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<b>Article:</b>	<b>Comparative Analysis of Cartoon Communication on Panama Leaks in Elite Pakistani Press</b>
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### **Abstract**

Panama leaks were 11.5 million internal documents publicly presented by ICIJ against the corrupt officials, in which the then sitting prime minister of Pakistan was also involved. In this paper, we collected dataset of cartoons on panama leaks published in two English newspapers Daily Dawn and Daily Nation, from April 2016 to July 2017 based upon four categories: 1) change in Pakistani politics, 2) Effect on economy, 3) corruption in elite class, and 4) impacts on international relations. To get more insights from panama visuals we categorized our data into favorable, unfavorable and neutral cartoons. Based upon these categories, five different research hypotheses are built and z-test is conducted. Our results show that Daily Dawn published 68% national and 32% international cartoons, while Daily Nation printed 72% national and 28% international cartoons. Our study concludes that Daily dawn published 24% favorable, 59% unfavorable and 17% neutral cartoons while Daily Nation issued 31% favorable, 59% unfavorable and 10% neutral cartoons.

**Key Words:** Cartoon Communication, Print Media, Political Cartoons, Panama Leaks.

## Introduction

A cartoon currency is different from other comic strips as a cartoonist has to communicate the hidden messages through his drawings only, after judging the stories fairly. In general, the cartoons may have an overstated humor but the goal is to make a reasonable and real comment. Cartoon communication is a combination of sarcasm, and pleasant humor that acts as a medium to portray a certain message. Socio-political cartoons recently have acquired special attention in newspapers and media press because they help people to interpret all important details about the critical events of a country in a lighter way. Political cartoons, in a newspaper, are a pictorial source of communication to its viewers worldwide and help them to comprehend the political, social and monetary situations of a country. Political cartoon designs can have severe impact on the image of government officials and they build viewers' minds accordingly. Its effect can be positive or negative to the political and personal lives of the government officials.

A Political cartoonist is motivated by the events around himself and he sometimes communicates his own beliefs and tells concerns of influential people through his drawing. A political cartoonist must be knowledgeable to make his decisions and responsible to bear the consequences of his critical reviews about a particular event. A political cartoonist must thoroughly understand that what is addressing through his communication will have a long-lasting impact on people (Javed, 1998). One of the most salient feature of political cartoons is, its apparently naive and civilized humor that help to embrace a message easily without much thinking (Walker, 2003). It is this immediate message delivery, violent criticism, and visually caught impact that makes the political cartoons a strong informative weapon.

### Political cartoons' coverage on Panama

In Pakistan, politics has been the main focus of cartoons communication because now a days, everybody wants to know the human-side of their political leaders. Almost 2 crore 60 lacs people are suffering injustice, inflation, food crisis, electricity load shedding, and poverty in Pakistan. All these problems have aroused due to faulty and corrupt political system. So, it is in highest public demand and interest to highlight the truth about politicians in a lighter and humorous way.

The Panama Papers is a news leak of confidential documents provided by International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ). The leaks exposed assets of Pakistan's political officials and other prominent tycoons throughout the world. The leak consists of 11.5 million internal documents from MOs sack Fonseca as described in figure 1. An anonymous source contacted the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* over a year prior to the leak and their newspaper subsequently shared the files with the International newspapers. The Panama papers were distributed and analyzed by 107 media organizations across 78 countries and the first report was released on April 3, 2016.

**Figure 1**

*A gigantic outflow of panama documents that exposes the tax havens of the rich and elite (Alferdo Martirena).*



After that, the panama issue is presented by many other newspapers in terms of visual media. These newspapers sketched the panama issue in different ways to help people understand the facts about released reports of panama papers. One of the main targeting cartoon sketch of The News Daily presents the panama leaks as the disclosure of black money of the rich and high ranked people from all over the world as shown in figure 2.

**Figure 2**

*The sketch shows how panama paper disclosure shacked down the rich and high ranked people.*



The Panama Papers helped us to understand the purpose of the offshore companies. The cartoonist Kirk Anderson revealed out that many of the world’s rich and powerful people use cultured excuses and escapes to evade paying taxes. While, at the same time, on the other hand, in the U.S. some people were accused of a jail prison because of not paying their parking tickets as shown in figure 3.

**Figure 3**

The sketch shows double standard for the rich and the poor people.



So, it was concluded that usually possessing an offshore company is not illegitimate in itself. In fact, establishing an offshore company is a sound step for a broad range of business dealings. However, the Panama Papers very rapidly disclose that hiding the identities of the true company proprietors was the main goal in the vast majority of cases. It is a common trend that providers of offshore companies such as legal advisors, lawyers, and banks usually use different anonymous identities for their customers' names. These anonymous identities or proxies are pathways to officials, bureaucrats, and tycoons to do corruption. Another cartoonist in *The Nation* showed the real faces of government officials and panama reports aftermaths by sketching them in newspapers as shown in figure 4.

**Figure 4**

The real faces of the owners of offshore companies.



So, the main objective of our work is comparative analysis of print media cartoons on panama issues in two elite Pakistani newspapers (*Daily Dawn* and *Daily Nation*). The major contributions of this study are as follows:

- To find out up to what extent both newspapers had given coverage to panama papers.
- To explore different highlighted issues related to panama leaks by the both newspapers.
- Statistical analysis about the critical coverage of the published in the selected newspapers.
- To get to know about Pakistan's image in front of other countries because of Panama issue.
- The published cartoons of both newspapers are taken from April 2016 to July 2017.

## Related Work

According to the previous literature, the first political famous cartoon was built in 1360 BC, however, some basic forms of political cartoons have also been found on Ancient Greek pottery description that lauded political leaders and Olympian gods (Danjoux, 2007). To present visual art in a lighter way, is rooted back in Egypt, Rome and Greek cultures (Samson & Huber, 2007) where political cartoons of 16th century were a good medium of communication for people who cannot read or write in Germany. Though many cultural events and traditions have been a presentation for political activities in a fun way, the most commonly known and oldest among all is known as ‘caricatures’. This word has Italian origin and it means to amplify or overstate a thing. This method was originally designed to mock political personalities and make fun of their well-known characteristics by embellishing things. Later on, these cartoon designs became practice for cartoonists to convey their messages to the public. An era from 17th to 19th century was a remarkable time that led success to political cartooning and used them for social services. By the mid of 19th century political cartoons had started been published in print media and got hype in magazines. During this time the cartoons drawings were flourished fully without any hesitation or check and clearly targeted political personalities. Different French magazines including *La Caricature* (1830) and *Charivari* (1832) mainly covered the field of political cartooning. During World War I political cartooning became a part of Yellow journalism for a very short time, because most population started taking interest in objective media content. So, in 20th century a whole new definition of cartoons has come into existence that included funny drawings, gag cartoons, caricatures, animated cartoons and comic strips, collectively known as modern cartooning. All these cartoon designs were significantly used for publicity, advertisements and profile-raising.

Political cartoons have extensively been used in all domains including fine arts, mass communication, journalism, psychology, history, International relations, linguistics, social sciences, and education but still no field has justly incorporated political cartoons as an authoritative way of communication. It has been a common practice that political cartoons mostly draw special attention to the nature and functions. For example, (Streicher, 1967) did a research to study the role of political cartoons that can have different effects on public sentiments during prosecution trial proceedings of American President Clinton regarding Clinton-Lewinsky-Starr affair. Another investigation held by (Morris, 1992) claimed political cartoons as a means of visual rhetoric in the self-governing process, using structuralism approach. (Delporte, 1995) conducted a research which covers cartoons contents used to mock the Dreyfus affair of French President from 1894 to 1906. In addition to that, (Feldman, 1995) presented an analysis about political cartoons that mimic six Japanese prime ministers based upon symbols description. However, it is also claimed by (Kelley-Romano & Westgate, 2007) and (Edwards & Winkler, 1997) that political cartoons had not been paid enough attention despite being a powerful source of communication. (Edwards, 1997) found another important investigation of political cartoons is, to focus on presidential election campaigns using symbols, pictures, annotations and their hidden meanings. Since visual rhetoric and metaphors had also been used in political cartoons, (Refaie, 2003) studied metaphors and visual rhetoric being used in Australian political cartoons. (Ashfaq, 2008) et al. have introduced a new term editorial cartoons meaning both a social commentary visual description and a strict political visual representation. (Entman, 1993) claimed that political cartoons offer different frameworks which readers can easily examine and they represent selected features of a perceived political fact promoting specific problem definitions, causal understanding and moral judgment. Another important finding could be the focus of the researches that cover presidential election campaigns using the political cartoons. Like,

(Conners, 2007) investigated the political cartoons of different newspapers of US 2004 presidential campaign, that were made based upon popular culture as shown in figure 5.

**Figure 5**

*Presidential election campaign of United States 2004.*



### **Cartoons History in Pakistan**

When Pakistan came into existence, in 1947, cartoon designing had been used as a part of daily communication in newspapers in the subcontinent. The cartoonists at that time highlighted social and political issues of the people through cartoon communication. However, in Pakistan, political cartoon communication was particularly practiced during the martial law governments of General Zia-ul-Haq and Pervez Musharraf, because the media had got no freedom of speech and was strictly banned to criticize the then government's acts.

The first hype in political cartoon communication was during martial law government of General Zia ul Haq (1977-1988), also termed as an era of black laws. Zia regime is termed as the worst era for journalists because government has ordered strictly to withhold information from public and no judicial authority could challenge the proclamations of the Martial Law setup. Most of the newspapers has published black space in protest against the government by showing that the truth cannot be spoken. However, the journalists and philosophers found a way out to this injustice in the form of political cartoon media communication. So, in all those circumstances a well-known political cartoonist, named Nanha, used cartoon designs to discourage the military government's wrong acts and crimes in a humorous way through mimicry and fun that carried enough cynicism against government's black laws. Similarly, many famous cartoonists like Javed Iqbal, Maxim, Leica, Shah toon, and Zaidi etc., started using this medium of communication to raise and propagate their voices to masses through mainstream newspapers.

### **Problem Statement**

This work covers a study of relationship between print media cartoon designs and the interpretation of panama issue in Pakistan. This research work focuses to explore the portrayal of panama issue based upon cartoons designs published in two Pakistani English newspapers (Daily Nation & Daily Dawn) from April 2016 to July 2017. To evaluate the nature, degree, frequency and stance of the published cartoons, the variables and categories are made by focusing on main hypotheses of one feature of the Agenda Setting Theory known as "Framing".

### **Methodology**

Our study conducts statistical and content analysis methods to get to know the effects of the cartoons published on Panama papers in two English newspapers of Pakistan. We have selected The Daily Dawn and The Nation for being the largest English Pakistani newspapers and manually collected data from them. One of the main reasons to choose these newspapers is, an upper class of the country who takes part in making government policies read these

newspapers. Also, these newspapers have always taken up its independent stand about any issue no under any circumstances. During panama papers leaks, different editorials, columns, and analysis were published in these newspapers on regular basis but we only discuss the visual content here. We break down our problem into five hypotheses and then applied statistical tools to check favorable and unfavorable outcomes.

### Research Hypothesis

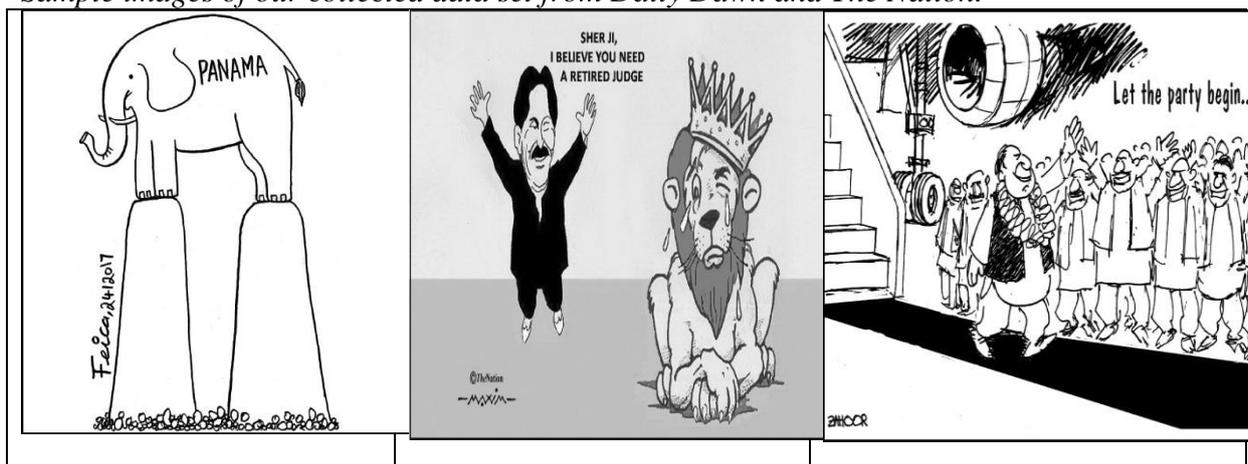
- It is likely that both Dawn and Nation newspapers gave more coverage to national issues than international issues.
- It is likely that The Dawn gave more cartoon coverage to panama issue then The Nation.
- It is likely that Pakistani newspaper have unfavorable coverage to panama leaks.
- It is likely that panama coverage of both Pakistani newspaper is focusing on the issues of Pakistani politics.
- It is likely that both newspapers gave less coverage to panama leaks cartoons.

### Collection of Data

The research data was collected for the quantitative method of study from April 2016 to July 2017, one year and 3 months in total, from The Dawn and The Nation. Some interesting images from our collected data set pin-pointing the then prime minister Mr. Sharif's family are shown in figure 6.

**Figure 6**

*Sample images of our collected data set from Daily Dawn and The Nation.*



### Population

The population is divided into two main groups. One group contains count of all cartoons published in Daily Dawn and other contains all cartons published in The Nation. The population in made up of all visual images that had been a part of those newspapers in the specified time.

### Sampling Size

Sampling size is the count of all cartoons that covered Panama issue (Pakistani politicians, JIT, ToRs etc) in Daily Dawn and The Nation. Each newspaper had published different number of cartoons in different ways and those number of drawings had quantitatively been a part of this research work for sound statistical analysis.

### Sampling Technique

This research does not apply any sampling technique and considers all cartoons related to this particular topic from April 2016 to July 2017 as a census study.

### Categories of construction

- Change in Pakistani politics
- Economy

- Corruption in elite class
- International relation

Category 1) includes cartoon that were correlated with the Pakistani politics, political leaders, political issues, political actions, and statements of Pakistan's news. Nawaz Sharif was the then prime minister and his family was directly involved in panama issues so Sharif family faced many difficulties and opposition pressure. This was the hot issue for Pakistan and Pakistani media.

Category 2) includes the entire cartoons which were related to the economy of Pakistan. Pakistan's economy fell down due to political instability, during that time. So, the cartoonists made cartoons on the fall of the economy according to their organization policy.

Category 3) includes those cartoons which were published to inform the current political situation and corruption charges against Sharif family in Pakistan.

Category 4) includes cartoons that were published about relation of Pakistan with other countries like London, Saudi Arab and Qatar. For example, PTI and PMLN workers also demonstrated protests in Saudi Arab and London in support of their leaders.

### **Operationalize**

**Favorable:** Cartoons which contain the matter appreciating the then government policies and actions against corruption were considered as favorable. Also cartoons against opposition or opposition policies were also categorized as favorable for the government.

**Unfavorable:** Cartoons which highlight the condemnation against government policies and criticizes the statement of spokesperson are considered unfavorable for the government. Also cartoons that appreciate the work of opposition are considered unfavorable for the government.

**Neutral:** Cartoons consist of back ground and history would not be taken as either favorable or unfavorable cartoons and will be considered as neutral.

### **Data Analysis**

The cartoons collected from the Pakistani English newspapers were analyzed to find out the aim of the cartoonist and the message they tried to convey through cartoon sketching. We analyzed the data under the umbrella of framing theory. We did content analysis and use statistical techniques to analyze the cartoon data on panama issue. This analysis is made about the assumption that Political cartoons are important to newspaper, may be even to the extent of replacing editorials.

### **Data Presentation**

In this research data is presented in Tables, Graphs and inferential statistics.

### **Important Findings**

Table1 shows the total amount of cartoons published in both newspapers from April 2016 to July 2017.

**Table1**

*Frequency of national and international cartoons published in Dawn and Nation.*

<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>National Cartoons</b>	<b>International Cartoons</b>
Daily Dawn	679	291
Daily Nation	370	140

Figure 7 below shows the ratio of national and international cartoons published in Daily Dawn and Daily Nation. Blue bar shows the national cartoon and red bar shows the international cartoons. Daily dawn gave 68% coverage to national cartoons and 32% coverage to international cartoons. Daily nation gave 72% coverage to National cartoons and 28% coverage to international cartoons.

**Figure 7**

*Relative frequency of National & International cartoons in Daily Dawn and Daily Nation.*

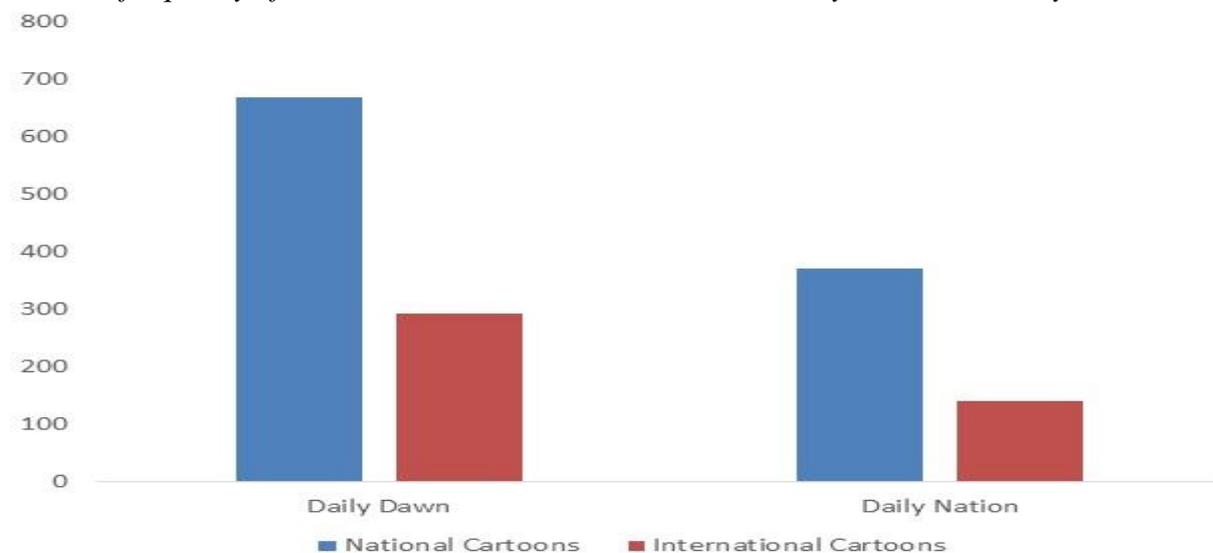


Table2 shows panama cartoons coverage from April 2016 to July 2017. Daily Dawn published 73 panama cartoons out of 970 visuals and Daily Nation published 66 panama cartoons out of total 510 cartoons.

**Table 2**

*Frequency of panama cartoons published in Dawn and Nation during April 2016 to 2017.*

Newspapers	Total cartoons	Panama cartoons
Daily Dawn	970	73
Daily Nation	510	66
Both newspapers published	1480	139

Figure 8 shows the ratio of panama cartoons coverage to total visually published content by both newspapers. In this graph blue bar shows the total cartoon and red bar shows the panama cartoons. The graph bars explain that Daily Dawn gave 7% cartoon coverage to panama leaks and Daily Nation gave 13% coverage to panama leaks cartoons. Both newspaper on average gave 9% cartoon coverage to panama cartoons.

**Figure 8**

*Relative frequency of Panama cartoons published in Daily Dawn and Daily Nation.*

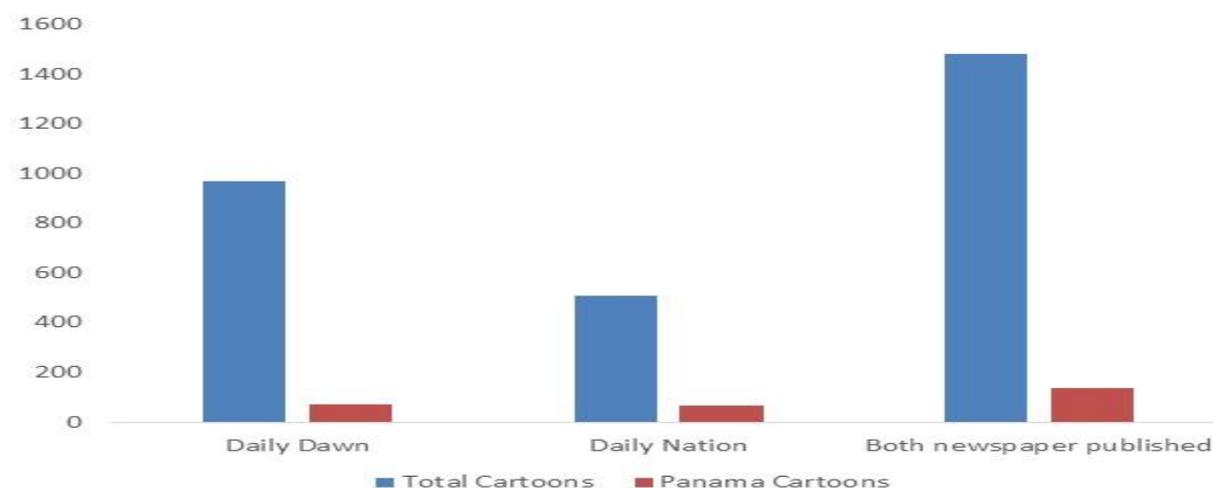


Table3 shows the frequency of favorable, unfavorable and neutral cartoons from April 2016 to July 2017 according to the definitions defined above.

**Table 3**

*Frequency of cartoons published under favorable and unfavorable categories in Daily Dawn and the Nation.*

Newspapers	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Daily Dawn	18	43	12
Daily Nation	21	39	6

Figure 9 shows the favorable, unfavorable and neutral cartoon content on panama leaks for the then government in both newspapers. In this graph the blue bar indicates favorable cartoons, red bar shows the unfavorable cartoons and green bar shows the neutral cartoons. According to this graph Daily Dawn published 24% cartoons favorable to the government, 59% unfavorable and 17% neutral. While, The Nation published 31% cartoons favorable to the then government, 59% unfavorable and 10% neutral.

**Figure 9**

*Relative frequency of favorable, unfavorable and neutral cartoons in both newspapers.*

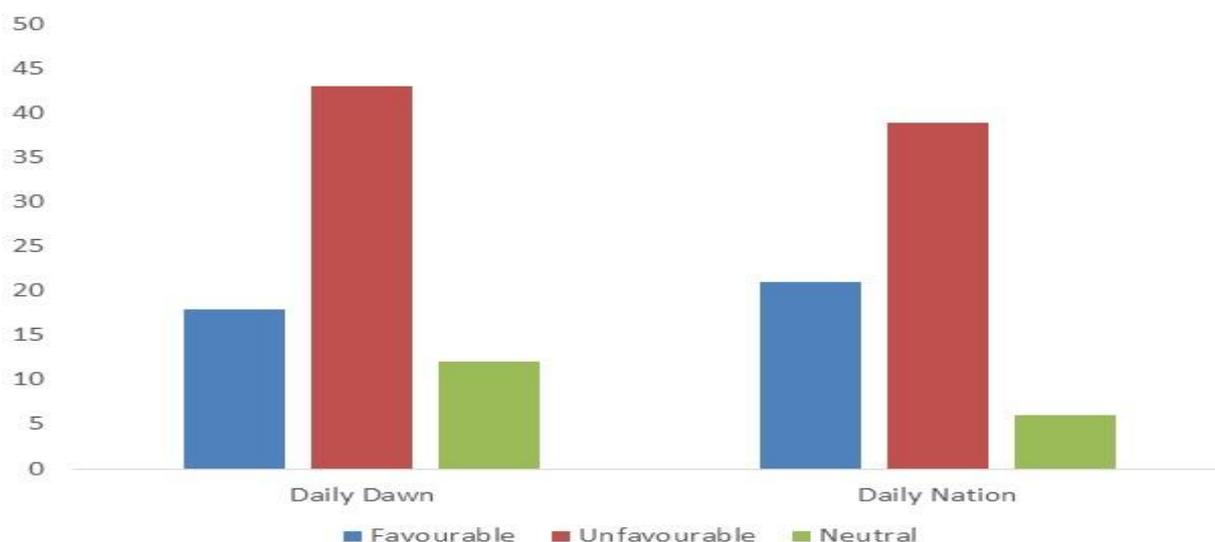


Table4 shows frequency of published cartoons on Pakistani politics, economy, international relations and general public awareness from April 2016 to July 2017 in both newspapers.

**Table 4**

*Frequency of panama cartoons regarding different issues related to panama leaks.*

Issues	Daily Dawn	Daily Nation
Pakistani Politics	48	39
Economy	5	4
Awareness	11	16
International Relations	9	7

Figure 10 indicates the ratio of different issues related to panama leaks covered by Daily Dawn and Daily Nation. The blue bar in graph highlights the frequency of cartoons related to Pakistani politics, red bar shows the frequency of cartoons related to economy, green bar indicates the public awareness about panama related content and purple bar shows the effect of panama leaks on relation with other countries. According to this graph Daily Dawn gave 66% cartoon coverage to Pakistani politics, 6% coverage to economy, 15% to public awareness, and 13% to international relations. While, Daily Nation gave 59% cartoon

coverage to Pakistani politics, 6% to economy, 25% to public awareness and 10% to international relations.

**Figure 10**

*Relative frequency of different issues regarding panama leaks in Dawn and Nation.*

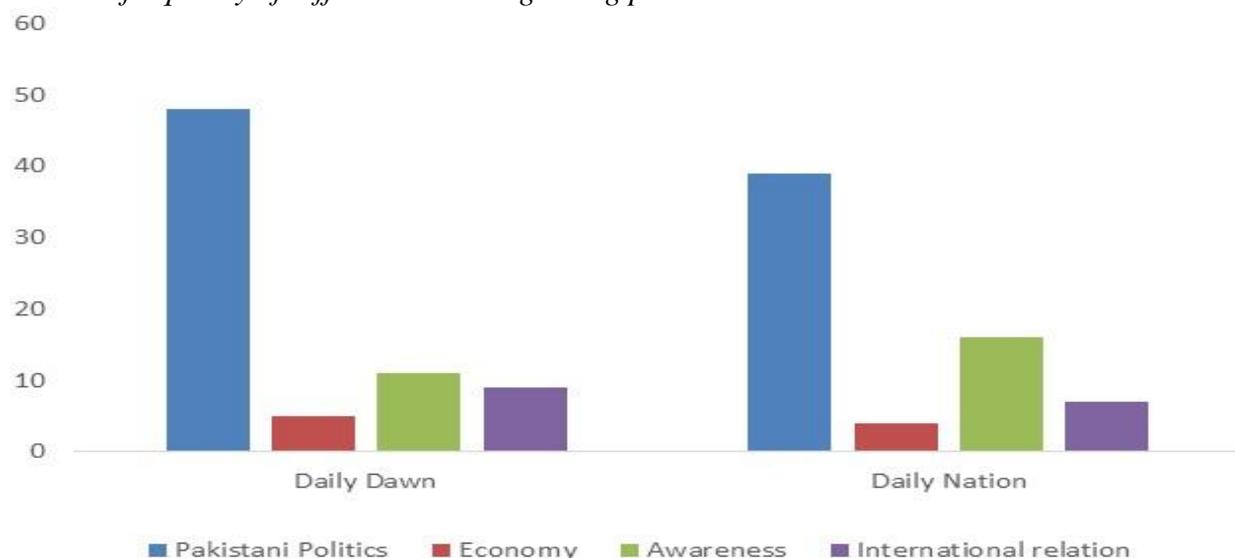


Table 5 presents relative comparison of panama visuals vs. all visuals in both newspapers from April 2016 to July 2017.

**Table 5**

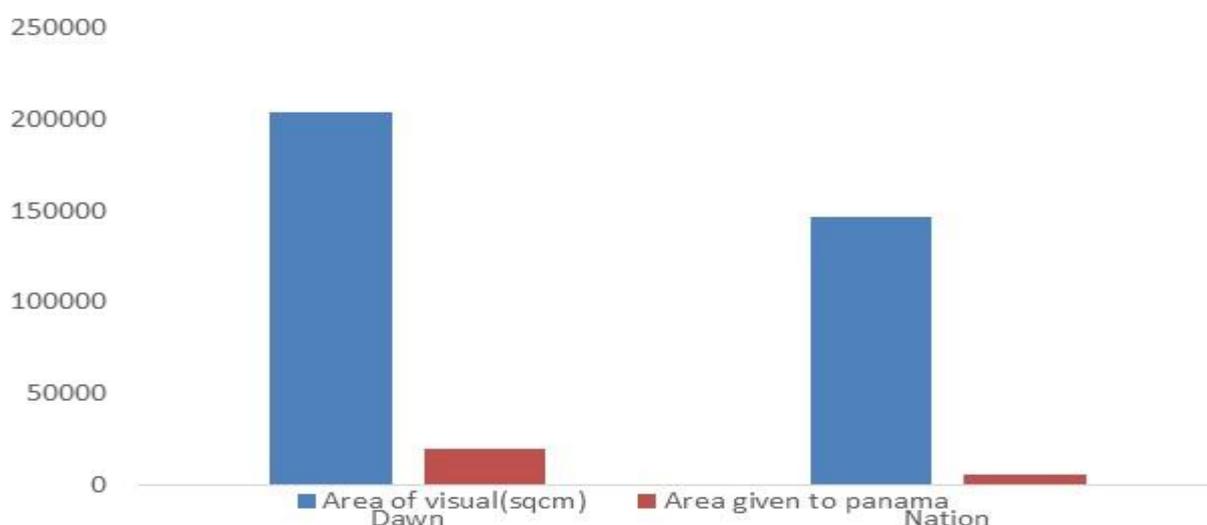
*Given space to panama visuals by Daily Dawn and Daily Nation.*

Newspapers	Daily Dawn	Daily Nation
Area of all visuals (cm <sup>2</sup> )	204184	146286
Area of Panama visuals (cm <sup>2</sup> )	19929	6006

Figure 11 shows the space given in square-centimeters (sqcm) to all visuals vs. panama visuals by Daily Dawn and Daily Nation. The blue bar in the graph shows the area given to all visuals and red bar shows the area given to panama related visuals. According to this graph Daily Dawn gave 7% coverage to panama visual and Daily Nation gave 4% coverage to panama visuals.

**Figure 11**

*Relative frequency of total visuals vs. panama visuals in Daily Dawn and Daily Nation.*



**Results**

**Z-test**

Z-test is used to find difference between two population means. This test is used to compare means of two groups of populations being equal or not based upon their variances. In our research work, we have used this test to statistically observe the cartoon coverage on Panama issue in Daily Dawn and The Nation under different categories. Z-test assumes that data is normally distributed, independent and chosen randomly where each point have an equal probability to get selected. So, this test tells us the probability of occurrence of an event with some confidence level  $\alpha$  by comparing with null hypothesis. Z-test is a two-sided test and p-value is found using z-table, calculator or Excel sheet. This test is used to deal with problems relating to large samples i.e. sample size  $\geq 30$ , otherwise t-test would have been used. The formula to calculate z-score is given by:

$$\frac{(\hat{P}_1 - \hat{P}_2) - (P_1 - P_2)}{\sqrt{\frac{\hat{P}_1 * Q_1}{n_1} + \frac{\hat{P}_2 * Q_2}{n_2}}}$$

**Hypothesis-1 Testing:**

It is likely that Daily Dawn and The Nation newspapers gave more coverage to national issues than international issues.

Level of significance:  $\alpha = 0.05$

Sample Evidence: z-score= 15.85787, P-Value= 0.0000

The p-value is less than 0.05 so we accept our research hypothesis-1.

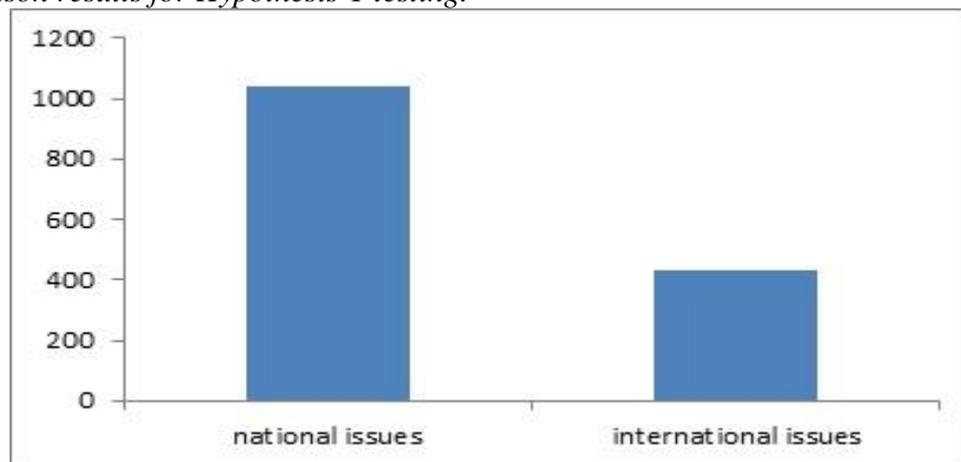
**Table 6**

*Hypothesis-1 results.*

	National Issues	International Issues
Sample proportion	0.71	0.29
Sample size	1039	431

**Figure 12**

*Comparison results for Hypothesis-1 testing.*



**Hypothesis-2 Testing**

It is likely that Dawn newspaper gave more cartoon coverage to panama issues than Daily Nation.

Level of significance:  $\alpha = 0.05$

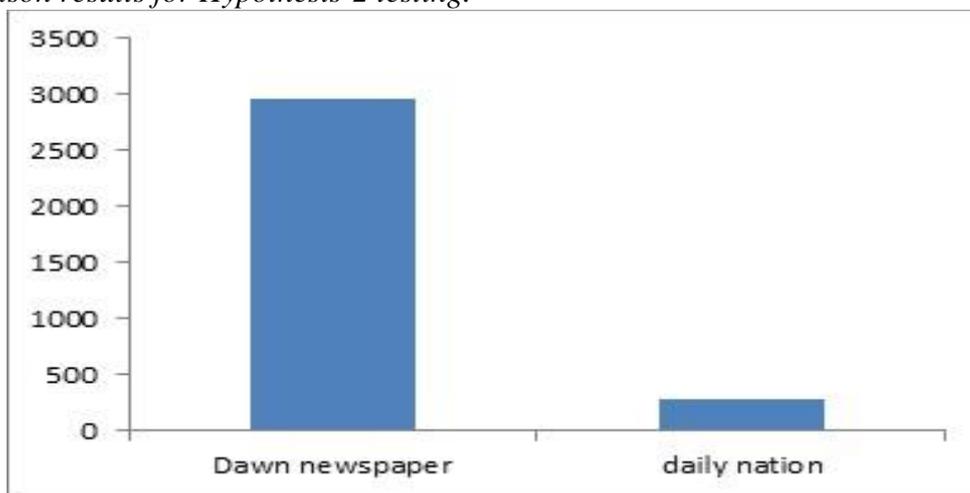
Sample Evidence: z-score= 47.13249, P-Value= 0.0000

The p-value is less than 0.05 so we accept our research hypothesis-2.

**Table 7**  
*Hypothesis-2 results.*

	<b>Daily Dawn</b>	<b>Daily Nation</b>
Sample proportion	0.91	0.09
Sample size	2960	278

**Figure 13**  
*Comparison results for Hypothesis-2 testing.*



**Hypothesis-3 Testing**

It is likely that Pakistani newspaper have unfavorable coverage to panama leaks.

Level of significance:  $\alpha = 0.05$

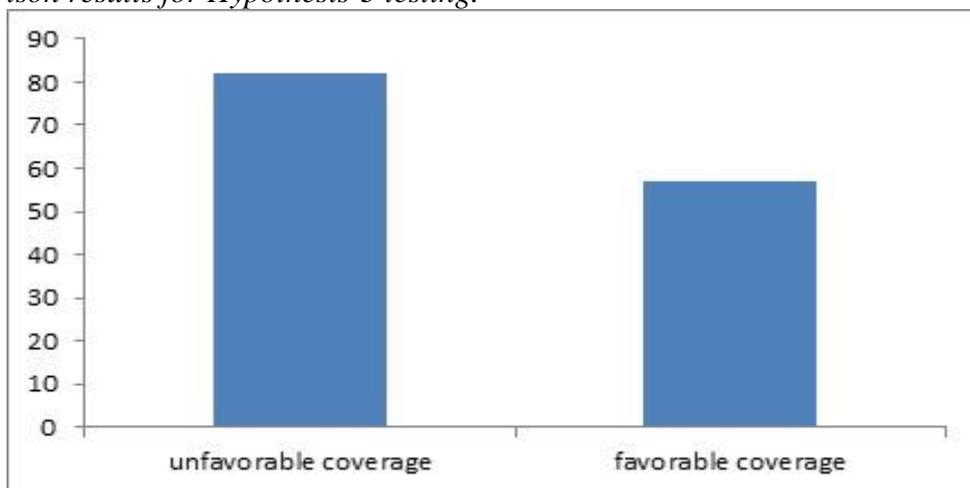
Sample Evidence: z-score= 2.120472, P-Value= 0.0169

The p-value is less than 0.05 so we accept our research hypothesis-4.

**Table 8**  
*Hypothesis-3 results.*

	<b>Unfavorable coverage</b>	<b>Favorable coverage</b>
Sample proportion	0.59	0.41
Sample Size	82	57

**Figure 14**  
*Comparison results for Hypothesis-3 testing.*



**Hypothesis-4 Testing**

It is likely that panama coverage of cartoons in Pakistani newspaper is focused on the issues of Pakistan politics.

Level of significance  $\alpha = 0.05$

Sample Evidence: z-score= 89.90891, P-Value= 0.0000

The p-value is less than 0.05 so we accept our research hypothesis-4.

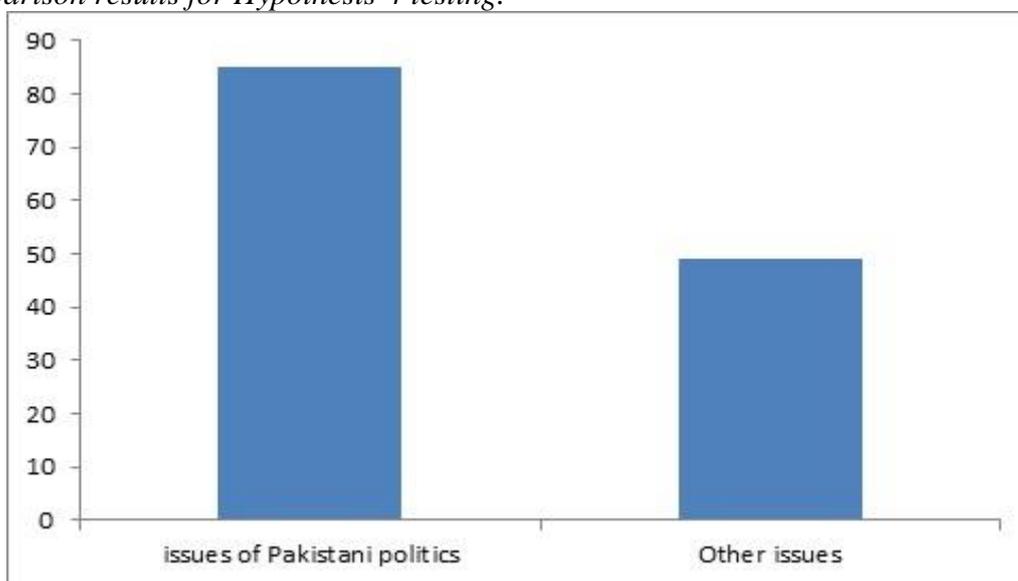
**Table 9**

*Hypothesis 4-results*

	<b>Issues of Pakistani politics</b>	<b>Other issues</b>
Sample proportion	0.66	0.48
Sample Size	85	49

**Figure 15**

*Comparison results for Hypothesis-4 testing.*



**Hypothesis-5 Testing**

It is likely both newspapers (Dawn and Nation) gave less space to panama leaks cartoons.

Level of significance  $\alpha = 0.05$

Sample Evidence: z-score= 528.9734, P-Value= 0.0000

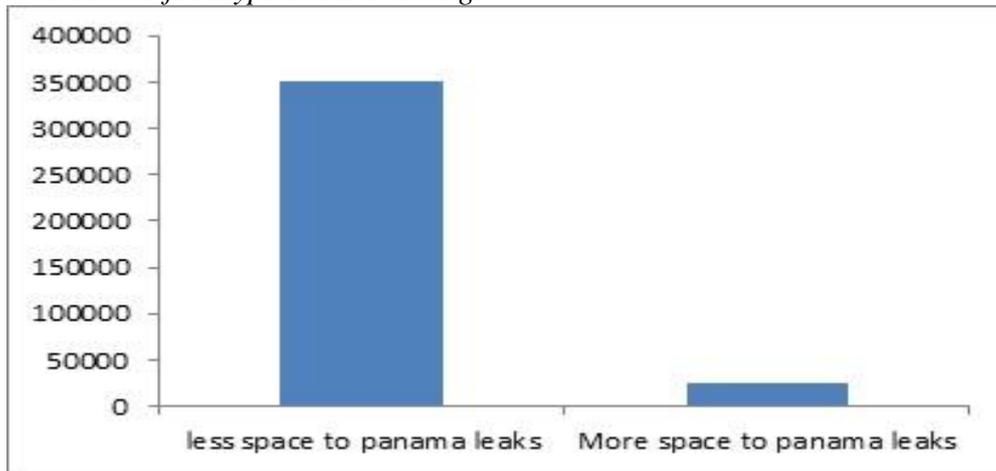
The p-value is less than 0.05 so we accept our research hypothesis-5.

**Table 10**

*Hypothesis-5 results.*

	<b>Less space to panama leaks</b>	<b>More space to panama leaks</b>
Sample proportion	0.93	0.07
	350470	25935

**Figure 16**  
 Comparison results for Hypothesis-5 testing.



**Conclusion**

We conclude in our research that it is the prime responsibility of a newspapers to frame public opinion about any issue in a state and panama leaks was a hot issue in Pakistani politics that needed to be unveiled. Cartoon communication is an interesting way to accuse and criticize all important dimensions of a political event and both Pakistani elite press has successfully covered this burning issue. Because the general public opinion was much divided about this issue so both newspapers have published a decent amount of cartoons to keep the issue alive and sturdy at the same time

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