Semiotics of Elections in Political Caricature of Online Newspaper:

A Case Study of 2018 Presidential Egyptian Elections

Dr.Wesam Mohamed Ahmed

Faculty of mass Communication – Ahram Candian University

Introduction:

Caricature is one of the forms of non-oratorical rhetorical messages used in visual communication (visual commentary). Newspapers and magazines use satire and sarcastic caricature to portray political events, government policies, and important societal and political figures. The portrayal may represent real-life characters or project a fictional character that reflects certain modes of thinking and attitudes. The caricaturist portrays events in an unconventional way without confining himself to the traditional media symbolic language. One caricature may convey multiple intensive complex messages. Cartoon elements play a role in creating and presenting the image to communicate a compelling message regarding a political or social issue. Thus these elements form part of the formal concepts used by graphic artists in constructing their convincing invitation to their reader (Abdullah, et. al. 2018, 2).

Although some researchers argue that caricatures may not be understood but by those who know the political context, still it has been used extensively, as it develops a sense of curiosity and creates an incentive for the readers to look for what is happening around them. Caricature also sometimes reflects continuous political discussion among the public about events, a matter which enhances both direct and indirect social criticism. Colin Seymour argues that the exaggerating or insulting comments that may be used in a caricature might not be accepted if they came in an editorial article (Akande 2002, 25).

As visual images, the caricature is used in media representations or constructions of politicians, political parties, their attitudes to the public, or as the effects of their actions and inactions on the public. Political communication through the use of visuals is rooted in text producers' thought about the capacity of visual images to generate deeper feelings in people than those spoken or written language (Andima 2019, 3). Also Conners mentioned that political cartoons do not need to follow the principles of objectivity, including information tales. as an alternative, they explicit views in parallel with the newspaper editorials and opinion columns. Political cartoons are consequently a safe manner to express opinions or to make accusations, opposite to news reports, which should be primarily based on statistics without exaggeration (Conners 2005, 480).

Analysis of semiology, being a key element applied to signs, especially cartoons, is helpful in understanding, interpreting meaningful visual messages used by the media, and creating meanings that relate to socio-cultural and personal connections in the second level of meaning which is connotation (Andima 2019, 15). Political events like elections are occasions for cartoonists to flourish and to become exceptionally creative and innovative, they not only criticize the status quo, they often seek to highlight hidden discourses and sociopolitical stances in a humorous way. Caricature should therefore not be seen as enjoyable, since political cartoons aim at communicating the opinions (Al-Momani, K. et. al. 2017, 2).

The art of caricature is inherited in the cultures of peoples. Egyptian used to mix sarcasm with seriousness, through their

comments on serious matters by using jokes and exaggerating comments as a way around to tackle complicated matters. Egyptians used their sarcasm spirit to express their political attitudes so they do not fall under the legal prosecution of the political regimes. This can be observed in various events and situations.

Egyptian journalism is one of the leading Arab journalism that introduced the art of the caricature on its pages. Moreover, it dedicated special caricature magazines such as *Abu Nazarah* (The Man with Glasses) by Yaqub Sanu'. *Abu Nazarah* was published in 1878 and considered the first of its kind of sarcastic magazines in Egypt. Other journals, such as *Al-Musawwir*, *Roza Yusuf*, Kashkul, etc. soon used caricature as the main component on their pages. Famous caricature artists started to be known to the public, especially when their art getting used in political debates. Names such as Al-Bahjuri, Salah Shahin, Ihab Bahjat, Alexander Sarukhan (famous for his "*Mr. Egyptian*" character), Ramsis, Mustafa Husain (known for his "Kampura" character), etc. became familiar names to the Egyptian readers.

This study, however, focuses on how the political caricature portrayed the Egyptian 2018 presidential election. First it examines the main operational themes of these caricatures that were drafted. Second, it analyzes the caricature patterns and the literary and cultural illusions found in the online newspaper.

Significance, Methods and Study Questions

Earlier caricature studies have always focused on the image of the ruler, and thoughts, and actions of political trends (such as El-hady W. 2017, Ghareb H. 2016, Samy E. 2015), or the image of the parliamentary representatives (Manal Ezzat 1990). The lack of critical studies on political caricatures may be due to the limited space of political activism in the Egyptian society pre-25th January Revolution. Presidential elections before the revolution took the form of delegating the ruler to rule by people's names. People did not actively participate in these elections. However, very little has been done on studying the caricature of January 25th Revolution and the real local factors of the game (the public

agents, the voters) (Hosam M. 2014, El-Maghraby 2013). The present study focuses on the themes of political caricature and how the election was portrayed.

The research problem:

Considering the developments and changes in Egypt in the years following the revolution, it was important to know the effect of these changes on the handling of caricatures at this point. As the caricature is not just for fun, it conveys messages and presents hidden messages that require a culturally knowledgeable competent interpreter to decode the signs.

Consequently, the research problem is to address a major question as to how the caricature represents the picture of the 2018 Egyptian presidential election, as the caricature poses a specific type of media messages in which it reflects the public opinion about the candidates and the electoral process. Accordingly, this study derives from the researcher's conviction that by introducing a new topic in a form of a discourse, it adds value to existing work in the field of political cartoons after the 25th Revolution.

So arguing, **the research identifies the following aims:**

1- Analyzing the symbols used through the art of the caricature in the 2018 Egyptian presidential elections.

2- Identifying the major themes and ideas that Egyptian online journals focused on.

3- Distinguishing the messages contained in the caption of the caricature (the symbolic use of caption words) and the connection between the e-journal ideology/orientation and the ideas presented in the caricature.

Accordingly, the researcher introduces the following research questions:

1. Identify the frequent themes that appeared regularly during the 2018 Egyptian elections?

2. What are situational themes, the literary and cultural illusions, the political commonplaces, and the personal traits used in the caricature?

3. What are the language and non-language semiotic indicators used in the caricature?

Methods:
Theoretical Framework

This research uses semiotics as a method for examining political cartoons and hermeneutics as a theoretical context. The word semiotics comes from English **"Semiotics"**, **"Semiology"** is another name for semiotics. They have the same significance as being a study of signals. Semiotics and semiology are both Greek derivatives: semeion, meaning sign (Syakur et. al 2018, 73). the Hippocrates (460-337BC), the pioneering scientific theory of symptoms, invented the term semiotics. Later, **the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure** (1857-1913) published a course in General Linguistics in 1916. Often known in the history of semiotics are some experts such as an American philosopher, Charles Sanders Pierce. De Saussure and Sanders Peirce have different semiotic concepts. Saussure calls semiology, while Peirce called semiotic. For Saussure, semiology studies the role of signs as part of social life. For Peirce, semiotic was the formal doctrine of signs, which was closely related to logic. But nowadays we recognize the study as semiotics. Then, Saussure and Peirce were considered as co-founder of semiotics. (Nopiyati 2018, 73)

Semiotics has been used to study signs and symbols as communicative elements. In the beginning semiotics focused on linguistic modifiers as used in linguistics, but soon it was utilized to understand non-linguistic expressions such as images. As Maya Pines suggests, semiotics teaches us how to find meaning in all the objects and other kinds of messages that others send to us and how others find meaning in the messages we send to them (Arthur Asa 2015, 2).

So, the Semiotics is a study that explores the existence of a sign in its specific meaning in culture, both linguistic and non-language, including an image. Semiotics is characterized as the study of signs and everything that relates to it: how it works, its connection to other signs, its distribution, and its acceptance by those who use it (Syakur 2018, 73).

Semiotic models of communication permit a richer and more complex view of human communication. They "focus on how cultural meanings are produced, on the producers, and the processes of the production of meaning. They give equal attention to the structures within which meanings are consumed, and the consumers, and on the processes of consumption of meaning. Above all, [they] insist on seeing the totality of structures, of the whole system, of the interconnectedness of all the processes" (Hronsky 1998, 8). As Saussure argued, most people pay more attention to visual impressions simply because these are sharper and more lasting than an aural impression; that is why they show a preference for the former (Saussure 1959, 25).

Chandler (1994) pointed out that the studies of semiology are characterized by a wide range of studies in art, literature, anthropology, and media, rather than an independent Linguistics academic field. Berger (2013, 69) mentioned that the founding father of semiotics was the Swiss linguist, as Ferdinand de Saussure was the founding fathers of the term semiology, however it has been replaced in recent years by Peirce's term "semiotics."

Semiology was intended to include not only human language, but also all forms of communication used within society— linguistic and nonlinguistic (Akande 2002, 35). So, semiotics focuses on the signs and how they were used to convey a certain meaning. The sign is a material component that is understood by our senses. So it is not about the practical efficiency of the sending process but on the communication process itself. Meanings are not only confined to the text but are an outcome of the interaction of people with texts. Saussure wrote: Semiology would show what constitutes signs, what laws govern them. Since the science does not yet exist, no one can say what it would be; but it has a right to existence, a place staked out in advance." (Saussure 1959, 16)

Peirce, the second founding father of semiotics, formulated his model of the sign and offered a triadic model: the Representamen: the form which the sign takes (not necessarily material); an Interpretant: not an interpreter but rather the sense made of the

sign; an Object: to which the sign refers. (Chandler, 1994) As this model the representamen means **"sign" and "signifier"**; Interpretant means what is created in mind; and the Object refers to the concept of "the signified".

Peirce classifies signs into three types: icons, indexes, and symbols. Icons signify by resemblance, indexes signify cause and effect, and symbols signify the basis of the convention (Berger 2015, 25). In this context icons represent the relationship of physical resemblance with the signified. For example, one's portrayal becomes an icon for him. Icons may be presented via a language code. For example, the sound, shshshsh, is considered an indicator of the splash of water when throwing a stone into it. As for index, it is a sign that informs us about the connection between a certain matter and its effect, i.e. cause and effect connotations. For example, the image of smoke is an indication of fire, the image of clouds is an indication of rain, the smile is an indication of happiness, etc. As for the sign, the connection between signifier and signified is cultural-based. It relies on how it may be interpreted in a certain environment. For example, writing "politics" inside a "NO Parking" sign means politics is forbidden; the printer image on a screen means this is where you click if you want to print, etc.

Another perspective for **Roland Barthes**, the data are analyzed signifier and signified and interpreted reasonably way, and often differentiate between the denotative and connotative meaning of the data (Nopiyati 2018, 72).

Signs are used in daily lives, as people develop gestures, hand signs, and facial expressions to communicate among them. There is also the sign language of the hearing and visually impaired persons. There are signs in the computer user interface, in traffic, in commercial advertisements, etc. Interestingly people use them, without totally comprehending how such signs were developed or created. Therefore, studying semiotics in non-verbal communication is an important development in the linguistic field. Each sign is supposed to convey a message from the sender to the recipient. This sign may convey a simple message but it connotes cultural tradition and human intra-relationship.

So, the caricature as a "sign" is designated of three parts:

- **The signifier**: the concept or the idea, or rather the physical presence of the mark and its connotation, which is in word or thought

- **Signified or vehicle**: the concept of mental meaning; the sign is related to external reality in what is known as intent or meaning

- **Signification**: the communicative message may be through oral or visual communication or a combination of both. Studies have analyzed simulations of drama, folk tales, comics, advertisements, logos, posters, maps, multimedia, pictures, and cartoons.

Literature Review:

Regarding Arab studies relevant to the Egyptian context, the researcher finds few studies closely linked to the topic of the study: the semiotics of the presidential election. This literature review will concentrate on reviewing some studies of caricature semiotics related to the case after the revolution, and shed some light on studies of presidential elections in general.

There is little research has been done on political caricature in the Arab world during the period of the Arab Spring and elections (Saleh R. 2018; Abdullah, S. M. A. S. M. 2018; Al-Momani et. al, 2017; El-Nawawy et. al 2016; Atiq O., 2013). Saleh R. (2018) examined the political conditions and circumstances in which voters made their choice during the 2012 presidential elections. The study of Abdullah, S. M. A. S. M. (2018) revealed that the visual language of 2011 to 2013 Arab Spring cartoons represented some common themes such as the image of democracy, government officials, the involvement of countries and powers in Arab Spring activities, connections between the military and citizens, the role of the media and the social media.

Al-Momani, Badarneh, and Migdadi (2017) studied the semiotic analysis of political cartoons published in Jordan before and during the 2013 elections. This study argues that the humor produced in cartoons conveys powerful messages requiring an examination of the interaction between the various signs in cartoons and their social and ideological consequences.

El-Nawawy and El-Masry (2016) used semiotic analysis to analyze the sign system in two of the 2014 Egyptian presidential campaign posters from Abdelfattah Al-Sisi, and discourse analysis to reveal dominant discourses in the most popular campaign video from Al-Sisi.

In his study about the semiotics of Arab Spring revolutions in caricature, Atiq (2013) examined the semiotics of caricatures of the events of the Arab Spring revolutions using social media symbols, in particular Facebook, in the Arab Spring revolutions and to understand the historical aspects of the Arab Spring revolutions. Also, the cartoonists call historical figures to convey political paradoxes and to examine religious intertextuality, literary solidarity, and symbols that represent the Arab Spring revolutions' intellectual and political structure

There are many researches about the political caricature that related to the presidential election in the world. Among the most important studies are those by Conners, J. L. 2017; Conners 2014; Wekesa, 2012; Conners 2010; Edwards & Ware 2005; Connors 2005; Makemson 2004; Feldman, 1995.

In his study of the party animals of the 2016 Presidential Primaries (Conners, J. L. 2017); the study of the political cartoon reporting of the 2016 American presidential primaries found substantial attention given to the political parties themselves In political cartoons, the Republican and Democratic parties were generally portrayed in elephant and donkey animal depictions. Both parties were depicted in their party's candidate showing apprehension or uncertainty, the Republican Party, in particular, was described as unable to stop the electoral momentum Donald Trump saw in the primaries, and the Democratic Party was depicted as being split between Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders.

Another research for Conners (2014) analyzed the representation of individual candidates during the 2012 presidential debates. It argued that the Political cartoons of the presidential debates between Mitt Romney and Barack Obama, frequently related in a single visual picture to certain political events or current news. Because of their emphasis on the visual elements, their

use of allusion and popular culture references, and their satirical commentary on a circumstance or occurrence, they could be more unforgettable than any other media coverage on the debate events.

A study for Wekesa (2012) analyzed the 2007/2008 argumentation in cartoons about post-election violence in Kenya. It is inferred from the reviews that graphics can argue as clearly and forcefully as their verbal counterparts. And cultural memory is necessary to access the analogies' reference. Visuals are structured to make the viewer not only care about the event or the people being depicted but also about the message being sent. This means that visuals will stretch the reality beyond parody or pure amusement.

Conners (2010) explored Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's depictions of political cartoon imagery during presidential primaries of 2008, with special attention to portrayals of race and gender issues. He argued that Hillary Clinton was featured in more political cartoons than Barack Obama was, but only in some competitive coverage. Obama's cartoon images described his campaign's vulnerabilities but also presented the issue of race in flattering photos. Clinton's cartoon imagery centered on gender-related aspects of her feelings and appearance but also went beyond gender aspects to highlight her determination to remain in the race.

Edwards & Ware (2005) examined the visual representation of voters in political cartoon commentaries and argued that cartoons provide a view of voters who endorse and complement views visible in news media but challenge the role of electoral representations in cartoons as sources of political public understanding.

Conners (2005) analyzed political cartoons published during the events related to John Kerry's selection of John Edwards as his running mate. The researcher argued that there were literature references made in some images, including historical and contemporary stories and films. Although these images make connections between news events and politics, audiences may not realize the link implied by the cartoonist, because that requires readers to be well informed on other current events

and to be consumers of other news sources besides editorial pages. Regarding the role of voters in the democratic process: while frequently depicted as indecisive or disappointed by the campaign and the electoral process, voters provide the most impartial image of all individuals in terms of presidential politics.

Makemson (2004) found that the comic weeklies might throw even more referential hooks out to the viewer, making it more likely that the audience will bite at least part of a big cartoon. Some cartoonists relied on very few examples, leaving open the possibility that a reader might be left out of the joke of a cartoon if he or she was not familiar with the particular episode in which the graphic statement was built.Feldman (1995) detailed how six recent Japanese prime ministers were portrayed in editorial cartoons in two Japanese national dailies within their first three months in office. The findings show the rising significance the media attaches as a source of political knowledge and reporting to the national political leaders. Though, the prime minister appears as a passive man without leadership skills, to some degree reflecting the poor role that the prime minister had in Japanese politics.

As obvious; caricature, as a visual rhetorical mechanism, always drives its content from social public concerns to drawing the readers' attention to common political factors. It should be stressed that visual images, whether sending implicit or explicit messages, play a significant role in creating, absorbing, enhancing meanings and ideas, not to mentions it is a means of expression of matters that cannot be expressed in written format.

Framework for Analysis:

This research employed a qualitative approach with a critical paradigm, to analyze the data, the mainframe is to identify the caricature themes and issues. Studying the samples not only through a structural framework of identifying the sign, signifier, and signified but also through the symbolic framework will help us better understand the various connotations of the cartoons. This study uses semiotics method of De Saussure and Roland Barthes analysis model (Abraham 2009, Akande 2002) which

aims to capture subjective meanings, and symbols lied behind the communication behavior that appears in caricature, and analysis the signifier and signified by using the Medhurst & Desousa model 1981 that identified four major sources cartoonists use for the subject matter (interventional topoi), as Makemson's study (2005), and Conners's study (2005) used it also, the operational themes of this study are **Political commonplaces / the essential invential source**, (which in the electoral framework: campaigning, polling, strategies, voting, special interests, etc). **Literary/cultural allusions** (any fictive or mythical character, any narrative or form, whether drawn from legend, folklore, literature or the electronic media). **Personal character traits** (physical or psychological exaggeration including morals, age, ability to lead, intelligence, honesty, age, morality, charisma, and leadership ability). **Situational themes,** or transient episodes: connections between news events and politics. All as identifying the signified of the sign to inform the meaning. The connotations that came out of the analysis are: mocking down candidates, ballot boxes, the voters, and the opposition. Also this study examined the **rhetorical style** by analyzing the relationship between the verbal text (caption or dialogue) and the visual images, the functions of the text (commentary- explanation - revelation), and caption and balloon to visual imagery.

Sample:

The sample selected for this study consists of the political cartoons and their content of election-related messages that were published from January 2018 through Election Day April in 2018 via online newspapers of *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Tahrir*. This period was selected to correspond with events related to presidential elections. most electronic newspapers have been surveyed to select the newspaper with the most published caricatures regarding the presidential elections. *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Tahri*r newspapers were selected because of their interest in publishing caricatures more than other newspapers. Although *Al-Masry Al-Youm* is one of the most important newspapers interested in publishing caricatures, it was excluded due to a technical issue

that closed the site during this period.

The **timeframe** of the study extends from January 20, 2018, the starting day of the nomination process, until April 2nd, 2018, the day when the final results were officially announced. The study also covers the first couple of weeks of January as some candidates started to express their intention to partake in the elections.

The study has 19 samples that were deliberately selected for descriptive and critical analysis. The samples were directly downloaded from the websites of *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Tahrir* at 2nd June 2018.

The Egyptian presidential elections after the 25th Revolution:

The January 25th Revolution has affected the Egyptian presidential election. Egypt has not experienced real presidential elections and rivalry in the preceding presidential campaigns. It was more like a mandate without genuine electoral battle and competition. The 2005 election was considered to be based on the participation of more than one candidate: it was between the then-president Mubarak and Al-Ghad party leader Ayman Nour, and Wafd party leader Noman Juma). But there was no real competition or presidential race happened. So the revolution was a turning point in the presidential candidacy, as constitutional amendments were made to serve as a way for legislative elections to be held first and then to be followed by presidential elections, that giving the power to an elected civilian government to draft a new constitution. Constitutional amendments were put to a referendum in March 2011, and after that Egypt witnessed three presidential elections after the revolution.

The first election was in 2012, it has officially 13 candidates (the Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohamed Morsi won in the run-off against Ahmed Shafiq the former prime minister) Morsi became the first democratically elected president. After just one year, Morsi was overthrown by the military, after widespread demonstrations all over Egypt demanding his resignation.

Due to another revolution on June 30, 2013 another new presidential election was held. It shows only two official

candidates (Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, who retired from his military career as a minister of defense and military production, and Hamdeen Sabahi, the founder of El-Tayar El-Shaa'bi-The Popular Current), Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi won in this election and became president in 2014.

The third election was held in 2018 after the end of the current presidential term, with Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi the current president and Moussa Mostafa Moussa, Al-Ghad Party president. Some people tried to stand for election but they were not able to be official candidates for different reasons. The most prominent of them was Ahmed Shafiq, the former presidential candidate for the first elections, Khaled Ali, a lawyer in the field of human rights, and ex-military chief Sami Anan, Elsayed Badawi, the head of the Wafd Party, and the colonel Ahmed Konswa.

The Egyptian political scene before this election was divided among two groups: those who support calls for a boycott and those who appeal for participation in the election. The boycott advocates launched the "Stay Home" campaign and urged voters, not to the electorate. But the boycott was not successful and al-Sisi was re-elected for a second term.

Results and Discussion:
Analysis of Egyptian presidential elections 2018 – Al-Ahram online newspaper:

(Figure 1)

Under the title of "The 2018 Elections" Figure 1, Farag Hasan uses two basics signified in the caricature; the electoral environment and the electorate. He depicts the electoral environment by signifier groups of voters proceeding in groups towards the future's way throughout political participation. So he considers participation in the elections the only way that the citizens should follow in order for them to have a better future and life. He also uses the signifier of (participation sign) as a signification of national responsibility that the people should undertake if they want to build their future, and a positive step in the Egyptian political life. It is also an indicator of Egypt's ability to proceed towards its stability although the result of the elections is settled and known in advance. It also indicates that Egypt will only be ranked as a developed country when its citizens become competent, responsible, and able to use their constitutional right; in the sign of (future road).

Voters appear in large numbers that are hard to count, showing that public engagement is high. This is indicative of the public's understanding of the value of engagement and them seeing it as the road of the future to which they are headed.

He depicts Egypt as a woman making a sign of welcome by her hand to the people or guiding them to the way of participation and a better future. The woman is a sign of tenderness, attention, and care. Furthermore, the green clothes are a sign of optimism and future, and they form the largest area of the image indicating containment.

The inherited and common cultural allusions and their significances as suggested by a focus on the depiction of Egypt in a stereotypical and symbolic image of a woman wearing a green garment. Egypt is also depicted as a woman wearing a white garment and a green veil and putting on a crown in the two caricatures. Although caricature depends on exaggeration, it also depends on the depiction of places or countries with the most distinctive features in them. For example, the USA is depicted in the caricature in the image of Uncle Sam as a popular symbol and title, and Najy Al-`Aly depicted Palestine in his caricatures

as a woman.

Egypt is portrayed in the Egyptian caricature as one of the most prominent female caricatural characters that are depicted as a beautiful strong rural woman putting on a crown and a green scarf or veil, or wearing green clothes, and is also depicted as a mother hugging and guiding her children. This image has become inherited and traditional as many former caricaturists, such as Mustafa Hussein and Helmy Al-Tuny, depicted Egypt in this manner.

The green color in woman's clothes indicates balance, harmony, and peace, renew energy and helps people relax. Although other caricaturists tried to change Egypt's stereotypical image in the caricature, the inherited and traditional image is still overwhelming
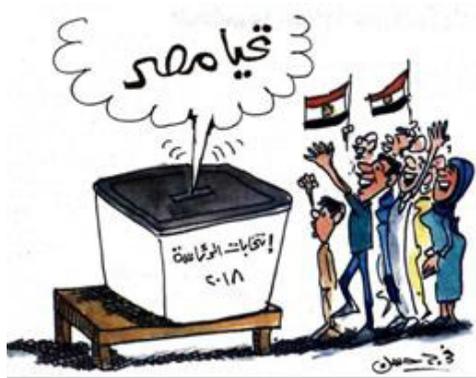

(Figure 2)

In another caricature drawn by the same caricaturist (Figure 2) we can find the main signified is the electorate and the electoral environment. He depicts the Egyptian people as a voter whom Egypt asks to complete the Arabic word "ديمقراطيــة" (democracy) in the right manner by placing the dots at their proper places. This signified that democracy can only be achieved when people participate in the voting. Accordingly, he encourages the idea of supporting and advocating participation in the voting, implants the proactive spirit, enhances the readers' morale, and emphasizes that it is a national duty, a fundamental pillar of

the democratic regime, and one of the most important means of political participation in the different societies. The citizens signify joy and relaxation, while good clothing indicates comfort and suffering.

The voter's image indicates enthusiasm and happiness, which are visible on his face. He wears good clothes that indicate well-being, unlike the image depicted by *Al-Tahrir* Newspaper for the voter, which is always an image of an upset and confused person wearing shabby clothes (Figures 13, 14, 15, 16).

(Figure 3)

Farag Hasan portrays the crowds of voters in another image standing in front of the ballot box, raising Egypt's flag, laughing, and feeling very happy. The voter is not only portrayed in the shape of a man, as the voter is also portrayed as a woman and a child (figure 3) as the signifier of electorates. These signifiers could be implying comprehensive support and participation on the part of all the categories of the Egyptian people. Through this image, he emphasizes the strong relationships between the people and the ballot box, as it enables them to practice their constitutional right to participation and voting. The signifier of the happiness electorates faces signified that the political life is based on the people's will, the fact that makes the people happy and energetic, and the participation in the voting is considered one of the gains of the revolutions which should be preserved. The image of the population in a state of sheer joy and a sense

of triumph in favor of Egypt. Although not too many people turn up in the drawing, the drawing style shows a crowd and indicates a large number of voters.

(Figure 4)

Tamer Yusef depicted the ballot box following the voting period specified for the Egyptians abroad as a man being greeted warmly by one of the citizens after the results of the elections showed the winning of `Abdul-Fattah Al-Sisi (Figure 4). The citizen is depicted saying that he is waiting for the same overwhelming success in the presidential elections in Egypt. That signified the role of the Egyptians abroad and their use of their constitutional right and national duty for the sake of shaping their country's future. The **signifier of the electorate** in the shape of the man makes a handshake signified satisfaction with the election result.

From figures (1,2,3,4) we can understand that; Egypt and the citizen are the characters that are mostly tackled in the caricature. The citizen's overwhelming image as depicted in this caricature is that of a person full of hope, optimism, and enthusiasm participates in the democratic life, which requires full awareness of the importance of his role in society in order for him to achieve security and stability. The issue is no longer mere presidential elections, but it is a real test of the Egyptian people's ability to

build his future, the idea which makes them happy.

Egypt is one of the central characters in the caricature of *Al-Ahram* Newspaper, as it is depicted twice in the shape of a woman, which is a stereotypical image of Egypt in the caricature throughout long decades despite the developments and changes that took place in the society and included clothes in different eras. Egypt's image that is always depicted in the caricature as a rural woman wearing a green scarf or fully green clothes is the common image. If it is depicted in any other image, it will not give the same impression given by the distinct image of the rural woman.

For example, the mental image of the Egyptian citizen in the pharaonic costume is the common image, and in the caricature, the genuine Egyptian citizen is also depicted wearing the distinct rural Gallabya. These symbols have become fixed in the caricature; if they are replaced, they may lose their significance.

Egypt is always depicted in the caricature as a woman or a mother, as land is always associated with motherhood since the earliest human perception about the creation of the universe, and refers to the homeland in the general sense.

In many songs, which have been repeated for decades and the drawings marking different historical phases, the homeland is depicted as a mother wearing rural clothes and bestowing care and giving. The rural woman has been perceived for a long time as subject to her husband's control although she is a strong woman that bears the hardships of life in order for her family to have a good life. However, the depiction of Egypt wearing this rural garment indicates the rural woman's nobility and sheds light on the strong aspect of her character, not the weak or overwhelmed aspect. Homeland is considered as a state and a mother who receives limitless love, not only a place where a person lives.

(Figure 5)

After the announcement of the results, the caricaturist signified success in the elections as a leg kicking terrorism which is depicted as a devil (Figure 5), as he considers the Egyptians' participation in voting, and the success of the elections after the announcements of boycotting the elections as a strong and decisive blow against terrorism which faces Egypt. the sign of the leg signified the participation and turnout in voting indicate the people's fear for their country and their support to and standing by Egypt against the plots hatched against it. This also indicates the people's wish to persevere with work and development in light of the internal and external challenges, which is considered as a blow against all the terrorist forces that lie in wait for our country. The devil was going out of the portrait as a signifier of the leaving of terrorists from Egypt. This means the depiction of the devil in a humiliating shape carrying his properties – terrorism – proves the success of the elections in refuting and annihilating terrorism.

We can find a situational theme in this caricature, the most prominent and synchronizing event is the military operation, which has been launched in Sinai to clear it from terrorism, known as "Comprehensive Operation – Sinai 2018". It is a comprehensive military Egyptian campaign that was initiated on

February 8, 2018, and has covered northern and central Sinai with the aim to liberate it from the control of ISIS forces. This offensive has been launched in order to repel the terrorist attack against Al-Rawdah Mosque in Arish, which killed 305 worshippers in November 2017. As a result, the military operations were initiated in order to rid Sinai of terrorism. Although this incident has not been portrayed explicitly, it has been portrayed implicitly in the image that depicts success in the elections kicking the image of the devil which carries the banner of terrorism.

Also, there is a cultural allusion in the depiction of the devil in a red shape with horns, which is the symbol of evil. It is portrayed holding terrorism on its back, stressing its depiction as a destructive enemy, because the thought and objective of terrorism are to cause death and destruction, to give the society a powerful blow, to eliminate its security and stability by killing and destruction. This is done by the Devil to destroy the human's life, incite him to commit evil deeds, and bring him to a state of chaos and destruction. These projections and symbolic significances are understood by the reader.

The Rhetorical style: The comments focus on the main idea wished to be communicated to the public. The language used included either title associated with the caricatures or one-sided dialogue, but it has never used interactive dialogue.

Although the language used in the press is the simple formal language known as the layman's language, the use of slang is common in the caricature. This emphasizes that the use of linguistic styles is purposeful and intended to communicate the political message, to attract attention, and to bring this message, the caricature, and the incident it depicts close to the public. It is not merely a linguistic style far from the context of the drawing.

Overall, the critical idea of tackling the candidates in the elections was absent from the caricature of *Al-Ahram* Newspaper, as it neither criticized by any means any of the candidates, their electoral programs, nor the laws of the elections. It did not also comment on the statements made by some people announcing their desire to stand as candidates in the elections and their retraction. In general, satire was absent from Al-Ahram's

caricature, which devoted attention to supporting the positive spirit and encouraging people to take part in the elections.

Analysis of Egyptian presidential elections 2018 – AL-TAHRIR online newspaper:

(Figure 6)

The main significance in this caricature (figure 6) is the candidates in the elections**.** Tackling the candidates in the elections in a satirical manner was the critical idea dominating the caricature of *Al-Tahri*r Newspaper. Amr Al-Sawy published a caricature commenting on the statement made by the former Egyptian Prime Minister, Ahmad Shafiq - who lost the presidential elections to the deposed President Muhammad Morsy in 2012 - declaring that he would apply for the 2018's presidential elections. This took place after his absence from Egypt for more than five years, which he spent in the UAE. The caricature represented his act by the image of him throwing a big stone into a lake's water, leaving a set of circles in its calm water with a background of the Egyptian Pyramids. This indicates that his action to stand as a candidate in the elections changed the state of stillness. In spite of the attempts of other representatives to apply for the elections before Ahmad Shafiq's declaration, his declaration and wish to apply for the elections is considered as a serious attempt, because he previously took part in the elections, and reached the final phase and the phase of run-off voting.

The artist represented the body in the form of (thinness, and tiny hand) suggesting that the decision is bigger than him and

that his abilities are not that of a president. The large size of the rock signifies that the candidacy decision is a bad. Furthermore, the splashing of water and its tone suggested the evidence that Shafiq had chosen to run for president. The sea is a sign of depth, risk, and adventure that may be misaligned. In addition, the pyramids have been used as cultural symbols for Egypt and the yellow color indicates desertification in the vicinity of the pyramids and the thirst that can characterize the country during this time. A clear indication of Egypt's developmental need; in this case, the election of a new president

(Figure 7)

The Themes of Symbols used in (figure 7) is the voting citizen, and the electoral Process; the caricaturist Amr Al-Sawy published another caricature expressing the hustle and bustle of the street and the citizens' inquiries about what happens, and a person answers, saying that someone applied for the elections and the people have caught him. This indicates the large number of hidden people wishing to be candidates in the elections, although some of whom were not influential in society and were not serious as well. The voters' homes appear in a simple, modest form to signify the simplicity of citizens. Also, the electorate appears with surprising features (indicated by the clamor that occurred with the announcement of candidates running for election) and indifference features (to show the consciousness of the voter that the candidacy is not serious). Citizens were

also represented in more than one sense such as the miserable and amazed. the image signifies in the sign of the face show the misery from the form of simple houses and general clothes. The words used (such as اربطوه في العامود، حلق عليه، امسك عليه، كعبلوه، ...) indicate that the electorate lacks resourcefulness, reluctance and lack of responsibility.

(Figure 8)

The caricaturist Ahmad Okasha published a caricature after the announcement of the necessity of collecting 25,000 endorsements from 15 governorates as a condition for applying for the elections (figure 8). In this caricature, he depicts a presidential candidate holding a magic lantern asking a jinni for endorsements, but the jinni considers the request difficult to fulfill. So, the main theme in this caricature is the candidates in the elections and a bit of satire. The caricaturist in this figure depends on the cultural allusions of imaginary or fictitious characters, such as the magic lantern and the jinni that appears when the lantern is rubbed. This indicates asking for the impossible, which cannot be done by people. There are many fictitious stories in the Egyptian culture and the world culture in general, such as the children's stories like part of the Arabian Nights and Aladin. This imaginary character was depicted as a means of implementing the impossible in many films, serials, cartoons, and even the jokes, for which the Egyptian people are famous. This representation is considered as a cultural connotation or implication used by the caricaturists who tend to draw attention to implicit criticism, which, in this

study, is making it impossible for the candidates in the elections to gain the required endorsements. Although it was mentioned in the fictitious stories that the jinni fulfills impossible requests, he cannot fulfill the request of the person applying for the elections.

The artist reduces the size of the candidate's body to suggest a sense of weakness toward the idea of candidacy due to the difficulty in receiving mandate collection requirements. The facial expression of the candidate shows intense shock and astonishment, which indicates serious impotence in which the candidate did not expect the genie (which supposedly can do the impossible) to be unable to satisfy his appeal. The lack of enthusiasm of the genie -contrary to the common belief of the genie's delight and gratitude toward the person who brought him out of the lantern and the genie's responsibility to satisfy his demands- indicates the complexity of his appeal.

(Figure 9)

The voting citizen: We can find the main signified is the electorate and electoral process, utilizing the great popularity of the football player Mohammed Salah (figure 9), Amr Al-Sawy depicts one of the voters in the Registry Office, registering his endorsement for one of the candidates, who happens to be Mohammed Salah. As Salah is not a presidential candidate, the Registry officer is surprised and refuses to register the endorsement because there is not any candidate holding this name. This caricature indicates the popularity of this Egyptian player and the people's love for

him.

The main framework is the elections and voting, which are the main elements agreed upon by the readers. A place, such as the Registry Office, was used to indicate the place where the endorsements necessary for supporting the candidates are registered.

This shows the public's connection with football as it is the country's most popular sport. In light of Egyptian football player Mohamed Salah's growing popularity, he became a symbol for many. This popularity is reflected by one of the voters' desire to vote for Salah as a candidate. However, he was unable to do this because Salah's name as a possible presidential candidate does not exist. Also we find that the elector is drawn simply to signify the simplicity of the people. Another sign of culture appears in the Notary Public Office which registers the official power of the attorney of the public towards their candidates. Another sign in the representation of the government employee in charge of the registration in a state of frustration and anticipation.

(Figure 10)

Candidates in the elections and a bit of satire: There was an increased frequency of the candidates' announcements of applying for the presidential elections, then their announcements of their intention not to apply for the elections, such as the announcement made by Al-Wafd Party, refusing the request of Al-Sayyid Al-Badawy, the Head of the Party, to apply for the

elections. In the same way, Egyptian businessman Mahmoud Ramadan, announced that he would apply for the elections and launched a website displaying his electoral program, then he withdrew, in addition to the Lawyer Khalid Aly and Ahmad Shafiq who did the same. Ahmad Okashah mocked the in a caricature depicting the candidate symbolically as a businessman, wearing clothes having the sign of dollar, which is the symbol of enormous wealth (we usually see the image of the businessman in caricature as a fat man with a sign of money next to him). The businessman, in Ahmad Okasha's caricature (figure 10), announces that he will apply for the elections, then he withdraws; hence, nomination for the elections have become unserious because the candidates announce their intentions to apply for the elections, then they withdraw.

The overall look of the candidate's house shows the signs of richness and attention to detail regarding the furniture and décor. When compared to the homes of the people in other caricatures, the public appears to be poor. The appearance of the candidate wearing a robe with a dollar sign (represents one from the strongest currency) signifies prosperity, wealth, and satiety. The black glasses and the act of smoking a cigar denote luxury and wealth.

(Figure 11)

We can find the main signified is the candidates as Amr Al-Sawy symbolized the end of the probable competition in the elections by representing the elections' reality as a theatre or program which ends with the arrest of Samy Anan and the discontinuance of his propaganda campaign (figure 11). When Samy Anan was arrested and his electoral campaign was discontinued, the incident was depicted as a play performed on the theater of politics or in a shooting location where the director is depicted saying, "Stop", which signifies the end of the last probable electoral competition.

(Figure 12)

Candidates in the elections and a bit of satire:

We can see a situational theme in this caricature; the incident, which represents the most remarkable coincidence, is the announcement of the Oscars winners; in coincidence with the Oscars ceremony, Ahmad Okashah drew a caricature about the Oscars best-supporting actor winner, Musa Mustafa Musa, the candidate who competed with President Al-Sisi in the elections, and was the only person who remained as a candidate, and became an official candidate after the end of the period of applying for the elections. The caricaturist Ahmad Okashah depicted Musa Mustafa as a weak candidate, especially because he is not popular in the society. Moreover, Musa declared his support for President Al-Sisi, and asked the people to vote for

Al-Sisi, so he looked like a commando in a play and seemed to be unserious in the electoral campaign in (figure 12). This candidate is also depicted as an anonymous person about whom the people inquire in astonishment. This depiction and its coincidence of the Oscars awards has a very clear significance because the Oscars ceremony is a global event which is well-known by the Egyptian people and enjoys follow-up and media coverage in advance. It is well-established in the citizens' conscience and folk culture that the title "worthy of the Oscars Award" is given to the skillful liar

Appearing with hand movements and facial expression, the candidate Musa Mustafa showed his satisfaction with a place in the action, his clothes also look like the celebrities attending Oscar parties and international festivals. His satisfaction and happiness with the Oscar award signified that he was not a real candidate, as he also said; he would prefer Al-Sisi as president. Another sign is the voter appearing without revealing his face, suggesting his apprehension

(Figure 13)

The voting citizen signified by Amr Al-Sawy depicts the Egyptian citizen as a sick voter lying on a clinic bed (figure 13), and the doctor is depicted as a businessman not as a doctor (as he wears expensive and elegant clothes and has a large bag of money beside him, representing the familiar image of businessmen in the caricature). On the other hand, the caricaturist depicts the citizen as a very thin man wearing worn-out and ragged clothes

with small patches to cover the torn parts of the clothes, to reflect poverty.

The citizen seems to be helpless and not aware of things happening around him, while the doctor, depicted in the shape of a businessman, persuades him that the elections are going on, and there are candidates, and there will be a result. He also asks the citizen to imagine that the candidate he supports will be the winner.

(Figure 14)

Amr Al-Sawy continued to depict the citizen in the same image, portraying him asking the woman announcer to tell the candidates not to give people oil and sugar because he wants some change and wishes to get cheesecake and cake gateau. This is within the framework of mockery at the candidates' act of distributing electoral gifts (figure 14).

Amr Al-Sawy depicts the citizen in another caricature as a silent person who is astonished by the news of the 500-pound fine imposed on those who have not voted. He refers to the silent majority of citizens who did not vote, and the threat of levying a fine on those who abstained from voting. He views that the silent majority of citizens did not take part in voting because they

expected the result of the elections (figure 15). The image of the TV announcer who announces that a fine will be levied on any person who would refrain from voting contradicts the idea of democratic and non-coercive voting, which should be practiced by the citizen as his electoral right. The image embodies from one side the citizen's refraining from the elections and from the other side his fear from the fine, which will be levied on the people refraining from voting as an incentive to attract a greater number of voters to the elections, instead of empowering the citizen. Threatening the citizens who do not vote in the elections with fines is an old tendency. It was followed previously in the elections but has proven futile. Therefore, the citizen is depicted watching the TV and listening to this news very calmly and passively, because he is sure that it is a mere threat or an incentive as done previously.

(Figure 15)

Ahmad Okashah depicts the Egyptian citizen before and after the elections as a miserable thin person wearing worn-out clothes; but, after the elections as a person hit by an electric shock when trying to turn on the light (figure 16).

(Figure 16)

Ballot boxes:

Amr Al-Sawy drew a ballot box on which he wrote: "Be careful! Danger" (figure 17). He also drew another caricature in which he depicted the ballot box as a sick person complaining to a psychiatrist about his feeling that he is not important and has no role in the elections (figure 18). This indicates that the result was almost conclusive before voting. In addition, he depicts the box as a person wandering at the streets and asking the passers-by to be candidates in the elections. This indicates that many people made statements concerning their intention to stand as candidates in the elections (figure 19).

It is noticed from the pattern followed in the topics of the caricature that most of them focus on irony during the elections and the period preceding it, but they do not focus on the period of voting and the events relevant to it, which are considered vital and have many implications.

The ballot box is drawn at a time with the sign of danger on it, and in another caricature is depicted as a sick person being treated by a doctor or as a person requesting people to apply for the elections. These ironical images stand as **a signifier of fear** from the unknown or from the result implicitly known, and prove mistrust of the idea that democracy will be available to the citizen. Hence, the citizen has no alternative other than worry and fear.

(Figure 17)

(Figure 18)

(Figure 19)

Among the ideas that tackled characters are those pertaining to the citizen and the politician. The caricatures were dominated by the image of the thin and bony citizen wearing short worn-out and patchy clothes. He seems to be powerless, astonished, and poor. The presented image of the Egyptian citizen has a cultural reference both in reality and in the different caricatures in general, which tend to depict the Egyptian citizen as a miserable, pale, and thing person, wearing torn ripped clothes. (Figure 13, 14, 15, 16).

On the other hand, the officials responsible are depicted as a rich fat businessman wearing black eyeglasses that hides his eyes as (Figure 10, 13) His great wealth is represented by the great amount of money filling his pockets, the bag of money which he holds, or the remarkable dollar sign drawn on his formal suit or luxurious and expensive clothes. He smokes a big cigar, speaks mockingly of the citizen, and with exaggerated self-esteem. He seeks to increase his wealth and thinks only of himself.

This image, which has two contradictory faces (of the citizen and the politician or the businessman), has deep significances and meanings in the Egyptian cultural context that are strongly and frequently represented in the caricature. In spite of the exaggerated depiction of this image, the use of other different images will be unfamiliar and their connotation will not be understood. For example, if the citizen is depicted as a person wearing neat and elegant clothes, and has a good appearance and body that is not thin or bony, or if the official response is represented as a woman as in reality, this will not have the same effect. Likewise, if the official response is depicted as a young man who does not have great wealth, this will not give the same meaning because of the frequency and familiarity of this exaggerated image in the cultural connotation of the society since the beginning of the appearance of caricature in the Egyptian press. The most remarkable caricatures are those which depicted the miserable citizen in an exaggerated manner.

In addition, the citizen is depicted as a passive viewer of the events, who tackles them helplessly sometimes and very calmly at other times, so he appears as a lazy person who lacks enthusiasm

and energy, and not as a voter or political representative. This reduces his consideration of the privileges of democracy represented in supporting a presidential candidate and voting in the elections. The caricature depicts the overall mood of the citizen with regard to his avoidance of participating in political issues, such as elections.

This meaning is repeated in another image in which the citizen lies on a bed in front of a psychiatrist. While the doctor is depicted as a businessman, the citizen is depicted as a helpless and ignorant person who lacks knowledge. Therefore, he feels astonished and helpless as he listens to the doctor's instructions to imagine that there are elections and candidates, and that his candidate has won the elections without engaging in the democratic process.

Analysis of the rhetorical style: The drawings is marked by rhetorical comments accompanying the caricatures and the conversational language between two parties, either in the form of an answer to an unwritten question which the reader understands from the conversation, or in the form of a question and an answer. This is in addition to the colloquial statements understood by all readers, and the sounds that have significances such as the sound of a stone hitting water. All the rhetorical and linguistic elements used belong to the colloquial language.

Conclusion:

This study argues that caricatures convey subtle messages that the written word may not be able to communicate. The gestures and signs used by the artists respond to the Egyptian culture and tradition and can get through to the Egyptian imagery. The cartoons used visual expressions of popular images and cultural symbols to effectively convey the journal's message to readers about current events. It is also apparent that the cartoons focused mainly on the pre-voting stage, critiquing possible candidates, voter's performance and reactions. There was little said about the voting process or the final results. This may reflect the Egyptian political space and its limitations. It should be underlined the prevalence of negativity in the cartoons of Al-Tahrir. Not a single cartoon presented a positive message about the election. This is

expected as the journal affiliates itself with the opposition.

The caricature is a popular art that transcends the barrier of culture to reach more people. It is related to issues that concern citizens such as poverty, unemployment, marginalization, politics and society ... etc. The caricature deals with people's concerns through sarcasm, satire and irony. It is an art that assesses circumstances, tracks problems, and transforms them into a serious debate. There are some key ideas that appear in the *Tahrir* newspaper but are absent in *Al-Ahram* newspaper such as the need for the 25,000 signatures to run in the elections, several attempts of many people to participate in the elections and then withdrawing, the general performance of the electorate. *Al-Tahrir* newspaper criticized all of these situations sharply, by showing the pain of the citizen.

Al-Tahrir Newspaper did not display any positive image of the election and that is because it belongs to the opposition. Also it didn't provide caricature for the final result of the election. On the other hand, Al-Ahram Newspaper did not mention any negative thoughts about the election and only focused on the positive image with enthusiasm. It encouraged people toward political participation considering it the way to achieve democracy and a better future in favor of the nation. The readers are continually desirous of receiving knowledge from the caricature to create their own critical opinion. The cartoons focused on some traditional cultural symbols like the genie and the lamp, the devil, or representing Egypt in the form of an Egyptian farmer.

References:

-Abdullah, S. M. A. S. M. (2018). The Representation of Visual Language in Non-Verbal Communication: The Case of Arab Spring Political Cartoons. *International Journal of Language, Literacy and Translation* (IJoLLT), 1(1), 20-20.

-Abraham, L. (2009). Effectiveness of cartoons as a uniquely visual medium for orienting social issues. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, 11(2), 117-165.

-Akande, O. (2002). A semiotic analysis of political cartoons: A case study of Nigeria (*Doctoral dissertation*). University of Oklahoma, (UMI No. AAT 3045839)

-Al-Momani, K., Badarneh, M. A., & Migdadi, F. (2017). A semiotic analysis of political cartoons in Jordan in light of the Arab Spring. *Humor*, 30(1), 63-95.

-Andima, L. (2019). The Namibian political landscape: A semiological analysis of Dudley's selected political cartoons in The Namibian newspaper, from 2016-2017 (*Doctoral dissertation*). Namibian University of Science and Technology

-Atiq O. (2013). The Semiotics of Arab Spring Revolutions in Caricature. *AlAmat*. 40, 143-159.

-Berger, A. A. (2016). *Messages: An Introduction to Communication*. Routledge.

-Berger, A. A. (2013). *The Semiotics of Myth. In Media, Myth, and Society* (pp. 67-89). Palgrave Pivot, New York.

-Chandler, D. (1994). *Semiotics for beginners*. http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/S4B/semold.html (accessed 1st May 2018)

-Conners, J. L. (2017). Party animals of the 2016 presidential primaries: Political cartoon representations of the republican and democratic parties. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 61(6), 600-610.

-Conners, J. L. (2017). Party animals of the 2016 presidential primaries: Political cartoon representations of the republican and democratic parties. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 61(6), 600-610.

-Conners, J. L. (2014). "Binders of Bayonets for Big Bird" Analysis of Political Cartoon Images of the 2012 Presidential Debates. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58(9), 1144-1156.

-Conners, J. L. (2010). Barack versus Hillary: Race, gender, and political cartoon imagery of the 2008 presidential primaries. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 54(3), 298-312.

-Conners, J. L. (2007). Popular culture in political cartoons: Analyzing cartoonist approaches. PS: *Political Science & Politics*, 40(2), 261-265.

-Conners, J. L. (2005). Visual representations of the 2004 presidential campaign: Political cartoons and popular culture references. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 49(3), 479-487.

-De Saussure, F. (2011). *Course in general linguistics*. Columbia University Press.

-De Saussure, Ferdinand. (1959). *Course in General Linguistics.* New York: Philosophical library.

-Edwards, J. L., & Ware, L. (2005). Representing the public in campaign media: A political cartoon perspective. *American behavioral scientist*, 49(3), 466-478.

-El-Hady W. (2017). The semiology of the relationship between the citizen and the ruler. *Scientific Journal of Journalism*, Cairo University (10), 205-286.

-El-Maghraby S. (2013). The semiology of The transitional phase in Egypt as covered in the American cartoon. *Arab Journal for Media and Communication Research*. Ahram Canadian University (2), 156- 175.

-El-Nawawy, M., & Elmasry, M. H. (2016). The signs of a strongman: A semiotic and discourse analysis of Abdelfattah Al-Sisi's Egyptian presidential campaign. *International Journal of Communication*, 10, 22.

-Feldman, O. (1995). Political Reality and Editorial Cartoons in Japan: How the National Dailies Illustrate the Japanese Prime Minister. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 72(3), 571–580.

-Ghareb H.(2016). The image of the ruler in a newspaper, and her relationship with the public (Doctoral dissertation). University of Helwan.

-Hosam M. (2014). Traditional and New Media Representations in Arab Newspapers Cartoons: A Case Study of the Egyptian January 25 Revolution. *Arab Journal for Media and Communication Research*. Ahram Canadian University (5) 88-117.

-Hronsky, J. J. F. (1998). *Signs, codes and communication: the semiotics of audit reports*. University of Melbourne, Department of Accounting and Finance.

Makemson, H. (2004). One Misdeed Evokes Another: How Political Cartoonists Used 'Scandal Intertextuality'against Presidential Candidate James G. Blaine. *Media History Mongraphs*, 7, 2004-5.

-Medhurst, M. J., & DeSousa, M. A. (1981). Political cartoons as rhetorical form: A taxonomy of graphic discourse. *Communications Monographs*, 48(3), 197-236.

-Nopiyati, D. (2018). Sign And Meaning Related To Hair Styles Found In Allure Magazine Cover. *Vivid: Journal of Language and Literature*, 7(2), 71-79.

-Saleh, R. (2018). "Vote for the One You Hate Least": Media Campaigns and the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Election. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, 8(6).

-Samy E. (2015) The patterns of presenting political Islam in cartoons in electronic and paper newspapers and social media sites (*Doctoral dissertation*). University of Cairo.

-Sani, I., Abdullah, M. H., Abdullah, F. S., & Ali, A. M. (2012). Political cartoons as a vehicle of setting social agenda: The newspaper example. *Asian Social Science*, 8(6), 156.

-Syakur, A. A., & Sukri, M. (2018). Text of cigarette advertisement: A semiology study of Roland Barthes. *International journal of linguistics, literature and culture*, 4(3), 72-79.

-Wekesa, N. B. (2012). Cartoons can talk? Visual analysis of cartoons on the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya: A visual argumentation approach. *Discourse & Communication*, 6(2), 223-238.