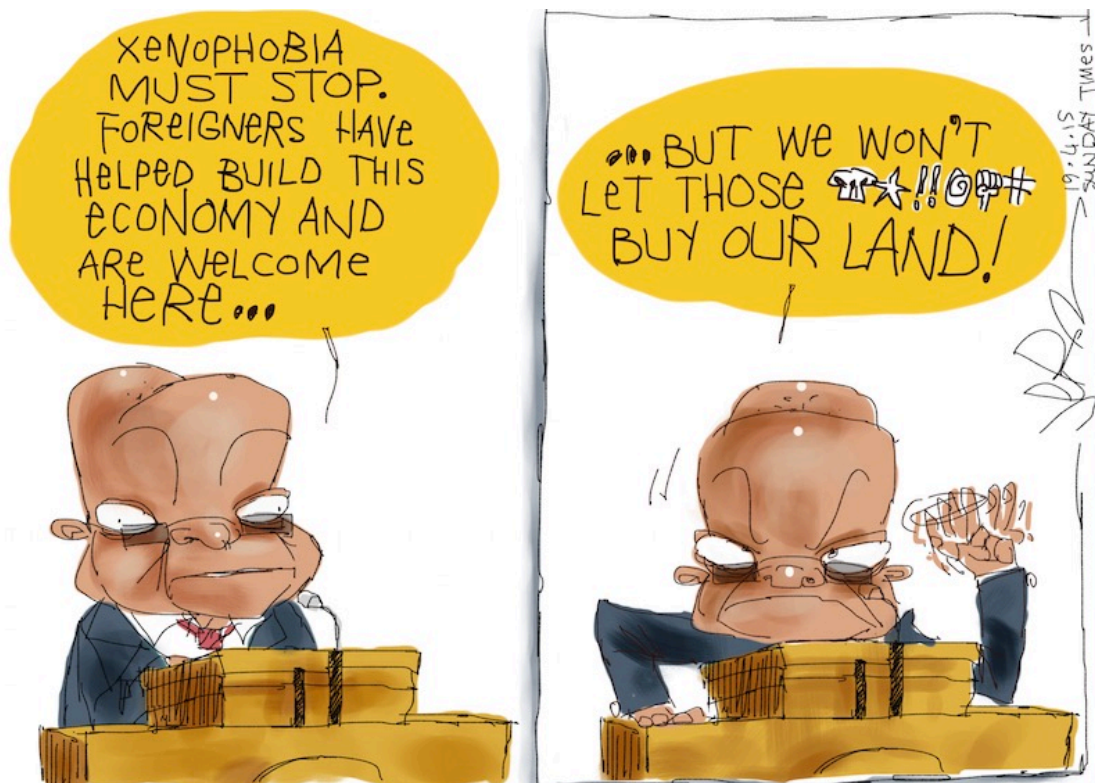
Figure Twelve: "Xenophobia must stop… but we won't let those **** buy our land", by *Jerm*, 2015, Sunday Times, Public Domain

4.3.1.1 A CARICATURED PRESIDENT

Jerm's depiction of former President Jacob Zuma is one filled with irony and humour. It is therefore a great example to analyse satire at its best. Satire in this cartoon is encompassed in an array of cartoon aesthetics such as caricature, distortions, stereotypes, dialogue in the speech balloon and so forth. The above picture illustrated by Jerm depicts a character that looks like former President Jacob Zuma. This is

indicated by the use of caricature. The cartoonist exhibits former President Zuma with a huge head. Many other cartoonists have also depicted former President Jacob Zuma with this feature, as it is a prominent characteristic of the president that can be easily caricatured to represent him in a satirised form.

Other notable features that are exaggerated in this cartoon are former President Zuma's large eyes and his spectacles that usually rest upon the brim of his nose. The president's eyes are drawn in the first frame as being very squinted. Squint eyes are usually a feature in cartoons to depict an unintelligent character; therefore the cartoonist could be implying in the first frame that the President's statements are not well thought out, as it seems to be spoken by an unintelligent person. However in the second frame, the President's eyes look very normal and focused. The cartoonist could be demonstrating to the audience that the President's sentiments in the first frame cannot be trusted. However the statements made in the second frame appears more serious due to the eye contact and positioning of the President's pupils in this cartoon. The caricaturing of former President Zuma accentuates his physical flaws and places Zuma in a position to be mocked by the audience.

4.3.1.2 THE POWER SUIT AND THE PODIUM

Jerm provides the reader with more artistic clues that indicate that the person caricatured is indeed former President Jacob Zuma. He places the subject in front of a podium and also pictures the subject wearing a suit and tie. This demonstrates that the subject depicted is one whom is in a place of power and has a polemic voice. The subject definitely has the power to move and provoke the masses. One might see the suit as a "power suit". People generally take a person's message more seriously if they are well dressed as a suit represents power and status. Hence, Zuma is depicted wearing a suit in order to show status as well as his position of office.

4.3.1.3. ZUMA'S "FRAME" OF MIND

The image that is depicted showing former President Jacob Zuma being powerful is quickly dissipated when one reads the speech bubble. This demonstrates the

conflicting messages sent out to the public by government officials about the xenophobic outbreak and the laws that apply to immigrants.

The cartoon is divided into two sections that show the same scenario yet, are two contrasting depictions of former President Zuma. In frame one, Zuma is gloriously praising foreigners, the speech bubble reads, "Xenophobia must stop. Foreigners have helped build this economy and are welcome here". The speech bubble in 'Frame One'- reflects that Zuma clearly admonishes xenophobia in South Africa, and he is calling it to end. He also praises "foreigners" for building the economy of South Africa. However the caricature of Zuma reads differently, he looks very neutral and his face is expressionless. It is as if he these are not his sentiments that he is stating to the public.

In 'Frame Two', the speech bubble reads, "but we won't let those buy our **** land"! This could indicate the contradictory statements made by Zuma and other officials. The asterisks can represent a derogatory word or a swear word, which can indicate the unsavoury attitude harboured by government officials and other South Africans. Jerm could also be showing the reader that this is what the "true" opinion of the President is. The caricature of Zuma looks quite forceful in this frame he is depicted with a closed fist waving in the air. Zuma is depicted looking straight at the reader with a frown on his face and his pupils now positioned towards the centre of his face. This displays hostility towards foreigners. His other arm is now on the podium – his demeanour and body language all indicate that his tone has changed towards the issue as soon as it comes to the issue of land, which is an extremely contentious issue in South Africa.

The cartoonist could be indicating that Zuma needs foreign nationals to help raise the state of the economy in South Africa however he disapproves that certain privileges, such as buying land, be awarded to them. This is not a win-win situation; he clearly wants to reap the benefits of having a booming economy with foreigners contributing but denies them the pleasure of residing in this country or expanding their businesses in South African. Jerm is clearly pointing out that statements made by the President over the issue of xenophobia and immigrants are absurdly contradictory.

It could be perceived that the President is simply making statements because he is obliged to as the head of state, making him complicit in the frenzy of South African xenophobia and in the Frame Two it can reflect what he really feels. As we can see, the President is depicted as emotionless when talking about the issue of immigrants as if it is not his words or sentiments he is passing of to the public.

4.3.1.4 FONT MATTERS

One can also take into consideration the manner in which Jerm styles the font of the dialogue in the speech bubble. The font is very untidy and resembles that of a child's handwriting – as children take time to practice writing and lettering and their handwriting usually is untidy. Thus the writing could also suggest that the President's remarks are childish and could lead the reader to question the validity and reliability of the statements, as well as seeing them as childish and therefore uninformed.

4.3.1.5 POWER DYNAMICS

The use of satire in this cartoon is used to illustrate the power dynamics at play and to ridicule the President for his befuddling statements. It also illustrates that the President is complicit in not taking action against xenophobia. We can resolve that the cartoonist is clearly not impressed by the remarks made by the President and that he could be highlighting the contradictory and confusing statements made by Zuma. Thus the cartoonist might be illustrating to his readership that the President has been abusing his power by voicing his own opinions in a public platform and thereby highlighting the ignorance of the statements by not considering the consequences.

Here, of course, we also witness a key element of cartooning- the satirising of the powerful. To ridicule the president is to 'turn the world upside down' in a Carnivalesque spirit, as in the mocking laughter at the elite by ordinary people, we see the (temporary) empowerment of those who live outside the circles of the elite, and the simultaneous dis-empowerment of the rulers, who are diminished in status by their ignorance.

4.3.2. "WE ARE NOT FOREIGNERS...WE ARE EARTHLINGS!" BY NANDA SOOBBEN

Figure Thirteen: "We are not foreigners…we are earthlings!" by Nanda Soobben, 2015, Phoenix Tabloid, Public Domain

4.3.2.1 OUT OF THIS WORLD

This cartoon is rather simply illustrated with a very important message from the cartoonist. It seems that Soobben has zoomed out of South Africa and is now placing the context of the cartoon in space. The black background and the speckles of white ink illustrate that the cartoon is set in space, while all around the black surface areas there are stars and other planets in the distance. At the bottom of the cartoon we see a tiny sphere that represents earth as indicated by the speech bubble above.

Soobben's purpose of zooming the picture out of the country and indeed earth and into space is to help the reader see the "bigger picture". The message that Soobben is implying in this cartoon is that at the end of the day we are just like a small speck of dust that is suspended in the universe. When one looks at the planet earth from a distance, we cannot see colours, borders in the continents or any kind of differentiating definition that we live by. The cartoon could also suggest that the audience should recognise that our planet is fragile and we as humans need to realise that we do not have all the power in the world. The cartoonist emphasises the above message by illustrating planet Earth as being a tiny speck in the cartoon. Essentially

Soobben is illustrating the point of shared humanity, that if we look at the world from a distance we do not see nations but we do see a single planet with only one race, being the human race. From this cosmic perspective, xenophobic hatred and divisions appear ridiculous!

It also creates a feeling of an outer body experience, helping the audience to think on a deeper level and prodding them to look at what really matters in life. By zooming out into space, it illustrates to us, that we all residents of the same planet and that itself should unify us. Our very marginalised loneliness in the universe should encourage us to connect to and rely upon each other. To be xenophobic, the cartoon tells us, is to be absurdly petty, caught up in activities that are finally meaningless.

4.3.2.2 "WE ARE EARTHLINGS"

The cartoonist provides us with a speech bubble, which reads, "*We are not foreigners. We are earthlings!*"- This reinforced the intent and point of view of the artist, that we are all from the same planet and thus we should treat each other equally as residents of this blue planet. It also illustrates that we are all from the same "family" and this is a much higher degree of identity as compared to nationality. It is as if the cartoonist has taken on a "God-like" role causing the reader to look at life/ earth from a higher perspective. The power here lies with the cartoonist, as he reminds the audience about the futility of our earthly lives and allows us to see what he sees, which is the bigger picture. The use of black and white and the non-use of other colours in the cartoon could be intentional, as Soobben might have wanted to keep his message clear without the distraction of vibrant colours.

4.3.3. "XENOPHOBIA SUCKS" BY MGOBHOZI

Figure Fourteen: "Xenophobia sucks", by Mgobhozi, 2015, Independent Newspapers, Public Domain

4.3.3.1 THE FOREFRONT

The cartoon above demonstrates the repercussions of the xenophobic violence. The cartoon depicts in the foreground six individuals, four of which are dressed up in "traditional clothing" that typically belong to other African countries. The first man in the picture is using a white burka and what resembles a taqiyah (a hat typically worn by Muslim men). The character that is drawn next to the man represents a female character using a covering on her body that looks like a long red dress, and her head is also covered. The woman is carrying a baby that is tied to her back. The other man in the image has a hat on that looks like a taqiyah. He wears a shirt, which reads, "Xenophobia sucks". There is a woman behind him who is also similarly dressed to the first woman and she also has a baby tied to her back. The use of clothing is an indicator to the reader that these characters are not from South Africa.

Based on the characters' garb, these families look like they are followers of Islam. This can serve as an indicator to the reader that these characters are from other parts of Africa. Towards the north of Africa there are many African followers of Islam.

Mgobhozi wants to show the reader that the target of the violence was mostly black foreigners and hardy any from any other racial demographic. These individuals are caricatured in the simplest manner without being overly exaggerated. This indicates that the cartoonist does not want to make fun of these individuals but aims for the reader to sympathise with them.

4.3.3.2 FAMILY

Mgobhozi uses these characters to express to the audience that xenophobia affected families and caused them to relocate. The cartoonist pictures three characters with bags in their hands and sacks on their heads. This can indicate that these people who have resided in South Africa had to leave a lot behind in order swiftly to leave the country. The do not have a lot to carry; this could imply that the people who were affected by the xenophobic violence had to leave everything they worked for behind and all they have is family. The couple in the foreground of the cartoon is illustrated holding hands with their baby closely wrapped to the mother's back. This indicates that all they have is each other and they are supporting each other on this exodus from South Africa.

The facial expressions do not indicate any sign of happiness. The characters show disappointment, worry and their facial expressions also show that they are wondering about what to do next. Mgobhozi is portraying to the audience that the xenophobic violence caused nothing but pain and misery for those affected by xenophobia. The woman is also looking to her husband for reassurance after her child asks her a question. The husband looks perplexed and is trying to figure out how to respond.

4.3.3.3 THE SILHOUETTES

There are silhouettes in the background that depict a long line of people in the same position/circumstances as the characters featured in the foreground. They all are outlined carrying sacks on their heads and one is even using a walking stick. Mgobhozi is alerting the audience to the fact that people of all ages were affected by xenophobia. The people in the background are drawn as silhouettes to indicate the

amount of people that were actually impacted by the xenophobia outbreak. They are forced to leave with only the clothes on their backs and a few personal belongings.

4.3.3.4 "XENOPHOBIA SUCKS"

The text written on the shirt of one of the characters in the foreground reads, "Xenophobia sucks". This could be read as a common sentiment expressed by most foreign nationals in South Africa. The individual displays this blurb on his shirt, which can indicate that internal feelings that the individual is outwardly expressing his feelings towards xenophobia.

The dialogue in the speech bubble is written in isiZulu and loosely translates as, "Mother, when are we going to reach where we are going? Because I'm hungry". This can signify that the individuals leaving South Africa are not sure where they are going next. There is no certainty for them except that they are moving out of South Africa. Mgobhozi could be indicating to us that the people affected by xenophobia had no other option and do not know what is the way forward. The fact that the baby says that he is hungry is an indicator that they do not have any food with them on this trip. Everyone is depicted as being undernourished, including the little baby wrapped on the back of the women in the foreground.

This can also denote to the reader that the family had to make their move quickly without any proper preparation, as they have not taken any food along for their journey. The families are all travelling by foot and this can also be an indicator to us that these people that were targeted are poor and from a lower income bracket.

The bottom text is written in isiZulu and looks like a song: "We have lost everything we've had because we have been attacked by those people from the outside countries". It seems that Mgobhozi is reversing the understanding and perspective of what is a foreigner. This note helps to give the reader a clearer understanding of what he meant to connote by this cartoon.

The cartoon deliberately challenges xenophobic stereotypes that identify 'foreigners' as criminals who deserved to be killed. Instead, we see respectable, even religious

families - decent people of all ages. The real 'criminals', the cartoon implies, are the xenophobic South Africans who are responsible for this exodus.

4.4 LENS THREE: BAKHTIN'S THEORY OF THE CARNIVALESQUE

The following cartoons I have analysed using elements of Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque:

1.Folk Culture and its manifestation in the cartoon

2. Grotesque realism

3.The Material Bodily Principle

4.4.1. "SCRAMBLED SIGNAL" BY JEREMY NELL AKA "JERM"
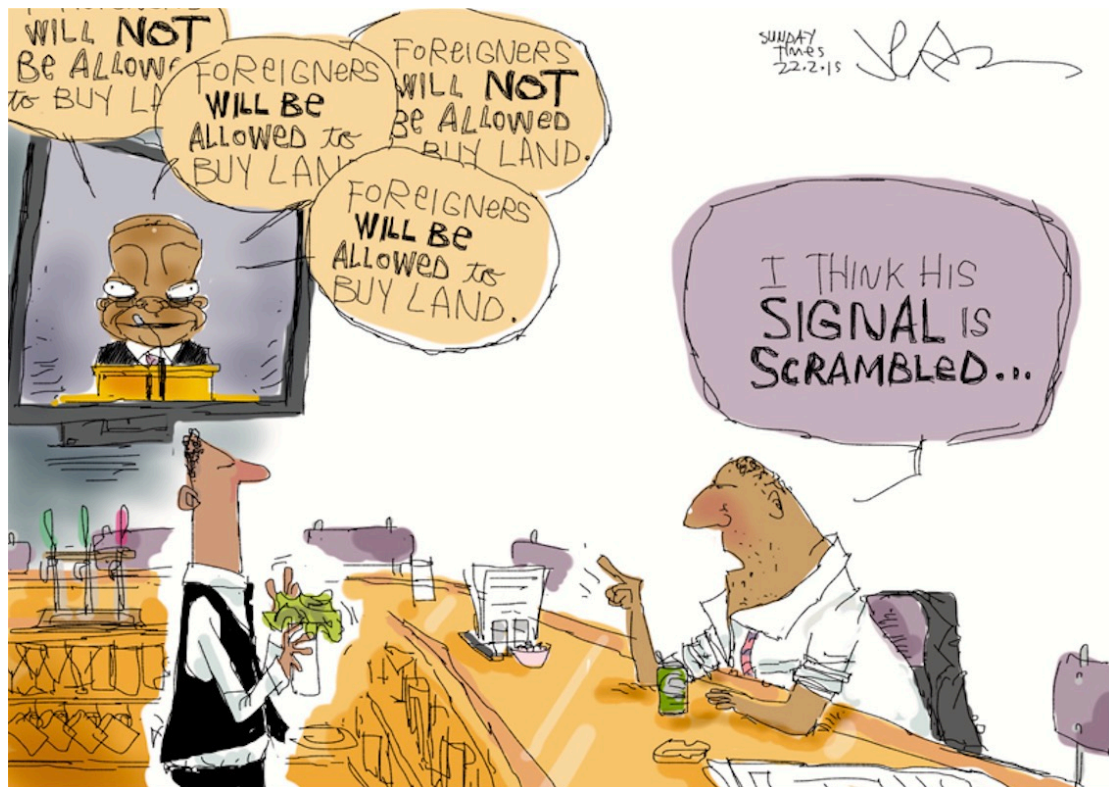
Figure Fifteen: "Scrambled signal", By Jerm, 2015, Sunday Times, Public Domain

4.4.1.1 SETTING THE SCENE

The cartoon above illustrated by Jerm is set in what looks like a bar. This is indicated by the structure of the whole sketched scene. There are levers, which indicate a beer/drink fountain, the glasses, ashtrays, and "peanut" bowls. There are three characters illustrated in this cartoon. One is the bar tender, who is indicated by wearing a waistcoat and who is cleaning a glass behind the bar counter. The next character looks like a patron of the bar and is seated next to the counter with a drink nearby. The other character that is depicted in this cartoon looks like former President Jacob Zuma who is pictured on the television making several

contradictions. The podium and mike positioned in front of former President Zuma provides a visual indication of this announcement he is making.

4.4.1.2 THE FOOLS' SPEECH

The cartoon parodies the Presidents utterances. This is indicated by the mixed message delivered by former President Zuma. Former President Zuma is televised making conflicting statements. The speech bubbles read, "Foreigners will be allowed to buy land" and "Foreigners will not be allowed to buy land". This cartoon bears similarities to the previous cartoon that I have analysed by Jerm (see Figure 12) in that it is a deliberate exaggeration and draws attention to confusing and contradictory statements made by the President in the media.

Jerm pokes fun at these conflicted statements by using the "bar patron" to point out to the bartender that he thinks the television signal is scrambled. The patron represents an average everyday bloke; he also represents the working class citizens of South Africa. His working class status is indicated by his partially unbuttoned white shirt and striped tie. He also looks as if he is not freshly shaven. He also appears to be middle age; the sparse hair on his head and the bulky body can also suggest his age.

Parodic literature is very much a feature of the Carnivalesque. It humorously depicts these statements made by the President regarding foreigners. By presenting this in an amusing fashion, Jerm is thus bringing the President from a place of power down to a place of ridicule. Even the average person can point out that these statements do not make sense, thus the President is brought to a lower status. Thus, the President is made out to be the fool.

It is also apparent that the cartoonist is making a comic spectacle out of former President Zuma. The above is represented when the bar patron indicates to the bartender that the signal is scrambled. This can give the reader a sense that the President is not entirely making sense, therefore the cartoonist could be indicating that the speech is not that of a President who is expected to be eloquent and have a rapport with the audience, but that of a nonsensical fool. The normal role of the wise leader and the ordinary uneducated individual has been inverted in this cartoon. The

cartoonist uses the man in the bar to bring to the reader's attention the nonsense that is spoken by the President. The men at the bar can therefore be viewed as wise and the President as stupid. It is a 'world turned upside down'.

The Carnivalesque elements in the above cartoon definitely aims to degrade or "lower" the status of the President. By portraying Zuma in this manner, it is reminiscent of festival culture that involved the uncrowning of kings (Rhodes, 2001: 376). The "uncrowning" of Zuma is symbolic of him being taken from his place of the highest seat of the land, which is the Presidency, and he is now portrayed as a bumbling fool who cannot articulate his ideas. Jerm has lowered the Presidents' authoritative status and has represented Zuma as being lower than the average person.

4.4.1.3 BIG HEAD THE CLOWN

Features of grotesque realism as well as the material bodily principle are illustrated in the form of exaggeration in this cartoon, in which the cartoonist exaggerates the features of the President in order to make him look more comical and unattractive. The President has a broader face with a huge bump on his head. A common characteristic that Jerm uses to depict Zuma in his cartoons is the "squint eyes", which can also indicate that the President is looking in two different directions. This creates a sense of awkwardness and uneasiness, as you do not know what exactly he is looking at.

4.4.1.4 SELF INDULGENCE

The Material bodily principle from the carnival can be exemplified by setting the scene of the cartoon in a bar. The bar patron looks like he has had a long day at work and is now coming to wind down and indulge in some alcohol at the local watering hole. This could display that he is interested in satisfying himself with a drink. It can also aim to illustrate the average man who is indulging in his own vices and does not seems at all interested or deeply concerned about the mixed signals that the President is giving out to the public. The bar patron simply acknowledges the fact that he thinks the signal is scrambled. The President's message is not reaching the ordinary people because it is incoherent. However the bar patron is not depicted as if he will do

anything about the situation. The bar patron could therefore represent the masses that know about the double standards of the government but refuse to do anything about it, as they are more concerned about satisfying themselves first, or perhaps the public is simply indifferent to the incoherent ramblings of the President. The conflicting statements are also to be blames for the upsurge of the xenophobic violence in South Africa.

1.4.2. "HAPPY 21ST BIRTHDAY SOUTH AFRICA" BY ZAPIRO

Figure Sixteen: "Happy 21st birthday South Africa", Zapiro, 2015, The Times, Public Domain

4.4.2.1 THE RISE AND FALL OF SOUTH AFRICA

The above cartoon outlines a sad celebration of sorts as South Africa celebrates its 21st year of being a democratic country. The cartoon clearly portrays a disgruntled South Africa. Zapiro pictures "South Africa" displaying an expression of being unimpressed with its birthday celebration. It seems as if the cartoonist is depicting South Africa as being dismayed due to the rise of Xenophobia in South Africa. This is demonstrated by two statues behind "South Africa" which illustrates the fall of the Apartheid era and the rise of a new tyranny in South Africa that is evident as being that of Xenophobia. Like Apartheid, xenophobia is now a dominant aspect of South Africa; the large statue suggests this.

The images of the statues reinforce the idea of who is responsible for the xenophobic violence in South Africa. The fallen statue seems to depict the face of Hendrik Verwoerd who was viewed as the architect of apartheid. The cartoonist portrays Hendrik Verwoerd with a huge nose, very thin lips, and tiny waft of hair upon his head, together with a look of antagonism upon his concrete/marble face. The statue

that has been erected in its place has the same features resembling that of Hendrik Verwoerd; however the lips are more prominent and the waft of hair now appears to be a tiny Afro in the middle of the statue's head. These suggest African features drawn from stereotypical images. The cartoonist could possibly be highlighting the fact that mainly "Black" South Africans are blamed for the xenophobic violence. The cartoonist could be emphasising that there is now a new reign of hatred in South Africa that was caused by "Black" Africans on their own racial group. Zapiro, by drawing the two statues in similar manner makes a strong connection between apartheid and xenophobia. It also illustrates that South Africa has not moved beyond the toxicities of racism.

4.4.2.2 A BIRTHDAY SPECTACLE

The 21st birthday celebration is also one that represents the coming of age of an individual. In South Africa, usually this age is seeing as the age of independence and freedom and is one of the most important celebrations. The cartoon above indicates that South Africa is celebrating 21 years of democracy. However there are no attendees at the celebration as indicated by the empty rows of chairs. The symbolism of the unattended birthday party is that there is nothing to celebrate because of the horrendous xenophobic violence that ties South Africa to its ugly past of apartheid. A moment of celebration has become a sad occasion for the country.

4.4.2.3 GROTESQUE MONUMENTS

Grotesque realism is demonstrated in various elements in the cartoon. Degradation can be perceived in the statues as they stand as a reminder of the brutality and bloodshed that occurred in South Africa during apartheid and during the xenophobic attacks. This is degrading to the country's image at large, as the cartoonist points out that the era of apartheid has been now been "replaced" by xenophobia. This in turn demeans the image of South Africa. Exaggeration can be observed in the facial features of the statues as the cartoonist aims to emphasise the aggressiveness of the participants of violence. The cartoonist gives the statues very masculine features, which could emphasise the fact that the violent spirit of Verwoerd has passed on to the new South Africa. This could be exaggerated, as it seems that the cartoonist is

pointing blame at a particular race group who were portrayed in the media as being active participants in the violence. South Africa has toppled one evil only to build another.

4.5 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION USING ALL THREE LENSES

In this section, I will combine the three lenses Xenophobia theory, Elements of Cartooning and Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque to analyse two cartoons to ascertain whether a multi-lens analysis provides a more deeper and richer analysis.

4.5.1. "THE BURNING MAN" BY ZAPIRO

Figure Seventeen: "The burning man", by Zapiro, 2008, The Sunday Times, Public Domain

4.5.1.1 THE BURNING MAN

The above cartoon clearly depicts the xenophobic violence of 2008. The cartoon also depicts the sheer brutality of the xenophobic attacks and how they betray African values (Ubuntu). The angry mob- not the foreigner- does not understand Ubuntu. The cartoon could possibly be referring to the infamous image of the "burning man", Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave. He was a Mozambican national who was beaten, stabbed and set alight in the township of Rhamaphosa, which is located east of Johannesburg (Bevan, 2008). The image of the burning man was one of the most heart wrenching images that emerged from the xenophobic violence of 2008. It exposed the evils of xenophobia and the hardships some foreign nationals experienced during that time.

4.5.1.2 WHEN WE LOST UBUNTU

The power of this cartoon emerges from the uncensored and shocking image of a man hideously murdered. The group of men shown in the cartoon has set alight a man who is referred to as a foreigner, as indicated by the speech bubble. The language used in the speech bubble indicates irony, which is a feature of satire. The individual drawn in the front of the group in the cartoon, who is holding a bush knife or a sword, states in a speech bubble "I could tell he was a @#&* foreigner! He didn't know the meaning of Ubuntu". This statement is highly ironic as the scene depicted in the cartoon is entirely opposed to the meaning of Ubuntu. The cartoonist infers that the group of men has set alight this foreign national. These individuals in the cartoon claim to know the true meaning of Ubuntu; however they themselves have displayed no indication of knowing what this word means.

Angela Thompsell (2017) explains that Ubuntu is derived from the Nguni language of South Africa and has several meanings attached to it:

> One meaning of ubuntu is correct behaviour, but correct in this sense is defined by a person's relations with other people. Ubuntu refers to behaving well towards others or acting in ways that benefit the community. Such acts could be as simple as helping a stranger in need, or much more complex ways of relating with others. A person who behaves in these ways *has* buntu. He or she is a full person.

> For some, Ubuntu is something akin to a soul force – an actual metaphysical connection shared between people and which helps us connect to each other. Ubuntu will push one toward selfless acts.

> There are related words in many sub-Saharan African cultures and languages, and the word Ubuntu is now widely known and used outside of South Africa.

> During the era of decolonization, Ubuntu was increasingly described as an African, humanist philosophy, Ubuntu in this sense is a way of thinking about what it means to be human, and how we, as humans, should behave towards others.

Therefore, one can conclude that the word Ubuntu is a term used in South Africa to speak of the way in which we should treat each other as human beings, with humility and respect. The statement made by those in the cartoon can be viewed as highly contradictory as their behaviour is dramatically opposed to Ubuntu. The group of men

depicted in the picture did not act in an Ubuntu fashion towards the man perceived to be a foreign national. The man cartooned in the front of the mob seems to make the statement with a sense of pride. The cartoonist uses this image to illustrate to the audience that the South Africans who were perpetrators of the xenophobic violence did not know the true meaning of Ubuntu.

The following, "@#&*" also indicate a swear word that was used by one of the characters in the cartoon. This also indicates a lack of Ubuntu or respect from the perpetrator. The cartoonist depicts the individual as highly arrogant and abrasive with language as well as depicting wrath.

4.5.1.3 TOWNSHIP CRISES

The cartoon displays the height of the xenophobic violence in South Africa. The background setting of the cartoon suggests that the rural/township areas were highly affected by the violence. This may suggest to the audience the type of people that were involved in the violence, which would have been township dwellers living in close proximity to foreign nationals. Finally, the background setting gives the impression that the perpetrators of the violence were mostly from lower economic backgrounds.

The cartoonist depicts the perpetrators of the xenophobic violence being men. Again, these men are wielding pangas, axes, bush knives and petrol. Based on the manner in which the cartoonist illustrates the character's facial features, the men can be categorised as being ethnically South African. Zapiro denotes that the gang members depicted in the cartoon are of South African nationality by drawing a South African flag on one character's hat and another character's shirt. The character that is pictured in front of the gang of men could be viewed as the leader of the gang as he is the only one depicted wielding a bush knife and is given a speech bubble by the cartoonist. The speech bubble reads, "I could tell he was a @#&* foreigner! He didn't know the meaning of Ubuntu". Ubuntu is a Zulu term which when translated means "humanity towards others". By the cartoonist incorporating this South African term, he further enforces the idea that the gang that committed the violence is indeed South African.

4.5.1.4 THE SPECTACLE OF XENOPHOBIA

The carnival spectacle and temporary suspension of the rules are displayed in the cartoons by the mob, as an ironic anti-carnivalesque carnival of lawless violence. The cartoonist sets out this scene as a mob that has made a gory spectacle of the foreign national. The mob is a law unto themselves and has created their own macabre spectacle. The mob seem to be enjoying themselves because they are illustrated as smiling, indicating that they are receiving gratification from the grotesque burning of the individual. Some individuals in the mob are also depicted as cheering or laughing at the events as they are drawn with smiles on their faces and their mouths wide open.

4.5.1.5 ZAPIRO THE JESTER

Zapiro can be seen as the jester as he is causing the audience to look upon the character that has made the naïve statement and cause him to be the focus of dark ironic humour in the cartoon. The character is depicted as arrogant and naïve; one can even say that he is depicted as stupid and unknowledgeable. The character is therefore made the butt of the joke by the cartoonist. The audience can view this character as the one that is at fault and he should be mocked and ridiculed by the audience for his stupidity.

The irony can also be extended towards the rest of the men illustrated in the cartoon who are depicted as being involved in the violence. The men in the mob are also laughing at the remarks made by the individual drawn in the foreground, and therefore it seems that they are agreeing with his statement. The audience can also ridicule them, as they as also cannot see the contradictory nature of their actions.

The statement can also be viewed as the language of the market place, with the use of foul language. This can also be perceived by the cartoonist's usage of big bold uppercase lettering as well as the exclamation marks. This could allude to the fact the cartoonist depicts the speaker as being loud spoken. The use of the "foul language", indicated with the symbols can indicate one being uncouth. This therefore bears a resemblance to the raw nature that existed at the carnival, by which modern day pleasantries were forsaken and a more rough approach was taken.

4.5.1.6 GROTESQUE XENOPHOBIA

Another aspect of the Carnivalesque, which appears in the cartoon, is the use of grotesque realism. The following elements of grotesque realism can be observed in the cartoon: degradation, anarchy, comic debasement and death. These can be applied to the man that has been depicted in the cartoon as being burned to death. The cartoonist illustrates his body being marred beyond recognition, as his facial features are not as prominent like the other individuals drawn in the cartoon. The burned man has his hands drawn up in the air as if he was stretching out for help; the distorted body has planks underneath him and smoke arising from his blackened body. All these suggest that the group of men that are depicted standing in front of his body burned the man on the ground while he was still alive.

Zapiro's overall portrayal of the xenophobic violence in this cartoon displays anarchy. Anarchy is displayed in the brutal killing of the burned man as well as the violent riots caused by South Africans. The perpetrators have committed criminal offences and they seem to show no remorse for their actions. They have taken the law into their own hands. As mentioned in the literature review, many South Africans felt that the government had not done enough to control the influx of foreigners into South Africa and had thus resorted to anarchic tactics to get rid of the foreign nationals whom they deemed to be a problem in South Africa.

This lawless anarchy involved committing heinous acts against foreign nationals as well as African minorities in South Africa; causing the grotesque realism captured in Zapiro's cartoon. Those involved in the violence against foreign nationals in South Africa made it a point of not only physically abusing and/or killing the individual, but would sometimes go as far as to make fun of the abused foreign national, making the individual to be perceived as something to be mocked and degraded in front of an audience (as depicted in the cartoon above with the group of men laughing at the statements made about the burned foreign national). This is the reality for all those that were at the receiving end of the xenophobic violence as Zapiro depicts.

4.5.2. "XENOPHOBIA!!!" BY BRANDAN REYNOLDS

Figure Eighteen: "Xenophobia!!!", by Brandan Reynolds, 2015, The Weekend Argus, Public Domain

4.5.2.1 THE KING'S "GOODWILL"

King Goodwill Zwelethini (one of the most prominent Kings in South Africa) is the focal point of this cartoon by Brandan Reynolds. The Zulu King is accused by a group of people in the background who are coloured in blue. In front of King Zwelethini is a person lying on the floor who is portrayed as being a dead foreigner.

Reynolds got his inspiration for this cartoon by citing what was portrayed in the media during April 2015. The King was accused of making defamatory remarks against foreign nationals at an imbizo (a gathering/meeting) and was therefore blamed by the mass media for inciting the xenophobic attacks of 2015. He later on said that the remarks made were out of context and that he never spoke ill against foreign nationals. He later held another imbizo to speak against xenophobia.

So the spectacle in this picture is actually three fold. Firstly, the King was made a fool by the media. A video was released by the media and was played on national news

networks as well as published in newspapers where the King stated the following, "we ask foreign nationals to pack their belongings and go back to their county" (Mail Online, 2017). Secondly, the cartoonist who places the King in a position to be accused therefore is ridiculing him. Thirdly, he is challenged in the cartoon by the other characters that are pointing fingers at him.

The King is therefore pointed out as someone to be mocked for not thinking about his comments through. As a King of the Zulus, he holds a very prominent position in society and he has the ability to persuade those who follow him. His words had tremendous impact amongst the Zulu community as it was reported that men of Zulu ethnicity perpetuated the majority of the attacks (Ndou, 2015).

4.5.2.2 THE JESTER DETHRONES THE KING

This cartoon is interesting because it visually foregrounds what is historically central to what we may call 'critical cartooning' – drawing attention to social and political problems. Here the cartoon- or more particularly the crowd of ordinary people- *points to* the topical problem, which in this case is the behaviour of the Zulu monarch. Moreover, as is also seen in many of the other cartoons examined here, that criticism is located within the world of ordinary people, those living outside the elite world of wealth, status and power. In other words, this is precisely the world of carnival, of social criticism performed by, and in the name of, the powerless social classes.

King Zwelethini can also be seen as the representative of people of Zulu ethnicity and the foreign national depicted in the cartoon is a symbol of all the foreign nationals that were killed during the xenophobic outbreak in 2015. Thus these are the two parties are illustrated as being degraded in the cartoon by other respective parties.

The cartoonist suggests in this cartoon that the words of King Zwelethini are directly involved in xenophobic wave of 2015. It seems to suggest that the cartoonist feels that King Zwelethini is directly responsible for inciting attacks against foreign nationals. This could be viewed as exaggeration as King Zwelethini did mention that his words were taken out of context and the he did not directly kill foreign nationals. The King

was also not the only influential individual who supposedly made remarks against foreign nationals in South Africa.

The other feature of grotesque realism, comic debasement, can be viewed in the other speech bubble spoken by King Zwelethini as well as can be comprehended in the way the cartoonist caricatured the King. The speech bubble reads, "OK…OK…I'll arrange for an imbizo for Monday…immediately!!!" The manner by which the cartoonist pens this sentence in the Kings' speech bubble articulates the Kings reluctance to address the xenophobic statements he allegedly made. The cartoonist tries to underline that the King is only arranging the imbizo because of the mass accusations he received for making xenophobic statements by the media and the public. This creates a comic debasement as it gives grounds for the reader to ridicule the King for his somewhat apathetic and perfunctory response to the cries of the media and the public.

The caricature of King Zwelethini also illustrates comic debasement as the cartoonist depicts the King as being a very rounded figure; he is quite pudgy as depicted by the potbelly. He also is caricatured in some traditional Zulu attire, thus, as mentioned before, this could indicate that he is a representative of Zulu ethnicity. The King's facial expression also allows for comic debasement; the cartoonist depicts him with a very arrogant facial expression. He looks as if he is reluctant to conduct the imbizo and is angry with the crowd who are accusing him from behind.

The last element of grotesque realism, death, is made blatant by the cartoonist with the depiction of a man on the floor with blood oozing out of him; his death is caused by the speech bubble "xenophobia" which has gored him in his back. The cartoonist labels the dead individual with the title "foreign national" which is inscribed on the side of his body. The man is depicted using a blue suit, which is similar to those that are drawn standing in the crowd at the back. The cartoonist could be demonstrating that this foreign national was also a workingman, in a blue-collar job and contributing to the economy. He does not fit the stereotype (that exists in the minds of the xenophobia offenders) of the foreign national who comes to South Africa to sell drugs and delves in human trafficking.

1.6 CONCLUSION OF ANALYSIS

Forceful, gory and masterfully satirical is what I can succinctly describe the cartoons analysed in the thesis as being. The cartoonists do not fail to direct the reader's attention towards the tragedies allotted by the xenophobic attacks and the distressing experiences of foreign-nationals residing in South Africa. Lens One of the analysis showed that cartoonists undertook a negative approach when depicting the xenophobic violence in these cartoons. Cartoonists did highlight the deeper issues that could have contributed to the xenophobic violence, such as South Africa's history of racism and Apartheid, ethnocentric attitudes towards foreign nationals, colonisation, war as well as a whole host of social-economic factors (see Figure Nine). The implications of the violence in South Africa as depicted in the cartoons were death and a compromised constitution.

Lens Two shows distribution of power in a very satirical manner- more especially when people in positions of power were illustrated (see Figure Twelve). Political leaders, such as Jacob Zuma although shown as being high in stature was caricatured as being very confused and making contradictory remarks. The cartoonists depicted that power is indeed not equally distributed in South Africa, with the foreigners being depicted as the victims of the xenophobic attacks and the political figures as perplexed tyrannical leaders. The artist's point of view displays that they are not supporters of the xenophobic violence and shun all those who they view as being contributors and perpetrators of the violence.

What we crucially saw in Lens Three, was the *politics* of irony, which Bakhtin's work on the Carnivalesque helps us to comprehend. For Bakhtin, carnivals were a 'world turned upside down', a temporary inversion of power-relations that served to challenge entrenched social hierarchies and the ideologies that sought to protect them. Similarly, deploying irony in cartoons, by mocking the powerful - their stupidities, their foibles, their humbug - generates an *ironic reversal* where the erstwhile powerless reader of the cartoon now assumes that mocking subject-position offered by the cartoon and thus becomes (temporarily) powerful: *laughing at* (down at) the imperfect ruler. The ruler in turn is 'debased' or disempowered, by the cartoon (in this

sense the debasement of the powerful by cartoons can be seen as a Brechtian 'alienation device', critically distancing the reader from any sympathetic attachment to those satirized elites). The 'superiority' of the powerful, hallowed by ideologies of awe and reverence and admiration, is suddenly destabilised, and thus ideologies, like the real world in carnivals, are 'suspended' to allow a more critical view of power by ordinary people. Furthermore, this can only happen if cartoons and cartoonists, like carnivals or the court jester, occupy a cultural location *autonomous* of the interests of the powerful, from which these unrestrained and independent-minded critiques can be launched (which in the modern world is the autonomous space of Press freedom central to a democratic polity).

For Bakhtin carnivals spoke to us - from their temporary zones of anti-hierarchical community, social equality, everyday activism, and escape from crippling ideologies that evacuated dreams of otherness - of *utopia*, since he saw them as theatrical performances of better possible worlds, as *stagings* of a redeemed humanity. In a similar sense, these Carnivalesque cartoons, in their very form, perform these utopian gestures. Like the carnival, they are 'worlds turned upside down', by promoting more equal relations between free peoples unchained by crippling ideologies, and perhaps above all, promoting a healthier scepticism about those in positions of power, a ribald and 'ambivalent' laughter towards our oppressors that also speaks of an ordinary citizenry more aware of its own, transgressive, power.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

"Art is the Weapon.
Your Imagination is the Ammunition…"

- Frank Iero

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I investigated how South African cartoonists dealt with the issue of xenophobia in their cartoons. This thesis had four main research aims and objectives, which were as follows:

1. What is xenophobia and how did it manifest in South Africa?
2. How are the Elements of Cartooning used in the creation of cartoons depicting xenophobia?
3. How does Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque contribute to our understanding of satirical cartoons?
4. In what ways did the South African cartoonists comment on and challenge actions, opinions and attitudes (including those by politicians and media) during 2008 and 2015.

In order to investigate the above research questions, I had to break up my literature review into three sections: Xenophobia in South Africa, Elements of Cartooning, and Bakhtin's Theory of the Carnivalesque. I will briefly revise over the key points of these sections of the literature review.

5.2 XENOPHOBIA THEORY

The literature focused on defining xenophobia, what were the causes of the xenophobia, how did South Africa's past of apartheid have a hand in creating conditions for xenophobia to flourish. I also looked at how xenophobia was portrayed in the media as well as whether the term xenophobia was correctly used to classify the attacks of May 2008 and February 2015 in South Africa.

According to the research, xenophobia can be defined as a deep-rooted hatred or fear of foreigners. There were other terminologies that academics stated that could have been used to describe the attacks of May 2008 and February 2015, such as Negrophobia and Afro-phobia (the fear and dislike of black people). However these terminologies could not be used, as there were foreign nationals of other ethnicities (Chinese, Pakistani and Bangladeshi nationals) that were also attacked during the waves of violence. Taifira and Neocosmos asserted that the violence could be referred to as "new racism" or "modified racism"; this was because the attacks still encompassed discrimination and were organised around issues of difference.

It was reported that the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks collectively left 65 people murdered, left approximately 12 000 people displaced by the violence, and a great many who reported that they had been raped, wounded, and their shops looted. The violence was said to have erupted due to a myriad of social, economic and political factors. Some of the factors that contributed to the violence were lack of resources such as food, the escalating unemployment rate, poor health and education facilities in South Africa.

Foreign nationals became soft targets for violence and perpetrators of the xenophobic violence blamed them as the source of HIV/AIDS, increasing prostitution and human trafficking, and bringing in drugs into South Africa. Foreign nationals were also accused of overpopulating South Africa and thus causing economic strain and lack of employment for South Africans. Foreign nationals living in rural areas or townships were most affected by the violence as they were threatened by the community leaders to "leave the area or face attacks" (Monson and Arain, 2011: 34).

Some scholars mentioned that one of the triggers for the xenophobic attacks lies in South Africa's past of apartheid. The laws of segregation during apartheid had socialised citizens into a process of "othering". It was suggested that the xenophobic violence occurred in certain areas because apartheid laws previously affected the individuals who resided there. These individuals were simply mimicking the manner in which they were oppressed. The media portrayed the violence as a bloody affair with the victims of violence only being black foreign nationals. The media created the image of South African perpetrators being angry mobs free of self-control.

5.3 ELEMENTS OF CARTOONING

In this section of the literature review, I provided a definition of a cartoon and gave a brief history of cartooning. I also looked at aspects of cartooning such as the artist's point of view as well as what is satire, humour and irony in cartoons. The research revealed that a cartoon is a humorous and simplified piece of drawing that is used to communicate a message. Cartoons that appear in can be divided into various categories such as political cartoons, editorial cartoons, gag cartoons and comic strips.

Cartoons can be traced back to the early 1700's when the technique of "caricatura" (caricature) was used in drawings. This technique was simply a method of exaggerating certain features of the subject matter being portrayed. This element of caricature can be seen throughout the history of cartooning, and was adopted by artists such as William Hoggarth, Benjamin Franklin and William Hone, to name a few.

Cartoons were also used to send political messages and speak against laws that were passed or even to make a powerful statement regarding the times. Such examples can be seen in Benjamin Franklin's "*Join or Die*" (1974) cartoon as well as *The Political House that Jack Built*" (1819) by William Hone and George Cruikshank. Many satirical magazines and newspapers were developed in the 1800s, which also carried political as well as social messages, picking on aristocrats as well as politicians.

Satire is a feature that is found in most newspaper cartoons and encompasses a variety of elements. These elements include irony, humour, parody, caricature, sarcasm and so on. Satire is used in cartoons to expose the flaws of the subject matter in a manner that is humorous. Humour is the ability to make something amusing or comic. Humour is a key element used in satire that is used to make something comical and can be used as a tool to relieve social tensions. Irony is very much intertwined with humour as it can be used to make the cartoon funny. Irony exposes contradictions in what is portrayed.

The artist's point of view is always a key factor in the creation of a cartoon. Various internal and external factors can influence the artist's point view. Internal influences

can include various sociological factors and external influences can include political, social, economic factors to name a few. Even though the cartoonist can express their point of view in the cartoon, the reader has the ability to interpret the cartoon differently. This is dependent on the lens through which they view the cartoon and it can be influenced by factors such as social structures, socialisation and ideologies.

Due the nature of cartooning, cartoonists could find themselves charged for defamation of character for depicting their subject matter in a manner that is viewed as distasteful by the subject depicted. This raises issues around freedom of speech, including what is categorised as hate speech. Sometimes cartoonists' lives can be endangered for depicting religious figures, politicians and other sensitive subjects.

5.4 BAKHTIN'S CARNIVALESQUE

The research focused on the key elements of Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque (1965). This theory highlighted the importance of folk humour, grotesque realism and laughter in literature. Bakhtin used the literature of French writer François Rabelais to examine the workings of the above elements of the Carnivalesque. There were three components that Bakhtin identified in folk culture: a) Carnival Festivities (the various feasts); b) Parodic Literature; and c) Language of the Market Place. Folk culture was manifested in three ways: 1) Ritual Spectacles; 2) Comic verbal compositions; and 3) Billingsgate (Bakhtin, 1984: 11-17).

The carnival was an important part of the medieval carnival. It included clowns and jesters who made fun of the ceremonies and the elites of that era. Ritual spectacles created an atmosphere of freedom and laughter as it was aimed to free people from politics, religion etc. The carnival did not support hierarchy of any kind and therefore was described as being a type of "utopia".

One aspect of the folk culture is what Bakhtin termed "festive folk laughter" which was experienced by all participants at the carnival. This meant that everyone was subjected to being "laughed" at no matter the hierarchy. This laughter was regarded as being cathartic for attendees of the carnival. The second aspect of Folk culture, comic verbal compositions, was produced in the form of sermons, prayers, debates,

dialogues and eulogies. The last aspect of folk culture was termed Billingsgate, which was a form of communication that used mockery and abusive words in an affectionate manner. Words (such as profanities and oaths) used were simultaneously mortifying and humorous.

The material bodily principle and grotesque realism were also features of the Carnivalesque culture. This highlighted a specific focus on carnal activities such as eating, drinking, defecation, urination, sexual intercourse and so on. Another aspect of this principle was degradation that was utilized by the medieval clown who mocked his subjects. The target of destruction at the carnival was the elite structures that existed at the time.

One of the limitations to the carnival was that its liberty and utopian nature experienced at the carnival was only temporary. Some of the activities of the carnival reinforced hierarchy in subtle ways such as choosing the poorest man to be the bishop for the day and games that appointed winners and losers. However the carnival fulfilled its task as by creating escapism for its participants. The participants used the carnival to create their own meanings, in this manner, overturning the control of the elites. The participants of the carnival broke codes and social norms to exhibit their rebellious carnival bodies (this can be applied to the element of the material bodily principle).

5.5 DATA ANALYSIS

My analysis was drawn from 10 cartoons that were drawn between the years 2008 and 2015 (the years the xenophobic attacks occurred). South African cartoonists illustrated the cartoons that were chosen for this analysis. The analysis was divided into four sections using these three lenses to analyse the cartoons: Xenophobia theory, Elements of Cartooning and Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque. The Cartoons in section one were analysed using Lens One: Xenophobia Theory. In section two, I used Lens Two: Elements of Cartooning to analyse the cartoons. In section three, I used Lense Three: Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque for analysis. In the last section of analysis, I utilized all three theories as a lens to interpret and analyse the cartoons.

5.6 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Cartoonists dealt with the xenophobic outbreak in South Africa by portraying the various harms it has caused to non-nationals as well as the factors that contributed to the violence in South Africa. Cartoonists also illustrated the manner in which xenophobia was manifested in South Africa. From my findings, I gathered that cartoonists depicted the xenophobic violence as a bloody mess that took the lives of many non-nationals. Some cartoonists depicted the violence as being a bloodbath that swept the country. This indicated to the reader that the pogroms were of an explicitly violent nature. Other cartoonists depicted the xenophobic attacks as being a disgrace to South Africa's morals and a threat to democracy. The cartoonists also illustrated that the attacks were a threat to humanity as they saw the reprise of racism and hatred that was reminiscent of the apartheid era in South Africa, thus opening old wounds for the country to deal with.

The victims of the xenophobic violence in the cartoons were always the non-nationals (immigrants). The victims of violence were portrayed in these cartoons as seeking refuge in South Africa from the war, poverty and unemployment that existed in their own country. Victims of violence were depicted in the cartoons as being both male and female, black and of various age groups. I observed in these cartoons that most of the cartoonists depicted families being affected by the xenophobic violence. One cartoon in particular which emphasised religion, as being a contributing factor of alienation during the xenophobic attacks, was Mboghozi's "*Xenophobia Sucks*" cartoon (see Figure Fourteen).

The perpetrators were portrayed as black, male South Africans. Some cartoonists went as far as to illustrate that the Zulu ethnic group were the main perpetrators of the violence. Cartoonists used imagery of traditional weapons such as the pangas, Zulu spear, and shield as well as tools of labour such as the machete and axe, to indicate to us that the perpetrators of the violence were normal working class people who were frustrated with the alleged influx of foreigners in South Africa. The perpetrators in the cartoons were depicted as being unconcerned of the outcome of their behaviour; they

were pious and sometimes were even depicted as finding a sense of satisfaction in the attacks.

Key public figures that were portrayed as being directly or indirectly responsible for the violence were President Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), King Goodwill Zwelethini and former President Jacob. Cartoonists primarily pointed out President Mugabe as an indirect cause for the attacks due to the economic crises in his country that compelled many Zimbabweans to flee to South Africa. Former President was under the scrutiny of cartoonists purely for his lackadaisical approach in addressing the xenophobic attacks of 2008 and 2015. Former President Zuma was depicted as a bumbling fool and as well as a man of contradictory discourse, as he was unable to speak directly to the situation at hand. Former President Zuma was also depicted as not being proactive with implementing poor laws to protect foreign nationals in South Africa as well as demonstrating poor leadership. Lastly, King Zwelethini was targeting by the cartoonists as being directly linked to inciting the xenophobic attacks when he allegedly made inflammatory remarks against foreign nationals. He is depicted as being nonchalant about his alleged anti- foreigner remarks. The cartoonists demonstrate that these key figures in society are very powerful in defining public perceptions.

The causes of xenophobia that were pointed out by cartoonists were numerous; this was due to the complex nature of the attacks in South Africa. The first cartoon that I analysed by Reynolds, **"***The Unabridged Birth Certificate*" (see Figure Nine), indicated many contributing factors to the xenophobic violence in South Africa. The factors that were mentioned were weak economic growth, poverty, uncertainty, regional instability and war. These factors exist in South Africa as well as the countries from which the foreign nationals hail. A major factor that had contributed to the violence was South Africa's past of apartheid that left an inheritance of inequity and instability to the Democratic South Africa. The after effects of the apartheid era are still evident in rural and township areas, as well as the mind-sets of some individuals, who resorted to a process of "othering" black foreign nationals. Another contributing factor to the xenophobic violence was the inability for the South African government to effectively deal with the violence and the aftermath.

Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque deepened my understanding of satirical cartoons. Elements of Folk Culture and grotesque realism were clearly evident in the cartoons that were in section three and four of the analysis chapter.

"Carnival festivities" of Folk Culture were manifested in cartoons through forms of ritual spectacle created by the cartoonists. The celebration of South Africa's 21st year of democracy was created to be a comic spectacle by the cartoonist Zapiro (see Figure Sixteen), who illustrates that no one is willing to celebrate this so-called milestone in South Africa due to the manifestation of xenophobic attacks that ravaged the country. Cartoonists also used the illustration of crowds of people to create a spectacle in their cartoons; it was used as a device to draw the reader's attention to the ills of the perpetrators at hand.

Parodic literature was witnessed on numerous occasions in the cartoons, particularly in the speech bubbles of the cartoons. Examples of parodic literature in cartoons analysed were the contradictory statements made by former President Zuma concerning foreign nationals, the misuse of the word Ubuntu by the angry mob and the indifferent statements made by King Zwelethini concerning the alleged anti-foreigner statements he made. The above parodied the actual statements made by public figures or served to express in a humorous manner, the cartoonist's view on the behaviour of those who were involved in the violence. Market place language was observed in the depiction of a cussing former President Zuma and the angry mob leader in the cartoons (see Figure Twelve and Figure Seventeen). The foul language was emphasised by the use of stars and asterisks and was directed at the foreign nationals.

Grotesque realism was evident in the cartoons analysed in the form of exaggeration, debasement, and degradation as well as the material bodily principle. Exaggeration can be seen in the form of caricature in the cartoons. Facial features as well as body structure of subjects were exaggerated to make them appear comical to the reader. Caricaturing is evident in the depiction of former President Zuma and King Zwelethini. Former President Zuma is illustrated with a big head and squint eyes. King Zwelethini on the other hand is depicted as being a very rounded, chubby character. Techniques of caricaturing will differentiate amongst cartoonists; however

it is still employed for ridiculing the subject. The caricaturing of these individuals can also be seen as a form of degradation and form of mockery by the cartoonists.

Debasements and beatings were apparent in the cartoons in section four of the analysis chapter. This was highlighted by cartoonists' depiction of the deceased foreign national. The foreigners depicted in both cartoons were killed because of the xenophobic violence in South Africa. The angry mob that was illustrated having burned a foreign national revealed the grotesque reality of the xenophobic violence that ravaged the country. The cartoonists also use the depiction of violence to mock those who participated in the violence, as perpetrators were represented as being very idiotic.

Degradation could be seen in the cartoons as the cartoonists portrayed their subjects as being fools and a spectacle to be laughed at. The cartoonists can therefore be compared to the Jester at the carnival who mocks and ridicules its subjects. By mocking the subjects, cartoonists destroy the hierarchy that exists between the reader and the figure depicted. The cartoonists bring the figure depicted from a place of power to a status of normality. Irony is also used in these cartoons to degrade individuals and perpetrators of violence. The material bodily principle could be seen manifesting in the cartoons in relation to self-indulgence and gratification. A character in Jerm's cartoon, "*Scrambled Signal*" was portrayed sitting in a bar drinking alcohol, which denotes a form of self-gratification.

Using all three lenses this study concluded that the cartoonists depicted that the xenophobic outbreak in South Africa was detrimental to South Africa and foreign nationals whom have come to South Africa seeking refuge or work. Cartoonists also emphasised the inability of South African government to take effective action against the manifestation of the xenophobia in South Africa. Cartoonists particularly highlighted public figures, former President Zuma and King Zwelethini, as being responsible for contributing to the violence. There were many other contributing factors to the xenophobic violence that were made evident in the cartoons. The cartoons used for analysis illustrated that Bakhtin's theory of the Carnivalesque can contribute the cartooning theory. Elements of Folk culture and grotesque realism were evident as features of these cartoons. Carnivalesque culture in these cartoons

emphasised the power of cartoonists. It was evident that cartoonists were like the Jester of the medieval carnival as they mocked and degraded their subjects using satire.

Through the use of satire, cartoonists position themselves as being the voice of reason in society. During the South African xenophobic violence of 2008 and 2015 cartoonist held a polemic role in South African society. Cartoonists 'educated' the reader by providing various explanations of the contributing causes of the violence such as various socio-economic factors, socio-demographics as well as political figures that could be dubbed as the instigators of the xenophobic violence. Cartoonists thus help to shape our perceptions of events that occur in our society and evoke emotions in the hope that someone might take a stand for change. Bertolt Brecht (n.d) wrote that "art is not a mirror held up to reality, but a hammer with which to shape it" (Good Reads, 2017), similarly, the role of the cartoonist played with the creation of the cartoons analysed in this thesis, is one who utilizes their craft to encourage transformation in society. The cartoonists foregrounds the harsh reality of the xenophobic attacks and through each stroke of their pencil- cartoonists implore the reader to think deeply and critically about xenophobia and how utterly senseless these attacks are.

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