



Political Semiotics: A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Newspaper Cartoons

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Abstract

Political cartoons are more than satirical illustrations; they are cultural texts that communicate power, critique authority, and shape public perceptions of legitimacy. This study examines how political cartoons from Pakistan and the United States narrativize political authority through the application of Greimas's Actantial Model. Ten cartoons, five from each country, were purposively sampled from widely circulated sources during the 2024 election year. The cartoons were analyzed thematically across five categories: the rise and fall of political leaders; the role of the judiciary in shaping democracy; changing or undefined political systems; cheating and abandoning the people; and factors influencing election outcomes. Findings reveal distinct narrative patterns: Pakistani cartoons depict power as fluid and unstable, with political actors frequently shifting roles depending on alliances and crises, while American cartoons represent power as stable and individual-centered, with clear Subjects and Opponents reflecting structured democratic rivalry. The study demonstrates how cartoons function as semiotic performances that both reflect and challenge political systems. By highlighting differences in narrative logic across volatile and stable democracies, this research contributes to understanding the role of political cartoons as multimodal tools of communication, critique, and cultural meaning-making.

Keywords: Political cartoons; Semiotics; Greimas' Actantial Model; Narrative roles; Power and legitimacy; Pakistan; United States; Visual political communication

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Introduction

Political cartoons have long been recognized as a sharp form of political communication. They combine humour, exaggeration, and symbolism to make complex political realities easier to digest through a visual presentation that the audience can easily interpret. In addition to entertainment, they serve as messengers of a culture that challenges the government, questions its right to rule, and reflects public opinion (Chouliaraki, 2012; Dor, 2003).

In a country like Pakistan, where politics is often unstable, cartoons in this context are more likely to depict leaders who switch sides amid alliances and crises. Such representations highlight an expanded doubt and precarity of power. In comparison, American cartoons are rooted in a more comfortable democratic heritage. They are more likely to concern electoral contests, policy disasters, or power conflicts, and political actors are simplified into consistent roles (Medhurst & Desousa, 1981; Rose, 2022). These comparisons suggest that, despite cartoons reflecting political systems, they also characterize how people understand power and rule (Zelizer, 2010).

To analyze these dynamics, the research employs Greimas' Actantial Model (Greimas, 1987), which posits that roles in a story include the Subject, Object, Helper, and Opponent (Chandler, 2002; Forceville, 2009). This approach helps in disaggregating the locus of political actors/institutions in cartoons to reveal the narrative logic on which power and legitimacy are inscribed. Compared with this model, research shows that cartoons in Pakistan are more likely to depict fluid, shifting roles associated with instability, whereas cartoons in the United States focus more on stable, predictable plots, particularly during election contests. Taken together, these observations suggest that political cartoons are not only descriptions of events, but also structured semiotic performances that shape cultural conceptions of power, legitimacy, and resistance.

Research Objectives

- i. To demonstrate how political cartoons from Pakistan and the United States communicate about power by using Semiotics and Narrative structures

Research Questions

- i. How do political cartoons from Pakistan and the United States communicate about power by applying Semiotics and Narrative structures?

Literature Review

Political cartoons have gained significance as a means of political communication, both in the human aspect of simplification of the intricate political matters and in the factor of influencing the opinion of the masses and the critical approach (Dugalich, 2018; Sani, et al., 2014). Their multimodality, when they combine visual and textual sources, makes them an ideal resource for researching how power, ideology, and legitimacy are represented.

Scholars have applied Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) and semiotics to the analysis of the interaction among language, imagery, and symbolism in political cartoons. The context study, such as Brexit in the UK (Lennon & Kilby, 2021), elections in Nigeria (Hassan, 2019), and the Arab Spring in Jordan and Egypt (Al-Momani et al., 2017; El-Falaky, 2019) show that the visual and linguistic element works together to present a political critique. Such texts reveal the ideological tools of cartoons, which operate cognitively and emotionally through satire and exaggeration, as well as through caricature (Marín-Arrese, 2008; Genova, 2018). Previous research also revealed cultural and contextual dimensions of political cartoons. In Europe, the Muhammad cartoons are recognized as an illustration of how national anxieties, identities, and system values are expressed through cartoons, which can be compared to pandemic-related cartoons in different countries (Strömbäck et al., 2008). In Pakistan,



cartoons have been examined in terms of criticism of governance in crisis scenarios like COVID-19 and economic turmoil (Aazam et al., 2020; Shakeel & Alam, 2023), whereas in Nigeria they have been found to reveal corruption and mis-governance (Olalekan & Mosunmola, 2024). Despite the accumulated literature, several research gaps remain. To begin with, most research has been confined to a single country, and few studies have compared the political cultures of various countries. Second, multimodal and semiotic frameworks are employed. Still, advanced narrative models, such as Greimas's Actantial model, have not been used to analyze the narrative structure of cartoons. Third, little has been done to understand how the construction and critique of political institutions coexist in cartoons, particularly in shaping the politics of legitimacy.

This research fills these gaps with a comparative study of Pakistani and American political cartoons, utilizing the Actantial Model of Greimas to reveal the differences in the construction of narrative roles, namely the Subject, Opponent, Helper, and Receiver, in both volatile and stable political situations. By situating cartoons within cultural and institutional contexts, the research adds to our understanding of how visual satire tells the story of power, legitimacy, and contestation in particular democratic contexts.

Table 1: *Previous Research on Political Cartoons*

Author(s) & Year	Context	Focus/Theme	Key Findings	Methodology
Shakeel & Alam (2023)	Pakistan	Economic crisis cartoons	Critiqued the government's handling of the economy; reflected public discontent	Multimodal analysis
Olalekan & Mosunmola (2023).	Nigeria	Corruption in politics	Used irony and symbolism to expose political/economic struggles	Multimodal analysis
Aazam et al. (2020)	Pakistan	COVID-19 crisis	Visual satire condemned governance failures and economic hardships	Visual & textual analysis
Ghilzai (2020)	Pakistan	Ideological power relations	Demonstrated how cartoons reflect power struggles and censorship	Semiotic analysis
Lennon & Kilby (2021)	UK	Brexit referendum cartoons	Showed how visuals/texts deepened divides in national identity	Multimodal CDA
Hassan (2019)	Nigeria	Election cartoons	Found linguistic + visual codes provided a layered critique of politics	Visual social semiotics
Strömbäck et al. (2008)	Sweden/US	Muhammad cartoons controversy	Highlighted cultural framing differences in media discourse	Cross-cultural content analysis

As Table 1 shows, recent research has examined political cartoons across various contexts, including Brexit and COVID-19, as well as corruption and national identity, employing predominantly multimodal discourse analysis and semiotic methods. Nevertheless, most research is country-specific and conducted on a single modality (visual or textual) at a time. The use of narrative models, such as the Greimas Actantial model, has been limited, and comparative studies of political cultures, such as those of Pakistan and the United States, are scarce. By filling this gap, the current research contributes to the development of a cross-

cultural, narrative-oriented analysis of political cartoons, demonstrating how they constitute power, legitimacy, and contestation.

Methodology

This qualitative study examines political cartoons from Pakistan and the United States published during the 2024 election year. Using purposive sampling, ten cartoons were selected, five from each country, that captured major political concerns, including leadership struggles, judicial influence, electoral processes, and legitimacy. The cartoons were drawn from widely circulated and credible sources, including *Chappatte: Cartoons on the U.S. Presidential Election*, *WCTRIB Political Cartoons*, *The Dawn Newspaper* in Pakistan, the *Washington Times*, and *The Times Examiner*. These outlets were chosen for their reputations and for how they employ satire to reflect national and international political dynamics.

The selected cartoons were then organized into five key themes: the rise and fall of political leaders; the role of the judiciary in shaping democracy; changing or ill-defined political systems; cheating and abandoning the people; and various factors influencing election outcomes. These themes were not predetermined; they emerged through close analysis of the cartoons and their recurring motifs.

To analyze, the guiding framework was the Actantial Model, developed by Greimas. This model proposes the following narrative roles: Subject, Object, Helper, and Opponent, which enables a more systematic exploration of the positions of political actors and institutions in cartoon narratives. Each cartoon was analyzed to reveal the underlying storylines and ideas, and the comparative design enabled the researcher to demonstrate the fluidity of narrative roles in the Pakistani context and the comparative rigidity of the same roles in the American context. This process enabled the methodology to reveal how political cartoons are used to form power, challenge authority, and convey political critique in two different democratic conditions.

Data Analysis

Building on this methodology, the following section presents an analysis of the selected political cartoons, grouped into the five themes identified. Each theme is illustrated with representative cartoons that capture key political narratives and ideological patterns. Using Greimas' Actantial Model, the analysis identifies how political actors, institutions, and citizens are positioned in roles such as Subject, Object, Helper, and Opponent, and how these roles reveal underlying messages about power, legitimacy, and political behaviour. By structuring the discussion thematically, the analysis highlights recurring motifs across both Pakistani and American contexts while preserving the distinct narrative structures of each cartoon.

Theme 1: The Rise and Fall of Political Leaders

Pakistani Cartoon: Political Karma

Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

The relevant Pakistani cartoon, Political Karma, stands as a multifaceted story, structured around its 2018 and 2024 timelines, to probe Pakistan's often dubious democratic system, particularly with respect to political morality and job opportunities.

Imran Khan exemplified a selfless political leader who fought for accountability and justice in 2018. To achieve his goals, Khan relies on the judicial power, combined with a public stance and political forces advocating for anti-corruption reforms. However, his



Image 1: Pakistani Cartoon: Political Karma

Opponents at this stage are corrupt officials who require punishment.

However, by 2024, the entire narrative flips. Imran Khan had transformed from a hero into an Opponent, as he had become surrounded by the power structures that he once used to jail his political opponents. Imran Khan, a former political rival who ascended to power, assumes the position of the Subject, and the Subject defames him on account of his political legitimacy.

By examining how Pakistani cartoons employed theatrical methods, the inversion of character roles between heroes and villains helps demonstrate how political morality was inverted in Pakistan. Their perception as either hero or villain remains transitory, as the definition of what constitutes a hero or villain is likewise transient, shaped by the powers of legal recognition, media influence, and electoral legitimacy. Justice primarily functions as a variable instrument, manipulated by power holders to realize their respective ambitions at a particular moment.

American Cartoon: Trump Racing Ahead of Donkey (2024)

Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

The Pakistani cartoon is more articulated and less linear than this one. While Donald Trump may not have much favorability within the active Twitter class, he is unambiguously positioned as the Subject moving toward the Object of electoral victory in 2024. He is dynamic; he is moving towards the line, and that is energy, focus, and inevitability.

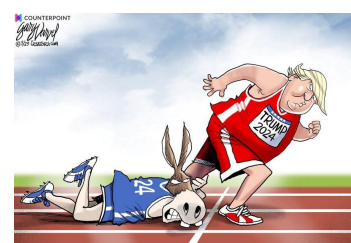


Image 2: Trump Racing Ahead of Donkey

In fact, the way Trump achieved victory is not described as a surprising result of a hard-fought battle won against worthy opponents. Nevertheless, it is depicted that the Democratic Party, in the figure of the classical donkey, is the Opponent that has also neutralized itself. The donkey has misstepped and fallen, thereby barring itself from the race.

In brief, the Helpers here are not allies or political strategies, but a weakness of the Opponent himself is the real Helper of Trump. The cartoon hints that political success is driven less by personal achievement and more by capitalizing on the Opponent's failure; in this respect, the cartoon is subtle, though sharp in its criticism of contemporary American political competition.

The moral ambiguity is absent in this story: the path to Trump's victory is easy, progressive, and almost natural. In this dual system, power prevails; weakness loses, since one is ascending while the other is descending. Neither does the cartoon provide politics as an ethical discourse or a place of ideas. It turns the electoral process into a Darwinian race, where the victorious one is the one who is strong and has momentum.

Theme 2: Role of the Judiciary in Forming Democracy

American Cartoon: Trump Opening Prison Door: "Vote Once, Never Again"

Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

The main Subject of this cartoon is Donald Trump, the political figure who is running for office. His position is that of a leader who is manipulating the democratic process to serve personal interests, making a promise to the electorate to vote once and then not requiring them to vote again. The manipulation of the democratic process itself is the Object of this story, as Trump tries



Image 3: American Cartoon: Trump Opening Prison Door: "Vote Once, Never Again"

to transform the process of voting into a single event, in effect silencing the electorate after they have voted in his favour. It shows that democracy is being turned into an authoritarian regime that does not give the people an opportunity to get involved in politics.

The character in the cartoon represents institutional control, as depicted by the closed prison door. It indicates that voters are constrained and that their role in selecting their governing officials is limited. It supports Trump's efforts to manipulate the democratic system, giving people the impression of choice but taking away any power to make political decisions. The cartoon depicts the democratic system as the Opponent, threatened and displaced by the promise of perpetual influence. The cartoon highlights how democracy is being replaced by authoritarianism, while people still believe their vote makes a difference.

Through these Actantial roles, the cartoon illustrates how democracy can be influenced by those who control the system. Trump's promise to voters that they will never need to vote again starkly contrasts with the ideal of free, continuous electoral participation. The cartoon highlights the tension between political control and democratic values, drawing attention to the subversion of democracy for personal and political power.

Pakistani Cartoon: Supreme Court Cartoon (Justice Manipulation)

Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

In this Pakistani cartoon, the Subject is represented by the political figures, who are depicted embracing a judicial figure. This close connection between politicians and the judiciary underscores their mutual collaboration, thereby undermining the integrity of the judicial system. The Object in this cartoon is the manipulation of justice, where the judiciary, typically an institution designed to uphold fairness and impartiality, is shown as compromised and manipulated to serve political interests. The Helper in this narrative is the interaction between the political figures and the judiciary.

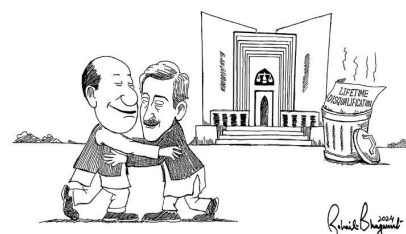


Image 4: Pakistani Cartoon: Supreme Court Cartoon (Justice Manipulation)

The image illustrates how these forces collaborate, as politicians utilize the judicial system to enhance their influence and achieve their objectives. Impartiality and fairness, as primary judicial principles, are shown to be challenged by corruption within the legal system. The role of the Opponent is reversed, as the judiciary now serves to help politicians use the justice system for their gain. In this cartoon, the Actantial characters demonstrate how politicians use the law to benefit themselves and suppress the public. It reveals that the judiciary, which once protected democracy, now actively contributes to electoral unfairness and political system dysfunction.

Theme 3: Changing/Undefined Political Systems

Pakistani cartoon: "Imran stuck between 'Judgments' and 'Polls 2024'"

Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

In this Pakistani cartoon, Imran Khan is drawn on the brink of a cliff, being torn apart by two opposing forces: the "Judgments" (the system of justice) and the "Polls 2024" (the next election). The cartoon Subject is Imran Khan, who is depicted in an indecisive mood. His predicament is obvious: on the one hand, there are the legal problems (represented by "Judgments"), and, on the other hand, the 2024 elections, in which he must leverage his popularity to secure his political future.

The Object of the story is his political survival; he seeks a way to navigate the middle ground between these two powers. Imran still has to navigate these contradictory forces. Whether he can sail through the judicial obstacles in his path or whether he can raise the formidable electoral support that he requires remains a matter of time.

The Helper in this case is the widespread support for Imran Khan, which is reflected in the 2024 elections. However, as long as he can maintain his popularity, it will give him the strength to overcome the hurdles posed by the judicial system. But, in the specified instance, the judicial process is the Opponent, and the figure of Judgments, which might bring a very concrete danger to his political life.

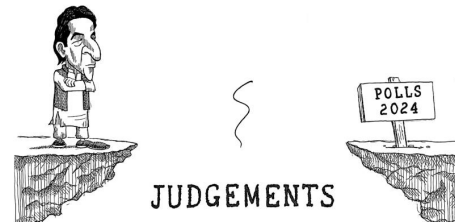
The cartoon satirizes the uncertainties of Pakistani politics and the dilemmas leaders face as they are straddled between the demands of different political institutions, ultimately unable to take substantial action or make meaningful decisions. This predicament reveals an indecisiveness that can hinder political leadership.

American Cartoon: "Jungle Presidential Election (Tarzan Swing)" Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

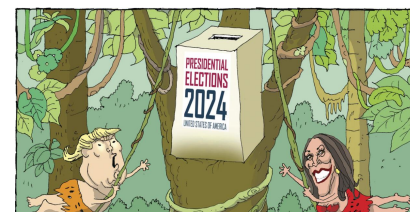
In this international cartoon about the 2024 U.S. presidential election, both Trump and Kamala Harris are depicted as savages swinging through the jungle as they attempt to navigate a chaotic campaign for the presidency. The Subject here is Trump and Kamala Harris, who are regarded as representing the volatility of the 2024 presidential race. Such imagery portrays them as out of touch with the formal, orderly ritual of the political process, so that the election has become an exercise of instinct and survival rather than a well-defined strategic competition.

The Object in the cartoon is the presidency to be won by the two contenders who swing on their rope across the jungle in a bid to have the last prize. In this case, the Helper is the electoral system, which prompts them to compete for the office. However, the jungle swing demonstrates the uncertainty and chaos of the race, with the candidates struggling to control the situation effectively. The Opponent is the wild nature of the election itself, the unplanned twists and turns of modern politics that allow neither of the two candidates to pursue a definite course of action.

This cartoon critiques the 2024 race, depicting uncertainty and chaos as an election that is more of a primal contest, with candidates lurching back and forth, lacking any coherent direction or strategy. It highlights that contemporary politics is occasionally based on instinct and personal charisma rather than on a rational, systematic process of leadership.



**Image 5: Pakistani Cartoon:
"Imran stuck between 'Judgments'
and 'Polls 2024'"**



**Image 6: American Cartoon:
"Jungle Presidential Election
(Tarzan Swing)"**

Theme 4: Cheating and Abandoning the People

Pakistani Cartoon: "Politician and Voter Before and After Election"

Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

In this Pakistani cartoon, the politician is shown to love the voter before the election but to forget the voter afterward. The Subject is the politician who behaves markedly differently once in power. The heart-shaped decorations adorn the car, and the politician is observed interacting with the voter prior to the election. This imagery suggests that the politician is promising and offering political affection to gain support. However, after the election, it becomes apparent that a politician drives away, leaving the voter behind, and this is significant insofar as once a politician has won an election, they are no longer interested in the concerns or needs of the voter.

The object of this cartoon is the election, in which the politician aims to gain power with the assistance of the voters. The Helper is the voter for whom active support is being sought during the campaign period. The Opponent, however, is the apathy of the politician after the election, with the voter being ignored once the politician is in office. This change is an act of betrayal by the voters and a breach of trust by the political leaders, who can easily gain the people's confidence to vote them into power, but once in power, they cannot fulfil their commitments. This cartoon critiques political campaigns, in which politicians often appear caring and concerned about voters' plights to secure their votes, yet they leave them after the election. The betrayal of a majority of voters is evident in the fact that, once in power, politicians look after their own interests and forget the interests of the citizens who helped them get there.

American Cartoon: "Kamala Harris Tripping Trump"

Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

In this global cartoon, Kamala Harris is depicted tripping up Trump as he tries to reach the White House. The subject of this cartoon is Trump, who is shown struggling to reach the presidency, but he faces obstacles in the form of Kamala Harris, represented as the Helper. Harris is holding a red carpet, which she uses to deliberately trip Trump, symbolizing the setbacks and barriers that candidates often face in the competitive and unpredictable nature of an election.

The Object of the cartoon is the presidency, the ultimate goal both candidates are after. While Trump is struggling to make progress, Harris holds a significant advantage, as evidenced by her active interference in Trump's path. The Opponent is the political forces (represented by the red carpet), which serve as a metaphor for the barriers placed before a candidate, whether external political pressures or other forms of obstruction.

This cartoon critiques the power dynamics in political races, in which specific forces or candidates actively work to impede their rivals' progress. It highlights the manipulative nature



**Image 7: Pakistani Cartoon:
"Politician and Voter Before and
After Election"**



**Image 8: American Cartoon:
"Kamala Harris Tripping Trump"**

of electoral processes, in which one candidate's progress is intentionally impeded by another, as seen in Harris's deliberate attempt to trip up Trump.

Theme 5: Various Factors that Influence Election Results

American Cartoon: "Trump vs Biden Arm Wrestling with Classified Docs"

Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

Trump and Biden, in this international cartoon, are depicted arm-wrestling. Yet the boxes beneath them are labelled as CLASSIFIED DOCS, referring to their involvement in the classified documents case, a significant issue in the 2024 election cycle.

Here, the Subject is Trump and Biden, two of the most significant political actors competing for the presidential seat, and, at the same time, the legal aspects of managing classified materials significantly affect the electoral contest. The Object of this match is the 2024 presidential election, the ultimate goal both candidates are aiming for. Still, Trump is burdened by legal troubles (symbolized by the chain and weight on his side), which significantly impair his ability to compete fairly and effectively.

The Helper for Biden is his lack of legal burdens, allowing him to compete in the race without the same restrictions that Trump faces due to his indictments. In the meantime, the legal system, especially the burden of the indictments, is the Opponent of Trump. This cartoon is a criticism of how the dynamics of the 2024 election are influenced by the driving forces behind the scenes, such as legal institutions, which have levelled the playing field (by making it uneven) against one candidate, as the external forces (legal challenges) hinder their progress. In contrast, the other cannot be held back. The cartoon emphasizes that the legal system can handicap one individual and allow the other to have an easy ride in the race.

Pakistani Cartoon: "Army Handing 2024 Election Box"

Narrative and Semiotic Structure (Greimas' Actantial Model)

In this Pakistani cartoon, the army is depicted handing over the 2024 election box to politicians, accompanied by the message, "We have managed to recover your mandate, which was stolen in 2018." The Subject in this case is the army, which functions as an invisible force that shapes political outcomes, particularly in Pakistani elections.

The Object is the 2024 election, which the army claims is being recovered, implying that it is directly involved in the electoral process and in determining the result. The army is a helper to politicians, as military entry gives them practical political legitimacy, providing a mandate they cannot achieve through democratic processes. The Opponent is the absence of democratic integrity, represented by secret military influence that undermines the fairness and transparency of democratic procedures.

This cartoon is an attack on the forces behind the scenes in Pakistan's electoral process, particularly the military's role in determining election outcomes. It raises the issue of the

The 2024 Arm Wrestling Championship



Image 9: American Cartoon: "Trump vs Biden Arm Wrestling with Classified Docs"



Image 10: Pakistani Cartoon: "Army Handing 2024 Election Box"

democratic process being manipulated by external actors, including the military, thereby hindering the actual functioning of democracy and independence. The cartoon further underscores that the army's intervention renders the election essentially devoid of credibility and legitimacy, as politicians are driven not by the will of the people but by the army's backing to attain power.

Conclusion and Findings

This study sought to explore how political cartoons from Pakistan and the United States narrativize power and legitimacy through Greimas's Actantial Model. The analysis of ten purposively selected cartoons, organized into five themes, shows that cartoons function as critical texts that both reflect and shape political discourse.

The results demonstrate a clear difference in narrative styles between the two contexts. In Pakistani cartoons, power is often imagined as dynamic and volatile, and political actors are frequently portrayed as Subject, Opponent, or Helper, with alliances, crises, and shifting circumstances causing role changes. Such instability reflects the political instability of Pakistan, where power is contested and legitimacy is often weak. American cartoons, by contrast, portray power as more stable and individualistic. Persons such as Donald Trump are consistently portrayed as powerful Subjects pursuing predetermined political objectives, and enemies are readily identified as institutional or partisan opponents. Such representations are reinforced by the more organized and predictable U.S. democratic competition.

In conclusion, the analysis shows that political cartoons constitute a mode of narration in which power relations are dramatized intensively through visuality and symbolism. Using the Greimas model, the analysis reveals that authority is discursively constructed as either unstable and changing in Pakistan or stable and competitive in the United States. It highlights the importance of semiotic views on revealing how visual texts convey ideology, challenge authority, and involve the masses in political discourse.

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Appendix

Online Data Sources

- i. Pakistani Cartoon: Political Karma
<https://www.dawn.com/news/1810537>
- ii. American Cartoon: Trump Racing Ahead of Donkey (2024)
<https://m.washingtontimes.com/cartoons/tooning-president-trump/trump-2024/>
- iii. <https://chappatte.com/en/us-presidential-election#>
American Cartoon: Trump Opening Prison Door: "Vote Once, Never Again"
American Cartoon: "Kamala Harris Tripping Trump"
- iv. Pakistani Cartoon: Supreme Court Cartoon (Justice Manipulation)
<https://www.dawn.com/news/1804632>
- v. Pakistani cartoon: "Imran stuck between 'Judgments' and 'Polls 2024'"
<https://www.dawn.com/news/1811080>
- vi. American Cartoon: "Jungle Presidential Election (Tarzan Swing)"
<https://www.wctrib.com/opinion/cartoons/bonus-editorial-cartoon-for-aug-30-2024>
- vii. Pakistani Cartoon: "Politician and Voter Before and After Election"
<https://www.dawn.com/news/1811831>
- viii. American Cartoon: "Trump vs Biden Arm Wrestling with Classified Docs"
<https://timesexaminer.com/cartoons/11485-2024-presidential-election-arm-wrestling>
- ix. Pakistani Cartoon: "Army Handing 2024 Election Box"
<https://bolanvoice.wordpress.com/2024/03/09/election-2024-and-democracy-are-futile-practices-in-pakistan/>