

The Media, Protest Art & Nation Building in Post-Apartheid

South Africa: *The Spear*, a case study

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the media coverage and public debate that ensued following the publication of The Spear, a painting by artist Brett Murray which depicted African National Congress (ANC) President Jacob Zuma with his genitals exposed. The objective of the study is twofold. First, to understand how the debate unfolded in media and second, to unpack the public (and ANC) reaction to the media's reports. The study attempts to contribute to research related to the relationship between media, society and nation building in young democracies, specifically in post-apartheid South Africa. A qualitative content analysis of a purposely selected sample of online news articles and comments formed the basis of the research methodology through which to identify prevalent themes that arose throughout the debate. Through discourse analysis, the study also unpacks how social structures – by these I mean groups, institutions, the economy, laws, population dynamics and social relations – that form the national landscape are created and maintained through the use of language (Gee, 2005: 65). Afrocentricism, media framing and agenda setting, as well as social and cultural identity theories, provide theoretical constructs with which to unpack a number of important aspects inherent in the media's representation of Jacob Zuma. The findings reveal that while the painting as a metaphor of the shortcomings of an individual was relevant, historic memory paired alongside increasing class and racial tensions in South African society, escalated what otherwise would have been a form of protest art into an issue of racism and disrespect of African/black culture.

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INTRODUCTION

The press must be free to criticise, investigate and chide the government. However, in the early years of nation building the role of the press should in some ways be more supportive rather than fiercely antagonistic, defiantly critical or adversarial. In short, the new media order should work towards reconciling the need for openness and the right to speak one's mind with the necessity for healing the wounds created by racism” (Kolbe, 2005: 125).

On 10 May 2012, at an art exhibition at the Goodman Gallery in Johannesburg, *The Spear*, a painting by South African artist Brett Murray was among the items in his exhibition titled: *Hail to the Thief II*. Shortly thereafter, City Press a South African weekly newspaper, published a review of the exhibition featuring Murray's work on its website, accompanied by a picture of *The Spear*. For the purpose of this paper, Murray's painting will henceforth be referred to interchangeably as the painting, artwork or cartoon. The painting showed an image resembling South African president, Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, with his pants unzipped and genitals in full display as per Figure 1 below.



Fig 1. Source: wikipedia.org

Modelled on a poster by Victor Ivanov titled “Lenin Lived, Lenin is Alive, Lenin Will Live” (Figure 2), Murray’s version deviated slightly from Ivanov’s painting, through its depiction of President Jacob Zuma with his penis exposed.



Source: allposters.co.uk

At the time, in the review published by City Press online, the writer, Charl Blignaut wrote that “of all the work on show, it is this depiction of the president that will set the most tongues wagging and most likely generate some howls of disapproval. It can be read metaphorically (the naked emperor), or it can be taken literally – a man who cannot control his sexual appetite” (Blignaut, City Press: 2012). In hindsight, the writer’s comment was arguably the biggest understatement.

After seeing the City Press’ review, the African National Congress (ANC), the ruling political party headed by Jacob Zuma, raised objections to what they saw as an offensive work of art. Representatives of the party led by Jackson Mthembu (ANC spokesperson) and Mac Maharaj (Presidency spokesperson) demanded that the Goodman Gallery remove the

painting from the exhibition, and that City Press take the image down from their website and all other promotional materials, on the grounds that it insulted the dignity of the presidency. President Zuma himself expressed shock and said he was offended when he saw a copy of the painting for the first time.

This study unpacks the debate that ensued following the publication of the image, with a three objectives in mind. First, I look at *The Spear* as an example of political satire and protest art. Supported by a brief comparative overview of the role of protest art in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa, I argue that within the broader context of current politics and nationhood, the reaction to the cartoon exposes the challenge of reconciling race matters with constitutional provisions such as: freedom of speech, art and the media.

The second objective examines how the media covered or reported on the painting, within the wider context of the role of media in post-apartheid South Africa. To this end I will briefly assess the role of media in apartheid South Africa, particularly in addressing issues of a sensitive nature. Here I contend that while it is important to protect and preserve media and artistic freedoms, the protection thereof must be weighed against the 'greater good' or nation building. Media freedoms and short term gains must be weighed against the goals of a nation still struggling to rebuild and affirm positive social and race relations in a country operating against the backdrop of a contentious and difficult past.

Lastly, having weighed the media's coverage of the painting and the implications in a post-apartheid setting, I unpack the different ways in which the public reacted to the painting and the media's representation thereof on various online news platforms. In this way the primary

undertaking of the study is to consider the ways in which various stakeholders including the media, the artist, members of the ruling party and the public, debated The Spear.

I maintain that the media's persistence in displaying the image, even after it became clear that the image had evolved into a cruel reminder of the ridicule suffered by people of colour in the not so distant past, shows that South Africa remains a country divided.

More importantly, the media's persistence amidst the uproar to take the image down shows that just as the people of South Africa need to employ a culturally aware approach towards each other, the media equally needs to re-imagine their role in a post-apartheid South Africa. Instead of just performing its role as the fourth estate, a re-imagined media, needs to also act as a bridge to lessen ever widening racial, social and cultural divides. This means they can play a role in fashioning a new discourse and way of thinking and speaking about the majority – black people – in a democratic South Africa.

To this end, a qualitative analysis of the discourse about the painting provides a means through which to examine the themes that emerged during the debate such as race, culture, respect; dignity, democracy and some of the constitutionally-enshrined freedoms. The data of the study is comprised of a purposeful sample consisting of 25 articles (per news outlet) published by eight online news sites immediately following the ANC's response to the first article published by City Press on 11 May 2012. This equates to a total of 200 articles.

While a quantitative content analysis might prove useful in systematically ordering and then quantifying the chosen categories, a qualitative analysis of discourse provides a broader scope for unpacking the units of analysis. Qualitative analysis also provides a wider lens through which to explore details and various contextual settings of the debate. This is because a number of other factors such as political posturing, also affected the tone and ferocity of the debate.

Included in the review of literature is an overview of the South African political landscape at the time of the debate, as a way of exploring a possible alternate political motive behind the uproar that ensued. In addition, a comparative overview of the role of media in apartheid and democratic South Africa is also presented as a means through which to gauge the evolution of the country's media from past to present.

By way of an international example – the Danish cartoon of Prophet Muhammad – I present a comparative assessment of the role played by media through art, in dealing with sensitive and contentious issues. This can also highlight whether there are similarities or lessons to be learnt or applied to the South African case. It can also unpack whether the theoretical propositions put forward to examine the Danish case are applicable or similar to those I suggest for the current case.

To this end, utilising the Afrocentric perspective as the primary theoretical framework, I argue that within the media environment, this theory calls for a better reflection and representation – rooted in an understanding – of the cultural views of Africans. This is in line with the argument put forward by those who supported calls for the painting to be brought

down based on the contextualisation of the implications of the painting that is rooted in a history scattered with examples of the ridicule of the black body and customary practices, for the amusement of the ruling elite i.e. white power.

Therefore Afrocentricism here is not about seeking the moral high ground for Africanism. Instead, it is “a theory rooted in the history, culture and world-view of Africans” (Okafor, 1993: 199). In a similar way, framing and agenda setting theory provides supporting constructs with which to assess the role played by media during conflict situations and the consequences that this can have on social relations. Framing and agenda setting also make it possible to identify prevalent themes, in order to systematically assess the nature and evolution of the debate up to and including when the painting was taken down from display.

Consequently the analysis of the discourse surrounding the painting – assessed from an Afrocentric point of view and backed by the framing and agenda setting function of the media – could show how Murray’s painting presented an image of the individual in a manner which was interpreted by the “collective” (by these I mean specifically those who support Jacob Zuma and the ANC) as an attack on the majority and especially their cultural practices.

Acknowledging that “race remains embedded in South African society and identity politics through the problematic and changing construction of self and others” (Hammett, 2010: 91), the findings reveal two things. First, that although the painting was promoted by both the artist and media as a form of protest art using a metaphor to depict the personal and public

shortfalls of the president, it also highlighted the subjectivity with which media understand the continuing effect of historical memory on black people. Second, findings also reveal how The Spear was used as a political campaign by the ruling party to deflect attention from the beleaguered president as well as organisational and service delivery issues which could prove challenging for the ruling ANC to shake off ahead of the general elections.

The study doesn't claim to be a comprehensive assessment or comparison of what media did in the past versus their role post-apartheid. Nor is the study aimed at providing an in-depth historic account of political cartooning or satire. Instead, the study's focus is on the current situation while borrowing from appropriate theory and literature to support the hypothesis. The brief reflection to the past serves to contextualise the findings and suggestions made in the conclusion.

I conclude with discussion about how the controversy created by Murray's artwork highlights some of the key challenges to the much loved constitutional provisions in democratic South Africa. These challenges also have a crucial impact on efforts of instilling a sense of nationhood in citizens and fostering social cohesion. The discussion also includes suggestions on what can be learnt from The Spear debate within the context of the power of media to affect change. This is with the hope of finding ways of better communicating differences in a multicultural society in order to start the process of reconciling these differences and fostering social cohesion. Lastly, I propose ways in which the coverage of the issue by media, informed by Afrocentric tenets, could reconcile some of the cultural misunderstandings in a multicultural society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

We live in a “media culture and media society” (Hodkinson, 2011). This argument is made plausible by the age of rapid technological advancement in which we live. Media can play a significant role in shaping the societies we live in, by virtue of informing and shaping public opinion. The media here is understood as that section of “producers who transmit large volumes of content simultaneously to audiences of millions” (Hodkinson, 2011: 321).

Therefore the media holds a considerable amount of power not only in what is seen and read by the public, but more importantly, how the news is packaged.

News packaging and reporting can ultimately can affect the way it is interpreted/understood by the public, argues De Wet (2001). News is not merely a mirror of society, but also presents to society, a mirror of its concerns and interests. Correspondingly, protest art isn't a new concept and like the media, also reflects societal concerns.

Considering the above, it is imperative to reflect on the way in which protest art and media functions in pre and post democratic South Africa. This is in part to start answering the first objective of his study, i.e. to understand the role and impact of political art in South Africa as well as to discern the extent to which media mirrored the concerns of the South African society – if at all. This will also aid in identifying whether there are similarities in the tactics that current and apartheid media employ to mirror social concerns.

Protest art in apartheid and contemporary South Africa

The course of history is littered with ample examples of the use of humour to show public disapproval of those in power. Whether it is political cartooning, satire or caricature, “politicians have been targets of cartoons for centuries. From the theatre of ancient Greece to the cartoons of the American Revolution, political satire has changed public opinion” (Bal, Pitt, Berthon , & DesAutels, 2009: 229). Satire and cartooning has not only had an impact on international diplomacy, in many cases, it has incensed people to act.

South Africa has also had its fair share of political cartooning used to critique those in power. “Political cartoons, in the form of satirical drawings and caricatures, appeared in South Africa from the mid-nineteenth Century” (Hammett, 2010: 89). Zapiro – real name: Jonathan Shapiro¹ – is a well-known South African political satirist who has had experience dealing with both the apartheid and democratic government outrage over his work. As a “member of the antiapartheid movement in the 1980s, Zapiro’s work touches upon the history of oppression, the reactions of those in and now out of power, and, in more recent years, on the issues that arise from the ‘underbelly’ of the liberation movement” (Koelble & Robins, 2007: 315) .

Unlike Brett Murray with his Spear painting Zapiro has a long history of caricaturing Jacob Zuma and various members of government. Zapiro’s exaggerated sketches of his subjects show how “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

¹ Jonathan Shapiro, is South Africa's most influential and widely published political cartoonist. A member of the anti-apartheid movement in the 1980s. His particular wrath is reserved for African National Congress (ANC) figures who have, in his view, defiled the principles of the liberation movement - (Koelble & Robbins, 2007)

attack political image” (Bal et al, 2009: 230). Brett Murray’s painting featuring the president’s genitals on display as a direct attack on his sexual exploits, also fits the above description. However, an in-depth analysis of Murray’s and indeed most political cartoons also reveals various ways in which power dynamics play themselves out through artwork.

For Muller and Ozcan (2007), political cartoons/satire provide insight into a nation’s psyche and an understanding of the characteristics and nature of a given society. In South Africa, the history of political cartooning reflects a checked orientation or focus by different media players or cartoonists. On the one hand you had those who sided with the segregationist rule. On the other hand, you have media who used this form of art to reflect what was happening in the country. In the case of the latter, it is important to consider the differences between political artwork that was intended at merely exposing the injustices versus that which went beyond exposing – whose main purpose was to critique and oppose the unjust government laws.

Therefore the resistance to unchecked power is “key to understanding political cartoons and the social and political milieu in which they are constructed, received and interpreted” (Hammett, 2010: 89). During years of apartheid rule, Afrikaans language cartoonists maintained a socio-political stance similar to that peddled by the state. The liberal (English) media on the other hand, were often caught in the middle as far as acting as a form of opposition to apartheid laws while fearful of Black Nationalism.

Oppressive apartheid regulations also ensured that cartoons aimed at criticising the government were forcefully controlled in the liberal opposition press. However, these types

of cartoons were made available in the alternative press and underground comics. Thus despite legislative limitations, “cartoonists such as David Marais commentary on the South African political landscape, provided iconic images of leaders that undermined their credibility, such as Verwoerd with a direct telephone line to God” (Hammett, 2010: 89).

Measured this way, any evaluation of the state of political cartooning in democratic South Africa must also deliberate the intent and purpose of the artwork. This is in order to account for the broader impact on a society still reeling from structural inequalities left over by apartheid. In addition, analysis of political cartooning in present day South Africa must consider how the decision by both the incoming democratic leadership (Nelson Mandela) and former apartheid leader (FW De Klerk), to be accommodative towards the other, may have affected subsequent cartooning of the various leaders.

So while the initial period of negotiating the transition was undertaken with sensitivity to the underlying issues and being politically correct, this has since given way to a more critical stance. This stance is evidenced by the spate of satirical writings and images that have come to characterise the South African landscape in recent years. These satirical expressions are still defended as a tool with which to critique the crimes and corruption of the new ruling elite. However, in some instances, “the critique of the way things are is not only motivated by the genuine concern for the well-being of the country but has become infused with a sense of racial superiority” (Reckwitz, 2006: 100).

This shows the complexities involved in political cartooning in a multicultural setting. Political cartooning in a racially conscious environment such as South Africa needs to be

approached with a multifaceted understanding of power and social dynamics. This does not mean supporting or passing policy that stifles freedoms of expression. But, it's about finding ways to critique without increasing divides. Along with cartoonists, satirist's etc. media also have a role to play in this regard.

This is because the implications of political cartooning isn't only derived from the artist's interpretation of his/her artwork, but the media's interpretation of the artwork also affects the public reception and interpretation thereof. As such, it is important to reflect on the role of media operating in the two political environments, starting with the period before democratisation.

The media scrutiny in pre-democratic South Africa

The second objective of the study is to examine how the media covered the discussion about painting, within the wider context of the role of media in post-apartheid South Africa. Therefore it is essential to remember that despite current criticisms, the role played by some South African media in bringing about democracy is lauded the world over. "Prior to liberation from apartheid, South Africa's information system laboured under a draconian system of censorship that could have crippled the media" (Merrett, 2001: 50).

This meant that not only was the notion of the right to know alien in SA, but to consider it was equivalent to disloyalty to the state which in some cases, was heavily punished. The acts and laws enacted by the apartheid regime ensured that the government operated under a veil of secrecy which shielded them from public scrutiny.

In those days “journalists were threatened by the Department of Information, not just about content but also over the use of language and warned not to use words and phrases such as 'white minority regime', 'draconian' and 'riot-torn’” (Merrett, 200: 52). By contrast, although not particularly thrilled by the image of the president’s exposed genitals carried on the City Press website, the ANC looked to the courts to have the paper and the gallery ordered to take down the image. Their application for an interdict was unsuccessful. The image was ultimately taken down from both the website and gallery exhibition following discussions involving the gallery and the ministry of arts and culture. Upon taking down the image from the City Press website, editor Ferial Haffajee penned an article stating that her decision to remove the image from the paper’s website was based on “care and fear” (Haffajee, News 24: 2012).

The measure of fear described by Haffajee seems overplayed compared to that which journalists operating under apartheid rule would have been exposed to. Nevertheless, the description of a decision made out of ‘fear’ of government, bares striking similarities to the intimidation tactics used by the apartheid government to deter journalists from placing the government under heavy scrutiny.

To this end Tomaselli (1997), contends that although 19th century liberal press support libertarian ideals and freedom of the press, intimidation tactics used by the apartheid regime to subvert opposition rendered the majority of English-language newspapers feeble and fearful, lacking in honesty and unable to fulfil their public watchdog duty. Added to this, argues Kolbe (2005), alongside the development of Afrikaans newspapers to back

government policies, some English papers also shared similar views found in Afrikaans papers.

Thus both the English and Afrikaans press failed in their duty as government watchdog. None opposed government policy and offered very little support for a system of equality for all South Africans – black and white. Apart from restrictions by government which ensured that the voice heard in media is theirs and only theirs, the media was also limited in performing its proper role because as a white controlled press, they also benefited in profit margins from the old order. Moreover, “the Afrikaans press, and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) after 1960, helped to consolidate National Party influence over white South African opinion up to 1990” (Tomaselli, 1997: 4).

Nevertheless, through robust civil society, non-governmental and liberation movements, the history of the land was well captured and reported on. This was thanks to unfaltering journalists who even under duress and government scrutiny, found ways to tell the South African story despite unwavering efforts by the government to cover up their acts. This is also due to ideological contestations of apartheid rule such as those promoted by the Black Consciousness Movement operating during the 60s and early 70s. Other structures challenging apartheid ideology include the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983 following the 1976 Soweto uprising.

The resistance waged by the various organisations against the apartheid government was not without government retaliation. “In the latter years of apartheid the threat of censorship took on characteristics that became increasingly physical. Virtually every South African who made an active contribution to the anti-apartheid movement was harassed in some way

intended to encourage circumspection if not silence” (Merrett, 2001:53). Looking at the current case study, with ever mounting calls for The Spear to be taken down, various members of the ANC and its alliance partners were also accused of using harassment tactics to get their way.

For example, expanding on her decision to take down the painting from their website, City Press editor Ferial Haffajee wrote: “The atmosphere is like a tinderbox: City Press copies went up in flames on Saturday and our vendors are most at risk” (Haffajee, News 24, 2012). Admittedly, while no acts of physical harassment were necessarily reported, there are some similarities to be drawn between the current example and the ticking time bomb atmosphere of the past regime. The notable difference between the apartheid environment and the current situation was that the contestation was not physical nor did it end with detention of journalists or those supporting them.

More importantly, in present day South Africa, not only is the right to know enshrined in the bill of rights, but civil society movements such as the Right to Know operate freely and are at the forefront of fighting for the right to know for all citizens. The Constitution of the land also protects these rights. Thus the right to know also was among the key arguments for affording artist and media the right to publish their work as a means to keeping the citizenry informed about those who hold public office.

The media and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa

The protection of freedom of speech and a government’s ability to take criticism from all its constituents is regarded as signs of a deepening and maturing democracy. Constitutional

provisions allotted to media are indeed indicative of a deepening democracy. Moreover, the media in present day South Africa are key to the project of nation-building. This is a shift from the role played by media “as a tool of division and distinction during apartheid” (Hammett, 2010: 90). However, the period of transitioning from apartheid to democracy and the current state of affairs between the media, government and some members of society shows argues Hammett (2010), how media continues to struggle with straddling the line between reflecting and promoting multicultural dialogue while attempting to depoliticise the society.

This difficulty media has in promoting multicultural dialogue was evident throughout the debate. Questions arose with regards to the blurring of lines between protecting constitutionally-enshrined freedoms versus the rights to dignity and privacy of the individual. All these while also exercising a measure of sensitivity towards custom and culture. Therefore it is imperative to account for each of these arguments within the context of the debate.

Nevertheless, the South African political setting is characterised by the most liberal environment for media freedom in the world with the late 1990s “seen as the most tolerant era in the nation's history” (Merrett, 2001:55). Among the reasons for this type of openness are the Bill of Rights and the Promotion of Access to Information Act. Within the present study, these two can be argued to have had their impact undermined by political forces.

In chapter three of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights comprises numerous passages which affect the freedoms of expression and information. “Section 16 (freedom of expression) lists

freedom of the press, freedom to receive or impart information or ideas, freedom of artistic creativity, and academic freedom. Inevitably there are in the Bill of Rights built-in limitations. Section 36 requires that they shall be reasonable and justifiable in the context of an open and democratic society, bearing in mind human dignity, equality and freedom” (Merrett, 2001:58).

It was freedom of the press and artistic creativity which the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF), City Press and those calling for the image to stay up, used as argument against state censorship. The ANC and those who backed Zuma called on first the courts (through their urgent application for an interdict at the High Court), and then members of society to exercise their power by participating in protest action – in terms of the latter – to ensure that the limitations of these rights as per Section 36 are recognised and adhered to.

Although the court did not grant the interdict, the public debate that ensued saw a number of commentators and members of the public arguing for the ‘protection’ of the president – and by extension black people – on the grounds of protecting human dignity. This is because opposition mounted by government and their allies against those who published *The Spear*, was focused on the effect that the depiction of exposed black male genitalia can have on race relations. As such the calls to censor the media were based on the effect that this image might have on the broader population such as igniting historic memory of the ridicule suffered by black people at the hands of whites.

By contrast therefore, the freedoms with which current media operate in a democratic environment differ extensively compared to that operating in an apartheid environment. For years, various Acts enacted by the apartheid government secured them the power to censor

published material. The Acts “were exercised in terms of self-serving criteria regarding potential harm to race relations, the bringing of a section of the community into contempt or ridicule, and threats to the safety of the state” (Merrett, 2001:59). Thus while the ANC did not look to Acts to censor the painting, their application to the High Court for an interdict against both the Goodman Gallery and City Press was considered an attempt at censorship.

Conversely, following the decision by the Film and Publication Board (FPB) to classify *The Spear* as not being suitable for children under the age of 16, Haffejee commented that the FPB had been transformed into a political puppet servicing the needs of the ruling elite. She argued that “the classification was a predetermined outcome which had almost nothing to do with protecting children, it was done to satisfy political masters” (Knoetze, IOL: 2012). The Film and Publications Act of 1996 sets out to regulate the distribution of publications and films through classification committees, and although a product of democracy, Merrett (2001) argues that even with the provision now to appeal to the Supreme and Constitutional Courts which can override rulings, this act is disturbingly similar to the censorship bureaucracy of the apartheid years.

Reconciling differences

Also important to consider within the context of this debate, is the difficulties in first, transitioning from apartheid to democracy and second, the media’s role in being a vehicle through which to display and inform the broader public about social conditions. This task is made particularly arduous considering that media ownership practically affects all areas of journalism: the focus of the paper, what is covered and how it’s covered as well as the tone and agenda of specific news content.

Even more difficult for media operating in a country still reeling from the legacy of apartheid is the need to accommodate two nationalisms each with its own conservatism. Therefore it isn't a farfetched notion to find there to be "a tendency in both towards group loyalty and race sensitivity that discounts fundamental freedoms, devalues media responsibility, and undermines the intent of the new constitution" (Merrett, 2001:64). Equally important is to understand that "the media never present an event or a phenomenon in a neutral way; ideological factors and power relations always go hand in hand with media presentations" (Fairclough, 1995a: 105). For Merrett (2001), a major governing factor in the future of the freedoms of information and expression and of the media is influenced by both socio-political and cultural context.

Similarly, Wasserman (2010) argues that "attention should be paid to the dynamic, cultural dimensions of political communication – the attitudes and value frameworks of role-players in the system". This is because understanding these interpretations better can explain the rationale behind the sometimes difficult relationship between the media, society and politicians in young democracies. Social education programmes could also go a long way in helping the public also better articulate their frustrations or support of the media's interpretation of issues.

Thus considering the role played by media in shaping public opinion, what should also be considered now is the interpretive framework that each affected party brought to the debate about The Spear following the first report about the painting which was posted online via the City Press website on 11 May 2012. This is particularly important since the media in present

day democratic South Africa is to an extent looked to for the upkeep of democracy and as a means through which to hold democratically elected leaders to account.

Yet criticism against media bias within the context of the present case raises serious questions about the independent watchdog role, promoted so vigorously by society and civil rights movements of the 80s, that has ironically been weakened under conditions of liberal democracy. The alternative press along with civil society movements that were effective during the apartheid era have virtually disappeared.

This could be true because with the increase in capital gains driving the media agenda, their focus is no longer solely about gate keeping, but has become muddled by pressures to make profit. Added to this, the transition to democracy required that media re-imagine their role in a young democracy and perhaps take on broader responsibilities alongside or instead of just being a gate keeper. To this end the media's duty as the fourth estate may appear reduced in an emerging democracy.

SA Media: The censored watchdog?

Very few of the newspapers operating during that error are active in present day South Africa. Added to this, the role played by civil society movements and NGOs has faded rapidly following a reduction of "foreign funding, the absorption of activists into government, politics and business, and the high profile given to development" (Merrett, 2001:94).

However, it is imperative to consider that the reasons for this cannot solely be attributed to an over imposing or censorship obsessed government. The roles required and played by

both the alternative press and social movements of the past differ substantially to that needed in a democratic society. The goals are different too, as is the focus.

As such, the virtual disappearance of both these structures in present day South Africa, should not only be seen as an indictment on the current government's supposed adoption of apartheid tactics. They must be understood within the context of an evolving or changed environment under which they now operate. The movements that were able to evolve and adapt remain relevant today and those unable to do so unfortunately cannot survive long in a rapidly changing environment.

Similarly, those institutions who are/have been unable to adapt, also struggle to transform and operate in a transforming environment. And in South Africa, some sections of the media is argued to be vilifying not only the president but the current political elite as a result of their resistance to transformation.

Transformation & Diversity in South African Media

Criticism of the lack of transformation in South African media is nothing new and ranks as among the factors negatively affecting social relations in the country. The relationship between the media and the ANC government "has become progressively more difficult and the criticism from the ANC more vociferous in recent years. The commercialisation of the print media is blamed by the ANC for the fact that content reflects the upper elites in society as a result of commercial interests and advertisers' demands" (Malila, Rhodes Review: 2014).

The ANC's dissatisfaction with media is captured by former Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe who contends: "The ANC has every right to raise concern where it considers the media to have strayed from balanced and accurate reporting. It has every right to question the ownership patterns in the media, or the racial and gender composition of the senior editorial and management echelons of the media" (Motlanthe, ANC: 1998).

This is despite historic examples of close alliances forged between some members of the media and the liberation movement to fight against apartheid oppression. An untransformed media, for example lack of diversity in ownership, risks having this disparity in diversity permeate through the final product.

The lack of transformation that the ANC speaks off, is not transformation only as it relates to media ownership, but also to diversity of views and opinions that reflect the South African demographics and especially presents a platform for the views of the majority to be heard. Thus, argues the ANC, "white dominance, coupled with a lack of diversity, has created a mismatch between the values espoused in the media and the values promoted by the ANC, including a commitment to a developmental state, collective rights, the values of a caring and sharing community, solidarity, Ubuntu, non-sexism and working together" (ANC, 2010: 8).

This sentiment is echoed by the South African Communist Party (SACP) who have also criticised the transformation of print media arguing that "the sector lacks linguistic diversity and is dominated by liberal interests" (Duncan, 2011). Those who critique the ANC's conception about transformation argue against their overemphasis on racial dynamics as the sole measure of a transformed media. Boloka and Krabil (2000) contend that

successful transformation speaks to the media 'reflecting, in its ownership, staffing and product, the society within which it operates, not only in terms of race, but also socio-economic status, gender, religion, sexual orientation, region, language, etc. This isn't only about opening access and diversifying ownership, but also involves the inclusion of all members of society including grass roots organisations.

The shortcomings of the South African media should not be looked at in a vacuum. Neither should the ruling party's critique against an untransformed media be considered in isolation, specifically as pertains to the case of The Spear. This is because while historical developments in the media may have had an effect on current media practice, political gains can also influence actions taken by the ruling elite.

This was true of the laws enacted by the apartheid government to repress media so as to evade the spotlight shining on the injustices perpetrated against the majority. And it is equally true for the ANC – who facing an onslaught of criticism against the president and the party ahead of the Mangaung Conference and general elections – were also looking for a reason to deflect the spotlight from pressing social concerns such as chronic cronyism, misuse of public funds and corruption – to name a few.

As such, the political processes at play at the time of the debate should not be discounted because they can illuminate the extent to which political posturing fuelled the debate compared to the role played by media. Thus a critical assessment of the political landscape in the country prior to and at the time of the exhibition will provide a retrospective look at key

role players in order to gauge whether there is cause to believe that it was politicking that fuelled the fire.

Politics of The Spear

Those who lamented the ANC's call for the painting to be removed from public view, saw this as curtailing the media's ability to serve its purpose. Yet, public opinion remained divided because along with the criticism hurled towards the ANC, many more argued for the painting to be removed because it assaulted the dignity of the president and – through its implied critique of what in some circles is considered philandering man – disrespected cultural practice.

Curran et al (2009) caution against viewing the role played by media in the promotion of robust public debate in a vacuum. They argue that the nature of a country's media system is only one of the numerous issues among an array of others affected by social structures and public relations. Legal processes also came to the fore as described earlier, wherein appeals to the protection of freedoms of the press and of expression were argued to have been not absolute. While the two freedoms are indeed enshrined in the constitution, these must be exercised and weighed against the protection of human dignity.

Moreover, within the current study issues of historic memory, race relations and traditional practice came to the fore in questions being raised about the necessity of having such a debate in the country. These factors also had an effect on the different ways in which the public reacted to the painting and the media's representation thereof on various online news

platforms. Added to these, the ANC's own positioning of the issue was also a strategic move aimed at deflection.

The internal party squabbles within the ANC were heightened and have been so for a number of years now, since the ousting of Thabo Mbeki at the ANC conference in Polokwane, 2007. Aside from mediatised controversies surrounding Jacob Zuma, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) – under then president Julius Malema, rattled furthers within the ranks, eventually leading to his expulsion on 29 February 2012.

Less than impressed by the decision taken by its mother-body, the Limpopo faction of the Youth League was reported to have been among the first organisations within the alliance structures of the ANC, to criticise the party and its leaders' reaction to the painting.

Unmoved by the seriousness of the painting's assault on the dignity of President Jacob Zuma, the new ANCYL deputy president Ronald Lamola said the ruling party's actions showed a "wrong set of priorities" (Mngxitama, Sowetan: 2012). Although he conceded that the Youth League agrees that the painting was wrong, Lamola questioned whether the issue warranted the attention given to it by the ruling party.

Generally, 2012 proved to be a particularly difficult year in South Africa. Following the death of Andries Tatane at the hands of police during a service delivery protest that took place in Ficksburg on 13 April 2011, 2012 saw a rise in the spate of service delivery protests across the country. "National police spokesman Colonel Vishnu Naidoo said 372 protests related to service delivery had been recorded between January and the end of May [2012]" (Reporter, City Press: 2012). The figure represents "the highest number of delivery-linked protests by

citizens since 1994” and it was argued that “petty political squabbles at branch level contribute enormously to sparking protests” (Reporter, City Press: 2012).

Added to the challenge of addressing the deteriorating levels of service delivery, remarks by former ANCYL President Julius Malema, a long-time supporter of Jacob Zuma, epitomised the deterioration of relations between the Youth League and the ANC. As president of the ANCYL, Malema was vociferous in his defence of Zuma in the lead up to the Polokwane conference of 2007. Back then, Malema went as far as declaring his willingness to take up arms to protect Zuma. Speaking at a Youth Day rally in the Free State Province of South Africa, he was quoted by various sources in the media saying he was “prepared to die for Zuma” (Reporter, Mail & Guardian: 2008). Elsewhere, in February 2009, Malema reportedly said: “If Zuma is corrupt, then we want him with all his corruption. We want him with all his weaknesses” (Dlanga, NCA Africa Blog: 2009).

But by 2012, after falling out of favour with the ruling party as a result of Zuma publicly rebuking him for among others, his pro Zanu-PF comments after his Zimbabwe trip, his statements on the murder of AWB leader Eugene Terre’Blanche, and his verbal abuse of a BBC reporter, the former youth leader had changed his tune. Malema was on the loose, spewing contempt and galvanising support around deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe, ahead of the ANC electoral conference in Mangaung; in a bid to oust Zuma just as he had done to Mbeki four years earlier. Malema was quoted saying that he was no friend of Jacob Zuma in several news sources.

It therefore came as no surprise that the ANCYL was absent from ANC organised protest against The Spear. More importantly, in an opinion piece published on various platforms

including an edited version in the City Press, Julius Malema, condemned the ANC's threats levelled against both the gallery and the publication.

Thus it is apt to raise questions about the level of political posturing as reason for the ANC raising issue with The Spear. Accordingly it was imperative for the ruling party to stem the tide, especially with the ANC conference in Mangaung (2012) looming. Consequently, critics – including City Press editorial staff – questioned the deliberateness of the timing and relevance of the debate.

Commenting on actions that ignited debate on various media platforms about The Spear, in a reply affidavit to the one issued by the ANC and Jacob Zuma, Fikile Moya executive editor of City Press wrote: “Until the ANC issued a statement about this matter (and thereafter launched the present application), there had been fairly minimal viewing of the review page (to which the pictures, including the portrait at issue, are linked). Indeed, the relevant page at that stage did not even appear in the top ten pages visited on the City Press webpage during any given day or night” (Moya, Politics Web: 2012).

Thus it is plausible that the debate could have been seen as an opportunity sought by the ruling to deflect attention from issues and challenges facing the beleaguered president ahead of the party's electoral conference in which he [Zuma] is vying for reappointment. This sentiment was also expressed by Lara Goodman, the Gallery director – and supported by various political analysts – particularly after the painting was taken down. Goodman commented: “The fact that the ANC did not ask for the entire exhibit to be taken down gives me hope that this is more about a political moment in history and getting votes for Zuma in the upcoming election” (Okeowo, The New Yorker: 2012).

It would therefore seem that the ANC's reaction to a little known painting of an exhibition on protest art could very well have been politicking at its best. However, the explanation offered for uproars over satire and related material, differ from one expert to the next and from one nation to another. Although the history of satirical/protest cartooning/art is full of examples of the ways in which artists use the medium as a way to speak to current social issues – to critique, lampoon and sometimes in jest – not all forms of protest art stem necessarily from politicking by politicians holding national office.

South Africa is not alone in experiencing heated debate in media about contentious issues. The depiction of the Prophet Mohammed in a cartoon, is one such example against which the South African experience can be compared for discursive purposes. A brief comparative analysis of the South African case and an international case might also reveal whether there are similarities or lessons to be learnt by both the perpetrators – the City Press, Brett Murray and the Goodman Gallery – and the aggrieved – the ANC and some members of the public.

Danish cartoon example

Although deemed offensive on the grounds of religion, the Danish cartoon of Prophet Muhammad bares striking similarities with the South African example. "In September 2005, Flemming Rose, culture editor of the conservative Danish weekly *Jyllands-Posten*, solicited sketches of the Prophet Muhammad, hoping to spark a debate about self-censorship in Denmark. This was in response to the difficulty of finding an illustrator willing to draw an image of the prophet Muhammad for the cover of a children's book about the Islamic faith" (Powers, 2008: 343).

Following the publication of the cartoons and subsequent refusal by the editor and Danish government to apologies, a debate ensued on an international scale. The uproar sparked violence, affected diplomatic relations between Muslim countries and Denmark, and also received much publicity within the international media.

Explaining why he solicited and published the cartoon, Rose said he “saw an opportunity to use his position as an editor of a well-distributed, European publication to initiate what he hoped would be a principled and productive discussion about the challenges of accommodating the practices of the Islamic faith in contemporary European societies” (Powers, 2008: 343).

Similarly (and more recently) the fatal shootings at the office building of *Charlie Hebdo*² Magazine also saw the editor defend the magazine, on the grounds that the cartoons they publish seek to protect freedoms. Following the fatal shooting at their headquarters which left a dozen journalists dead, Gérard Biard, the French magazine’s chief editor “defended the magazine's controversial depictions of the Muslim Prophet Muhammad, claiming that the cartoon parodies of religious figures actually safeguard freedom of religion” (Fieldstadt, NBC News: 2015).

The arguments presented in each example, fit assertions by Zegeye and Harris (2003), who contend that “the country’s media provide an important forum for public debate and opinion formation in a society” (Pg.1). In the South African case, City Press editor argued that media must encourage debate about sensitive and conflicting issues. She added: “To ask

² On 7 January 2015, the Paris offices of *Charlie Hebdo*, the French satirical magazine, were attacked by gunmen, who killed 12 people and wounded nearly a dozen others - (BBC editorial, 2015).

us to take down an image from our website is to ask us to participate in an act of censorship. As journalists worth our salt, we can't" (Haffajee, City Press, 2012).

The preceding section set out the roles played by both South African media and politicians in fuelling the debate. Comparatively, in the Danish cartoon example of a caricature of Prophet Mohammed, the prominence of the image in the public sphere was "considerably reliant on and escalated by a series of performative acts by media institutions to maintain its emotional resonance and international stature" (Powers, 2008: 348).

The difference as pertains to The Spear debate was that both media and the ruling ANC played a role in instigating a public crisis. This is because on the one hand, the call by media for the protection and maintenance of media and artistic freedoms ensured the continued publication of the controversial image despite visible outcry not only by Zuma and the ANC, but also by members of the public including a plea from one of Jacob Zuma's daughters. On the other hand, Jacob Zuma's loss of favour within the ranks equally have provided an opportunity for the party to contentualise the debate about The Spear, in a way that would generate collective sympathy, especially from the majority of the population who make up the party's support base.

Danish cartoon and The Spear: Media and conflict

Literature regarding the role played by media in conflict situations tends to focus largely on technological developments in the realm of communication. The focus is on how these can facilitate the sharing of information across the globe without necessarily delving into the impact this shared information can have particularly in the culturally diverse world order we

live in. For Powers (2008), the relationship between media and cross-cultural dialogue, especially in the context of international relations, is an increasingly contested and important one. This argument is especially true in relation to the South African experience. Media can indeed act as a “conduit for communication between actors, at times even encouraging peaceful resolution to escalating” (Powers, 2008: 356) national tensions.

Alexander & Jacobs (1998) suggest that “media events – such as the Danish Cartoon debate – attract larger audiences than any other communication media and have tremendous potentials in terms of media power, because they erase the divide between private and public, and also because they dramatise the symbols, narratives, and cultural codes of a particular society” (Pg.27). A similar argument can be made about The Spear debate.

Essential to Alexander and Jacobs’ (1998) conception of media events is “the incorporation of mediatised narratives into the images and facts of a sequence of incidents, whereby media ‘perform’ a story over time to meet the expectations of a particular audience” (Pg.31). Similarly, assessing this from the concept of media power the authors contend that media is “important for constructing common identities and common solidarities”. This suggests that the role of media isn’t only confined to the sharing of information with the masses “but also – and this is particularly true for media events – with the dramatisation of civil society and the creation of a common cultural framework for building common identities” (Alexander & Jacobs, 1998: 28).

The authors also argue that mediatised public crises differ from traditional conceptions of media events in that they “tend to increase the distance between the indicative and subjunctive, exposing social ills and creating space and a sense of exigency for civic action to overcome the social pollutants (Alexander and Jacobs, 1998: 28).

Both cases – South Africa and Denmark – highlight the fact that media is not merely an information sharing mechanism but are also a means through which to respond and “protest perceived social ills” (Powers, 2008:348). In the South African case, Jacob Zuma’s alleged corruption and extra marital affairs were what constituted a social ill that was under protest through the exhibition that included The Spear painting.

Therefore from an historical analysis of the role of media in South Africa, while it can be argued that the limitations placed on media operating during the apartheid era made it difficult to expose injustices suffered by the majority; it is also reasonable to argue for the complicity of media who spoke little about the injustices of the apartheid government, yet now seem vociferous in their critique of a democratic government.

The next task is to consider from theoretical point of view, motivating factors for both media and the ANC to have carried on as they did throughout the debate. The frames used by media to package their news can also illuminate bias and fairness. Having illuminated these, the next step is to propose a possible solution that is specific to media operating within the broader African context which is still heavily influenced by culture and identity formation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Afrocentricity: Finding African solutions for African problems

Afrocentricism “places African ideals at the centre of any analysis that involves African culture and behaviour” (Asante, 2003: 1). It challenges the cultural industries of the West which remain the yardstick against which most third world countries continue to be measured either economically, socially, politically and even in media practice. These conceptions are “based on the Western orientation toward materialism, hierarchical control, bottom-line profits, and competition” (Warfield-Coppock, 1995: 30).

Comparatively, “Afrocentricity contends that our main problem as African people is our usually unconscious adoption of the Western worldview and perspective and their attendant conceptual frameworks” (Mazama, 2001:388). Afrocentricism endeavors to explain, from a theoretical point of view, ways in which people of colour attempt to work through an impaired concept of self and colonialis ed mentality. Consequently, this type of thinking argues Warfield-Coppock (1995), embraces the values and principles of the dominant culture.

Therefore, an Afrocentric critique against media – specifically South African media and more generally, African media – could be directed at the ways in which reportage is informed by rules governed by Western centric practices. These rules are effectively devoid of critical knowledge or understanding of African identity, culture and practice. For the purpose of this study, Afrocentricity calls for radical change in thinking and the discourse that emanates from that. It considers ways in which the African position, culture and identity can be better represented and infused into media practice.

More importantly, Afrocentricity refers to “a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person. It centres on placing people of African origin in control of their lives and attitudes about the world” (Asante,1991:179)

Asante (2003) further contends that as a theory of change, “Afrocentricism intends to re-locate the African person as subject, thus destroying the notion of being objects in the Western project of domination. The Afrocentrists argue for pluralism in philosophical views without hierarchy, i.e. all cultural centres must be respected” (Pg. 1).

The Afrocentric view presents an alternative position to the Eurocentric paradigm, which for opponents of Afrocentricism “has often assumed a hegemonic, universal character, and has placed European culture at the centre of social structure, becoming the reference point by which every culture is defined” (Obeyade, 1990: 237). This means that within the African media environment, Afrocentricism may provide room for a plurality of representation and analysis of issues particularly those – such as *The Spear* – which are mired in contestation due to the complexity of issues it touched on, ranging from race, culture, dignity and respect.

Accepting that the media in South Africa is still highly operating based on or governed by rules conceived of from a Western point of view, then Afrocentricism provides an alternative mode of practice. It is a critique against the extent to which “issues in the world are primarily measured against European or Westerncentric standards” (Sesanti, 2008: 367). This point is further emphasised by Nyamnjoh (2005) who argues that “African world views are excluded first by the hierarchies of cultures and second, by cultural industries more interested in profits than in the promotion of creative diversity and cultural plurality”.

Allowing for a different point of view may be the start of creating a new narrative about the African experience. This is because “the boundaries of difference are continually repositioned in relation to different points of reference” (Hall, 1990: 227). However, for opponents of the Afrocentric view, this theory is based on nothing more than idealism of an imagined position of the African perspective.

The main critique against the Afrocentric view is that it yearns for an “idealised past of racial grandeur and romanticised view of Africa that is preoccupied with an imagined way of life” (Gerald, 1995: 31). This notion is rejected by Afrocentrists who argue that, along with the search for an African past rooted in African experience, as the starting base, “Afrocentrists also want to know the whole truth, good and bad” (Sesanti, 2008: 336), about their history.

Therefore the theory is not about seeking the moral high ground for Africanism, but is “rooted in the history, culture and world-view of Africans” (Okafor, 1993: 199). The operationalisation of this theory within the media environment would therefore require better reflection and representation – rooted in an understanding – of the cultural views of Africans.

Within the context of The Spear debate, the focus on liberal values, which are associated with Euro and Western centric conceptions of the world, overlooked other factors at play. Through their Western centric informed mode of operation the media effectively pitted ideological beliefs, stereotypes and cultural/traditional difference against liberal views.

Therefore when relating this theory to the media sphere, the Afrocentric view calls for a consideration and framing of issues within an African and in this case, South African media

landscape. Issues need to also be informed by a contextualisation of issues as understood and informed by the multifaceted cultural dynamics that exist in the country. Within a multicultural society, years of apartheid rule, which were preceded by years of colonialism have made difficult the project of media serving as “screens on which diverse images can be projected for all to see” (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001: 65). As such, media content “caters mainly for the white population’s Western history, culture and economic and political interests” (Fourie, 2002: 20). Added to this contends Sesanti (2008), “African cultural values, except in distorted and limited forms, have not found space in the South African media.”

As a consequence, promoting an Afrocentric approach to the media content or representation of issues may also contribute to the goal of achieving a truly transformed media. This is because in looking at the post-apartheid South Africa media landscape, “the transformation that has taken place has not resulted in a diversity of forms of journalism, or even media models. The professional model of journalism and the commercial model of media remain the dominant models of media production, even in the community media sector” (Duncan, 2011). These models are founded on and perpetuate what Fourie (2002) calls ‘western culture, history, economic and political interests’.

Thus an infusion of Afrocentricism in media’s approach to content and coverage of issues may begin to make room for options and possibilities of alternative media models to take root in not just South African, but across the continent. Moreover, such a model would affect changes too in the way in which media frame issues and effectively set the agenda and tone about how the public makes sense of the society in which they live.

Framing issues and setting the Agenda

The framing and agenda setting function of the media contributes to public discourse and understanding of issues. Therefore an analysis of the media's reporting and use of frames in relation to the painting, along with an assessment of public comments about the issue is important. The scrutiny of those in power by media must be understood within the frames employed by media in their coverage of issues. Frames do not only affect tone, but also the recipients' understanding and interpretation of the information contained in the media's messages.

The agenda-setting function of the media refers to the ways in which media 'dictate' the range of issues they deem important for society to consider. The power to do so means that the media can practically make any issue more prominent or salient than another. This can influence "the thematic areas that individuals use to form evaluations" (Scheufele, 2000: 297).

For example, as the debate wore on it evolved from critique of the individual to the shared pain being experienced by the majority of the population due to the historic memory of ridicule and pain suffered during apartheid years. Thus, if agenda setting also involved media's ability not only to reflect but also determine reality, it stands to reason that reporting on *The Spear*, had the potential to also reinforce stereotypes and generalisations about black males.

Viewed this way, it follows that the type and levels of coverage an issue receives from media can set the agenda of how the public and policy makers will react to it. During *The*

Spear debate, the objections raised by those opposing the display of the painting on the basis of preserving human dignity, highlight the effect that agenda setting had on public reaction and consequently what the debate had on nation building efforts. This is an important consideration particularly since the image was interpreted differently by different sets of people.

Thus at the heart of it, “agenda-setting relies on the notion of attitude accessibility because mass media have the power to increase levels of importance assigned to issues by audience members. They increase the salience of issues or the ease with which these considerations can be retrieved from memory if individuals have to make political judgments about political actors” (Scheufele, 2000: 299). Considering how the issue also morphed into one about racism and the country’s continuing struggle in mending race relations in South Africa, the persistent criticism of Jacob Zuma and his marital situation – a matter of culture and custom – does not bode well for improving social cohesion.

By contrast, framing refers to selecting “some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993: 53). Framing is considered an extension of agenda-setting as it “is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed” (McCombs M. , 1997). Conceived differently, framing is based on the assumption that “the characterisation of an issue in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006: 11).

However, the difference between the framing and agenda setting here is that “framing does seem to include a broader range of cognitive processes—such as moral evaluations, causal reasoning, appeals to principles, and recommendations for treatment of problems” (Weaver, 2007:146). As part of her argument for keeping the painting displayed on the City Press website following the first wave of discontent, the editor wrote: “Our morality and good practice is selective. The man driving this latest nail into the ANC’s commitment to free expression is no paragon of virtue and neither is our president, who has done more to impugn his own dignity than any artist ever could” (Haffajee, City Press, 2012).

This is an example of what Weaver (2007) calls ‘broader range of cognitive processes’ that affect framing. Reaction by those members of the public who also shared the City Press editor’s views that the president’s behaviour was undignified, reflects the ways in which “media frames find their way into audience frames” (Huang, 1995: 78). Equally important to consider for the current study is that “frames are tied in with culture as a macro-societal structure” (Weaver, 2007: 143).

Within the context of mediated news “frame-setting also refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals’ prior knowledge and predispositions. Frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events” (De Vreese, 2005: 51). This calls to question the extent to which the culture of framing in the South African media space is still influenced – even if subtly – by an ideology that not only stems from Western conceptions of what is or isn’t appropriate, but also one still affected by apartheid

style stereotyping. Hall (1990) contends that “practices of representation always implicate the positions from which we speak or write” (Pg.222).

Therefore within The Spear debate, the question to consider is the extent to which the frames used were reflective of the social norms and values espoused by the journalists and publications in question, in order to affect or influence public deliberation on the matter. These are norms and values which for the Afrocentrist, are argued to be not fully reconciled with those of African views or in this specific instance, Zulu practice.

According to Scheufele (2000), “at least five factors may potentially influence how journalists frame a given issue: social norms and values, organisational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists”. The first factor, “social norms and values” is perhaps the most apt to consider for the purpose of this research. Looking at some of the themes that emerged in the debate, issues related to social norms and values were among the lens with which members of the public and various thought leaders approached the appropriateness – even if only metaphoric – of Murray’s painting.

Likewise, Neuman et al (1992) describe five types of frames employed by media in their reporting of news: conflict, human interest, morality, economic and responsibility frames. The first three are applicable to the project of unpacking The Spear debate and thus warrant a brief explanation. The conflict frame emphasises conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing the interest of the audience (Semetko & Valkenberg, 2000: 95). Perceived as the most common frame employed by media, the conflict frame is

seen as a means with which “complex substantive political debate” is deminished and overly simplified.

The Spear debate overly simplified complexities of tradition and cultural practice, especially by those said to be inadequately informed about African culture in general, and Zulu tradition in particular. Those who supported the President argued that the the media’s portrayal of Zulu culture – which caters for polygamous marriage – was severely simplified. Equally, those who argued that the painting was inappropriate and insensitive to historic memory of race relations and ridicule of people of colour, also saw their line of argument diminished and overly simplified. They were lambasted for brandishing the ‘race card’ instead of coming up with adequate responses.

The human interest frame involves the “inclusion of a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an issue” (Semetko & Valkenberg, 2000: 95). Just as common as the conflict frame in news reporting, this frame seeks to capture audience interest by tugging on human emotion through personalising the issue covered in the news. The responses to The Spear painting displayed a range of complex and varying emotions at different times during the debate. There were notable differences in opinions at the start of the debate versus the middle, and at the time at which it was defaced by two members of the public, right down to when it was eventually taken down both on the City Press website and at the Goodman Gallery.

At different times emotions ranged from that of support for the newspaper, the gallery and the artist, to those directly condemning Zuma for having made it easy for such depictions of himself to be drawn. These perceptions shifted as the debate wore on, and were challenged

by opinions that criticised the newspaper's stance on the issue, to those arguing for the respect of culture and tradition. The latter was especially true following Jacob Zuma's daughter's letter to the editor of the City Press. There were also arguments which called for an end to the continued ridicule of the black body.

The morality frame "puts the issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions" (Semetko & Valkenberg, 2000: 96). During The Spear debate, this frame was primarily called on by the more 'religious and traditional' audience, who lambasted the newspaper and gallery for publicising a crude and inappropriate form of art. This morality frame was subtly deployed by the FPB in deciding on the inappropriateness of the painting. This was after they received what they said were "complaints related to the painting and its appropriateness to be exhibited, published and broadcast in public platforms where children and sensitive viewers could be exposed without prior warning" (Film and Publications Board: Politics Web, 2012).

Nevertheless, there remains contestation between the definition and impact of the framing and agenda setting function of the media. Whereas McCombs and Shaw (1972) consider agenda setting as ways in which the public is made aware of issues, (Pan & Kosicki, 2001) argue that framing involves cognitive schemas used by people to understand issues. More importantly, the effect of framing and agenda setting are not absolute because. This is because "not all persons are equally affected by the same amount and prominence of media coverage, and not all easily accessible information is considered important" (Weaver, 2007:143).

What's more, apart from the need to have access and be accessible to the media and its influences, individuals also bring to the issue their own set of beliefs some of which are devoid from media influence. This could be a belief or cognitive system nurtured by the environment, customs, culture and social groups which one is exposed to.

Cultural and social identity

The press also have the poer to create an us versus them social environment. "The media influence how their audiences map their symbolic reality and determine the boundaries of the groups they belong to and do not belong to in the society around them. People use the media to determine who is the 'us' and who is the 'them'" (Zegeye & Harris, 2003: 1). In a country like South Africa, particularly during debates that touch on sensitive issues, the media (if unchecked) can become an enabling environment that perpetuatues the practice of othering among the citizens.

This is especially true considering that "the social and political development of post-apartheid South Africa depends to an important degree on the evolving cultural, social and political identities of its diverse population" (Zegeye & Harris, 2003: 5). Bridging the divide in a multicultural democracy is also dependent on the country's media and mass communications agencies.

Conversely, a culturaly sensitive media or even an Afrocentric media can go a long way in fostering a 'national culture' and moving away from stereotypes and the processes of othering. The uses of the terms culture and society as descriptive words will be invoked at various junctures throughout this paper, because despite their distinct differences, both

words through the range of phenomena they cover, have influence on media and communication.

According to Hall (1990) there are two ways to conceive of cultural identity. The first sees “cultural identity reflecting the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us with stable unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history” (Pg.223). It is this shared reference to a past that is littered with experiences of the inhumane treatment of people of colour by colonisers and the apartheid government, that generated support for an otherwise unpopular president.

The second conception of cultural identity “recognises that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute what we really are; or rather – since history intervened – what we have become” (Hall, 1990: 225). Therefore cultural identity here is a “matter of becoming as well as of being, it belongs to the future as much as to the past. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power. Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past” (Hall, 1990: 227).

It is from the second conception of cultural identity that Hall (1990) argues “we can properly understand the traumatic character of the colonial experience. The ways in which black people, black experiences, were positioned and subjected in the dominant regimes of representation were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalisation”.

The problem with reference to cultural identity, particularly when it comes to issues of social contestation such as The Spear was, is the selective use of culture to achieve a desired outcome. This point is especially true in a multicultural society such as South Africa, where knowledge sharing about each others' culture isn't necessarily promoted or shared by mainstream media. Referring to the corruption and rape trials of Jacob Zuma, Sesanti (2008) notes that those who stood by him despite the charges he was facing then, invoked the permutations of culture 'selectively'. For example, many explained their stance on supporting Zuma as based on a Zulu practice of "ukusizelana" (Sesanti, 2008:346), which means mutual help/empathy. Zuma himself is said to have used the ignorance of those adjudicating over the case about African or more specifically, Zulu culture, to his advantage.

By twisting meanings and leaving out important context in explaining what transpired on the night in which he was alleged to have raped the HIV positive woman, Zuma and his supporters – it is argued – misled the public by hiding behind what they argued to be cultural practice which called on him to act in the manner he did while with his accuser. Thus "as a result of ignorance of African culture, many media practitioners have found themselves ill-prepared to deal with the task of engaging those who seek to invoke culture to justify their actions" (Sesanti, 2008: 375).

Among critiques directed at the media at the time, was that by publishing the image, they were complicit in promoting the message and symbolic meaning attached to it. This line of argument was touted by those who for example, viewed the issue through the lenses of culture and the respect within an African context. Nyamjoh (2011) argues that in considering

the role of African media, emphasis should be on interdependence and competing cultural solidarities.

Similarly, Malala (2012) argued that the constitution of the land does not automatically assure presidents, a “right to dignity” or respect for that matter as per those who flaunt the cultural argument. This line of thought is based on the premise that the painting does nothing more than “mock” what has become public knowledge and has been published in various news sources around the country, with regards to the presidents’ marital and sexual exploits.

Within responses that flooded the South African media space during The Spear debate in 2012, there also emerged a trend for people to distinctly identify themselves with specific members of society either through class groupings or based on race, political and professional alliances.

On the other hand, social identity theory can offer a lens through which to understand the ways in which the issue was internalised by the public and thus reacted to. This is because “social identity theory concerns intergroup relations and group processes, with a focus on the generative role of identity in group and intergroup aspects of behaviour (e.g., conformity, collective action, stereotyping, group solidarity, ethnocentrism)”, (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995: 266).

This is true especially considering the outcry against the painting not only by ANC affiliated members and supporters of Jacob Zuma, but also by thoughtleaders who in many other instances have been vocal in their criticism of the president and his government. Yet, in

commenting during the debate, were able to highlight elements about the painting and the publication thereof that were wrong and with which they identified the disrespect shown to culture and an elderly statesman.

In addition, “the concept of identity is central to understanding the relationship between the personal and social realms; the individual and the group; the cultural and the political, the relations between the social groups, and the influence of media on social relations” (Zegeye & Harris, 2003: 4).

To this end, Hogg et al (1995) maintain that “the basic idea of social identity is that a social category (e.g., nationality, political affiliation, sports team etc.) into which one falls, and to which one feels one belongs, provides a definition of who one is in terms of the defining characteristics of the category—a self-definition that is a part of the self-concept. Each of these memberships is represented in the individual member's mind as a social identity that both describes and prescribes one's attributes as a member of that group—that is, what one should think and feel, and how one should behave. Thus, when a specific social identity becomes the salient basis for self-regulation in a particular context, self-perception and conduct become in-group stereotypical and normative, perceptions of relevant out-group members become out-group stereotypical, and intergroup behaviour acquires competitive and discriminatory properties to varying degrees depending on the nature of relations between the groups” (Hogg et al, 1995: 260).

Accordingly while some members of the public who showed support to Jacob Zuma did not necessarily identify with his marital practices or affiliate with the political party, many

identified with him as a black man and thus identified with the groups who viewed the painting as a modern day version of precolonial.

Identity theory, with its explanation of social behaviour being based on reciprocal relations between self and society, is strongly associated with the symbolic interactionist view – that society is ‘relatively undifferentiated, co- operative whole’. But identity theorists reject this, arguing instead that society is complexly differentiated but nevertheless organised.

“Because people tend to interact in groups, it is perhaps not surprising that people may have as many distinct selves as there are distinct groups whose opinions matter to them” (Hogg et al, 1995: 256).

The next chapter deals with the methods that will be used to unpack the findings and assess the extent to which any of the theories presented here are applicable to the analysis of the debate.

METHODOLOGY

Multimodal discourse analysis “which extends the study of language to the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images” (O'Holloran, 2011: 12) presents a way with which to analyse the debate that was caused by the painting/image of The Spear. This way of analysis also makes it possible to consider the contention made by the Afrocentrist that it is “necessary to examine data from the standpoint of Africans as subjects, human agents, rather than as objects in a European frame of reference” (Asante, 1991: 170).

The analysis focuses on the content and contextualisation of the discussion that emanated from the The Spear painting and not necessarily the image as conceived or understood from an artistic point of view. Discourse analysis, which “focuses on talk and texts as social practices, and on the resources that are drawn on to enable those practices” (Potter, 2012: 25), makes it possible to unpack this. This is because looked at closely, the language and frames employed by media to describe issues, offers the reader “certain symbolic boundaries and iconic signposts offered from within the text itself” (Asante, 1991: 173).

At the same time, discourse analysis allows for exploration and identification of the reader's response located from their position as a presumed passive recipient of the text produced by media. A critical overview of the media discourse of the past versus that used during the debate, it is possible to measure or at the very least describe the media's treatment of current leadership compared to their approach towards the apartheid government. This will be supported by documented examples of criticism against Zuma and the ANC, and the freedom and ease with which the latter is executed,

Qualitative vs. Quantitative analysis

One of the goals of this study is to identify the themes that emerged in response or reaction to Brett Murray's painting as well as the frames used by relevant parties – media and ANC – in relation to the debate. Investigating the themes can aid in qualifying whether indeed text is representative of 'broader social and cultural' influences as argued above by Hodkinson (2011). Qualitative research is useful for this study because it provides tools with which to gather thorough understanding of human behaviour as well as the reasons that govern such

behaviour. For Merriam (2009), “qualitative research looks at understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world” (Pg.13).

Having borrowed from the framing and agenda setting function of the media to locate the debate about The Spear theoretically, the measurement of the themes that emerged from the discussion can best be done qualitatively. Framing contributes to public discourse and understanding of the issues while the agenda-setting speaks to the ways in which media ‘dictate’ the range of issues they deem important for society to consider. Therefore qualitative analysis is most suited to unpack in descriptive terms, themes and frames that are expansive and complex, similar to those that were brought to the surface as a result of Murray’s painting.

Compared to quantitative research methods, “the inductive and flexible nature of qualitative data collection methods offers unique advantages such as the ability to probe into responses as needed and obtain more detailed descriptions and explanations of experiences, behaviours, and beliefs” (Guest et al, 2011: 11). While this current study does not make use of questionnaire, the research questions that the study seeks to explore such as the question of identifying themes, is open ended in itself. Thus a qualitative approach is relevant for fulfilling the aims of this study among which is to identify the themes presented in the form of text, via media coverage of the debate.

The study seeks also to unpack how or whether public reaction to The Spear was fuelled either by media representation of the issue or the ruling party. It seeks to understand the functioning of the social system by looking at the relationship between two or more

processes – media reports and public reaction. As such, the “inductive and flexible nature of qualitative research is useful in delving deep into the internal psychological processes such as motives, values and causes of behaviour” (Guest et al, 2011: 12).

Despite the value or usefulness of qualitative research, this methodology also has limitations as compared to quantitative methods. Among the weaknesses associated with qualitative methodology is that “proper analysis of text is time consuming because it involves not only collecting the data but also transcribing, coding and interpreting the data” (Guest et al, 2011: 14). The latter proved true for some of the data collected for The Spear, especially in a country like South Africa where there are 11 official languages to contend with. Therefore to account for all 11 languages in this study would have been too broad. Consequently only text written in English was selected for analysis.

This does limit the scope of analysis particularly for arguments made about respect and culture. Arguments about respect and culture may have been better expressed in vernacular by those members of society who either chose to do so or are unable to express themselves in English. Similarly, the data set for analysis focused only on online material, all print articles and broadcast comments and discussion are thus excluded from in this study. Including broadcast and print media may have offered a different take on the matter and provided more diverse insights into the matter.

Added to this, “samples in qualitative research are usually (though not always) small and non-probabilistic, the ability to claim a representative sample is often diminished and statistical generalisation is rendered impossible” (Guest et al, 2011: 17). Despite these

limitations, this method proved useful because of the room and flexibility to look at the issue in depth even if only of a limited sample. The study can be replicated and expanded to include a bigger sample and one that is representative of all media platforms in order to generalise better the thoughts of the larger population.

Qualitative content analysis

A qualitative approach to the analysis of content according to Sutton (1993), can offer a valuable alternative to more traditional quantitative content analysis because it provides tools with which to identify important themes or categories within a body of content.

By identifying keywords or descriptive mention of words i.e. race/culture, freedom of expression, dignity and respect, may help to discern what it is exactly that was said and understood about The Spear and how this relates to social reality. This approach also involves looking at the discussion from a discourse analysis point of view which is concerned with how language or words mediate and shape our perception of reality.

Discourse analysis is understood here as a “tool with which to examine how language is used to accomplish personal, social, and political projects” (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007: 1373).

Such an approach will provide an expanded scope that adds to the analytic power of the study by providing a space through which to assess “socially and culturally situated construction of meaning” (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2010: 190). Admittedly, the issues of race and culture are particularly difficult to explain, especially for those that would argue the non-scientific existence of the former based on the belief that it is merely a social construct

previously used to separate and exclude people who don't look alike. Therefore by content analysis helps mitigate this. It is "simply a way of systematically surveying how often and in what categories things occur within texts, the method can be useful for making points that are difficult to make in other ways" (Luker, 2008: 187).

Race here is understood as a category of ethnic classification and culture is a form or description of people's traditional belief system or values. Thus content analysis will look at the ways in which these words were used with respect to explaining or responding to the painting. Thus the main objective of this study is not to prove or argue what race is or isn't. Nor is it to do so regarding culture. Both positive and negative aspects of the media representation of Jacob Zuma and the artwork in question will be highlighted. This is with the overall objective of the study being to investigate the extent to which media coverage of the painting exacerbated already existing national tensions. A secondary objective is to consider whether/how the prolonged promotion/coverage of such issues can affect the project of nation building.

The aim here is to attempt to explain the themes that emerged regarding the rightness or wrongness of the painting and its intended meaning/s. Conversely content analysis can aid in identifying "important themes and to provide a rich description of the social reality created by those themes as they are lived out in a particular setting" (Sutton, 1993: 416).

Content analysis also provides the tools with which to assess or analyse the framing of issues, as is another objective of this study. It is therefore possible through content analysis to "find out when and how people start talking about things in a different way, and when a

topic gets framed in a new way” (Luker, 2008: 189). This is important because during the debate, there were a number of notable shifts in discussion.

It is however, important to note that even with an analysis of content, writers and individuals bring frames of reference to issues and this is important to consider, particularly for the purpose assessing the validity of the study. This is especially true of studies that deploy discourse analysis as a methodology. ”The discourse analyst must remain cognisant of his/her perspective and position in the analytic process, including how his/her role as a participant in the academic discourse shapes her thinking” (Finlay, 2002: 536).

Critical Discourse Analysis

The analysis of text can be useful in “drawing attention to particular ways in which media content selects and constructs the world and the ways selective representations might influence the future” (Hodkinson: 2011, 61). For example, the ANC and its alliance partners have long argued against the biased nature of representation by the media along race, class and gender. This includes a critique of the media’s representation of the party and its leaders with the implicit consequence being that the media’s representation of the individual and the broader movement influence bad perceptions all round. Blade Nzimande, SACP General Secretary and the Minister of Higher Education wrote that South African media is “is extremely intolerant of critical engagement with its own glaring shortcomings” (Nzimande, 2013).

Arguing against the response of media (via SANEF) to the announcement of the sale and purchasing of Independent Newspapers by Dr Iqbal Surve, Nzimande wrote that “SANEF

decries the fact that the Independent Group is a monopoly only now when it is being bought by a black-led, South African consortium. They were quiet about this through all the years when it was Irish owned. The message from SANEF is absolutely clear: that a media monopoly is not a problem as long as it is a white monopoly, even if foreign, but it is bad when it is South African, black-led monopoly” (Nzimande, 2013).

Perhaps there was more to the SANEF objections to Dr Surve’s purchase of Independent Newspapers. Perhaps the staff exodus that followed this announcement was at the heart of SANEF’s concerns. However, what Dr Nzimande and in a similar way the ANC has decried over the years, is the skewed nature of attacks laden against people of colour acquiring positions of power.

For Hodkinson (2011) the “media offers us highly selective representations of the world”. These selective representations have the capacity to influence perceptions and effectively shape the future. This is because through understanding the text it becomes possible to understand the “broader social and cultural significance of media messages particularly their relationship with the cultural identities of the world in which they operate” (Hodkinson: 2011, 61).

Because there are variations in the ways in which scholars define discourse analysis, for this study, discourse is understood as “socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned. It constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to

transforming it” (Fairclough & Wodak, 2004:119). The contention here is that those who opposed the call for the removal of the painting on the basis of the protection of human dignity, affirmed ways in which western ideology continues to help maintain the status quo of the past. This ‘old’ status quo does not consider non-western practice as worth fight against the disrespect thereof.

This effectively shows that “since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people” (Fairclough & Wodak, Critical discourse analysis, 2004).

Likewise, a careful analysis of language, argues Gee (2005) can shed light on the creation and maintenance of social norms, the construction of personal and group identities, and the negotiation of social and political interaction. Gee’s (2005) argument is useful in exploring the negotiation that ensued as the media, the nation and opinion leaders sought to understand and explain, first, the meaning implied by the painting, and second why it was received so negatively by those who opposed it.

Consequently, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides an analytical framework with which to “study connections between language, power and ideology” (Fairclough, 1995). This is different to conventional discourse analysis due to a more specific focus in the ways in which social and political domination can be achieved through language, in its various

forms: spoken or written. The question that comes to mind, in particular to *The Spear*, is whether one ought to include art as a tool for domination.

The notions of domination (articulated as power) and subjugation of culture, was indeed a running theme particularly among many opinion pieces offering thought leadership about Murray's painting. Within such a context, "power is ideological and discursive, therefore every act of linguistic [artistic] interaction facilitated within a contest of existing social inequalities, has the potential to become ideological" (Fairclough, 1995: 198).

Verdoolaege (2005) argues that "media discourse also represents people's attitudes and opinions, and at the same time it influences the way people see the world and provides information about politics, culture and society and it gives insight into social processes and changes". Further to this and in assessing parts of media discourse in relation to power, CDA, forms the basis from which to address the relation of media and power. This is because CDA as espoused by Fairclough (1995a and 2001) and Van Dijk (1998), provides a method through which to critically interpret and examine text in order to understand wider social impact of these meanings.

Considered this way, CDA "is concerned with studying and analysing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts" (Van Dijk, 1993: 251). Similarly, "one of CDA's main ideas is that power and ideology play a crucial role in the production and reception of language. The fact is that social groups use a type of discourse that

reflects their opinions and worldviews. The aim of these groups is to impose their ideologies through discourse by making this ideological coloured discourse look natural. It is especially dominant groups who try to impose their discourse on the rest of society” (Verdoolaege, 2005: 193).

Explaining his opposition to the undignified ways in which the black body has historically and continues in present day to be displayed, Daily Maverick columnist Osiname Molefe (2012) wrote that “regardless of the artist’s intentions, *The Spear* became a proxy for the anger over the many unresolved injuries, large and small, that blacks have suffered at the hands of whites and for the lack of cognisance of these offences. Murray’s painting became open to interpretation as ‘yet another white phallocratic avenue for bragging about European civilisation.’”

This line of thought also speaks to the power of media to shape ideas and which Mazzoneli & Schulz (1999) contend that “concern for the excessive power of the media stems from the view that the media have distorted the political process by turning politics into a market-like game that humiliates citizens’ dignity and rights and ridicules political leaders’ words and deeds” (Pg. 252).

Added to this, race and representation of black people in South African media was also viewed as problematic by those who commented on the wrongness of the display of the president in the manner that he was represented. For that reason, Hall (1992) contends that no world is free of discourses of representation and so “the reality of race in any society is, media-mediated” (Hall, 1992:16).

Issues of race and culture permeate communication practice, and this practice is carried out by media through measures that include anything from “racial stereotyping, to the negative imagery of race and ethnicity in the mass media, to the absence of accounts of the black experience as a central part of the English story, to the repetition in the mass media of a very simplified and truncated way of representing black history, life, and culture” (Hall, 1992: 14).

Similarly, other arguments made by those who were in support of The Spear painting being taken down both by the Gallery and from City Press’ website, was that the president’s dignity was being violated and by extension his family and children were also being humiliated through seeing an image resembling their father being displayed in that manner. Consequently, although the central feature of the discourse that took place in May 2012 was the painting, it was through written text in the form of news articles and resultant public comment that the debate took place.

Strömbäck (2011) argues that “what matters most for people’s opinions and attitudes is not reality *per se*, but rather the pictures in our heads” (Pg.14). Thus in the argument against the continued display of the president’s penis, the ANC and president Zuma contented that it [the painting] depicts the president as a philanderer. This depiction of President Zuma would thus have marred public and international perceptions about him as a result of the artwork. These are perceptions already tainted by reports and information syndicated by the media, who “through their daily reporting and our dependence on them media for information, create a pseudo-environment” (Strömbäck, 2011:16).

This 'pseudo-environment' created by media affects people's behaviour and attitudes which do not follow from what they know to be fact based on empirical evidence, but from this what media frames and positions to be is true. To this end the persistent use of language by media, painting Zuma as a womaniser indeed had an effect on the public reception of Murray's painting.

The problem with defending Zuma against perceptions that would have formed as a result of the media, is the history of his personal life which has played out dramatically in the media over the years. "His multiple marriages, fathering a child out of wedlock, the court case in which he was accused of rape and later acquitted" (The Economist, 2012), all these not only confirm and affirm the relevance of the painting and its depiction of the president.

Similarly, political commentator and South African columnist, Justice Malala asserts:

"Analysis of his presidency never concludes with policy discussion – on which Zuma has proven weak – but with his sexual lifestyle. In truth, the damage Zuma has done to the image of the black man everywhere is untold. The image of Zuma is of a man whose concentration is on sex and political self-preservation. He has done more to provide fodder for racist stereotypes than any black South African has done" (The Guardian UK, 2012).

Data collection

Because the debate about The Spear unfolded in the media, the task of assessing the framing of this issue considers media and effectively the artist, as the independent variables. The South African public is seen as the dependent variable. The primary focus of analysis in this study is the text found in articles and opinion pieces published in media.

Therefore, an assessment of the themes that emerged from the discourse about The Spear and how media shaped the debate, is critical to understanding the role played by media throughout the debate. It is also important to consider the role of media within the wider context of their function in a young democracy.

The data for the study is drawn from a purposeful sample of 25 articles (each) published by City Press, Daily Maverick, Mail & Guardian, The Times/Sunday Times, The Citizen, Sowetan, IOL and News 24 via their respective websites covering the period of 11 May to 11 June 2012. This equals 200 articles in total. This timeline is inclusive of the start of the debate up to the period after the painting was defaced and agreements were reached between the Goodman Gallery, the ANC and City Press to take down the painting from display.

The selected titles were chosen in order to reflect a diversity of views and coverage style with the hope of accounting for a broader range of voices due to the readership that each of the titles caters for. In 2013, there were “22 daily and 25 weekly major urban newspapers in South Africa and around 400 regional and community newspapers” (SAinfo reporter, 2013). In addition, each of the daily and weekly publications also have an online version of the paper and SA Info lists the selected titles for analysis as among the major online news sites in South Africa.

Consequently, the purposely selected sample of articles from the specific titles provides diversity of views and each can offer expanded explications of the situation as it unfolded through both news and analytical pieces, such as those found in the Mail & Guardian and

Daily Maverick. For example, the Mail & Guardian caters for a “highly educated readership in the top income bracket” (M&G, 2014). On the other hand, the Daily Maverick, which is only available online is accessible to all who have access to the internet and internet capable devices. It also caters for a well-read public but focuses more on analytical pieces by thought leaders.

The Citizen and Sowetan historically cater for the less affluent members of society, the non-elite. And because among the arguments for the power being part of what affords the frame and agenda setting ability of media, these two publications offer insight into ways in which those members of society who aren’t exactly among the power wielding elites, contributed to the debate.

Therefore each of the titles were purposely selected in accordance with Patton (1990) who contends that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study. Conversely, Starks and Brown-Trinidad (2007) maintain that “sampling different groups that participate within a given discourse can illuminate the ways in which participants appeal to external discourses”. Considered this way, the chosen purposeful sample will make it possible to unpack the different ways in which the public reacted to the painting, and the external experiences they called on to make meaning of the issue.

The data analysis involves identifying keywords or themes that were observed within the first few articles that preceded the actual/full public debate, as a means with which to create the categories to be measured. The keywords, such as: race, culture, dignity, respect and

freedom, where categorised as units of analysis against which all selected articles would be assessed. This is in order to identify not only the number of times selected keywords appeared within articles, but more importantly, the context within which the words was used.

Morse (1991) asserts that when obtaining a purposeful (or theoretical) sample, the researcher selects a participant according to the needs of the study. Adding to this, Glaser (1978) makes the distinction that selective sampling refers to “the calculated decision to sample a specific locale according to a preconceived but reasonable initial set of dimensions (such as time, space, identity or power) which are worked out in advance for a study”(Pg.37). The identified keywords are those used by both the City Press and ANC at the start of the debate to frame the issue according to their respective needs. In this way “the coding phase entails identifying themes and roles as signified through language use” (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007: 1374).

To this end, the analysis does not entail just identifying predominant words but considers the context within which the words are used as a way to qualify the implications thereof. For example, by looking at the how people invoked culture in their response to the painting the study may shed light on whether or not more effort or education is needed to sensitise our nation to the diverse cultures of the people of our nation in hopes that doing so may contribute positively to South Africa’s nation-building efforts. This is in line with an understanding of culture as being precisely that which “makes possible the construction of a unified society, which, without a cultural unity, would appear segmented” (Hesmondhalgh, 2006: 226).

Other key themes include constitutionally mandated protections such as freedom of speech and expression, the right to dignity and respect for the office of the president and individual. Because of the furore caused by the painting, the number of articles and the media houses that published them would have been too numerous to analyse within the timeline available for the research.

Mention of The Spear remains, even years after the debate was ignited. This reflects the enormity of analysing every piece of article or comment published about this issue. Therefore it was important to limit the units of analysis through a purposely selected sample, in order to make the data manageable, whilst also seeking to achieve a thorough analysis of the content.

Despite the limited sample, it remains possible to use the selected number of articles – written by a select few and thus presenting a narrative from which to compare and “to understand variations in language-in-use across persons and settings” (Starks & Brown-Trinidad, 2007: 1376). The identified themes will be tabulated according to the most dominant keywords described earlier. Through the previously identified units of analysis i.e. issues of constitutional provisions, race and culture, the study will systematically assess each of these informed by literature and theory reviewed in the earlier parts of the paper.

FINDINGS

The views presented with regards to The Spear debate ranged from overly emotional to reasoned, to critique of the painting and by extension, critique of media for insisting on reporting on and keeping the image in the public eye; along with critique of those opposing the media and artistic freedom to display the painting. Articles that were looked at produced five distinguishable categories from which a thematic distinction and description was possible.

A sixth category was also assigned for items that did not fit the criteria for the five themes identified. The categories were tallied, tabulated and identified as per table below. All articles are available through the links included in the appendix document.

	Respect: Dignity, Culture & Custom	Uphold Constitution: Freedoms of expression, the arts & media	Uphold Constitution: Dignity vs. freedom of art/speech/media	Black vs. White: Race & Historic memory	Other	Total
City Press	4	11	5	3	2	25
Daily Maverick	3	7	11	4	0	25
Mail & Guardian	2	9	7	3	4	25
The (Sunday) Times	5	5	6	2	7	25
Sowetan	7	4	3	6	5	25
Independent Online (IOL)	4	10	5	4	2	25
News 24	2	14	1	8	0	25
The Citizen	6	3	9	5	2	25

Evident in the table above, the majority of articles and comments supporting the need to protect freedoms of the arts and expression came from the City Press, Independent Online (IOL) and News 24. This is not surprising especially in the case of City Press considering that it was a review in this paper, that started the debate. In terms of IOL and News24, this could be attributed to the primary audience they cater to online, the majority of whom are

English speaking “progressive liberals”. Thus the views on these platforms lamented what they saw as attempts by the ANC to curtail media and artistic freedoms.

Media who objected to calls to take down the painting also did well to generate support for their point of view by virtue of framing the articles around constitutional provisions and emphasising not just the individual shortcomings of Zuma, but those of the party he leads as well. Through framing The Spear painting’s appropriateness this way, the media ensured that their target audiences are exposed not only to the language that is appropriate to describe Jacob Zuma but also to the language with which to describe and support Murray’s artwork and thus making it possible for the audience to pick a side or point of view to support.

This is in line with arguments by Zegeye and Harris (2001) regarding the media’s influence on culture and society. They two contend that they [media] shape the ways that people “determine who is the ‘us’ and who is the ‘them’ in any society (Pg. 1). Comparatively, the newsplatforms catering mainly to the black readership i.e. Sowetan and The Citizen, produced more spread in terms of their views, with a slight lean towards looking at the issue from a historic memory point of view.

Similarly, the Africentric view contends that “a people's worldview determines what constitutes a problem for them” (Mazama, 2001:339). For this reason an Afrocentric minded or aware media should “reflect the ontology, cosmology, axiology, and aesthetics of African people: It must be centred in our experiences” (Mazama, 2001:339). Thus for Sowetan, The Citizen and to a lesser extent readers of the Sunday Times, comments indicate that they

took issue with the painting because it constituted a problem for them as a collective. This is despite reports and editorial arguing that the painting is about an individual and not the group.

There were also notable differences of views between platforms known for lengthier, investigative and analytical pieces such as the Daily Maverick and Mail & Guardian. While the former gave due attention to protecting media freedoms, the majority of articles leaned towards analysing the debate from the context of the limitations of constitutional provisions. The opposite was true of the Mail & Guardian. Along with specific stances taken on the issue, there also were neutral or non position taking stances. These were categorised as “other” because the majority of the articles focused on the humorous aspect, highlighting what they saw as possibly laughable about the ferocity with which people debated this issue.

A notable thread in the initial reports explaining the appropriateness of The Spear – in its metaphorical sense – was the use of frames that focused on Jacob Zuma’s alleged corrupt dealings and his “extra” marital affairs as reason for the painting. These frames set the basis from which most debate about the issue started, both by media and the public.

Respect: Dignity, culture and custom

In an affidavit supporting an urgent application to have the Gallery and City Press remove the painting from public display, Zuma and the ANC argued that the artwork went beyond tolerable levels of political satire. President Zuma argued that the “continued display of painting is a grave violation of [my] right to dignity as it displays me with my private parts showing. I respect the right to freedom of expression and artistic creativity as constitutionally

enshrined....but submit that the painting has overstepped the acceptable levels of section 16 of the constitution” (Zuma & ANC, Affidavit: 2012).

However, some saw this move by the ANC as encroaching constitutionally protected rights of freedom of the press and expression by using bullying tactics. The organisation already stood accused of trying to interfere in press freedom through policies such as the protection of state information bill and effectively abusing the court system to bring about a desired outcome in favour of themselves to the detriment of society.

Commentators also bemoaned the ANC and Zuma’s reaction and cited examples of similar critique of international leaders such as “the nude painting of Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper lying on a recliner with a dog at his feet, Italy’s Silvio Berlusconi’s depiction standing next to Napoleon Bonaparte and Benito Mussolini with a giant erection” (Eliseev, Daily Maverick: 2012). Despite evidence of international examples of similar incidents, those who objected to The Spear maintained that the South African example “was unique and warranted a separate analysis because of the role race and culture continue to play in the South African society, compounded by the scars of colonisation and apartheid” (Eliseev, Daily Maverick: 2012).

ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe also commented that “if the judgment on this painting is not consistent with the judgment on *Dubul’ iBhunu*, questions will have to be asked” (Bauer, Mail & Guardian: 2012). *Dubul’iBhunu* refers to the decision by the Equality Court in 2011, which found that former ANCYL President Julius Malema was guilty of hate speech for the song whose literal translation means ‘Shoot the Farmer’. However, when considered within the context in which it was used the meaning begins to change. The song

was used during the struggle for liberation in protest against unjust and unequal treatment inflicted by people in economic power. In his 2011 verdict, “Judge Colin Lamont ruled that when taking South Africa’s history in account, Malema undermined the dignity of Afrikaners, and was discriminatory and harmful when he sang the song. Mantashe said the ruling was an indication of our how South Africa’s troubled history needed to be heeded, and not doing so amounted to ‘denialism’” (Bauer, Mail & Guardian: 2012).

One of the critiques against the City Press and all who called for freedom of expression and the media, was the lack of respect not only for the individual – the president – but also of his culture. It is the latter, that some alluded was the basis of critique from which the painting was conceived of by Brett Murray. Thus from an Afrocentric lens, the City Press failed to conceive of the ramifications of the painting from an African-centred point of departure. Equally, the public who decried the artwork for is disrespect for culture, reflect what Hall (1990) describes as a shared reference to a past that is littered with experiences of the inhumane treatment of people of colour by colonisers and the apartheid government.

It is the shared experience which despite Zuma’s known marital affairs, still generated support for an otherwise unpopular president. Despite his many faults, noted and criticised across racial lines, there emerged a sudden rallying behind Jacob Zuma, even from some of his harshest critics, based on a shared experience along “racial”/cultural lines. It is the shared “oneness that underlay all other more superficial differences that is the essence of the black experience” (Hall, 1990: 227).

Uphold Constitution: Freedoms of expression, the arts & media

Initial media coverage of the debate highlighted frames that focused on Western centric values in defence of freedoms of expression, pitted against the necessity or relevance of the painting as a metaphor for describing the president's failings. Other frames such as that of dignity, respect for culture and tradition, race and historic memory, barely made the front page of news articles. When they did receive attention, it was in the form of critiquing such notions.

Thought leaders were equally critical of the ANC's reaction. Critics called the ANC's reaction by invoking the respect of dignity and culture, 'nonsense'. Malala (2012) for example, maintained that culture is not homogenous and respect for dignity is not constitutionally enshrined. Similarly, City Press editor Ferial Haffajee, writing on why the painting will remain on their website argued: "Our identity is not as simple as the cultural chauvinists and dignity dogmatists like to make out. Ours is, by design, a live and let live world. Besides, our morality and good practice is selective" (Haffajee, News 24: 2012).

But as the debate wore on, there was a notable change in the pattern and tone of discussions and perceptions. The about-turns included those by City Press editor Ferial Haffajee and The (Sunday) Times columnist Justice Malala. The two had maintained strong views (as in the preceding paragraphs) about the relevance of the painting and lack of merit in Zuma and the ANC's arguments.

Uphold Constitution: Human Dignity vs. Freedoms of Expression

The court action brought by the ANC against the Gallery and City Press became the catalyst for new frames about the meaning and symbolism of the painting to take root.

During the court battle, it became evident – as one commentator described it – that, “at the heart of this legal battle lies a search for that invisible and evasive line between freedom of expression and its ability to damage a person’s right to dignity and privacy. It is a search – and a possible court order – with far-reaching consequences for a country battling to shake off a dark past and find a new identity” (Eliseev, Daily Maverick: 2012).

More and more, the public and various authors started to see the collective assault felt by those who view the artwork as critical not only of Zuma, but of the black body in general.

“The Murray painting explains why others felt that whiteness still has the upper hand and that it continues to dictate to and defile black people in South Africa today” (Malala, Times Live: 2012).

Similarly, responding to a letter to the court written by one of Zuma’s daughters in support of her father, Haffajee acknowledged the hurt and pain caused by her decision to display the painting. She wrote: “The exposure of black genitalia is still a raw and festering wound – its resurrection in any form a painful flashback to the various and many indignities inflicted on the black body from colonialism to its later manifestation as apartheid. Black bodies carted away as curiosities, as samples for mad experiments; later as mine workers made to parade naked to ensure they had hidden no gold. We remain a nation in the making; we are setting our norms and standards; defining our rights and responsibilities. Freedom of speech is not

absolute, but it will take negotiation to decide where the dividing line lies” (Haffajee, City Press: 2012).

Similarly, the Goodman Gallery’s Lara Koseff conceded that The Spear debate “was a difficult thing to negotiate there were a lot of people who were expressing their hurt and their anger based on opinions that didn’t appear to be influenced by the ruling party at all” (Okeowo, The New Yorker: 2012).

Interestingly, having started in critic of the ANC’s reaction to the painting Justice Malala did an about turn in his opinion piece following the breakdown of the advocate representing Zuma in court. In a piece penned shortly after the incident he wrote:

“When Advocate Gcina Malindi, the senior counsel arguing for President Jacob Zuma in The Spear case, broke down and cried on Thursday, something happened to me. I was forced to remember, that there is hurt, there is pain, there is anger and there is even hatred in mine and my fellow black people’s hearts about what has happened here. I remembered apartheid. In the sound and fury that has accompanied the decision by Zuma and the ANC to take the Goodman Gallery to court for displaying the Brett Murray painting of Zuma with his genitals exposed, I have been firmly on the side of those who declared the action ill-advised, nonsensical and a poor pandering to one man’s whim above those of our constitution. I wrote that Zuma brought this upon himself: the past seven years have been defined by his flaunting of his sexuality in the guise of nebulous precepts of ‘African culture’. Yet I cannot escape the raw and real pain and hurt that Malindi’s breakdown in court underlined. Perhaps, in my defence of the freedoms to express oneself, the freedoms to artistic

creativity, I missed something. Perhaps I - and many of the people who have been batting on this side of the field - forgot that these freedoms cannot be exercised in a vacuum” (Malala, Times Live: 2012).

Malala’s change of heart captures the sensitive wounds that the painting and the display thereof touched on. It also speaks to the difficulties that all affected parties – including the public – would face in reconciling the issue, long after the debate has settled. In a similar way the Gallery’s director conceded that politics aside, “there was real hurt and humiliation closely linked to memories of a painful time not that long ago” (Okeowo, The New Yorker: 2012).

Black vs. White: Race & Historic memory

During The Spear debate, the issue of race and racism was a recurring feature. Some argued that the media and the artists had gone too far in their critique of the president, despite his well-known failings. These arguments provoked the most passionate of responses against Murray and the media. “Such reactions provide further insights into local challenges to democracy and the continued relevance of histories of oppression. They demonstrate how culture-specific readings of cartoons vary, reflecting the broader context of their production and the relations of power and representation associated with them” (Muller & Ozcan, 2007).

Explaining the motive behind his art, the artist wrote: “I am a proud South African and a former supporter of the ANC. I do not produce art with an intention to hurt, humiliate or

insult, and that includes the painting that has caused this controversy. I emphatically deny that any such intention motivated the painting or exhibiting of *The Spear*. [*The Spear*] has a dual purpose: it is a work of protest or resistance art, and it is a satirical piece” (Murray, Amandla: 2012).

Osiame Molefe, a columnist with the Daily Maverick disputed and highlighted the problems with the acceptance of the explanation offered by the artist about his painting. Molefe wrote: “Regardless of the artist’s intentions, *The Spear* became a proxy for the anger over the many unresolved injuries, large and small, that blacks have suffered at the hands of whites and for the lack of cognisance of these offences. By taking on traditionalist African practices and black sexuality (one of many possible interpretations of the painting), doing so in a way that challenged African conservatism, and because of the still unresolved anger, Murray’s painting became open to interpretation as ‘yet another white phallocratic avenue for bragging about European civilisation” (Molefe, Daily Maverick: 2012).

Because of the history of racism and racially constructed policies of the apartheid era, it is the belief of some that detractors are often silenced through “questioning of their legitimacy to critique the ANC; internal dissenters are marginalised within the party” (Habib & Taylor, 2001: 210). Therefore external critics of the party “often experience the politicised invocation of allegations of racism or of being ‘counter-revolutionary”” (Southall, 2001: 277). This is because similar to other liberation movements across Southern Africa, the ANC views itself and is viewed by a large portion of the South African population as the single legitimate voice of the people.

Opposition parties are seen as lacking or limited in this regard. “This situation presents serious challenges to a culture of accountability, tolerance and mutual respect” (Hammett, 2010: 91). However, this type of argument contains a limited conception of broader social and power dynamic at play, most of which stem from a long history of unequal treatment of people based solely on the colour of their skin.

Due to the superiority attached to whiteness and the subsequent inferiority of blackness in South Africa, for Nicolson (2012) “outrage against The Spear reminds us that colonialism and apartheid attempted to write into ‘knowledge’ that black men were violent sexual miscreants, unable to match the intellect of whites. The reaction to The Spear has brought to the fore the narrative of pain caused by colonialism and apartheid. Those stirring the pot may be doing so for political gain, but we need to be reminded of the country’s brutal past” (Nicolson, Daily Maverick: 2012).

Consequently, criticism of the painting on the basis of its perpetuation of the ridicule of the black male body and his inability to suppress his sexual appetite draws out not only colonial legacies but also historic memory of apartheid’s construction of “masculinities and femininities rooted in ideologies of racism, capitalism and sexism” (McClintock, 1995: 47).

Other

Along with those like the ANC, who took exception to the painting, were those who expressed confusion about all the fuss made by government. Others had questions regarding the necessity found by Murray to go as far as he did – i.e. exposing genitals – with his creation. What was notable from most initial comments, particularly at the start of the debate, was a dismissive attitude and ridicule of the ANC and Jacob Zuma’s angry

reaction to the painting. Many thought the painting appropriate due to Zuma's well-known marital affairs and battles with the courts about corruption and the 2006 allegation of rape. These sentiments were aptly captured by Zapiro's cartoon version of The Spear (Figure 3.), mocking the president and effectively asserting the appropriateness of Murray's painting in its depiction of the character of Zuma.

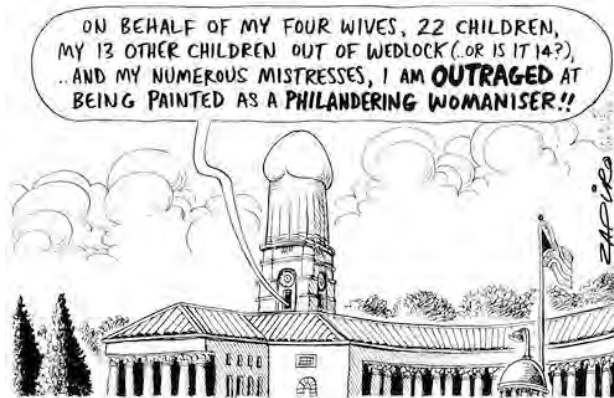


Fig.3: Source: www.zapiro.com

Through his cartoon, Zapiro contends that, contrary to what the president and his supporters felt about the attack on his dignity and disrespect thereof, respect – is earned not deserved. Further to this says a blurb on the caricature: “Sex scandals, corruption, nepotism and cronyism” (Zapiro, 2012) all of which are issues the president has been reported to have been involved in, do not make him [Zuma] one who deserves respect, Figure 4.



Fig.4: source: www.okafrica.com

Other responses found the humour in the painting and therefore were themselves shared in a humorous spirit – Figure 5.



Fig.5: Source: www.brettmurray.co.za

Limitations

As already indicated in previous chapters, the focus of analysis was on text written in English. But with South Africa boasting a total of 11 official languages, the exclusion of comments written in vernacular is indicative of the limitations of the study and equally, the limitations of online platforms to cater for every member of the South African audience. Therefore with the majority of the citizens speaking other languages, it stands to reason that media houses who have established themselves and have adequate financial backing, should look to cater for such a variety to all voices can be heard. The failure to do so by these and other large news organisations in South Africa, is indicative of remaining

structural inequalities which continue to exclude large members of the population from broader critical engagements.

This shows that “however optimistic one could be about the possibility of the internet creating a counter-flow of indigenous ideas and culture within the global communications network, access to the internet is still marred by severe inequalities” (Wasserman, 2003: 76). Accordingly, contends Wasserman (2003), although the internet was predicted to herald better connectivity and interconnectivity on a global scale, the vast class differences evident in South African society – an inheritance of the apartheid regime – is the cause of the disparity in access and almost complete absence of indigenous languages on the internet.

In addition, the analysis of comments focused only on written material. While this provided sufficient for the scope of the current study, interviews particularly with the public – preferably done during the course of the debate as well as after it had subsided – would have provided critical insights into nuances not easily distinguishable over written text. This would also have added more legitimacy to the study by minimising the researcher’s subjectivity coming through in the findings.

Nevertheless, the sample used from the English language publications provided adequate data from which it was possible to make a critical analysis of the debate, albeit a sample that was linguistically diverse would have made it possible to generalise results to reflect the broader population’s thoughts on the matter.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The opinions that many held about the painting, while to some extent were voiced in reasoned and dignified ways, many more were laden with emotive words. It is the latter which required depth of analysis in order to assess the underlying discourse that makes up the fabric of South African society. Such a consideration will offer a view of the underlying issues behind not only the painting itself, but many similar issues that seem to creep up in the public discourse of post-apartheid South Africa.

This study has shown that although there were examples of the use of political cartooning/satire and media reports to critique the apartheid government, both the English and Afrikaans press failed in their duty as government watchdog, during apartheid. None opposed government policy and offered very little support for a system of equality for all South Africans. Yet the ferocity with which media argued for the continued display of an image that by all accounts evolved beyond just political critique and had become a reference to the black experience described through 'white' frames and eyes, leaves much to be questioned regarding the current media's role as a tool for nation-building.

Equally, there is evidence to show how the ruling party may have used this incident as a way to mask and deflect attention from more socially pressing issues such as allegations of rampant corruption, internal squabbles within the ANC and the text book crisis in Limpopo as evidence of the slow pace of service delivery. However, the reactions to Brett Murray's painting, also reveal the nature of the complex power relations at play in everyday practices of belonging.

Consider how “In February 2006, a court granted the Council of Muslim Theologians an interdict against the re-publication by the Sunday Times of the so-called Muhammed Cartoons. The court held, in essence, that the cartoons were deeply offensive to a portion – not all – of South Africa’s population and could trigger violence” (Gibbons, Daily Maverick: 2012).

Therefore one is inclined to ask: if in that instance the court agreed that the cartoons were offensive, how then is this Zuma image different? “Is the anger of that segment of Muslim South Africa which was outraged by the cartoons somehow different – more wrathful? – than those black South Africans who have been offended by the Zuma image?” (Gibbons, Daily Maverick: 2012). This is the main argument used by those who oppose the moves by some to remove race from the debate. It is through race after all, that power relations within the South African environment are easily understood.

These power dynamics articulated and experienced in racial terms also highlight continued challenges to the consolidation of democracy, achievement of constitutional rights for all as well as the challenge of accommodating these rights in a multicultural setting. This shows the complexities involved in first, political cartooning in a multicultural setting. Secondly, it reflects how political cartooning in a racially conscious environment like South Africa, needs to be approached with a multifaceted understanding of power and social dynamics. This does not mean supporting or enacting policy that stifles freedoms of expression, but finding ways to critique without increasing divides even further.

Therefore the test for the South African public and their leaders is to balance narratives of past dehumanisation with the injustices of the present (Nicolson, Daily Maverick: 2012).

This must be done while continuing to recognise and correct those that stem from years of division along racial lines alongside fair criticism of those in power and the need to hold them to account, without or limiting agitating race relations.

And while some have dubbed the debate about *The Spear* as an elitist one, the marchers who turned up outside the Goodman Gallery, the two men who defaced the painting at the gallery (one of which is reported to have been a taxi driver); the comments posted on various media platforms along with endorsement by unions who represent the working masses, shows how the debate evolved.

Having started as a critique against alleged censorship by the ANC of media and the artist, the debate turned and had the nation's thought leaders and the public start to address feelings of pain, hurt and anger, all of which were attached to the history and relations between the different people living in South Africa. Therefore, a further exploration of the content of the debate will require adaptation of theory to account for "a plurality of public spheres due to the multiplicity of voices in the media" (Mak'Ochieng, 1996: 27).

Developments in South Africa that led – eventually – to the dawn of democracy resulted in extensive social changes. Despite these changes, what became evident throughout the debate was that objectivity, freedom, power and the ability to wield influence particularly when it comes to public opinion, can become a mechanism of exclusion.

A broader study might highlight – in a more descriptive manner – areas of tensions that exist between the people of South Africa. Further research is needed in order to highlight the lenses and language used by members of society to sensitive topics yet to be

adequately dealt with in a post-apartheid setting. Such enquiry could contribute to our understanding of how public discourse as seen through protest art or political satire – as was the case with *The Spear* – can be used as a tool to gauge the remaining sensitivities and tensions from the past, which limit or affect nation building efforts in South Africa.

Studies of this nature are important in order to start the process of furthering our understanding of how these tensions continue to affect the prospects of fostering social cohesion, and achieving the ever illusive rainbow nation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: City Press

Headline	Url
Zuma spears opposition in Parliament	http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/Zuma-spears-opposition-in-Parliament-20120531
Global media rights body slates ANC 'intimidation' of City Press	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/Global-media-rights-body-slates-ANC-intimidation-of-City-Press-20120531
ANC, gallery bury the hatchet	http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/ANC-gallery-bury-the-hatchet-20120530
ANC to withdraw Spear case	http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/ANC-to-withdraw-Spear-case-20120530-2
ANC, gallery to hold joint media briefing	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/ANC-gallery-to-hold-joint-media-briefing-20120530-2
Ombud to hear Spear complaints after FPB admits not having jurisdiction	http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/Ombud-to-hear-Spear-complaints-after-FPB-admits-not-having-jurisdiction-20120529
Youth league's absence at protest conspicuous	http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/Youth-leagues-absence-at-protest-conspicuous-20120529
ANC calls off City Press boycott	http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/ANC-calls-off-City-Press-boycott-20120529
FPB 'overstepping legal mandate'	http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/FPB-overstepping-legal-mandate-20120529
The Spear protesters reach Goodman Gallery	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/The-Spear-protesters-reach-Goodman-Gallery-20120529
ANC to make important announcements at Goodman Gallery march	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/ANC-to-make-important-announcements-at-Goodman-Gallery-march-20120529
The Spear removal 'unfortunate' – DA	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/The-Spear-removal-unfortunate-DA-20120528-2
ANC probes 'secret caucuses'	http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/ANC-probes-secret-caucuses-20120528
The Spear: ANC still wants apology from City Press	http://www.citypress.co.za/Politics/News/The-Spear-ANC-still-wants-apology-from-City-Press-20120528
Reaction to removal of The Spear	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/Reaction-to-removal-of-The-Spear-20120528
The Spear is down – out of care and fear	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/The-Spear-is-down-out-of-care-and-fear-20120528
City Press removes The Spear 'to restore calm'	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/City-Press-removes-The-Spear-to-restore-calm-20120528
How a painting divided a nation	http://www.citypress.co.za/Columnists/How-a-painting-divided-a-nation-20120527
Why I find The Spear unsettling	http://www.citypress.co.za/Columnists/Why-I-find-The-Spear-unsettling-20120526
A test of the limits, a test of democracy	http://www.citypress.co.za/Columnists/A-test-of-the-limits-a-test-of-democracy-20120526
Art on the front line	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/The-great-Spear-debate-Art-on-the-front-line-20120526
Newsmaker: 'Stone Murray' call rocks Shembe	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/Newsmaker-Stone-Murray-call-rocks-Shembe-20120526
The great Spear debate: Twitter shows polar split	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/The-great-Spear-debate-Twitter-shows-polar-split-20120526
From the sublime to the angry: Lebo Mashile	http://www.citypress.co.za/SouthAfrica/News/From-the-sublime-to-the-angry-Lebo-Mashile-20120526
State must keep eye on the right balls	http://www.citypress.co.za/MyCityPress/State-must-keep-eye-on-the-right-balls-20120526

APPENDIX 2: Daily Maverick

Headline	Url
Zwelinzima Vavi: Political consciousness leaves quietly	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-31-zwelinzima-vavi-political-consciousness-leaves-quietly
First Thing with Simon Williamson: Syrian diplomat quits in protest	http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-31-first-thing-with-simon-williamson-syrian-diplomat-quits-in-protest/
First Thing with Simon Williamson: Romney clinches GOP nomination	http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-30-first-thing-with-simon-williamson-romney-clinches-gop-nomination/
The Spear: Freedom is not for sissies	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-30-the-spear-freedom-is-not-for-sissies
Dear Spear marchers: Today's only a start	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-29-dear-spear-marchers-todays-only-a-start
First Thing with Simon Williamson: China, Japan to start direct currency trading	http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-29-first-thing-with-simon-williamson-china-japan-to-start-direct-currency-trading/
An Immodest Proposal	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-29-an-immodest-proposal
First Thing with Styli Charalambous: UN Security Council condemns Syria attack	http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-28-first-thing-with-styli-charalambous-un-security-council-condemns-syria-attack/
The Spear: Millions of people were insulted	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-28-the-spear-millions-of-people-were-insulted
Ma Emma: The true spear of the nation	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-28-ma-emma-the-true-spear-of-the-nation
Love, sex and the fear of a small woman, Zanele Muholi	http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-25-love-sex-and-the-fear-of-a-small-woman-zanele-muholi
First Thing with Simon Williamson: Report calls for Cele's removal	http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-25-first-thing-with-simon-williamson-report-calls-for-celes-removal/
African art: Divergent views	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-25-african-art-divergent-views
Censor you, Censor me, let's all Censor together	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-25-censor-you-censor-me-lets-all-censor-together
Deface of the past, deface of today, deface of the future	http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-24-deface-of-the-past-deface-of-today-deface-of-the-future
Apartheid and censorship: The more things change...	http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-24-apartheid-and-censorship-the-more-things-change
Shock art: Why a dismally bad painting has caused such a flap	http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-24-shock-art-why-a-dismally-bad-painting-has-caused-such-a-flap
From The Spear of the Nation to SpearGate	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-24-from-the-spear-of-the-nation-to-speargate
Spear? What spear?	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-24-spear-what-spear
First Thing with Simon Williamson: US drone strike kills ten in Pakistan	http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-24-first-thing-with-simon-williamson-us-drone-strike-kills-ten-in-pakistan/
The Spear: Black anger and white obliviousness	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-24-the-spear-black-anger-and-white-obliviousness
First Thing with Simon Williamson: World Bank cuts China growth forecast	http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-23-first-thing-with-simon-williamson-world-bank-cuts-china-growth-forecast/
First Thing with Simon Williamson: Qantas to split into two businesses	http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-22-first-thing-with-simon-williamson-qantas-to-split-into-two-businesses/
Censor you, Censor me, let's all Censor together	http://dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-05-25-censor-you-censor-me-lets-all-censor-together
Deface of the past, deface of today, deface of the future	http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-05-24-deface-of-the-past-deface-of-today-deface-of-the-future

APPENDIX 3: Independent Online (IOL)

Headline	Url
We have many wounds to heal - Zuma	http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/we-have-many-wounds-to-heal-zuma-1.1309294
Freedom of expression important: Zuma	http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/freedom-of-expression-important-zuma-1.1309267
ANC did not intend to bully 'Spear' gallery	http://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/anc-did-not-intend-to-bully-spear-gallery-1.1309167
Parties breathe fire in attack on Zuma	http://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/parties-breathe-fire-in-attack-on-zuma-1.1309165
'Bullying unintended' – ANC	http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/bullying-unintended-anc-1.1308851
Intimidation of City Press slammed	http://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/news/intimidation-of-city-press-slammed-1.1308819
ANC 'never meant to bully gallery'	http://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/anc-never-meant-to-bully-gallery-1.1308740
Zuma under fire	http://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/news/zuma-under-fire-1.1308737
Murray has the last laugh	http://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/murray-has-the-last-laugh-1.1308721
ANC 'didn't mean to bully'	http://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/news/anc-didn-t-mean-to-bully-1.1308648
SPEAR IN ANC SIDE BLUNTED	http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/spear-in-anc-side-blunted-1.1308505
Making the most of a forgiving crowd	http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/making-the-most-of-a-forgiving-crowd-1.1308468
Onslaught against Zuma's leadership over 'fascist-style' tactics	http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/onslaught-against-zuma-s-leadership-over-fascist-style-tactics-1.1308401
Crude display reduced nation to a bawdy bar	http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/crude-display-reduced-nation-to-a-bawdy-bar-1.1308475
What price dissent now?	http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/what-price-dissent-now-1.1308476
Democracy does not discourage creative opinion	http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/democracy-does-not-discourage-creative-opinion-1.1308473
Artist abused his right to free speech	http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/artist-abused-his-right-to-free-speech-1.1308469
Zuma roasted in Parliament	http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/zuma-roasted-in-parliament-1.1308561
MPs in slanging match over Zuma	http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mps-in-slanging-match-over-zuma-1.1308561
Zuma violated oath: Lekota	http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/zuma-violated-oath-lekota-1.1308292
'Parliament is not a shebeen'	http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/parliament-is-not-a-shebeen-1.1308325
Find balance, urges Art Minister	http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/find-balance-urges-art-minister-1.1308302
Numsa: train unemployed for public service	http://www.iol.co.za/business/business-news/numsa-train-unemployed-for-public-service-1.1308275
Numsa: train unemployed for service	http://www.iol.co.za/business/business-news/numsa-train-unemployed-for-service-1.1308275
ANC reprieves defaced 'Spear'	http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/anc-reprieves-defaced-spear-1.1308182

APPENDIX 4: Mail & Guardian

Headline	Url
Robust discussion at M&G colloquium	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-31-robust-discussion-at-mg-colloquium
Zuma could spearhead an online assault	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-31-zuma-could-spearhead-an-online-assault
How Zuma's bid to halt 'The Spear' case was derailed	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-31-zumas-bid-to-halt-case-derailed
Zuma: Freedom of expression is important, but not absolute	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-31-zuma-freedom-of-expression-is-important-but-not-absolute
Mantashe must sharpen his spear	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-31-mantashe-must-sharpen-his-spear
The ANC is better than this	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-31-the-anc-is-better-than-this
ANC and Goodman Gallery reach agreement on 'Spear'	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-30-anc-and-goodman-gallery-reach-agreement-on-spear
Goodman: ANC to drop 'The Spear' case	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-30-goodman-anc-to-drop-spear-case
FPB: It's our duty to classify 'The Spear' - and suppress criticism	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-30-fpb-its-our-duty-to-classify-the-spear-and-suppress-criticism
National culture: We need to talk about it	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-29-national-culture-we-need-to-talk
ANC forgives and forgets they didn't get an actual apology	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-29-anc-forgives-and-forgets-they-didnt-get-an-actual-apology
Invitation: Talking about freedom of expression	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-29-talking-about-freedom-of-expression
Classification of 'The Spear' unnecessary, says lawyer	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-29-spear-hearing-not-needed
ANC supporters embark on Goodman Gallery march	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-29-anc-supporters-gather-for-march-on-goodman-gallery
The art of marching: ANC 'Spear' protest hits the road	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-28-spear-outrage-spills-over-in-planned-march
Mthembu denies any split in ANC over 'Spear'	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-28-mthembu-denies-any-split-in-anc-over-spear
Motorists warned ahead of gallery march	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-28-jan-smuts-closed-for-march
Gauteng ANC to investigate secret meetings	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-28-no-room-for-secret-caucuses-in-anc
Boycott fails, but City Press agrees to drop 'The Spear'	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-28-boycott-fails-but-city-press-agrees-to-drop-the-spear
ANCWL calls for action against 'elephant of patriarchy'	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-27-ancwl-calls-for-action-against-elephant-of-patriarchy
City Press editor: 'I don't respond to threats'	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-27-city-press-editor-i-dont-respond-to-threats
Meet the man who shed a tear for Zuma's spear	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-26-meet-the-soft-spoken-advocate-who-shed-a-tear-for-zumas-spear
Brett Murray: Putting it bluntly	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-25-brett-murray-putting-it-bluntly
Democracy is a fine art	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-25-democracy-is-a-fine-art
Warrick Sony: Surfing the zeitgeist	http://mg.co.za/article/2012-05-25-warwick-sony-surfing-the-zeitgeist

APPENDIX 5: News 24

Headline	Url
Freedom of expression important: Zuma	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Freedom-of-expression-important-Zuma-20120531
Enough of "The Spear".	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Enough-of-The-Spear-20120531
Terre'Blanche painting set to draw fire	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/TerreBlanche-painting-set-to-draw-fire-20120531
South Africa in ruins	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/South-Africa-in-ruins-20120531
We are all racists and why the spear had to be taken down	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/We-are-all-racists-and-why-the-spear-had-to-be-taken-down-20120531
The Long Walk to..?	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/The-Long-Walk-to-20120530
David vs The Spear	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/David-vs-The-Spear-20120530
March to cover the balls	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/March-to-cover-the-balls-20120530
Zuma violated his oath of office, says Lekota	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Zuma-had-to-protect-Murray-Haffajee-Lekota-20120530
Spear not about race - Mulder	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Spear-not-about-race-Mulder-20120530
Minister urges SA to work together	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Minister-urges-SA-to-work-together-20120530
The ANC is our enemy. Not Racism.	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/The-ANC-is-our-enemy-Not-Racism-20120530
Dear white South Africa	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Dear-white-South-Africa-20120530
Zuma spear painting	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Zuma-spear-painting-20120530
The ANC is a horrible bully fullstop!	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/The-ANC-is-a-horrible-bully-fullstop-20120530
ANC never meant to bully gallery	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ANC-never-meant-to-bully-gallery-20120530
News24 removes The Spear	http://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/News24-removes-The-Spear-20120530
Collector still wants The Spear	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Collector-still-wants-The-Spear-20120530
Corrupt Hypocrit Elite	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Corrupt-Hypocrit-Elite-20120529
ANC to withdraw Spear case	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ANC-to-withdraw-Spear-case-20120530
Gallery to remove The Spear from website	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Gallery-to-remove-The-Spear-from-website-20120530
Childish State	http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Childish-State-20120529
City Press boycott called off	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/City-Press-boycott-called-off-20120529
ANC, gallery to hold joint media briefing	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ANC-gallery-to-hold-joint-media-briefing-20120530
My emotional reaction to The Spear	http://www.news24.com/Columnists/Zama-Ndlovu/My-emotional-reaction-to-The-Spear-20120530

APPENDIX 6: Sowetan

Headline	Url
Spear artist a boost for Zuma re-election bid	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/05/31/spear-artist-a-boost-for-zuma-re-election-bid
Terre'Blanche painting set 'to provoke'	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/05/31/terre-blanche-painting-set-to-provoke
Spear vandal and uncle attend the march	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/05/29/spear-vandal-and-uncle-attend-the-march
ANC takes Spear battle to the Goodman Gallery VIDEO	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/05/25/anc-takes-spear-battle-to-the-goodman-gallery-video
Otherwise words from the great, good	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/05/25/otherwise-words-from-the-great-good
Free debate must continue	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/05/25/free-debate-must-continue
The spear of filth and stench	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/05/24/the-spear-of-filth-and-stench
Zuma painting case postponed	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/05/23/zuma-painting-case-postponed
ANC rallies masses for Spear court battle VIDEO	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/article5108188.ece
A president less flawed	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/05/23/a-president-less-flawed
TV journalist says she tried to stop painting vandal	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/05/22/tv-journalist-grabbed-painting-vandal
Zuma painting defaced!	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/article5094897.ece
Zuma, all blacks deserve respect	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/05/18/zuma-all-blacks-deserve-respect
Brains behind the daring Nando's ads	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/goodlife/2012/06/29/brains-behind-the-daring-nando-s-ads
Magistrate blasts police 'ineptitude'	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/06/29/magistrate-blasts-police-ineptitude
Spear trial postponed to September	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/06/28/spear-trial-postponed-to-september
Why we cried in court	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/06/25/why-we-cried-in-court
President Zuma is under siege	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/06/20/president-zuma-is-under-siege
Political maturity in short supply	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/incoming/2012/06/14/political-maturity-in-short-supply
Summit to be held following The Spear saga	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/06/07/summit-to-be-held-following-the-spear-saga
We dare not repeat past pain	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/06/01/we-dare-not-repeat-past-pain
ANC leaders have bought themselves out of blackness	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/columnists/2012/07/10/anc-leaders-have-bought-themselves-out-of-blackness
'Naked Zuma has lost its potency'	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/08/29/naked-zuma-has-lost-its-potency
Zuma penis on show again!	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/08/28/zuma-penis-on-show-again
Zuma drops suit over rape cartoon	http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/10/29/zuma-drops-suit-over-rape-cartoon

APPENDIX 7: The Citizen

Headline	Url
Painting violates Zuma's rights: presidency	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=279418&sn=Detail&pid=146826&Painting-violates-Zuma-s-rights--presidency
Editor won't remove Zuma painting	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=279439&sn=Detail&pid=146826&Editor-won-t-remove-Zuma-painting
Zuma art 'censors' speak out	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=279546&sn=Detail&pid=146866&Zuma-art-%E2%80%98censors%E2%80%99-speak-out
The Spear must stay up	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/opinion-leaders?oid=279891&sn=Detail&pid=40&The-Spear-must-stay-up
Zuma painting 'sadistic': SACP	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=279870&sn=Detail&pid=146866&Zuma-painting--sadistic---SACP
'The Spear' court battle begins	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280238&sn=Detail&pid=334&%E2%80%98The-Spear%E2%80%99-court-battle-begins
Vandals can't stop image spreading	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/opinion-leaders?oid=280478&sn=Detail&pid=40&Vandals-can%E2%80%99t-stop-image-spreading
ANCWL supports Zuma court bid	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280322&sn=Detail&pid=146835&ANCWL-supports-Zuma-court-bid
Three arrested for painting incident	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280435&sn=Detail&pid=146825&Three-arrested-for-painting-incident
Art's limits 'have been overstepped'	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/letters?oid=280480&sn=Detail&pid=146825&Art%E2%80%99s-limits-%E2%80%98have-been-overstepped%E2%80%99
ANC welcomes court decision	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280537&sn=Detail&pid=168449&ANC-welcomes-court-decision
Goodman Gallery closed to public	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280538&sn=Detail&pid=168449&Goodman-Gallery-closed-to-public
Defacing pair to be released	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280540&sn=Detail&pid=146866&Defacing-pair-to-be-released
JZ portrait hearing in court today	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280806&sn=Detail&pid=334&JZ-portrait-hearing-in-court-today
Vandal's 'political' point	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280804&sn=Detail&pid=334&Vandal%E2%80%99s-political%E2%80%99-point
FPB CEO recuses herself from hearing	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280595&sn=Detail&pid=146819&FPB-CEO-recuses-herself-from-hearing
Zuma painting furore accused in court	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280612&sn=Detail&pid=168449&Zuma-painting-furore-accused-in-court
"Smear" court changed to Hillbrow	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280627&sn=Detail&pid=146848&-Smear--court-changed-to-Hillbrow

Moyo mum on gallery incident	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280635&sn=Detail&pid=146835&Moyo-mum-on-gallery-incident
Zuma art won't increase in value: Expert	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280816&sn=Detail&pid=334&Zuma-art-won-t-increase-in-value--Expert
NUM president threatens naked march	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280815&sn=Detail&pid=334&NUM-president-threatens-naked-march
Joburg CBD roads closed for art case	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280892&sn=Detail&pid=146819&Joburg-CBD-roads-closed-for-art-case-
Right to dignity only applies to people	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280948&sn=Detail&pid=146849&Right-to-dignity-only-applies-to-people
Quotes of the week	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280950&sn=Detail&pid=146835&Quotes-of-the-week
Nzimande calls for City Press boycott	http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=280959&sn=Detail&pid=146849&Nzimande-calls-for-City-Press-boycott

APPENDIX 8: The (Sunday) Times

Headline	Url
ANC to go to court over zuma painting	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/17/anc-to-go-to-court-over-zuma-painting
'Distressing' portrait of Zuma angers ANC	http://www.timeslive.co.za/entertainment/2012/05/18/distressing-portrait-of-zuma-angers-anc
Painting violates Zuma's rights: Presidency	http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2012/05/18/painting-violates-zuma-s-rights-presidency
Zuma painting 'sadistic': SACP	http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2012/05/20/zuma-painting-sadistic-sacp
'The spear' an attack on African morality: Sasco	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/21/the-spear-an-attack-on-african-morality-sasco
'The Spear' an attack on blacks: BMF	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/21/the-spear-an-attack-on-blacks-bmf
Radebe: the spear insults majority	http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2012/05/21/radebe-the-spear-insults-majority
Censors assess Zuma painting	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/21/censors-assess-zuma-painting
Murray a 'struggle hero'	http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2012/05/22/murray-a-struggle-hero
'Ban The Spear, stone its maker'	http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/article5086671.ece
Men on top and at rock bottom	http://www.timeslive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012/05/22/men-on-top-and-at-rock-bottom
Blinded by JZ's flash	http://www.timeslive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012/05/22/blinded-by-jz-s-flash
ANC must avoid being painted with apartheid brush	http://www.timeslive.co.za/opinion/editorials/2012/05/22/anc-must-avoid-being-painted-with-apartheid-brush
Corrupt power the theme of exhibition	http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2012/05/22/corrupt-power-the-theme-of-exhibition
'I never meant to hurt anyone': artist	http://www.timeslive.co.za/lifestyle/2012/05/22/i-never-meant-to-hurt-anyone-artist
ANC due in court Tuesday over Zuma painting	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/22/anc-due-in-court-tuesday-over-zuma-painting

Reaction to president's picture painful	http://www.timeslive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012/05/22/reaction-to-president-s-picture-painful
Painting draws protest crowd	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/22/painting-draws-protest-crowd
TV journo grabs Zuma painting vandal	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/22/tv-journo-grabs-zuma-painting-vandal
Organisations condemn art defacing	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/22/organisations-condemn-art-defacing
Anc welcomes court decision	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/22/anc-welcomes-court-decision
THE BIG READ: Art has the right to be provocative	http://www.timeslive.co.za/opinion/commentary/2012/05/23/the-big-read-art-has-the-right-to-be-provocative
Calling Murray a racist is just a satisfying travesty	http://www.timeslive.co.za/opinion/editorials/2012/05/23/calling-murray-a-racist-is-just-a-satisfying-travesty
Murray's supporters speak out	http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/23/murray-s-supporters-speak-out
'The Spear' goes into hiding	http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2012/05/23/the-spear-goes-into-hiding