THE REPRESENTATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN MAINSTREAM ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS OF PAKISTAN: AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL CARTOONS (1991-2013)

AYESHA ASHFAQ

UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA
2014

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN MAINSTREAM ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS OF PAKISTAN: AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL CARTOONS (1991-2013)

by

AYESHA ASHFAQ

Thesis submitted in fulfillment of requirements
for degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

August 2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thank to Allah Almighty, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful Whose blessings are uncountable.

My foremost regards are due to my respected supervisor, Professor. Dr. Adnan Bin Hussein whose guidance, supervision and special interests benefited me immensely. His appreciation and valued direction inspired the desire to learn and explore new fronts. He always pulled me out of disappointing moments and helped me to see the light at the end of the tunnel. He never let me bob down in complicated situations. I always felt blessed to work under his supervision. He will always remain a source of motivation and inspiration for me.

It has been a pleasure and honor for me to be a part of School of Communication, Universiti Sains Malaysia as a PhD candidate. I pay my cordial thanks to my honorable Dean, all respected lecturers, worthy staff member and sincere and courteous postgraduate fellows.

I am also grateful to University of the Punjab, Lahore for the PhD Overseas Faculty Development scholarship that enabled me to pursue my PhD studies in the prestigious university of Malaysia. I pay my cordial thanks to my all respected colleagues especially Dr. Noshina Saleem, Dr Bushra Rehman and Dr. Abida Eijaz whose moral support always pushed me up.

I am also very thankful to the well renowned political cartoonists of Pakistan Maxim, Shahtoon, Feica, Khalid Hussein and Javed Iqbal whose unconditional support and cooperation helped me to achieve optimum from my research.

My heartfelt thanks are also to my all close friends especially Mrs. Ume-Ammara, Ms. Hina Fatima and Mr. Fahad Anis who have always been there with their unconditional support, love, care and attention. I will always remember their efforts to console me with great patience and courtesy.

Finally, I am deeply thankful to my parents Mr. Ashfaq Ahmed and Mrs Kauser Ashfaq, my sister Dr. Fahmina Ashfaq and my brother Mr. Ahsan Ashfaq who always encouraged and taught me that there is no limit to the goals that you want to attain and the success that you want to achieve with hardworking, determination and perseverance. I dedicate my dissertation to my family because their unconditional love, kindness, care and trust always strengthened me to make my dreams true. I express my deepest gratitude for all that they have done for me.

Ayesha Ashfaq

August 2014

TABLE OF CONTENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT		ii
TABLE OF CONTENT		iv
LIST OF TABLES		ix
LIST OF FIGURES		xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS		xii
ABSTRAK		xiv
ABSTRACT		xvi
CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION		**01**
1.1	Background of the Study	01
1.2	Political Cartoons	06
1.3	Statement of Problem	08
1.4	Research Objectives	13
1.5	Research Questions	14
1.6	Significance of the Study	14
1.7	Research Objectives, Research Questions and their Alignment with Data Analysis	17
CHAPTER 2-LITERATURE REVIEW		**18**
2.1	Political Cartoons	18
2.2	Defining Political Cartoons	23
2.3	Political Cartoons as an Influential Medium of Political Messages	26
2.4	Political Cartoons, Presidential Campaigns and Candidates' Characteristics	29
2.5	Political Cartoons, Wars Coverage and Propaganda	33
2.6	Ethical Parameters of Political Cartooning	40

2.7 The Image of the United States and Political Cartooning 44

2.8 Conclusion 53

CHAPTER 3-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 55

3.1 Semiotic Theory 55

3.2 Semiotics and Political Cartooning 61

3.3 Mechanisms in Political Cartooning 62

3.3.1 Influencing Factors in Political Cartooning 63

3.3.2 Sign and Symbols- Significant Components of Political Cartoons 67

3.3.3 Metaphors—A Symbolic Device in Political Cartoons 73

3.3.4 Cartoon Communication Model 78

3.4 Theoretical Framework for the Study 81

CHAPTER 4- PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS-A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW 84

4.1 First Democratic Political Regime in Pakistan (1947-1956) and the Beginning of Pakistan-US Love Affair 88

4.2 First Military Coup (1958- 1971) and Love –Hate Syndrome of the US towards Pakistan 92

4.3 India-Pakistan War of 1965 and the US Detachment 93

4.4 Second Democratic Era in Pakistan (1971-1977): India-Pakistan War of 1971, Bangladesh Crisis and the US Aloofness 94

4.5 Second Military Coup in Pakistan (1977-1988), Jimmy Carter's Administration and the US Policies 96

4.6 The Cold War, the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and 'Interest Specific' Pakistan-US Relations 100

4.7 Ronald Reagan's Presidency (1980-1988) and Pakistan as a Frontline State 103

4.8 The Post Cold War Period, the Political Regime of George H. W 108

Bush (1989-1993) and Pakistan-US Blowing Hot and Cold Relations

4.9 President Bill Clinton's Regime and Flip-flop Pakistan-US Relations 110

4.10 Forth Military Coup of General Pervez Musharraf in Pakistan and the Ambivalent Attitude of the US Administration 117

4.11 Post 9/11, the War against Terrorism and Bush–Musharraf Alliance 118

4.12 Barack Obama's Administration and Inconsistent Pakistan-US Relations 121

4.13 Conclusion 125

CHAPTER 5- THE ART OF POLITICAL CARTOONING IN PAKISTAN: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW **126**

5.1 Political cartooning in the 'Night of Regimentation': Back to Back Military Rules of General Ayub Khan and General Yahya Khan 129

5.2 Back to Civilian Rule and Status of Political Cartooning in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Doctrine 132

5.3 Political Cartooning in Dark Tunnel: Military Rule of General Zia-ul -Haq 133

5.4 Democratic Political Decade of 90s and Political Cartooning 137

5.5 General Musharraf's Policies and Modern Political Cartooning 139

CHAPTER 6- RESEARCH METHODOLOGY **144**

6.1 Research Framework for the Study 146

6.2 Semiotics 147

6.2.1 Selected Newspapers 147

6.2.2 Duration of the Research Study, its Significance and the Status of the US and Pakistani Political Regimes 149

6.2.3 Sample of Political Cartoons 153

6.2.4 Research Framework for Semiotic Analysis of Political Cartoons 154

6.3 In-depth Interviews with Political Cartoonists 156

6.3.1 Research Framework for In-depth Interviews with Political Cartoonists (Message Producers) regarding Selection and Representation of the Images 158

6.3.2 Selected Political Cartoonists 158

6.3.3 Data Collection Procedure and Research Instrument for In-depth Interviews with Political Cartoonists 161

6.4 Data Analyses for In-depth interviews with Political cartoonists 162

6.5 Validation of the Data and Findings 163

CHAPTER 7- FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS 164

7.1 Semiotic Analysis of Political Cartoons 164

7.1.1 Common Signifiers in Political Cartoons of Pakistan for the Representation of the United States 165

7.1.2 Common Images of the United States in Political Cartoons of Pakistan 168

7.1.2.1 'Hegemonic Power' 172

7.1.2.2 'Unfair State with Double Standards' 193

7.1.2.3 'Untrustworthy and Hypocrite State' 218

7.1.2.4 'Indecisive and Self-Centered Mediator' 233

7.1.2.5 'Predator' 247

7.2 Political Regimes of Pakistan in the Post Cold War, Pre 9/11 and Post 9/11 Scenarios and the Representation of the US in Political Cartoons: Differences and Similarities 256

7.2.1 The Representation of the US in Political Regimes of Pakistan during the Post Cold War/ Pre 9/11 (January 1991-September 2001) 259

7.2.2 The Representation of the US in Political Regimes of Pakistan Post 9/11 (September 2001-March 2013) 277

7.3 Discussion on the Representation of the US in Political Cartoons of Pakistan (1991-2013) 310

7.4 Factors Influencing Political Cartoonists and the Representation of the United States in Pakistan 320

7.5 Revised Cartoon Communication Model 341

CHAPTER 8- CONCLUSION **346**

8.1 Conclusion 346

8.2 Contribution of the Study 351

8.3 Limitations of the Study 352

8.4 Suggestions for Future Research 353

REFERENCES **356**

APPENDICES

Appendix1 A Sample of Coding Sheet for Semiotic Analysis of a Political Cartoon

Appendix 2 Inter Coder Reliability

Appendix 3 Few Samples of Political Cartoons

Appendix 4 Semi-Structured Questionnaire for Political Cartoonists

Appendix 5 Coding Sheets of In-depth Interviews

Appendix 6 List of Publications

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table 1.1	Alignment of Data Analysis with Research Objectives and Research Questions	17
Table 2.1	A Summary of the Events that Changed the Distribution of World's Power	47
Table 3.1	Comparison of Barthes's Two Order of Signification	59
Table 6.1	Selected Mainstream Newspapers, their Medium, Circulation and Ownership	149
Table 6.2	Political Status in Pakistan during January 1991-March 2013	150
Table 6.3	Political Status in the US during January 1991 to March 2013	151
Table 6.4	Categories and their Definitions	155
Table 7.1	Main Signifiers for the US in Political Cartoons of Pakistan	165
Table 7.2	The US Political Leaders as Main Signifiers for the depiction of the US in Political Cartoons of Pakistan	166
Table 7.3	Common Images of the United States in Political Cartoons of Pakistan through Signs and Symbols (1991-2013)	169-171
Table 7.4	The US as 'Hegemonic Power' in Political Cartoons of Pakistan	174
Table 7.5	The US as 'Unfair State with Double Standards' in Political Cartoons of Pakistan	194
Table 7.6	The US as 'Untrustworthy and Hypocrite State' in Political Cartoons of Pakistan	219
Table 7.7	A Summary of Similarities and Differences in Representation of the US in Political Cartoons of Pakistan (1991-2013)	259
Table 7.8	The Representation of the US during the Selected First Political Regime of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N) (1991-1993)	261
Table 7.9	The Representation of the US during the Selected Second Political Regime of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) (1993-1996)	267

Table 7.10	The Representation of the US during the Selected Third Political Regime of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML N) (1997-1999)	273
Table 7.11	The Representation of the US during the Selected Forth Political Regime of Pakistan (Military Rule of General Musharraf) (1999-2008)	278
Table 7.12	The Representation of the US during the Selected Fifth Political Political Regime Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) (1993-1996)	294
Table 7.13	A Summary of Thematic Analysis of the Responses of Political Cartoonists	322-324

LIST OF FIGURES

		Page
Figure 2.1	First American Political Cartoon by Benjamin Franklin	21
Figure 2.2	Functions of Political Cartoons	26
Figure 2.3	Political Cartoon by Bill Garner in Washington Times (May 5, 2005)	43
Figure 2.4	The Image of the US and its Policies in the World	50
Figure 3.1	Saussure's Dyadic Sign Model	57
Figure 3.2	Barthes's to Orders of Signification	60
Figure 3.3	Factors Influencing the Creations of Political Cartoons	63
Figure 3.4	Techniques of Humor	65
Figure 3.5	Strategies Adopted by Political Cartoonists	66
Figure 3.6	Different Forms of Metaphorical Representation used in Political Cartoons	77
Figure 3.7	A Cartoon Communication Model	80
Figure 3.8	Theoretical Framework for this Study	82
Figure 6.1	Research Framework for the Study	146
Figure 6.2	Research Framework for In-depth Interviews with Political Cartoonists	158
Figure 7.1	Revised Model of Factors Influencing Political cartoonists in Pakistan	321
Figure 7.2	Revised Cartoon Communication Model	344

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
APNS	All Pakistan Newspapers Society
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Inter Services Intelligence
LoC	Line of Control
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NMD	National Missile Defense
NTM	Network Television Marketing
PCO	Provisional Constitutional Order
PEMRA	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PID	Provincial Press Information Department
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PML (Q)	Pakistan Muslim League Quaid
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party

PTV	Pakistan Television
SEATO	Southeast Asian Treaty Organization
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United States
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

REPRESENTASI AMERIKA SYARIKAT DALAM AKHBAR ARUS PERDANA BAHASA INGGERIS DI PAKISTAN: ANALISIS DALAM KARTUN POLITIK (1991-2013)

ABSTRAK

Realisme sentiasa menjadi daya penggerak kepada dasar-dasar Amerika Syarikat di seluruh dunia. Kecederungan Amerika Syarikat dalam kedudukan geo-strategik Pakistan telah mencorakkan turun naiknya perhubungan di antara Pakistan dan Amerika Syarikat (Pak-US). Berdasarkan kepada kecederungan perhubungan tertentu ini dalam pembinaan imej di Amerika Syarikat, ia telah menjadi dimensi tarikan kepada kartunis politik di Pakistan. Kartun politik telah digunakan sebagai medium pemberontakan melalui pemberian komen dan pemaparan unsur visual yang menunjukkan pemberontakan arus perdana. Medium ini menggunakan gabungan unsur realisme dan reka bentuk secara sindiran. Gabungan ini jelas mengambarkan maksud menyindir, kerana ianya mampu menonjolkan pelbagai tafsiran makna yang kritis. Pun begitu kepentingan kuasa unsur realisme dan reka bentuk ini sentiasa diabaikan di Pakistan. Dalam usaha untuk memahami kedudukan kartun politik kekal berkuasa dalam menentukan imej Amerika Syarikat, maka kajian ini dijalankan dengan bertujuan untuk menganalisis kartun politik yang disiarkan dalam akhbar arus perdana bahasa Inggeris di Pakistan (*The News, Nation* dan *Dawn*) daripada Januari 1991 hingga Mac 2013 dalam lima rejim politik. Ini termasuklah empat akhbar demokratik dan satu pemerintahan tentera. Model analisis semiotik Barthes telah digunakan untuk menganalisis sampel kartun bagi menentukan pendirian kartunis politik dalam situasi ‘love-hate syndrome’ yang merujuk kepada hubungan Pak -AS selepas Perang Dingin dan selepas kejadian 9/11. Ia menunjukkan bahawa, kartunis politik adalah salah satu medium yang penting dalam komunikasi politik dan antarabangsa kerana sifatnya yang tidak terikat dengan konsep objektiviti. Melalui

keunikan kartun politik ini, ia mampu menonjolkan suara masyarakat awam dalam perihal politik melalui tanda-tanda dan simbol yang dipaparkan dalam kartun-kartun tersebut. Dapat disimpulkan bahawa, kartunis politik telah mengukuhkan paradigma yang sedia ada iaitu anti-Amerika dalam tempoh yang penting iaitu sepanjang perhubungan Pak -US selepas Perang Dingin dan dalam perhubungan 'love affair' oleh rejim tentera Pakistan selepas 9 /11. Kajian ini juga mendapati kartunis politik tidak mengikuti garis panduan dasar luar Pakistan walaupun dalam ‘fair weather friendship series’ di antara Presiden Bush dan Musharraf. Perhubungan perikatan ini mengambarkan bahawa Amerika Syarikat adalah sebagai ‘hegemonic and dominating power’; ‘unfair state with double standards’; ‘untrustworthy and hypocrite state’; dan ‘self centered and indecisive conflict manager’. Selain itu, kajian ini juga mendapati bahawa, terdapat beberapa faktor yang mempengaruhi kartunis politik dalam proses pembinaan imej Amerika Syarikat. Kajian ini juga menyimpulkan bahawa, untuk menjadi artis kreatif dan kritikal fokus kecederungan, pengetahuan sebelumnya dan perhubungan peribadi kartunis politik mempengaruhi pembentukan mesej mereka dalam menghasilkan kartun. Namun begitu, sebahagian daripada rutin kewartawanan ini juga dipengaruhi oleh faktor lain. Mereka banyak dipengaruhi oleh 'holy cows' seperti penerajui antarabangsa, kerajaan yang memerintah, kumpulan penaja, pemilik media dan editor. Kajian ini juga mengubahsuai model komunikasi kartun lama yang dibangunkan oleh Harrison pada tahun 1981. Model yang dibangunkan ini mencadangkan bahawa proses penghasilan kartun politik adalah bukan perkara yang mudah seperti yang dikatakan sebelum ini. Sebaliknya ia melibatkan struktur yang kompleks termasuklah beberapa faktor yang mempengaruhi, mekanisme dan peringkat dalam menggunakan kartun politik sebagai alat komunikasi politik.

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN MAINSTREAM ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS OF PAKISTAN: AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL CARTOONS (1991-2013)

ABSTRACT

Realism has always been a driving force behind the foreign policies of the United States across the world. Therefore, the US interests in geo-strategic position of Pakistan always determine the fluctuating nature of the Pakistan-United States relations. Based on this 'interest specific' relationship, the representation of the United States has become an interesting dimension of Pakistani political cartoonists. Political cartoons have been used as a rebellious medium to comment and visual protest to criticize the mainstream with a combination of realism and satirical designs that is hundred times powerful than words but its significance is always neglected in Pakistan. Thus, this study intends to analyze political cartoons published in mainstream English newspapers of Pakistan (*The News*, the *Nation* and the *Dawn*) from January 1991 to March 2013 in five political regimes including four democratic and one military rule. The aim of this study is to understand that how political cartoons remained powerful in representing the images of the United States. The Barthes's model of semiotic analysis is utilized in examining the sample of political cartoons to determine the stance of political cartoonists in the 'love-hate syndrome' of Pakistan-US relations after the Cold War and in the aftermath of 9/11. It is highlighted that political cartooning is one of the significant tools of political and international communication which is not bound to the notion of objectivity. Because of its uniqueness, it raises the voices of public in political discourse through a complex system of signs and symbols. It is concluded that political cartoonists reinforced pre-existing paradigms of anti-Americanism not only in the crucial period of Pakistan-US relations during the post Cold-War but also in the 'love affair' of

military regime in Pakistan after 9/11. Political cartoonists did not toe the line of foreign policies of Pakistan even in the 'fair weather friendship series' of Bush-Musharraf alliance and depicted the United States as 'hegemonic and dominating power', 'unfair state with double standards', 'untrustworthy and hypocrite', 'self centered and indecisive conflict manager' and a 'dangerous predator' throughout the decades.

This study further identifies a number of factors influencing political cartoonists while constructing the foreign images. It concludes that being creative and critical artists, pre-dispositions, previous knowledge, and personal affiliations of political cartoonists do influence their messages but being a part of journalistic routines, they are also not saved from 'holy cows' like international political players, ruling governments, sponsor groups, media owners and editors. This study also revises an old cartoon communication model by Harrison in 1981 and proposes that political cartooning is not as simple as it is taken. Rather it involves a complex structure including a number of factors, mechanisms and stages while using political cartoons as a tool of political communication.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Cartoons are likely dynamic caps. They look harmless. But they are extremely dangerous when purposely set off" (Ward, 1969).

1.1 Background of the Study

Contemporary discourse about international and political communication is based upon the assumption that mass media is the actual force behind image building of any country and its people. The ongoing revolution in communication has been strengthening the image of international politics. Most of the people gather the impression of international affairs and relations with other countries and societies from the media. Several studies have endorsed the power of the media in constructing, projecting and reinforcing the images of other countries under the umbrella of international and political relations. Therefore, the images of any country do not only associate with personal experiences but also with the media which play its best part in construction of the mental pictures regarding a particular country. Media build the opinions that which type of relations, policies and images a country has with other countries (Albritton & Manheim, 1983, 1985; Brewer, Graf & Willnat, 2003; Evens, 2005; Giffard & Rivenburgh, 2000; Manheim & Albritton, 1984; McNelly & Izcaray, 1986; Mughees-uddin, 1997; Perry, 1987; Rusi, 1988; Saleem 2008, 2010; Shabir, Ali & Iqbal, 2011).

Media can create the clear understanding or misunderstanding among people regarding other countries. These images, in turn, make the perceptions of people that may mould their opinions and effect not only on their personal interactions but also

on the mass attitude about the foreign relations and policies. As Soderlund (2003) argued

> Public perception of the world events are influenced by mass media is indisputable. Perceptions of reality are shaped not only by what we experience directly in our daily lives, but by what we read, see and hear in various mass communication channels. The further away an event is removed from us, the greater the relative impact of mass media vis-à-vis direct experience. As a consequence, for most international crisis, we draw inferences and make judgments regarding what is happening, who is responsible and what the likely impact will be. (p. 155)

It is interesting to observe that major players of international politics try to control information and mold the media messages (Saleem, 2008) because according to Galtung and Ruge (1965), "media is the first rate competitors for the number one position as international image former" (p. 65). Therefore, the role of the mass communication in constructing the image of international politics as a significant actor has been one of the interests of international and political communication scholars since World War II. It has been a long debate on how the foreign images are created. Saleem (2008) added

> Images of foreign nations are products of multifariously derived information, ranging from the knowledge gained directly from visits to the countries and contacts with their nationals of countries to second hand information obtained from such other sources viz the news media, literature, films, art and acquaintances. Of these sources, the news media is widely credited as playing a particular significant role in image development for its regularity, ubiquity and perseverance. (p. 2)

There are many factors that determine the importance of any nation while constructing its image. The most important factor is the journalistic rule of proximity. Media give less space and coverage to those countries that are more distant but if any outstanding, big and huge event or incident occurs; it may get

representation in the media otherwise only those foreign countries get coverage which is directly involved either in any historical change or foreign policies at political, economic and social level (Becker, 2008).

As far as the United States is concerned, its image in the world's media is constantly changing from positive to negative and vice versa according to the facts and realities that how much the US policies and ideologies are supportive to the rest of the world regarding various domestic, regional and international issues. According to Khan and Safdar (2010),

> The Americans are one of those nations who are facing acute image problems. It is not the current time period that the US image has badly tarnished. The US designs to rule the world bound the US policy makers to derive strict international policies towards the rest of the world. (p. 325)

Several studies highlighted that realism has always been one of the most significant approaches for the US to design its foreign policies towards South Asia including Pakistan. The US policies and foreign relations towards South Asia always reflect the stance of realists who argue that "there is no eternal friend or eternal enemy, only internal national interest" (Chou, 2003, p.28). Thus, historically the relationship between the United States and Pakistan has been almost dependent on the US security interests since the birth of Pakistan in 1947. After World War II, prevention of the Soviet expansion throughout the world was the US central security concerns. When the US think tanks believed that it would be the best to project political and military influence through Pakistan to harm the Soviets, the Pakistan-US relations became favorable but when they felt that Pakistan was useless in this regard, the relationship plummeted (Williams, 2007). As Rizvi (2004) stated

> The US was no longer willing to underwrite Pakistan's economic development and modernization of its military because Pakistan has lost its strategic relevance for the US after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan (1989), the revolt against the Soviet dominated authoritarian political systems in the Eastern Europe (1989-1990), the end of the Cold War (1990) and the breakup of the Soviet Union (1991). (p. 21)

During this phase, the US suddenly abandoned Pakistan because it had no more interests in its geo-strategic position. It imposed strict sanctions on Pakistan under Pressler, Brown and Glenn amendments. They stopped providing military and financial assistance for halting its nuclear program. Especially when Pakistan acquired its nuclear power on May 28, 1998, the US imposed additional economic sanctions on Pakistan. The US was also pressurizing to sign on Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty otherwise the US would not lift any economic or military sanction. The US also blamed Pakistan for receiving missile technology from China and Korea that was considered as the violation of the international agreements with the US for checking proliferation of missile technology. The US also supported India during Kargil War of 1999 and asked Pakistan as per request of India to stop cross border infiltration and sponsoring terrorist activities in Kashmir. According to Williams (2007),"this balancing act aside, McMahon identifies a dichotomy in the US policies on the region, which, on one hand, accorded with Pakistan's strategic value, but believed India had greater political and economic potential" (p. 19). This decade was unfavorable for Pakistan-US relations and images (Rizvi, 2004; Saleem, 2008, 2010).

The attacks of September 11, 2001 on World Trade Center in New York shook the entire world and changed not only the international politics but also the agendas of the international press because it faced terrific challenges in reporting and setting the agendas for the slogan of war against terrorism. Media became the key

player for molding the opinions of the public and the higher authorities to shape and resolve the foreign policies, issues and strategies at global level. Initially, the reporting of the incident of 9/11 turned the US as a victim of the force of Taliban which was carefully manufactured as 'Mujahedeen' to fight against Soviets in Afghanistan during the Cold War. This was the media which also turned the US as the savior of the world's peace and gave them a legit reason to initiate the War against Terrorism, to create the stereotypes of good and evil and to propagate the so-called peace, democracy, freedom, western secularism and helping in healing the scars of the Cold War on the Cold War effected countries. Unlike to the Cold War, this time the US war was between the US capitalist imperialism and Islamic fundamentalism. The war against Islamic fundamentalism was almost creating an amusing paradoxical situation to fight with those who were manufactured by themselves and against Islamic fundamentalism which was actually used as driving force previously (Khan, 2012; Samad, 2011) but this is beyond the scope of this research. It is pertinent to highlight that this situation forced the US to give attention to Pakistan once again and also made its image as 'extremist religious state'. Pakistan became the front line state for the US once again because of its significant strategic place on the world's map. Pakistan immediately grasped the attention of not only the US but also the world's media due to the sharing of the border with Afghanistan and a great supporter of Taliban.

At last after a decade, Pakistan became the favorite and hot spot for the US after 9/11 where it had to be the strongest ally of the US. But the strongest ally could not save itself from the perdition of the US too because the US has been continuously launching drone attacks in the Northern areas of Pakistan since 2004 to destroy safe havens of Al-Qaeda militants but these attacks killed millions of innocent Pakistanis.

In short, after 14 years of the war against terrorism, Pakistan-US ties are at the lowest ebb in the history but the image of the United State in Pakistani media has become one of the significant agendas to build (Samad, 2011).

1.2 Political Cartoons

Communication though the genre of political cartoons is considered as a mocking and ironic commentary on political, social, economic and international situations which have gripped the society and surrounded the environment. Political cartoons are often perceived as both humorous and deeply serious content involving both fictional and non-fictional elements.

Political cartoons are, according to Edwards and Ware (2005), "employing a range of potent rhetorical tools to define actors and processes of political and societal culture" (p. 468). As researchers and scholars of the cartoon genre have expressed their opinions that political cartoons 'draw from an available stock of public knowledge' (Greenberg, 2002, p. 194). Farwell (1989) also defined that "cartoons are a genre of comic art whose stock in trade is distortions and exaggerations that characteristically puncture pretension or single out vulnerable features in a target" (p. 9).

Political cartoons have been used as an essential medium to comment on and critique the mainstream. It often provides a forum for visual protest. They present diverse perspectives on the relevant issues of the day by using both representational and abstract visual language to narrate social and political concerns. Danjoux (2005) also added that "at a different level, cartoons also capture the contentious, irrational and unsubstantiated fears of a community" (p. 7). According to Fischer (1996), they

are “to invoke not only truth but a higher artistic, above the ethical parameters of the printed word even if the facts are not consistent with their pictorial representation of the situation” (p. 55). In addition, they reveal assumptions and prejudices on socio-cultural level (Michelmore, 2000), “tapping into the collective consciousness in a way that reaffirms cultural values and assists readers in “maintain[ing] a sense of self, others, and society” (DeSousa & Medhurst, 1981, p. 90).

It is a light way of communication where people and nations which are portrayed, don’t get frustrated as much as they can get aggressive through the other media content because cartoons are satirical and ironical way of expressing the realities that lessen the harshness but heighten the effect of message. According to Giarelli and Tulman (2003),“cartoons reflect what the public finds absurd, worrisome and desirable without necessarily being able to say why” (p. 954). For Dines (1995), cartoons are the “shared notion of social reality” (p. 245) while Press (1981) argued that “political cartoons are the emotionally laden expression of perceptions that require neither coherent nor credible articulation. They capture how people feel, rather than think with regards to what is happening” (p. 62).

London (2002) also added that political cartoon “falls under the auspices of a picture tells a thousand words. A good cartoon slowly seeps into the public psyche and does not leave.” That is why, political and editorial cartoons can be used as a tool of persuasion and propaganda that tended not to tackle and to challenge rather to emphasize and build on attitudes, morals and prejudice. These pieces of visual opinion have a compelling impact upon readers. Moreover, Sumen (1998) described political cartoons as “bomb throwers” and according to Saeed (2003), they are “portrait of anti portrait” while Michelmore (2000) defined it as an “encyclopedia of

popular culture" (p. 37) because it is of view that political cartoonists have capacity to put words into the mouth of a public figure whether those are actual quotes or not. As Koetzle and Brunell (1996) stated that "editorial cartoon are oriented towards extreme interpretations of campaign events, they are free to discuss, investigate and lampoon topics that are… generally left untouched by the media at large" (p. 96).

According to Harrison (1981), political cartoons are considered as "communication of the quick" which offers clarity and amusement as well as a speedy message despite possible distortion from such simplification or exaggeration. In short, political cartoons are drawn out messages which have long fascinated newspaper readers with a combination of realism, satirical drawings and caricatures often filled with parody, graphic outrage and even overt bias. In general, cartoon opinions represent political attitudes through visual satire.

1.3 Statement of Problem

The hegemonic role of the US, its interference in the international conflicts, domestic affairs of other countries, its willingness to protect the world with military and economic aid and media ideological alliance to the US policy of interference are those noteworthy factors that represent the US image in the subject country's media (Saleem, 2010). As far as political cartoons are concerned, according to Becker (1996), "cartoonists and editors clearly understood that the old portrayal of the United States was no longer acceptable, that such images had practically moved from the sphere of consensus to the sphere of deviance" (Becker, 1996, p. 617).

Keeping in view these factors of shaping the US image, this study intends to examine the representation of the US image in the political cartoons of the

mainstream newspapers of Pakistan at two different levels. It seems through the literature that studying political cartoons had not been an interesting dimension for researchers and scholars in Pakistan at all. Therefore, the first level is the semiotic analysis of the political cartoons of three mainstream English newspapers of Pakistan (*The News*, *The Nation* and *Dawn*) from January 1991 till March 2013 in order to know the practices of combining signs and symbols in political cartoons to create the images of the US.

It proposes that the representation of the US image in the world' media fluctuates with the US relations, strategies and policies on the various international, regional and domestic conflicts which are supportive or against the rest of the world's interests. The representation of the US image especially in the selected time period (January1991-March 2013) is very crucial and important in Pakistan's history not only in the terms of national politics but also at international relations due to the pre and post war scenarios. At the national level, during this period, Pakistan enjoyed two democratic governments of the Pakistan People's Party, two democratic governments of the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and one of the longest military rules of former-Army Chief of Staff and former President General Pervez Musharraf. The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League (PMLN) are two biggest parties of Pakistan which ruled the country one after the other for the short period of time. On the other hand, the post Cold War and post 9/11 are also the challenging periods for Pakistan with reference to the US interference in the politics, economy and war against terrorism. Especially after the attacks of 9/11, the US initiated global war on terror that "turned the world in to Hobbesian jungle with the US acting as global policeman, prosecutor and judge all rolled into one" (Samad, 2011, p. 21). This was also the crucial period in Pakistan's history because a military

ruler, General Pervez Musharraf was ruling the state. History demonstrated that military regimes in Pakistan have always been more benefited from the US than democratic and elected governments (Samad, 2011). Military rulers and the US administrations always made a good rapport in order to secure the mutual interests (Toor, 2011). As Husain (2009) argued

> The United States had always been more favorably disposed towards Pakistan's military dictators as they are relatively more obsequious and subservient to the American interests. Thus, it is the accelerations of inflows of foreign assistance to Pakistan that led to the observed higher growth rates rather than sound economic policies, better governance and the efficient utilization of resources. Although empirical evidence to substantiate this argument hardly exist, it has become popular folklore: Ayub was rewarded for his close economic and military ties with the United States in confronting the Soviet Union; Zia ul-Haq received a boost as $5 billion was channeled though Pakistan for Afghanistan's mujahedeen; and Musharraf's decision to openly support the United States in the war on terror brought in approximately $10 billion of military assistance. (p.4)

Therefore, it was expected that the US would seize the democratic process in Pakistan once again as it happened during the Cold War in the military regime of General Zia-u-Haq. For that reason, the Pakistani media and the public were critical towards the military government for becoming the ally of the United States in the war against terrorism (Khan & Safdar, 2010).

In addition, it is also a fact that the depiction of the foreign images is highly dependent upon the political relationships. With changing the political regimes, the foreign relations, images and policies get changed. It is assumed that there would be a paradoxical image of the US in Pakistan as well. There is an assumption that the Pakistani press may distort the image of other countries especially the US in the national interest (Saleem, 2010). Thus, this study investigates the thematic

differences of the representation of the US images in different political regimes under different circumstances.

As far as the selected medium of the political cartoons are concerned, Abraham (2009) argued that "we need to understand how political cartoons communicate their meanings as a visual mode of communication (p. 125). Greenberg (2002) also supported that unfortunately, "whilst scholarly attention has centered mostly on the examination of written and verbal discourse, visual news discourse has remained relatively unexamined" (p. 182) as an instrument for representing international issues and relations. This dissertation aims to contribute to the body of literature on the representation of the US image in the visual discourse of political cartoons that is almost neglected. Despite unique nature of this visual mode of communication, the scholars did not focus upon political cartooning as tool of shaping and constructing the images of other countries especially in Pakistan at all despite the fact that "most columnists and editorial writers could not approach in either sheer force or poignancy what editorial cartoonists could achieve without using words" (Lamb, 2004, p. 01). Conners (1998) also argued that "political cartoons are a safe area to express opinions and to make accusations as opposed to news reports which are to be factually based and not inflammatory (p. 94).

The scholars also realized the importance of medium of cartoon communication as a strong and powerful tool of propaganda, publicity and persuasion after the Danish Blasphemous Cartoon Controversy of 2005 (Ashfaq, 2012; Eidi, 2007) when a privately owned Danish newspaper Jylland-Posten, published 12 editorial cartoons on September 30, 2005 which depicted the ironic and humorous caricatures of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). This newspaper, in the

beginning of controversy, announced that these publications were a contribution towards the freedom of expression and criticism of Islam. The Muslim world became annoyed and frustrated due to these publications and stances. As a result, the Muslim audience of all over the world went on strikes. They protested, burnt the Danish and Norwegian embassies and foreign offices and boycott the European products (Craft & Waisbord, 2008; Eidi, 2007, 2008; Hervick & Berg, 2007; Kunelius & Alhassan**,** 2008; Saleh, 2008; Shehata, 2007). The significant impact of this incident made the neglected genre of cartoon communication an important medium to study and investigate not only in Pakistan but also all over the world.

The second level of investigation is to examine the sender's perception of humor in Pakistan regarding the influencing factors while making political cartoons. Numerous studies have been conducted to examine different factors that influence journalists while shaping, reporting, and publishing the news for a long time (Altschull, 1984; Gans, 1979; Gitlin, 1980; Lamb, 1996, Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1972) but the scholars never paid attention to know the factors that can influence political cartoonists especially in Pakistan.

It is always argued that political cartoons are not objective account of events. Conners (2005) stated that "political cartoons need not to follow the principles of objectivity we expect in news stories; rather, they are expressing opinions in parallel with newspaper editorials and columns" (p.480). Similarly, Koetzle and Brunell (1996) also argued that "political cartoons are not bound by the norms of the conventional media" (p.96). Unlike the objective news stories, they achieve their purpose by emphasizing and reinforcing a "people's sense of self, making sense of

external world, lessening tensions, and defusing potentially volatile situations" (Palmer, 2011, p.19).

Thus, the investigation of the factors that mainly influence the political cartoonists in image construction is also an important dimension that is to be covered in this dissertation because it is the media practitioners i.e. editors, reporters, and cartoonists who act like image constructors and represent the issues that effect on the perceptions and opinions of the people. It is assumed that there are some factors that influence political cartoonists while shaping the images because "political cartoonists are not comedians. They are people who make a difference in the community" (Swoboda, 2003).

1.4 Research Objectives

1. This study intends to explore the thematic differences reflected in political cartoons that represent the images, relations, conflicts and policies of the United States at political, economic and social level in the five political regimes of Pakistani government in which four are democratic of two big political parties, Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and one is the military rule of General Pervez Musharraf.

2. This study also investigates the factors that influence political cartoonists in Pakistan while contributing their role in the representation of foreign images and relations because political cartoons are using as a medium of propaganda, publicity and persuasion all over the world. Therefore, the role, opinions, restrictions, factors, freedom of expression, motivations and

contributions of the political cartoonists in Pakistan are also explored in this study with reference to the representation of the United States.

1.5 Research Questions

1. How are the major US political leaders and the US policies towards Pakistan portrayed in Pakistani political cartoons?
2. How did the changes in the governments of Pakistan affect the representation of the United States in Pakistani political cartoons from 1991-2013?
3. Is there any difference in depiction of the United States in Pakistani political cartoons before and after 9/11?
4. What are the factors that influence the political cartoonists in Pakistan while representing the United States in their political cartoons?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study contains its uniqueness for several reasons. There are many studies on different media content of print and electronic like editorials, columns, pictures and news in the perspective of Pakistan but there are only three studies regarding political cartoons in the Pakistani context on different issues. The researcher herself conducted these studies at her bachelors and Masters level theses. Any type of the research regarding political cartoons is limited (Ashfaq, 2008, 2012; Diamond, 2002; Koetzle & Brunell, 1996; Palmer, 2011). So, as the genre, political cartoons are under research in Pakistan.

There are several studies which are mentioned in the Chapter 2. ‘Literature review’ regarding framing and representation of the foreign countries’ in editorials

and news but there is not a single study in the political cartoons that deals with the US image in Pakistan. It is true that in spite of lack of words, cartoons also provide understanding of the story or an issue that is an underlying message at international level. That is why; it is a new dimension to study the role of the cartoons in the depiction of the foreign images not only in Pakistan but also at the global level. It would fill the gap of the literature.

There is not a single study that included the sender's perception of political cartooning. Almost all the researches on political cartoons are based upon the thematic analysis or the content analysis of the major events like presidential campaigns and wars (Ashfaq, 2013; Conners, 2007; Diamond, 2002; Gilmartin, 2001; Koetzle & Brunell, 1996; Muller & Ozcan, 2007; Saeed 2003). Therefore, this study would be a new contribution in the terms of contextual study of the political cartoons through the systems of symbols and signs.

This study also helps to analyze the perceptions and practices of the Pakistani political cartoonists and to investigate the factors that influence them regarding the selection of the signs, symbols and themes for their cartoons and the usage of this powerful medium to mould the opinions of their audience. As Saleem (2008) added that "media organization's ideology, government manipulation, corporate and ownership influence and media personnel stereotypes and prejudices play a vital role in shaping foreign country images" (p. 153). This study is significant as a bit complete package to understand the senders' perceptions' of humor, organizational and political effects and contextual study of humor in the field of international communication.

The most noteworthy incident regarding modern political cartoons occurred in the Danish newspaper Jylland-Posten in 2005 in which the cartoonist drew the cartoons of the Holiest figure, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) which resulted in the violent protests around the world. This shows the significance and power of cartoons as a medium of international and political communication that can be used for propaganda, persuasion and publicity (Abraham, 2009; Ashfaq, 2012; Eide, 2007). It would be significant to examine that how political cartoonists in Pakistan are using this media while shaping the images of other countries.

This research also seeks to advance the political cartoons, international communication and political science literature by proposing future studies of frames, rhetoric and metaphors used to characterize foreign images.

1.7 Research Objectives, Research Questions and their Alignment with Data Analysis

The research objectives and research questions of this study are aligned with suitable and appropriate data collecting instruments and analyses as in the following table 1.1.

Table 1.1

Alignment of Data Analysis with Research Objectives and Research Questions

Objectives	**Research Questions**	**Instrument**	**Probable Analyses**
1. To examine the thematic differences reflected in political cartoons that represent the images, relations, conflicts and policies of the United States at political, economic and social level in five political regimes of Pakistan.	1. How are the major US political leaders and the US policies towards Pakistan portrayed in Pakistani political cartoons? 2. How did the changes in the governments of Pakistan affect the representation of the United States in Pakistani political cartoons from 1991-2013? 3. Is there any difference in depiction of the United States in Pakistani political cartoons before and after 9/11?	Document Studies	Semiotic analysis
2. To investigate the factors that can influence the political cartoonists in Pakistan while representing the United States in their political cartoons.	4. What are the factors that influence the political cartoonists in Pakistan while representing the United States in their political cartoons?	Semi-Structured Questionnaire	Thematic analysis

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

A literature review is an account of what has been published on a topic by attributed scholars and researchers. It is considered as the spring board for any research study. It is organized according to the research objectives, thesis, or the problem/issue that a researcher desires to address. Literature review gives you the knowledge in the area of focus and reduces the chances of the duplication of ideas. Most importantly, it helps to point out the direction of research scope to maximize the reward of research efforts.

Relevant to the topic area, this chapter deals with the definitions, meanings, nature of researches and scholars' interests, factors, mechanism, functions, strategies, impact and importance of political cartoons. This chapter gives an account of the image of the United States in world's media generally and with reference to political cartoons particularly. This chapter also concludes that how this research is different from the previous studies and how it would contribute to the existing literature.

2.1 Political Cartoons

Political cartooning has been used as a medium of comic and witty expression of politics for a long time. When print media became accessible and common, cartooning became one of the popular arts to make a social and political comment. Cartooning is an extremely versatile mean of communication that can be used to fabricate, exaggerate, overstate and distort the features of any character or situation creating a semblance of the original in order to convey the desired message.

Political cartooning is a communication to the quick in a way as it can grab the attention of the readers and give full understanding of the issue in a single glace. It has ability to tickle or hurt the target so aesthetically and quickly that nothing can do.

Over recent decades, the scholars from different disciplines realized the lack of critical attention paid to political cartoons (DeSousa, 1984; Edwards, 1997; Koetzle & Brunell, 1996; Langeveld, 1981; Tunc, 2002). It has been one of the neglected genres of political communication. Though many disciplines including journalism, history, art, linguistics, literature, political science, sociology, education and psychology have been flirting with the genre of political cartoons yet no one can truly embrace this powerful mean of communication yet. Scholars from various disciplines take political cartoons as an expression of humor and satire (DeSousa & Medhurst, 1982; Diamond, 2002; Gombrich, 1971; Speedling 2004).

Although there are multiple terminologies for political humor based on linguistic and cultural traditions yet caricatures are probably known as the oldest and popular form of visual art. The word 'caricature' is extracted from an Italian word *caricare* that means to overload and exaggerate. The basic technique in caricaturing was used to distort and exaggerate the features of the famous political personalities. These kinds of caricatures have been documented since the ancient times of naïve-grotesque art forms. In addition, humor through visual art could already be found in Ancient Egyptian, Roman and Greek iconography (Bonaiuto, 2006; Mitchell 2004; Samson, 2008) but for the political purposes, it was appeared in the 16th century during the Protestant Reformation Movement in Germany for the very first time. This art was extensively used to make the socio-religious reforms of Martin Luther in the Protestant Reformation Movement. This was the time when the drawings were

used for propaganda for those who cannot read. It was observed that these drawing were "intended to be pictorial pillorying, as well as in grimacing adornments and gargoyles on churches" (Samson, 2008, p. 66). Later, it became the practice of several artists including Holbein, Bruegel and Bosch who used the device of caricaturing for conveying their messages.

The period of 17th to 19th century marked the great significance and actual emergence of political cartooning in the world for social and political purposes. As Hoff (1976) stated:

> The three centuries of 17th to 19th witnessed the emergence of cartoonist who dared to attack corruption, arbitrary, actions or wrong doings in seat of powers heretofore considered immune to criticism. None was spread- church, state, merchant, king or president- if their actions deserved criticism outraged cartoonists appeared with an accusing brush or pen. (p. 29)

During the 17th century, caricatures were usually used to mock the people. Hogarth, Rowlandson and Gillray were the famous British caricaturists. In the 17th century, the history of American political cartooning began with the efforts of Benjamin Franklin who is considered as the father of American political humor (Ahmed, 2009). Benjamin Franklin was awarded for his first political cartoon as a best piece ever titled 'Join or Die' (figure 2.1). It depicted a dead snake whose body was sketched as divided into pieces. This referred to the British colonies and addressed that this snake could come back to life if all the parts of its body joined together. This cartoon was highly appreciated and reproduced by almost all the newspapers because of the best mixture of drawing and political imagination.

Most of the trends of political cartooning in the United States were borrowed from British political cartoonists and caricaturists from the 18th and early 19th

centuries. As Palmer (2011) described that "political cartoons at the time often borrowed heavily from British cartoonists in terms of their style, which consisted of a single-panel image of a political leader or a depiction of a political situation with a caption below it" (p. 13).

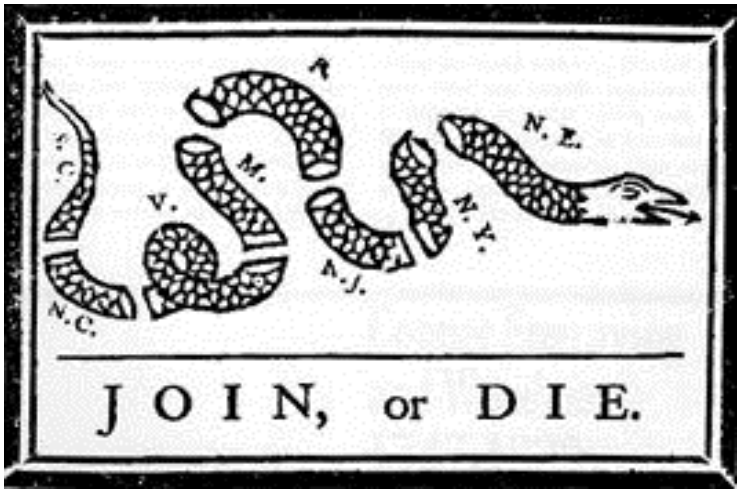

Figure 2.1. First American political cartoon by Benjamin Franklin. Adapted from "To Awaken a Sleeping Giant" by B. Bergen, 2003, In M. Achard & S. Kemmer (Eds.), *Language Culture and mind*, p. 23, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Though political cartooning and caricaturing was not so widespread for the few decades in America because the technology associated to its publication and the skills needed to sketch and create was still remained in Europe yet another renowned political cartoonist, Thomas Nast in the United States also contributed a significant role in developing the modern American political cartooning. He created the symbols of elephant and donkey for the Republican and Democrat political parties of America. The cartoon character of Santa Claus was also his creation which is commonly known in the world (Ahmed, 2009).

In the mid-19th century, the advancement in the genre of political cartooning and caricaturing was clearly seen because of the improvements in technology of printing press and the popularity of the magazines (Shaw, 2007). In addition, the rise

of the genre of photography in the 19th century also played a great role in flourishing the political cartooning because it helped in producing caricatures of political personalities. The French political caricaturists dominated the genre in the 19th century. Several journals were founded mainly for caricatures and political cartoons including *La Caricature* (1830) and *Charivari* (1832). This was the time "when caricatures began to use social, political and personal satire, the art of cartoons was born (Samson, 2008, p. 66). In the modern way, the first political cartoonist was French-speaking Swiss Töpffer, who published strip cartoons in 1831 (Gombrich, 1971; Kunzle & Inge, 2007). By the end of the 19th century, many political cartoonists emerged including German cartoonists, Wilhelm Busch, Heinrich Zille, Thomas Theodor Heine, Rudolf Wilke and Olaf Gulbransson who played significant role in recognition of the modern political cartooning.

During late 19th century and early 20th century, the political cartooning was started to use for propagating the sensational content. Especially from the period of post-Civil War in America and World War I, political cartoons also became a part of muckraking and yellow journalism (Lamb, 2007; Palmer, 2011). But after World War I, the yellow journalism ended because the growing educated middle class took more interest in sophisticated and objective media content. This new trend also led to the critical modern political cartooning. Since the 20th century, the word 'cartoon' has been using to cover all forms of humorous drawings including caricatures, gag cartoons (single panel or multiple panels), comic strips and animated cartoons etc. Now in modern art, political cartoon has become a very significant symbolic tool of propaganda, publicity and catharsis. Perhaps the most noteworthy incident involving modern political cartooning was the publishing the 12 humorous political cartoons against Prophet Muhammad, the Holiest Figure in Islam, in a Danish newspaper in

2006. Palmer (2011) added that "according to the Quran, it is forbidden to represent the likeness of Muhammad in a physical image. Even more provocative was the fact that several of the cartoons depicted Mohammed as a terrorist with a bomb in his turban" (p. 17). This incident made Muslims outraged all over the world that led to protests, boycotts and violence against all those who were in favor of representing Denmark (Muller & Ozcan, 2007). But this incident made scholars and researchers realize the importance and power of political cartoons. So, now the political cartooning is getting proper attention and framing in to communication context.

2.2 Defining Political Cartoons

"The political cartoon is a sort of pictorial breakfast food. It has the cardinal asset of making the beginning of the day sunnier"(John T. Mccutcheon, 1975 as cited in Lorden, 2006).

When a question is asked that what would be the connotation of a political cartoon, the words that come first to the mind are humor, satire and irony. For many, political cartoon is a synonym of a joke told in pictures (Samson & Huber, 2007), something very amusing and light in nature (Ahmed, 2009) and an illustration designed to convey political or social message (Chiringhelli, 2011). Cartoon is seen as ridiculous and satirical by definition with the association of negative connotation.

Political cartooning is a communication, educator, editorialist, seller, seducer, purveyer or perverter of culture, politics, art and history (Harrison, 1981). However, literature shows that different researchers and scholars defined political cartoons in different ways with different levels of specificity. For instance, Cuff (1945) defined the political cartoons on the basis of the characteristics and argued that political cartoons are those humorous drawings which have three characteristics that are

"sparkling wit, a basic element of fact, and a didactic or editorial purpose" (p. 87). Moreover, Refaie (2009) defined political cartoon as a drawing that "constitutes a very specific genre, with its own history, distinctive styles, conventions and communicative purposes. It is an illustration, usually in a single panel, published on the editorial or comments pages of a newspaper" (p. 184).

Political cartoons are mostly understood as visual and visual-verbal political jokes characterized by simple lines, over exaggerated features of characters and sketch like simple drawings comprising of one or few panels (Nilsen & Nilsen, 2000). Political cartoons usually address current issues and events. They also portray a famous personality in a way that represents a particular stance. It is not necessary that political cartoons are always humorous but they do generally address the issues in an ironic manner.

One of the oldest explicit definition came from Bormann, Koester and Bennett (1978) who defined political cartoons as medium containing "personae in at least an implied dramatic action, [being] cryptic, and tend[ing] to allude to a single fantasy". Feldman (1995) stated that "political cartoons as employing are graphic metaphors and comically distorted drawing" (p. 571) and while portraying issues and subject, political cartoons are the comically distorted drawings that also cover political stories and editorials (Feldman, 1995). Similarly, Koetzle and Brunell (1996) added that "by definition, cartoon references are brief and symbolic and make extremely negative evaluations" (p. 99). Mazid (2008) also argued that "political cartoons are capable of communicating subtle, complex, multilayered messages about people and events in details of how they are drawn—messages that would be difficult and impossible to express verbally" (p. 437).