Graphic design in South Africa: a post-colonial perspective

Article category: article
Word count: 10925

Summary:

This article offers a broad historical overview of the development of graphic design in South Africa followed by an analysis of a sample of recent South African graphic design informed by post-colonial theory, imperial studies, and settler colonialism theory. The historical overview indicates how closely the development of graphic design in South Africa was implicated with settler colonialism in particular. Yet, graphic design in South Africa was also used to resist colonialism and following the 1994 democratic election there was optimism about the role of graphic design in the transformation of South Africa. However, numerous challenges faced post-apartheid graphic design and to assess how South African graphic design has responded to these challenges this article analyses a number of categories of the 2013 Loerie Awards, which positions itself as the authority with regards to determining standards of excellence in brand communication in the region. In interrogating the representation in and the discourse created by the award winning work the article concludes that graphic design in South Africa, as represented in this award scheme, does not reflect a substantial engagement with post-apartheid transformation challenges. These challenges include the elimination of stereotypes, establishing gender equality and grappling with language and culture issues. Instead, the award scheme perpetuates narratives steeped in colonial and imperialist discourses.

Keywords:

Loerie Awards, post-colonialism, graphic design, South Africa, colonial discourse, settler colonialism

Introduction

This article offers a broad historical overview of the development of graphic design in South Africa from the 1800s followed by an analysis of a sample of some recent South African graphic design. The historical overview makes reference to the development of the press, advertising and graphic design education and shows how closely this development was implicated with settler colonialism. However, the overview also indicates that a diverse black press – which often served as a platform for protest – as well as resistance media emerged to counter the dominant ideologies of colonialism and later apartheid. The article then considers how the 1994 democratic election served as the impetus for the development of a South African visual language in graphic design and raised hopes for the transformation of graphic design education and industry.

The examination concludes by highlighting the transformation challenges facing post-apartheid graphic design. In order to assess how South African graphic design has responded to these challenges this article then analyses selected categories of the 2013 Loerie Awards (or Loeries for short).[1] This award scheme is selected as it exerts considerable power and influence: it positions itself as the authority with regard to determining standards of excellence in the country,[2] it is legitimised by being endorsed by a host of local bodies[3] and it contributes to creating norms by which students and creative practitioners measure themselves.

In interrogating the representation in, and the discourse created by, the award-winning work the article concludes that graphic design in South Africa, as represented in this award scheme, does not reflect a substantial engagement with post-apartheid transformation challenges and instead perpetuates narratives steeped in colonial and imperialist discourses. The overview and analysis are informed by post-colonial theory, imperial studies, and settler colonialism theory.

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin employ the term 'post-colonial' to refer to 'all cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day'.[4] These authors view post-colonialism as 'a process in which colonized societies participate over a long period, through different phases and modes of engagement with the colonizing power, during and after the actual period of direct colonial rule'.[5] Ashcroft et al study literature by employing concepts such as mimicry, resistance, the hegemony of English, appropriation, abrogation, place, representation and the 'Other' and these concepts are equally suitable for analysing graphic design. From a semiotic perspective literature and graphic design are both systems of representation which produce meaning through language[6] and therefore both can be read as text. Whereas literature relies on written signs, graphic design also incorporates visual signs.

Veracini considers settler colonialism to be distinct from colonialism and views 'the settler colonial situation' as 'associated with a particular state of mind and a specific narrative form'.[7] It is this state of mind, particularly the concept of 'disavowal' and what Veracini defines as 'settler narrative forms' which are particularly useful to this study. [8] Veracini emphasises the importance of narratives as they are a 'fundamental part of everyday life and their construction constitutes an act that allows nations, communities and individuals to make sense of the world'.[9]

This article argues that South African graphic design as represented in the 2013 Loerie Awards perpetuates colonial and imperialist discourses.[10] Such discourses were developed over a long period of time and through constant repetition in a variety of cultural forms such as literature, art, photography, advertising and other types of popular culture. Interest in the relationship between British imperialism and popular culture in particular was pioneered by John Mackenzie[11] and inspired numerous studies. Mackenzie's edited volume *Imperialism and Popular Culture* interrogates the relationship between imperialism and popular culture in Britain between the late nineteenth century and the Second World War.

Building on this study Bush demonstrates, through a case study of representations of the British Empire from the late 1800s to 1939, how imperial discourse was 'embedded in the popular psyche through a variety of media' in which 'the overriding metaphor was of Western cultural, economic, military and technological superiority, of modernity and progress'. [12] McClintock identifies 'some of the stalwart themes of colonial discourse' as 'the feminizing of the land, the myth of the empty lands, the crisis of origins, domestic colonialism, [and] the soap saga'. [13] Landau recognizes the role played by visual media from the eighteenth century onwards as central to the development of an 'image-Africa' which reflected Western demands and prejudices. [14] Such studies provide insight into the development of a range of visual representations which have proven to be highly resilient and which reflects in popular culture to this day, or as Bush phrases it, demonstrates how the 'imperial past intrude[s] into the present'. [15]

The origins and development of graphic design in settler and apartheid South Africa

If the term post-colonial is used in line with Ashcroft et al's definition in relation to South Africa the 'moment of colonization' can arguably be dated back to 6 April 1652. On this day a fleet of three ships arrived in what would become known as Cape Town under orders from the Dutch East India Company to establish a refreshment station for ships travelling from Europe to the East. Following the arrival of the first colonists the European population grew and gradually expanded from Cape Town into the interior of South Africa. Along the way the colonists entered into numerous conflicts and wars with the local population until the borders of modern-day South Africa emerged with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

The Dutch remained in power in the Cape from 1652 until the late 1700s, eventually handing over power to the British in 1806. The first colonisers therefore became, in turn, colonised subjects of Britain. In 1843 Natal was added to the Cape as a British colony. A migration of Dutch descendants, who became known as 'Afrikaners', into the interior led to the subjugation of local people and the establishment of the Transvaal Republic in 1838 and the Orange Free State Republic in 1854. Both Republics were defeated by the British during the South African War of 1899–1901, and these Republics merged with the Cape and Natal Colonies in 1910 to become the Union of South Africa, a British dominion. In Southern Africa colonists were settlers and became landowners who no longer viewed Europe as their home.[16]

The National Party (NP) came into power in 1948 and ushered in the period of apartheid which built on earlier forms of discrimination and disenfranchisement introduced under British colonial and then settler rule. In 1961 South Africa became a Republic and left the Commonwealth. The NP remained in power until 1994 when it was defeated by the African National Congress (ANC) in the first democratic elections in the country's history. The ANC has remained undefeated in successive elections.

It may be argued that the history of South African graphic design begins with the ancient rock art created in the region long before the arrival of the first Europeans. However, the technologies of printing and typography were imported into the country from Europe and writing became the dominant form of communication over what Hofmeyr refers to as the 'central resources of African culture': 'orality, performance, festival, spectacle and image'.[17] Missionaries were central to establishing the 'key cultural institution of colonialism': a 'textual view of the world' through schooling.[18] Tzvetan Todorov views 'the key feature of colonial oppression as the control over the means of communication rather than control over life or property or even language itself'.[19] It is therefore not surprising that printing was used to establish and maintain power and control by successive governments. However, in time, colonised subjects also turned to printing technology to resist and subvert colonial power.

De Kock dates the 'first genuine printing' in South Africa to the efforts of Johann Christian Ritter, a German bookbinder, who arrived at the Cape in 1784.[20] An image from the 1796 Almanach (figure 1[21]) printed by Ritter shows how he followed European printing conventions, such as the use of serif typography and decorative images, in his work. The first commercial newspaper in South Africa was printed in 1800 in the Cape Colony in English and Dutch, and despite government control over printing 'newspapers proliferated throughout the rapidly expanding country'.[22] A 'white press'[23] was established which was owned, controlled and consumed by whites and 'concerned almost exclusively with the political, economic and social life of the white population'.[24] Initially, bilingual

papers in English and Dutch were common: for example, the title of the first newspaper was the *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser* or *Kaapsche Stads Courant en Afrikaansche Berigter*. [25] However, the discovery of gold in 1886 and 'the imperialism spawned by gold split the press on the basis of the two white language groups'. [26] [INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

The newspaper *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (*The South African*), which first appeared in 1830, and *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* (*The Afrikaans Patriot*), which followed half a century later, represent 'a distinctive indigenous response to what was regarded as outside domination'. [27] *De Zuid-Afrikaan* fought for the rights of Afrikaners in the Cape Colony and resisted Anglicisation, whereas *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* 'uncompromisingly propagated the despised and fledgling Afrikaans language' thereby reflecting the 'awakening need among Afrikaners to assert their independence'. [28]

A comparison of the front pages of the *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* (figure 2[29]), first published in 1876, and that of *The South African Commercial Advertiser* (figure 3[30]), founded in 1824, is instructive for both the similarities and differences which they display. The mastheads of both newspapers follow a convention established by the earliest newspapers, including *The Times* printed in London since 1788, of typesetting their mastheads in Blackletter. This convention remains popular to this day as seen in the mastheads of numerous South African newspapers such as *The Star* and *The Cape Argus*. Like *The Times, The South African Commercial Advertiser* also used the Royal coat of arms in its masthead, thereby signalling allegiance to Britain and the Crown. The paper's commitment to capitalism is reflected in its name and the advertisements carried on the front page, while the civilising mission of Britain is underscored by placing a quote by Dr Johnson under the masthead which reads: 'the mass of every People must be barbarous where there is no Printing'. [INSERT FIGURES 2 & 3 HERE]

In contrast, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* omits visual images, quotes from the fifth of the ten Biblical commandments on honouring one's parents and sings the praise of this first newspaper in 'our own language' with which we can show the world that 'we have a language in which we can say whatever we like'. The appearance of a paper in Afrikaans may be viewed as a form of post-colonial writing which 'defines itself by seizing the language of the centre and re-placing it in a discourse fully adapted to the colonized place' through the processes of abrogation and appropriation. [31] Ashcroft et al defines abrogation as the 'denial of the privilege of "English" [which] involves a rejection of metropolitan power over the means of communication' whereas appropriation 'is a process of capturing and remoulding the language to new usages, [which] marks a separation from the site of colonial privilege'. [32] Afrikaans is an abrogation of English and an appropriation of Dutch and the language became central to the propagating of Afrikaner Nationalism. An Afrikaner Nationalist Press developed from 1915 in opposition to the British Anglicisation policy which followed the unification of the country under British rule in 1910. [33] By the 1980s four press groups, two English and two Afrikaans, [34] had emerged, and these monopolised the industry.

The founding of the press was intertwined with colonial capitalism. The first newspaper was owned by slave dealers, and advertisements were 'charged for in proportion to their length and place in the paper'. [35] Advertising and graphic design developed alongside the printed media during the nineteenth century. [36] Advertisements were designed by 'commercial artists' who were in general recruited from abroad, or advertisements for British goods were commonly prepared in Britain and exported to South Africa for publication. [37] The first South African advertising agency, South African

Advertising Contractors, was founded in 1899 in Cape Town and until 1952, when an Afrikaans agency was started, the advertising world 'was terribly English, right out of London down to the umbrellas, pin-striped suits and pink shirts'.[38] The influence of Britain on South African politics and culture was dominant until after the Second World War, when it was superseded by that of the United States.[39] The strong influence of these countries on the style of South African print advertisements is clearly visible when paging through a pictorial history of advertising in South Africa which includes examples drawn predominantly from the 'white press'.[40]

An advertisement for Bovril (figure 4[41]) from 1900 is a case in point of how 'both the British imperial vision and the brand were promoted and imprinted upon the South African landscape'.[42] The advertisement consists of a map on which 'the route followed by Lord Roberts in his historical march to Kimberley and Bloemfontein' is traced in a bold outline forming the word 'Bovril'. Cartography was 'central to representing empire and subjugated colonies' because, as Bush notes, 'to map was to possess, to tame and order terra nullius'.[43] The analysis of the Loeries which follows later reveals that mapping is a trope which remains current in South African graphic design. [INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE]

From the late nineteenth century art schools were established in South Africa based on European models and staffed by graduates from European art academies.[44] Commercial art courses were introduced into South African Art and Crafts schools during the 1950s, the first graphic design diplomas were offered in technical colleges in 1966 and by the late 1970s and early 1980s graduates from local institutions began making their mark in the industry.[45] Under apartheid these formal courses were restricted to whites and only from the early 1980s did a few graphic design courses open up to allow entry for the entire populace.[46]

Sutherland argues that within this 'colonial paradigm' designers looked abroad for inspiration, affirmation and recognition[47] and the belief that design had to reflect 'Western sensibilities' to be appealing, lead to the widespread practice of copying work from overseas.[48] For instance, Groenewald points out that the cover designs of the South African magazines *South African Panorama* and *Lantern* from 1948-1961 were influenced by design trends in Europe and the USA, with *Lantern* exposing 'South Africans to graphic design of an international standard'.[49]

Groenewald also notes the absence of black people on the covers of *Panorama*[50] and this absence links with Veracini's claim that the 'settler gaze' is characterized by disavowal, or the 'tendency to depopulate the country of indigenous people in representations'.[51] South African author J.M Coetzee describes the perception of 'South Africa as a vast, empty, silent space' as a 'dream topography' which 'remains alien, impenetrable, until a language is found in which to win it, speak it, represent it'. For Coetzee landscape art and landscape writing in South Africa from the beginning of the nineteenth to the mid twentieth century is a quest for 'finding a language … in which people of European identity … of a highly problematic South African-colonial identity, can speak of Africa and be spoken to by Africa'. [52]

In this regard it is telling that the first issue of *Panorama* (figure 5[53]) carries a photograph of the South African artist J. H. Pierneef (1886 – 1957) 'bring[ing] the panoramic glory of the Golden Gate … to his canvas'.[54] Pierneef has been described as the 'foremost interpreter of the SA landscape' who created a 'silent, ordered world' with 'no sign of human activity' and he would eventually focus on 'the cause of a hypothetical ideal of "national art"'.[55] Coetzee's observation of the 'lone poet in

empty space' who 'is seeking a dialogue with Africa, a reciprocity with Africa, that will allow him an identity better than that of visitor, stranger, transient' may be aptly used to describe this picture of Pierneef.[56] This representational practice of presenting an 'empty' landscape for the gaze of white people has been eloquently explored by Van Eeden in a series of journal articles examining South African state funded postcards and photographs from the 1920s to 1980s[57] and is a trope which remains prevalent in South African graphic design as is evident from a number of examples of Loerie 2013 winners. [INSERT FIGURE 5 HERE]

In addition to claiming belonging through the representation of landscape, white artists and designers working in South Africa, as in other settler colonies, appropriated 'pre-existing aesthetic dimensions identified with the indigenous population of the country' in an attempt at 'constructing indigeneity'.[58] From the 1920s onwards rock art became a source of inspiration for South African artists, crafters, textile and ceramic designers and interior decorators, including Pierneef, Walter Battiss and Erich Mayer.[59] Battiss copied examples of rock art in situ during the 1930s, subsequently used forms derived from rock art in his work and thereby 'paved the way for others to raid African material culture to develop their own styles'. [60] However, it was not only white artists who drew inspiration from the 'primitive'. Nettleton argues that while white artists were using 'primitivist stylistic strategies' to claim belonging in Africa, black artists were using these 'strategies to make a statement about their identity in the late 1950s and through the 1960s'[61] and this could be interpreted as either compliance or defiance on the part of the artists.[62]

Graphic design as resistance design

In contrast to the development of the 'white press', publications aimed at and produced by Africans appeared from the early nineteenth century, initially under the control of missionaries, and from the 1880s independently.[63] From the early 1900s publications were produced for the Indian and 'Coloured' communities, and along with African publications constituted South Africa's 'pioneer black protest press'.[64] By 1930 nineteen African newspapers were registered with the government, but by 1954 only seven were still active, and these were all owned and controlled by whites.[65]

The white owned *Drum* magazine first appeared in March 1951 and became widely read in South Africa and other African countries.[66] The magazine considered itself to be the 'true African voice' and faced attempts at censorship and came into conflict with the NP government from the mid-1950s until the 1980s when owner Jim Bailey sold it to the 'bastion of the Afrikaner press', Nasionale Pers.[67] *Drum* magazine became legendary[68] and celebrated for its photographs of 'sharp-suited gangsters', fabulously dressed 'chorus girls', jazz musicians and boxers which represented Africans as urban, modern and glamorous during a time when 'authorities refused to acknowledge people of colour as actors in South Africa's discourse of urbanisation.'[69] Photographs by Jurgen Schadeberg, such as the June 1957 cover of singer Miriam Makeba in a form fitting dress behind a microphone, became iconic. However, the magazine has also been criticised as an 'overtly sexist publication that depicted women as sex objects and mindless consumers of cheap household goods'[70] and of 'blandly reproduce[ing] European and American constructions of gender'.[71]

The apartheid government was voted into power in 1948, and its increasingly repressive measures provoked a variety of resistance tactics, ranging from passive resistance to armed struggle, from the disenfranchised majority population. Resistance against apartheid was spearheaded by the ANC, which was founded in 1912, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which split off from the ANC in 1959,

and the South African Communist Party (SACP), which was founded in 1921 under the name the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). Resistance to apartheid was brutally suppressed, political organisations were banned and leaders and activists detained, incarcerated and assassinated. The CPSA was banned in 1950, and the ANC and the PAC in 1960 following the Sharpeville massacre. In 1961 the ANC started its armed struggle through its military wing *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) against the white minority government.

The struggle against apartheid continued, escalated in the mid-1970s and reached its peak by the 1980s. Switzer identifies three phases in the development of South Africa's resistance press.[72] Following the demise of most African nationalist newspapers, the first phase consisted of socialist newspapers printed between the 1940s and the early 1960s.[73] During the 1970s the Black Consciousness movement and its press offered a counterhegemonic voice, and the last phase was 'mediated primarily through the UDF and its affiliate organizations'.[74]

The poster headlined 'Biko and Solidarity' (figure 6[75]) was produced for the funeral of the Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko who died in police detention in 1977. The portrait created by Ben Dikobe Martins shows Biko breaking the chains shackled to his raised clenched fists.[76] Images of breaking chains and raised clenched fists appear repeatedly in South African resistance graphics throughout the twentieth century and are derived from the iconography of international socialism and revolutionary movements.[77] One such an example is seen in figure 7[78], a linocut cartoon printed in the CPSA newspaper *Umsebenzi* (*The Worker*) in 1933 to protest against the laws which required African males to carry passes.[79] [INSERT FIGURES 6 & 7 HERE]

Such imagery was taken up by a range of anti-apartheid organisations including the United Democratic Front (UDF) which was formed in 1983 as a front for a number of affiliates to provide an 'organizational framework and strategic vision that sustained public dissent'.[80] The poster (figure 8[81]) commemorating the first anniversary of the UDF includes a raised clenched fist and also those other staples of revolutionary visual rhetoric: the marching crowd, flags, a factory in the background and the colour red. The UDF used resistance media and the commercial press to spread their message.[82] [INSERT FIGURE 8 HERE]

Most organisations, however, did not have access to the commercial press and media was typically created collectively by 'cultural workers,' often drew on the iconography of international socialism and were mostly produced on very limited budgets through silk-screen printing.[83] Printed media played an important role in the anti-apartheid struggle of the 1980s and posters, pamphlets, newsletters, banners, t-shirts, and buttons, were produced by a number of organisations and addressed a diverse range of issues.[84] Despite the differences between these groups their posters shared stylistic similarities with regard to imagery which drew 'on a relatively small range of political symbols' and production through silk-screening which led to a 'hand-made or unskilled appearance'.[85]

Unlike resistance media, the mainstream white press was well funded, primarily focused on maintaining the status quo and catering for Afrikaans and English readers. These publications generally 'imitate[d] counterparts in Western metropoles in constructing middle-class versions of modernity for their readers'.[86] Afrikaans and English also predominated in advertising as advertisers viewed the market as 'primarily a white one'.[87] Sutherland notes that during the 1980s as apartheid

began falling apart a large paradigm shift was required of the design establishment with regard to graphic design education and professional practice. [88]

Graphic design in South Africa since the 1990s

In 1990 Nelson Mandela was released after 27 years in prison and the ANC, PAC and the SACP were unbanned. Four years later the country held its first free and fair democratic election and the 'new' South Africa was born with President Nelson Mandela as its leader. Sauthoff[89] notes the robust debates following the elections on graphic design's role to shape national identity, create a South African visual language and give expression to the new political dispensation.

Hence, the years following the first democratic election saw political change clearly reflected in the design of new South African national symbols, including the flag and coat of arms, and the redesign of identities for state and private institutions.[90] These identities were typified by 'an overt incorporation of the natural environment, wildlife, prominent cultural landmarks, traditional ethnic symbols and craft motifs, as well as naive techniques and marks considered to be characteristic of Africa'.[91] The new coat of arms of South Africa, for example, includes elephant tusks, rock art figures, traditional weapons, the national flower and bird and triangles, and the mining houses Anglogold and Goldfields both incorporate an image of a lion into their logos.

Sauthoff identifies a process of hybridisation – in which '[c]ulturally specific elements of iconography, typography, symbolism, and style are mixed, melded, and transformed by means of quotation, mimicry, and appropriation' – as central to attempts to articulate a localised visual language. [92] This approach was exemplified by *i-jusi*[93] – an experimental graphic design magazine which was first published in 1995 in Durban by Orange Juice Design[94] – as is seen in the cover of the second number (figure 9[95]) which features the graphic decoration found on traditional Zulu earplugs, above which the magazine proclaims its mission: 'towards a new visual language'. [INSERT FIGURE 9 HERE]

In addition to *i-jusi*, the move to create a new, distinctly multi-racial South African visual language was promoted by newly established design organisations, magazines and conferences, including the Design Indaba, which was first held in 1995. Proponents of this movement, such as Garth Walker, participated at the Design Indaba and won numerous awards and accolades locally and abroad, thereby bringing this approach into the mainstream. By 2008 a canon of South African designers, consisting predominantly of white males, including Richard Hart, Peet Pienaar and Garth Walker, had been established.[96] A South African style – typified by vernacular references, naïve illustration and hand-drawn typography – had also been widely disseminated and copied as demonstrated in the poster 'GOGO HAS SEX WITH TOKOLOSH' (figure 10[97]), which is discussed later in this article. In 2014 South Africa celebrated twenty years of democracy, making it fitting to ask: how do graphic design education, practice and products measure up with regard to the paradigm shift and transformation called for ten years before by Sauthoff and Sutherland?[98] [INSERT FIGURE 10 HERE]

In 2004 Sutherland discussed the challenges which post-apartheid design education had been facing; including limited access for students due to educational and economic reasons; the need for relevant and accessible education; the challenges faced by educational institutions in dealing with multiple cultures, languages and religions; the shortage of suitable role models, and the need for industry to contribute to design education. [99] Although some progress has been made over the last decade, on the whole these challenges remain. The profiles of students enrolled in and the staff

teaching on graphic design programmes in South African higher education do not yet reflect the demographics of the country. Of the country's eleven official languages, English is predominately used as the language of instruction, with Afrikaans or bilingual Afrikaans and English courses offered at very few institutions. The 'participation of students from disadvantaged backgrounds' in art and design programmes are below acceptable levels, success rates remain low and teaching and learning programmes continue untransformed despite diversity in the student body.[100] Attempts at drawing on and integrating 'indigenous knowledge' into graphic design programmes remain isolated experiments.[101]

Given the slow rate of transformation in design education it is not surprising that change in the media industry has been very lethargic. Until very recently, the media industry was dominated by a few big, predominantly white-owned companies, who own a large number of newspapers and magazines, most of the printing companies and control distribution networks.[102] This changed only with the acquisition of Independent News and Media South Africa (INMSA), one of the 'big four', by Sekunjalo Independent Media Consortium in August 2013. The vision for Sekunjalo Independent Media is that of a 'pan-African media company, giving voice to the African story'.[103]

Some of the many issues which still require attention in the media include eradicating discrimination and stereotypes, encouraging gender equality and addressing challenges relating to language and culture.[104] To assess how South African graphic design has responded to these challenges an analysis of selected categories of the 2013 Loerie Awards follows.

The South African 2013 Loerie Awards
The annual South African Loerie Awards considers itself to be 'the most prestigious award in our region' and aims at becoming 'the single measure of excellence in brand communication throughout our region'. [105] The award scheme started in 1978, and since that date an archive of winners has been kept which from 2005 included visual material.[106] The awards are judged by 'a panel of South African and international industry leaders' by way of the following five criteria: 'an innovative concept, bringing new and fresh thinking; excellent execution; relevance to the brand; relevance to the target audience; and relevance to the chosen medium'.[107]

Hefty entrance fees and a costly awards evening held in Cape Town, which requires flights and accommodation for most finalists and attendees, ensure that participation is generally skewed to the larger, often multinational, agencies, who participate fervently, as awards translate into rankings which are 'internationally recognised' and endorsed by numerous local bodies.

The Loeries does not aim to be representative of all South African graphic design, but to represent only that work which it deems as 'excellent'. An award scheme such as the Pendoring[108] is arguably more representative, as it emphasises the advancement of languages other than English, primarily Afrikaans, in advertising,[109] whereas English predominates in the Loeries. However, unlike the Loeries the Pendoring is not endorsed by the host of industry bodies, and therefore winning a Pendoring is not considered as prestigious and does not carry as much weight in the industry as winning a Loerie. Students and creative practitioners therefore aspire to emulate the work awarded in the Loeries, viewing it as the norm against which creative excellence is measured in South Africa.

In claiming this position of power and setting itself up as the authority with regard to determining standards of excellence in South Africa and the region the Loerie awards opens itself up to critical

scrutiny. However, beyond some industry squabbling, the recent awards have not received serious critical attention. Given the history of graphic design in South Africa, coupled with its transformation requirements, it is therefore timely to subject the Loeries to critical scrutiny.

The Loeries includes 'all areas of brand communication',[110] however the analysis is restricted to those categories which are the most closely related to graphic design and advertising for print, namely the communication design, outdoor and collateral media, and print communication categories. The following subcategories were excluded from the communication design category: architecture, interior design and temporary structures and writing. The writing subcategory was also excluded from the print communication category, resulting in a final sample of 64 winners. In the categories analysed the top three agencies by number of awards won were all multinationals. The brands and products represented by the award-winning work include large multinational and local businesses with a strong focus on the public service/fundraising/charity, alcoholic beverages, automotive and entertainment/sports/leisure sectors. The analysis of the 64 winners proceeded by noting the judges, producers, subjects, language and representational strategies of the winning work. This allowed for the identification of a number of themes and examples illustrating emerging themes were identified for a closer analysis and discussion. The themes identified as reiterating neo-colonial tropes of representation across the sample are the disavowal of the majority of South African people, Africans as victims, neo-Victorian motifs, heroic adventurers in the colonial landscape and the stereotype of the African dictator. There are very few examples in the sample which do not express one or more of the identified themes in some way or another, although it is possible that a different picture might emerge if other categories, such as TV; film and video or effective creativity were also considered.

The disavowal of the majority of South African people Veracini claims that the 'settler archive of the European imagination' tends to work 'by way of disavowal' or the denial of the existence of 'indigenous presence'. [111] The operation of disavowal is a notable aspect of the Loerie Awards, in which white males numerically dominate in the production of winning work, in the top positions in the winning teams, on the judging panels, and as the subjects in the photographs and illustrations in the awarded work itself. Black people, particularly female Africans, are the least represented in all of these areas. This is particularly curious given South Africa's demographics,[112] but starts to make sense if the discourse constructed by the Loerie awards is viewed as a form of settler colonial narrative.

Naming is used to show, and it produces entitlement[113] and the names of characters used in the winning work, for example in print advertisements, are most often English; such as Abigail, Matthew, Louisa, John, Katie, Phil, Debbie, and Gayle. As with naming, the subjects selected for representation disavow the local, as seen in a set of five newspaper advertisements for the *Cape Times* titled 'Selfies' which each shows a historical photograph manipulated to look as if a person in the photograph has taken the 'selfie'. The images selected can be viewed as indicative of the interests of the readers of the Cape Times and it is telling that the only image of South Africans is of the religious leaders Reverend Beyers Naudé and Bishop Desmond Tutu. The remainder chooses to use images of the British royal wedding of Kate and William, the American presidential couple Jackie and John F. Kennedy, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the documentary photograph of a woman and sailor kissing in 1945.

Disavowal is further apparent in the language preferences of the award. Despite the fact that South Africa has eleven official languages, the language used in the awarded work is, with very few exceptions, what Ashcroft et al call RS-English (Received Standard English), a form of English 'which asserts English of south-east England as a universal norm' against which all 'variants' are marginalised.[114]

The marginalisation of deviations from RS-English is demonstrated in a series of three newspaper advertisements titled 'Weird accents' advertising student flights to Sidney, Dublin and Houston (figure 11[115]). In each we see the back of a white male figure posing a question to his 'Other' placed across from him: an American cab driver ('what's the club on 7th like?'), an Irish barman ('what's on tap') and an Australian woman ('want to get out of here?'). The response to the question is presented in oversized typography in what seems gibberish until read aloud to reveal the 'weird accent'. The gibberish in the Dublin advertisement includes words such as Black, Jew, Irish and Red, all of which are identities marginalised and othered under British colonialism. As argued above, the Loeries mostly disavows Africans; however, in the few instances when Africans do appear, stereotypical roles are the preferred form of representation, such as the stereotype of Africans as helpless, dependent victims. [INSERT FIGURE 11 HERE]

Africans as victims

Bush notes that 'despite challenges to negative representations of Africa, paternalistic representations of Africans as victims … have proved to be highly durable',[116] and this is true of the work celebrated by the Loerie Awards. Victimhood is one of the few positions available when Africans are represented, as exemplified by the Hope Soap and Tokolosh campaigns. The multiple award-winning project Hope Soap aims to make 'hand washing a routine for underprivileged kids'. To this end a gender-specific toy – 'such as action figures and cars for the boys, butterflies and Hello Kitty toys for the girls' – is embedded in a translucent soap. In explaining the rationale for the project the agency claims that death by preventable disease is linked to the disadvantaged in South Africa, lack of hygiene and more specifically to 'Blikkiesdorp, an informal settlement in the Western Cape'. Hope in this situation is pinned on getting children to use soap repeatedly.[117]

Here soap is imbued with what McClintock calls 'magical, fetish powers'.[118] McClintock argues persuasively that during Victorian times soap came to represent class control ('cleansing the great unwashed') and the imperial civilising mission ('washing and clothing the savage').[119] Hope Soap similarly acquires such magical powers in the context of the children of Blikkiesdorp by implying that hygiene rituals will banish not only disease, but also poverty and all other related social ills from their lives.

An attempt at addressing the cause of disease recurs in a poster for cancer, which won a silver award in the Posters and Billboards category, which draws on a sensationalist tabloid headline by scandalously declaring: 'GOGO HAS SEX WITH TOKOLOSH' (figure 10). The mortified gogo (grandmother) is pictured below the headline with her face buried in her hands in shame. Lettering fitted to the shape of her dress reads: 'We laugh it off but to rural women the tokolosh is the reason why they suffer from cancer so laughter is the best cure after all the truth will stop the stigma'. Peeking from under her dress is the red eyed, sharp toothed tokolosh, an African folktale character who is short, hairy and 'known for their sexual appetites and ability to abduct human children'.[120]

The audience, constructed as 'we' and represented by a pattern of staring eyes and laughing mouths in the background, is positioned as educated observers of the 'Other', rural African women who are stereotyped as being superstitious, uneducated, and therefore laughable and in need of the support of the rational bearers of the 'truth' about cancer. This poster reflects the colonial practice of using representations of the colonised 'Other' to construct the identities of the colonisers as superior[121] and of defining the ritual beliefs of other cultures as 'irrational', thereby discrediting such belief systems.[122] As if to underscore the credulity of the woman, the poster is executed in a naïve woodblock printing style with handmade typography which appears to be mimicking Victorian advertising posters. The use of Victorian style recurs, and in this the Loeries follows the current fashion for all things Victorian, which is known as neo-Victorianism. Heilmann and Llewellyn describe neo-Victorianism as a 'literary and cultural phenomenon' which has seen growth since the 1990s, and categorise texts which are 'self-consciously engaged with the act of (re)interpretation, (re)discovery and (re)vision concerning the Victorians' as Neo-Victorian.[123]

Neo-Victorianism

Neo-Victorianism finds expression in the Loeries through the borrowing of genres, themes and motifs from the Victorian era. A promotional mail created for Marmite contains an illustrated story book titled *13 Dark Tales* which draws on Victorian Gothic horror writing. The 'Seeds of Truth' campaign for Truth Coffee Shop recalls Victorian botanical illustration and the practice of collecting botanical specimens. In this campaign the cardboard protector which surrounds the coffee cup is filled with basil, rocket, or thyme seeds, (none of which are indigenous to South Africa) and following use, the protector can be crumpled, placed in the biodegradable coffee cup and planted.[124] The Victorian references are not coincidental, as the interior of the Truth Coffee Shop in Cape Town references Steampunk, a 'Victorian futuristic fantasy style and literary philosophy'.[125]

The most outstanding example of neo-Victorianism is 'The Cavaliers guide to good Loeries etiquette', which was created as a form of self-promotion by an advertising agency and distributed to over 3000 Loerie Awards delegates. The guide is presented as a discreetly sized A6, hard-cover book covered with brown faux leather which is richly decorated with gold-foil border patterns, Loerie logo and title set in old English font with an initial cap recalling illuminated manuscripts. The cover further declares 'How to have a jolly good time without tarnishing one's reputation'. The 64-page book proceeds to cover all aspects of etiquette surrounding the awards weekend, including categories such as 'travel', 'accommodation', 'networking', 'awards' and 'party' in a pompous, didactic voice supported by an eclectic mix of fonts, Victorian-esque wood engravings and patterns and photographic images styled to recall stills from early films.

Lees-Maffei notes that etiquette guides advise on what is 'done' and 'not done', are 'prepared by those in possession of a particular form of knowledge for those who consider themselves to be in need of it' and therefore presuppose an aspirational reader.[126] So although the guide appears to convey its rules somewhat tongue-in-cheek, it may be assumed that the guide serves to initiate the inexperienced and remind the regular Loerie Award attendees of the importance of adhering to the unwritten rules of the event.

From the outset a clear distinction is made between 'gentlemen' and 'ladies' (and the sexist values associated with such a division) – a distinction that is reinforced throughout the narrative. Women are underrepresented and placed in demeaning roles, and labels such as strumpet, tomboy, chick

and new girl are reserved for the 'ladies', while mate, hero, lady killer, the phantom and Mr Excitable are pinned to the 'gentlemen'. An attempt at racial inclusivity is made through staged 'vintage' photographs and through collage techniques which insert black people into the Victorian style wood engravings. The 'hierarchy of kissarsery' showing the various roles in agencies, naturally reserve the top of the pyramid for the white male. In appropriating Victorian methods of classification and hierarchy, the guide reflects the perpetuation, rather than a parody, of outmoded Victorian race and gender values.

Binary gender distinctions as articulated in the etiquette guide run throughout the discourse constructed by the Loeries. Not only are men and women relegated to separate spheres and roles, but the representation of women is predominantly stereotypical, with a preference for light-skinned, young, attractive women with long hair who are scantily dressed. Women are positioned as sexualised objects to be looked at by men as exemplified in print advertisements for *Playboy South Africa* and *Shapes* for women women's gyms. The *Playboy* campaign is titled 'Gutter', as the magazine 'bravely sabotaged their own publication by running three centrefolds with the "naughty bits" hidden in the gutter', captioned with 'This wouldn't happen online'.[127] The three women's gym advertisements declare 'We know how it feels' and presents an image of a woman exercising, respectively in a construction site, bar, and strip club, surrounded by an audience of leering men (figure 12[128]). It is ironic that in advertising a gym for women only, the construction site, bar, and strip club are marked as spaces reserved only for men. This demarcation of certain spaces as exclusively for males is a strategy which recurs in the Loerie Awards. [INSERT FIGURE 12 HERE]

Heroic adventurers in the colonial landscape
A campaign for the Namibian-brewed Windhoek Beer was conceived around the idea of the 'Pure Beer Society', which is 'home to those made of the right stuff' and 'tells stories of inspirational men with the first ambassador being mountaineer Sibusiso Vilane'.[129] To introduce the campaign a pack containing a newspaper, handcrafted items, Vilane's biography and beer was 'delivered to bloggers and online influencers'.[130]

This campaign is firmly embedded in what McClintock refers to as 'neocolonial nostalgia'. [131] Every aspect of the pack is designed to evoke colonial style adventure, including the pack itself made from khaki fabric and held together by leather straps and buckles and the society's 'badge'. As part of the campaign, Pure Beer Societies were created in existing bars and taverns and furnished with bespoke items created by local artisans[132] from materials such as glass, brass, copper, leather, press studs, wrought iron and wood. The link between British imperialism, exclusive men's only clubs and the Pure Beer Society is obvious, and is further underscored by the appointment of Vilane as the brand's ambassador.

Vilane was the first African to climb Everest, and is described as an adventurer, motivational speaker, author of the book *To the Top from Nowhere*, marathon runner, mountaineer, expedition leader and the Chief Scout of Scouts South Africa.[133] The masculinity embodied by Vilane links to the idea of the imperial hero, an adventurer[134] who conquers mountains 'for the benefit of Empire'.[135] This association is strengthened by Vilane's position as Chief Scout of the South African Scout movement. The establishment of the Boy Scouts in 1908 by Robert Baden-Powell is generally considered as being born from British imperialism.[136] Baden-Powell argued for racial harmony,[137] and scouting was considered 'a valuable weapon in the "moralization" of African boys'.[138] By obeying

the Scout Promise and Law[139] Vilane is 'assimilated' into 'conforming to variously constructed notions of settler racial, cultural and behavioural normativity'.[140]

Bush notes the durability of representations of Africa 'as the last wilderness for European adventurers'[141] and advertisements which feature travel and adventure are prominent among the Loeries. The campaign for the Land Rover Freelander 2 consists of a series of five billboards, titled 'Adventure Starts Here', each containing a landscape photograph over which is superimposed the name of a destination in Southern Africa – Kalahari, Griqualand, Okavango Delta, Sani Pass, Zimbabwe Highlands – and the distance in kilometres from the particular position on the road. To the left of the image a blue rectangle contains the name of the vehicle, the logo and the line 'Go beyond'.

Van Eeden's critique of the Land Rover 'Himba' advertisement, which appeared in 2000, argued that the advertisement 'builds on the colonial notions of adventure, exploration and discovery of the African continent by the western male'. [142] Appearing more than a decade later, the 'Adventure Starts Here' billboards do very much the same. However, unlike the 2000 advertisement, which was criticised for containing a racist and sexist female stereotype, the landscapes in the billboards are devoid of any human presence or development such as roads. Africa is presented as an empty, untouched land ready to be explored, conquered and dominated by man with the aid of superior Western technology.[143] In this the billboards align with the mechanisms identified by Van Eeden by which the colonial project controlled landscape and justified the colonial enterprise: namely the practices of exploration, discovery, naming and mapping and presenting the colonised land as picturesque. [144]

The names of the destinations are overset onto the photographs in pristine white, sans-serif typography which signifies the reassuring order which the modern technology embodied in the Freelander brings to the empty land. Yet, despite the emptiness, the landscapes are not threatening or alienating but are 'domesticated' and made familiar[145] by presenting them according to a photographic tradition described by Ryan as 'the aesthetic conventions of the picturesque'[146] and Casid as the 'Imperial picturesque'. [147] The picturesque refers to a specific way of viewing nature like a picture, which was popularised in the late-eighteenth-century writings of critics such as William Gilpin, who prescribed how nature should be depicted.[148]

Adventure, technology and the mapping of empty landscapes are recurring themes which appear in the Loeries, particularly with regard to advertising luxury vehicles. A series of three posters for the Volkswagen Tiguan each shows a completely empty map apart from a small section labelled with a specific suburb – Morningside and Sandton in Johannesburg, and Claremont in Cape Town – all of which are known for their expensive properties and hence their choice indicates that it is at residents from these areas, or those aspiring to live in these areas, that the advertisements are aimed. The line 'There's more out there. Tiguan' appears in the bottom right in minuscule type, indicating the call for residents of the area to bravely venture out into the great unknown with the help of the Tiguan to 'fill the cartographic blanks'.[149] The maps recall the white spaces on the Mappa Mundi, which for Landau forms part of the 'image-Africa'.[150] The maps in the Tiguan advertisements also recall maps of apartheid South Africa, which omitted the mapping of African townships, thereby 'creating the illusion of a "white man's country"'.[151]

Maps are again employed in the newspaper advertisements for Mercedes-Benz, which are divided horizontally into bands, the top of which shows a Google map with a teardrop indicating that the 'body' is in a car on a motorway, while the map below it show that the 'brain' is in another location entirely, identified respectively as St Andrews, Hawaii and the Great Pyramids of Giza. The maps of the selected 'brain' locations, set in developed urban areas, contrast sharply with the 'body' locations, which lack modern infrastructure. As with the Land Rover billboards and Tiguan print advertisements, claims to adventure and discovery are linked to Western knowledge and technology, and an invitation is extended to conquer the empty areas on the map.

The African dictator

In general, the Loeries steers clear of overt racist stereotypes; however, the African dictator stereotype is a celebrated favourite, as is evident from the 'Last dictator standing' advertisement for a fast food chain which won a Grand Prix at the 2012 awards, and a cellular network's' 'Dictator' campaign which won four Loeries in 2009. In the 2013 awards the dictator reappears in the Constructus Masterclass poster, which recalls a photograph of the late Ugandan president Idi Amin.

The poster consists of a dark background against which a full-length figure is placed centrally and shown in three-quarter view looking to the left. He is dressed in a military uniform, which is excessively decorated with fringing, and pseudo military honours in the form of draped cords in bright colours and metallic details. These details stand out as if being picked out by ultraviolet light and along with some subtle highlights prevent the figure from completely merging with the dark background. The figure holds a cane with a brass tip and grip and his facial features are reduced to the shining whites of his eyes and bright yellow lips which stand out prominently. Superimposed over the figure is the word 'RECOLONIZE' in a yellow outline.

The link to Idi Amin, the exaggerated facial features and the darkness of the poster are all unfortunate conceptual and stylistic choices, as they carry connotations of racist stereotyping. Molefe criticises 'the tired trope of a corrupt dictator from a nebulous, nondescript African state ... because corruption and dictatorial tendencies are not uniquely African', and ascribes the continued popularity of this trope to 'the idea that Africa was better off under its white colonial masters'. [152] These associations are particularly troubling given the aim of the poster, which is to promote the Constructus Masterclass: an advertising agency's initiative to develop black creative entrepreneurs through presentations and workshops which culminate in the award of a grant to one delegate with which to grow an 'entrepreneurial empire' while being mentored by the management team of the agency.[153] While the poster is ostensibly aimed at empowerment, it communicates the opposite by presenting a caricatured dictator whose power is signified by empty symbols pinned to his chest.

Conclusion

This article provided a historical overview of the development of graphic design in South Africa by referring to the development of the press, advertising and graphic design education. This overview showed that although closely interwoven with settler colonialism, graphic design was also used to resist colonialism through the protest press and resistance media. The historical overview indicated that with the end of apartheid South African graphic design education and professional practice were confronted with a number of transformational challenges which required of it to undergo a large paradigm shift.

The assessment of how education and industry have generally responded to these challenges showed that transformation has been slow and incomplete. The analysis of selected Loerie categories indicates that these categories do not demonstrate any substantial engagement with the identified transformational challenges. The awards disavowed the majority of South Africans as judges, producers and subjects of the work, as well as most of South Africa's official languages. Most of the winning work contributes in varying degrees to a discourse which is based on disavowal, which perpetuates race and gender stereotypes and which is informed by tropes embedded in colonial and imperialist discourses. Unfortunately there are very few individual Loerie entries which are exempt from this generalisation thereby confirming Veracini's claim that settler colonialism is resistant to decolonisation.[154]

Figure captions

Figure 1: Johann Christian Ritter, *Almanach*, 1796.

Figure 2: Front page of *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, 15 January 1876.

Figure 3: Front page of *The South African Commercial Advertiser*, 13 March 1833.

Figure 4: Advertisement 'How Lord Roberts spells Bovril', 1900.

Figure 5: Cover of *S.A. Panorama* 1, 1956.

Figure 6: Poster 'Biko and Solidarity', Black People's Convention, 1977.

Figure 7: Edward Roux, linocut cartoon, *Umsebenzi* (*The Worker*) 713, 30 November 1933, p. 1.

Figure 8: Poster 'One Year of United Action', UDF, 1984.

Figure 9: *i-jusi* number 2, Garth Walker, 1995.

Figure 10: Poster 'Tokolosh', OPENCO, 2012.

Figure 11: Print advertisement 'Weird Accents', TBWA\Hunt\Lascaris Johannesburg, 2012.

Figure 12: Print advertisement 'We know how it feels', Volcano, 2012.

Notes

[1] A Loerie is a South African bird.

[2] The Loerie Awards 2013 <http://www.theloerieawards.co.za> accessed 8 March 2014.

[3] The Loerie Awards is the only award endorsed by the Association for Communication and Advertising (ACA), the Brand Council South Africa (BCSA), the Creative Circle (CC), the Commercial Producers Association (CPA), IAB South Africa, the Exhibition Association of Southern Africa (EXSA), the South African Institute of the Interior Design Professions (IID), and the Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa (PRISA).

[4] B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths & H. Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, Routledge, London, 2002, pp. 193-4.

[5] Ibid., pp. 194-5.

[6] S. Hall, 'The Work of Representation', in Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices, S. Hall (ed), Sage, London, 2003, p 15.

[7] L. Veracini, *Settler Colonialism; A Theoretical Overview*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010, p. 12.

[8] Ibid., p. 96.

[9] Ibid., p. 96.

[10] The perpetuation of the 'colonial legacy' in South African popular culture has been extensively critiqued by Jeanne van Eeden in J. van Eeden (a), 'Inscribing exoticism at the Lost City', *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Rese*arch, vol. 27, no. 2, 2001; J. van Eeden (b), 'The Colonial Gaze: Imperialism, Myths, and South African Popular Culture', *Design Issues*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2004; J. Van Eeden (c), 'Land Rover and colonial-style adventure; The "Himba" advertisement', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2004; J. Van Eeden (d), 'Surveying the "empty land" in selected South African landscape postcards', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, vol. 13, no. 6, 2011.

[11] J. M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion (1880-1960)*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984; J. M. MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2006.

[12] B. Bush*, Imperialism and Postcolonialism*, Pearson Longman, New York, 2006, pp. 175-86.

[13] A. McClintock, *Imperial Leather; Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*, Routledge, London, 1995.

[14] P. S. Landau, 'Introduction: An Amazing Distance: Pictures and People in Africa', in *Images & Empires; Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, P. S. Landau & D.D. Kaspin (eds), University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002, pp. 2-5.

[15] B. Bush, op. cit., p. 188.

[16] J. Farley, *Southern Africa*, Routledge: Abingdon, Oxon, 2008, p. 1.

[17] I. Hofmeyr, *"We spend our years as a tale that is told" Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1993, p. 50.

[18] Ibid., p. 51.

[19] Quoted in B. Ashcroft et al., op. cit., p. 78.

[20] W. De Kock, *A Manner of Speaking; the Origins of the Press in South Africa*. Saayman & Weber, Cape Town, 1982, p. 6.

[21]Johann Christian Ritter, Almanach, 1796 <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ritter-almanach.png> accessed 22 November 2014.

[22] S. De Kock, 'From Space-Broking to CAD; a Brief History of South African Advertising', in *A Pictorial History of Advertising in South Africa*, D. Nelson (ed), Don Nelson, Cape Town, 1990, pp. 8-21, p. 8.

[23] Terminology referring to race within the context of South Africa requires some explanation and in this I follow J. Seekings & N. Nattrass, *Class, Race and Inequality in South Africa*, Scottsville, KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2005, ix. The authors use the Apartheid state's classifications in which 'African' refers to people classified as 'native', 'Bantu' or 'black', 'white' to people classified initially as European and later as white, 'Indian' to people who came or where brought from the Indian subcontinent and 'Coloured' which refers to people who predominantly reside in the Western Cape and are the descendants of a variety of peoples. 'Black' refers collectively to African, Coloured and Indian people.

[24] L. Switzer, 'Introduction: South Africa's Alternative Press in perspective', in *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 1-54, p. 2.

[25] W. De Kock, op. cit., p. 8.

[26] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[27] Ibid., pp. 86, 89

[28] Ibid., pp. 87, 90

[29] Front page of *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, 15 January 1876, image provided by the National Afrikaans Literary Museum's (NALN) assistant director Mr. O. Liebenberg, the original is housed in the National Library of South Africa.

[30] Front page of *The South African Commercial Advertiser*, 13 March 1833 <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:South_African_Commercial_Advertiser05.jpg> accessed 22 November 2014.

[31] B. Ashcroft et al, op. cit., p. 36.

[32] Ibid., p. 36.

[33] S. Viljoen, '"Imagined Community": 1950s kiekies of the volk', *Image & Text*, no. 12, 2006, p. 18.

[34] W. De Kock, op. cit., p. 119.

[35] S. De Kock, op. cit., p. 8.

[36] I. Sutherland, 'Paradigm Shift: the Challenge to Graphic Design Education and Professional Practice in Post-apartheid South Africa', *Design Issues*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2004, p. 53.

[37] Ibid.

[38] W. De Kock, op. cit., p.14.

[39] I. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 53.

[40] D. Nelson (ed), *A Pictorial History of Advertising in South Africa*, Don Nelson, Cape Town, 1990.

[41] Advertisement 'How Lord Roberts spells Bovril', 1900, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, John Johnson Collection: Patent Medicines 1 (60a).

[42] I. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 53.

[43] B. Bush, op. cit., pp. 149-50.

[44] E. Rankin, 'Creating Communities; Art Centres and Workshops and their influence on the South African art scene', in *Visual Century; South African Art in Context*, vol. 2, L. van Robbroeck (ed), Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2011, p. 93.

[45] I. Sutherland, op. cit., pp. 51-60.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., p. 53.

[48] M. Sauthoff, 'Walking the Tightrope: Comments on Graphic Design in South Africa', *Design Issues*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2004, pp. 34-50.

[49] L. Groenewald, '"Cloudless skies" versus "vitamins of the mind": An argumentative interrogation of the visual rhetoric of *South African Panorama* and *Lantern* cover designs (1949-1961)', *Image & Text*, no. 20, 2012, pp. 56-7, p. 81.

[50] *Panorama* was an Apartheid state funded magazine read mainly by a white audience consisting of English and Afrikaans speakers and was terminated in 1992. Ibid., pp. 57-9.

[51] L. Veracini, op. cit., p. 82.

[52] J. M. Coetzee, *White Writing, on the Culture of Letters in South Africa*, Radix, Sandton, 1988, pp. 7-8.

[53] Cover of *S.A. Panorama* 1, 1956, University of Johannesburg Auckland Park Kingsway Library. I was made of aware of this image in L. Groenewald op. cit., p. 51.

[54] L. Groenewald, op. cit., p. 50.

[55] E. Berman, *Art and Artists of South Africa*, Balkema, Cape Town, 1974, p. 223.

[56] J. M. Coetzee, op. cit., p. 8.

[57] J. Van Eeden (d), op. cit.; J. Van Eeden (e), 'Picturing the road: Automobility in selected South African postcards', *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2012; J. Van Eeden (f), 'South African Railways Postcard Calendars, 1961 to 1984', *South African Historical Journal*, vol. 66, no. 1, 2014.

[58] Ashcroft et al., op. cit., p. 141.

[59] W. Gers, '"Re-presentations" of Southern San Rock Art on Drostdy Ware Pottery from the 1950's', *Image & Text*, no. 18, 2011, p. 13.

[60] A. Nettleton, 'Primitivism in South African Art', in *Visual Century; South African Art in Context*, vol. 2, L. van Robbroeck (ed), Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2011, pp. 145, 147.

[61] Ibid, p. 157.

[62] Ibid, p. 159.

[63] L. Switzer, op. cit., p. 1.

[64] Ibid., p. 1.

[65] Ibid., p. 2.

[66] L. Clowes, 'Masculinity, Matrimony and Generation: Reconfiguring Patriarchy in Drum 1951–1983', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2008, p. 180.

[67] Ibid., p. 181.

[68] A. Sampson, *Drum: The Making of a Magazine*, Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 2005, p. 248.

[69] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music, and Politics in South Africa*, Continuum, New York, 2004, p. 64.

[70] R. N. Choonoo, 'The Sophiatown Generation: Black Literary Journalism during the 1950s', in *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance*, 1880s-1960s, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, p. 258.

[71] D. Driver, 'Drum Magazine (1951-9) and the Spatial Configurations of Gender', in *Text, Theory, Space; Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia*, Routledge, London, 1996, p. 233.

[72] L. Switzer, op. cit., p. 39.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., pp. 42-3.

[75] Poster 'Biko and Solidarity', Black People's Convention, 1977, South African History Archive (SAHA) poster collection AL2446, poster number 3275.

[76] J. Seidman, *Red on Black, the Story of the South African Poster Movement*, STE, Johannesburg, 2007, pp. 58-9.

[77] D. Pretorius, 'Visually Constructing Socialist Identity in 20th Century South Africa: A Comparison of Communist Party of South Africa Cartoons from the 1930s and Congress of South Africa Trade Union Posters from the 1980s', in *Imaging Ourselves: Visual Identities in Representation*, University of Johannesburg Research Centre, Johannesburg, 2009.

[78] Edward Roux, linocut cartoon, *Umsebenzi* (*The Worker*) 713, 30 November 1933, p. 1.

[79] D. Pretorius, op. cit., p. 100.

[80] J. Seekings, 'The Media of the United Democratic Front, 1983-1991', in *South Africa's Resistance Press; Alternative Voices in the Last Generation under Apartheid*, L. Switzer & M. Adhikari (eds), Ohio University Centre for International Studies, Ohio, 2000, pp. 223-59.

[81] Poster 'One Year of United Action', UDF, 1984, South African History Archive (SAHA) poster collection AL2446, poster number 2529.

[82] L. Switzer, op. cit., p. 43

[83] J. Seidman, 'Finding Community Voice; The Visual Arts of the South African Cultural Workers Movement', in *Visual Century; South African Art in Context*, vol. 3, M. Pissarra (ed), Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2011.

[84] This role has been documented and discussed by a number of authors including The Posterbook Collective, *Images of Defiance; South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s,* STE Publishers, Johannesburg, 1991; J. Berndt, *From Weapon to ornament; the CAP Media Project Posters (1982-1994)*, The Arts and Media Access Centre, Cape Town, 2007; J. Seidman, *Red on Black, the Story of the South African Poster Movement*, STE, Johannesburg, 2007; J. Seidman, 'Finding Community Voice; The Visual Arts of the South African Cultural Workers Movement', in *Visual Century; South African Art in Context*, vol. 3, M. Pissarra (ed), Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2011.

[85] The Posterbook Collective, op. cit., p. 8.

[86] L. Switzer, op. cit., p. 2.

[87] I. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 52.

[88] Ibid., p. 53.

[89] M. Sauthoff, op. cit., pp. 35-6.

[90] Ibid., p. 36.

[91] Ibid., pp. 36-7.

[92] Ibid., p. 37.

[93] *I-jusi* is the Zulu word for 'juice'. All the issues of *I-jusi* can be accessed online at www.ijusi.com.

[94] M. Sauthoff, op. cit., p. 37.

[95] *i-jusi* issue 2, Garth Walker, 1995 <http://www.ijusi.com/magazines/> accessed 22 November 2014.

[96] As presented in M. MacGarry, *Graphic Design; A Primer in South African Graphic Design*, David Krut, Johannesburg, 2008.

[97] Poster 'Tokolosh', OPENCO.

[98] M. Sauthoff & I. Sutherland, 'Introduction', *Design Issues*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2004, pp. 1-3.

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[110] The Loerie Awards has thirteen categories, some of which have subcategories, which are as follows: Africa and the Middle East, communication design, digital and interactive, events and PR, media innovation, outdoor and collateral, print communication, radio communication, TV; film and video, integrated campaign, Ubuntu award, effective creativity and student awards.

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