Visual analysis of the big four agenda caricature as portrayed in new media: A case of the gadocartoons.com

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Abstract
This paper focuses on the Visual analysis of the Big Four Agenda as portrayed in the new media caricature. The study aims to depict the sociopolitical and economic context after the 2017 election, focusing on visual communication as embedded in political caricature. This study seeks to unearth such hidden meanings embedded in the Big Four Agenda caricature. The study adopted a qualitative method to arrive at descriptive findings. The researcher applied a semiotic analysis paradigm to analyse the sampled data by interpreting the signs system through connotative and denotative aspects entrenched in the caricatures. The researcher purposively sampled 3 caricatures published by Godfrey Mwampembwa, a Tanzanian, Kenyan-based caricaturist. The results established that Gaddo's caricatures deployed various stylistic devices to criticise the socioeconomic and political plight of the Kenyan people. The devices included puns, codemixing, facial expressions, and gestures. The major themes derived from this caricature were Corruption, Leniency, Selfish economic Interest and Short-lived socioeconomic promises. This study concludes that in as much as a caricature is used as a means of humor, it most significantly conveys messages that require interpreting sociopolitical and ideological knowledge.

Key terms: Analysis, caricature, connotative, denotative, communication, semiotics, visuals.
INTRODUCTION
Visual communication is one of the most predominant forms of mass media in the contemporary world owing to the multifaceted visual representation such as television programs, photographs, newspaper layouts, advertisements, panting and caricatures (Apkon, 2013). According to Apkon (2013), information in the 21st century is dominated by visual means to the extent that what is seen is presumed trustworthy compared to what is heard and read. In other words, seeing is termed as 'believing'.

Political Caricature is a unique genre of visual communication that uses humorous visual images to critique political figures, socioeconomic and political trends, and various institutions - government or non-governmental or political parties (Sani et al., 2014). Over decades, the caricature has been used to reflect the views of the public with reference to various social-political and economic issues that affect a specific social-cultural group in a given society (Ahmed, 2020). Socio-political discourses are significant arenas that offer caricaturist platforms to critique the status quo of the ruling class and demystify concealed political discourses through humorous satire. In this respect, humor in caricature is not solely purposed to trigger amusement from the onlooker's perspective but primarily to convey the ideologies of the caricaturist as drawn from his/her socio-cultural context (Momani et al. 2017).

In other words, sociopolitical caricatures are meant to indirectly criticise the ruling class through satire and humor in a clever way to negate resentment from the subjects portrayed. Through the use of caricature as a medium of mass communication, audiences have learnt the aspect of critically examining their sociopolitical and economic realities. Moreover, this means of conveying information to the mass audience has been considered the most effective compared to written text which often requires a significant amount of time for the audience to comprehend and interpret. Hence the use of caricature allows the mass media to attract more audiences to the print media by raising their attention and curiosity, especially in nations such as Kenya, where the freedom of the press is still under the threat of censorship (Mhamdi, 2017).

The mass media employs language as the primary means through which journalists convey their messages to a heterogeneous audience. Journalists and communication experts rely on linguistic and nonlinguistic resources as a means to tactfully manipulate information to influence their audiences' perceptions. In particular, visual devices such as photographs and caricatures have been deliberately employed to supplement the linguistic means in persuading the audience to perceive a trending issue from the journalist's point of view. The question then is whether the audience of such messages has the prerequisite sociopolitical, economic and ideological context necessary for interpreting meaning embedded in such visual communication strategies as caricatures.

LITERATURE REVIEW
In the 21st century, the study of political caricatures has gained momentum in multiple academic disciplines, including social sciences, health sciences, and communication and media studies. This section will briefly highlight a few studies conducted by selected scholars in addressing the use of caricatures as a means of visual communication.

Conners (2017) conducted a study to investigate how presidential candidates of the 2016 USA Presidential Primaries were represented in political caricature. In his study, Conners retrieved political caricatures published in U.S. newspapers from www.cagle.com, an online catalogue of syndicated caricatures. Conners analysed visual and linguistic elements of the caricature through textual analysis from a qualitative perspective. The findings of Conners' study established that both the Republicans and Democrats were reluctant to support their party's nominee with regard to their portrayal in the various caricatures. For example, the Republican Party was portrayed in a manner to suggest that they have the minimal option of blocking Donald Trump from vying for the top seat in the primaries owing to his unstoppable political success. On the other hand, the caricature analysed depicted the Democratic Party as unsettled between its two candidates, Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton.

Sani, Abdullah, M. H, and Ali (2012) conducted a study in Nigeria to demonstrate how political caricature influences social Agendas. The specific objectives of
Sani et al. study was to determine the main themes of political caricature in two Nigerian newspapers between 2007 and 2010. Their study adopted a qualitative approach embedded in semiotic analysis. The findings of Sani et al. study established several substantive themes that reflected national interest issues, including democratic leadership, corruption, economy, living standards and infrastructures. The study concluded that caricature constitutes a tough but significant communication medium that enables journalists to influence the Agenda of significant issues and events affecting Nigeria's sociopolitical and economic society. The study further concluded that caricature in a political sphere is useful in setting social Agenda that stirs the public to champion political and economic reforms. Lastly, the paper established that political caricature constitutes a powerful multimodal genre encompassing linguistic and nonlinguistic means to pass through information and hence requires theoretical knowledge to derive meanings fully.

Mhamdi (2017) conducted an online study that sought to analyse the impact of political caricature as applied in social media, using the Tunisia 2011 transitory uprising as a case study. Mhamdi analysed 16 caricatures with political inclinations that were mostly shared and circulated via Facebook. The findings of Mhamdi's study established that political caricature was significantly applied in reflecting Tunisia citizens' socioeconomic and political state during the 2011 government transitory revolution. Further, Mhamdi's study concluded that the caricaturist's objective is not only focused on entertaining the audience but, most importantly, to "satirically provoke and shock their audiences" by providing them with a superior lens through which they can view, question and critique socioeconomic and political issues affecting Tunisia. The predominant themes derived from this Mhamdi's study were corruption, political instability, terrorism, liberty, and the threat to uprising and elections. Mhamdi's study drew data from a sample of 16 caricatures from several caricaturists to arrive at his findings. This study will be limited to three caricatures, all done by a single caricaturist.

In the quest to understand the representation of Visual Language in Non-Verbal Communication, Abdullah (2018) conducted a study that sampled 29 political caricatures that spread widely via both the mainstream and new media during the 2010s Arab Spring era aftermath. The researcher employed Barthes' (1977) semiotic framework of denotative and connotative to derive specific elements that lead to various themes. The findings in Abdullah's study established that visual communication, as depicted in the Arab Spring caricature between 2011 and 2013, resulted in similar themes influencing critical issues such as democracy, the relation between the military and the citizen, the role of the mainstream and new media, gender issues in relation to sociopolitical change and ethical issues affecting caricaturists vis-à-vis their audiences. The elements that led to the themes stated in Abdullah's study were symbolism, colors, irony, metaphor, signs and analogy, among others. Abdullah's study concluded that the goal of visual communication, as portrayed in the Arab Spring political caricature, was mainly to trigger action among Arab audiences against sociopolitical and economic injustice from the ruling regime. Further, the caricature employed in the Arab Spring era conveyed the citizen's zeal and anticipation toward achieving freedom of expression.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS
To effectively analyse the data, the researcher employed Barthes' (1977) model of analysing visual codes that categorised visuals into three distinct messages: Linguistic messages (This is the text in the caricature), literal messages (Comprising denotative messages) and symbolic messages (including connotative meaning. The linguistic messages comprised the descriptions and verbal captions ascribed in the caricatures. Denotative messages comprised the nonlinguistic features such as gestures, physical structures, facial expressions and exaggerations that are explicitly portrayed. Connotative messages, on the other hand, are comprised of symbolic information drawn implicitly through the interpretation of the linguistic and denotative meanings to arrive at specific themes.
The Four Pillars of Corruption

Figure 1 above depicts right honorable Raila Odinga and his excellences President Uhuru Kenyatta hugging each other in a tight hug. The situational context for this caricature is the handshake between Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta, which took place on the 9th of March, 2018. Raila Odinga had just been illegally sworn as the people’s president following a disputed presidential election that had just ended in Kenya. Uhuru being the legitimate president, was in great dispute with Raila. The handshake was a public gesture demonstrating to Kenyans that both parties have merged their differences and are now united to steer the country toward sustainable development.

Figure 1: The Big 4

Socioeconomic and Political Context

Table 1: Signs Derivation in the Analysis of Figure 1

| Linguistic | Connotative        |
|------------|--------------------|
| Signifier | Signified/Signifier | Signified                         |
| The Big 4 | Uhuru’s legacy agenda | New bait for political mileage |
| NYS       | National Youth Service | NYS corruption scandal          |
| KPS       | Kenya Pipeline Company | KPS corruption scandal         |
| NCPB      | National Cereals and Produce Board | NCPB corruption scandal |
| KPLC      | Kenya Power and Lighting Company | KPLC corruption scandal |

| Denotative | Connotative                                      |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Signifier | Signified/Signifier                              | Signified                                      |
| Portico   | Free entrance                                   | Gateway to corrupt practices                  |
| 4 Pillars | Structural support                               | Political unions provide safety for the corrupt political allies |
| Staircases| Ease of movement                                 | Freely join to be cushioned from corruption allegations |
| Tight embrace | Full acceptance                       | Deal sealed (Keep quiet as I keep quiet) |

Linguistic Context

The linguistic message portrayed in figure 1 is represented by four abbreviations written in each pillar and reads as NYS (National Youth Service), KPC (Kenya Pipeline Company), NCPB (National Cereals and Produce Board), and KPLC (Kenya Power and Lighting Company). All four abbreviations herein represent companies that are largely owned and managed by the government. On the top of the caricature is an additional text that reads "THE BIG 4". This linguistic message is with reference to President Uhuru’s legacy agenda. Table 1 below shows the summary of signs (signifier and signified) derived from the analysis of figure 1.
Denotative Message
The figure portrays two men dressed officially in what appears like identical suits embracing each other in a tight hug with broad smiles on each of their faces. The men are portrayed standing on a portico-designed porch which seems to be leading to the entrance of a building. The portico is supported by four massive columns with inscriptions on each reading NYS, KPC, NCPB and KPLC. The front view of the portico, right on the lintel, has the inscription that reads "THE BIG 4", all text in upper case. The characters represented in this caricature are President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, the (then) president of the republic of Kenya and Right Honorable Raila Amolo Odinga, former prime minister of the republic of Kenya. Uhuru is portrayed as one with huge sloppy lips that tend to expose his teeth.

On the other hand, Raila Odinga is identified by his driving cap, otherwise known as the flat cap. The portico signifies a free entrance to the building, while the four strong pillars signify firm structural support of the building. The staircase leading to the portico signifies ease of movement from the lower to higher levels as one advances to the portico. Finally, a tight and seemingly emotional embrace signifies full acceptance and union of the two parties.

Connotative Message
The connoted message in figure 4 is derived through the lenses of both the linguistic and denotative messages. From the linguistic perspective, we get the written messages: firstly, "THE BIG 4" inscriptions on the lintel section above the portico. This inscription represents the four agendas that President Uhuru Kenyatta intends to achieve before his second presidential term expires in the year 2022. The pillars of these four Agenda are food security, affordable housing, universal health care, manufacturing and Job creation. Satirically, these four agendas are represented by the initials NYS, KPC, NCPB and KPLC. These four initials represent four government-owned companies which are marred in corruption allegations. Specifically, as portrayed in this caricature, the NYS pillar symbolises the National Youth Service corruption scandal in which it is alleged that Kenya’s Ministry of Devolution and Planning lost approximately KES 1.8 billion, equivalent to $17 million dollars. The money is alleged to have been lost during the tenure of Uhuru Kenyatta as the president and Madam Ann Waiguru as the then cabinet secretary in the Ministry of Devolution and Planning. The second pillar (moving left to the right), denoted as KPC, symbolically represents a second corruption saga involving the Kenya Pipeline Company, where it is alleged that an estimated amount of KES 70 billion was lost in a myriad of corruptions dealings within the company. The third pillar depicted herein and labelled as NCPB represents yet another corruption scandal undertaken at the National Cereals and Produce Board, where it is estimated that KES 768.3 million was paid to unscrupulous traders within the country. The fourth pillar, named KPLC, denotes another corruption scandal where it is alleged that The Kenya Power and Lighting Company embezzled approximately KES 201 million through the supply of faulty transformers.

The caricaturist has satirically replaced the big four agenda pillars; food security, affordable housing, universal health care, manufacturing and Job creation with Uhuru’s Kenyatta government’s involvement in corrupt dealings in NYS (National Youth Service), KPC (Kenya Pipeline Company) NCPB (National Cereals and Produce Board) and KPLC (Kenya Power and Lighting Company). The union of Uhuru and Raila Odinga has gone beyond the handshake, as depicted in the caricature through a tight embrace. With the embrace of a union between the two leaders, corruption dealings in government institutions have the leverage to thrive, considering that the opposition which checks the government has been weakened. Essentially what the caricaturist is portraying is that the real pillars of the big four Agenda by Uhuru Kenyatta are not in any way focused on development but on reality, standing tall and firm to safeguard the interest of the untouchable. Through this political union, the suspects of these corruption dealings who
politically are inclined, either Uhuru or Raila, are happy because they will be protected from prosecution. In a nutshell, this union has paved the way for corruption leniency

Bargaining for the Big four Resources

Figure 2: Distribution of the Big Four Resources

Socioeconomic and Political Context

Figure 2 herein depicts President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, his deputy William Samoe Ruto, and the opposition leader and handshake partner, Right honorable Raila Amolo Odinga. The situational context of this caricature is the disagreement between President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto. Uhuru is championing his big four agenda legacy projects while his deputy is preoccupied with the succession of the 2022 presidency. On the other hand, Raila Odinga has been tagged in courtesy of the handshake union and is optimistic about having a sizable share of incoming resources.

Table 2: Signs Derivation in the Analysis of Figure 2

| Linguistic | Connotative |
|------------|-------------|
|**Signifier** | **Signified/ Signifier** | **Signified** |
| **Now that we have settled TAX manenos, You guys can have the big four and leave me with the 2022 elections.** | Ruto proposes to be given 2022 elections for his shares. Uhuru and Raila share the resources of the big four. | An election is but a decision of a few political elites. Citizens are not an integral part of this "democratic process." The Big four Agenda are resource looting opportunities by the political leaders. |
| **It is a fair arrangement, everyone is satisfied** | With this distribution, everyone is satisfied | Fairness to political leaders/elite has nothing to do with mwananchi. So long as "they" are satisfied, the citizen is "well" represented. |

Denotative

**Signifier** | **Signified/ Signifier** | **Signified** |
|--------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Ballot box   | Elections               |               |
| Warehouse    | Manufacturing           |               |
| Apartments   | Affordable housing      |               |

Journal url: https://journals.editononline.com/
Sacks of grain | Food security
---|---
Pill Can | Universal healthcare
Major theme | Corruption

| Major theme | Handshake paves for corruption lenience

### Linguistic Context
Figure 2 depicts two sets of linguistic messages. First is a labelling set which has identified the big four agenda resources. The labels include housing to represent affordable housing, food to represent food security, health to represent universal health care, manufacturing to manufacturing, and job creation. A verbal caption represents the second linguistic context by William Ruto that reads: "Now that we have settled Tax Manenos... You guys can have the big four and leave me with 2022 elections". Table 2 above is a summary of findings that were drawn with respect to the analysis of figure 2.

### Denotative Message
The visual represented here depicts three individuals; one is on the left side of the frame, while two are directly opposite on the right side. On the left wing is William Samoe Ruto, the vice president of the republic of Kenya, while on the right is his excellency Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, the president of the Republic of Kenya and right honorable Raila Odinga, former Prime minister of the republic of Kenya. On the left wing, William Ruto is officially dressed, stern looking in a shirt and tie complemented by a religious scarf on his head. Motion with his left hand and mouth opened, he is making a statement while his left-hand pushes the resources on the table with a floor broom to his counterparts on the opposite side of the table. Uhuru is clad in what seems like a suit complemented by a kingly cap. He is portrayed bending slightly towards the table while supporting his upper body on it with both hands. Uhuru has turned his head towards Raila as if to inquire from him what he thinks of the deal being proposed by William Ruto. Immediately next to Uhuru is Raila Odinga. Raila is clad in a finely dotted coat with a flat cap. He is holding his chin by his right hand and appears to be analysing the bargain presented by William Ruto thoughtfully. These individuals are standing around a hexagon table of which on top lies the model of the big four 'resources'.

An image of three-storey apartments represents housing; nine sacks of grains denote food security; a model of a warehouse identifies manufacturing. Furthermore, healthcare is represented by a tin of medicine. A ballot paper bin on Ruto's side represents the 2022 general election.

### Connotative Message
The connotative message in figure 2 is derived from both the linguistic and the denotative contexts. The linguistic message depicts a conversation by William Ruto that reads, "Now that we have settled tax Manenos... you guys can have the big four and leave me with 2020 elections". Through the message connoted from such utterances, the caricaturist implies that the big four Agenda is not about the common Mwananchi but the political elite. The absence of any public representative at the dividing table further proves that whatever legacy agenda Uhuru is championing is focused on benefiting the political elite. The caricaturist portrays Ruto's headscarf as a symbol of religion. The message behind this religious apparel is to depict the deputy president as one who, on the outward appearance, appears more holy than thou. However, behind the scenes, he is preoccupied with his own selfish endeavors. The caricaturist portrays Uhuru as having personal Agenda in bringing Raila onboard through the handshake union. For many years, Raila has been the mouthpiece of the masses against socioeconomic injustices by the ruling party as the longest-serving opposition leader. Having Raila onboard is a strategic gimmick by Uhuru Kenyatta to silence him and, by extension, citizens that are the immediate victims of socioeconomic and political injustices. Uhuru is portrayed looking at Raila patiently as if to ask him what he will take in exchange for his watchdog role. The caricaturist has portrayed Raila looking so keenly at the offers tabled for his choice. He seems not so decided on what among the big four resources he will consider taking and forfeiting his role as the public watchdog. The major themes portrayed in figure 2 are off selfishness, corruption and hypocrisy.
by our top leaders. Selfishness in the sense that only the three top leaders are present to share the national resources placed on the table. The common mwananchi has been completely left out of the matter. With respect to corruption, the caricaturists express the idea that whatever Uhuru is calling his big four legacy agenda, are mere means of benefiting himself and silencing those capable of shouting about the hidden benefits as his term nears expiry. All three leaders have been portrayed as hypocritical. Ruto seems to be so determined to win the 2022 election. He is portrayed as willing to let go of all the economic benefits resulting from the big four resources so long as the 2022 elections ballot is left under his control. Raila is portrayed as hypocritical for taking the big four resource bait at the expense of championing the interest of the public.

Socioeconomic and Political Context
This caricature was drawn at a time when the narrative of the Big four Agenda was still on but gradually fading away as a result of the political disagreements between President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Samoei Ruto in their ruling Party Jubilee. The focus on the big four agenda seemed to be Uhuru’s ideas which were being championed at the expense of his running mate and deputy. Ruto has been sidelined, so the Jubilee party seems to be breaking apart, with political members within the party splitting between the camps.

Linguistic Message
The linguistic messages portrayed in the caricature include a verbal conversation from Earth that states, "Mission control... an unidentified object detected; seems to be lost in space". The second sets of linguistic messages include the big four agenda pillars labelled in the structural parts of the spaceship as food security, housing, universal health coverage and manufacturing. Table 3 below is a summary of findings drawn in the analysis of figure 3.

Short Leaved Development Agenda

Table 3: Signs Derivation in the Analysis of Figure 3

| Linguistic | Connotative |
|------------|-------------|
| Signifier  | Signified/ Signifier | Signified |
| ... Mission control. An unidentified flying object detected seems to be lost in space | This is a message from a mission control centre, a facility that manages space flights. The assumption is that the space shift identified was not sent from any earth’s mission control centre and hence deemed | The message from this linguist text is in reference to the big four Agenda. President Uhuru’s big four Agenda is being identified as an unidentified flying object. The message of the caricaturist is that the big four agenda legacy projects are so detached from citizens such that they can only be sported somewhere far away 'in space' as an unidentified object. |
**Denotative Message**
The denoted or literal view of figure 3 depicts a space shift hovering in space. The viewer of this caricature can tell space owing to the numerous heavenly bodies depicted, including the stars and planets. The Earth is seen from a distance behind the cruising ship, while three planets can be seen with a ring around them that often identifies Satan as the planet. The body parts of the space shift herein have been labelled with names similar to the big four agenda pillars. The front module bears the name 'housing while the rear module is labelled as manufacturing. The left wing of the rocket is named food security, while the right-wing bears the name 'universal health care. Right in the middle of the front module is the Jubilee party symbol in full colour. This middle section is the control module of the space shift.

**Connotative Message**
The connoted message in figure 3 is drawn from both the linguistic and the denotative contexts. The major linguistic message in this caricature is a verbal communication from the mission control station on Earth. This message is sort of an alarm to notify various astronauts/scientists that the control station has been able to sport a flying object which cannot be registered. This linguistic message insinuates that Kenyans representing the Earth's inhabitants are not informed of the big four Agenda. As the message states, 'an unidentified flying object detected. The caricaturist is trying to suggest that the mention of the big four Agenda seems to have passed the citizen's hearing with minimal notice.

Further, this caricature suggests that the big four Agenda are basically political Agenda considering that they are championed from a political orientation. In the drawing presented, the Jubilee party is depicted as the pilot of the space shift, considering that it is placed in the control module compartment. In a nutshell, the caricaturist herein suggests that the big four are political agendas and have little to do with the common mwananchi. Further, the caricaturist could be suggesting that the big four will not be here to stay

### Denotative

| Signifier          | Signified/ Signifier                        | Signified                                                                 |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Food security      | Denotes the left wing of the spaceship       | Uhuru's four legacy agendas are depicted as mere components of an unidentified flying object. The caricaturist implies that the Uhuru's legacy agenda are not there to last. They will soon fly away and be forgotten. |
| Housing            | Denotes the modular front compartment       |                                                                           |
| Universal coverage | Denotes the right wing of the spaceship      |                                                                           |
| Manufacturing      | Denotes the rear modular compartment        |                                                                           |
| Jubilee party logo | Denotes the central modular compartment     | The caricaturist implies that the Jubilee party is at the centre and driving the big four Agenda, as demonstrated by the party leader. However, the big four Agenda and the jubilee party will soon vanish in the air. |
| Major theme        | Vanity                                      | Short leaved development agenda                                          |
but will soon be forgotten together with the political party that tends to champion it. As the current President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta exits the office, so will his big four agenda exit with him, accompanied by the fall of his political party Jubilee.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions: The study has a thematic analysis and presentation of socioeconomic and political caricature with respect to Uhuru's big four agenda legacy. The researcher employed Barthes' (1977) denotation and connotation analysis framework. The researcher carefully examined messages drawn from the sampled caricatures from the linguistic, denotative and connotative perspectives. The findings of the study have established that Gaddo's caricatures used various stylistic devices such as metaphors, puns, code-mixing, colours, facial expressions, gestures, and objects, among other elements, to criticise the socioeconomic and political plight of Kenya with respect to Uhuru's big four agenda legacy projects. Consequently, through qualitative analysis, the research was able to draw three major themes from the three caricatures analysed. The themes drawn were corruption, leniency resulting from Uhuru and Raila's union, selfish economic interest among political leaders, and short-leaved socioeconomic promises. This study concludes that inasmuch as a caricature is used as a means of humor, it most significantly conveys messages that require interpreting sociopolitical and ideological knowledge. Furthermore, the humor applied in various caricatures is significant in kindling a positive effect on the target audience who aspire to equal distribution of resources in a democratic nation.

Recommendations: Newspaper readers and fans of political caricatures need to be vast with social-political and ideological knowledge to interpret caricatures effectively. Cartoons are an essential aspect of media discourse for their ability to harness linguistic and non-linguistic communication. Therefore, they are an important area that could be introduced into the study of journalism and mass communication. Like any form of artistic work, caricatures require a high level of critical thinking to interpret meaning. To this end, learning caricature is an essential element that should be introduced in the syllabus to allow learners to develop literary analysis skills.

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