

Spoiling or the Saving Faces in Pakistani Newspapers: A Multimodal Discourse Perspective on Analyzing Political Cartoons

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, an attempt has been made to discuss in detail the face saving and face spoiling nature of the political cartoons in Pakistani newspapers. Besides giving an overview of multimodality and political cartoons first, findings of different researchers in contexts other than that of Pakistan have been documented in order to give the reader a broad outlook on the connotations of political cartoons. It is asserted that the area remains unexplored in the Pakistani context. This is followed by a study of political cartoons in Pakistani newspapers using Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) Visual Social Semiotics. In the end, it is suggested that the political cartoons aim to spoil the face of one participant while saving that of another depending on the political affiliation of the media group.

Keywords: Multimodality, political cartoons, face saving, face spoiling, social semiotics

INTRODUCTION

Multimodality is the employment of more than one semiotic mode in order to convey meaning. It explores how various semiotic modes are combined within a sociocultural domain to create a semiotic product or event (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001). The modes in non-linguistic field may be static or dynamic. Communication over the past few decades has become increasingly multimodal and literacy is being considered to be beyond language. The underlying idea behind multimodal communication is that a multimodal message is more convincing (Messaris 1996). Language is only a part of the process of communication and therefore an exploration of the various other modes is essential (Kress, 2010). This implies that all the discourses are multimodal (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, Halloran 2004). Popularity of discourse analysis and the development of technology, software and tools led to a shift from the study of language in isolation to a study of language combined with other modes. Recently multimodal discourse analysis has emerged as a prominent paradigm in discourse studies which takes into consideration semiotic resources other than language that combine with language to communicate meaning. The concern of multimodal discourse analysis is the theory, analysis, production, distribution and design of semantic resources in particular social set ups (Ó Halloran, in press a). It is the study of the assemblage and propinquity of different communicative modes within a particular context (Snyder 2009). These semiotic resources, modes or modalities include gestures, gaze, images, architecture, music, colours, dresses, page layout etc. According to Halliday (1978: 123), the semiotic resources are 'system[s] of meanings that constitute 'the reality' of the culture'. The multimodal discourse analysts 'identify the influence of mode on meaning within a given context, focusing on co-occurrence interaction between multiple semiotic systems' (Baldry and Thibault 2006:31). Multimodal discourse analysis has become crucial to a variety of disciplines. It analyzes communication in its entirety. Using Michael Halliday's social

semiotic approach to language, the foundational work in multimodal discourse analysis was done by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996 [2006]) and Ó Toole (1994 [2010]). Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) developed visual social semiotics and applied theoretical generalizations to a diverse range of texts. Ó Toole (2010) expanded Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar focusing on specific texts to derive analytical frameworks for other works. Various techniques and frameworks for multimodal discourse analysis have now been developed. The communication of meaning through multiple semiotic resources is challenging for the linguists as each semiotic resource has its own affordances as well as constraints (O Halloran and Smith 2012).

One of the effective multimodal media that combine the linguistic and non-linguistic elements to create meaning is the political cartoons that are a sub-genre of the news discourse genre or journalesque. Cartooning or caricature first emerged in Italy during the 16th century. It has become an essential part of the newspaper discourse in this era. The political cartoons act as tools of communication updating the public on current issues. They provide the media a platform for commenting on the current issues of importance and thus keeping people up to date as well as transforming and moulding their opinions. The political and social agenda are thus set through these political cartoons. Cartoons especially political cartoons are legitimate objects of discourse analysis because they are a reflection of the cultural attitudes and values and document and preserve many generally held ideals (Mazid 2008 in Chalániová 2011a). They offer a kind of mini narrative having multiple layers requiring the reader to decode the message that is the intended meaning of the cartoonists. The visual commentary through political cartoons may include images, words or a combination of both (Bergen 2004). Most of the time the information provided by the political cartoons is such as is supposed to be already known by the public (Greenberg 2002). They not only reflect the thoughts of the public but also have the power to influence them. [V]isual language is not...transparent and universally understood: it is culturally specific (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006:4). The political cartoons are therefore embedded in history and are particularly constructed for a specific viewership in a very specific context (Walker 2003). These cartoons reflect the popular culture. They provide an insight into the social trends and account for how particular events make particular shared meanings for a specific social group (Rosa 2012). They are the storehouse of the collectively shared meanings. One particular aspect of the political cartoons is that they are almost always satirical. They amuse their viewers through an apparently innocent humour that can easily be accepted without resistance impacting the audience due to the spontaneous manner in which the message is delivered (Walker 2003). Most of the time, these cartoons ridicule the public figures and the parties, highlighting the divide and the difference between the privileged and the lesser privileged or under privileged sections of the society. Their unsubstantiated allegations serve to reflect the irony, illogicality or inadequacy of situations (Danjoux). They simplify complex news frames to their roots (Gamson and Stuart 1992). They construct the social reality through the satire, humour, metaphors and symbols etc. They easily express and convey the messages that are difficult to be expressed and conveyed through words (Gilmartin and Brunn 1998). Political cartoons sometimes act only as a mouthpiece of the dominant not intending to bring about a change through the powerless or the subservient but to maintain status quo for the powerful (Walker 2003). On the other hand, these cartoons may sometimes challenge the status quo. They raise questions on the official images making the official version of reality doubtful. They show discontent against prejudices, raise voice against the social threats and thus represent the opinion of the public. This implies that the political cartoons are almost always one sided. This in fact depends upon the point of view of the media ownership. The cartoonist being a member of

the staff caricatures in line with the political stance of his media group. Another claim about the political cartoons is that these graphic editorials simply offer an absurd commentary on the current social and political issues (Walker 2003).

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Various studies have been undertaken in the past to analyze political cartoons from a wide range of perspectives. For instance, from the perspective of functions and nature of political cartoons, Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) discussed political cartoons with reference to their rhetorical form. Cahn (1984) conducted his research on how the political cartoons act as tools of communication. Bivins (1984) went for a content analysis of the political cartoons. Handl (1990) analyzed and found out how the archetypal inhabitants and the political parties of Australia were represented in the local newspapers. Moris (1992) investigated the political cartoons' influence on the democratic process. A structuralist approach was adopted by Moris (1993) to study the visual rhetorics in political cartoons. The caricature on Dreyfus affair, 1894 -1906, was explored by Delporte (1995). Similarly, Feldman (1995) studied how six Japanese premiers were portrayed in editorial cartoons. Edwards (1997) explored image, metaphor and narrative in the 1998 presidential campaign cartoons. Olaniyan's (1997) study was based upon the traditions followed in Nigerian print media for caricaturing. Mazid (2000) deconstructs cartoons in Egyptian newspapers to find out the various meanings embedded in them.

Benoit, Klyukovski, McHale & Airne (2001) investigated how the political cartoons influenced the public opinion regarding the Clinton-Lewinsky-Starr affair with reference to President Clinton's impeachment trial. Seymour-Ure (2001) documented a flourishing future for the British political cartoons. Wigston (2002) had a case study on the part played by the political cartoons in South African struggle against AIDS. Walker (2003) declared that the political cartoons served the dominant, reflected the views of the media ownership and were constructed for specific audience in a specific context. Rafaie (2003) explored visual metaphors in Australian political cartoons. Udoaka (2003) investigated how the Nigerian audience perceived the political cartoons in their newspapers. Edwards and Ware (2005) studied how public opinions were represented through political cartoons in campaign media. Baldry and Thibault (2006) studied political cartoons and public representation. Han (2006) examined the political satire in the pictorial representation of Korea in Japanese political cartoons.

Connors (2007) analyzed the popular culture and the political cartoons during the 2004 presidential campaign in the United States. Najjar (2007) investigated how political cartoons constructed the Palestinian refugee identity. Eko (2007) explored the way four African leaders were dehumanised and deterritorialised by some African newspapers. Mazid (2008) studied how politics and ideology were represented in Bush and Bin Laden's comic portrayal. Townsend, McDonald and Esders (2008) explored the illustration of Australia's work choices debate on civil service policies through political cartoons. El Refaie's (2009) study was on multi-literacies and political cartoons interpretation. El Refaie and Horschelmann (2010) conducted a research on how the youth responded to political cartoons. Mascha (2010) addressed the issue of political caricature during Italian Fascism with particular reference to the role of women as it was symbolized by the cartoons. Willems (2011) examined how the Zimbabwean president was satirized in the political cartoons of the country. Sani et al. (2012) conducted their research on how the political cartoons served as a tool for setting social agenda in Nigeria. The review of the available literature highlights that significant research has been conducted on the political cartoons however the area remains unexplored in the socio-political context of Pakistan.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As analytical tool, this study employs the Visual Social Semiotics of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) which is an effective model for multimodal analysis. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) build their model on Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) (2004). Systemic Functional Linguistics considers texts as "communicative interactions in cultural and situational contexts and assumes that language expresses three types of meanings": ideational, interpersonal and textual (Guijarro, 2010). Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) assign the same three types of meanings to images and devise a descriptive multimodal framework.

The findings of this study using the above mentioned tool serve to address the below mentioned research questions.

1. How do the political cartoons in Pakistani newspapers spoil the face of one political party and provide a face saving to another?
2. How does this comic portrayal help in unfolding newspapers' political affiliation in Pakistan?

The data for the research comes from two Pakistani newspapers; The News and The Nation, and has been downloaded from their online archives. Six political cartoons have been selected for analysis from each newspaper. All of the selected political cartoons are related to the sit in of Imran Khan and his political party Pakistan Tehrik e Insaf (PTI).

Theoretical Background

The construction of meanings in any society involves not only the verbal components but also the nonverbal/visual components. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) allow us to read a single image in multiple ways. Their method analyses images on the basis of semiotic principles describing meanings as representational, interactive and compositional.

According to Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006), two types of processes; narrative and conceptual link the "visual participants" to each other. The presence of a vector, formed by some part of the represented participant or by an abstraction such as an arrow, signifies a narrative process. These processes in turn may be transactional (unidirectional or bidirectional), involving an actor (from whom the vector emanates) and a goal (towards which the vector is directed), or they may be non - transactional, involving only an actor. A distinct kind of narrative processes is the "Reaction" signified by an eye-line vector. It may also be transactional, involving both a sener (the one who looks) and a phenomenon (the one looked at), or non - transactional involving only a vector. In addition to these, Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006) list three other narrative processes; (i) Conversion, in which a participant, the 'Relay' is the goal of one action and the actor of another. (ii) Mental Process, in which a thought bubble serves as a vector between the 'Sener' (from which it emanates) and the Phenomenon. (iii) Verbal Process, in which a dialogue balloon or any similar device forms a vector between the Sayer (from whom it emanates) and the utterance (participant within the dialogue balloon). The tool which forms the vector or executes the action is regarded as Means. The participant which does not have any vectorial relationship is called the Accompaniment.

The conceptual processes lack vectors. They include classificational processes, analytical processes and symbolic processes. Classificational processes establish the relationship of taxonomy between the participants making a set of participants "Subordinate" to another participant the "Superordinate". These relations are produced by the ordering in the image. Taxonomy may either be covert (in which the Subordinate participants are distributed

symmetrically along the axes) or overt (in which the Superordinate and the Subordinates are connected through a tree structure). Analytical processes establish a part - whole relationship between two types of participants; Carrier (the whole) and Possessive Attributes (the parts). Analytical processes may be unstructured (in which the whole itself is not represented), temporal (where possessive attributes depict successive stages of the process and are ordered linearly on a timeline), exhaustive (which shows all the parts from which the whole is made up of), topographical (that represent the relative location and the physical spatial relation of the possessive attributes accurately), topological (representing how participants are logically connected to each other). Symbolic processes establish the meaning and identity and involve the Carrier and the symbolic attribute.

The interactive function of images concerns the relationship between (i) producers of the image (ii) readers of the image (iii) represented participants. According to Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006), the communicative function of images is depicted through three types of systems; the system of image act and gaze which makes a distinction between demands (visual contact with the viewer) and offers (no visual contact), the system of social distance that is related to the degree of intimacy "determined by how close the RPs appear to the viewer in an image" (Guijarro, 2010) (long shot signifies impersonal relation, close up signifies intimacy, medium shot signifies objects being within viewer's reach). The system of involvement and power involves the way RPs are positioned along the horizontal and vertical angles. The horizontal angle shows involvement or detachment, (frontal angle signifies maximum involvement, oblique angle signifies minimum involvement or maximum detachment). The vertical angle expresses power relations, (high angle signifies power, low angle signifies vulnerability, and eye level signifies equality). These power relations may be between the represented participants and the viewer or between the represented participants within an image. These perspective techniques impart subjectivity to the images. The removal of perspective signifies objectivity and is employed in scientific images. Further, the resemblance of an image to reality as well as the cultural standards of real and unreal in a particular social group establish the modality of any image.

Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006) also assigns certain values to the images based on the placement of elements in the composition. The composition with an element placed at the centre is called 'centred' and that without any element at the centre is called 'polarized'. In a centred composition, when the non-centred elements are placed either on the left and right or above and below the centre, it is a triptych and when these elements are placed above and below as well as to the sides of the centre allowing more elements to be placed in between, it is called circular. Margins are the non-central elements that create symmetry by being identical or nearly identical. The elements can also be assigned information values on the basis of their specific placement on the left and right or at the top and bottom. When an element is polarized by using vertical top - bottom structures, the top element signifies the 'Ideal' and the bottom element signifies the 'Real'. It means that they depict information that is more ideal and more real in any given context. Similarly, in a horizontal left - right structure, the left element signifies 'Given' that is something the viewer already knows, something that is evident and the right element signifies 'New' that is something yet to be known by the viewer, something that requires special attention and is problematic and debatable. The centre of such polarized compositions reconciles the polarized elements to each other in one way or another and is called the 'Mediator'.

Salience, according to Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006), is that aspect of visual composition that implies the degree to which any element in that composition draws the viewer's attention to itself due to its size, its place it's in the foreground, its colour, tonal value, the way it overlaps

any other elements in that composition, its sharpness or definition and some other such factors. Framing shows the degree to which certain elements in any composition are visually separated from each other through the use of frame lines, empty space between these elements and other framing devices. Framing establishes on element as separate and distinct from another.

This study employs many of these concepts in order to answer the above mentioned research questions.

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In the following the selected political cartoons have been discussed under the given framework of the study in order to explore the underlying assumptions and ideology.



Figure 1. (The News, September 18, 2014)

In figure 1, the PTI leader Imran Khan is shown sitting behind a desk with two trays in front of him. The first tray is labelled as 'Allegations' and the second one as 'Evidence'. A lot of papers have been piled up in the first tray while the second tray is empty. The gaze of the figure of Imran Khan (eye line vector) is fixed on the first tray (goal) totally ignoring the second one. Moreover the gestures of Imran Khan are those of contentment and triumph. These signify that the PTI leader is only concerned with allegations and does not bother the lack of evidence. He simply keeps on blaming without proof. The government accuses Imran Khan for laying allegations on its members without any evidence. Imran Khan on the other hand maintains that he has proof of all these allegations. The allegations tray (given) in the figure is full and the evidence tray (New) is empty showing that the viewers are yet to find out the evidences, this establishes the political affiliation of the news group with the ruling party and against the PTI. The image thus attempts to spoil the face of the PTI leader.



Figure 2. (The News, September 28, 2014)

In figure 2 (vertical top - bottom polarization), the economy of the country struggling to rise up and fly high (ideal) is attached through a chain (mediator) with the dharna (sit in) of PTI (real) that is not letting the economy rise. The dharna is represented by a container referring

to the container in which Imran Khan has been staying throughout the sit in. The underlying meaning is that the PTI's protest and sit in have been causing harm to the country instead of benefitting it. The Chinese Premier who was scheduled to arrive in Pakistan postponed his visit to the country due to the political turmoil. He instead visited India, a declared enemy of Pakistan and signed many agreements with her. This was a severe economic and political setback to Pakistan. The ruling party has been putting the entire blame on PTI and its sit in while the PTI has been accusing the government for the deterioration of the economy. The cartoonist has shown his political affiliation with the ruling party. The image provides a face saving to the government by putting the entire blame of poor economy on PTI and thus spoils its face by showing that the PTI sit in is detrimental to the economy.

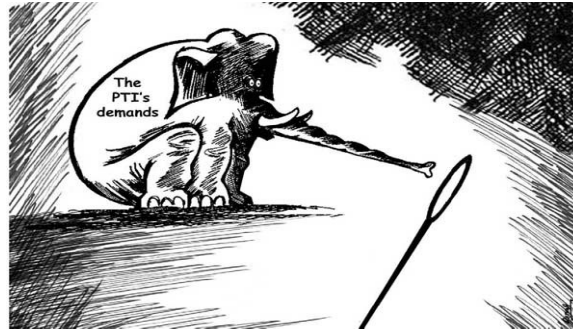


Figure 3. (The News, November 14, 2014)

In figure 3, PTI's demands have been shown as an elephant. The big size of the elephant highlights the massiveness of the demands (salience). The ring through which the elephant has to pass is very small as compared to the elephant. This conveys a meaning that the PTI puts such demands as are impossible or nearly impossible for the government to accept. Due to these huge demands the stand still persists and there is no progress in talks for the solution of the problem. The reference is towards PTI's demand for the resignation of the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Throughout the sit in, PTI has been demanding the prime minister's resignation and the government has been rejecting this demand maintaining that this is inappropriate before the announcement of the findings of the judicial commission declaring the prime minister guilty of rigging the polls. Once again the newspaper appears to be taking government's side and spoiling PTI's face.



Figure 4. (The News, November 18, 2014)

In Figure 4 Imran Khan, the PTI leader is shown in the centre of the composition. He is presented as an archer shooting arrows in all directions. He carries out this attack with his speech as indicated by the words 'Imran - speak' written below him. The arrows thus are the words uttered by the PTI leader Imran Khan. The image conveys the meaning that Imran Khan talks in a manner as if he is attacking people. His words are nothing more than arrows of allegations and blames shot at his opponents. The arrows more over are going in all

directions (centred circular composition) which signifies that Imran Khan spares no one and levels allegations against everybody, his victims (goals) though are not portrayed in the image (non-transactional reaction). This is totally in line with the government's stance that Imran Khan, the PTI leader talks in a rude manner against everybody. The media group here again advocates the case of government against Imran Khan and his party PTI and attempts to defame Imran Khan.

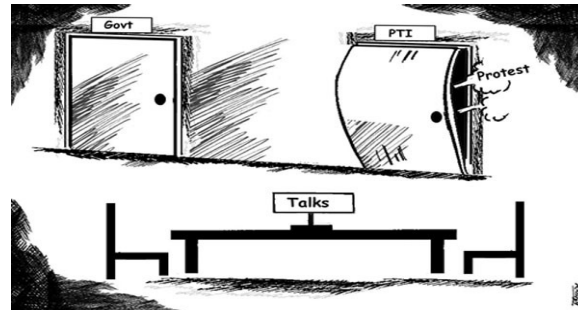


Figure 5. (The News, December 9, 2014)

Figure 5 shows two doors with Govt. (government) and PTI (Pakistan Tehrik e Insaf) written on them. The door labelled Govt. is calm and inactive while that labelled PTI shows signs of chaos and turmoil. Smoke with 'protest' written on it is coming out of the door of PTI. There is a talks table too and the chairs on both sides of the table are empty with no one sitting on them. The calmness at the door of the government signifies its patience and tolerance while the unrest at the door of PTI gives the impression that their continued protests are the cause of the delay of talks. PTI is adamant, bent upon protesting and is not letting the talks proceed which may lead to a solution of the political problem. The two doors are shown wide apart (framing) signifying the gap and the differences between the government and the PTI. The image also construes that despite PTI's turmoil and continued protests, the government still has more power than the PTI (the government being projected at a higher angle). The newspaper thus once again takes a pro government or an anti PTI stance. Hence face saving of the government and face spoiling of PTI in accordance with the political affiliation of the media group.



Figure 6. (The News, August 24, 2014)

Figure 6 shows two participants; economy and dharna. The economy is represented as a feeble and fragile plant while the dharna is represented as a ruthless and aggressive bull. That the economy of the country is weak and frail (given) is an established fact. The cartoonist here shows the ruthless bull that is the sit in ferociously attacking the feeble economy thus asserting that it is the sit in of PTI that is causing harm to an already weak economy (new). Also the size of the bull is much larger than that of the plant (salience) highlighting the helplessness of economy in front of the sit in. This sit in is thus a big threat to the economy. Once again the cartoon is a face spoiler for PTI.



Figure 7. (The Nation, August 31, 2014)

In figure 6 (horizontal left - right polarization), the left hand side (given) shows two participants, the Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif and the prime minister Nawaz Sharif. The Chief of Army Staff is depicted as more powerful than the prime minister as his figure is greater in size and his gaze is downwards while looking at the prime minister. The prime minister's figure on the other hand is smaller in size and he is standing on a stool as well as looking upwards in order to talk to the Army chief. Moreover the gestures of the army chief are authoritative while those of the prime minister are submissive. The newspaper thus construes army's power over the civilian government. The fact that the prime minister asked the army to intervene and convince the PTI to end its sit in is already known by the viewer and proven by the ISPR's statement confirming it. On the right hand side of the image (New), the prime minister is shown giving a statement on television denying asking the army for mediation. This statement of the prime minister is doubtful and challengeable. This is further established by the statement at the bottom of the image (real) which signifies that the government lies to the public and denies the obvious truth. This newspaper thus takes an anti - government stance and indicates that its political affiliation is with the other side. The image is a face spoiler for the government.



Figure 8. (The Nation, September 10, 2014)

Figure 8 shows two participants. American president Nixon is shown at the left hand side of the image. The figure of President Nixon is telling the Pakistani premier that he lost his job because he lied to the masses (Given). This is a reference to the Water Gate Scandal, due to which Nixon when exposed, had to leave the office. The Pakistani premier is shown at the right hand side of the image. He is thinking (mental process) why the US president (phenomenon) is telling him (senser) about the loss of his job. This shows Nawaz Sharif's indifference to his lying to the Nation. The prime minister's integrity here is questionable. He does not consider deceiving the public something worth resigning or something to be ashamed of. This establishes Nixon as much higher in stature than the Pakistani premier as indicated by the difference in their sizes. The image thus again presents the media group's anti-government stance and serves to spoil the face of the prime minister.



Figure 9. (The Nation, October 2, 2014)

In figure 9, one participant represents status quo in the form of PM Nawaz Sharif and the other participant represents Azadi (independence). The power of the masses awakened by the PTI sit in demanding freedom from the shackles of status quo is shown to be dominating the status quo, as indicated by the difference in the sizes of both the participants. The linguistic component of the image further establishes that the status quo has reached a blind alley. It does not have any escape now. This portrayal conveys the meaning that this time the public power will overcome the status quo. This is totally in line with the thinking of PTI leadership that it can break the status quo. Thus once again the newspaper is supporting PTI's stance against the government and providing it a face saving.

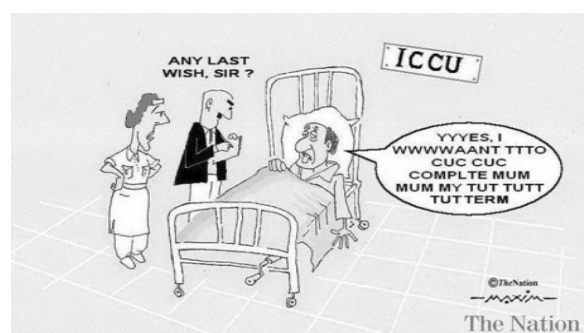


Figure 10. (The Nation, October 21, 2014)

In figure 10, the government is shown breathing its last on a bed in ICU. This indicates that the PTI has the strength to overturn the government. The doctor is asking about the last wish of the rulers. Their last wish as written in the speech bubble (verbal process) is the completion of their term. Despite the turmoil the completion of the term, and not the solution of the political problems, remains on top of the government's agenda. The government is thus not concerned with governance and public welfare but is solely focusing on saving the office. Here again the cartoonist aims to spoil the face of the government by showing it indifferent to the public problems and demands.



Figure 11. (The Nation, November 12, 2014)

Figure 11, that is an offer, shows the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressing the public. The public is chanting the popular slogan "Go Nawaz Go". Sharif's indifference to the cries of masses has been highlighted through satire. The Prime minister is accused of wasting public money by going on a lot of foreign trips. Here the cartoonist has highlighted the same thing. The public wants the PM to go that is to leave the office but the PM is telling them his plans to go on foreign trips to China, Germany, Turkey and UK. The underlying meaning conveyed through this image is that the government's focus is not the problems and demands of public at home but it is the PM's foreign tours on which a lot of public money is spent. Thus, once again the newspaper has shown an anti-government stance and defames the prime minister by depicting him blind to the wishes of the masses.



Figure 12. (The Nation, September 8, 2014)

Figure 12 has two participants; Sheikh Rashid and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Sheikh Rashid is holding a placard with the statement "Imran to go to court against the PM for lying". This is a reference to the Prime minister's lying to the Nation that he never asked the army to mediate and help him get rid of the sit in while the statement from ISPR confirmed that he actually did that. The prime minister (actor) is pointing (transactional narrative process) with his hand (means) towards Sheikh Rashid holding the placard (goal) and is uttering the words 'Eh, pure waste of effort, time and money.' Here the cartoonist casts a doubt at the credibility of the judiciary as it will be of no use going to the court against the prime minister. This implies that the judiciary is unfair and is influenced or controlled by the government. Hence going to court against the ruler will be pure wastage of money and time. The image is a face spoiler for the government as well as the judiciary.

CONCLUSION

This paper tried to explore a previously under explored issue of political cartoons in Pakistani newspapers and declared that the political cartoons in Pakistani newspapers serve as face spoilers for one political party or leader and face saviours for another. It also proved that through this comic portrayal a media group's political affiliations are revealed. The analysis of the data from two Pakistani newspapers established one as pro government and the other as anti-government and proved our point.

The analysis and the findings presented in this paper however are not the final word on political cartoons in the Pakistani newspapers. There is a requirement of further researching other aspects of the political cartoons particularly in the Pakistani context. This study may serve as a guideline for future studies in this area.

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